



Kosovo Women's Network
Serving, Protecting and Promoting the Rights of Women and Girls

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No More Excuses

An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and
Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo

It is natural that
violence happens
after someone
drinks alcohol or
uses drugs.

NO EXCUSES
for violence, ever.

We were going to
intervene, but i heard that
the woman was cheating
on her husband.
[Police Officer]

NO EXCUSES
for failing to investigate.

There are some
women who deserve
to be beaten.

NO EXCUSES
for violence, ever.

No More Excuses

An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo

By Nicole Farnsworth, Ariana Qosaj-Mustafa, Iliriana Banjska, Adelina Berisha, and Donjeta Morina

Kosovo Women's Network
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Acronyms

AGE	Agency for Gender Equality
AI	Administrative Instruction
ASK	Kosovo Agency of Statistics
CCK	Criminal Code of Kosovo
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSW	Centre for Social Work
DPP	Department of Labour and Employment
DVIU	Domestic Violence Investigative Unit
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
GEO	Gender Equality Officer
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KAPS	Kosovo Academy for Public Safety
KCS	Kosovo Correctional Service
KIPA	Kosovo Institute for Public Administration
KJI	Kosovo Judicial Institute
KP	Kosovo Police
KWN	Kosovo Women's Network
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
MCYS	Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports
MED	Municipal Education Department
MED	Ministry of Economic Development
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance (now Ministry of Finance)
MEST	Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology
MF/MoF	Ministry of Finance
MJ/MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MLSW	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPA	Ministry of Public Administration
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PEN	Peer Educators Network
QESH	<i>Qendra për Emancipim Shoqëror</i> [Centre for Social Emancipation]
REC	Regional Employment Centre
RTK	Radio Television Kosovo
SMIA	System for Management of Information on Education
SOPs	Standard Operation Procedures
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TEPO	Temporary Emergency Protection Order
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNKT	United Nations Kosovo Team

UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VA	Victim Advocate
VAAD	Victims Advocacy and Assistance Division
VAAO	Victims Advocacy and Assistance Office
VTC	Vocational Training Centre
WHO	World Health Organization
WSSI	Women's Safety and Security Initiative

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Foreword

This report was about to go to press when we learned of a new tragedy: the murder of Zejnepe Bytyçi-Berisha, allegedly stabbed to death by her husband. Her family and friends, women's rights activists, media, and citizens all tried to grapple with the reasoning behind such senseless violence. We were shocked further to learn that she had approached police several times for help, but that her requests went unacknowledged and unanswered. The progress that we thought we had observed in writing this report seemed to fade with each new fact that was brought to light. We were deeply angered by the gossip we heard from representatives of Kosovo institutions, whispering behind closed doors: "maybe she had talked to a man on the phone, which angered her husband" or "maybe she lacked morals." We were shocked and saddened by institutions and society continuing to blame the victim of a crime. In NO instance, from unemployment to stress to alcohol to drugs to infidelity is violence EVER acceptable. There are NO EXCUSES for violence.

Thus, we decided to change the title of our report. We want to emphasize that there is never an excuse for domestic violence. The title also speaks to Kosovo institutions: there are no excuses for institutional inaction or delay. This report represents a new call to action for all institutions to fulfil their responsibilities to protect persons who have suffered domestic violence, particularly women. Institutions should never, in any situation, tolerate violence. As stated by United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, "There is one universal truth, applicable to all countries, cultures and communities: violence against women is never acceptable, never excusable, never tolerable."

We dedicate this report to the women who have lost their lives as a result of domestic violence: to Zejnepe Bytyçi-Berisha and to Diana Kastrati, among others. We pledge to their families that we will do all in our power to call for justice, to demand social and institutional change, so that such senseless violence will not claim the lives of others in the future.

Executive Summary

Domestic violence remains among the most widespread forms of violence perpetrated worldwide. This report shows that the situation in Kosovo is no different. It follows the Kosovo Women's Network's (KWN) 2008 research entitled *Security Begins at Home*, which examined the legal framework, levels of awareness regarding domestic violence, forms of domestic violence, and institutions offering assistance. This report assesses changes in: citizen awareness of domestic violence, incidence, and institutional response since 2008. It seeks to inform the process of drafting the new Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence, to be launched in 2016, as well as to provide individual institutions with concrete recommendations towards improving their approach in addressing domestic violence. It also examines the extent to which awareness, attitudes, and incidence of domestic violence have changed since 2008.

The legal framework related to domestic violence has improved substantially since 2008. Various international conventions and national laws are applicable. The Law on Protection against Domestic Violence (2008) has taken the place of the prior United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) regulation. The Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence 2011-2014 set actions for institutions to address domestic violence. Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) detail the roles and responsibilities of individual institutions, as well as steps for improving coordination among key institutions dealing with domestic violence. Despite these improvements, further revisions to the legal framework are needed, as detailed in this report.

KWN's monitoring found that the implementation of the applicable legal framework related to addressing domestic violence has improved. However, challenges remain, including: underreporting of violence by citizens; inadequate services available for persons who have suffered violence and perpetrators of violence, including rehabilitation and reintegration programs; insufficient sustainability of shelters; poor enforcement of measures, such as child alimony; some inadequately trained or poorly performing persons within institutions; insufficient human and financial resources in some institutions, particularly CSWs; a lack of professional psychologists; inadequate coordination among institutions in domestic violence case management; and traditional gender norms that contribute to "blaming the victim" and provide an enabling environment for violence to continue.

In examining awareness and attitudes towards domestic violence, KWN has found that people are slightly more aware than they were in 2008. For example, in 2008, 55.7% of Kosovars (61.8% of men and 49.7% of women) knew a regulation on protection against domestic violence existed, whereas 75.3% of Kosovars (77.6% of men and 73.1% of women) know the Law exists today. More people consider physical violence a form of

Key Findings	Women	Men	Everyone
Percent of Kosovars who experienced domestic violence in their lifetimes	68%	56%	62%
Percent of Kosovars who experienced a form of domestic violence in 2014	41%	20%	31%
Percent who experienced physical violence in 2014	12%	14%	12%
Percent of Kosovars who agree that "sometimes it is okay for a husband to hit his wife"	21%	22%	21%
Percent who agree "a Law on Domestic Violence exists in Kosovo"	73%	78%	75%
Percent who think "If a husband is unemployed, violence is bound to happen sometimes"	58%	47%	53%

domestic violence than before on several measures, including punishing a child by spanking him or her (81.1% see this as violence); a partner making his or her partner do sexual acts that he or she does not want to do (91%); and an adult slapping, punching, or kicking a family member when arguing (93.3%). The percentage of Kosovars who believe that "sexual intercourse can never be violence if it happens between two adults who are married" has decreased significantly, from 67.1% in 2008 to 24.6% in 2015. Despite these improvements in awareness, the idea that domestic "violence is a normal part of any relationship, and society in general accepts that violence happens sometimes" remains present (29.9%). Further, 31.3% of Kosovars still believe that domestic violence is "a family matter, so

neighbours shouldn't report it to police". In certain aspects, people appear to have become slightly more conservative. For example, 21.1% of Kosovars still believe that "sometimes it is OK for a husband to hit his wife," compared to 18.7% in 2008.

The precise extent of domestic violence in a society never can be estimated due to underreporting. Thus, with regard to the *estimated* extent of domestic violence in Kosovo, 31% of Kosovars (41% of women and 20% of men) said they suffered some form of domestic violence in 2014, including physical, psychological, and/or economic violence. Further, 62% of Kosovars (68% of women and 56% of men) said they had suffered some form of domestic violence in their lifetimes (increased from 43% in 2008). This increase may not necessarily mean that more people have experienced violence; it may simply mean that people are more aware and willing to talk about violence than in 2008, as their responses on other questions suggest.

Statistically, women are far more likely to suffer domestic violence than men. While Kosovars have tended to believe that violence occurs more in poor, rural, and/or uneducated families, evidence contradicts this. There is no statistically significant relationship between experiencing violence in 2014 and geographic location (rural/urban or region), educational level, receiving social assistance, household income, or respondents' individual income, respectively. Interestingly, respondents whose partners were employed with salaries were actually significantly *more likely* to experience domestic violence in 2014. While the perpetrators of domestic violence were diverse, mothers, fathers, and partners were among the most commonly mentioned perpetrators by persons who had suffered violence. Men tended to report experiencing violence from their parents, whereas women suffered violence from both parents and partners. Domestic violence can have several consequences on health, family, and society, this research confirms.

When asked how they would deal with domestic violence if they experienced it, 73.6% of all respondents said that they would contact police. Few knew about other actors providing services, such as Victim Advocates (VAs) or Centres for Social Work (CSWs).

Despite several improvements, qualitative data suggest a remaining tendency among some representatives of diverse institutions to "blame the victim" for crimes perpetrated against them and/or to "reconcile" families. Reconciling families is not part of the roles and responsibilities of most institutions and may undermine their responsibility to ensure protection or justice. Some representatives of institutions still lack knowledge regarding their roles and responsibilities under SOPs.

Institutions that work directly on assisting persons who have suffered domestic violence, such as police, courts, VAs, CSWs and shelters, seem to have improved their response. Police are better trained and tend to know their duties. The fact that several basic courts now have civil court judges specialized in domestic violence cases is an important improvement. Perceptions regarding the performance of VAs and CSWs and their approach towards people who have suffered violence were mixed. Shelters offer some rehabilitation services, but their sustainable funding has not yet been resolved. Other institutions such as educational institutions, municipalities, Vocational Training Centres (VTCs), employment offices, health institutions, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are less informed about domestic violence and how to treat such cases.

Recommendations for amending the legal framework, for the new Action Plan, and for each institution are detailed in the final section of this report.

Introduction

In 2008, the Kosovo Women's Network (KWN) conducted the first ever Kosovo-wide household survey on incidence of domestic violence in collaboration with the Agency for Gender Equality in the Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo (AGE) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Women's Safety and Security Initiative (WSSI). Entitled *Security Begins at Home*, the resulting publication examined levels of awareness regarding domestic violence, its extent, and the performance of institutions assisting persons who had suffered domestic violence.¹ The research also involved interviews with officials in institutions responsible for implementing the legal framework pertaining to domestic violence. This important study informed the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence; the Kosovo Programme against Domestic Violence and National Action Plan against Domestic Violence (NAP); and Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) in Kosovo for persons who suffered domestic violence used by all institutions.

Since much time has passed since the baseline study, and in the context of drafting a new NAP, KWN felt the time had come to carry out a follow-up study to measure how attitudes have changed over time, as well as to identify remaining gaps in the legal outface and its implementation. More specifically, this research aimed: 1) to measure (changes in) attitudes, awareness, and incidence of domestic violence in Kosovo, respectively; and 2) to monitor the implementation of the legal framework by relevant public institutions. Key questions guiding the research included:

1. How have attitudes and the level of awareness regarding domestic violence changed since 2008, if at all?
2. How has the incidence of different forms of domestic violence changed since 2008, if at all?
3. To what extent is the legal framework relating to domestic violence being implemented, and how much has it improved since 2008?
4. What is the institutional response to domestic violence?

From February to October 2015, KWN conducted research that informed this report, in cooperation with AGE, the National Coordinator on Domestic Violence, UNKT, the Sub-working Group on Gender-based Violence in the Security and Gender Group, and a wide array of other key stakeholders from public institutions, academia, and civil society. The research was funded by the Austrian Development Agency with significant in-kind contributions from several dedicated individuals.²

Research Methods

The research involved mixed methods including a review of the legal framework to identify remaining gaps in the legal outface and its implementation; a review of data gathered from relevant institutions; a survey of 1,315 Kosovars (51.6% women and 48.4% men) to measure awareness, attitudes, and incidence of domestic violence; and interviews with representatives of public institutions and civil society. The survey was conducted throughout Kosovo, covering both urban (40.8%) and rural areas (59.2%). The sample is representative of all ethnic groups in Kosovo as the selection was done using Multistage Random Sampling Method. Afterward, researchers conducted interviews with nearly 200 representatives of institutions and other actors responsible for implementing the legal framework, including: police; Victim Advocates (VAs); Centres for Social Work (CSW); judges; prosecutors; representatives of shelters for persons who suffered domestic violence; legal aid officers; Vocational Training Centres (VTCs); Employment Offices; Education Directorates in municipalities; teachers; healthcare workers; psychologists; psychiatrists; the Ombudsperson Institution; persons who suffered domestic violence; several civil society organizations (CSOs); and other interested and involved actors. For further information, please see Annex I. Research Methodology.

About This Report

This report first reviews the applicable law and policy framework related to domestic violence, including criminal and civil provisions, identifying shortcomings and posing recommendations for their address. The second section examines perceptions of Kosovars about domestic violence and its causes, drawing primarily from survey data. Comparisons are made, where relevant, with the 2008 survey, identifying changes. The third section deals with the estimated pervasiveness of domestic violence, drawing primarily from survey data. This includes identifying groups that seem more at risk of suffering domestic violence. Potential consequences of violence and citizens' responses to violence are then discussed. The fourth section draws from interviews with institutions and survey data, examining the performance of Kosovo institutions with responsibilities related to preventing domestic violence, protecting persons who have suffered violence, ensuring justice for crimes committed, and providing rehabilitation and reintegration services. The section identifies improvements and remaining shortcomings in the institutional response to domestic violence. Finally, recommendations are put forth for the legal framework and specific institutions. Annexes include a more detailed description of the research methodology (Annex 1); a summary of the KWN's evaluation of the implementation of the NAP for 2011-2014 (Annex 2); the survey instrument (Annex 3); a list of interview respondents (Annex 4); personal stories from survey respondents (Annex 5); and other survey findings not related directly to this report, but of interest (Annex 6).

A Note on Terminology

Persons who have suffered domestic violence, sexual assault, and sexual harassment are frequently referred to as either "victims" or "survivors". Opinions on the appropriate terminology differ. In some circles, people believe that referring to persons who have suffered domestic violence as "victims" will improve the institutional response. Others believe that this can disempower persons who have suffered violence, rob them of their agency, and shed a passive light on persons who have suffered violence. Not all persons who have suffered violence are "survivors", as domestic violence can lead to death, as well as lasting traumas that impact wellbeing. KWN has selected to avoid the term "victim" unless quoting legal documents, opting instead for "persons who have suffered violence." Where relevant, the word survivor is used, towards recognizing women's agency.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Domestic Violence and Kosovo's Applicable Law

As violence may occur in different forms, international human rights law foresees that each state should develop effective legal and institutional mechanisms to respond to acts of domestic violence. The state is responsible for the acts of its agents and citizens, including acts of domestic violence. How states should respond to domestic violence is set out by general principles in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In General Recommendation 19 on Violence Against Women, the CEDAW Committee requires that states should “pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating violence against women” and also “[e]xercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons” (Article 9). Further, the CEDAW Committee in interpreting CEDAW has stated, “[S]tates may also be responsible for private acts if they fail to act with due diligence to prevent violations of rights or to investigate and punish acts of violence, and for providing compensation.”³

When declaring its independence as a sovereign state, Kosovo adopted several international obligations by incorporating international human rights standards as part of its applicable law. Kosovo specifically named international conventions such as CEDAW, the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Protocol as directly applicable in Kosovo law. Kosovo waived the applicability of its laws and other acts of its public institutions in cases when they conflict with international human rights provisions. Kosovo thus considers these international provisions to have priority over Kosovo laws.⁴ Further, the Constitution states that human rights and fundamental freedoms “shall be interpreted consistent with the court decisions of the European Court of Human Rights.”⁵ This court has issued several decisions on cases of domestic violence that can be used for improving the implementation of legal provisions in Kosovo.

However, the practical implementation of these constitutional clauses rarely have been used in Kosovo courts. Only recently, the Kosovo Constitutional Court referenced CEDAW in its groundbreaking decision on the Diana Kastrati case, stating that the delay in issuing a protection order by Prishtina Municipal Court, foreseen by the Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, is a human rights violation. This violation affected the protection of the person's right to life and the right to effective remedy as guaranteed by international conventions and the Constitution.⁶ In other instances within courts of law the constitutional provision of direct applicability of international human rights provisions are not sufficiently documented in Kosovo.

Civil Provisions related to Acts of Domestic Violence

Amid the vague applicability of international human rights provisions, Kosovo enacted a number of laws and policies to respond to domestic violence acts. Kosovo legislation defines domestic violence under the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, enacted in July 2010.⁷ It was the first law on domestic violence adopted by the Kosovo Assembly. The Law draws substantially from provisions in the former UNMIK Regulation 2003/12 on Protection against Domestic Violence.⁸ Among the changes from the UNMIK Regulation was a new approach to dealing with the violent behaviours of perpetrators. The 2010 Law foresees measures of psycho-social treatment and requires that the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW), Ministry of Health, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports and Ministry of Education, Science and Technology cooperate to enact sub-legal acts on how to implement these measures.⁹ It defines clearly the roles of respective ministries in setting out appropriate infrastructure to support and meet the needs of persons who have suffered domestic violence by including medical services and social assistance obligations.¹⁰

Under the Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, acts of domestic violence are defined as intentional acts or omissions when committed by a person against another person with whom the person is in a domestic relationship. These acts include, but are not limited to, a) use of physical force or psychological pressure; b) inflicting or threatening to inflict physical pain or psychological suffering on another family member; c) causing the feeling of fear or threat of dignity; d) physical assault; e) insult, offence, calling by offensive names, and other forms of violent intimidation; f) repetitive behaviours with the aim to denigrate the person; g) non-consensual sexual acts; h) unlawful limiting of the freedom of movement of the other person; i) damaging the property or threatening to damage the property of another family member; j) causing the other person to fear for his or her physical, emotional or economic wellbeing; k) forcibly entering or removing from a common residence the other family member; and l) kidnapping.¹¹

The law also offers a unique definition of a “domestic relationship” based on the intra-familial forms of habitation in Kosovo. It states that such relationships exist among persons if they are “engaged or were engaged; are married or were married; are in extra marital relationship or were in an extramarital relationship; cohabit in a common household or were cohabiting in such a household; use a common house and are in connection by blood, marriage, or adoption, are in-laws or in a guardianship relationship, including parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, nephews, siblings, aunts, uncles, or cousins; are parents of a common child; and are procedural parties in a dispute related to family relations.”¹² These relations between persons are used as a basis for the issuance of protection orders. Protection orders are offered to protect persons who have suffered domestic violence, defined as the “protected party” or “victim”, against acts of domestic violence by the perpetrator.¹³

Civil Procedures related to Protection against Domestic Violence Acts

The Law on Protection against Domestic Violence essentially defines domestic violence within a family relationship in order to prevent and protect victims from occurrence or re-occurrence of domestic violence acts by issuing protection orders. Three kinds of protection orders are defined, according to the authority of the body that issues the protection order, the content, and the procedures that must be followed. This includes the types of measures that can be issued by protection orders. The Law defines the Protection Order, Emergency Protection Order, and Temporary Emergency Protection Order.¹⁴

A **Protection Order** can only be issued by the basic court¹⁵ where the domestic violence victim or the protected party resides, or in the court that is deciding on family disputes such as divorce cases and/or child custody cases.¹⁶ A protection order is to be issued within eight days if an emergency protection order has been issued or within fifteen days from the date on which the court received the petition for issuance of a protection order.¹⁷ It is a longer-term order issued for a period of up to twelve months with a one-time possibility of extension. It may be renewed only if circumstances for its issuance exist after the set deadline expires.

In contrast, the former UNMIK Regulation on Protection against Domestic Violence did not limit the possibility of extending the protection order, as long as the circumstances for its issuance continued to exist. The Regulation only required that the safety, health, and well-being of the victim is protected and therefore if the perpetrator would continue to put the person at risk, a new protection order could be issued.¹⁸ The Kosovo Law acknowledges conditions necessary for issuance of a protection order. However, by limiting the extension of the protection order to no longer than twenty-four (24) months, the Law does not offer an effective legal remedy in cases when the conditions for issuance of a protection order still exist. For example, if the victim or protected party remains continuously threatened by the perpetrator or if their safety and health is still in danger after 24 months, they would not have protection. The Law’s current limitations on extending protection orders, without offering alternative measures if conditions continue, is a violation of the rights of victims of domestic violence to effective remedy and protection by the state from domestic violence acts. Therefore, Kosovo institutions should urgently consider remedying this violation created by the new Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.

Emergency Protection Orders also are issued by basic courts. They expire at the end of the hearing for the confirmation of a regular protection order. This period should not be longer than eight days, which are set by the deadline for the confirmation of the protection order.¹⁹ Additionally, the Law also foresees that the emergency protection order can be extended if within two days the protected party or legal representative requests its extension. The length of time for an extended protection order is not specified within the law.²⁰

The **Temporary Emergency Protection Order** (TEPO) is issued outside of courts' regular working hours.²¹ The authorised body to issue the Temporary Emergency Protection Order is the Head of the Regional Kosovo Police Unit against Domestic Violence. TEPOs should immediately be served to the perpetrator of domestic violence acts.²² The TEPO expires at the beginning of the next day when the court resumes its regular working hours.²³

The Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence foresees that for the Protection Order and Emergency Protection Order, the measures that can be issued by courts are unlimited; petitioners can request all of the measures to be issued. Measures that can be issued are: protection measure for psycho-social treatment; measure to ban the perpetrator in approaching the victim at a certain distance; ban the harassment of the victim by the perpetrator; measure to seek the removal of the perpetrator from the living residence with the victim; order a police officer to accompany the victim during collection of the personal belongings from the household; order the perpetrator to undergo medical treatment for drug and alcohol dependency; and/or order the confiscation of the weapon or item used in committing the domestic violence act or item used in a threat to commit the act.²⁴ Further, the Law also foresees a number of protection measures related to property, such as order the perpetrator to pay for the rent or alimony for children in cases when the safety of children is jeopardised, children should remain with the victim, and/or the victim needs a longer-term solution after sheltering due to health risks caused by the perpetrator as she cannot return in the common household; order the perpetrator to allow for the return of the victim in the common household but only in cases in which the health and safety of the victim are not jeopardised; offer the possibility to the victim to use personal assets and belongings; and prohibit the perpetrator or the protected party from selling or disposing of any assets within a specified period of time.²⁵

The Law limits the measures that can be issued by the Kosovo Police through a TEPO to the following four types of measures: prohibit the perpetrator from approaching the victim, prohibit the harassment of the victim, removal of the perpetrator from the common residence of the perpetrator, and confiscation of the items with which violence has been committed or threatened to be committed.²⁶ The measures foreseen under this protection order issued by police are limited in order to guarantee a fair and due process in a court of law after the TEPO expires.

Interview respondents from institutions mentioned issues that they had with the existing law including: the lack of long-term solutions or measures; insufficient integration of the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence into the Criminal Code; and the poor translation of the Law into the Serbian language. A further issue with the new Law, a judge noted, is that the language assumes the guilt of perpetrators prior to trial; this could be addressed if the Law had maintained the same language as the prior Regulation, referring instead to "alleged perpetrators".

"I don't like how we remove the victim from the house and the perpetrator remains in freedom, out of jail. [...] It costs more to finance shelters for victims, than to put perpetrators in jails which are already there."

- Official

Following interviews, KWN found that some key institutions still lack knowledge about the Law, particularly with regard to who can request protection orders. Interview respondents' perspectives differed regarding the Law's implementation. While some said that it had been fully implemented, others said partially implemented, and still others felt it had not been implemented at all. Even so, recurring theme, albeit not unanimous, was that the Law's implementation had improved. Respondents pointed, for example, to courts prioritizing cases and treating them faster than in prior years.

Repeatedly cited challenges to implementation included: delays in drafting secondary legislation; citizens not reporting violence; insufficient shelter space; insufficient staff in particular institutions; an

insufficient budget for implementation;²⁷ a lack of knowledge among some officials; poor enforcement of measures, such as child alimony; and, related, the lack of conditions in Kosovo for its implementation (e.g., difficulties in the separation of property in multi-household families, unavailable

services for psychosocial treatment of perpetrators of violence, etc.). Several respondents pointed to issues with implementing measures in protection orders, including identifying property belonging to the victim so that it could be claimed; and the distance that a perpetrator can approach a victim. "You can't take ten family members out of a home in order to place the victim there; and if the victim goes back to her husband's family, chances are that she will face domestic violence from them as well," a shelter representative commented.²⁸

"The problem is not the Law; the problem is our traditions and living in big extended families. [...] When a woman reports her husband, she still lives with her in-laws, which will make her face even more violence because they will blame her for taking away their son and their income. [...] The Law can be implemented when we start working on the treatment of perpetrators."

- Gender Equality Officer

Relevant By-laws and Policies for Protection against Domestic Violence

The Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence foresees the drafting and adoption of two sub-legal acts in order to address the needs of perpetrators of acts of domestic violence.²⁹ The Ministry of Health and MLSW were foreseen as the main ministries responsible for drafting procedures and establishing the necessary infrastructure for offering perpetrators psychosocial treatment. They also should provide services when courts impose mandatory treatment for alcohol and drug dependency. Accordingly, two legal sub-acts were drafted and adopted: Administrative Instruction Nr. 12/2012 in determining the place and ways of psychosocial treatment for perpetrators of domestic violence and Administrative Instruction Nr. 02/2013 on treatment methods for perpetrators of domestic violence imposed by mandatory measure of treatment from alcoholism and addiction to psychotropic substances. The first instruction was enacted by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo in 2012 and the latter by the Ministry of Health in 2013.³⁰

These sub-legal acts focus solely on the need for perpetrators addicted to alcohol and drugs to be treated by the state, identifying alcohol and drugs as potential causes of domestic violence acts. The Law states that the need for court-ordered counselling and treatment of perpetrators is also rooted in the psychosocial behaviour of perpetrators of domestic violence. With this acknowledgement, the Law suggests poor psychosocial behaviour is a root-cause of domestic violence. Further, the Administrative Instruction (AI) states that through mandatory court-ordered treatment it will prevent further occurrences of domestic violence, increase perpetrators self-control by offering counselling, identify the origin of the violent behaviour, and increase perpetrators responsibility level in admitting violent acts.³¹ The sub-legal acts allow for the creation and licensing of NGOs and government agencies responsible in providing health and social services to offer mandatory treatments ordered by courts. This includes assistance offered at municipal levels. The AI also outlines detailed timelines, procedures, and services offered by institutions. The psychosocial treatment of perpetrators may be done in cooperation with victims if they agree to the proposed protection measure.³² Additionally, the treatment plan developed by the respective health authority may be shared with the victim.³³

The Law does not specify which health authority explicitly is responsible. Further, these measures may contradict with the aim to protect victims of domestic violence, as reflected in the purpose of the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.³⁴ The Law primarily addresses the need to issue legal measures for the protection of domestic violence victims. The new AIs go beyond the aim of the Law, proposing reconciliation between the perpetrator and victim. The AI does not pay sufficient attention to protecting persons who have suffered domestic violence from perpetrators with mental health issues or drug and alcohol addiction, which may endanger the victim's health and safety. In these and other cases, reconciliation could place the victim at risk, contradicting the intent of the Law.³⁵ Additionally, the evaluation of treatment plans for perpetrators by adequate medical personnel is insufficiently explained.

As later chapters detail, reconciliation remains an issue in Kosovo. Although Kosovo is not bound by the recent Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, following it would be in line with European best practices. This Convention prohibits mandatory alternative dispute resolution processes and sentencing.³⁶ In Kosovo, Criminal Code Provisions related to Domestic Violence, the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, and the new Family Law should state clearly that reconciliation principles do not apply in cases of domestic violence, including in relation to family law cases. Further, a policy decision should state that reconciliation may not be used as a legal response to domestic violence, but only as psychosocial response when provided by professional, qualified, and licensed experts. Lawyers, police, prosecutors, and judges should be prohibited from engaging in reconciliation attempts.

Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence

With regard to protection procedures and rehabilitation measures for persons who suffered domestic violence, few measures are included in the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence. It only requires that the government draft and enact a Kosovo Programme on Domestic Violence. The program should set out the “necessary infrastructure and ancillary structures [...] to support and meet the needs of persons against whom domestic violence is exercised, including social assistance and medical services.”

Accordingly, the government through AGE drafted and adopted the Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence in 2011. The Programme ended in 2014.³⁷ Therefore, victims lack a sufficient sub-legal basis for rehabilitation and social assistance until the next programme is drafted and adopted. The Law and its

“The legal framework should be revised in order for victims of domestic violence to have a permanent solution, not short-term like it is now.”

- Municipal court judge

two sub-legal acts allow for mandatory psychosocial support to be provided solely for perpetrators.³⁸ Victims’ rights to psychosocial and rehabilitation assistance are not clearly mandated by law. The appropriate definition and division of medical treatments, psychosocial support, shelter, rehabilitation, and reintegration of victims are not reflected in the aim and purpose of the Law, including a clear description of responsibilities for each institution. A few municipalities such as Gjakova, Dragash, Prizren, and Gjiilan have adopted municipal action plans towards implementing the Law at the municipal level.

The expired Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence has three strategic objectives: 1) on prevention and inclusion in order to establish efficient mechanisms to prevent domestic violence; 2) on protection, aiming to establish efficient protection mechanisms; and 3) on services, aiming to establish efficient services to rehabilitate and integrate victims of domestic violence, improve their access to services, as well as set up services for perpetrators throughout Kosovo.³⁹ More specifically, under strategic objective 1, reports of domestic violence cases should increase; and policies at central and local levels on providing services to victims and perpetrators should be drafted. Under strategic objective 2, free legal aid to victims should be provided; and capacities of stakeholders should be built to deal with domestic violence cases and ensure efficient service provision to victims in order to physically protect them adequately. Under strategic objective 3, capacities of health workers, social services, and educational staff should increase in order to provide efficient services to victims; improve economic opportunities for domestic violence victims and perpetrators; and strengthen social services for victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. Strangely most actions equalise the position of persons who have suffered domestic violence with that of perpetrators. The plan takes into account not only perpetrators’ drug abuse or alcohol dependency as root-causes of domestic violence, but also perpetrators’ economic opportunities and provision of social services for perpetrators. It remains to be evaluated how equalizing the needs of persons who suffered violence with those of perpetrators has practically impacted institutions’ division of labour and attention paid to persons who actually suffered violence.

Additional issues existed with the expired NAP, concerning the obligations that the NAP puts on certain institutions. The “Responsible and Supporting institutions column” enlists several institutions

that are responsible for implementing each activity. However, institutions are not always explicitly named; some are referred to broadly, such as “local and central institutions” or “private actors.” This is problematic because the responsibility to implement a given action is not assigned to a specific actor or institution. This has created an environment in which several institutions have shirked responsibilities, stating that it is not their competency. Related, the NAP gives legal responsibilities to “private actors”, “donors”, “media” and “civil society”. This is problematic because these non-state actors cannot be held legally accountable by the government for implementing the NAP. While these actors should not be solely responsible for actions that must be fulfilled by the state, they can still be included in the new NAP as important supporting actors assisting the government. For example, the new NAP could specify the mechanisms through which the government can involve them.

Another crucial problem concerns the inadequate budget allocated towards the implementation of the NAP by relevant institutions. For some planned measures, this contributed to the fact that they were not fully implemented. An approved government NAP should not depend on unsecured donor support and NGOs, but should have the ownership of the government, which should set aside adequate resources for implementing it. Notably, it is unlikely that any activity would have “no cost”, as stated in the NAP, and more accurate cost estimates should be made.⁴⁰

Finally, in the expired NAP, indicators exist only at an activity level, but not at a strategic objective or specific objective level. This allows only for the measurement of outputs (small, short-term changes), whereas overall impact (broader, long-term changes) remains unmeasured. Related, the NAP did not set clear baselines and targets, making changes and the achievement of objectives difficult to measure. Timeframes for the implementation of specific targets are nonspecific, making it difficult to track changes as well. Thus, several lessons can be learned from the prior NAP, which can inform the process of drafting the new one.

The National Coordinator’s official review of the prior NAP’s implementation draws several similar conclusions to inform the future NAP.⁴¹ The review recommends that further activities should be realized to raise awareness of judicial structures on international human rights standards and the use of case-law deriving from international conventions. Also, the implementation of the two sub-legal acts adopted to address the needs of perpetrators of domestic violence has lacked implementation due to a complete lack of infrastructure to implement these specific acts. In particular, institutions should seek to increase the accountability of practitioners, such as police, prosecutors, and judges to enhance their effectiveness by sanctioning their lack of accountability when failing to address domestic violence cases promptly. For example, these crimes should be reported immediately and any failure to do so should be considered a criminal offence if not reported. The report also found that in several instances the indicators proved too general and difficult to measure. These should be regularly monitored by the Office of the National Coordinator and Secretariat. The lack of ownership and sustainability of the Secretariat/Logistics Office as depending solely on donors should be a lessons learned from the former NAP. The future NAP should not depend on donor support and/or NGOs, but the government should allocate adequate resources for its implementation.

Meanwhile, KWN has conducted an independent review of the NAP’s implementation. While some institutions believed that it had been implemented, others had the impression it was only partially implemented or not implemented at all. KWN found a

“It’s been implemented only about 5% if you ask me. We do not need well-written strategies. We need strategies that can be implemented. The Strategy is very well-written, but the state needs to implement it. They need to allocate budget for its implementation.”

- NGO representative

general lack of knowledge among most institutions regarding the Program and NAP and their responsibilities under it. This likely obstructed its implementation.⁴² While later chapters discuss the implementation of the NAP by individual institutions and overall findings are summarized in Annex 2, the following sub-sections briefly summarize KWN’s findings.

Prevention

Strategic objective I seems to have been well-funded by both Kosovo and international institutions. A plethora of media, education, and awareness campaigns, including roundtables have been conducted on the topic of domestic violence and how to report it.⁴³ Interview respondents from institutions pointed to the role that media and women-led NGOs, particularly shelters, have played in increasing public awareness about domestic violence.⁴⁴ For example, VAs noted that the number of calls to their helpline always increased substantially during and immediately after awareness-campaigns. However, no known impact analyses were carried out to assess the extent to which campaigns increased awareness in the long-term (only at an immediate result level). Perhaps the best measure of this is this report, which suggests that awareness has increased slightly. Less evidence existed of programming for children about domestic violence. Although some theatre plays were organized on the topic, they did not always have the intention of implementing the NAP. The planned action to update “the current database including contribution by other institutions” has not been completed, and each institution continues to use its own system.⁴⁵ Further, some officials clearly did not know of their responsibilities to collect gender disaggregated data.⁴⁶

Protection

With regard to the second objective, funding was not secured to carry out the “study on the coverage map with services for victims.”⁴⁷ Nor have municipalities realized the plan to develop social housing for sheltering and protecting persons who suffered domestic violence, with the exception of Gjakova.⁴⁸ While coordination mechanisms have been set up in some municipalities, formal mechanisms do not exist across municipalities with the exception of the Shelter Coalition that refers persons suffering violence among shelters. A diverse array of trainings were organized for several institutions, as foreseen by the NAP.

While some police stations received equipment as foreseen, others said they still lacked sufficient equipment to carry out their duties. Respondents provided mixed information regarding the “Provision of sufficient space for stakeholders to handle cases of domestic violence from reporting to trial.” International support enabled the establishment of child friendly interview rooms in at least eight CSWs and seven police stations. Municipalities supported a few other rooms. However, respondents from CSWs, shelters, the prosecution, and healthcare centres spoke of insufficient space. Legal aid offices prepared and distributed brochures to inform people of their rights, as planned.⁴⁹ Several institutions involved in treating cases of domestic violence signed cooperation agreements, and SOPs established a more formal mechanism for cooperation among institutions.⁵⁰

Services: “Rehabilitation = 0”?⁵¹

A recurring theme among respondents was that the implementation of the third objective, related to rehabilitation and reintegration, was particularly lacking. Key challenges included the lack of options after shelter, inadequate economic opportunities for women, insufficient municipal financing for social housing, and the unavailability of psychosocial treatment for perpetrators. Most of these issues related to the lack of institutionalized financing via permanent budget lines. As noted in KWN’s prior research *At What Cost?*, while prevention and prosecution are fairly well funded because they are supported through existing institutions’ budgets, services under rehabilitation, reintegration, and, to some extent, protection are severely underfunded.⁵² Without proper rehabilitation and reintegration services, persons experiencing violence are at risk of recidivist violence. As a shelter representative commented, “Women who have no jobs and no place to go, go back to the circle of violence of the perpetrator [husband]. They get re-victimized.”

A closer look at individual actions foreseen in NAP suggests that some were implemented. The Ministry of Health collaborated with the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) to develop a medical protocol for treatment of cases of domestic violence, implemented since 2012.⁵³ Several healthcare workers were trained.⁵⁴ Some shelter representatives, though not all, received training on clinical cases, Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).⁵⁵ At least one training was organized for journalists on reporting on domestic violence,⁵⁶ though concern existed that media still do not report well on such cases.⁵⁷ Training also was held for

social workers in CSWs on issues related to domestic violence, healthcare, and social services for persons with special needs and victims.⁵⁸ However, no lasting economic programs seem to have been developed.⁵⁹ Persons suffering violence who are accommodated in shelters do have access to free medical examinations.⁶⁰ Vocational training and mediation in securing jobs also was made available for persons who suffered violence.⁶¹ While some donor-funded projects created some income for women, after projects closed, little evidence existed of sustainability and long-term impact. Respondents tended to agree that social services for persons who had suffered domestic violence had not been sufficiently “interlinked to programs for family empowerment,” albeit with a few exceptions in a couple municipalities.⁶² Shelters received minimal support from MLSW and donors for “offering rehabilitation and psychosocial services,”⁶³ but respondents tended not to consider it sufficient for providing all of the psychological support that persons who suffered domestic violence needed.⁶⁴

In accordance with the legal framework, free services, legal counselling, and legal protection should be available for persons who suffered domestic violence.⁶⁵ Respondents tended to agree that this was being implemented in collaboration with VAs and NGOs that provide free legal aid. However, the fact that several Legal Aid Offices have closed due to insufficient government funding and NGOs received reports of persons unable to access free legal aid, suggests that legal aid is not universally available. Employment offices, VTCs, NGOs, and donor-funded programs, have sought to offer services and professional qualifications for persons who suffered domestic violence, though the extent to which these qualifications matched with labour market demands and led survivors to secure jobs is unclear.⁶⁶ In sum, while implementation may not be “0” as suggested, perhaps its “0.5”, as in partially implemented.

Overall, KWN’s assessment of the implementation of the NAP suggests that 70.6% has been implemented.⁶⁷ Lessons learned from this experience should inform the new NAP.

Standard Operating Procures

Standard Operating Procures (SOPs) were adopted by the Kosovo National Coordinator against Domestic Violence in 2013.⁶⁸ This important document details the legal and institutional roles and responsibilities of independent institutions, courts, and the prosecution.⁶⁹ The Kosovo Judicial Council and Kosovo Prosecutorial Council, as independent institutions, did not sign the SOPs. This may mean that the SOPs technically interfere with the independence of these institutions.

Among the diverse respondents with which KWN has conducted interviews, police, VAs, and shelters seem to be the most informed about SOPs. Police officers, especially those working in Domestic Violence Investigation Units (DVIUs), are well trained within their institution and hence have knowledge. VAs and shelters work intensely with domestic violence cases and must know SOPs well in order for them to perform their duties. They also follow procedures from the beginning to end, following the extent to which SOPs are executed in practice. Prosecutors, courts, education institutions, CSWs, Employment Offices, VTCs, municipal institutions, NGOs, and health institutions are not well informed about SOPs.⁷⁰

Representatives of diverse institutions seem to find SOPs useful. Coordination seems to have improved with the SOPs, particularly in municipalities where municipal or regional coordination mechanisms have been established. With few exceptions, respondents tended to agree that SOPs were implemented, even though only a few know what SOPs are and their roles and responsibilities under them. Challenges include limited space in institutions to provide quality services and limited resources. One police officer also said that the forms foreseen to be used by SOPs had been distributed to all institutions except police. “These are very useful because they help you remember what to ask and tell a victim. [S]ometimes because of stress you can forget something.”⁷¹

Criminal Provisions related to Domestic Violence

The Criminal Code of Kosovo (CCK) does not offer a definition of domestic violence *per se*, though a number of criminal offences committed within a family relationship may be considered for prosecution of domestic violence acts. However, the CCK does provide a first time mention of

domestic violence in Kosovo's criminal provisions as an exemption. Two articles state, "Except for offenses involving child abuse and domestic violence, a person is not criminally liable..."⁷² In other words, failing to report child abuse or domestic violence is a criminal offence, and anyone who fails to report criminal offences occurring within a domestic relationship can be held criminally liable.

The CCK provides for *ex officio* (automatic) prosecution in crimes of light bodily injury, severe bodily injury, slavery-like conditions, forced labour, rape, and sexual assault when conducted in a domestic relationship.⁷³ The violation of protection orders also is considered a basis for *ex officio* prosecution, covered by the Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.⁷⁴

The novelty of the new CCK, adopted in 2012, are the definitions offered in defining the vulnerable victim and the Victim's Compensation Fund. A "vulnerable victim" is considered a child, a physically or mentally handicapped person, a person suffering from diminished capacity, a pregnant woman, and a domestic partner.⁷⁵ A domestic partner is drawn from the definition of domestic relationship defined as a:

relationship between two (2) persons: who are engaged or married to each other or are co-habiting with each other without marriage; who share a primary household in common and who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption or are in a guardian relationship, including parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins; or who are the parents of a common child.⁷⁶

Further, the Victim's Compensation Fund is a fund that should be used to compensate crime victims financially and should be set up by forfeited bail and other authorized assets deposited under the law. In practice, however, this Compensation Fund does not function. The government drafted a Law for Crime Victim Compensation recently adopted by the Kosovo Assembly.⁷⁷ The Law for Crime Victim Compensation enlists the right to compensation for all victims of violent intentional crime and their dependants, the claiming procedure, and the decision-making authorities.⁷⁸ According to this Law, a "crime victim" means a person whose personal or property rights are violated by a criminal offence as defined by the Criminal Procedure Code.⁷⁹ The Law also envisages the formal and material conditions for eligibility to compensation, which should be duly fulfilled by the applicant.⁸⁰ However, it addresses all crime victims without specifically providing any special treatments for persons who suffered gender-based violence or domestic violence specifically. The Crime Victim Compensation Program should be financed by the Ministry of Justice and its annual budget allocation. Judges should set forth compensation for victims. KWN has not found any evidence of compensation being provided.⁸¹ Kosovo institutions may have denied persons who suffered gender-based violence from realizing their right to compensation in practice, even though this right was enlisted by the Criminal Code and the Civil Code in the past.

The Criminal Code defines a number of other criminal offences committed in a domestic relationship that may be considered as a basis for criminal prosecution. However, not all domestic violence acts defined by the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence are included in the Criminal Code. The criminal offences committed in a domestic relationship that are foreseen for prosecution if committed in a domestic relationship include: light bodily injury; grievous bodily injury; harassment; assault; kidnapping; coercion; unlawful deprivation of liberty; rape, including marital rape and sexual assault; degradation of sexual integrity; sexual abuse of persons with mental or emotional disorders or disabilities in a domestic relationship; mistreating or abandoning a child; and acts of violating family obligations, including avoiding child support.⁸² In relation to a domestic relationship, criminal provisions also forbid the holding of a person in slavery, slavery-like conditions, and forced labour.⁸³

While interview respondents tended to state that the Criminal Code provisions related to domestic violence are being implemented, some felt that they were only partially implemented, citing the slow treatment of cases, poor execution of sentences, nepotism, and low sentencing as issues. Some respondents felt that it was not implemented at all, particularly punishments for different forms of psychological and sexual violence in domestic relationships, including against children.

The Kosovo Criminal Procedure Code obliges public entities to report crimes that should be prosecuted *ex officio*. When social workers, healthcare workers, or teachers come across a case in which they suspect child abuse or domestic violence has occurred, particularly criminal offences against sexual integrity, they should report cases immediately. A failure to report criminal offences also constitutes a criminal offence.⁸⁴

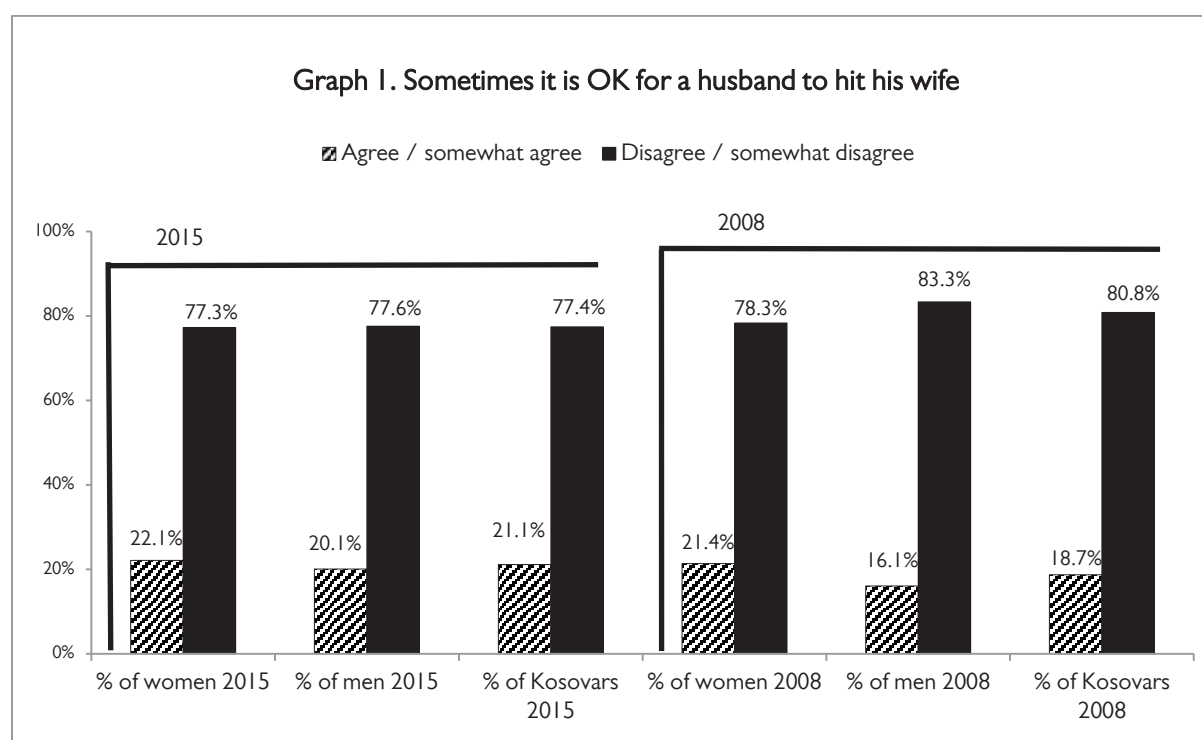
Additionally, the new Kosovo Criminal Procedure Code has undergone substantial changes in relation to victims' rights by enhancing the role of VAs to represent all victims of crime.⁸⁵ As the new Code has removed the right of the victim to private prosecution, this measure has been viewed as a balancing measure.⁸⁶ The right to private prosecution by the victim has been removed from the new Code in order to comply with the state obligation to prosecute crimes and protect its citizens.⁸⁷ The new Code authorises VAs to represent all victims of crime in court proceedings. If a victim does not have her or his own attorney, a victim's interests may be represented by the VA.⁸⁸ Since 2003 VAs have represented victims of trafficking and domestic violence in the courtroom. However, with the new Code, the injured party or victim are considered the same, defined as "a person whose personal or property rights are violated or endangered by a criminal offence." The VAs' enhanced role also foresees the right to request on behalf of the victim clarification of damages and the amount of requested compensation by filing a simple declaration of damages.⁸⁹ The claimed damages may be physical, financial, emotional, and may enlist any life changing circumstances.⁹⁰ The claim should be filed during the investigatory stage or within 60 days of filing the indictment by the prosecutor. A form for claims for damages is also available online on the official state prosecutor's website. The form details the procedures for a declaration of damages. Further research is needed on how these changes have impacted practice regarding the enhanced role of VAs, including in protecting persons who have suffered domestic violence.

PERCEPTIONS

Awareness and Attitudes towards Domestic Violence

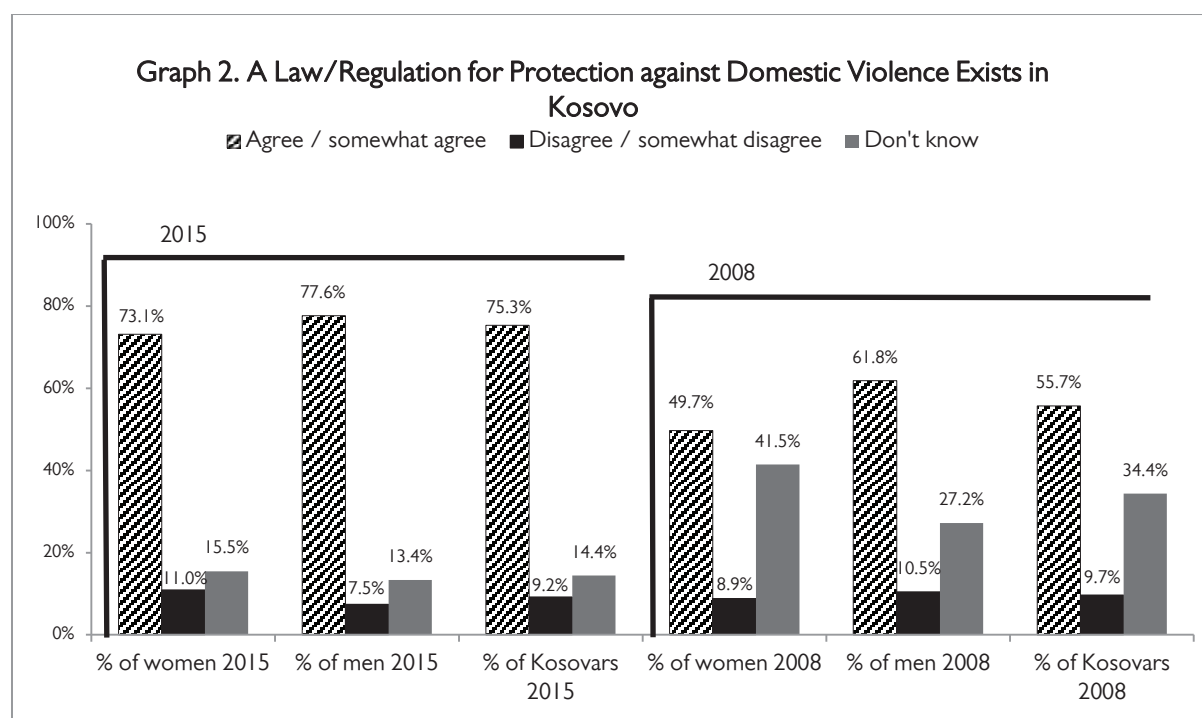
Respondents from the diverse institutions interviewed tended to agree that since 2008 awareness has improved with regard to domestic violence, at least partially, among both citizens and institutions. Others disagreed, feeling that people still do not understand domestic violence and its different forms. Some respondents expressed concern that particular demographic groups, such as women and persons with disabilities, lack awareness and knowledge about domestic violence. While these findings are based on institutions' impressions, this section examines the *actual* Kosovo-wide survey results, providing more accurate information regarding citizens' awareness and attitudes towards domestic violence.

Survey data suggest that the situation has worsened in that 21.1% of Kosovars believe that "sometimes it is OK for a husband to hit his wife," compared to 18.7% in 2008.⁹¹ As Graph I illustrates, slight changes have occurred among persons of different genders. In 2015, a slightly higher percentage of men agree or somewhat agree (20.1%) that it is okay for a husband to hit his wife, compared to 2008 (16.9%).⁹² At the same time, the percentage of men who disagree or somewhat disagree with this statement has decreased from 83.3% in 2008 to 77.6% in 2015. Further, 22% of women agree or somewhat agree that it is okay for a husband to sometimes hit his wife. Unlike men, women's perceptions have remained fairly consistent over time.⁹³ This concerning finding suggests an increased potential for violence among men.



As mentioned, since the 2008 survey, a new Law on Protection against Domestic Violence has been adopted, taking the place of the prior UNMIK Regulation on protection against domestic violence. In 2008, 55.7% of Kosovars (61.8% of men and 49.7% of women) agreed or somewhat agreed that such a regulation existed, whereas 9.7% did not believe that it existed and 34.4% did not know (see Graph 2). In 2015, knowledge seems to have improved; 75.3% of Kosovars (77.6% of men and 73.1% of women) agree that a Law on Protection against Domestic Violence exists. Even so, 9.2%

of Kosovars do not think that such a law exists and 14.4% are unsure. This suggests that further awareness-raising is needed.

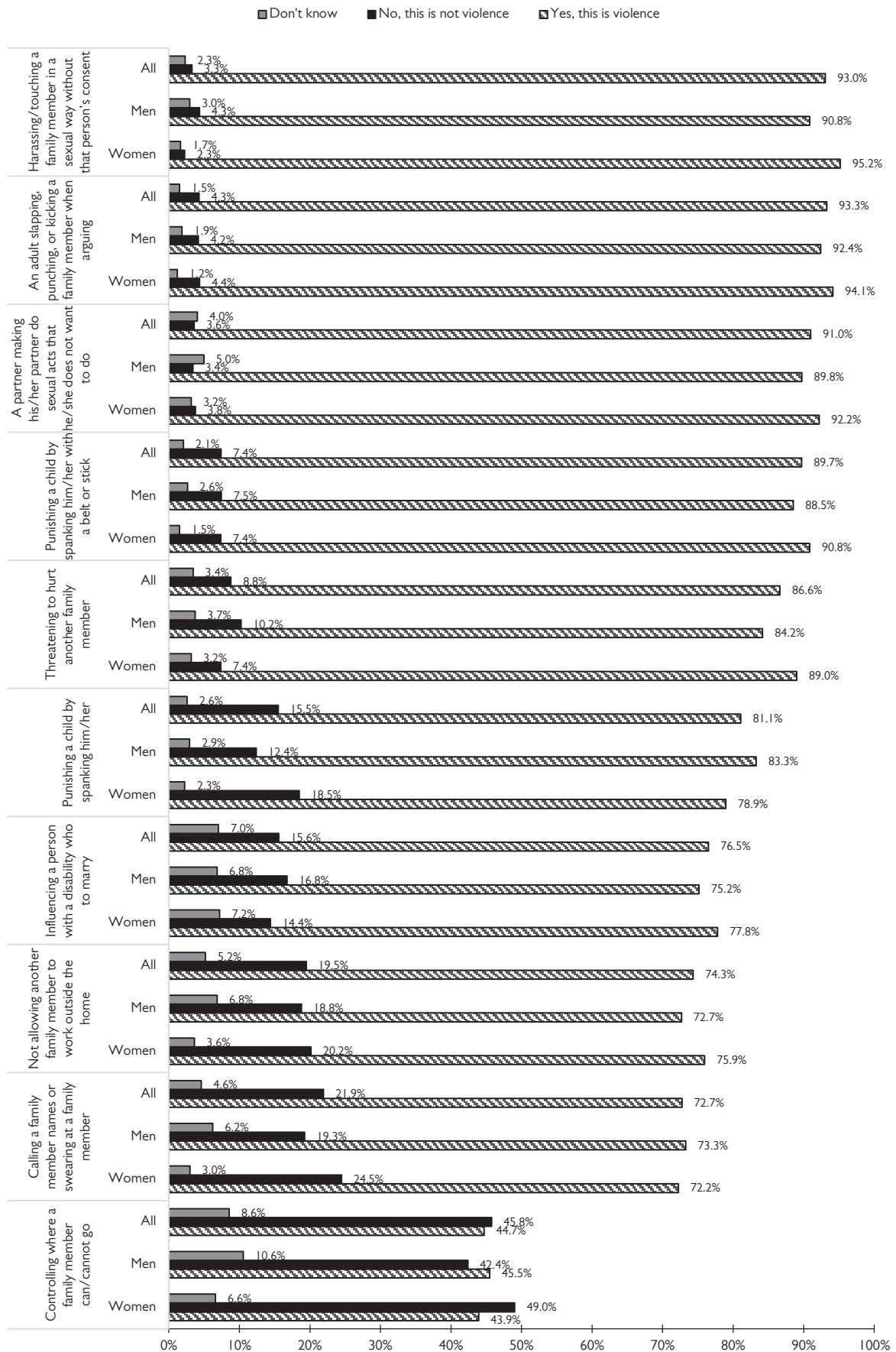


What Do People Think Constitutes Domestic Violence?

Graph 3 displays several types of violence that could occur within a domestic relationship. Controlling where a family member can or cannot go is a form of psychological violence that may involve physical or economic violence as well. However, only 44.7% of Kosovars consider controlling a person's movement a form of violence. More men (46%) and rural respondents (47%) agree that this is a form of domestic violence than women (44%) and urban respondents (42%).⁹⁴

With regard to other forms of psychological violence, 72.7% of Kosovars consider calling a family member names or swearing at a family member violence. Albanian respondents are more likely than Serb respondents or other ethnic minorities to believe that calling a family member names or swearing at a family member is a form of domestic violence.⁹⁵ Not allowing another family member to work outside the home is violence for 74.3% of respondents. Albanians are more likely to consider this violence than Serbs or members of other ethnic groups living in Kosovo. Respondents with a higher level of income have a higher probability of considering "not allowing a family member to work outside home" domestic violence.⁹⁶ Threatening to hurt another family member is considered a form of violence by 86.6% of Kosovars. Women are more likely than men to consider this domestic violence, as are respondents with higher levels of income. Albanians consider it domestic violence, whereas members of other ethnic groups do not.⁹⁷

Graph 3. Perceptions of which Interactions Constitute Domestic Violence

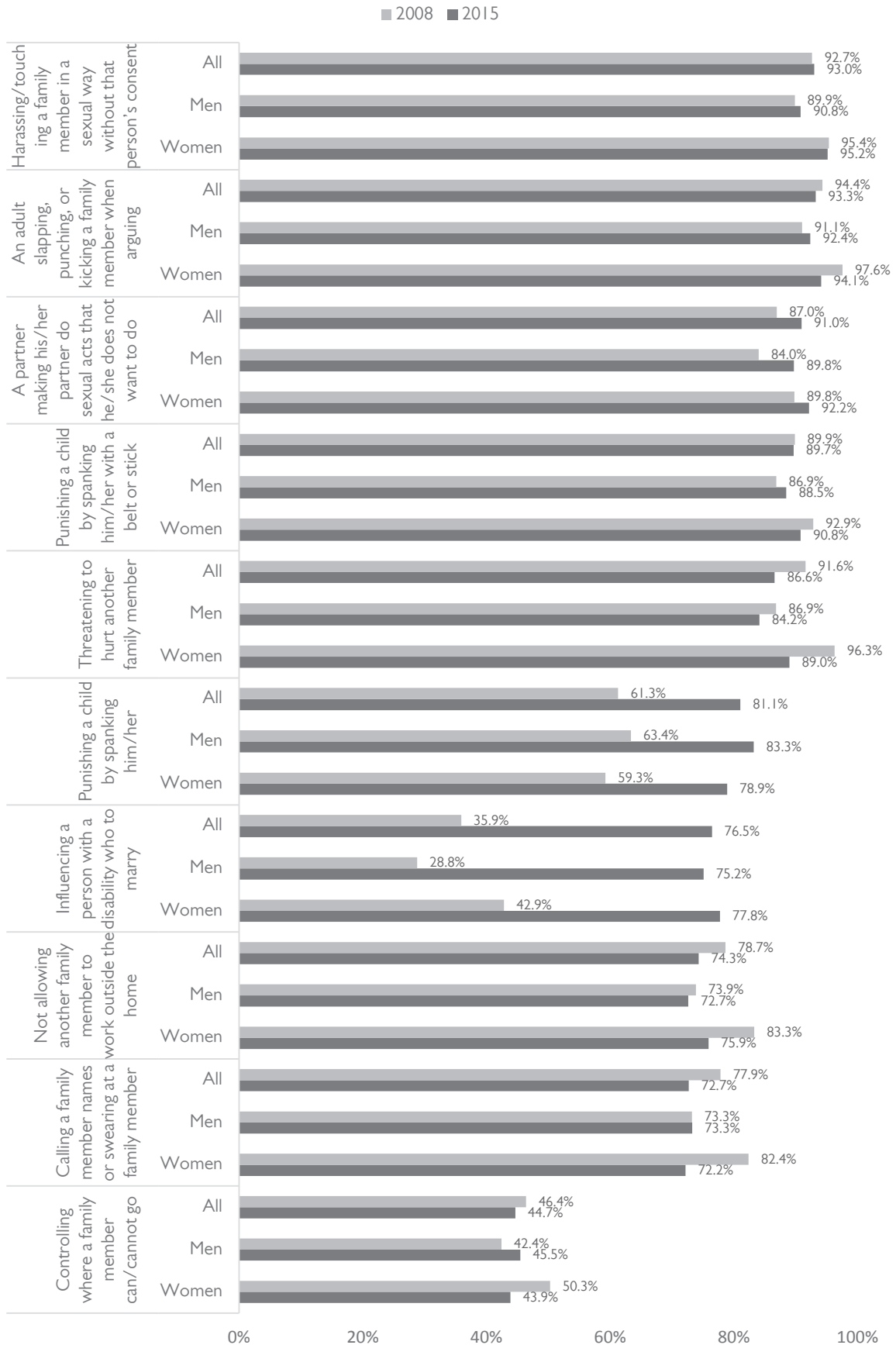


Physical violence tends to be more commonly considered a form of domestic violence, including punishing a child by spanking him or her (81.1%); punishing a child by spanking him or her with a belt or stick (89.7%); a partner making his or her partner do sexual acts that he or she does not want to do (91%), harassing or touching a family member in a sexual way without that person's consent (93%), and an adult slapping, punching, or kicking a family member when arguing (93.3%). Albanian respondents consider the latter an act of domestic violence, whereas Serbs and members of other ethnic minorities tend not to consider it violence.⁹⁸ With regard to physical abuse of children, younger respondents and Albanian respondents were more likely to agree that punishing a child by spanking him or her is domestic violence.⁹⁹

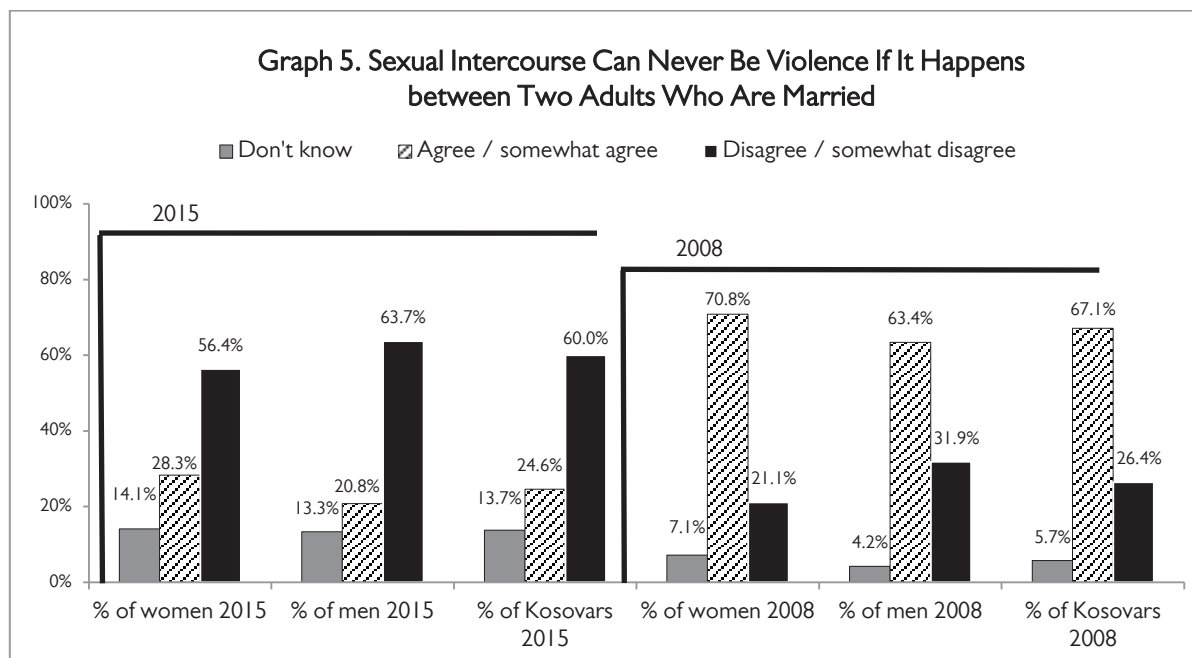
There was a statistically significant relationship between gender and whether respondents consider harassing or touching a family member in a sexual way without that person's consent a form of domestic violence. Women (96%) were more likely than men (92%) to consider this a form of domestic violence. Further, younger people, Albanians, and respondents from higher income levels were more likely to consider this domestic violence.¹⁰⁰ Although the vast majority of respondents consider that one partner making his/her partner do sexual acts that he/she does not want to do a form of domestic violence, there was no statistically significant relationship between gender and whether the respondent held this belief. Albanians (compared to members of non-Serb ethnic communities) and respondents with higher levels of income were more likely to consider this domestic violence.¹⁰¹

As Graph 4 illustrates, some perceptions regarding what constitutes domestic violence have not shifted substantially since 2008, such as harassing or touching a family member in a sexual way without that person's consent; an adult slapping, punching, or kicking a family member when arguing; or punishing a child by spanking him or her with a belt or stick. The vast majority of Kosovars continue to identify these as forms of violence. Substantially more people now consider punishing a child by spanking him or her (from 61.3% to 81.1%) or influencing a person with a disability who to marry (from 35.9% to 76.5%) domestic violence. Further, there seems to have been a slight increase in the percentage of the population that consider as violence threatening to hurt another family member (from 86.6% to 91.6%); and a partner making his or her partner do sexual acts that he or she does not want to do (from 87% in 2008 to 91% in 2015).

Graph 4. Comparing Perceptions of which Interactions Respondents Think Constitute Domestic Violence in 2008 and 2015



Some views with regard to sexual violence appear to have shifted substantially in recent years. In 2008, 67.1% of Kosovars agreed that “sexual intercourse can never be violence if it happens between two adults who are married,” whereas 24.6% agree with this statement in 2015 (see Graph 5). A slightly higher percentage of men disagreed with this statement (63.7%) than women (56.4%), though the statistical relationship is insignificant.



On the other hand, as illustrated in Graph 4 above, people seem to have become more conservative with regard to their understanding of most forms of economic and psychological violence. While 78.7% of respondents considered not allowing another family member to work outside the home a form of violence in 2008, now 74.3% consider this a form of violence. The percentage of people who consider calling a family member names or swearing at a family member a form of violence has decreased from 77.9% in 2008 to 72.7% in 2015, as has the percentage of people that believe controlling where a family member can or cannot go is violence (from 46.4% to 44.7%).¹⁰²

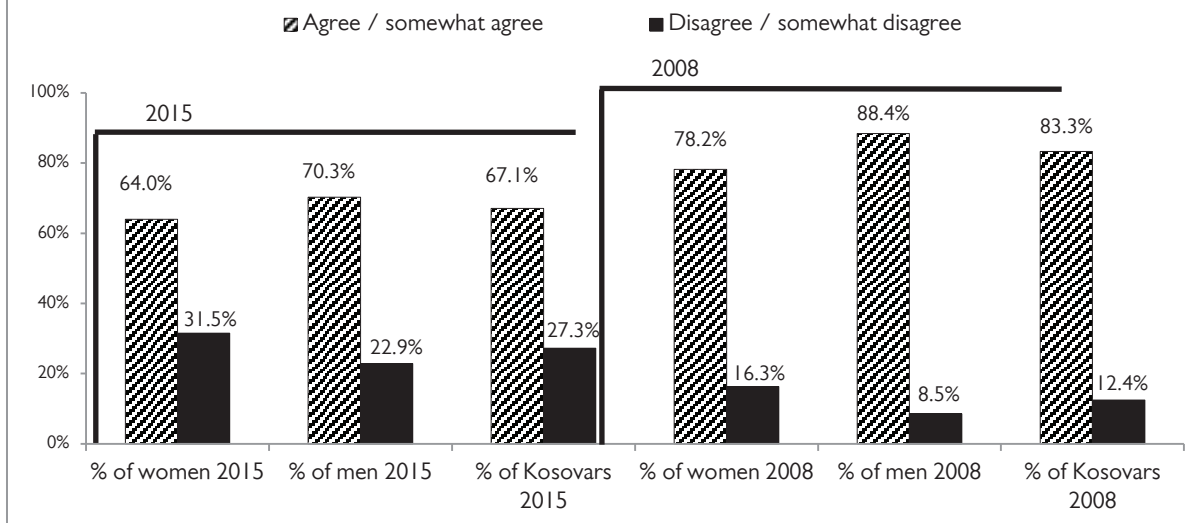
Still a Shameful, Private Matter?

Most Kosovars believe that domestic violence is a shameful behaviour; 88.3% agree that “any man who hits his wife should be ashamed of himself.” However, a small percentage of the population (8.2%) continues to believe that hitting one’s wife is okay. In 2008, 82.1% of respondents agreed that “if neighbours knew a family had violence happening inside, they would consider it shameful.” This pointed to social constraints obstructing the reporting of domestic violence, as people did not want to feel ashamed in the company of their neighbours. This belief seems to have changed to some extent, as fewer Kosovars (67.1%) agree with this statement in 2015. This suggests that fewer people consider domestic violence “shameful” to hear or talk about, compared to 2008. Men still appear more likely than women to consider domestic violence shameful, though more men have changed their opinions since 2008 (see Graph 6).¹⁰³

**“People talk more about it now.
It’s no longer a family secret.”**

- Gender Equality Officer

Graph 6. "If Neighbors Knew that a Family Had Violence Happening Inside, They Would Consider It Shameful"



The idea that domestic “violence is a normal part of any relationship, and society in general accepts that violence happens sometimes” remains present (29.9%). Further, 31.3% of Kosovars still believe that domestic violence is “a family matter, so neighbours shouldn’t report it to police.” This could be among the factors contributing to under-reporting. Indeed family pressure to keep issues “within the family” led some women to endure violence.¹⁰⁴ As a respondent recalled, “One woman reported a case of marital rape. We encouraged her to pursue the case at the relevant institutions, but she refused to pursue it due to pressure from her family.”¹⁰⁵

“If you hear a noise at your neighbors’, you can call the police if you hear something big, but it’s better to let them solve it themselves.”

- Woman, age 43, Malisheva

Most Kosovars (88.9%) agree that “perpetrators of family violence are guilty and should be punished by law,” though 7.2% disagree. Yet, 61.7% of Kosovars believe “if there is violence in a family, the woman should go to a shelter or her family, while the man should stay at home till the issue is resolved.”

Perceived Causes of Domestic Violence

People’s perceptions as to why domestic violence occurs may not be accurate or actual causes. As the title of this report suggests, there is never any excuse for domestic violence. Even so, it is important to understand common beliefs so that they may be addressed through awareness-raising efforts. As Graph 7 illustrates, the most commonly cited causes of domestic violence are unemployment (identified by 67.2% of respondents) and, related, the bad economic situation within a family (63.4%). For 52.3% of men (only 27.8% of women), alcohol is a major cause of domestic violence. Men (36.5%) also consider lack of education, marriage against one’s will (34.3%), and trauma from the war in Kosovo (33.7%) main causes of violence. A higher percentage of women consider arguments or disagreements that become too intensive (33.8%) a main reason for domestic violence. However, a

WHAT CAUSES DOMESTIC VIOLENCE?

“Morality: it’s hard for women to keep it, so they ask for trouble.” - Woman, age 39, Prizren

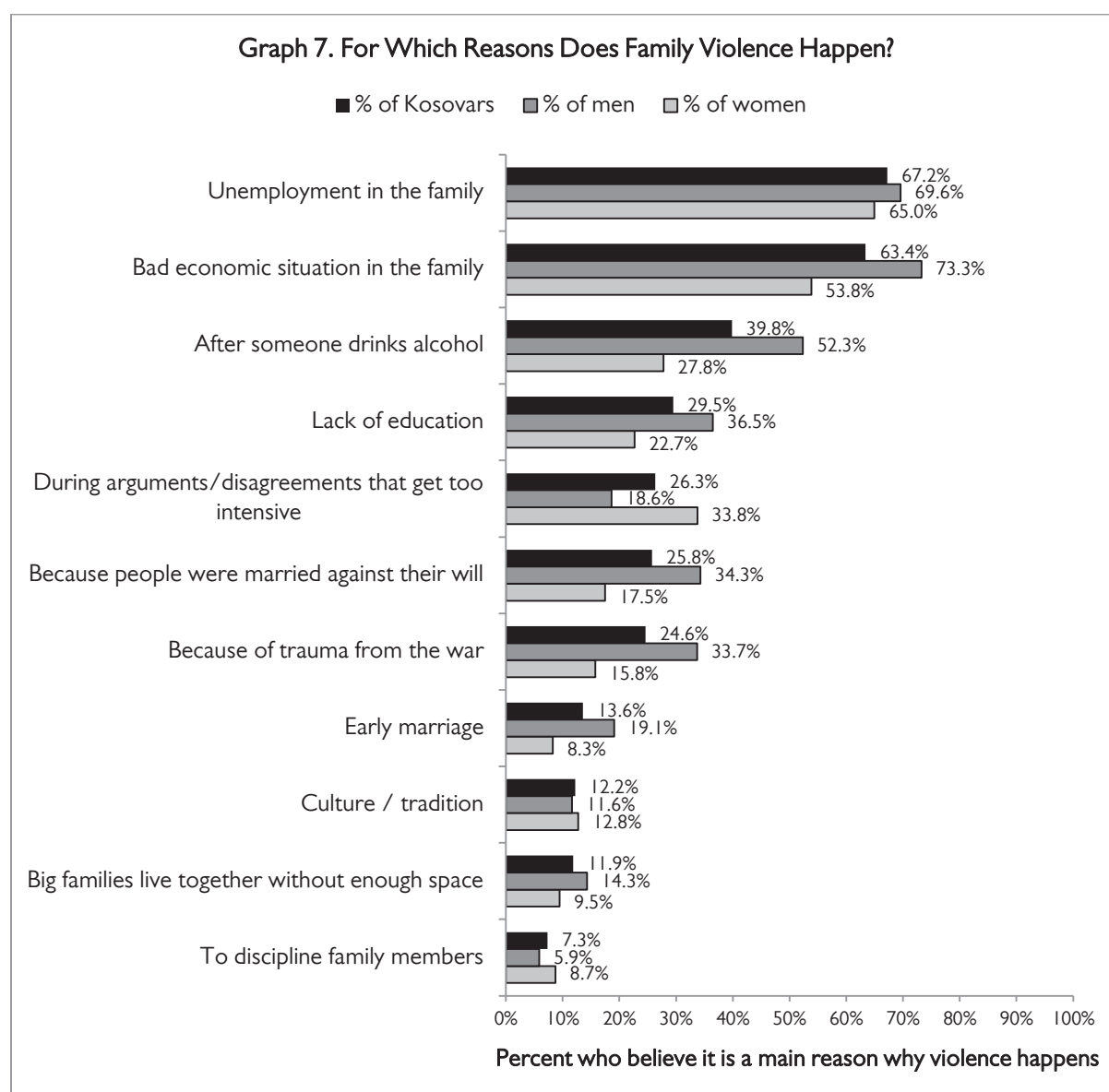
“When the oldest person in the family [man] doesn’t put rules/order.” - Woman, age 42, Prizren

“Husbands go with other women, spend money, don’t take care of the children, etc.” - Man, age 64, Kamenica

“Because the woman cannot cross the line and disagree with her husband.” - Woman, age 52

“Depends on the traditions where the family was raised.” - Woman, age 43, Ferizaj

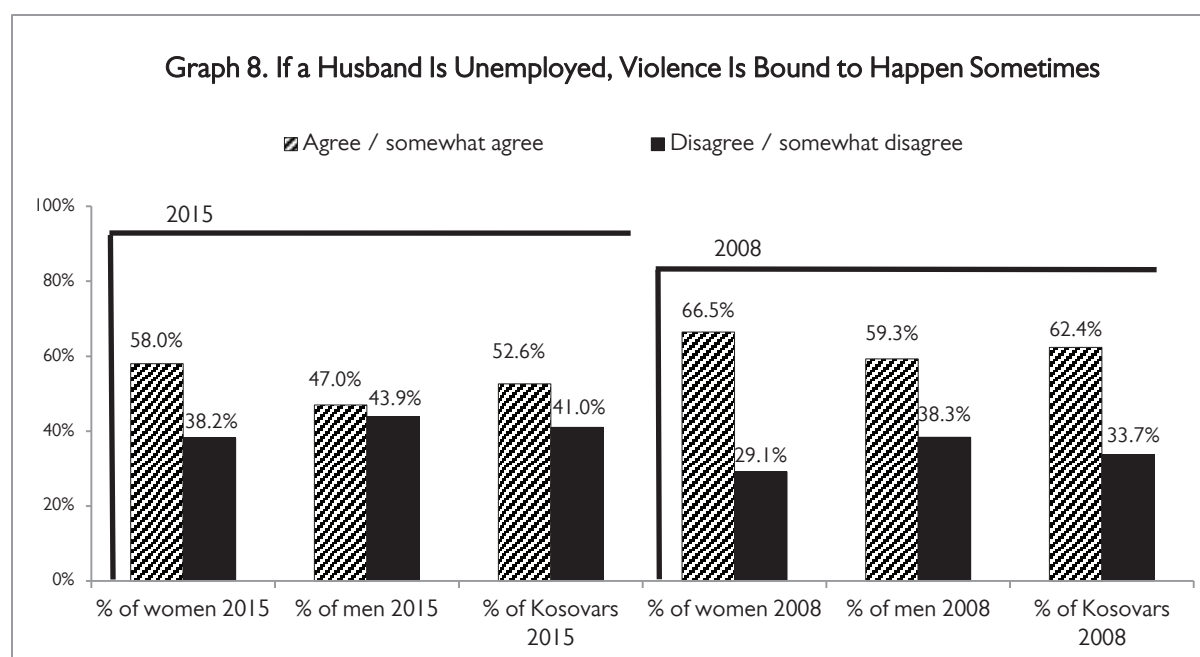
separate question on the survey suggests that fewer Kosovars believe “it is natural that physical violence happens sometimes when a couple argues” than in prior years; 31.8% of respondents agree with this statement in 2015, compared to 35.2% in 2008. No significant difference seems to exist between women and men.¹⁰⁶



Fewer people consider early marriage (13.6%), culture or tradition (12.2%), big families living together with insufficient space (11.9%), or the need to discipline family members (7.3%) causes of domestic violence. In addition to these options provided on the survey, respondents added jealousy by partners, adultery, mental illness, drugs, and gambling as other potential causes of domestic violence. Other less commonly mentioned perceived causes include: fashion (e.g., miniskirts), lack of morality, women’s lack of information regarding their rights, inferiority complexes, insufficient emancipation of women (and, in contrast, women’s emancipation), technology (e.g., violence on television, including soap operas), lack of love between couples, women’s unfavourable position in society, excessive wealth, naivety, and lack of children. Perceptions regarding the main causes of domestic violence have not changed much since 2008, though in 2015 a higher percentage of respondents tend to agree with every potential reason.

The Economic Situation and Unemployment

When interviewed representatives of institutions reflected on believed causes of domestic violence, recurring themes were “economic causes,” unemployment, and difficult social conditions. Further, more than half the population (52.6%) seems to believe that “if a husband is unemployed, violence is bound to happen sometimes.” More women agree this statement (58%) than men (47%).¹⁰⁷ Overall, the percentage of the population agreeing with this statement has decreased slightly since 2008, when 62.4% of respondents agreed.



However, evidence points against these perceptions. As one respondent commented, “People think that domestic violence happens only in rural areas and in poor families, but this is not true. It happens among intellectuals with high positions as well.”¹⁰⁸ Survey data indeed contradict the common belief that unemployment leads to violence. In particular, respondents whose partners were employed with salaries were actually significantly more likely to experience domestic violence in 2014.¹⁰⁹ This relationship suggests that when the partner is employed violence will still occur. It should be noted that when restricting the sample to women only, the relationship between experiencing violence and the employment status of the partner becomes statistically insignificant.

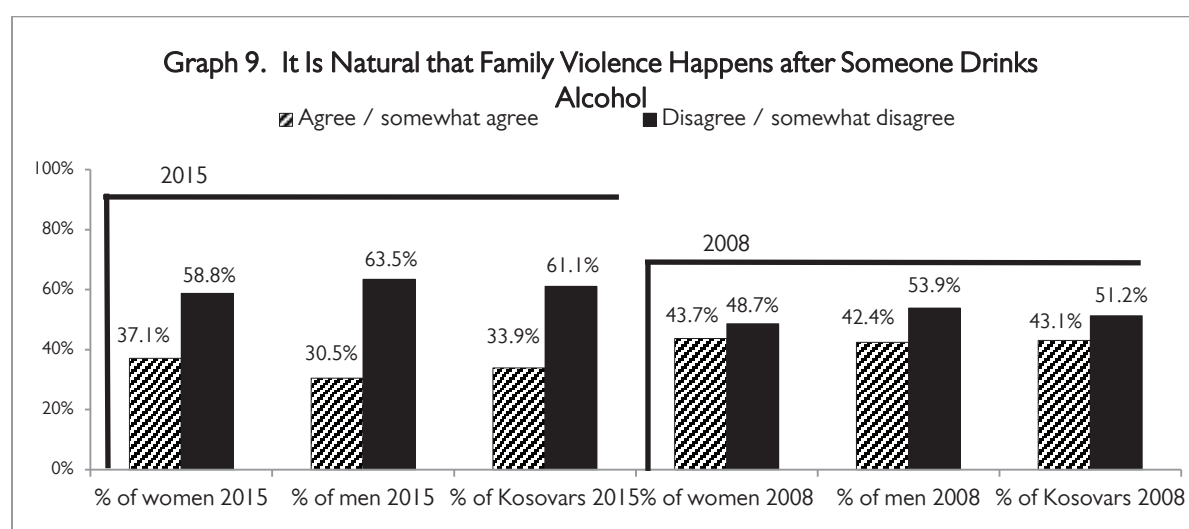
While unemployment or a difficult economic situation may not cause domestic violence, women’s financial dependency on men may make it difficult to leave a violent home situation and place women at risk of continued domestic violence.¹¹⁰ In Kosovo, only 21.1% of women participate in the labour market compared to 61.8% of men.¹¹¹ No other country in Europe has so few women participating in the labour market as Kosovo.¹¹² Less than 10% of businesses are led by women and only 3% of credits go to women as women tend to possess less collateral than men, owning an estimated 8-10% of all property.¹¹³ As a Director of a Directorate for Social Welfare elaborated:

I believe that women are dependent on men and as long as they are dependent, they do not even dare to report cases. There are also cases where they do not know where to report, but mostly they do not dare to report a case because the father of the family tells them, “You are married. We do not have the means to support you. Now you also have children. You have your own life. You have to be submissive towards your husband just for some bread in the mouth.”¹¹⁴

Several interview respondents pointed to the lack of long-term solutions, including shelter and economic wellbeing, as key reasons why women will not report violence. Others noted that ensuring women's economic independence could enable them to leave violent home situations: "We need more day care centres near workplaces for women to be able to get jobs and be economically independent from men."¹¹⁵ Thus while economic issues do not *cause* domestic violence, they may contribute to women's inability to report violence or to leave violent home situations.

Alcohol and Drugs

The possibility that alcohol and drugs can contribute to domestic violence is foreseen within the existing legal framework and is the basis for the availability of measures within protection orders for the treatment of perpetrators for alcoholism and abuse of psychotropic substances. Fewer Kosovars believe that "it is natural that family violence happens after someone drinks alcohol" in 2015 (33.9%) than in 2008 (43%). Slightly more women (37.1% of women) than men (30.5%) agreed that alcohol contributes to domestic violence.¹¹⁶



"Women Ask for It": Social and Cultural Norms, including Patriarchy

There was a belief among a few respondents that women must respect their husbands. Their failure to do so would contribute to violence in the family. As one respondent said:

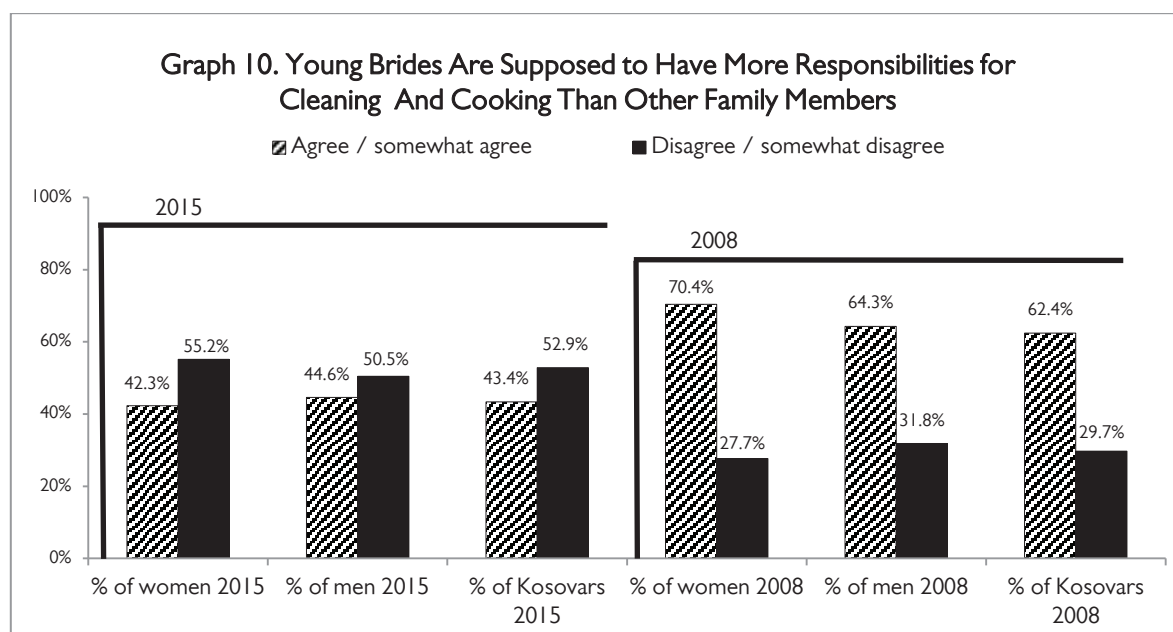
The wife must be obedient. She should take care of her husband and children. She should not create situations for the husband to raise his hand against her. She's not at her house. She's at her husband's house. That's why she should keep her head down. Before, my husband beat me when I argued with him or with my mother-in-law, when lunch was not ready, when children made trouble. In our old age there was no violence, but there were insults. My husband suffered from diabetes, so I had to maintain his mood. When he was agitated, I left the house until he calmed down. A woman should know her place. She needs to listen to her husband's word. There is no need for women's houses. Women should be quiet.¹¹⁷

"Women should be more careful because it's not the same: being in her husband's house and being in her father's house. If the husband works and finances the entire family, the woman should listen to them."

- Woman, age 44, Obilic

Another respondent commented that "60-70% of women deserve to be beaten."¹¹⁸ While such beliefs appear not to be prevalent in Kosovo, the aforementioned comments illustrate that such views still exist.

According to Albanian tradition, new brides within the family (“nuse” in Albanian) should take on the lion’s share of cooking, cleaning, and caretaking within the family (see Graph 10). In 2008, 62.4% of respondents (64.3% of men and 70.4% of women) believed that “young brides are supposed to have more responsibilities for cleaning and cooking than other family members.” In 2015, 43.4% of respondents (42.3% of women and 44.6% of men) agreed with this statement, suggesting a decrease in the prevalence of this tradition. Even so, power relations within families whereby young women have lesser roles in decision-making remain widespread. Survey respondents also noted that domestic violence can result from “mothers-in-laws not having good relations with their daughters-in-law.”



Many societies impose particular gender roles on women and men regarding how they should “behave.” Gender stereotypes often contribute to limited choices and opportunities in life for women in relation to education, employment, and health. Gender-based discrimination affects how women are positioned within society, impacting their social, political, and economic involvement. Patriarchy refers to the social system of a society (prevalent in Kosovo and most societies in the world) in which men tend to wield more power than women. Not only men reinforce a patriarchal system; as the aforementioned quotations illustrate, women often promote the traditional norms of patriarchal societies. Without addressing patriarchy, gender inequalities in society, and male power as root causes, it is difficult to address domestic violence. Indeed, several interview respondents cited culture, mentality, and/or patriarchal families as causes of domestic violence.

Who Takes Decisions within Families?

Related, who takes decisions within a family can indicate the power relations that exist within the family and which family members may be more at risk of violence as a result of those power relations. Who takes decisions over financial matters within a family can signal the extent to which other family members have decision-making power. This could point to a potential for economic or psychological violence. KWN’s 2008 research indicated that women do not take part in decision-making within families to the same extent as men, and Kosovar family units are still predominantly led by men.¹¹⁹ In 2015, men remained the primary decision-makers in approximately one-third of Kosovo families.¹²⁰

Further, how families handle conflicts internally can serve as an indicator as to whether the family may be prone to resolve disagreements using violence. As Graph 11 illustrates, if someone else in the family disagrees with the “decision-maker”, approximately half of Kosovar families have a discussion and then take a decision together. Approximately 32% of families (35% of men respondents and 28% of women respondents) said that “nothing” happens if someone disagrees with the “decision-maker”.

This suggests disagreeing with the decision-maker has no impact whatsoever on the decision that is ultimately taken. In other words, family members may have little influence in decisions taken.

Ten percent of Kosovars (14% of women and 6% of men) said that the decision-maker becomes angry if someone disagrees; five percent (8% of women and 2% of men) said that the decision-maker yells and shouts at persons who argue; and one percent (primarily women) said that the decision-maker may physically harm the person who argues. Two percent of women explicitly stated that “you cannot object” to what the decision-maker decides.

“No one can say a word.”

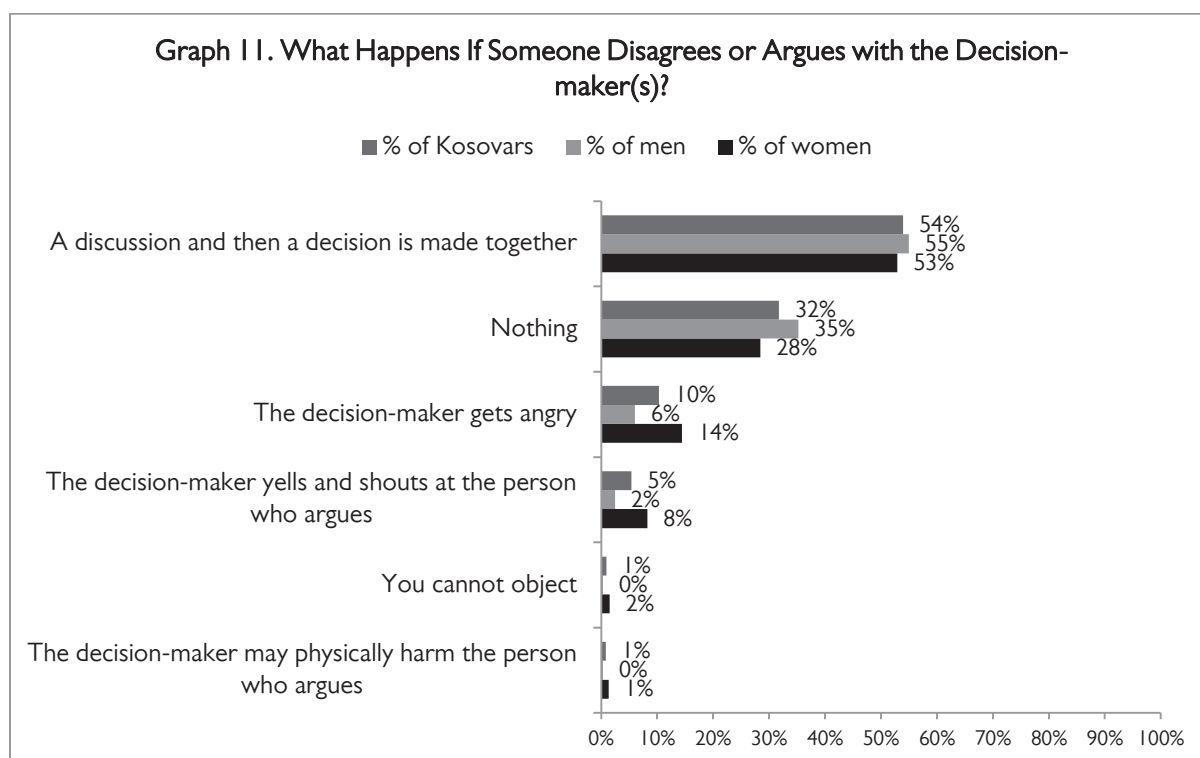
– Man, age 29, Zvecan

“I don’t disobey. What he says is done.”

– Woman, age 53, Skenderaj

“I always agree with my husband. I don’t want to make problems.”

– Woman, age 58, Dragash



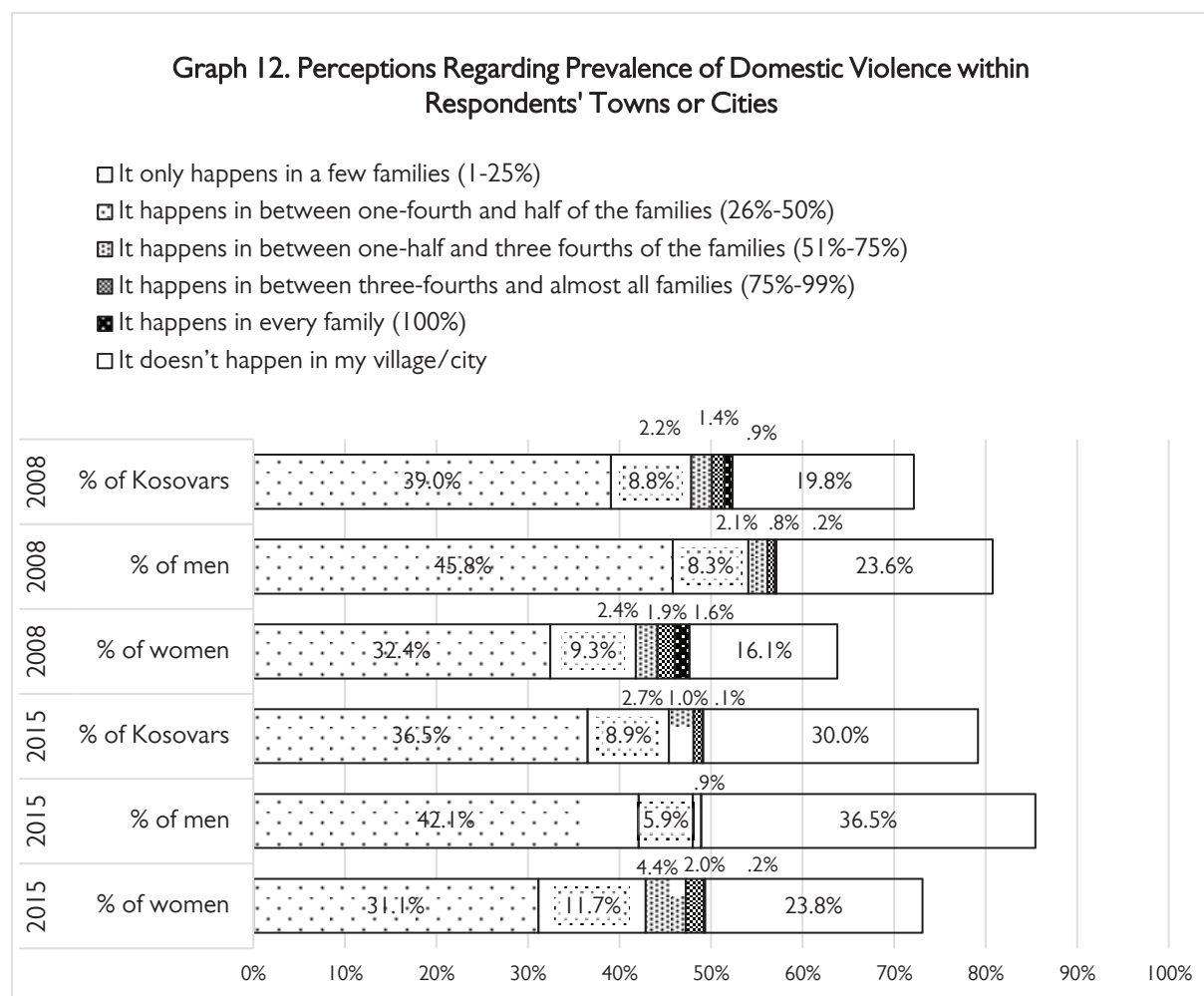
In conclusion, on some issues such as violence against children, physical violence, and sexual violence, public awareness seems to have improved since 2008. In other areas relating to economic and psychological violence, Kosovars seem to have become slightly more conservative. Perceptions that unemployment, the bad economic situation, alcohol, insufficient education, disagreements, and culture contribute to domestic violence remain fairly widespread. Clearer messages must be put forth that there is never any excuse for domestic violence. Additional, targeted awareness-raising is necessary to further educate citizens about their rights and the forms of protection available.

PERVASIVENESS

The Extent of Domestic Violence

Representatives of institutions tended to agree that domestic violence remains widespread in Kosovo. In both 2008 and 2015, survey respondents were asked to estimate the prevalence of domestic violence in their town or city. While perceptions of the extent of domestic violence are not necessarily reflective of *real* prevalence in a given location, they can be useful in understanding the extent to which people *feel* that domestic violence is an issue in their community. It can also serve as a gauge for the violence occurring around respondents. Further, if respondents believe that domestic violence occurs in all families, it signals that violence most likely is happening in their family, though they need not say this directly to interviewers.

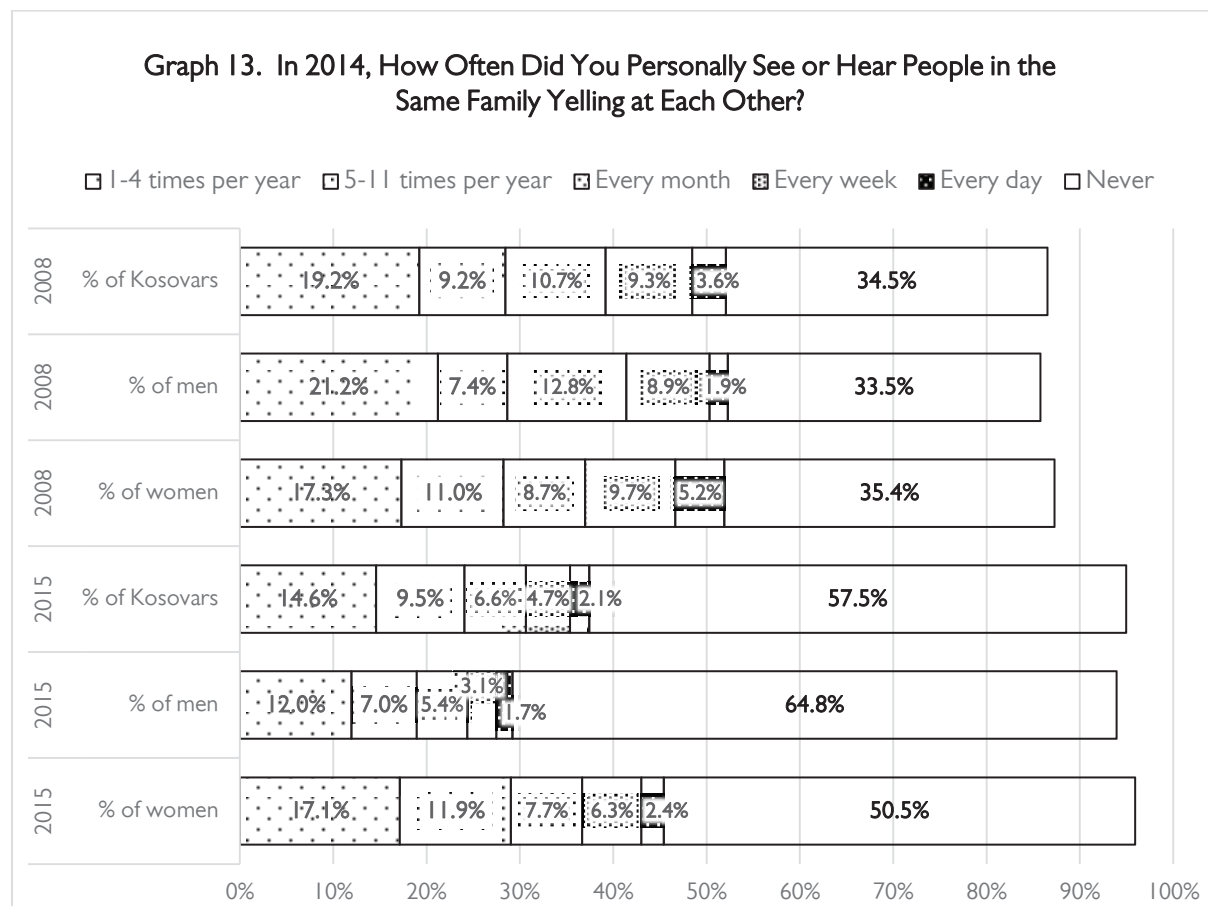
In Graph 12, dotted bars show the extent of domestic violence that respondents believe exists in their communities. More dots within the bars indicate the belief that more instances of violence exist within their communities. Thus the darkest dotted bar indicates the percentage of people that believed domestic violence occurs in every family in their town or city, whereas the empty bar indicates the percentage of people who think that no violence exists. The remaining percentage of the sample not represented visually here said that they did not know.



By summing the percentages within the individual bars up to the darkest bar, one can note that 49.1% of Kosovars in 2015, compared to 52.3% in 2008, believe that violence is occurring in one or more families within their city or town. In both 2008 and 2015, a higher percentage of women seem to

believe that violence is occurring in more families than men.¹²¹ In 2015, a higher percentage of men (36.5%) said that domestic violence did not happen at all in their town or city, compared to the percentage of women who believed similarly (23.8%).

Graph 13 illustrates the percentage of respondents, women and men, who have heard people in the same family yelling at each other in 2014 and 2008, respectively. Findings are presented in a similar way to the prior graph with more dots indicating additional domestic violence heard to be occurring. Here the dots refer to how often respondents heard people in the same family yelling at each other, with categories ranging from one to four times per year to every day. The final section of the bar again refers to the percentage of people who never heard people in the same family yell at each other in the last year. Respondents may have referred to yelling within their own family or in another family.

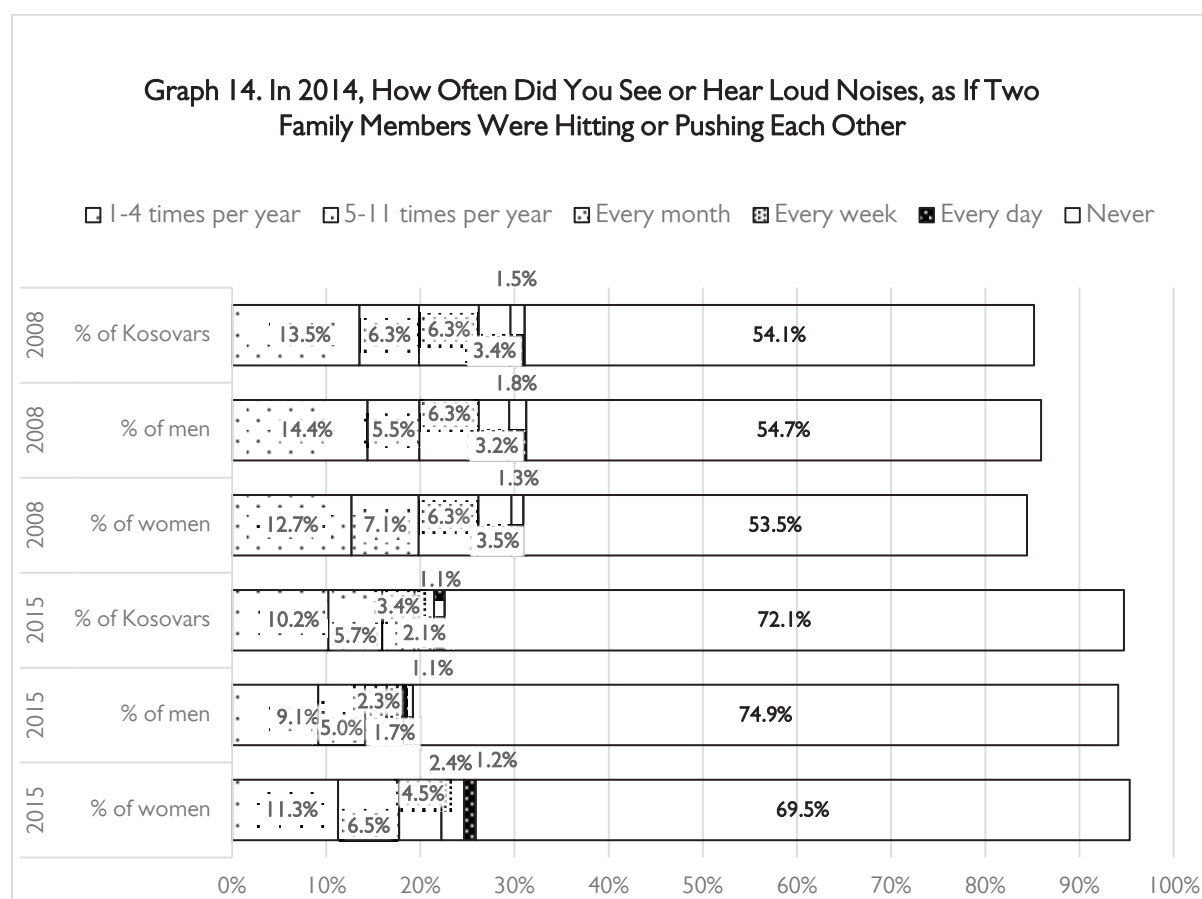


Altogether, 37.4% of Kosovars (45.4% of women and 29.2% of men) had heard people in the same family yelling at each other at least once in 2014. This represented a decrease compared to 2008 when 52.1% of Kosovars reported hearing people yelling at each other at least once in the year prior.¹²² A higher percentage of women (64.1%) compared to men (61.1%) report to have heard family members yelling at each other in 2014, as well as heard them more often than men.¹²³ This may be due in part to the fact that women tend to spend more time at home, where they may be more likely to hear neighbours or other family members yelling, whereas men would be more likely to be at work during the day.¹²⁴

Fewer respondents reported hearing or potentially witnessing physical violence, and the percentage of people who believed they heard or saw potential violence also has decreased slightly since 2008. As Graph 14 illustrates, altogether 22.6% of Kosovars (25.9% of women and 19.2% of men) said they had seen or heard loud noises in 2014, as if two family members were hitting or pushing

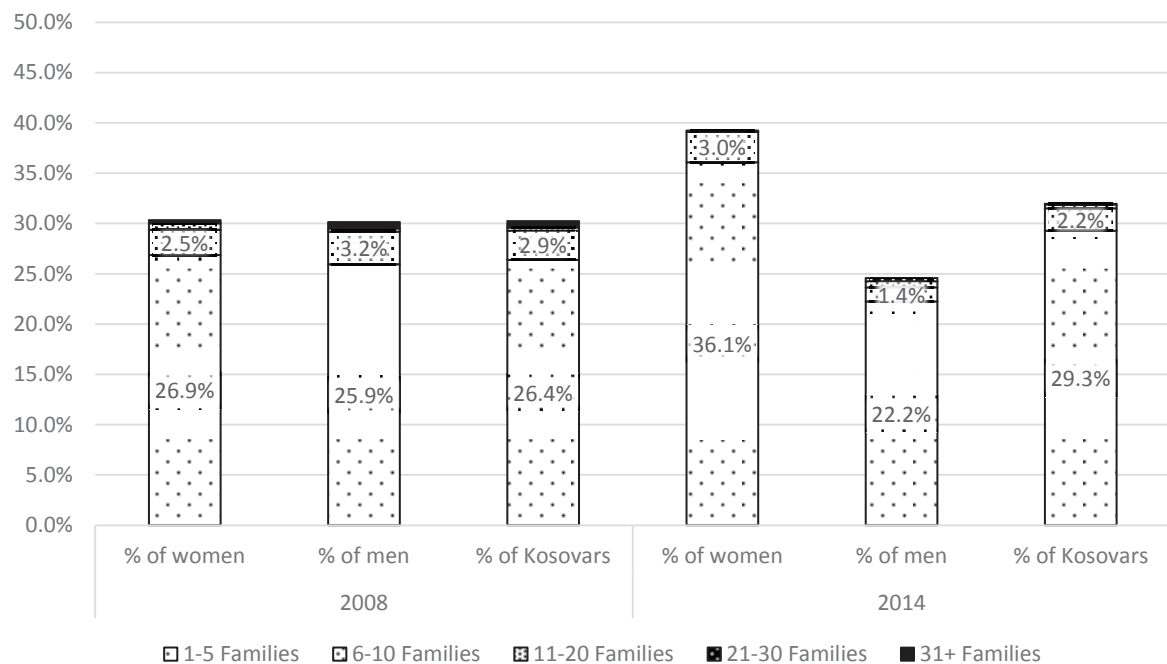
“Almost every week I can hear loud noises from the apartment downstairs like people falling on furniture or dishes being thrown. Usually this is accompanied by lots of screaming and shouting, and then, later on, by whimpering or crying.”

each other. In 2008, 31.1% of respondents had heard such noises during the prior year. In 2015, a higher percentage of women than men reported hearing such sounds.¹²⁵ An even smaller percentage of respondents (10.7%, including 7.9% of men and 13.4% of women) said they personally had seen a woman who had bruises, like someone had been hitting her in 2014. This too had decreased compared to 13.1% of respondents ever seeing a woman with bruises in 2008 (10.1% of men and 16% of women).



Thirty-two percent (39.2% of women and 24.6% of men) said that they knew at least one family in which violence had occurred in 2014. This was a slight increase compared to 2008 when 30% of women and men respondents reported knowing families where domestic violence had taken place the year prior.

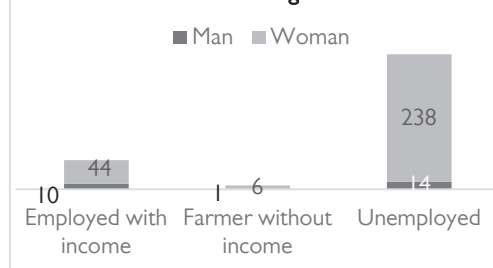
Graph 15. Percent of Respondents Who Knew Families Where Domestic Violence Occurred Last Year, By Number of Families Known and Gender of Respondent



More specifically, 384 respondents in 2015 (29.2%) provided demographic information about people they knew personally who were suffering domestic violence. Nearly twice as many women (255) as men (129) respondents mentioned cases of domestic violence. This may suggest that women may be a more likely first point of contact for persons suffering violence. The increase from 2008 also may suggest that increased awareness has resulted in more persons who suffered violence talking about it with their close friends, particularly women.

Among the persons respondents knew to be suffering violence, 40 (10.4%) were men, 321 were women (83.6%), and 23 respondents mentioned both men and women.

Graph 16. Employment Status of Known Person Suffering from Violence

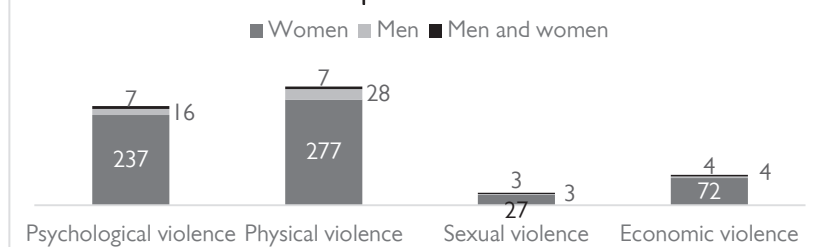


The persons whom respondents knew to be experiencing domestic violence were primarily adults (74%). Twelve percent were ages 51 and older, 9% teenagers, and 5% children. The persons experiencing violence had different levels of education from no school (47 people) to primary school (120), secondary school (74), and university (25). Eighty percent were unemployed (particularly women), 18% were employed, and 2% worked as farmers, but did not receive any income (see

Graph 16).

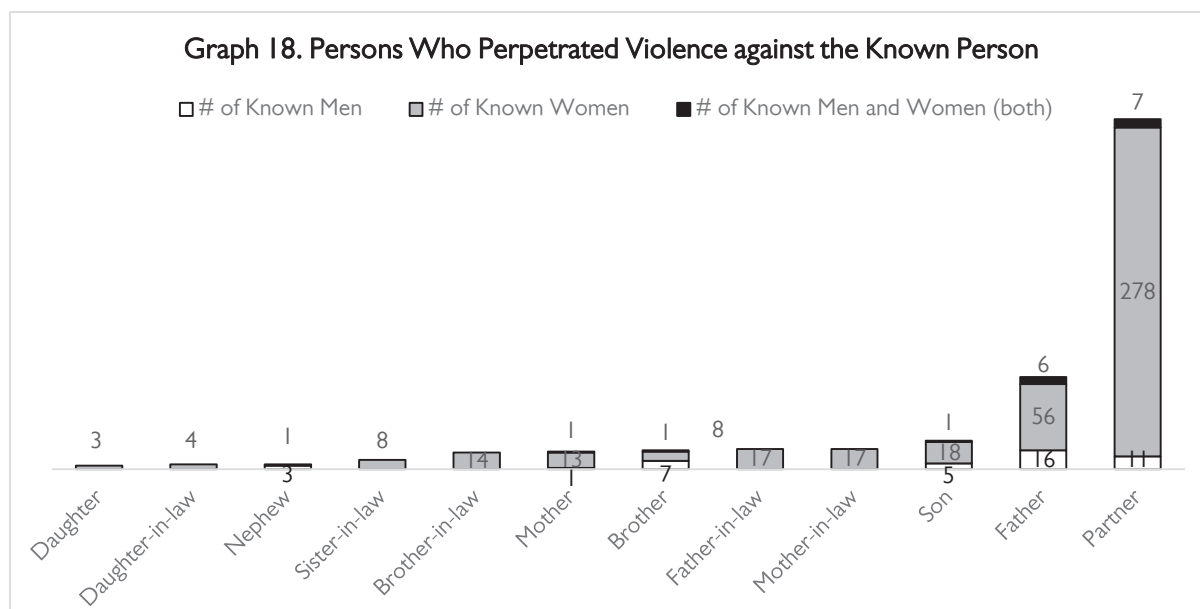
Graph 17 illustrates the types of violence experienced by persons respondents knew, disaggregated by the gender of the person suffering violence. Based on respondents' knowledge, most persons they knew seemed to suffer physical violence (312 people) and psychological violence

Graph 17. Types of Domestic Violence Suffered by Persons Respondents Know

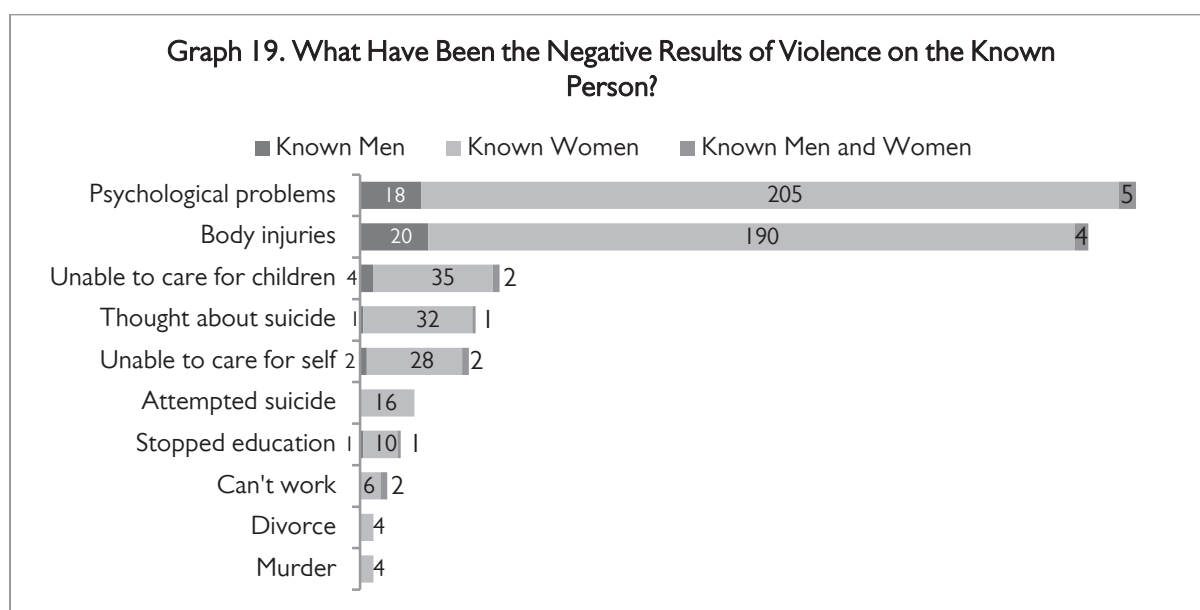


(260). However, they also mentioned instances of persons experiencing economic (80) and sexual violence (33). People could suffer more than one form of violence.

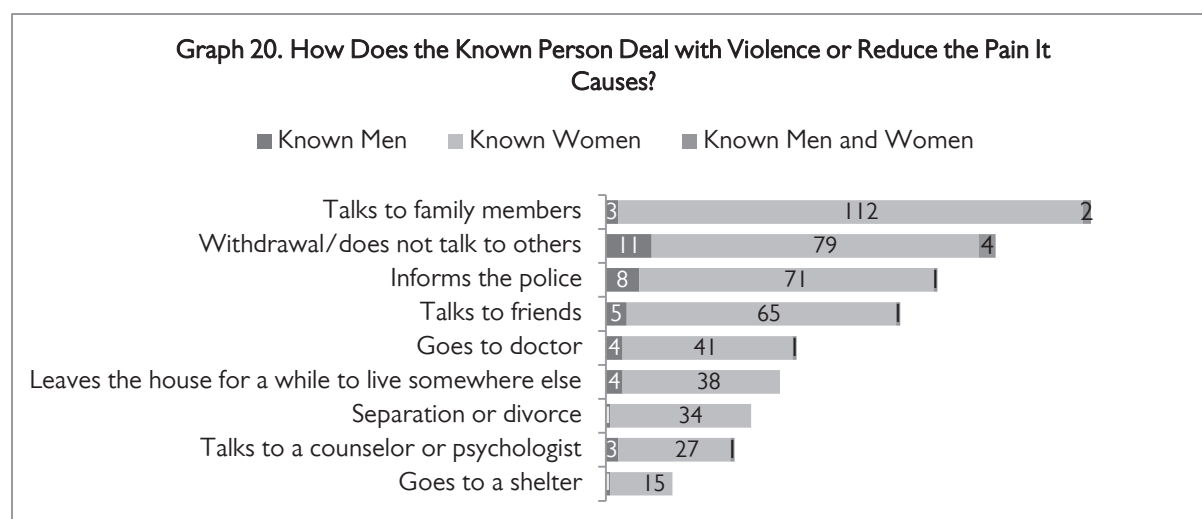
The perpetrators of violence, as reported by respondents, were primarily the partner of the person they knew (296 respondents). The second most common perpetrator was the father of the person respondents knew (78). Other perpetrators of violence included sons (24), mothers-in-law (17), fathers-in-law (17), brothers (16), mothers (15), brothers-in-law (14), sisters-in-law (8), nephews (4), daughters-in-law (*nuse*) (4), and daughters (3).



As a result of the violence suffered, respondents said that the persons they knew faced several issues, including: psychological problems (228 people known by respondents), body injuries (214), an inability to care for their children (41), thoughts of suicide (34), and an inability to care for themselves (32) (see Graph 19). People suffering violence also discontinued their education (12) and were unable to work (8), which potentially impacted their economic situation. Four respondents knew people who were murdered and died as a result of domestic violence.



The mechanisms that persons who suffered violence employed to deal with that violence, based on respondents' responses are summarized in Graph 20. Most respondents said that persons suffering violence coped by talking to family members (117), withdrawing into themselves and not talking with others (94), informing police (80), talking to friends (71), going to the doctor (46), and/or leaving the house for a while to live somewhere else (42). Some respondents said the person they knew separated or divorced the perpetrator (35). Some also spoke with counsellors (31) and/or went to a shelter (16).



While this demographic and other information about persons suffering violence is not necessarily representative of the population of people suffering domestic violence, it does provide important information about current cases in Kosovo today that may not have been reported to the authorities.

“A Dark Number”: Incidence of Domestic Violence

Reporting of domestic violence tends to be low everywhere in the world.¹²⁶ As one respondent commented, “There is a ‘dark number’ of domestic violence cases that never gets reported.”¹²⁷ Clearly cases reported to institutions are not representative of the extent of domestic violence because not all cases are reported. Although the extent to which cases are reported does not present an accurate picture, it is interesting to monitor to what extent cases are reported to institutions. When compared with the actual estimated incidence (presented below), this can shed some light on the extent to which domestic violence is reported to institutions. This is interesting as a sign of the extent to which citizens trust institutions or feel comfortable reporting violence.

“In general, I believe that citizens are more aware to report violence, but also there’s a significant increase in trust towards the police.” - Police Officer, DVIU

“Women nowadays are more aware about their rights. They report more. It’s not how it used to be when women were afraid even to talk with their parents.” – Nurse

A recurring comment made by interview respondents was that reporting had increased in Kosovo. “Domestic violence is one of the heaviest acts in Kosovo at the moment,” a VA said. “How should I put it? It is like cancer to society.” Respondents attributed increased reporting to improved awareness of rights and how to report, particularly among women; improved trust in institutions, particularly police; and improvements in protection measures available for persons who had suffered violence. Despite some improvements, some still felt that “the mentality of what happens in the family should be kept within the family still exists,” as was further evidenced by KWN’s aforementioned survey findings.¹²⁸ Further, while reporting seems to have increased slightly between 2011 and 2014 to police, reporting since earlier

years (e.g., 2002-2006) has decreased. Table I illustrates the number of domestic violence cases treated by different institutions.¹²⁹

Table I. Number of Domestic Violence Cases Reported to Various Institutions

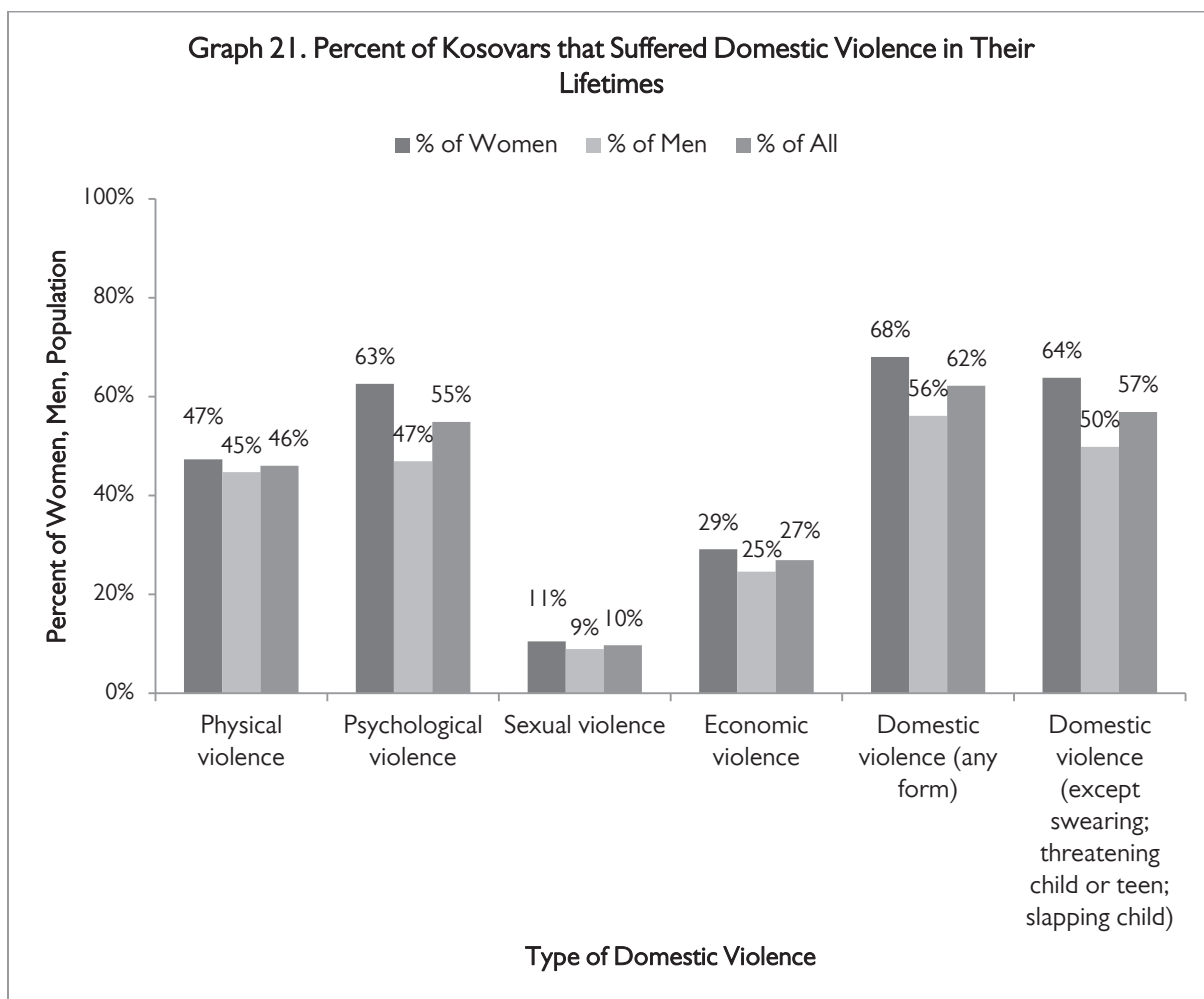
Year	Police	Prosecution	KJC Crime Proceedings	VAAD/ VAAO	MLSW (shelter)	Legal Aid Offices ¹³⁰	CSWs
2001	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2002	1273		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2003	1251		N/A	314	N/A	N/A	N/A
2004	1318		N/A	414	N/A	N/A	223
2005	1370		72	592	N/A	N/A	380
2006	1371		73	703	N/A	N/A	438
2007	1077		74	645	N/A	N/A	170
2008	1034		2795	610	290	36	247
2009	1080		N/A	654	225	20	92
2010	944		N/A	627	229	76.5	229
2011	1046	524	N/A	739	267	76.5	226
2012	1026	736	596	868	241	60	
2013	1087	4290	330	892	268	17	
2014	1179	6036	196	391	281	23	
2015 (June)	460		159			5	

KWN's 2008 survey of 1,256 women and men showed that 43% of Kosovars (46% of women and 39.6% of men) had experienced some form of domestic violence in their lifetimes. In 2015, the second survey found that 62% of Kosovars (68% of women and 56% of men) have suffered domestic violence in their lifetimes. What's changed? KWN attributes the difference to improved knowledge among respondents regarding what constitutes domestic violence; more openness within society in discussing domestic violence; and an improved research method, which in 2015 involved a completely anonymous questionnaire that accompanied face-to-face questions. The latter enabled respondents to state what forms of violence they had suffered anonymously. Thus, KWN believes that the rate of violence has not increased as substantially as it seems, but rather that respondents were more comfortable in stating whether it had occurred.

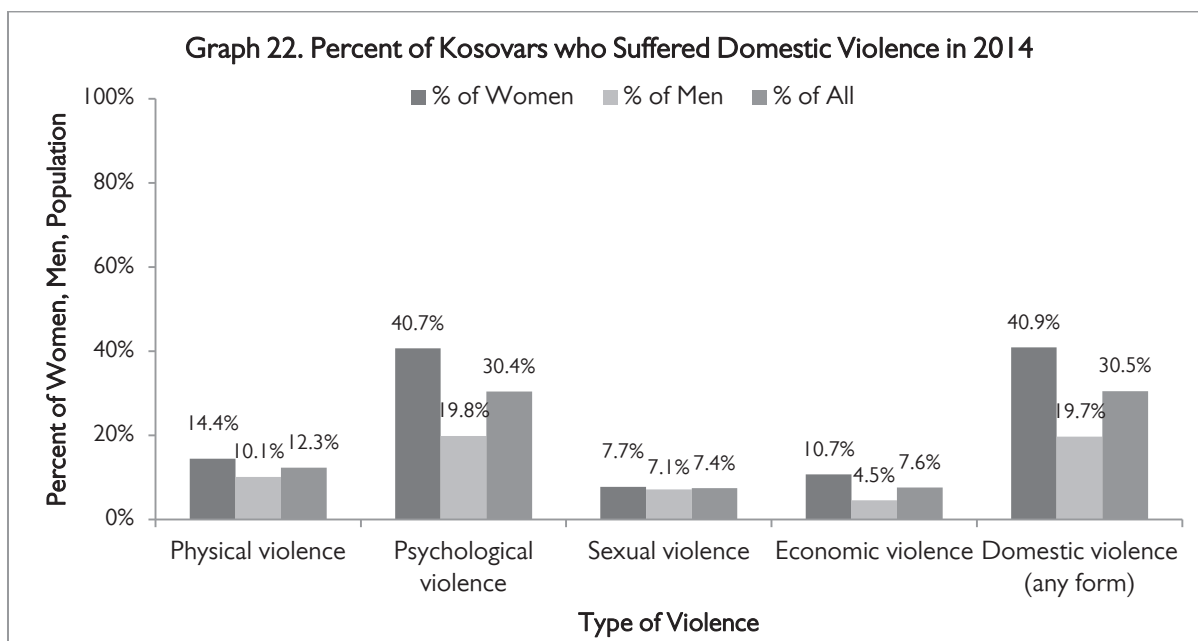
Another factor to consider is the definition of domestic violence. How domestic violence is defined makes a difference in how its prevalence is measured. Each measure of a form of domestic violence in Graph 21 combines several different indicators of domestic violence, discussed in the sections that follow.

“Domestic violence happened before the war as well, and it is still happening. Now we hear more about it, but that is because we have more access to information and are more aware of it.”

- Social worker



While the prior graph examined domestic violence that occurred over the period of a lifetime, a better short-term measure of changes in incidence over time is the percentage of the population that suffered domestic violence in the last year. While unfortunately KWN neglected to include this measure in the 2008 research, this oversight was addressed in the 2015 research. Graph 22 shows that in 2014, 31% of Kosovars (41% of women and 20% of men) suffered some form of domestic violence. Psychological violence was the most prevalent form with 30% of the population experiencing it, though more women (41%) than men (20%). Twelve percent of the population suffered physical violence, including 14% of women and 12% of men. Eight percent experienced economic violence (11% of women and 5% of men). Sexual violence, which also tends to be among the most under-reported forms of violence, impacted 7% of the population and only slightly more women than men.



The sections that follow look more in detail at the different forms of domestic violence.

Psychological Violence

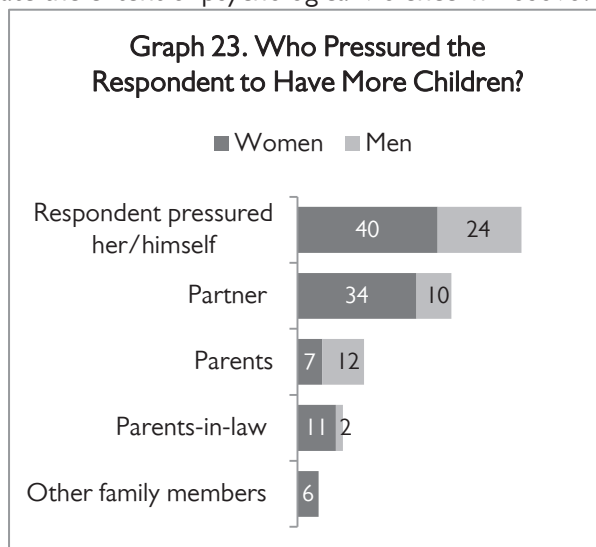
According to the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, psychological violence may include, but is not limited to, psychological pressure, threat to inflict psychological suffering,

“When talking about violence, people still only think about physical violence. But nobody talks about psychological violence, which happens all the time.”

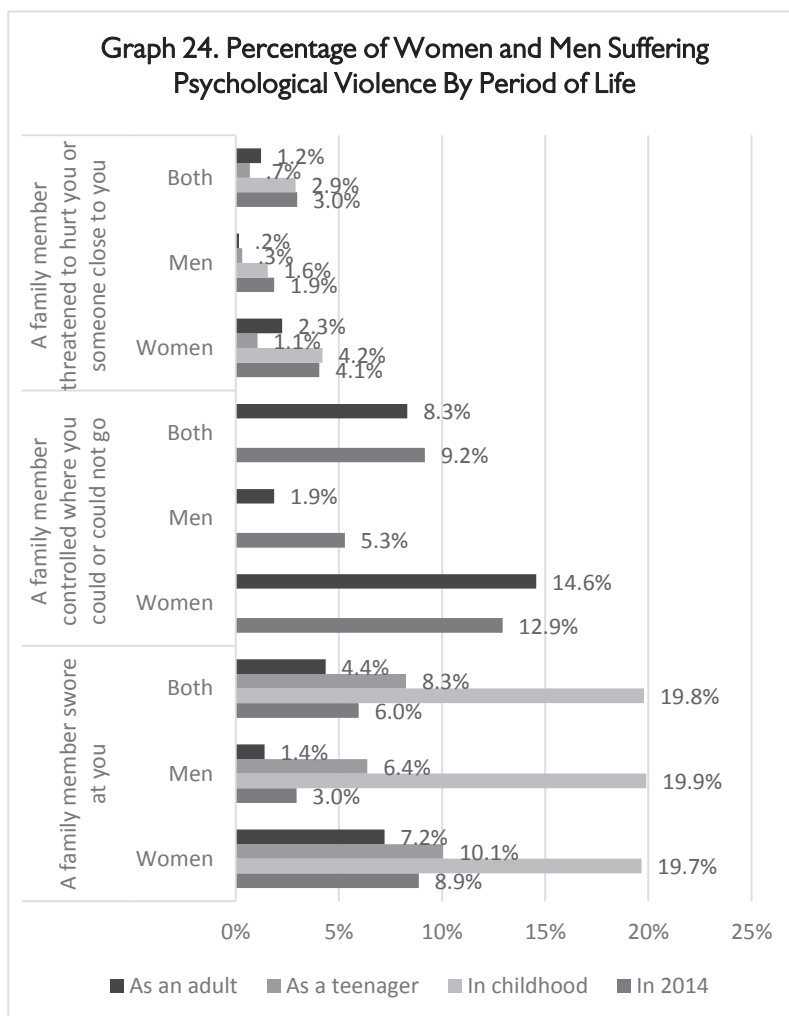
- Gender Equality Officer

behaviours derogating the other person, causing feelings of fear or threat of dignity, threatening to damage the victim’s property, and other forms of insecurities caused by the perpetrator.¹³¹ Psychological violence traditionally has been considered minor or less serious, particularly when compared with physical violence.¹³² Between 2000 and the end of June 2015, 80 cases of “causing the feeling of fear, personal danger and threat of dignity” were reported to police. Moreover, 51 cases of property damage or threat of property damage; and 28 cases of a family member threatening to inflict physical pain or psychological suffering were reported to police.¹³³ Of course not all violence is reported and this section uses survey data to estimate the extent of psychological violence in Kosovo.

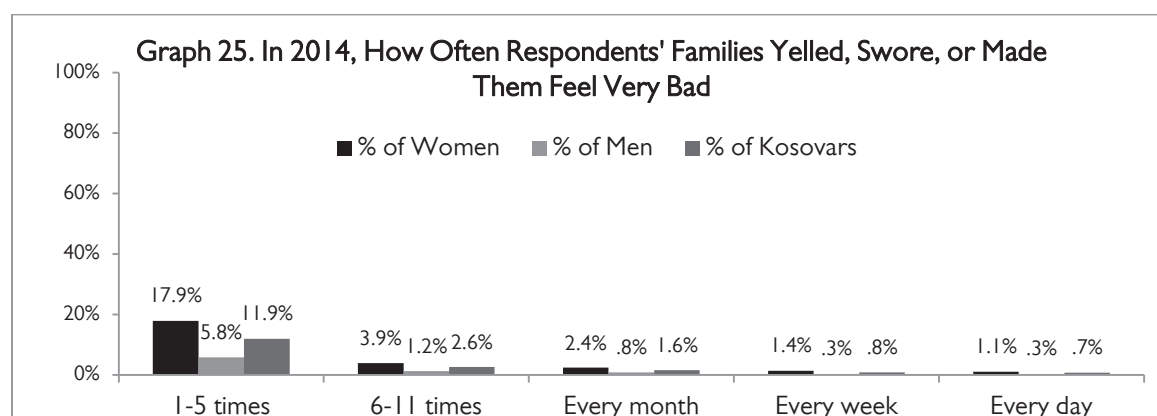
A form of psychological violence reportedly existing traditionally in Kosovo is family members pressuring couples to have more children. However, this may be decreasing in prevalence. In 2008, 8.7% of respondents (11.5% of women and 5.7% of men) said that they had been pressured to have more children than they wanted. In 2015, this decreased to 4.9%. Three times as many women said that they were pressured compared to men (7.4% of women and 2.3% of men). Interestingly, when asked who had pressured them, most respondents said that they pressured themselves (64). This could result from the broader socialization process, social pressure, and/or obligations that they feel, even subconsciously. Other respondents said that their partner (44), parents (19), parents-in-law (13), and other family members (6) pressured them.



KWN used three different questions to evaluate whether respondents had suffered psychological violence in their lifetimes and/or in the last year (2014). These responses were provided anonymously. Graph 24 illustrates the percentage of women and men who experienced psychological violence. Nearly 20% of respondents said that family members swore at them in their childhood, only six percent said someone had sworn at them in the last year. While 9.2% of respondents reported having family members control where they could or could not go in 2014, a substantially higher percentage of women (12.9%) said their movement was controlled compared to men (5.3%). Few respondents said that a family member had threatened to hurt them or someone close to them in the last year (3%). A few women also reported family members swearing at them (23), controlling their movements (29), and threatening them when they were pregnant (7).



Altogether, 17.7% of Kosovars indicated that they had suffered some form of psychological violence by family members in 2014. A substantially higher percentage of women (26.6%) than men (8.4%) said they had experienced psychological violence. Graph 25 illustrates how often they reported experiencing violence.



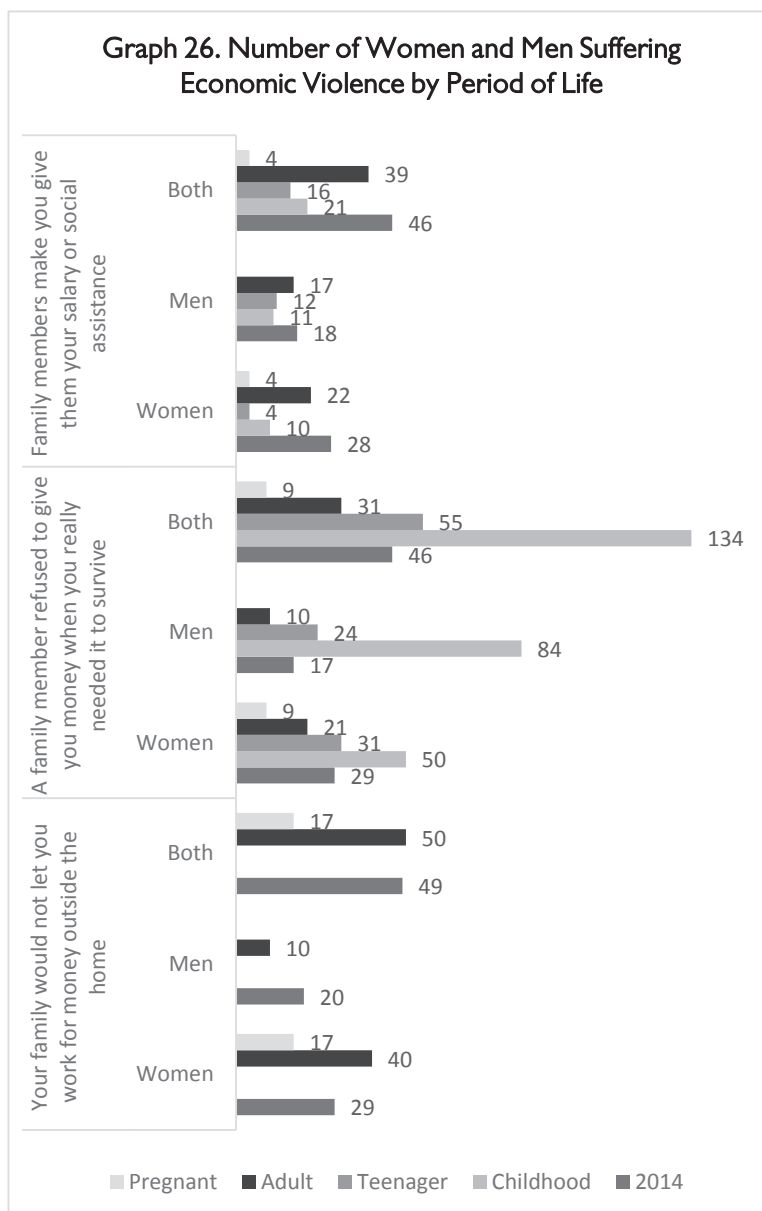
Economic Violence

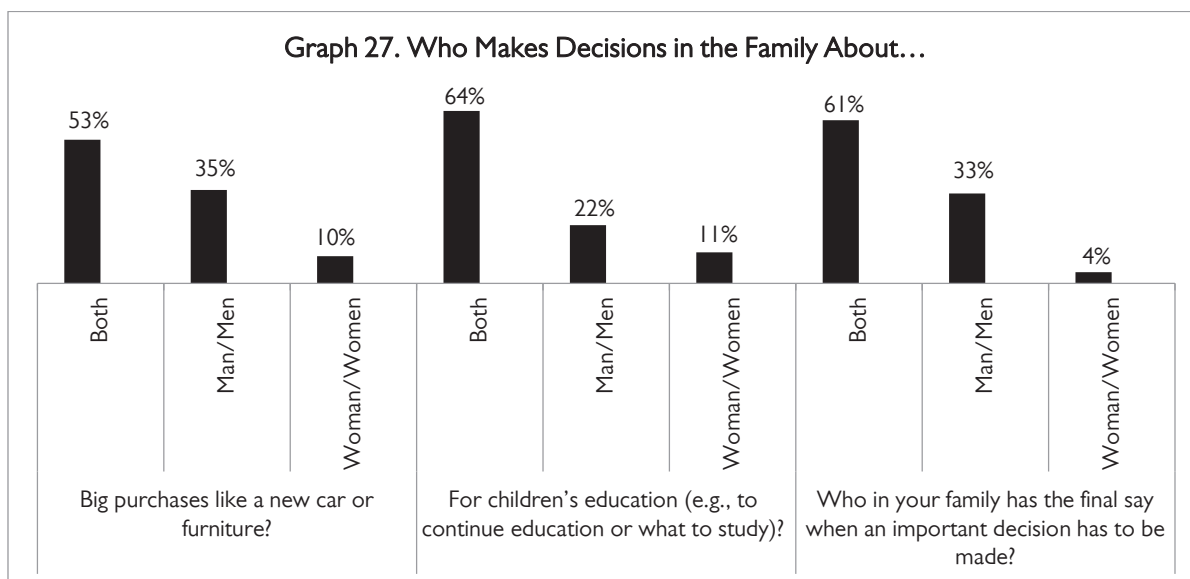
The percentage of persons who reported experiencing different forms of economic violence either in their lifetimes or in 2014 is small:¹³⁴ 3.7% said that their family would not allow them to work

for money outside the home in 2014 (4.5% of women and 2.8% of men); 3.2% said that a family member refused to give them money when they really needed it to survive (4.5% of women and 1.9% of men); and 3.4% said family members made them hand over their salary or social assistance (4.7% of women and 2.2% of men). Graph 26 illustrates the number of women and men who reported suffering different forms of economic violence during different periods of their life, including 2014.

No research in Kosovo has examined closely expenditures within the family. Such research is needed to better understand how families divide resources and to identify where gender discrimination may occur. This is particularly important, for example, with regard to the division of state social assistance within the family.¹³⁵ Some respondents indicated that women may not have knowledge about household income or power over expenditures within the family. For example, when asked about household expenditures, one survey respondent said, “women usually don’t know how much money is brought home.”¹³⁶ This may limit the extent to which women have control or a say over intra-household expenditures.

KWN examined just a few dimensions of decision-making within the family. As Graph 27 illustrates, approximately half of Kosovars (53%) said that both women and men within the family decide together when a big purchase like a new car or furniture is made; 35% said men in the family make the decision (e.g., respondent himself, husband, father, grandfather, brother, etc.); and 10% said women decide (e.g., respondent herself, mother, grandmother, sister). With regard to children’s education (and related expenditures), 64% said that the decision is taken together; 22% that men take the decision; and 11% that women decide.





Physical Violence: “This is Kosovo; of course men beat their wives.”

As described in the section on the legal framework, physical violence can include: use of physical force; inflicting physical pain; and physical assault. Most forms of sexual violence also constitute physical violence.

Several respondents detailed stories of physical violence that they or people they knew had suffered. While these are not statistically representative of the population, they are telling in terms of the domestic violence that occurs and has occurred in Kosovo. While several stories are elaborated in Annex 5, a few of the more disturbing experiences are presented here:

“I would like to share my own story that happened four years ago. I got married when I was 16 years old with a guy I met at school. I fell in love with this guy. I thought he was the one. After we got married, he started beating me. Then I got pregnant, even though I didn’t want to, but I didn’t know how to prevent an unwanted pregnancy. He beat me even through the pregnancy just because I got pregnant. He tortured me. He punched me. He threatened me with weapons and knives. My mother-in-law also beat me. They locked me in the basement and didn’t even give me food to eat. They made scars, burned all my body with cigarettes. But I stayed and I tolerated it because of my daughter. However, after the report to the police my parents convinced me to get a divorce, and I got divorced.” – Woman, age 23, Gjakova

“[I know a] husband who took a second wife and wanted to live with both [wives], but the first wife didn’t want to. He beat her and then left home.” – Woman, age 52, Glllogoc

“[I know] a 20-year-old woman who suffered violence from her husband. She was accused by her mother-in-law for thieving money. She was forced to do housework even though she was in bad conditions. She is pregnant, divorced, and living with her parents.” – Woman, age 20, Malisheva

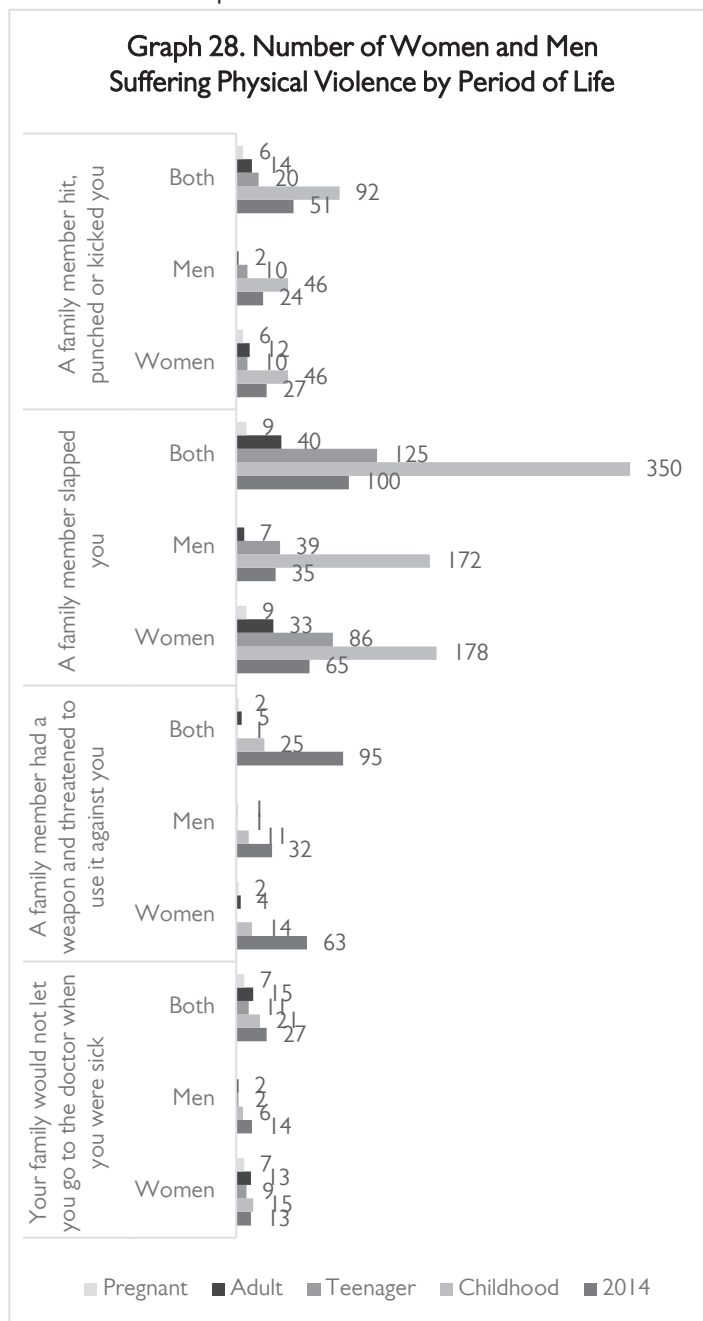
“I will tell you the case of my sister, who died because of violence by her husband. He used to live abroad, and every time he came to visit, he beat her. Once, my sister’s son fell into a mine, and my sister took him to different hospitals, since her husband was abroad. When her husband came, he beat her for days, saying that she didn’t take good care of their son, and why did she go to hospitals on her own? He beat her for days, and she died. She never told us about the violence she suffered. Police took her husband and kept him in prison for several months, but not more. Now, a few months ago, he committed suicide, but the pain for my sister never faded away.” – Woman, age 67, Podujevo

Respondents from public institutions also mentioned instances of women being murdered as a result of domestic violence. Between 2005 and 2015, 22 instances of persons being murdered within a domestic relationship were reported to police. Further, there were seven cases of aggravated murder, 24 cases of attempted murder, 33 cases of inciting suicide or assisting in suicide, 4,340 cases of light bodily injury, and 1,162 cases of threats within domestic relationships.¹³⁷

Only 1.6% of respondents (2.6% of women and 0.6% of men) said that they had suffered physical violence from family members in 2014. Considering that respondents may hesitate to tell interviewers about physical violence at home, the survey involved an anonymous questionnaire completed by respondents and immediately sealed. The form of physical violence reported most was slapping, which 5.7% of Kosovars experienced in 2014, including 8% of women and 3.4% of men. Only a small proportion of the population said they had suffered other forms of physical violence. Therefore, this information is presented in Graph 28 in real numbers. One hundred respondents reported being slapped in 2014; 95 said a family member threatened to use a weapon against them; 51 said a family member hit, punched, or kicked them; and 27 were not allowed to go to a doctor for treatment when they were sick.

Altogether, 6.1% of Kosovars have ever been hit with an object like a stick, belt, or knife in their lifetimes (87 respondents, including 64 women and 23 men). Most (53) were hit with a stick. Twenty-three respondents suffered violence perpetrated with a belt, two with a knife, one with a bottle, and seven with other types of objects. Survey respondents also told of instances of persons they knew suffering violence perpetrated with objectives. For example, one respondent said, "The husband [in a family I know], with psychological problems, has beaten his wife and stabbed her with a knife. Police came and sent the husband to the hospital. Now the husband is back home with his wife and children."¹³⁸

Most respondents who were hit with an object said that their mother and/or father perpetrated the violence. Others mentioned their partner, uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, mother-in-law, and brother.



Sexual Violence

A form of physical violence, sexual violence can involve forcing someone to perform sexual acts against their will; touching someone in a sexual way against their will; sexual assault; and rape. Several difficulties exist with identifying the extent of sexual violence in Kosovo (and elsewhere), including the aforementioned still present lack of knowledge among some that sexual violence can occur within a marriage; and due to the pure sensitivity of speaking to others about sexual violence.

Between 2000 and the end of June 2015, police received reports of nine cases of sexual assault within a domestic relationship, 11 cases of rape, two cases of attempted rape, two cases of degradation of sexual integrity, and one case of non-consensual acts and sexual ill-treatment.¹³⁹

Considering the sensitivity of questions relating to sexual violence, during the national survey KWN asked these questions using an anonymous questionnaire.

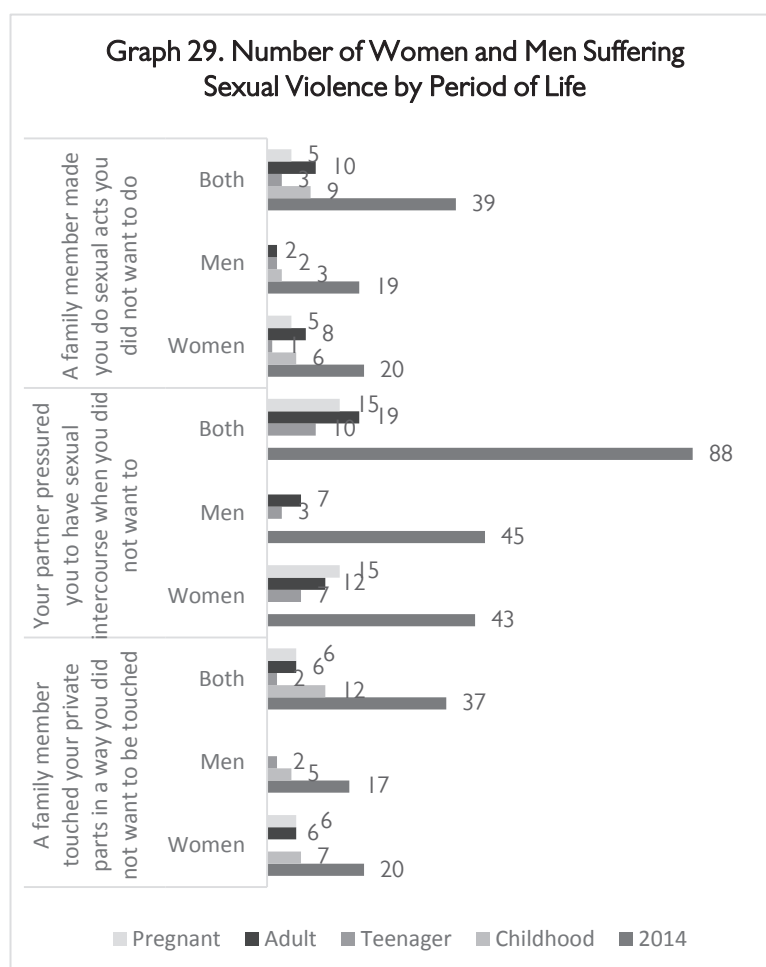
Respondents reported suffering sexual violence in their childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and while pregnant (see Graph 29). Seven percent of women and men said that their partner pressured them to have sexual intercourse when they did not want to. Three percent of women and men said a family member made them do sexual acts they did not want to do. Nearly three percent of Kosovars reported experiencing sexual violence in 2014, including three percent of women and 2.2% of men.¹⁴⁰ Respondents detailed several harrowing experiences of sexual violence suffered by themselves or persons they knew:

“The woman was raped by her husband, father-in-law and brother-in-law. She was in terrible conditions. They tied her to her bed and raped her, and didn’t give her anything to eat for days. She tried to commit suicide by jumping from the window into the river, but she couldn’t make it. Her condition worsened until one day they killed her.” – Woman, age 46, Prizren

“Her husband was drunk and used [...] sexual violence in front of children.” – Woman, age 36, Istog

“[I know a case involving a] village representative in Podujevo. The victim is getting raped and maltreated continuously.” – Man, age 22, Podujevo

“One person that I know suffers sexual violence from her brother. She was very young when it happened for the first time, 15 years old. And now it continues to happen even though she is 18 now. She doesn’t dare to tell their parents because her brother threatened that he is going to kill



her. In front of her family they talk all normal, like nothing happens because she doesn't have support. And if she tells the family, they will only support the brother. The violence happens at home; she returns every weekend because she studies in another city. She experiences heavy physiological violence. [...] Due to the violence she experiences from everyone, she thinks that she is not their daughter, not related to them by blood, and wants to do a DNA test. She is terrified.”-Woman, age 19, Prizren

“She sincerely told she was raped, telling the name of the perpetrator. She said she suffered violence from her husband and mother, and her mother also threatened her with a knife.” – Researcher notes from surveying a woman, age 40, Podujevo

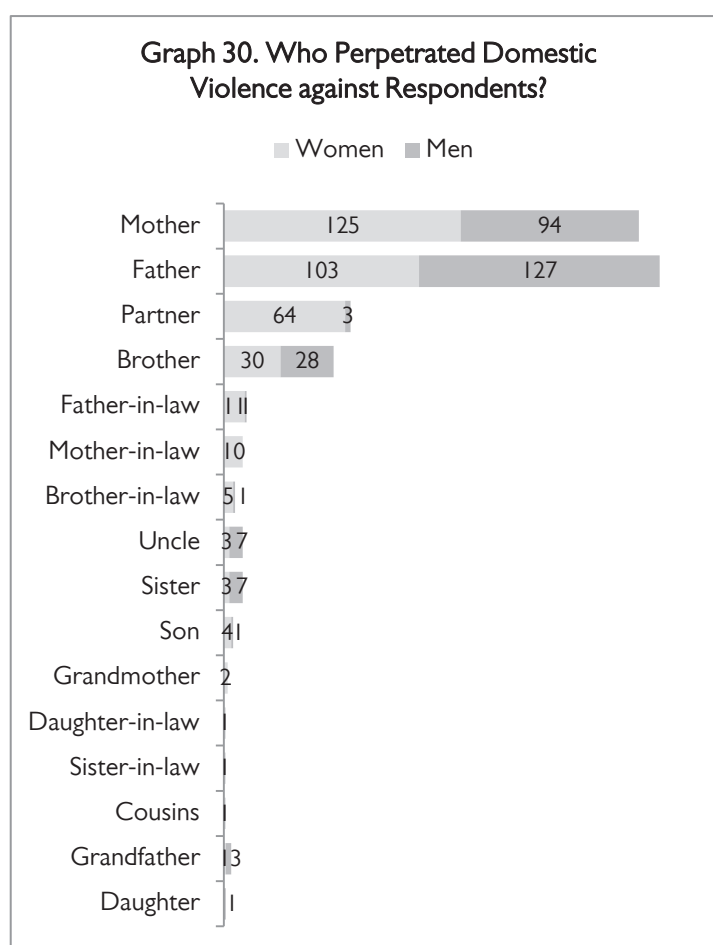
“There was this case when the woman died and left her husband and daughter behind. The man sexually violated the girl for three years, but since the girl was nine years old she didn't know what was happening. Then, when she became 16 years old, she notified the police and the man was punished.” – Woman, age 46, Prizren

“There is a case when a woman reported her husband for sexual abuse [rape]. The husband was arrested for a couple of hours, but eventually he was let free. Afterwards, the rumours say, that he said to the police, ‘She is my wife, and I can't be imprisoned for rape’.” – Woman, age 43, Istog

These stories provide ample evidence not only that sexual violence exists in Kosovo, but that it has affected and continues to affect a range of women. The stories also point to the difficulties that persons who have suffered sexual violence face from their families and in reporting such violence to institutions.

Perpetrators of Domestic Violence

Among respondents who had suffered domestic violence in their lifetimes, most seem to have suffered violence primarily from their mothers and fathers (see Graph 30). For women, the next most common perpetrator of violence was their partners, namely husbands. Only three men said they suffered violence from their wives. Brothers, fathers-in-law, and mothers-in-law were the next most commonly mentioned perpetrators of violence. A few respondents also mentioned their brothers-in-law, uncles, sisters, sons, grandmothers, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, cousins, grandfather, and daughter.



Groups at Risk

Violence against Women

In Kosovo, women are statistically more likely than men to suffer all forms of domestic violence, including psychological, economic, and physical violence. In total, 40.9% of all women respondents said they suffered domestic violence in 2014, compared to only 9.7% of men respondents. Clearly, women are more at risk of domestic violence than men.

Violence against women has been identified internationally as one of the most prevalent forms of violence. Global statistics collected by various international organizations show that domestic violence is prevalent around the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated in 2014 that 35% of women worldwide have experienced sexual violence or domestic violence in their lifetime.¹⁴¹ Further, statistics show that globally, up to 38% of murders of women are committed by intimate or domestic partners.¹⁴² These unsettling statistics among the reason for drafting CEDAW (1979), an international treaty, incorporated in Kosovo's Constitution, which aims to end all forms of violence and discrimination against women.¹⁴³ CEDAW focuses specifically on women because of global statistics that show women are disproportionately victims of domestic and sexual violence. According to CEDAW, violence occurs against women due to the patriarchal system in which we live. As the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women states:

Violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.

Patriarchy involves men having more power than women in almost all spheres, and using their power over women.

Addressing social power relations that create an enabling environment for violence to be perpetrated against women is necessary in order to decrease domestic violence. In other words, in order to address domestic violence, social norms regarding gender roles and relations must be transformed, providing women and men with shared power in diverse aspects of their lives.

Violence against Men

While violence against women is by far more prevalent, violence against men also exists. Within a patriarchal culture, men also are socialized to act in particular ways. They are taught to be tough and strong, to not show weakness. These social norms can be particularly problematic for men suffering domestic violence who are socially expected to withstand the violence. As one respondent commented:

Reports show that men face domestic violence as well. [T]hey keep up a front of manliness [*burrer*], and the moment they go to the police or report the case, they [the institution] humiliate them so much. [T]hey [police] would say to them, "We will beat you up, as well, if you allowed your wife to beat or slap you."¹⁴⁴

Violence against men is still little discussed publicly in Kosovo. Societal perceptions relating to masculinity contribute to ideas that either men do not face violence at all or they should face violence because it will make them stronger.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, men who "complain" about suffering violence tend to be socially ridiculed. Social

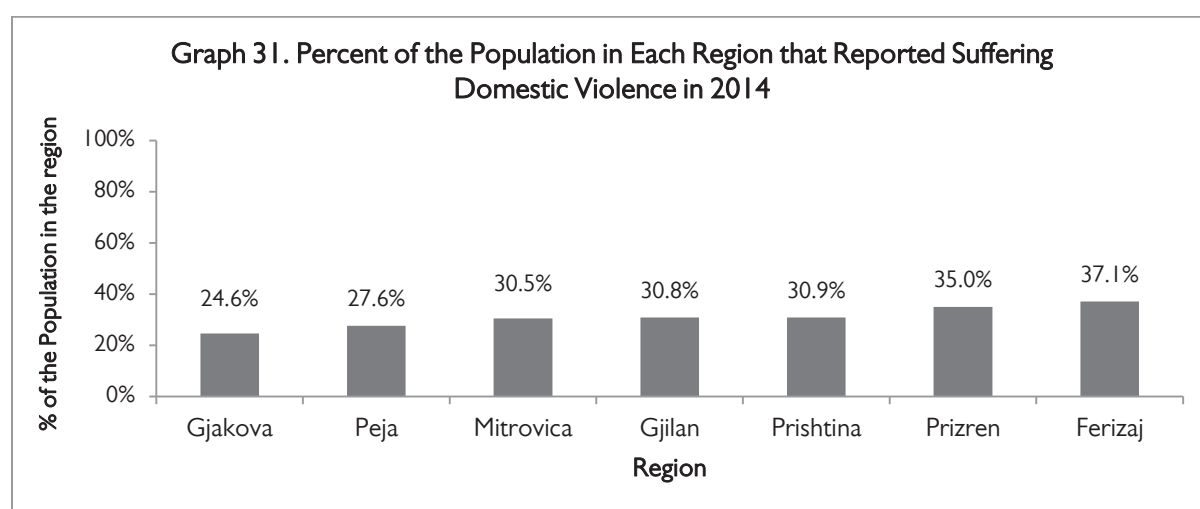
"Men don't support men because in reality men in most cases are more irresponsible than women and deserve to be beaten more than women."

- Representative of VTC

pressure against men to “be strong” may prevent men from reporting violence, even if it occurs. Further, virtually no services exist to support men who have suffered violence. For example, no safe houses or shelters exist for men.

Location Does Not Really Matter

While KWN’s 2008 research found that people in rural areas were more likely to have suffered domestic violence in their lifetimes,¹⁴⁶ this 2015 survey suggests that no significant relationship exists between living in an urban or rural area and suffering domestic violence, either in their lifetime or only in 2014.¹⁴⁷ Nor does a clear, statistically significant relationship exist between different regions and domestic violence occurring.¹⁴⁸ Bearing this in mind, Graph 31 illustrates the percentage of the population in each region that reported experiencing domestic violence in 2014.



In conclusion, location does not really matter. People living everywhere are at risk of domestic violence.

Ethnicity

Among the respondents, 61.2% of Albanians, 71.2% of Serbs, and 72.7% of other ethnic groups reported suffering domestic violence in their lifetimes. Within the last year, 29.8% of Albanians, 39.6% of Serbs, and 36.4% of other ethnic groups suffered domestic violence. Serb respondents were more likely to report suffering different types of violence in their lifetimes than persons of other ethnicities.¹⁴⁹ There is also a statistically significant relationship between having experienced domestic violence in 2014 and ethnicity. Persons of Serb and Other ethnicities tended to report having experienced violence, whereas Albanians tended not to report having experienced violence. Serbs and respondents of other ethnic minorities also were slightly more likely to report suffering psychological and physical violence in 2014.¹⁵⁰ However, these findings do not necessarily suggest that persons of a particular ethnicity have suffered domestic violence more or less; it could merely mean that Albanians are more hesitant to report it or that Serbs and persons of other ethnicities are more inclined to do so.

Level of Education

A recurring theme in interviews with institutions was that domestic violence could result from a lack of education. However, contrary to this belief, survey data do not show any significant relationship between domestic violence and years of schooling completed. Domestic violence occurs in both educated and uneducated households.¹⁵¹

Socioeconomic Status

There is no statistically significant correlation between experiencing domestic violence in 2014 and household income, respondents' individual income, or receiving state social assistance. When testing the correlation between domestic violence in 2014 and employment status of respondents, the survey data show that respondents who do unpaid work at home (childcare, gardening, housekeeping, etc.) and those who are students are more likely to experience domestic violence. Those who do unpaid work outside home and retirees (a weak correlation) are less likely to experience domestic violence. These results, however, should be treated with caution as they may relate to respondents' level of awareness about domestic violence and inclination to report it. For instance, students may be more aware of different types of domestic violence and more inclined to report it compared to elderly respondents (who may spend most their time at home).¹⁵²

Age

Survey data show that younger people (ages 18-25 years) are more likely to have experienced domestic violence in 2014 compared to all other age groups. In contrast, those ages 46-55 are less likely than other age groups to have experienced domestic violence.

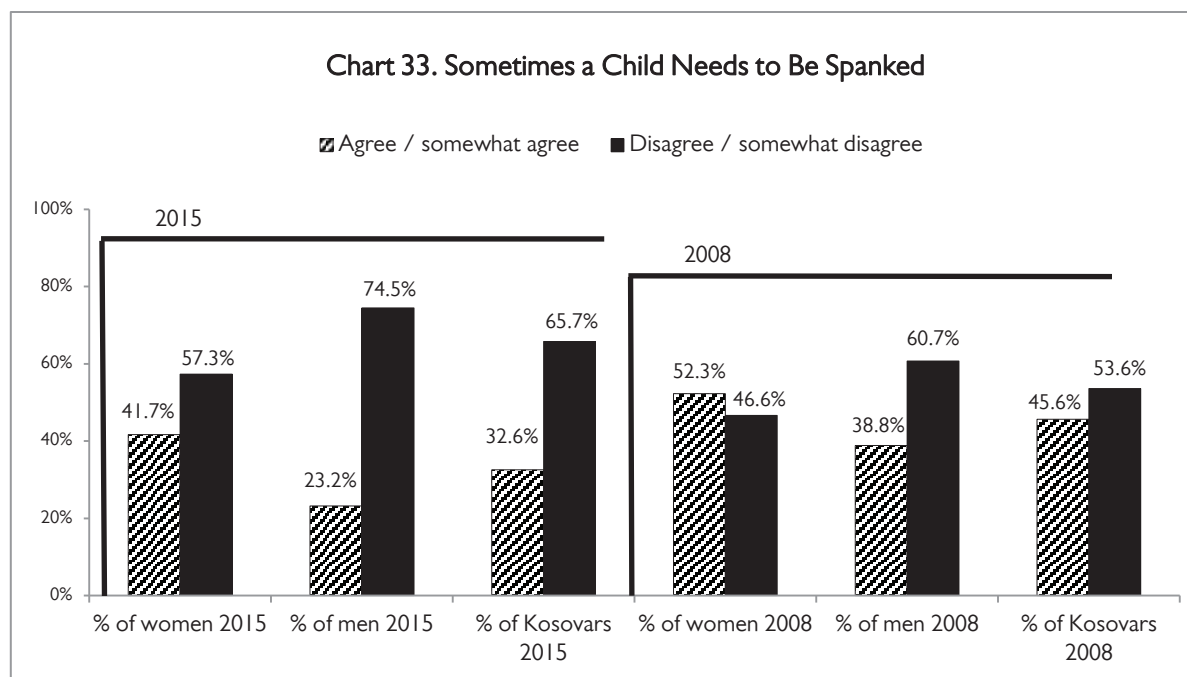


Young respondents (18-25 years) also are more likely to have experienced physical, psychological, and economic violence in their lifetimes, compared to others.¹⁵³ This could suggest that domestic violence has increased, or it could mean that younger people recall violence that occurred in their childhoods more easily, whereas older respondents may have memory issues. It also could mean that younger people are more aware and take particular acts of violence more seriously than older people. For example, as mentioned, younger people are more likely to agree that punishing a child by spanking him or her is domestic violence. This may mean that they are more likely to report such violence affecting them than older persons. The possibility also exists that older people still hesitate to talk about violence as it remains a taboo topic for them.

Violence against Children

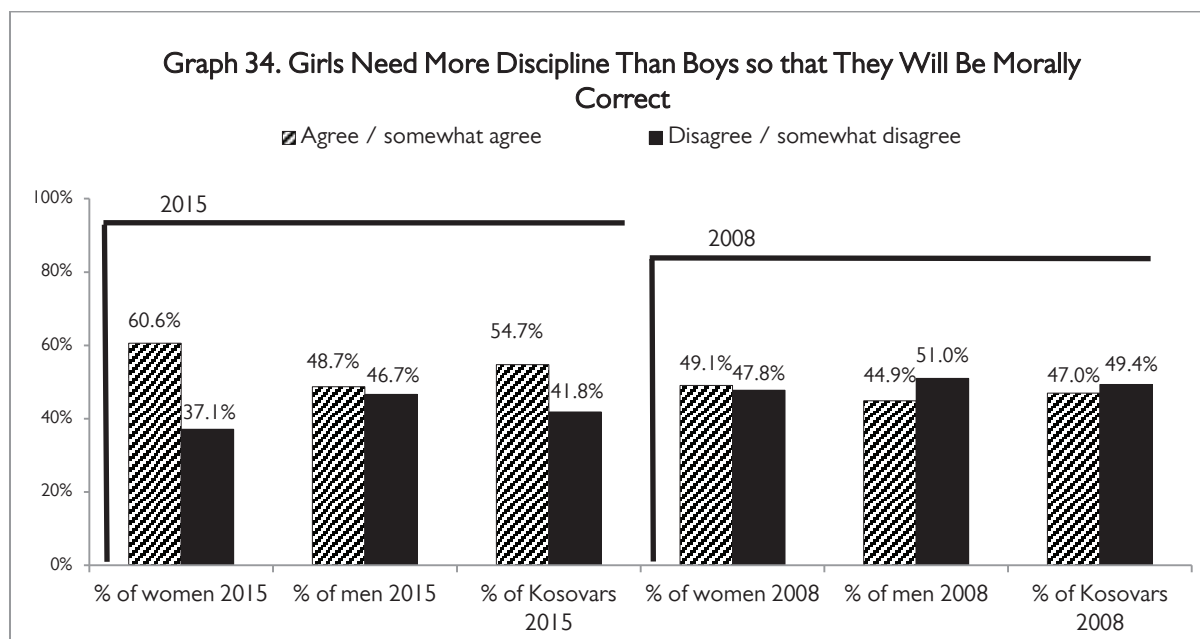
While for ethical reasons, KWN did not survey or interview children, the survey attempted to get at information related to violence against children by asking questions about violence respondents experienced when they were children and about violence they may perpetrate against their own children. The survey also examined attitudes related to child discipline to measure whether it may be likely that people still find some forms of violence against children acceptable.

Approximately 32.6% of Kosovars agree that “sometimes a child needs to be spanked,” which suggests that physical spanking probably still exists in a third of households as a form of discipline (see Graph 33). However, this belief seems to have shifted substantially in recent years; in 2008, 45.6% of respondents believed that children should be spanked.¹⁵⁴ Women and men’s perspectives tend to differ. In 2015, nearly twice as many women (41.7%) as men (23.2%) agree that children need to be spanked. Even so, 81.1% consider spanking a child a form of domestic violence, and 89.6% believe spanking a child with a belt or stick is a form of violence.



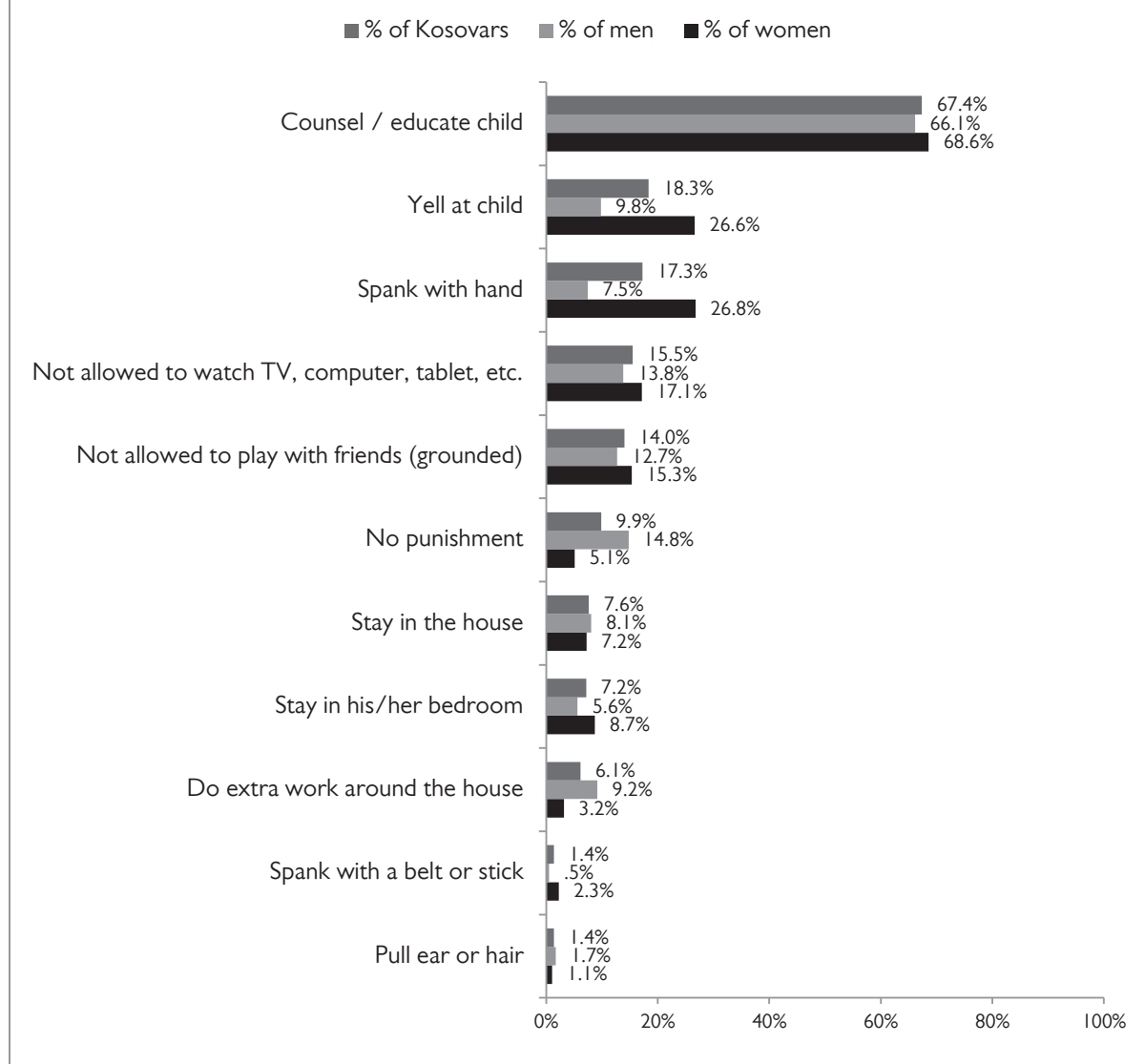
Regarding different methods of disciplining children based on the child’s gender, 36.7% of Kosovars (37.5% of women and 35.9% of men) agree that “boys should have stricter discipline than girls because it makes them strong.” This belief has shifted only slightly since 2008 when 40.6% of Kosovars agreed. No significant differences in opinion exist among women and men. However, persons from other (non-Albanian and non-Serb) ethnicities are more likely to believe that boys should have stricter discipline than girls, whereas persons with higher incomes are less likely to share this opinion.¹⁵⁵

Meanwhile, 54.7% of Kosovars believe that “girls need more discipline than boys so that they will be morally correct.” Interestingly, Kosovars seem to have become more conservative in this aspect since 2008, when 47% of respondents agreed with this statement.¹⁵⁶ Nowadays, women seem more likely to believe that girls need more discipline; 60.6% of women agree with this statement compared to 48.7% of men (see Graph 34). Respondents living in rural areas and those of other ethnicities are more likely to believe that girls need stricter discipline. Persons with higher levels of income are less likely to share this belief.¹⁵⁷



KWN then asked respondents how they actually discipline their children, or, for those who did not yet have children, how they would discipline their own children. Most (67.4%) said that they spoke with, counselled, or talked to their children, educating them to behave better in the future. The next most common forms of discipline were to yell at children (18.3%) or to spank children with their hands (17.3%). A higher percentage of women than men stated that they use these forms of discipline. A very small percentage of Kosovars seem to use other more physical approaches in disciplining children: 1.4% spank their child with a belt or a stick; and 1.4% pull the ear or hair of children. Of the persons who actually have children, 7.2% use a belt or stick to punish their children.

Graph 35. How Are Children Disciplined?

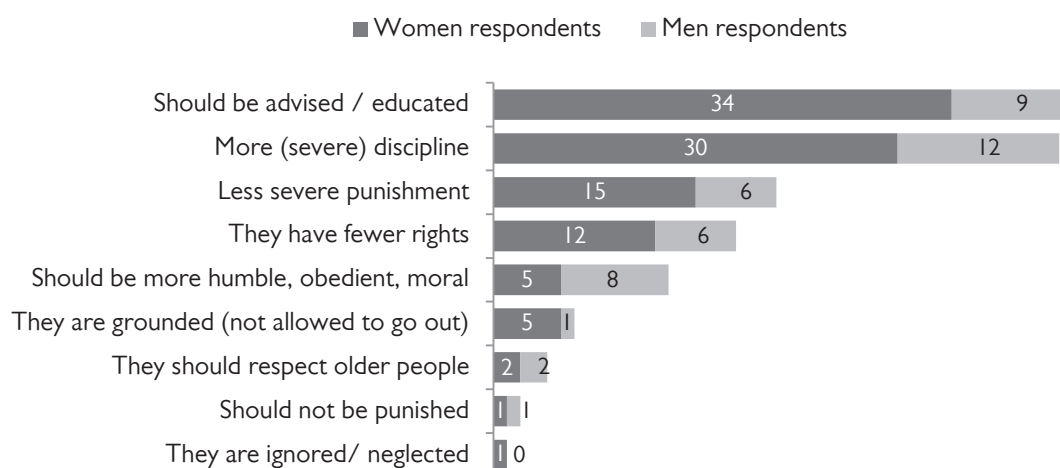


In practice, 19.8% of respondents (25.3% of women and 14.1% of men) said that they discipline girls and boys in different ways. Among respondents who said girls are disciplined differently, most said that girls are advised or educated more than boys (43), and 42 said that girls have more severe discipline. Along the same lines, 18 respondents said girls have fewer rights than boys; and 13 said they should be more humble, obedient, and moral. “The discipline should be different for boys and girls,” a respondent said. “Some things are allowed for boys, but not for girls.” In contrast, 21 respondents said that girls have less severe punishment than boys, or no punishment at all (2).

“Girls should be more educated to behave, since she will go to a foreign family [her husband’s family] one day.”

- Woman, age 30, Skenderaj

Graph 36. How Are Girls Disciplined?

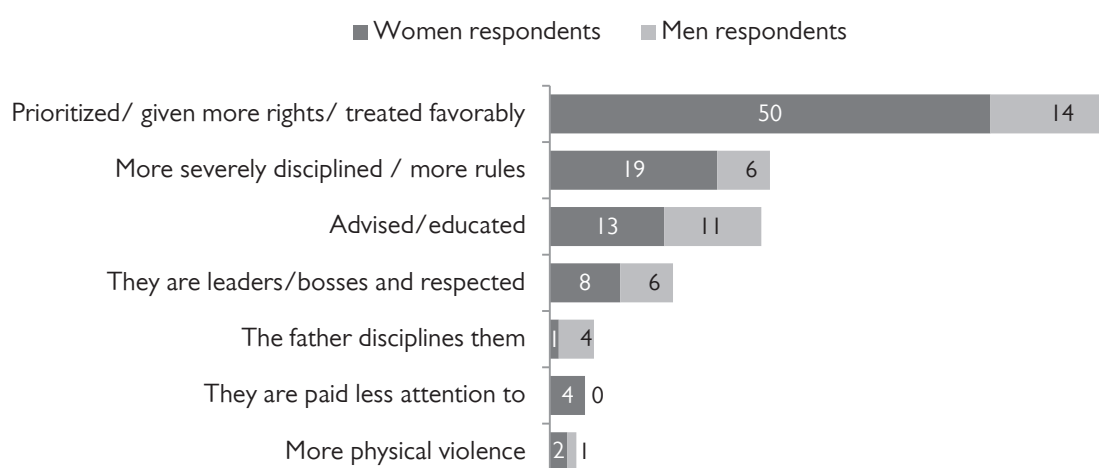


With regard to boys, most (64 respondents) said that they are prioritized, given more rights, and/or treated more favourably than girls. For example, one respondent said, “They have more freedom; they don’t do housework.”¹⁵⁸ Similarly, 24 said that they are advised or counselled, and 14 that they are leaders or future “bosses” who should be respected, taught to “dominate in the family”, and to “be men with authority”.¹⁵⁹ “They have to be taught to be courageous, stronger, and that they are not allowed to cry,” another respondent said.¹⁶⁰ Twenty-five said that boys are more severely disciplined and/or have more rules than girls; and three that more physical violence is used to discipline boys.

“Boys should be treated harsher since they will become ‘men’ [*burra*].”

- Woman, age 30, Glogovac

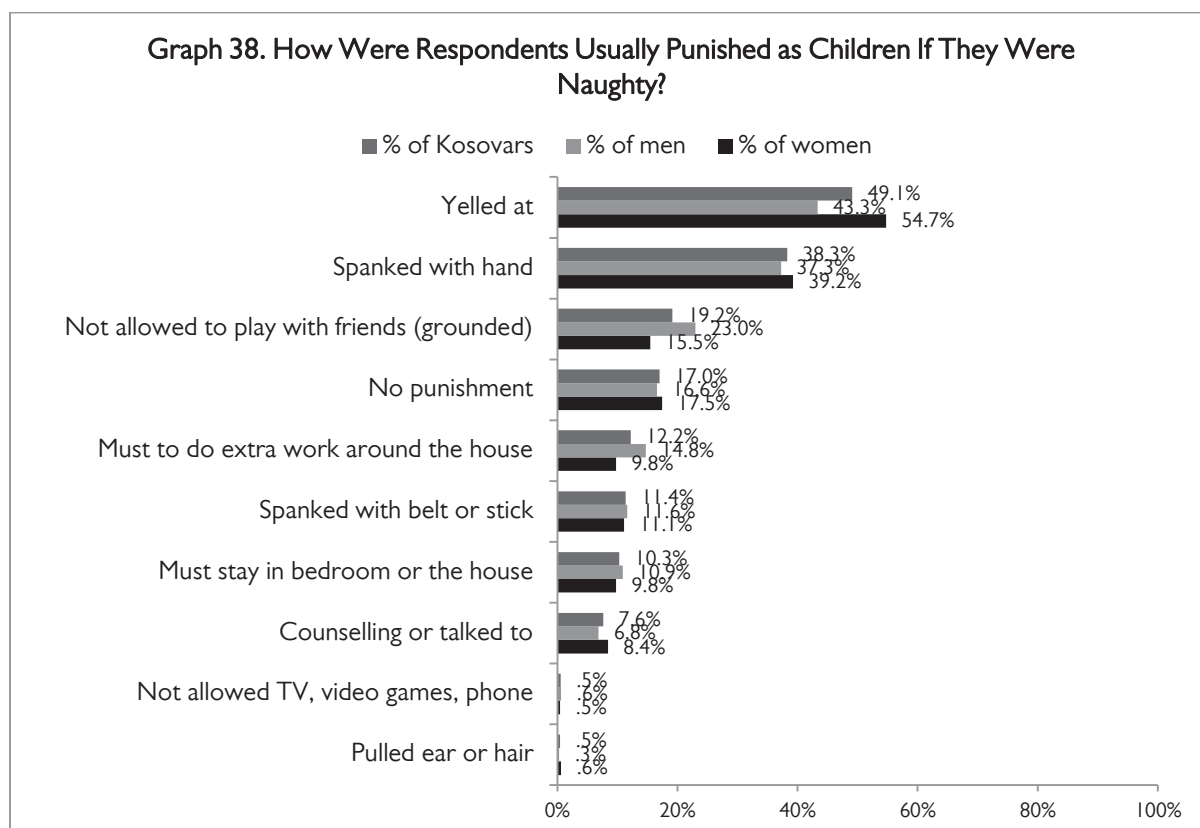
Graph 37. How Are Boys Disciplined?



The aforementioned beliefs and practices regarding the ways in which girls and boys “should be” disciplined illustrate lingering assumptions related to the specific gender roles that men and women should have in a society. Beyond the immediate impact that disciplining girls and boys differently has related to domestic violence against children, these assumptions contribute to reinforcing gender roles in society. This reinforces existing power relations that can provide an enabling environment for domestic violence, among other power-related forms of gender-based violence, to occur later in life.

As mentioned, addressing these power relations, addressing patriarchy, and the ways in which girls and boys are socialized are important for preventing future domestic violence.

When they were children, most Kosovars seem to have been punished via yelling (49.1%). Several (38.3%) were spanked with a hand, and 11.4% with a belt or stick (see Graph 38).



Teachers, social workers, shelters, and representatives of healthcare institutions also detailed their encounters with cases of domestic violence against children. “I had a few cases of parents abusing children,” a healthcare worker said. “There was a case of a boy trying to run away from his father who wanted to beat him with a belt. While running, he fell from the balcony.”¹⁶¹

“I have had parents come to me, telling me that I should beat their child if they do not behave because they don’t understand in a different way.”

- Educator

A recurring theme among respondents was that persons who suffered violence in their childhood would be more likely to perpetrate violence when they are older. “Victims of violence can copy those violent behaviours of the perpetrator and replicate them towards their children,” a psychologist commented. Indeed, the survey data showed a positive and statistically significant correlation between having experienced any type of violence during childhood or teenage years and presently punishing children by spanking them with a hand, belt, or stick.¹⁶² However, as critics of the “cycle of violence” theory have stated, just because someone has experienced violence as a child, it does not mean that it is acceptable for them to perpetrate it later in life. Nor does it necessarily mean that all persons who perpetrate violence have necessarily experienced it as children.¹⁶³

Early Marriage

Among the survey respondents, on average, women tended to marry for the first time at age 21, whereas men on average were 25. Altogether, 6.5% of respondents (86) said that they married for the first time before age 18. There is no statistically significant relationship between the age when the respondent married and having experienced domestic violence in 2014.¹⁶⁴ Even so, while it may not

have been reported as such, KWN finds it important to mention that early marriage in itself is a form of domestic violence; it involves sexual violence against a minor, which automatically entails physical violence, as well as most likely psychological and economic violence.

Violence against Persons with Disabilities

Attitudes with regard to controlling the movements of persons with disabilities seem to have shifted for the better in recent years. In 2015, an estimated 6.3% of Kosovars agree that “persons with a disability should stay inside their house because they bring shame to the family”, compared to 8.7% of respondents in 2008. No significant difference seems to exist among women’s and men’s views in this regard. Nowadays, most people (76.5%) consider “influencing a person with a disability who to marry” a form of domestic violence, though 15.6% disagree, and 7% are unsure.

While attitudes may be shifting, people with disabilities can still be at risk of domestic violence due to their often more vulnerable position within their family and society. Some interview respondents noted that domestic violence impacted both women and men with disabilities. One organization working with persons with disabilities reported that in 2014 alone they assisted 22 disabled women and girls who had suffered domestic violence. Persons with disabilities also can face forms of domestic violence not experienced by others:

For disabled people, violence is when family members don’t think about our mobility, how we will move around the house, or how to get to the second floor. Parents when they build houses do not take into account the conditions of disabled people. [Violence is also] when we are not allowed to continue schooling, due to financial or physical obstacles.¹⁶⁵

Violence against LGBT Persons

Representatives of organizations working with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) persons said that domestic violence exists, perpetrated by partners, parents, and other family members. The fact that several LGBT persons do not feel comfortable discussing their sexuality with close family members is a form of psychological violence in itself. Due to fear of rejection, LGBT persons tend not to inform family members of their sexuality. Representatives of LGBT organizations expressed concern that, if LGBT persons would talk more freely about their sexual orientation with family members, cases of domestic violence would increase.

While information related to domestic violence against LGBT persons is limited, initial qualitative data suggests that it occurs. In forthcoming research, LGBT persons were asked, “What is the most dangerous place for you?” More than 70% answered “home”.¹⁶⁶ NGO QESH has identified more than 20 cases of domestic violence in recent research. Additionally, there have been two instances of murder, one involving an extended family member. Another organization working more with GBT men stated that in 2014 there were 13 cases reported to their organization. They observed that physical violence is more expressed among men, while psychological violence was more common among women.

Representatives of LGBT organizations agreed that their main challenge is to encourage LGBT persons to report domestic violence so that they can receive support. Even so, they said that awareness has increased among LGBT persons regarding their legal rights. “The change has nothing to do with the law,” a respondent said. “The LGBT community just became more aware about their rights.”¹⁶⁷

With regard to institutional response, LGBT organization representatives said police perform their duties best in terms of protecting LGBT persons. They see more obstacles with the judicial process, where cases are prolonged by prosecutors or judges. Miscommunication among relevant institutions also was identified as an issue.

Consequences of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence can have several negative consequences for individuals, families, witnesses, communities, and societies more broadly. While further research is needed on the precise consequences of violence in Kosovo, this section examines some consequences identified through this research.

Consequences on Health

Research suggests that consequences on physical health can include body injuries, permanent disability, headaches migraines, and even death.¹⁶⁸ Consequences on mental health can include anxiety, depression, fear, post-traumatic stress syndrome, and even suicide. KWN's 2008 research found that out of all women who had suffered domestic violence, 80% reported health problems directly resulting from violence.¹⁶⁹ These included:

“Since I work at the hospital I’ve seen a lot of women coming in with bruises.”

- Woman, age 53, Gjilan

bruising; headaches/migraines; hypertension (high blood pressure); nervousness; fear; body injuries; bruised/injured face and eyes; depression; unconsciousness (with one respondent being unconscious for three days); broken arms; hand injuries; kidney problems; continual bleeding; head injuries; inability to concentrate or work; insomnia; low self-esteem; body and breast pain; a lack of immunity to disease; anaemia, attempted suicide; back pain; breathing problems; broken vertebra; chest pain; chronic hiccups; deafness resulting from an ear injury; diabetes; an irregular menstrual cycle; dizziness; gastritis; hate; heart problems; injuries to extremities; knife wounds; loss of desire to live; low blood pressure; miscarriages; panic attacks; scars; sweating; thyroid gland disease; tiredness; and trauma.¹⁷⁰

In 2015, representatives of healthcare institutions said that they encountered persons in emergency rooms who had sustained injuries to their faces, experienced hair pulling, and other extreme injuries cause by beatings or kicking.¹⁷¹ Among the respondents who had suffered domestic violence, 23 women and two men said that they had health problems that resulted from the violence. Physical health issues included headaches, high blood pressure, bruises, broken limbs, a broken nose, unwanted pregnancy, and abortion. Further, while not all seem to have considered psychological issues a health concern, 46 women and ten men enlisted psychological issues resulting from violence. These included depression, irritability, constant fear, sadness, post-traumatic stress syndrome, stress, consideration of suicide, and attempted suicide. Tragically, while it could not be mentioned by respondents directly, several domestic violence cases have ended in death, either via suicide or murder.

“There are three women whose lives are in danger from domestic violence. If violence happens to them once more we are afraid that they may be murdered.”

– NGO representative

Consequences to Self and Family

Other negative results of domestic violence mentioned by respondents suffering violence included an inability to care for their children and difficulties caring for themselves.¹⁷² Among the respondents who had suffered violence, 143 (85 women and 58 men) said that children witnessed the violence perpetrated against them. This could have a negative impact on the wellbeing of the children.¹⁷³ As a psychologist commented:

Violence is a negative thing that causes problems not only for the society as a whole, but also for the future of children who come from violent families because they are the ones who suffer, even indirectly. Even if they themselves are not violated, just seeing their parents is violence. We work with these children, but we still couldn't treat them how they should be treated.¹⁷⁴

A teacher agreed, “You notice students who experience domestic violence. They are either more introverted or overly aggressive.” KWN’s 2008 research found that respondents who had suffered violence as children, were less likely to have university degrees as compared to those who did not suffer violence; were more likely to be unemployed; and had lower total household incomes. Further, respondents who had suffered violence early in childhood were more prone to suffer violence later in life.¹⁷⁵

Consequences to Society and the State Budget

Domestic violence poses significant costs to the budget of the Republic of Kosovo, using funds that could be allocated for other purposes. Taxpayer money goes to enforcing the legal framework, including implementing the NAP. This includes government-funded prevention activities, procedural expenses such as policing, authorised representation, legal aid, court costs, and much more. KWN’s 2011 research found that the government and donors had allocated €2,088,581 annually to protection, €526,264 to prevention, and €399,585 on rehabilitation and reintegration related to the NAP.¹⁷⁶ Domestic violence thus likely costs the state and donors (including local and foreign taxpayers) *more than* €3,014,430 annually. Additional funding from institutions’ budgets also was spent, but could not be calculated. A significant amount of the national budget, as well as funds from international donors, are allocated to addressing domestic violence. Decreasing domestic violence thus could decrease the need for these expenditures.

Citizens’ Responses to Violence

Knowledge and Use of Laws and Institutions

The percentage of the population that is aware that a Law for Protection against Domestic Violence exists in Kosovo has increased substantially from 54.1% in 2008,¹⁷⁷ to 75.3% in 2015. Even so, 9.2% of the population does not believe that such a Law exists and 14.4% do not know. Women tend to be slightly less knowledgeable than men with 11% of women stating that a Law does not exist (compared to 7.5% of men) and 15.5% of women not knowing if a Law exists (compared to 13.4% of men).

If violence happened, 75.9% of Kosovars said they would use a law to help their situation.¹⁷⁸ In 2008, more Kosovars seem to have been willing to use the law (80.4%). For those who would not use any law, when asked why not, most said that they preferred to resolve the situation independently (74 respondents). As one man said, “I am the law in my house.”¹⁷⁹ A few respondents also said that in some cases there is good reason for violence, and thus it must be resolved within the family. “No one beats another without a reason,” said one respondent.¹⁸⁰ “I would accept violence if it was from my parents,” another agreed.¹⁸¹

**“I am the law
in my house.”**

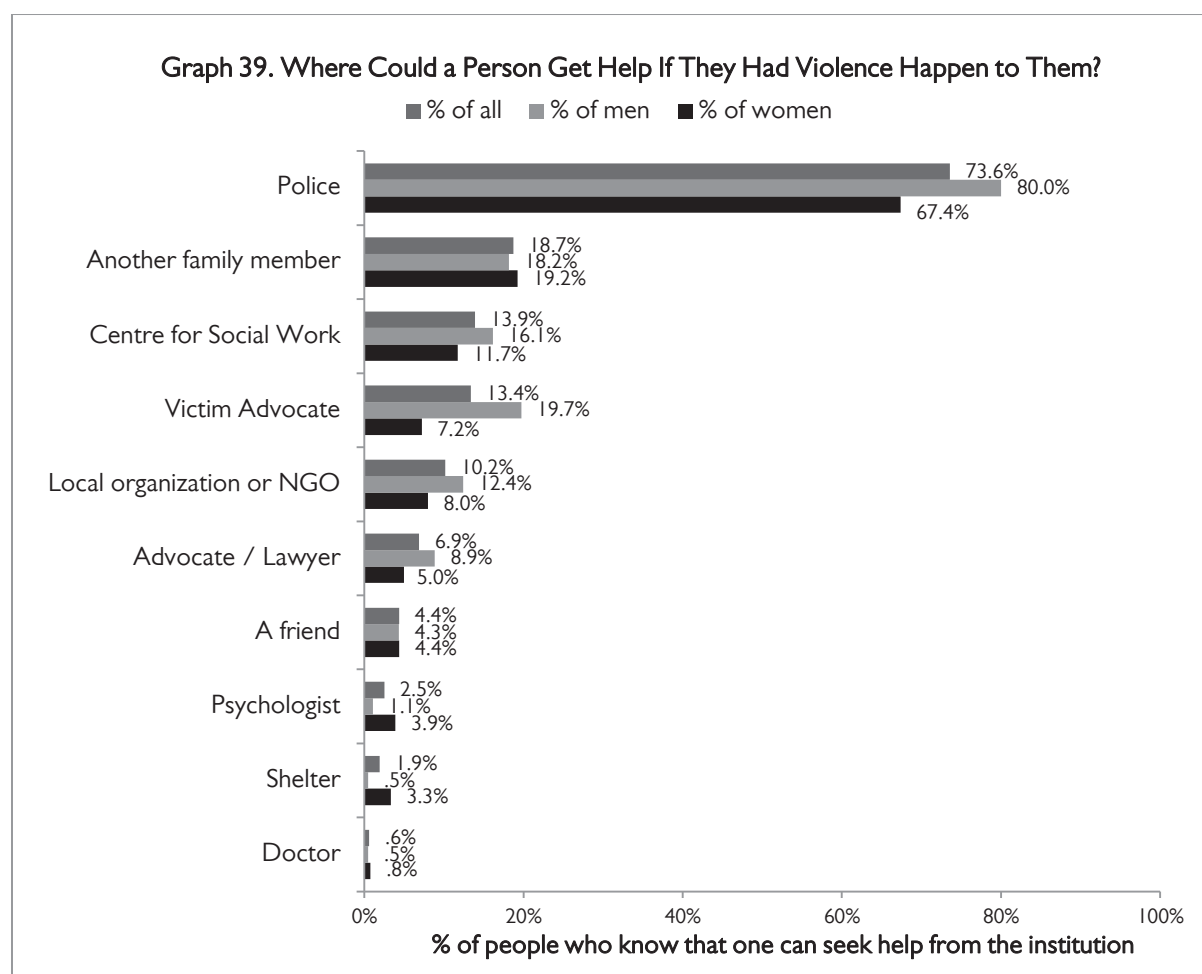
Fourteen respondents said that they do not trust Kosovo institutions, thirteen felt it was a private issue not to be shared; eight said it was “no big deal”; seven said they would not report violence due to shame or embarrassment; six were afraid;¹⁸² five said that it would not help to use the law; and one woman said she would be concerned about the wellbeing of her children if she reported violence. Another survey respondent whose husband was perpetrating violence against her said that she did not want to report the violence only for the fact that she did not want a divorce.¹⁸³ Another said that she did not want to humiliate or disgrace her husband by reporting the violence. The reasons why some respondents would not report domestic violence did not change significantly from the reasons given in 2008.

**“I would be afraid of my husband.
Police wouldn’t keep him there for
his entire life, and when he was
released, he would beat me again.”**

- Woman, age 32, Lipjan

Survey respondents also were asked if they knew where a person could receive help if they experienced domestic violence in order to test people’s knowledge regarding institutions in Kosovo that can provide support (see Graph 39). Most people (73.6%) identify the police as an institution where a person experiencing violence can get help, though a higher percentage of men (80%)

mentioned police than women (67.4%). Second, 18.7% of people said that one could seek assistance from another family member and 4.4% mentioned a friend.



Little has changed since 2008 when two-thirds of respondents also identified police as an institution able to address cases of domestic violence. Police are the most likely first point of contact for persons suffering violence. Aside from police, few people identified other institutions or organizations as locations providing assistance. The percentage of respondents who would contact VAs has slightly increased from 4% in 2008 to 13.4% in 2015, and the percentage of those who would contact NGOs has increased from 7.4% to 10.2%.¹⁸⁴ The percentage of people who would contact Centres for Social Work has remained similar (13.2% in 2008 and 13.9% in 2015). Only 6.9% mentioned lawyers, 2.5% psychologists, 1.9% shelters, and 0.6% doctors.

This data suggests that despite the plethora of awareness campaigns organized by institutions and NGOs, Kosovo institutions evidently still have not done enough or have not had a sufficiently appropriate approach to inform citizens where they can receive institutional support in cases of domestic violence. Further steps can be taken by institutions to inform the population regarding the types of assistance that they offer.

Overall 14.1% of survey respondents know a person who actually reported a case of domestic violence to institutions. Out of the 184 cases reported, police came in 92.8% of cases (167). In approximately half of these cases (91), the person who experienced violence left the house to stay somewhere else. In 80 cases (44.4%), respondents said that the perpetrator was arrested by the police, and in 58 cases (32.2%) respondents knew that the case went to court. In 36.7% of cases they said it did not go to court, whereas in 28.9% of cases the respondent did not have information. In 37 cases (20.6%), respondents said that the perpetrator of violence was punished, whereas in 88 cases (48.9%) the perpetrator received no punishment.

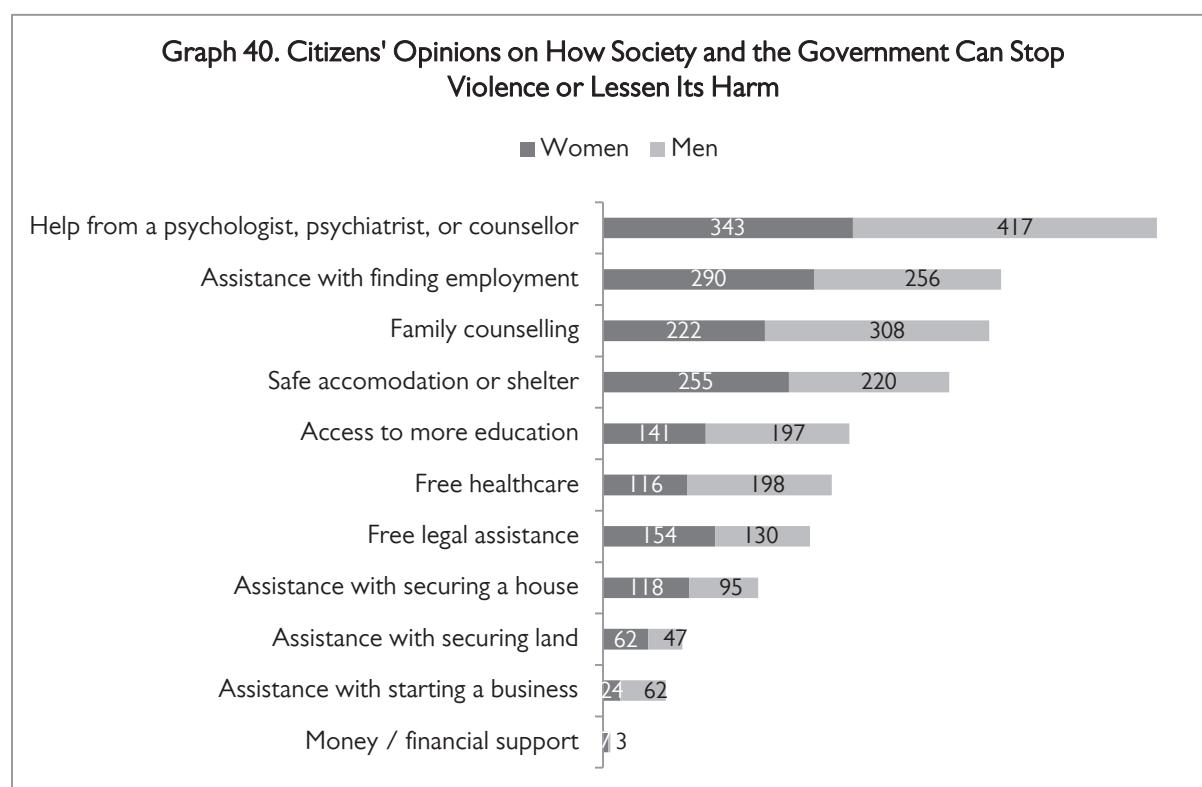
While it was difficult for all respondents to have complete information as to whether the person they knew received help from institutions, 34 respondents said that the person received assistance from a CSW, 22 from a shelter or women's organization, 24 from a VA, and 32 some other form of legal assistance.

Among respondents who actually experienced violence, very few approached or received help from institutions, making it difficult to assess the institutional response in the eye of persons who have suffered violence. Only 12 approached police, four shelters, two NGOs, two social workers, two Victim Advocates, six psychologists, and three judges.¹⁸⁵ Of the 25 persons surveyed who had health issues that resulted from domestic violence, only 12 visited a doctor. When asked why they did not go to a doctor, respondents said they preferred to self-medicate or treat themselves; they did not want to; their family would not allow them to go; fear; or the injuries were not "that bad".

Coping with and Addressing Violence

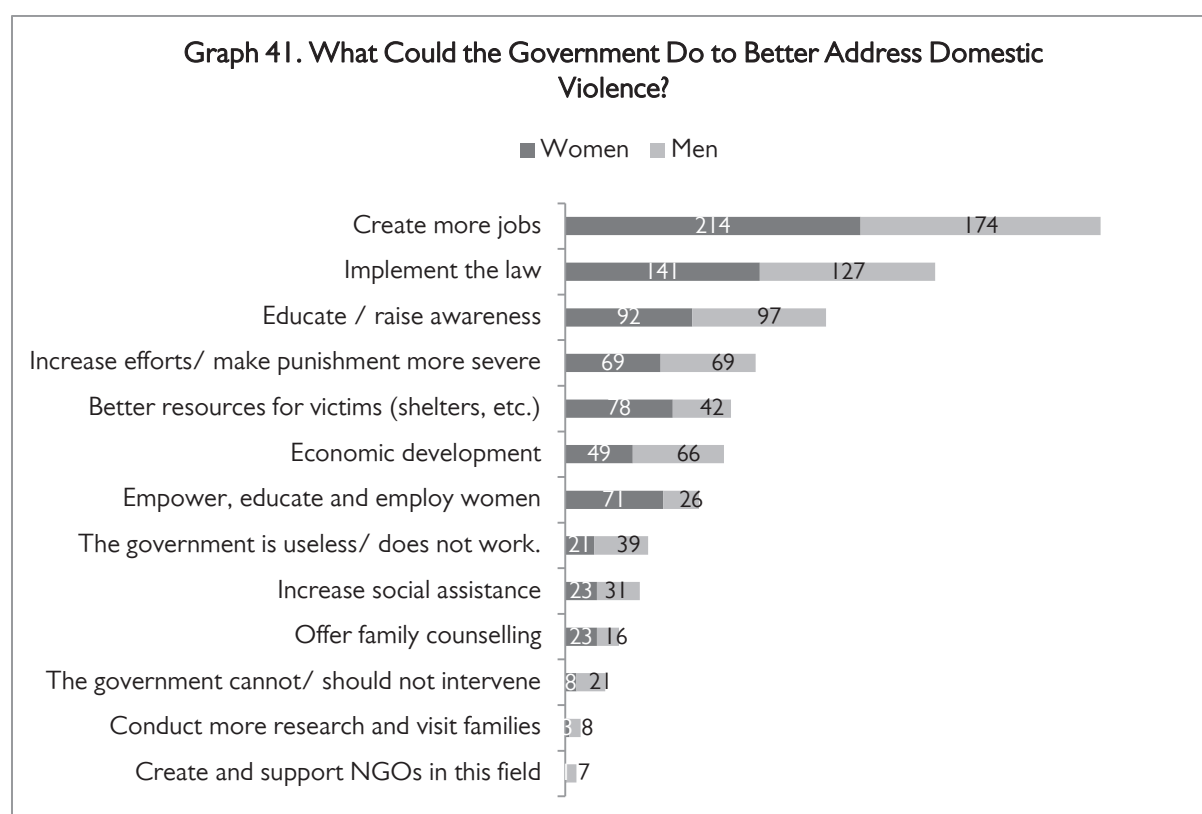
Among the respondents who had suffered violence, most (35) said that speaking with friends and family members (30) made them feel better. Of the 23 respondents who told friends about the violence they were suffering, all but two said they were treated well or very well by their friends. For those who told other family members about the violence, most similarly felt that family members treated them very well or well. A few felt that they were treated badly or very badly. Others said that they coped with the violence by living somewhere else for a while; doing something with their hands (e.g., sewing or chopping wood); sleeping; or not speaking.

KWN also asked all survey respondents more generally how they thought society and the government could stop violence or lessen its harm. Most people think that persons suffering violence can use support from a psychologist, psychiatrist, or counsellor (see Graph 40). The next most common responses were that persons suffering violence can use assistance finding employment, family counselling, safe accommodation, or shelter. Respondents also mentioned access to education, access to free healthcare, free legal assistance, assistance securing a house, assistance securing land, and assistance with starting a business.



With regard to the government approach to domestic violence, most respondents said that creating more jobs would be among the best ways to prevent domestic violence (see Graph 41). The second most common response was the need for the government to implement and/or enforce the existing legal framework related to domestic violence. Others suggested better education and awareness-raising for citizens; making punishments for perpetrators more severe; setting aside more resources for persons who suffer violence (e.g., shelters, etc.); economic development; and to empower, educate, and employ women. Fewer respondents suggested increasing social assistance, offering family counselling, visiting families experiencing violence, and supporting NGOs working in this field.

A few respondents said that the government is useless or does not work; they did not believe that the government would act on any recommendations given. Others said that domestic violence is an internal issue that should be dealt with by families, and the government should not intervene.



PREVENTION, PROTECTION, PROSECUTION, REHABILITATION: Institutional Response

This section examines the performance of each institution responsible for providing prevention, protection, prosecution, rehabilitation, and reintegration services, respectively. It also examines the extent to which these institutions have a coordinated response. Findings draw primarily from interviews with diverse institutions.

A general consensus existed among interview respondents that overall attitudes and institutional response to domestic violence have improved since KWN's 2008 research, as well as following improvements to the legal framework in 2011. Despite progress, a recurring theme among respondents was that still "the state does not offer enough protection for women who report violence." As a social worker said:

"What we have noticed is that for people who come to [our NGO] to ask for help, it is usually the last call after already reporting it to police and going to court. It is the last call for help after not being supported by anybody."

- NGO Representative

There are some steps missing in the process of offering services by institutions. Therefore you can't freely say to someone, "Go on, report the case," since you can't promise that person that institutions will support them to the end of the process and that the process won't be stuck somewhere.¹⁸⁶

Some interview respondents also pointed to differences in knowledge and approach among colleagues, particularly of different generations, even though they had attended similar trainings and had the same legal roles and responsibilities.

KWN observed progress in institutional knowledge and approach compared to interviews conducted with officials in prior years. However, there were a few officials (a VA and a DVIU police officer in particular) that remained the same as in 2008. For example, they still believed that it was acceptable for a husband to beat his wife when she had not prepared lunch or because she watches too many soap operas. Such statements point to beliefs among some representatives of institutions that may undermine their ability to fulfil their legal responsibilities to protect persons who have suffered domestic violence.

Blaming the Victim

The term "blaming the victim" refers to the inclination to consider the victim partially or fully responsible for the crime or wrongful act committed against them. In Kosovo, blaming women for the violence they suffer. Respondents from institutions also placed the burden of addressing domestic violence on women alone. The following statements are telling:

"The Law does not function. Usually the police say, 'It was your fault. Probably you did something wrong. Your husband beat you because you've done something.'" - NGO representative

"Everyone perceives things in a different way. Sometimes they say it is the woman's fault because she did something or did not respect him, and it came to the point that he had no choice but to use violence." - Teacher

"Men will not be forgiven for the violence but women should know their duties in the family." - Police officer

“If a woman faces domestic violence, the best thing is to stay in the room we have here until men, the partners of Albanian woman, have more awareness regarding domestic violence.” – Police officer

“The best thing a woman that faces domestic violence could do is first try to find a common language with her husband. If this doesn’t work, try to find help from surroundings (family, friends).” – Police officer

“A woman who faces domestic violence should report it to the police and an NGO, remove herself from the violent situation, get educated if she is not, and make sure that if she has children that they don’t get victimized.” – School psychologist

Notably the entire focus of these statements is on what women *should do*. The underlying assumption is that if women are better communicators or better perform their socially assigned “duties” in the family or better educate themselves, then violence will not occur. By “blaming the victim” these representatives of institutions disregard entirely the power that men hold over women and the need for men’s behaviour to change. There is insufficient attention to the responsibilities of persons who have perpetrated the violence and how they should take responsibility for changing their behaviour, as well as compensating the victim for damages, where applicable. A failure to address men’s behaviour merely reinforces gender roles that create an enabling environment for violence to occur, placing women at risk of continued violence. This is likely reinforced by the state’s failure to provide adequate rehabilitation programs, including psychological counselling, for perpetrators.

At the same time, there is resistance among some, albeit not all, men and women within institutions to tackling these traditional, patriarchal gender roles. Based on statements made during interviews, some male prosecutors, judges, and police still think that men should have the final say and that their power should not be undermined.¹⁸⁷ A social worker commented, “There are opinions among men that women are asking for too many rights. It’s hard for them [men]; allegedly women have more rights nowadays, since they [men] are used to dominating.”¹⁸⁸ In order to perform their duties to prevent violence and protect persons who have suffered violence, it is essential that all representatives of institutions understand the root causes of violence, namely power and control, and set out to actively address these.

Reconciliation

Closely related, traditional, socially influenced assumptions regarding the importance of the family and how women will be “best off” may prevent officials from implementing their duties to safeguard the rights of women. “If she has children, the best thing to do is to try to bring them [woman and man] together if the violence is not too bad, so that the children don’t grow up on the streets or with their mother who has no income,” a police officer said. The need for the couple to “try to come to an understanding” was a recurring theme among representatives of diverse institutions.¹⁸⁹ They said they attempted to “reconcile” families through “counselling”. Reasons given for this approach included the wellbeing of children, women’s inability to survive independently due to insufficient economic means, and the lack of institutional support available to women who had suffered violence. Notably, these reasons all fall back on the shoulders of institutions themselves and the failure of institutions to provide adequate support to women as foreseen by the legal framework. Further, for most institutions counselling or a reconciliatory role is not foreseen within their competencies or responsibilities. Such an approach denies the rights of persons who suffered violence (usually women), may fail to protect persons from suffering future violence, and violates institutions’ legal responsibilities to address the crimes committed.

Understanding Trauma and Approach

Understanding and communicating with persons who have suffered violence demands an understanding of trauma as well as social pressures, as described previously. Not all representatives of institutions had the right approach in working with persons who had suffered violence and who were likely experiencing trauma. For example, a police officer commented:

It is often not clear whose fault it was. You have to listen to both parties and then decide. Often victims because of pressure tell us something different than what they tell the court. For example, they declare to us that it is life threatening to live with the perpetrator and then in court they change their stories.

Another officer said, “70% of women lie.” A woman who has suffered violence may change her story or her mind *because of* the trauma she suffers or due to social pressure, particularly from family members. In such instances, it is important that institutions understand the person who has suffered violence and why they may change their statements (e.g., due to social pressure). All institutions and police in particular need further training specifically on trauma and how to speak with women who have suffered trauma.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality also remains a challenge across institutions. “It is a problem because we are a small place and people talk,” a police officer said. “In small places it is difficult to keep cases confidential because everybody knows each other,” another respondent agreed. “We had a case in Dragash where a woman said, ‘How can I go to the police when the police is my husband’s uncle?’” Another concern was that with the various institutions involved in domestic violence cases, someone seemed to leak information, and then it was difficult to figure out who was responsible. One police officer said shelters have revealed the location and media have made public the names of persons suffering violence, placing them in further danger. “I would like to shut institutions up,” a seasoned police officer said. “So that they keep things confidential, and so that they do not walk around saying, ‘I did this thing. I met this person.’” Indeed this is crucial for the wellbeing and protection of persons affected by violence.

“It is difficult in Kosovo because we are people who like to gossip.”

- Victim Advocate

While this section has looked at recurring trends and issues across institutions responsible for addressing domestic violence, the sections that follow examine individual institutions and the extent to which they have fulfilled their roles and responsibilities in accordance with the applicable legal framework.

National Coordinator against Domestic Violence

The National Coordinator against Domestic Violence is selected by default as the person serving as the Deputy Minister of Justice and is mandated, among other responsibilities, to oversee the implementation of the Kosovo Programme against Domestic Violence, coordinate the work of the Inter-Ministerial Working Group on Domestic Violence and monitor the implementation of activities related to the implementation of the NAP.¹⁹⁰ The naming of a National Coordinator sought to replicate the positive example of the National Coordinator against Trafficking in Human Beings, who sat at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Initially, debate existed as to where the National Coordinator against Domestic Violence should be seated: AGE, the Ministry of Justice, or MLSW. Among some international actors in particular, there was a feeling that MLSW already was overloaded with other responsibilities. The placement of the Coordinator in the Ministry of Justice therefore was encouraged.¹⁹¹ The idea of having a politically appointed National Coordinator was to ensure enhanced political will.¹⁹² KWN expressed concern at the time that this would place a very narrow,

justice-centric focus on domestic violence. This could mean insufficient attention to the holistic approach needed to address rehabilitation and reintegration as well.

After the establishment of the National Coordinator position, Kosovo experienced an elongated election process that left Kosovo without an appointed National Coordinator for several months, causing delays in coordination and in the drafting of a new Programme and NAP. For this reason, it would be advisable to create a permanent Secretariat led by civil servants. With a sufficient government budget and clear responsibilities, the Secretariat could develop expertise in this area that could carry on despite changes in political leadership overtime. Further, an inter-ministerial working group could be established on domestic violence. This would improve coordination among key institutions and other stakeholders at the central level towards better addressing domestic violence in Kosovo, improving services provided to persons who have suffered domestic violence and perpetrators, preventing recidivism. By involving civil servants, civil society, and other key stakeholders, the group could withstand shifts in government, safeguarding sustainable service-provision towards addressing domestic violence.¹⁹³ The National Coordinator in close cooperation with this group also needs to establish a sustainable governmental solution for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the Law, new Program, and new NAP, which has not existed to date.

Police

The Kosovo police investigate crimes related to domestic violence, as well as refers persons suffering from violence for other services. Police support the prosecution of crimes committed within a domestic relationship in accordance with the Criminal Code of Kosovo (CCK). As stated, the CCK provides for *ex officio* (automatic) prosecution in crimes of light bodily injury, severe bodily injury, slavery-like conditions, forced labour, rape, and sexual assault when conducted in a domestic relationship.¹⁹⁴ Violations of protection orders are considered a basis for investigation and *ex officio* prosecution, as well, as per the Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.¹⁹⁵ Police also can implement this Law by issuing Temporary Emergency Protection Orders when courts are closed.¹⁹⁶ Police should accompany the victim to take her/his personal belongings; respond to any reports of threats or acts of domestic violence, or when suspicions exist that acts of domestic violence have occurred; and arrest immediately alleged perpetrators.¹⁹⁷ In addition to a regular telephone line for contacting police, they have a special free of charge line for domestic violence calls open from 8:00 to 22:00: 0800 11 112. However, the limited hours of operation are not in line with the consistent support foreseen to be provided by police in the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.¹⁹⁸ In order to effectively carry out their mandate, police have established Domestic Violence Investigation Units (DVIU) consisting of a woman and a man in every municipality.

Improved clarity in procedures has reportedly facilitated the work of police officers in recent years.¹⁹⁹ Compared to other actors, police demonstrated greater knowledge of their responsibilities and duties in accordance with SOPs. An added value for police has been that SOPs are very similar to the general operating procedures of the police. While most officers interviewed appeared to be familiar with SOPs, a few were not. Most, albeit not all, police officers were familiar with their confidentiality policy, particularly concerning identities of victims and suspects. Some interview respondents pointed to a remaining lack of knowledge in some locations that police can issue Temporary Emergency Protection Orders, and in some cases other respondents said that police did not perform this duty well.²⁰⁰ At the same time, information on violations of protection orders reportedly is not readily available to police, even though they are often the first to arrive at a domestic violence scene and need to be informed if a protection order has been breached.²⁰¹

All police have received mandatory, one-week obligatory basic training on domestic violence at the Kosovo Police School, and DVIU officers receive additional training on SOPs and the broader legal framework related to domestic violence specifically. In addition to this hitherto institutionalized training, an aim of the NAP was to “further develop the capacity of the Kosovo Police in order to change the approach towards violence, victims and perpetrators.”²⁰² In this regard, several trainings were organized for police, including by international organizations. Training dealt with themes including the reintegration of victims and child victims, officers said. Respondents thus tended to agree that this

aim of the NAP has been achieved at least partially. However, some police officers expressed frustration that “only people with connections go to trainings,” particularly study visits abroad, although these officers may not even deal directly with domestic violence cases. Further, concerning, a few police said that they never attended any training related to domestic violence. Despite improvements, a need for additional training still exists, respondents said, to ensure that all police officers have sufficient basic training. “Sometimes it happens that a patrol officer has to go handle a case and doesn’t know what to do,” a DVIU officer said. Understaffing in police stations can mean that patrol officers must know how to handle such cases in emergency situations.

As foreseen in NAP 2.2.2, necessary equipment was provided to some police stations, primarily by international actors. This included computers, printers, cameras, mobile phones, toys for children, sofas, and equipping at least seven child-friendly domestic violence investigation rooms at police stations. While some stations received financial support for establishing child-friendly interview rooms, others still lack space and materials for children. An officer said:

It’s very problematic when children are present in the police station. We don’t have funds to buy them food if they are hungry or anywhere to send them while we interview their parents. The procedures in the station can last one to six hours, and parents have to stay for our needs. [...] Where can we offer children some relaxation, or how can we make it possible for them not to understand this harsh situation?²⁰³

Several police officers said they still do not have sufficient space or equipment, including vehicles, cameras, and phone credit.

Also according to NAP, police should inform the population about institutions where they can report domestic violence. Through community policing and other meetings with citizens, police remain one of few institutions proactively in contact with citizens, informing them about institutions offering protection from domestic violence. However, comments made by some DVIU officers suggest that they may not all provide the most accurate information (see below).

Interview respondents generally commented that police were efficient and serious in their work, noting improvements over time. “There is awareness about domestic violence at an institutional level. We had to work and reform the police, in order for them to see that domestic violence cases need to be handled institutionally.”²⁰⁴ Another respondent said that there was increased awareness among police on how to avoid re-victimizing persons who report domestic violence.²⁰⁵ For the most part, interviews with police suggest that their perception and approach in assisting persons who suffered violence had tended to improve. However, some police officers’ comments suggest that culture and blaming the victim may interfere with their ability to effectively carry out their responsibilities.²⁰⁶ “You still have police who think it [domestic violence] is ok in certain cases,” a respondent said.²⁰⁷ For example, a DVIU officer said:

After these campaigns, usually there is an increase in reporting. Sometimes it is good to inform them, sometimes not. I mean it is good, but it is also good to inform them about family relationships and responsibilities, not only law. After work is done, we go home to do our chores. Just like in an institution, everyone in a family has their responsibilities. Now, if you sit down and watch television, when the husband comes home and there is no food, it is normal that frustrations build up and sometimes violence happens.²⁰⁸

Comments made by some police officers suggest that not all officers consider domestic violence worthy of reporting or responding to:

I am not saying not to ask for help when a woman is a victim of repeated domestic violence, because it is difficult to rehabilitate a [person who suffered] repeated violence. But I am also not saying to go immediately and ask for help from the police, or to the victim advocate’s office. Of

course the doors will always be open, but we are ALBANIANS. Even the Law allows us to fix some small things, to try and find solutions.²⁰⁹

The fact that some DVIU officers consider domestic violence okay in certain situations is worrying. Their comments suggest that officers may be reinforcing traditional gender roles that create an enabling environment for violence to occur, as discussed previously. There is no excuse for officers failing to respond to any report of domestic violence whether it is the first report or hundredth; whether it involves physical or psychological violence; whether officers believe in their own personal opinion that the woman carried out her household responsibilities or not.

The notion that violence must be serious and violent in order for it to be reported to police also persists among some officers. "I still believe that women should only report if there is *real* domestic violence," an officer said. "We have a shared mentality that it is unacceptable if a woman reports violence just for a slap, even though I am a feminist." This too suggests a lack of knowledge and understanding as to what domestic violence consists of in accordance with Kosovo law, and of the negative impact that psychological and non-physical forms of violence can have.

Although 73.6% of Kosovars identify police as a location to receive assistance (with few knowing about other institutions providing assistance), 24.9% still think "there is no point in calling police when violence happens because police will not do anything." Indeed, survey respondents detailed several cases of persons they knew personal experiences in which "the police came, but nothing happened."²¹⁰ Further, a representative of an organization assisting persons with disabilities said that when persons with disabilities summon the confidence to report violence, police "offend" them.²¹¹ Additional work may be needed with some police to further emphasize the rights of persons to seek help.

Among the survey respondents who had suffered violence, only 12 called police. Of them, eight said they were treated "very well" and one was treated "well", whereas two women said they were treated "badly" and a man said he was treated "very badly." Survey respondents mentioned instances of police arriving at the scene, but not arresting the perpetrator.²¹² In one instance, "The husband of the woman who experienced violence is a policeman. Therefore, he was not arrested or convicted. After the wife went to report him, nothing was done by the police."²¹³

Several survey respondents reported recidivist violence occurring in families they knew, but said that police "only came to calm the situation." In some instances, perpetrators allegedly had acquaintances among the police who released them. Several respondents also reported instances when police merely arrested the perpetrator, but soon after released him. "The victim has reported her husband several times to the police," said a woman from Peja. "The husband was arrested, but stayed in prison for a couple hours and was immediately released. In the end, the victim divorced her husband." This and several other specific cases mentioned by survey respondents suggest that instances may still occur when police consider short-term detainment a sufficient sentence, though they are not authorized to make such decisions.²¹⁴

In other instances, "reconciliation" among family members led police to drop charges against perpetrators. The tale of one survey respondent was exemplary of others: "It happened in the evening. They called the police, who came and took the perpetrator and made him stay in the police station for a night. After that, they called his wife to give a declaration and she forgave him, so he was released."²¹⁵ However, police do not have the authority to release alleged perpetrators from criminal charges following short-term detention or to drop criminal charges due to family "reconciliation". As stated previously, in accordance with the Criminal Code, police must ensure that all crimes committed within a domestic relationship are investigated *ex officio*.

In sum, among issues still present within the police force, respondents mentioned not taking cases reported by women seriously, a failure to investigate all reports of domestic violence, a poor approach in communicating with persons who had suffered violence, and corruption.

"We had a case when the victim could not find her report in the police. The perpetrator corrupted a policeman, so her file was lost. We could not gather enough evidence to prove that she was a victim of domestic violence."

- Legal Aid Officer

Kosovo Academy for Public Safety

The Kosovo Academy for Public Safety (KAPS) organizes training and higher education for persons obliged to implement Kosovo laws, including Kosovo Police, the Police Inspectorate, Kosovo Probation Service, Kosovo Correctional Service, and Customs. Besides obligatory basic courses for these officials, the Division for Advanced and Specialized Trainings within KAPS organizes trainings for DVIUs on “Investigating Domestic Violence”.²¹⁶ The Training Department selects all participants, and trainings are mandatory for those selected. Since 2010, the Academy has organized 20 such trainings. Each session lasts five intensive days (35 hours). In total, 281 officials have been trained (67 women and 264 men). The low number of women participants may impact the performance of Kosovo Police in offering adequate services to persons who suffered domestic violence. KAPS also faces the recurring obstacle of insufficient funding in its budget to cover training costs.

Prosecution

“The State Prosecutor is obliged to review evidence of an alleged domestic violence incident to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to justify and support prosecution, including any violation of protection orders.”²¹⁷ Cooperation between prosecutors and police thus is crucial in cases of domestic violence. When informed about a case, prosecutors are obliged to act with urgency and priority, taking into account the specificities of the case. Prosecutors also are obliged to ensure that during interviews with persons who suffered violence, all persons envisaged by the law are present, including the person who suffered violence, VA, social worker, prosecutor, and health practitioners. Other duties of prosecutors include overseeing the work of police, mainly DVIUs, ensuring all steps are undertaken in collecting evidence. When investigations are complete and evidence is sufficient, the prosecution without delay should press charges or drop charges. All information related to the case is supposedly kept confidential until the charges are made, at which point information is made public. The suspect may be arrested and detention imposed. Detention measures can be imposed by the pre-trial judge after a written proposal of the prosecution, when conditions foreseen in the Criminal Procedure Code are fulfilled. When working with a child victim, the prosecutor is obliged to treat the case in a way that best serves the child.²¹⁸

Prosecutors are aware of their duties foreseen in SOPs but they need adequate infrastructure in order to perform their duties, they said. Prosecutors tend to agree that their attitudes and approach have remained the same over time, as their duties have not changed substantially. Other respondents pointed to challenges, such as the slow processing of cases. “Cases usually get stuck at the prosecutor’s office,” a representative of an organization assisting persons who suffered domestic violence said. “They say reported cases never were brought to them by police, whereas police say cases are filed at the prosecutor’s. There is miscommunication between institutions. Sometimes there is not enough evidence.” Thus, while the NAP foresees activities to be undertaken by the prosecution in order to improve their performance, it seems that not all basic prosecutors have done so.

The prosecution is updating its database. It will include only prosecution cases without information from other relevant institutions, as foreseen by the NAP.²¹⁹ The NAP also foresaw more space in prosecutors’ offices. The basic prosecution in the Municipality of Prizren said they have sufficient space to perform their duties. However, the situation is very bad in other prosecution offices, including in Gjakova and Mitrovica. A prosecutor commented:

We lack space to do interviews, and for the time being this is a priority. If we have a case with a traumatized person or when children are involved, it is very difficult to treat those cases since we cannot proceed to interview the victim while children are present. We don’t have somewhere to send these children. We cannot leave them in the corridor or in the same room with the victim.²²⁰

The prosecution has dedicated prosecutors who work only with cases of domestic violence, and this was seen as a positive step towards addressing such cases. Prosecutors interviewed by KWN seem

aware of their duties and obligations according to SOPs, as well as their legal responsibilities.²²¹ However, interviews with regional basic prosecutors suggest that when children are involved, prosecutors tend to make concessions when they see that persons involved in a domestic violence cases “regret” what they have done: “We take cases of domestic violence with children with more interest. We often ‘soften’ cases of domestic violence by not giving out sentences because the husband and the wife made up so we let go in order not to make the situation worse.”²²² As discussed previously related to the “reconciliation” of domestic violence cases, this approach could contribute to recidivism. Instances of prosecutors considering domestic violence a private, “family issue” also were reported by respondents.

Victim Advocates

The Victims Advocacy and Assistance Office (VAAO) is located within the Office of the Kosovo State Prosecutor. According to SOPs, “Victim Advocates usually meet victims immediately after police respond to a reported case of domestic violence. The responsibility of Victim Advocates is to ensure that persons who suffered violence understand services that the state provides and how to access such services.”²²³ With a new mandate under the 2013 Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, VAs have an enhanced role in representing victims’ interests by requesting protection of rights on their behalf.²²⁴ In total, VAs have assisted 2,920 cases of domestic violence to date.

VAAO has a free-of-charge helpline for persons to report and/or receive assistance related to domestic violence: 0800 11 112. An operator is consistently available, 24 hours per day, every day. Established in 2005, the helpline has been functional since 2011.²²⁵ According to VAAO, the helpline is a “confidential mechanism for reporting different criminal offenses of abuse, [to] inform victims and other persons about their rights, [and to] provide necessary information for existing services.”²²⁶ From October 2011 to June 2014, the helpline has received 1,105 calls related to domestic violence, averaging 335 per year.²²⁷ Although the helpline covers the vast majority of Kosovo’s territory, the northern part of the country remains uncovered. This makes it difficult for citizens living in the north to seek help from VAs in cases of domestic violence.

The VAAO also introduced in 2013 a Request Form for the issuance of protection orders which details petitioners, measures that can be requested, and the circumstances relevant for petitioning orders.²²⁸ Previously, the Protection Order request did not include measures foreseen to be issued under the Law. The new Request Form provides information on the available measures foreseen by the Law.

In the past, KWN critiqued petitioning authorities for making limited use of measures foreseen under the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.²²⁹ Persons who have suffered domestic violence often need temporary accommodation after months spent in shelters, payment of rent, and/or payment of alimony for their children, as potential measures foreseen by the Law. KWN viewed that these measures would influence women’s economic independence from men family members, as well as increase the likelihood of persons reporting domestic violence and leaving violent home situations. In previous petitions, however, courts rarely made use of these measures. Most protection orders focused on issuance of one or two measures, such as prohibiting the perpetrator from coming within a specified distance of the victim. Such measures do not meet the longer-term needs of violence survivors.²³⁰ The new Request Form developed by the VAAO has sought to make victims more aware of the measures for which they can petition, contributing to expanding the measures petitioned for by victims and issued by courts.²³¹ Thus, this policy should be seen as a positive development by VAAO. However, the extent to which diverse measures have been claimed and implemented remains to be evaluated.

VAs receive more than two trainings per year on domestic violence, though some respondents pointed to the need for further training for them to be stronger advocates. One VA noted difficulties affiliated with having the legal responsibility to be authorized representatives of victims and monitoring court sessions simultaneously. “To have these two roles during a court hearing is impossible,” he said.

From the interviews KWN conducted with VAs, most seem knowledgeable about their duties and responsibilities as set out in SOPs. However, while some VAs believed there has been

improvement in their approach and attitudes with the recent changes in the legal framework, others did not see any significant change, as “their mission has always been to fight domestic violence.” Other officials have mixed perceptions regarding their collaboration with VAs in relation to domestic violence cases. Police and social workers tend to cooperate well with VAs and value their work positively. NGOs, shelters, and international actors have critiques related primarily to maltreatment of persons affected by domestic violence (e.g., yelling at victims), having traditional views on gender norms, or not informing police or CSWs when a case was reported to them. Moreover, VAs reportedly struggle to maintain a common understanding of their duties and responsibilities in cases of domestic violence, particularly after the change of their mandate based on the new Criminal Code.²³² Further research is needed to examine how their new mandate affects in practice protection and assistance of persons who have suffered domestic violence.

Legal Aid Offices

Legal Aid Offices provide legal remedies to vulnerable groups covered by social assistance. In 2012, the Kosovo Law on Legal Aid also enlisted domestic violence victims as an eligible category to initiate procedures for claiming free legal aid.²³³ In this sense, Legal Aid Officers’ role differs from that of VAs, which handle all crime cases. If persons claiming free legal aid lack sufficient documentation of their eligibility, VAs can provide a written statement on their behalf, requesting aid.²³⁴ The Law on Free Legal Aid informs officials specifically about the importance of confidentiality.²³⁵

As required by NAP 2.3.1, Legal Aid Offices prepared and distributed brochures informing citizens about legal aid. Legal Aid Officers also received training on the domestic violence legal framework.

Concern remains over the financing of several Legal Aid Offices in Kosovo. Long dependent on international funding, eight offices closed in June 2015.²³⁶ Now only the five, state-funded Legal Aid Offices are operational in Prishtina, Prizren, Peja, Mitrovica, and Gjilan. This is insufficient to cover the level of need. A permanent budget allocation by the government of Kosovo to fund all offices is needed.

The Ombudsperson Institution

Domestic violence is a human rights issue. The Ombudsperson Institution is responsible for addressing accusations of human rights violations by the state.²³⁷ Therefore, if a Kosovo institution, while addressing a domestic violence case, mistreats a victim of domestic violence, the victim may report the case to the Ombudsperson for investigation and assistance. The Ombudsperson has regional offices in Prishtina, Peja, Prizren, Mitrovica, Gjakova, Gjilan, and Graçanica. Regional offices have a Unit on Gender Equality and an Officer on Gender Equality. With regard to confidentiality, employees of the Ombudsperson Institution must sign a declaration that obliges them not to share information. Clients agree which information may be shared with other institutions.

The Ombudsperson seems to have treated only one case of domestic violence (in 2012),²³⁸ which resulted in the dismissal of a judge for not performing his duties according to the legal framework.²³⁹ Other domestic violence cases addressed to the Ombudsperson were referred to other relevant institutions where they could receive assistance, since these cases were outside the specific responsibilities of the Ombudsperson.²⁴⁰

The Ombudsperson considers that domestic violence is among the main issues that need to be addressed by governmental and non-governmental bodies.²⁴¹ A concern raised by the Ombudsperson is the lack of transparency of governmental bodies regarding their responsibilities related to addressing domestic violence. For example, the Ombudsperson considers that the Office for Good Governance in the Office of the Prime Minister has a responsibility to report to the parliament regarding steps taken in addressing domestic violence in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. However, this has never happened in practice, he said.

For the Ombudsperson, it is crucial to ensure that the entire chain of institutions addressing domestic violence functions properly. For example, he considers the lack of compensation for victims

of domestic violence a significant indicator that this “chain” does not function properly. Another obstacle identified by the Ombudsperson is the lack of monitoring mechanisms for all institutions responsible for addressing domestic violence. Other obstacles are related to the varying practices of judges in different regions, which are not unified, he said.

Witness Protection

Some respondents mentioned that the lack of protection available to persons reporting domestic violence prevented them from reporting it. In addition to protection orders, for violent crimes Kosovo’s witness protection system also foresees measures, such as: relocation of witnesses, bilateral agreements in between Kosovo and other countries to protect sensitive cases in need of protection, and financial support for witnesses under protection.²⁴² The Law on Witness Protection states that there is a Committee for Witness Protection, comprised of the Chief State Prosecutor of the Republic of Kosovo, the Head of the Investigation Unit of the Kosovo Police and the Director of the Witness Protection Directorate, housed within the police.

KWN did not find any evidence of persons who had suffered violent crimes receiving protection as part of the witness protection system. A recent report mentions a lack of political will and lack of oversight of the Committee as core challenges to ensuring witness protection.²⁴³

Other potential ways of protecting the witness can include: ensuring that during court proceedings they are able to submit evidence without having to confront the perpetrator directly; ensuring that they can wait in rooms separate from the perpetrator; and ensuring safe transport to and from the trial. In Kosovo, the Criminal Procedure Code states that during the pre-trial testimony, in “more serious cases” the testimony of the witness can be transcribed verbatim, audio recorded, or video recorded.²⁴⁴ It then “may be used as direct evidence when that witness is not available.” However, this cannot be the only evidence, and it must be corroborated by other evidence. KWN was unable to collect information regarding whether this has been practiced in Kosovo in domestic violence cases. The protections available to persons who have suffered domestic violence could be an area for further study.

Basic Courts in Civil Proceedings

Courts play a crucial role in the process of ensuring fair and lawful treatment of domestic violence cases. Courts are responsible to treat all parties, including domestic violence victims and perpetrators, impartially and with dignity. As part of a civil procedure, courts review requests for Protection Orders and Emergency Protection Orders, deciding on protection measures provided for by the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence. Courts are obliged to make decisions regarding protection orders within the legal timelines foreseen in the Law. As per SOPs, courts must review domestic violence cases as a matter of priority and urgency. The ethical code of judges also calls for them to ensure complete confidentiality in cases, though a couple judges interviewed seemed not to know about this nor how it functioned.

In 2014, AGE published a commentary on the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, which sought to provide guidance to judges in handling domestic violence cases.²⁴⁵ It was distributed in all courts throughout Kosovo. Further, the Judges and Prosecutors Forum is preparing a professional manual for judges and prosecutors on the treatment of domestic violence cases. The Kosovo Judicial Institute has trained judges in the treatment of cases from the moment they are reported, to interpreting legal provisions. However, the trainings have not been obligatory and judges have chosen whether to attend.

“We drafted the Commentary on the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, precisely to facilitate judges’ work and for them not to be puzzled regarding how they should act when they deal with a domestic violence case.”

- AGE representative

Overall, judges tend to be aware of their duties according to SOPs. However, few are informed of the NAP or their responsibilities under it. For example, only two judges reported that they had

implemented NAP activity 4.1.2., “offering of free services and legal counselling for the victims of domestic violence and offering free legal protection for those victims.”

A fairly broad consensus seems to exist among respondents that courts have improved their performance with domestic violence cases, though further improvements were still needed. Some respondents saw the Diana Kastrati case as key in influencing changed behaviours. A CSO representative commented:

The situation was terrible in 2010 and 2011. [Before the Diana Kastrati case] you had judges who did not even know there was a law on domestic violence in place. They would say, “It’s not the end of the world that the husband gave her a slap. He did it out of love.” After the Diana Kastrati case, we launched a media campaign on this issue and things changed. Now courts have a specialized judge who deals with these cases. When they are specialists in the field, the attitudes shift.²⁴⁶

The Diana Kastrati ruling of the Constitutional Court is considered a ground-breaking case related to domestic violence in Kosovo *because* it mobilized the response of the Kosovo judiciary by requiring that cases of domestic violence, i.e. the issuance of protection orders by Kosovo courts, should be prioritized in accordance with the timelines foreseen by the Law on Protection Against Domestic Violence. Further, the Kosovo Judicial Council issued decision Nr. 22/2012 as a result of this Constitutional Court ruling, requiring Kosovo judges to act promptly on the issuance of protection orders. This changed the initial requirements of the Kosovo Judicial Council Strategy on Reduction of Backlog cases, which did not consider domestic violence cases a priority.

“Judges insist on returning women to their homes [where violence occurred]. Judges don’t want prolongation of cases, since they want to finish a case with only one court session. If she [the victim] would come to the shelter, there would be more work, since there would be more sessions until the case is resolved. Judges are not interested what women want.”

- Shelter representative

Since then, the identification of civil court judges specialized in domestic violence was evaluated as a very positive step towards improving institutional response to domestic violence cases. Moreover, respondents mentioned the prioritization of domestic violence cases and timely response of courts in issuing Protection Orders and Emergency Protection Orders as important improvements in courts’ response to domestic violence cases.²⁴⁷

Despite these improvements, some challenges persist. “Delays in issuing protection orders have been reported in cases when specialized judges are on leave or enter pension.”²⁴⁸ Moreover, as mentioned, KWN reported in 2009 that judges tend to use only a few of the possible measures that they can assign as part of protection orders. Evidence suggests that courts mainly reconcile couples. The aforementioned *Commentary on the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence* noted this as a concern:

It is proved that in majority of cases, during the trials of domestic violence, the judges take the role of reconciling the victim and the perpetrator instead of proceeding and protecting the victim as required by the Law. The delay of the trial procedures by focusing on reconciliation [*sic*] the parties, has caused such consequences as recurring domestic violence and failure to provide adequate protection for the victim as required by this Law.²⁴⁹

Most persons who suffered domestic violence (including their children) were frequently sent back to houses where perpetrators resided, without analysing the impact this could have on their mental and physical health.²⁵⁰ Alternatively, women were forced to go to shelters. Some respondents disagreed with the approach of “perpetrators staying at home, victims sent to shelters.” They felt that courts should provide for perpetrators to be sent away or to pay rent, as foreseen as possible measures in the Law. The limited use of measures seemingly continues today, according to interview respondents

from diverse institutions. Officials have stated that they use limited measures out of concern whether a certain measure is implementable and if it is relatively easy for police to monitor adherence. Judges apparently give out few measures with the Protection Measure on Prohibition of Approaching the Domestic Violence Victim being the most frequently issued.²⁵¹

At the same time, officials commented on challenges faced with the implementation of protection orders *in practice*. Challenges existed with measures on the prohibition of approaching victims and on the temporary division of property among spouses.²⁵² This relates to the living conditions of some Kosovars, involving extended family households where the person who suffered domestic violence resides with and therefore must deal with reactions from the perpetrator's family, angered that he/she cannot visit the house. The Head of a Basic Court observed that it is difficult to implement this measure when many people share a two bedroom flat and have nowhere else to go, unless the state invests in social housing.²⁵³ A Basic Court judge elaborated:

Look, it is very difficult to implement the law because of circumstances and conditions in Kosovo, socio-economic or material. I had a case when the husband sent his wife out of the home, and she was left outside. Her family didn't want her back. She didn't have any way to support herself, a safe place, or to pay rent. I had such cases, but the appeal court considers that I am putting too much pressure on men, so they returned the case for review. I am elaborating this case because socio-economic conditions in our society are very harsh for effectively implementing the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence. The circumstances are determined by economic condition. [If] he does not work and he has no chance to pay rent, it's useless to give that measure.²⁵⁴

Also due to conditions in Kosovo, namely unavailable locations for treatment of perpetrators, respondents said judges seldom gave measures for counselling perpetrators.

In 2009, KWN found that institutions tended to use the Family Law, which encourages reconciliation among family members, rather than *ex officio* prosecution for crimes committed within a domestic relationship. The idea that "reconciliation"

"Usually after two weeks of the husband [perpetrator] being in prison, she asks for him to be released because of the children and because she is not employed and cannot sustain her family."

- Prosecutor

can be used in place of criminal court trials persisted among some judges in 2015. Belief in reconciliation appears even stronger in domestic violence cases involving children. Uniting the family tends to be considered the best outcome for children. The priority has always been the children of families, then the [legal] measures," a basic court judge told KWN. "Our priority is to protect the family. We usually try to give them advice at first to minimize tensions."²⁵⁵ Out of 36 cases, this judge proudly said he has given 12 protection orders, but the rest he "reconciled." In fact, reconciliation is not foreseen in the duties of judges. The emphasis on reconciliation may contribute to recidivism and perpetuate violence against women (usually), among others, by continuously undermining survivors' rights to effective remedies. Given the recurring attempts to reconcile and the potential this has to violate women's human rights, KWN believes that the Criminal Code clauses related to domestic violence, Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, and Law on Family should explicitly forbid prosecutors and judges from engaging in dispute resolution.

Only three survey respondents who had suffered violence said that they had experience with courts. One woman said she was treated well by the courts, whereas two said they were treated very badly. One particular case detailed by a survey respondent was illustrative of issues that may exist:

The violence was caused by the husband, mother-in-law, and her three sisters-in-law. The case ended in court, where they were divorced without her being present. There wasn't any punishment for the perpetrator, and the lawyer of the victim was corrupted by the opposite side. They never paid the compensation.²⁵⁶

First, in a divorce case, all parties should be present. Second, allegations of violence should have been tried in a criminal court procedure, separate from the civil procedure relating to divorce. Third, there seems to have been a failure in the enforcement of compensation foreseen for the victim. While such issues may not be widespread or fully verifiable through this research, stories told by survey respondents point to potential injustices that may be taking place and should be carefully monitored by the Kosovo Judicial Council, among other actors.

In sum, remaining challenges include a continued lack of prioritization of domestic violence cases, some remaining delays in issuing protection orders, an insufficient number of judges at courts to handle the caseload (which contributes to delays), corruption, nepotism, and a tendency of judges to offer few sustainable measures in protection orders. The lack of functioning courts in northern Kosovo poses a challenge for people residing there in accessing protection orders. The implementation of protection orders in accordance with Kosovo Law also is challenging in the north.²⁵⁷

Courts in Criminal Proceedings

During criminal procedures, courts are competent for sentencing perpetrators of domestic violence, persons who have violated protection orders and persons who have committed a criminal offence within a family relationship. Courts are obliged to inform all parties in the procedure on the rights belonging to them and the consequences of their actions.²⁵⁸

Additionally, under the VAAO mandate, now Article 218 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Kosovo is being used to file a declaration of damages for damages caused sixty days from the filing of the indictment by the prosecutor or after the charged criminal offence. The declaration is intended to support victims to “show the impact the crime had [...] and help [...] the victim to be considered as a party to the criminal proceedings.” This declaration can also serve as a property claim in civil proceedings. VAs or in their absence police officers may help victims complete the form. A more detailed explanation of damages also may be made in court.²⁵⁹

Some representatives of institutions expressed concern that judges provided too low of sentences for crimes committed within domestic relationships.²⁶⁰ One respondent observed that “almost 100%” of sentences in criminal cases involved only bail or probation.²⁶¹ “If you have to pay a

“The execution of sentences takes a long time and is not strict; judges give out minimum sentences.”

- Regional Head of Police

€200 fine for beating her up, you will beat her up three times and only pay €600,” a police officer noted. Reports existed of perpetrators regularly being sentenced with detention or house arrest, which made it possible for them to return home. While some respondents blamed courts, a prosecutor said that “judges complain that reports given to them by the CSW and police are very poor and lack information and that is why they cannot give higher sentences.”

Reports also exist of perpetrators being released early from prison. “Courts are the problem. They let perpetrators free too early,” a police officer said. For example, “We looked for a perpetrator for five months; he had made around ten threats and one attack. When we got him, the court set him free after one month.” In cases of recidivism, some officials also noted that punishment was low. Officials also mentioned the lack of importance given to violations of protection orders. The violation of a protection order very rarely becomes a criminal offence and thus is not identified as a recidivist case, leading to a failure in executing appropriate sentences in accordance with the requirements of the Kosovo Law against Domestic Violence. There are no clear guidelines for practitioners working in the rule of law area on how to handle and monitor protection orders and their violations, to whom the victim should report violations of the protection orders, and how the police should handle these cases.²⁶²

“My neighbor suffered domestic violence from her husband who used to drink a lot. They divorced, but he never got punished for what he did.”

- Man, age 62, Peja

“They took the perpetrator of violence. He remained in jail for one month, and after that he was released. And now he is outside and continues to be dangerous.”

- Man, age 62, Ferizaj

In sum, challenges interview respondents identified included: delays in issuing sentences in some courts; an insufficient number of judges at courts to handle the caseload (which contributes to delays); corruption; nepotism; and low sentences. A challenge specific to northern Kosovo is the lack of functioning courts, which makes it difficult for persons experiencing violence to access justice.

Kosovo Correctional Service

The Kosovo Correctional Service (KCS) has the mission to “re-socialize prisoners respecting their fundamental rights regardless of race, language and religion as well as providing an safe environment for staff, inmates and society.”²⁶³ KCS is responsible for prisoners, detainees, and minors in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Kosovo, European conventions, and other relevant regulations. When courts decide the verdict for prisoners, detainees, or minors, an individual plan is prepared for their time in the correctional service. In terms of rehabilitation, social workers together with other experts such as physicians, psychiatrists, and psychologists examine their physical and psychological condition. If the person has problems related to alcohol and/or drug abuse or shows signs of any psychological issue, KCS must create conditions for them to receive the proper treatment. If KCS lacks professionals for treating them, they cooperate with other institutions that provide such treatment, such as the Psychiatry Hospital, Forensic Institution, and the Medico-Psychotherapeutic Centre Labyrinth. In terms of re-socializing the convicted, KCS cooperates with MEST, the Ministry of Justice, MLSW, Regional Employment Centres, CSWs, and Municipal Departments for Education. While their cooperation is positive, financial challenges can make resocialization difficult. “The State lacks budget to decrease unemployment for the general population, let alone these cases,” a KCS representative said.²⁶⁴ In general, KCS representatives seem knowledgeable of the legal framework on domestic violence. KCS did not maintain any record of the number of domestic violence related cases they had or of the types of services provided in such cases.

Probation Services

Located within the Ministry of Justice, Probation Services is responsible for organizing, applying and supervising the execution of alternative punishments and the social reintegration of convicted persons.²⁶⁵ Probation Services’ mission is “the reduction of crime, the reduction of recidivism rate, creation and increase of security for our society.” Moreover, Probation Services is responsible for assessing how to treat persons who committed criminal acts; executing measures for juvenile delinquents; “supervising and assisting convicted persons serving alternative punishments; supervising and assisting perpetrators addicted to drugs or alcohol subject to mandatory rehabilitation treatment executed in liberty; supervising and supporting convicted persons on parole; developing individual supervision programs;” reporting to prosecutors, courts, and the Parole Panel on the execution of alternative punishments and parole; assisting convicted persons in completing their sentence; and data management.²⁶⁶

Considering that one prosecutor believed “almost 100%” of cases are sent for probation, it is interesting to note that Probations Services did not recall assisting a single domestic violence case.²⁶⁷ For individuals serving prison sentences for committing crimes within domestic relationships, a serious issue remains their rehabilitation and reintegration. Perpetrators cannot re-enter society without any support, guidance, or newly acquired skills to cope with socio-psychological issues that may have contributed to them carrying out violence. Indeed respondents from different institutions mentioned the lack of treatment programs for persons who committed such crimes as problematic when it comes to minimizing recidivism.

Centres for Social Work

Centres for Social Work (CSWs) are public institutions at the municipal level, competent to protect citizens in need of social and family services, including protection and provision of services to persons who have suffered domestic violence. CSWs coordinate activities with other actors in the

process of supporting and empowering violence survivors. According to SOPs, CSWs provide social and family services for all referred or identified victims on the basis of a victim's needs assessment and is obliged to coordinate a victim's social services up to his/her reintegration in the society. CSWs appoint an officer as a Case Manager for each case who provides support and services. The Case Manager takes over the responsibility for case supervision. Case Managers assess the social and economic position of victims of domestic violence. This enables CSWs to identify victims' needs and to coordinate respective services. Home visits may be conducted with the aim of assessing the general position of the family, shelter, etc.²⁶⁸

CSWs also are the institution responsible for protecting the rights of the child. CSWs thus have a wide mandate to provide social care and/or counselling for children in need i.e. without parental care, who have a mental disability or illness, have a physical disability, are delinquents, or suffer from family conflicts.²⁶⁹ They also possess guardianship authority for juveniles, according to the Kosovo Juvenile Justice Code.²⁷⁰ Social workers must testify in court cases regarding the needs of the child. They must also visit families where violence has occurred to ensure that children are okay.

Respondents expressed some concern with the transfer of former MLSW responsibilities to CSWs. Concerns mostly relate to a lack of competency among CSW staff for carrying out all of their duties, and the insufficient budget allocated to the municipal level for performing these duties.²⁷¹

“They [CSWs] do not come to visit them, or to see if they are going to school, or if they are sick. This is their responsibility, but they always say that they don’t have means for transport.”

- Shelter representative

Some respondents felt the performance of CSWs had improved and that they treated persons who suffered violence “well”. Meanwhile, other respondents said some are better than others. Concerns expressed by officials working directly with this institution (such as VAs, Police, courts, and shelters) relate to their commitment to cases they support and monitor. Critiques include not having enough professional staff, not responding to requests (due to lack of staff), breaching client confidentiality, not monitoring children after they are sheltered,²⁷² and not being present at court hearings even though they are called to do so. KWN’s 2009 research also found that CSWs failed to appear in court for cases involving minors.²⁷³

In accordance with the Family Law and their Code of Ethics, social workers must ensure confidentiality. One social worker said, “It is important and it can be kept with effort.” Another stated that confidentiality “is not respected as it should be in our CSW.” Working conditions also made confidentiality difficult for some social workers, as one said:

It is a problem with us Albanians. We like to know everything. Especially in our building it is difficult where we don’t have a special room for interviews. Also, the first floor is a café and the second is social services. This needs to change so that parties cannot see each other. It could happen that a party comes for social assistance and sees the other coming for domestic violence. Especially women who like to know everything [and] will start asking, “What are you doing here?”

While child-friendly interview rooms were established in at least eight CSWs, others said that they lacked sufficient space. “Two social workers share the same office. When we have a case, one of us has to leave the office and wait somewhere outside until the interview with the clients is done,” a social worker said. This could impact on the ability of social workers to work efficiently, considering their caseload.

Some social workers attended training on issues related to domestic violence, though not all could attend.²⁷⁴ Some respondents from CSWs said they had never attended training related to domestic violence. A manual also exists for social workers related to their work against domestic violence. All social workers could benefit from training in counselling perpetrators of violence.

When asked about SOPs, some social workers were knowledgeable, whereas others were not, suggesting a lack of sufficient knowledge. Some social workers felt that the approach and attitudes towards domestic violence had improved since 2011. “Before 2011 they [my colleagues] did not take it

too seriously: ‘big deal that he gave her a slap or did not allow her to go to her family’,” a social worker said. “But with time passing, with the trainings we received [...] people started taking it more seriously and realized that it is a bad phenomenon.” Despite some improvements, comments made by other social workers suggest that challenges remain:

The numbers are exaggerated. Everyone experiences violence at some point: psychological, sexual, and economic. We should only report cases that get repeated and cannot be solved. [My] priority is to bring the family back together again because violence can be accidental sometimes and can be solved in hearings.²⁷⁵

CSWs also are involved in case management related to domestic violence cases, particularly when children are involved.²⁷⁶ With support from NGOs and international programs, CSWs in a few municipalities (e.g. Vranjevc, Gracanica, and Fushe Kosovo), have established some social services for persons suffering domestic violence to be interlinked with programs for family empowerment, as foreseen in the NAP.²⁷⁷

Custodial Rights and Access to Children

A recurring theme among survey and interview respondents as to why domestic violence goes unreported is fear among mothers that they will lose their children. As an NGO representative stated, “For the sake of their family and children, women endure violence and tolerate those things that happen to them.”²⁷⁸ For example, a respondent detailed a case: “The woman [new wife / *nusja*] was beaten by her mother-in-law and her husband until she bled. She called the police, but then withdrew the case because of her children and went back to her husband’s home.”²⁷⁹ Interviews suggest that women return to violent home situations due to fear that they will lose their children. The fear that courts always will give custody to men is not fully supported by evidence. In 68% of the 778 court cases that the Lawyers Association Norma observed between 2012 and 2013, children were entrusted to their mothers.²⁸⁰ However, these statistics do not necessarily apply throughout Kosovo.

“There is this case when the husband doesn’t let the mother see their children, even though the court has given her the right to see them once a month.”

- Man, age 62, Prishtina

CSWs play a role in proceedings by recommending to the court the best interests of the child. Most officials working at CSWs said they always take the child’s needs into consideration when advising courts on child custody related matters. By “needs”, social workers usually referred solely to material needs: which parent is employed or has the financial means to support the child? Parenting skills should be monitored by this institution and taken into consideration as well. However, some CSWs have advised courts to give custody to perpetrators of domestic violence merely because of his/her ability

“In cases of child custody, the emotional connection between the child and the parent should be taken into consideration more so than the economic circumstances of the two parents. Some colleagues of mine think that the economic situation is more important.”

- Social Worker

to provide for the child’s or children’s financial needs. As one social worker commented, “When there are children involved, they usually go to the victim not the perpetrator. But sometimes the opposite happens. There is no reason to ask why because the [financial] conditions make it like that.”²⁸¹ This statement is erroneous and without consideration of the risk this may pose for children to suffer violence. Prior KWN research similarly

found child custody was awarded to perpetrators of violence, only because of their better financial position. Financial superiority was valued more highly than the mental and physical wellbeing of children. Instances are described in the report where the perpetrator received custody of children, even though it was known that they used violence against their children as well.²⁸² The best interests of the child must be the priority.

The presence of other family members also involved in caring for children also presented a challenge in some circumstances. For example, a social worker said:

For example, there was a case of child custody in which the father, the perpetrator, lived outside of Kosovo and the children were under the custody of his father, their grandfather. We [CSWs] requested for the mother to have the children on the weekends and during holidays. The lawyer, judge and social worker went to take the children from the house. Here is where judges hesitate though. They ask how to get the children away when it is not the father himself that is involved.

Respondents also noted that the lack of enforcement of protection orders or civil court measures obliging parents to pay alimony put mothers in a particularly difficult position: “Often these delays make women who are taking care of their children go to the Centre for Social Work or to our Directorate to ask for basic food items.”²⁸³

Shelters and NGOs

Shelters are contracted by MLSW, specifically the Department for Social Welfare, to provide shelter services. In particular, the Kosovo Law on Family and Social Services states that “Any non-government organization providing Social and Family Services must register with the appropriate authority and be licensed by the Department of Social Welfare and must adhere to the regulations, directives and procedures relating to their activities as laid down by the Ministry.”²⁸⁴ The Ministry’s funding is supplemented by municipal funds in some municipalities, as well as financial support from donors.

Sustainable funding for shelters remains a challenge and a hotly debated challenge. According to one shelter representative, MLSW has delayed their monthly payments. In July, their service contract expired, and MLSW re-opened procurement procedures for shelters to apply for government funding. Shelter representatives complained that this procedure is very painful and the funds distributed are insufficient.

There is a fine balance to be struck between state control of shelters that are registered non-governmental bodies and state oversight of the performance of shelter staff in their use of public finances and their professional performance. The state should not “control” shelters. However, if state funds are spent, there must be full, transparent oversight of public funds. Shelters must be required to report clearly on all expenditures, as well as to be transparent with regard to other funds received, e.g., from international actors. Further, now that the licensing of individual service providers and shelters has been carried out, there must be some oversight by MLSW to ensure that licensed social workers within shelters are adequately performing their responsibilities, including an appropriate approach with survivors of domestic violence. This is not only to ensure that minimum standards are met in service provision and victims’ rights are not violated. It is also to ensure that the efficient and effective expenditure of state funds for such services is in line with shelters’ signed contractual obligations.

Based on SOPs, shelters’ role is crucial towards rehabilitation and reintegration of persons who have suffered violence. Referral to shelters can be made by police, who are obliged to accompany victims to shelters, other institutions, or independently by persons who have suffered violence. Violence survivors have the right to choose if they want to stay for a temporary period, depending on their case specifics. They can stay up to six months at a given shelter, though exceptions are made when needed.²⁸⁵ All shelters organize various professional courses for women to attend, in order to help them find a job after they leave the shelter. Further, shelters have established cooperation with Vocational Training Centres and Employment Offices, so sheltered persons can benefit from their services.

Several shelters stated that they had clear confidentiality policies that their staff had to sign. A couple interviewed shelter employees did not know about such policies. In one shelter, “Every client of this centre signs a form where it’s specified that they are not allowed to talk about the place and the identity of other clients. Also, we make them sign a form where it’s emphasized that they are not allowed to talk about what they saw here, once they leave the shelter.”

Shelter staff have received several trainings over the years, including on the “identification of clinical cases” as foreseen by NAP 3.1.3 and on HIV and STDs, respectively (NAP 3.1.4). While most shelter representatives lacked knowledge regarding SOPs, some were familiar with them. However, not all shelter staff had been trained, according to some respondents. Despite attending a plethora of trainings over the years, some shelter representatives still have prejudices regarding their clients. For example, one shelter representative said:

Women are not interested in learning anything. All they want is to watch nine different soap operas or dye their hair white. All of them want to have white hair. The floor is all in tiles. When they clean it, they just throw water with the mop. They attend culinary courses in the Vocational Training Centre, but still can’t differ vegetables from fruits. They beat their children.²⁸⁶

The lack of compassion and understanding for women who suffered violence, the trauma they suffer, and for their particular psychological counselling needs was astounding. Shelter staff require more professional training on trauma, counselling survivors of trauma, and approach.

Some representatives of institutions also expressed concern that shelters did not have sufficient space or personnel for adequately assisting persons who suffered violence.²⁸⁷ “The whole essence is that [cases] are not receiving support from institutions and their families,” a DVIU police officer said. “It is easy for me to do my job. I can report the case and inform the prosecutor, but I cannot find shelter for them.” Respondents noted the lack of long-term shelter space for women beyond the six-month maximum, for children in particular. For example, a school psychologist commented that her municipality had reached the quota of children they were allowed to send to the SOS village. A Victim Advocate also voiced concern: “What to do with children? Especially when they are over 13 and boys? They cannot go to shelters with their mothers.” Additionally, still no shelters exist for men, for LGBT persons, or in northern Kosovo. Another issue specific to northern municipalities in Kosovo is that NGOs do not work according to SOPs. “We support victims during the day and when needed together with the police we help in resolving cases,” an NGO representative from northern Kosovo said. Diverse respondents commented on the fact that few persons have a place to go after shelter, which may negatively impact their wellbeing.

Beyond providing shelter, shelters and several other local and international organizations have organized awareness-raising campaigns. Most have taken place during the 16 days of activism against violence against women, but others have occurred throughout the year. These and other organizations have provided free legal aid to persons who have suffered domestic violence.

Educational Institutions

Under the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) shall develop sub-legal acts or provide support to raise ancillary and necessary infrastructure to support the implementation of the Law.²⁸⁸ Additionally, educational institutions under the Kosovo Programme on Domestic Violence also should provide for psychologists in schools to assist children in need of support. As mentioned, all institutions also have a legal responsibility to report child abuse, and teachers are among the persons most likely to encounter potential instances of child abuse. Related to this responsibility, education institutions have introduced the System for Management of Information on Education (SMIA), which includes a column where domestic violence, any kind of violence at school or within families can be reported. For example, “If a teacher sees bruises on a child’s face he/she can report it there, and then the info can go to police and other institutions,” the Head of a Municipal Education Department (MED) explained. In the future, the program will be accessible by police, CSWs, MED, and other relevant institutions.

According to NAP 1.1.2, MEST and municipalities should introduce 40 pedagogues and psychologists in municipalities. KWN received contradictory accounts as to whether this has been implemented. While municipal education officials from Peja and Gjiilan said that this had been implemented, education officials from Ferizaj, Prishtina, Prizren, Gjakova, and MEST said that it had not. A key challenge to implementation was insufficient financing, as one education official noted, “On

the one hand, it is foreseen in the NAP, but on the other they have not budgeted enough for it. There are administrative guidelines for it, but most of the schools don't have them." Other education officials disagreed, noting that MEST had created a budget for psychologists and pedagogues in schools but municipalities had misused the funds for hiring teachers or other purposes.²⁸⁹ In any case, the need for more pedagogues and psychologists in schools was a recurring theme among education officials and young women alike.²⁹⁰ Further, some psychologists serving in schools evidently had not received any training on domestic violence and working with persons who had suffered such violence.²⁹¹

Some municipalities (e.g., Prishtina, Gjakova) stated that they had shared the MEST protocol on domestic violence with all schools. Further, education related to domestic violence supposedly has been included in several courses. However, some teachers were unaware that domestic violence was covered in school curricula. One said that "it is touched upon while speaking about violence in general." Another said domestic violence was discussed as part of a module on the family and the role of woman in a marriage, family, and society. The plethora of responses suggests that a harmonized approach to educating students about domestic violence has not yet been institutionalized in all schools.

None of the educators interviewed seemed familiar with SOPs or their responsibilities under them, which include informing the custody body or the police when he/she suspects that a child is a victim and/or is subject to some form of domestic violence by submitting an identification and referral form. Only one of the 11 educators interviewed in different municipalities mentioned explicitly that cases could be referred: "Teachers in our school try to identify students who are victims of domestic violence. We can identify them in different ways, be it their lack of concentration or physical symptoms of violence. We refer those students to the school psychologist or other relevant institutions."²⁹² Clearly the duty to always report domestic violence when seen to be potentially occurring against children was not well understood. Nor did educators seem to possess much information or understanding with regard to confidentiality; none referred to a specific confidentiality policy.²⁹³ "As a psychologist I take confidentiality very seriously," a respondent said. "With teachers it is more difficult. I have heard them mentioning names in the teachers' room."

**"As a teacher, I used to believe
that hitting children was
appropriate, but I don't anymore."**

- Educator

While some respondents felt that the approach and attitudes of educators towards domestic violence had improved in recent years, interviews with others suggested that this was not so among all educators. A sampling of statements made by educators is telling:

"Women have to know what they can endure, but do not forget that there are also women who put themselves in a position when violence will be used against them."²⁹⁴

"Some colleagues believe that hitting women increases their awareness, others believe that everything can be talked through."²⁹⁵

"Some colleagues are against violence. Others have been brought up traditionally and teach other generations that the husband's word is the final word. Instead of promoting change, they educate new generations with this mind-set."²⁹⁶

"If she is not guilty, they should talk about the situation and resolve it."²⁹⁷

"If it comes to divorce, I am patriarchal, and I would never let my child leave or go with their mother. They [children] are the blood line of the husband, "the parent". I know I am not allowed to talk about this with modern legislation, but with our tradition there is no chance [for the mother] to take the children. We have witnessed lots of cases when women remarried, and they gave birth to other children, so now they have two pairs of children. And the children are orphans, victims. I would endure everything, any violence, from my wife only so that my children won't live without a parent. [T]he woman [...] can marry a wealthier husband, and she gives

birth to other children with him. Then she asks for divorce again, and the law gives her the right. She takes all the wealth [from the husband], without any contribution. She takes the child, since the law makes this possible, and in this way problems are created in the society. So here the problem of violence is not an issue anymore, but she uses this chance and her own ambitions to become a ruler or owner of that capital.”²⁹⁸

These comments suggest a lack of awareness and understanding with regard to actual legal rights; a tendency among some teachers to blame women for violence perpetrated by men, to reinforce patriarchy that undermines women’s rights more broadly within the society, and to set a negative example for children regarding social roles and the rights of persons who have suffered domestic violence. Considering the important role that teachers have in educating future generations, their awareness and knowledge is essential to ensuring the appropriate messaging with regard to socialization, family roles, and domestic violence. Educators and teachers need additional training in gender roles, socialization, and legal rights.²⁹⁹

Health Institutions

Under the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, the Ministry of Health has the mandate to develop and ensure ancillary and necessary infrastructure to support the implementation of the law. More specifically, the Ministry has drafted and enacted the Administrative Instruction on treatment methods for perpetrators of domestic violence imposed by mandatory measure of treatment from alcoholism and addiction to psychotropic substances.³⁰⁰

However, the necessary infrastructure for providing these services must be further developed. Some perpetrators reportedly have received treatment in primary hospitals, but have not received follow-up treatment after leaving hospitals.³⁰¹ Further, such treatment

“The old man has been suffering violence from his son. Neighbours called the police who took him [the son], but since he is a drug user, they considered him ‘mentally ill’ and released him. They now live on the same property, but not in the same house.”

- Woman, age 19, Suhareka

appears not to be available throughout Kosovo. “Protection orders that ask for perpetrators to be treated in institutions for drug and alcohol abuse can’t be implemented due to the lack of such institutions,” an NGO representative commented. The lack of treatment facilities in diverse locations of Kosovo can result in perpetrators being returned to households where they perpetrated violence, potentially putting people at risk of recidivist violence.

While persons who have suffered domestic violence may not approach health institutions,³⁰² in some instances health institutions may be among the first institutions to encounter persons who may have suffered violence. Thus health institutions are an important part of referral mechanisms. When asked about SOPs as a document, health practitioners tend to be knowledgeable. Even those who have never heard of SOPs seemed to be familiar with their responsibilities according to SOPs. Some respondents working in emergency rooms also said that they have forms to register cases of sexual and domestic violence, provided by the Ministry of Health. One health practitioner noted:

While I was working in Klina as a doctor, there was this woman who came for the second or third time to ask for medical treatment. Her husband was using violence [against her]. I reported the case to police. The man called me afterwards to thank me and tell me that he and his wife have very good relations now.³⁰³

In accordance with the Hippocratic Oath and Law on Health,³⁰⁴ health practitioners must ensure that all information remains confidential. Most health practitioners said that they had clear policies that were taken seriously, though a couple said that it is “difficult”. A few said they did not know of any policy but they thought it was important. This suggests the need for further training for some health personnel on the importance of confidentiality.

Given their role as potential first responders, health institutions should be trained, as foreseen in NAP 2.2.1. Such training was organized and provided, primarily by international actors. A practical users' guide on how to handle and register domestic violence cases also was created for doctors. Training has covered topics including identifying signs of domestic violence, treating domestic violence, confidentiality, identifying signs of sexual abuse, and protecting children's rights. Some emergency room, mental health, forensic, gynaecology and medical institute staff were trained.

“Since we don’t have domestic violence cases in Family Health Centres, we have no reason to have such trainings. In fact we have not been aware we should organize them.”

- Representative of Municipal Health Department

Interviews with health practitioners suggested that some of their attitudes towards persons who have suffered violence has improved. Even so, several doctors interviewed by KWN, including in private clinics, had not attended any training related to domestic violence before. Moreover, few emergency room doctors seem to have received training on identifying signs of violence and the appropriate approach with persons who have suffered violence, though they may be a first point of contact following referrals by police.

Comments made by some health practitioners were cause for concern. As one said, “We need to research what the exact problem is with both men and women in the relationship where domestic violence happened because it is not always just the fault of men.”³⁰⁵ As mentioned previously, the excusal of violence on account of it being “provoked” may mean that doctors are ill-prepared to treat persons suffering violence.

“As a doctor, I have to be careful when writing up reports of injuries. When she says she has been hit, but does not have any visible physical injuries, you have to be a bit reserved about it. Does she only want to accuse him or has she been hit? Especially with light injuries it is difficult to prove. The best thing is to examine her over a period of time with a team.”

- Emergency room doctor

A concern raised by general practitioners has been the lack of psychiatrists in their teams.³⁰⁶ Further concern existed regarding the capacity of psychiatrists and psychologists to perform their responsibilities in relation to domestic violence cases. A more seasoned psychologist said that psychiatrists do not know how to perform their jobs, and they are not prepared to deal with cases of domestic violence. “I could see any change in the performance of psychiatrists,” she said.

Vocational Training Centres and Employment Offices

A recurring theme among respondents was that persons leaving shelters still did not have adequate opportunities to secure employment, and that women's economic empowerment was a “weak link” in the rehabilitation and reintegration process. Employment offices, Vocational Training Centres (VTC), and CSOs, including donor-funded programs, have sought to offer employment services and professional qualifications for persons who suffered domestic violence in accordance with the actions foreseen in the NAP. Employment Offices are responsible for data collection, registration of unemployed persons, offering career guidance and counselling, mediation in employment procedures, informing registered jobseekers about training opportunities, placing jobseekers in vocational training, and providing unemployment statements.³⁰⁷ VTCs offer vocational training to interested persons referred by Employment Offices.

Gender disaggregated data on beneficiaries shows that more men benefit from VTCs than women, and that women drop out of training in higher numbers than men.³⁰⁸ While VTC employees tended not to have any knowledge of having assisted persons who had suffered violence specifically, some VTCs said they provided vocational training for persons who suffered violence.³⁰⁹ Topics included baking, computers, English, reading, writing, cooking, food production, tailoring, administrative assistance, beekeeping, manicures, pedicures, and hairdressing. The extent to which such qualifications match labour market demands and/or would lead violence survivors to secure jobs is unclear. Further, employment in low wage jobs such as tailoring, hairdressing, and baking doubtfully would help women become self-sustainable financially.

Overall, fewer women than men have been placed by Employment Offices in recent years, comprising 32% of those placed in 2011, 24% in 2012, and 34% in 2013.³¹⁰ The overall unequal placement of women by Employment Offices may impact women who have suffered domestic violence even more. Women who have suffered domestic violence may face additional challenges related to trauma and ostracization. For example, when asked why they were only able to employ a particular person who had suffered violence for three months, a Regional Employment Centre advisor said, “Well, we are quite cautious of employing them because usually the perpetrator, the husband, follows them around and can cause problems for the employer as well. He can also be violent to her at the work place.” Without dealing with this or being trained how to deal with this, employment officers will have difficulties identifying employment opportunities for women who have suffered domestic violence.

“It is difficult to get these women employed in the private sector because employers are afraid that the perpetrator will come to the business and cause problems. That is why I stress for them to be employed in the public sector.”

- Social worker

While MLSW is preparing a module for training employment officers in working with persons who have suffered violence, it does not seem that any officials from these institutions have received

“Well when a woman [speaking about herself] works all day and runs to the family, she does not have much time to read these. We have turned into robots.”

- VTC representative (when asked about SOPs)

training on this topic to date. Interview respondents from Employment Offices and VTCs seemed generally unknowledgeable about SOPs and had limited knowledge and understanding of

the particular situation and obstacles encountered by persons suffering violence. While some said they had policies on confidentiality in their work regulations, others did not know of any such policy.

Municipal Institutions

Following decentralization, municipalities can assume competencies particularly related to the financing of service providers, such as shelters. In accordance with the NAP, they should set aside resources for “social housing” for persons who have suffered domestic violence and also provide for material assistance for children and families in need in some cases.³¹¹

Some respondents pointed to an improved willingness of municipal authorities to address domestic violence, particularly in the three municipalities targeted by UN agencies and civil society advocacy. These municipalities have established coordination mechanisms involving all stakeholders in order to better assist persons suffering from violence. To date coordination mechanisms are reported to exist in Gjilan, Gjakova, Dragash, and Prizren. These facilitate implementation of the legal framework and coordination in case management at the municipal level.

Despite progress, some officials voiced concern that several competencies had been decentralized to municipalities, without municipalities having sufficient capacities and/or resources. “Decentralization of competencies from the Department of Social Welfare in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare to municipalities has put a lot of pressure on municipalities that do not have the capacity to deal with these matters,” a social services representative said.³¹² “For example, we have a woman with four children sheltered for four months now. In two months, she must leave [the shelter], but the municipality cannot give her any shelter or housing after that.” Respondents generally agreed that post-shelter solutions such as social housing remain limited to non-existent. Only one municipality (Gjakova) seems to have set aside resources for the housing of persons who have suffered domestic violence (as foreseen in the NAP).³¹³

Inter-institutional Coordination: “If I don’t report a case, then this chain breaks”³¹⁴

Some respondents pointed to the need to improve inter-institutional cooperation: “Institutions don’t know their obligations, they send victims from one institution to another and re-victimize them in this way because they have to tell their story over and over again,” a teacher said. The extent to which

a single case is followed through the entire process is also unclear. For example, a police officer commented, “We never have feedback on how cases ended in courts and it happens that we take people to court for the same things for the second time. [...] There are a lot of cases when in our database it says the person has an open case, but that case has been closed in courts.”³¹⁵ Clearly a consolidated inter-institutional database, with respect for confidentiality and data protection, could facilitate coordination among stakeholders and improve case management.

The need to ensure that national level policies are well-implemented via a coordinated approach at the municipal level in delivering the various services for persons who suffered domestic violence also was emphasized. The municipalities that have already established such coordination mechanisms can be an example of best practices for similar mechanisms to be established in other locations as well. Given that shelters serve entire regions and not only single municipalities, there is also a need to foster coordination across municipalities where needed.

Coordination in northern Kosovo is particularly difficult because several different systems are in operation. While Kosovo police are working, no courts are. No shelter presently exists. While some CSWs function under the Kosovo system, others are working in accordance with the legal framework of Serbia.³¹⁶ Efforts are needed to ensure that persons residing in the north also have access to adequate protection.

Recommendations

For the Legal Framework

- Amend the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence to integrate the roles and responsibilities of each agency related to rehabilitation and reintegration measures; and to define clearly the procedures that remain ambiguous, especially in relation to the aim of the law, its purpose, and sub-legal acts. This would ensure effective and efficient investigation, prosecution, and compensation for persons who suffered domestic violence.
- Ensure the Law offers an effective legal remedy in cases when conditions for issuing a protection order still exist. The Law's current limitations on extending protection orders, without offering alternative measures if conditions continue, is a violation of the rights of domestic violence victims to effective remedy and protection by the state from domestic violence acts. The Law's 24-month time limitation for protection orders should provide for an unlimited number of extensions, based on circumstance.
- Amend the Law to define more clearly criminal remedies, as well as to encourage enforcement of civil remedies if protection orders are violated.³¹⁷
- Amend the Law to refer to "perpetrators" as "alleged perpetrators".
- Amend the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Family Law, and Criminal Code to prohibit alternative dispute resolution in domestic violence cases in line with Article 48 of the Council of Europe Convention.
- Initiate drafting amendments to the Criminal Code by defining domestic violence as a criminal offence, guided by recommendations in the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence. It requires states to provide for due diligence and undertake necessary legislative measures to "ensure the effective investigation and prosecution of offences."
- Amend the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code to define and criminalise domestic violence acts, as per definitions in the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.
- Amend SOPs, clearly describing the roles and responsibilities of each agency involved, while making SOPs a more user friendly document. Harmonize SOPs with VAs' new mandate.
- Ensure that sufficient financial resources are set aside in annual budgets by all institutions with a legal responsibility to implement the legal framework.
- Via a participatory process and based on this research, draft a new National Program against Domestic Violence and NAP.

For the New National Program and Action Plan

- Include indicators at all levels of the logical hierarchy, including, results, specific objectives, and overall objectives. It should involve clear baselines, targets, and time frames for achieving them.
- Assign specific responsibilities to institutions and explicitly name them, holding every institution accountable for their responsibilities. Avoid giving legal responsibilities to "private actors", "donors", "media" or civil society, as it is very difficult to hold them accountable legally. Include and involve them via different mechanisms in a supportive and consultative role.
- Ensure relevant institutions allocate sufficient budget for the implementation of the NAP.
- Identify actions for ensuring national responsibilities are implemented and institutionalized at the municipal level, improving linkages between local and central level institutions. This includes in case management, following the flow of cases among institutions, and in the collection and reporting of gender disaggregated statistics in accordance with the Law on Gender Equality.
- Ensure that all responsible officials are trained adequately on trauma, identifying signs of gender-based violence, the appropriate approach in assisting persons who have suffered violence, and confidentiality. Donors and other actors seeking to fund the implementation of these trainings

should coordinate and ensure that trainings are institutionalized in Kosovo institutions (e.g., via KIPA, KJI, and KAPS) so that they will be sustained and not merely ad hoc.

- Include awareness campaigns to educate citizens about their rights and where they can report violence, including to different institutions. Create a more consolidated public outreach plan involving diverse actors with joint, targeted messaging. Ensure a more coordinated approach among diverse actors in awareness-raising, towards more efficient and effective spending of resources. Awareness campaigns should focus on topics including: legal rights, assistance available, where specifically to receive assistance (with contact information), how to report malpractice by institutions, and undermining common misconceptions about violence, such as domestic violence is women's fault, unemployment *causes* violence, sexual violence cannot happen among married couples, and domestic violence is more widespread in rural areas (all disproven by statistical data).
- Attend to the particular types of violence faced by and the needs of LGBT persons, persons with disabilities, women, men, and children explicitly within the strategy.
- Address the specific challenges faced in northern Kosovo, including shelter, services, and coordination.
- Identify a solution for treatment and shelter of men experiencing violence, including for boys who are older than age 12 and cannot remain in existing shelters.
- Make available treatment and potentially shelter for perpetrators of violence.
- Renew and strengthen the commitment to social housing for persons who have suffered violence, ensuring that each municipality makes a specific number of apartments available for a specified length of time per client, as part of a clearer rehabilitation program for persons leaving shelters.
- Focus on rehabilitation and reintegration, including concrete steps to permanently institutionalize the following: rehabilitative treatment of perpetrators; family counselling including for trauma; affordable, qualified psychological counselling for person who suffered violence; and issues outlined in recommendations to specific institutions below.
- Include an outreach campaign upon the adoption of the NAP to ensure that all persons responsible for implementing it are fully informed of their roles and responsibilities.

For the Ministry of Justice and National Coordinator

- Allocate a budget for a permanent civil servant position in the National Coordinator's office who will be responsible for monitoring progress in implementing the new National Program and NAP, as well as collecting and consolidating data related to NAP indicators.
- Ensure better coordination among all actors involved, including especially governmental, non-governmental, and donor organizations by establishing an inter-ministerial working group with the involvement of civil society actors with expertise in this area.
- Set asides funds for the foreseen compensation fund for victims in accordance with the Law on Crime Victim Compensation, ensure judges are informed of it, and monitor its implementation. This includes tracking the number of different types of cases, including cases involving crimes committed within a domestic relationship, in which compensation is given and the amount of compensation given.
- Monitor the number of different types of protection order measures that are requested from and given by courts.

For the Kosovo Judicial Institute

- Organize regularly joint trainings for prosecutors, judges, Kosovo Police, VAs, and CSWs to enhance communication and coordination in prosecuting domestic violence cases.
- Ensure all civil and criminal court judges are well trained on the provisions of the law and that training addresses misconceptions related to blaming the victim, family reconciliation, and child custody.

- Ensure civil court judges are well-trained on all protection order measures available, as well as the best interests of the child beyond financial wellbeing alone.
- Set aside and provide advanced training for a cadre of criminal court judges who specialize in cases of domestic violence, sexual violence, and other forms of gender-based violence.

For the Office of the Prosecutor and VAAO

- Monitor regularly how VAs new mandate affects in practice their protection and assistance of persons who have suffered domestic violence.
- Track electronically which types of measures are being requested and granted.
- Establish a specialized domestic violence investigator within the Office of the Prosecutor.³¹⁸

For Police

- Incorporate into mandatory training for all police officers further information about domestic violence, how to identify signs of trauma and communicate with persons who have suffered trauma as a result of gender based violence. Training also should address misconceptions about victim blaming and family reconciliation.
- Make sufficient budget requests to ensure that all police stations have sufficient space for domestic violence cases and that DVIUs are fully equipped and staffed to carry out their duties. Staffing should ensure that all DVIUs have women officers available at all times to respond to domestic violence cases.
- Increase accountability for police officers not responding to domestic violence cases promptly, appropriately, and based on the applicable law in Kosovo; ensure rapid investigation by the Police Inspectorate of reported poor performance, accompanied by strict, zero tolerance disciplinary measures.
- Ensure that all DVIUs consistently and immediately inform CSWs regarding domestic violence cases.
- Ensure that special telephone line for domestic violence remains open 24-hours in accordance with the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence.

For Shelters

- Ensure all shelter staff have completed successfully professional training on trauma, counselling survivors of trauma, and approach.
- Publish online annual reports including transparent portrayal of all expenditures and audit reports, towards improving image and demonstrating transparency with regard to funds received by both the state and international actors.

For MLSW

- Ensure all workers licensed to assist persons who have suffered domestic violence, including social workers and shelter staff, have completed successfully professional training on interviewing, trauma, counselling survivors of trauma, rehabilitation counselling, approach, counselling perpetrators of violence, and cooperation with other actors in accordance with SOPs.
- Ensure all social workers are knowledgeable about SOPs and their roles and responsibilities under them.
- Set aside a permanent budget for shelters sufficient for meeting all expenses, including counselling and caretaking of persons who have suffered violence.
- Conduct regular visits to monitor the quality of services provided by persons and bodies assisting persons who have suffered domestic violence, including shelters, in order to ensure that official standards of quality and basic services are met. Take immediate steps to address any malpractice

or maltreatment of persons suffering violence. Ensure persons conducting monitoring are well-trained on minimum standards of care and the appropriate approach.

- Improve linkages between shelters, VTCs, and Employment Offices, more actively identifying skills training in market demand as well as suitable jobs for persons who have suffered violence, particularly women. Ensure officers are trained on the appropriate approach in assisting persons who have suffered trauma.

For the Ministry of Health

- Ensure mandatory training for all healthcare professionals (including private clinics as qualifications) on identifying signs of violence, referrals, and how to communicate with persons who have suffered violence.
- Ensure all staff are trained on logging and tracking domestic violence cases.
- Set aside sufficient funding to make psychological counselling services for survivors, perpetrators, and families, including children more broadly available throughout Kosovo. Ensure psychologists and psychiatrists hired are fully trained on counselling for trauma and gender-based violence. The infrastructure developed needs to ensure availability of counselling also after recipients leave hospitals.
- Organize a campaign promoting psychological counselling services and why they are good for the entire society towards addressing cultural obstacles to people seeking psychological counselling.
- Provide an administrative instruction to inform healthcare workers about the new NAP upon its passage and their responsibilities under it.

For MEST

- Ensure mandatory training for all educators, teachers, school psychologists, and pedagogues on gender roles, identifying signs of violence, legal responsibilities in cases of violence against children, referrals, confidentiality, and how to communicate with persons who have suffered violence.
- Include in the curricula improved information about gender roles, socialization, prevention of gender stereotypes, and domestic violence.
- Install more, qualified, permanently budgeted for psychologists in schools and ensure that they are adequately trained in their roles.

For Legal Aid Offices

- Ensure sufficient government resources are set aside for the functioning of Legal Aid Offices.

For Correctional and Probation Services

- Ensure officers are trained in a special approach in assisting perpetrators of domestic violence during the rehabilitation and reintegration processes.
- Provide psychological counselling towards rehabilitating perpetrators of violence.

For Municipalities

- Establish municipal and where relevant regional coordination mechanisms on domestic violence to improve coordination among relevant institutions and to offer an improved, holistic approach to following cases through the entire process.
- Allocating resources from the municipal budget to finance shelters and social housing.

Annex 1. Research Methodology

The annex provides further details regarding the research methodology. In order to respond to the research questions outlined in the introduction, the research involved mixed methods, involving: 1) a review of the legal framework to identify remaining gaps in the legal outface and its implementation; 2) a national household survey with 1,315 citizens to measure awareness, attitudes, and incidence of domestic violence; 3) interviews with representatives of approximately 200 institutions and organizations involved in implementing the legal framework; and a review of statistical data gathered by relevant institutions. The following sections provide further details.

The Survey

Quantitative data were gathered through a household survey of individuals, carried out Kosovo-wide.

Questionnaire: The survey instrument contained primarily closed-ended questions. It was similar to the 2008 survey instrument in order to enable comparison (see Annex 3). Towards reliability, KWN included some questions with similar meaning, phrased differently and located in different parts of the survey. Most surveys, which were carried out via face-to-face interviews, lasted approximately a half hour, although one survey lasted just less than two hours. The average length of the survey interview was 35 minutes, with a standard deviation of twelve minutes.

Piloting: The survey was piloted in advance of the actual survey in rural and urban areas surrounding Prishtina. This enabled the research team to see if the survey instrument was properly designed and whether citizens understood it. Slight modifications were made based on the pilot.

Surveyors: Surveyors were selected based on their educational background, communication skills, professional skills, ethics and their willingness to be part of the research. Mainly, they were students of psychology and sociology. KWN involved surveyors from minority ethnic groups and who spoke multiple languages for surveying diverse groups. Surveyors involved a balance of women and men. Women interviewed women, and men interviewed men considering the sensitivity of the topic. A list of surveyors is in the acknowledgements.

Training of Surveyors: A two-day mandatory training was organized for all surveyors. The training ensured that surveyors were familiar with the research mandate, survey instrument, sampling method, control procedures, and logistics. Another important part of the training was the importance of safeguarding respondents' security and emotional wellbeing, as well as how to handle various situations that could arise during surveying, such as respondents showing signs of trauma or family members interfering. Moreover, the training focused on the ethics of surveyors considering the sensitive topic with which the research deals.

Research Sample: KWN surveyed 1,315 citizens of all ethnic groups, ages 18 and older. KWN selected a random sample of the Kosovo population. The sample was rural and urban, involving 181 randomly selected sampling points in 132 settlements in 36 municipalities. The sample also is representative of all ethnic groups in Kosovo as the selection was done using the Multistage Random Sampling Method. Stratification of respondents was based on ethnicity and region. Using census data from the Agency for Statistics in Kosovo (ASK) from April 2011,³¹⁹ sampling quotas were produced. The sample universe was divided into three sub-sets: Albanian sub-set, Serb sub-set, and Other ethnicities sub-set. Then the sample was stratified by region and residential profile (urban/rural) of each region.

Ethnicity: The sample included Albanians, Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo non-Serb minorities (Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian). Stratification principles were the same for all three ethnic groupings. In order to ensure that there are enough members of certain sub-groups of the population for reliable estimates for that group, KWN oversampled Kosovo Serbs and other minorities. The data was later weighted during the analysis to account for this.

Geographic Representation: The research team conducted surveying in all regions and almost all municipalities of the Republic of Kosovo.

Age and gender: Respondents from each household, age 18 or above, were selected randomly according to the nearest birthday technique. This naturally results in a proportional distribution of women and men similar to that of the population. According to ASK, 50.3% of the population is men and 49.7% is women.

Interview process: The survey was conducted from 19 February to 28 February. Of the 1,315 individuals surveyed, 20 were unable or refused to complete the entire interview. On seven occasions, the interview was cut short because the respondent did not have time to continue. On five occasions respondents simply refused to continue. Three respondents were unable to finish for various reasons, including being too old, sick, or someone else making them stop. There were also four cases in which the interviewee was not psychologically ready to continue the interview, which is to be expected with interviews including such sensitive and private information. Overall, 98.4% of participants completed the entire interview and survey.

As researchers were trained in modern psychological practices, they were asked to observe respondents across several measures, including honesty, comprehension, and comfort. These are important in estimating error and understanding the degree to which respondents answered honestly to such sensitive topics. Researchers evaluated how interviews went. In approximately 50% of the interviews, interviewers did not write comments as the interview went well and they had no impressions to report. Only 1.6% (21 interviews) went very poorly and 5% (70) went relatively poorly, according to interviewers. Approximately 30% of interviews went “well” and another 13.4% went “very well”.

Studying sensitive topics such as domestic violence creates both methodological and technical issues for the researcher. Due to the perceived social undesirability of domestic violence, and the prospect of future implications, the likelihood of inaccurate responses can be high. Researchers believed that 30% of respondents may have been dishonest in one or more of their responses.

The survey involved respondents completing independently a table on their personal experiences with domestic violence. In order to ensure privacy, this table was intended to be filled out by the respondent without intervention from the interviewer. In approximately 96.2% of cases the respondent completed the table without assistance. In 28 cases (2.1%), the respondent needed or requested assistance from the interviewer in completing the table. This intervention from the researchers may have impacted the responses given, though only for a very small proportion of cases.

Researchers also were requested to measure the comprehension level of the respondent. Due to various education levels and potential language barriers, it is important to identify responses confounded by comprehension issues. In 94.6% of the interviews, the researcher believed the respondent fully understood the questions. In only 23 cases, did the researcher believe the respondent failed to comprehend the questions asked. In an additional 47 cases respondents seemed to partially understand questions.

In several situations, the presence of others in the interview may have impacted respondents' answers. Although interviewers were instructed to go to all measures possible to ensure a private space for the interview, in Kosovo this can be quite difficult given living conditions. Further, in families where violence may be present, controlling the actions of family members by definition means that a respondent may not have been able to speak freely with other family members around. In 93.9% of the interviews, the respondent was alone. In 45 cases (3.4%), another member of the household was present throughout the entire interview, and in 35 cases (2.6%) other members of the household were present some of the time. The presence of others is important to note because the respondent may have in some cases altered answers in the presence of others for reasons of social desirability or fear. For example, in one extreme case, when asked if she had any further comments, the respondent's mother-in-law told her, “Do not say anything more because you might do a mistake and you will be over.” Even so, given the small percentage of cases the presence of others probably had little influence on the findings.

Throughout the interview researchers were instructed to attend to respondents' body language, behaviour, inflection, and comfort. In 163 interviews (12.4%), the interviewer believed that the respondent demonstrated signs of discomfort. Interviewers did not distinguish comfort levels in the

remaining interviews. Comfort levels may be indicative of personal experiences with domestic violence and/or discomfort discussing such a topic. In addition to analysing the behaviour of the respondent, interviewers were asked to speculate whether the respondent may have experienced domestic violence. In 41 cases, researchers believed that the person may have suffered domestic violence. Of them, during the survey 25 said they suffered some form of violence, whereas 16 may be unreported cases of domestic violence unrepresented in the survey findings. There were 52 cases in which researchers felt confident that there was domestic violence within the respondent's household.

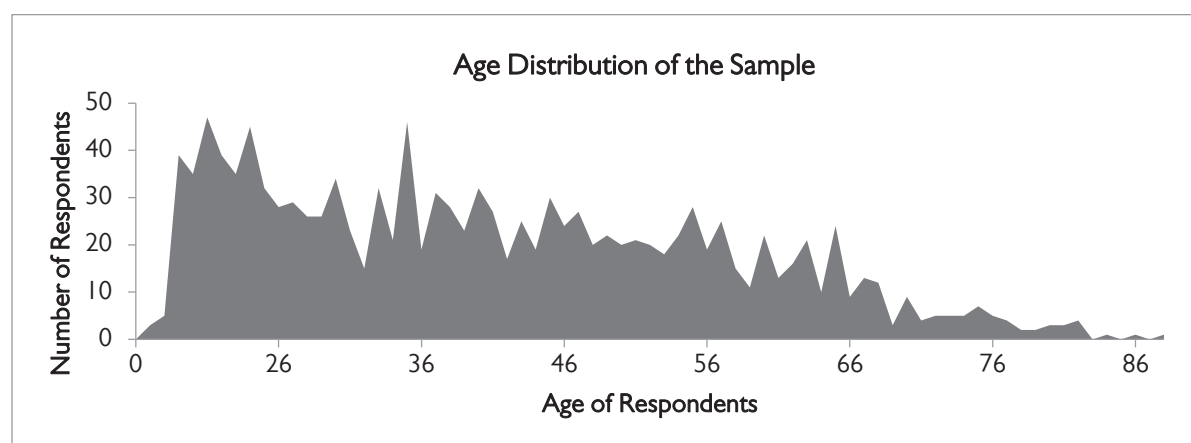
Control: Two persons not involved in the surveying carried out controls of surveyors. This included random field visits to ensure they were following the sampling methodology and checking the quality of surveyors' work. They also carried out check-backs on a randomly selected sample of 10% of completed surveys to ensure accuracy.

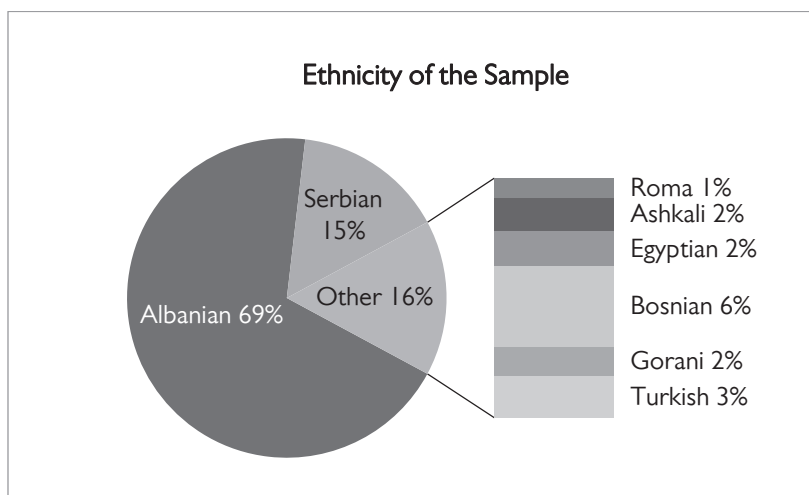
Data entry: Data was entered by persons not involved in surveying into SPSS 22.0 for data analysis. They entered qualitative information such as anecdotes, quotations, and recommendations into a Microsoft Word database where it was coded independently by multiple members of the research team.

Data analysis: The KWN Lead Researcher, a statistician, and an intern analysed the SPSS data. The data was weighted to account for the oversampling of minority ethnic groups, as relevant. Several statistical tests were run, and comparisons were drawn with 2008 data. Readers may note that the percentages mentioned in this report related to 2008 may differ from the numbers in the 2008 report. This is because the 2008 data presented in *Security Begins at Home* were not weighted based on ethnicity. In this report, the data have been weighted in order to address the over-sampling of minority groups (necessary for drawing any existing statistically significant conclusions based on ethnicity and comparing data across years). The weighting of the 2008 data was done based on pre-Census data used at that time, according to which Albanians were believed to constitute 88% of the population, Serbs 6%, and other ethnic groups 6%. The 2015 data has been weighted based on Census data, adding an additional 40,000 Serbs believed to be living in northern Kosovo, resulting in the following percentages: Albanians 92%, Serbs 4%, and other ethnic groups 4%.

Demographics of the Sample

The following graphs illustrate the demographic composition of the actual sample. Persons interviewed ranged in age from 18 to 88.





Qualitative Interviews

In addition to the survey, the research team conducted individual interviews with key actors that have a legal responsibility related to domestic violence. The institutions and respondents are listed in Annex 4. A general interview guide was developed based on their legal responsibilities, knowledge of these responsibilities, and practical experiences with domestic violence cases. They also were asked to reflect on changes that had occurred since KWN's prior research. Interviews were conducted between April and October 2015 in Prizren, Peja, Gjakova, Gjilan, Mitrovica, Prishtina, Vushtrri, and Ferizaj. Most interviews were conducted by two research team members, including an interviewer and a note-taker. In terms of reflexivity, the fact that young women conducted interviews and that interviewers came from a known women's rights group may have impacted responses related to attitudes. Once consent was secured, interviews were recorded. Interviews lasted on average 45 minutes. Interviews were then transcribed and coded independently by diverse members of the research team, towards triangulation of researchers.

Quality Control and Peer Review

The "triangulation" of researchers involving diverse team members with differing areas of expertise contributed to quality control as the report was reviewed carefully for accuracy by all team members. The research team circulated the final draft report to members of the Advisory Group, as well as some key respondents for review and quality control. Revisions were made based on their input prior to publishing.

Annex 2. Monitoring Implementation of the Domestic Violence Action Plan 2011-2014 Logical Framework

In the following table, KWN summarizes the progress made towards implementing the National Program and Action Plan on Domestic Violence for 2011-2014 based on KWN's independent monitoring of institutions, including interviews and observations. The first seven columns are taken directly from the original Action Plan. The "Extent Implemented" column provides KWN's assessment regarding the extent to which it was implemented, where "0" means not implemented, "0.5" means partially implemented, and "1" means fully implemented. The last column provides further details and evidence to support KWN's assessment of the extent to which it was implemented. In the budget column, KWN attempted to identify actual known expenditures in italics below the budgeted expenditures. However, more, unknown expenditures likely exist. Estimating actual expenditures can facilitate planning future expenditures in the new NAP.

Strategic Objective	Specific Objective	Activities	Responsible & supporting institutions	Time-frame	Budget	Monitoring indicators	Extent Implemented	KWN Analysis Extent Implemented
I. Until 2014, to establish efficient and comprehensive mechanisms for prevention of domestic violence.	I.1. To draft policies in central and local level for prevention, protection and provision of services to victims and perpetrators of domestic violence.	I.1.1. Development of programs for psychologists in schools I.1.2. Drafting programs for social workers. MLSW since 2006 has drafted the professional manual for Officers of Social Services "Reaction towards cases of Domestic Violence", which was drafted by the MLSW in cooperation with OSCE.	MEST, MED, Working Group MLSW	2011-2012	€7,000 KCB	- Programme is developed - Reports from Working Group	0.5	Most municipalities have only 2 to 3 psychologists per municipality. Usually, one for gymnasium and two for primary schools. While the legal framework exists, no formal program seems to be implemented.
					€70,000	MLSW to organize training of Officers of Social Service; allocates 70,000€	0.5	Most social workers mentioned trainings attended before 2011. Additional trainings were organized by other actors, including OSCE. The indicator does reflect achievement of the activity.
		I.1.3. Introduction of 80 pedagogues and psychologists in municipalities	MEST, Municipalities, Municipal Education Departments	Academic year 2011-12	€34,560 KCB <i>MEST allocated €864,000 annually³²⁰</i>	Number of psychologists and pedagogues; Number of pilot schools with psychologists	1.0	Eighty pedagogues and psychologists are employed in Kosovo. ³²¹
		I.1.4. Introduction of the curriculum with topics on domestic violence and family relations in the psychology department.	Faculty of Philosophy	Academic year 2011-12	€21,600 University €21,600 University	Curriculum is adopted	1.0	Included in curricula for all levels of pre-university education. Faculty of Education modules on stereotypes and gender roles; keeping violence away from my life; what is sexuality. The Department of Psychology has "Psychology of Gender." In "Clinical Psychology" and "Developmental Psychology" gender aspects are also treated, including domestic violence, sexual harassment, how to treat clients who suffered domestic violence. ³²²

I.2. To sensitize the society on domestic violence.	I.2.1. Organization of media campaigns focused on domestic violence	Ministry of Local Government Administration MoJ Central and Local Institutions (Ministries and Municipalities) NGOs, Donors, Media	2011 - 14	€5,000 €1,500 €29,900 Responsible Institutions <i>6 officials estimated costs, which sum to at least €134,400; ICTAP spent €5,200²³</i>	Number of media campaigns prepared Public impact	0.5	At least 62 media campaigns organised. ²⁴ Most are TV campaigns, followed by brochures and radio campaigns. Most organised in the context of 16 days of activism. It is impossible to track all campaigns. Few impact analyses conducted to measure impact. However, KVN research (above) can be used as an indicator of impact. On some indicators, citizens are more sensitized. However, on others, views remain the same, and in a few instances have become more conservative (see analysis above). Thus public impact in sensitizing society is insufficient.
	I.2.2. Organization of roundtables with participation of community and relevant entities (media, central and local institutions, NGOs)	MoJ Central and Local Institutions (Ministries and Municipalities) NGOs, Donors, Association of Independent Journalists Media	2011 - 14	€1,000 per year <i>8 respondents estimated costs, totalling €6600. Further, different institutions have spent €214,174 in total on this activity³⁵. Depending on # of participants, an average roundtable costs €500-600.</i>	Number of roundtables organized Number of participants Impact of the media events Public impact (Assessment of the public impact)	1.0	Most roundtables organized by international donor organizations and shelters. In total, 24 officials reported organizing 227 roundtables with an average number of 30 participants, totalling approximately 6,810 participants. ³⁶ Few impact analyses conducted. Organizations said roundtables had a positive impact on raising awareness among officials. Note: it's unclear who is responsible for funding this budget line.
I.3. To establish mechanisms for education and awareness raising of youth on domestic violence	I.3.1. In the content of the programming for children in radio and TVs to include the issue of domestic violence.	Media, Journalists, Donors (UNICEF; UNDP; UNIFEM), MCYS, Theatres, AGE	2011 - 2013	No cost	Number of programmes, writings, articles, columns, theatre performances and documentaries implemented to date	0.5	KVN could not find evidence of programming for children in media. There were theatre plays implemented by CSOs; and documentaries, albeit not targeting children. There is a mismatch between the activity, the specific objective and the indicators, which makes monitoring difficult. The actual cost was not considered; producing such programs can be expensive. The government cannot require this of private media or theatres without providing funding, at least for production costs (even for RTK).

I.4. To increase the number reported cases of domestic violence	I.4.1. Updating the current database, including contribution by other institutions, with exception of MLSW, MJ	Police, Public Prosecutors Office, Courts, Centres for Social Work, Shelters, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Health, Donors	2012-2014	€150,000 Donors	Database is updated Number of cases and records registered Reports based on information and records Number of policies impacted by records collected	0.5	Each institution has records only for itself. ³²⁷ Police and VAAO in the Prosecutors Office update records and produce reports annually. CSWs collect data, but do not make public reports on services provided. Courts, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of Health still do not have clear data on cases/services provided. It is unclear how the number of records reported has impacted policies.
	I.4.2. Education of the population on reporting domestic violence	AGE, Media, Schools, Municipalities	2011-2013	No cost AGE reported spending €13,319 in 2011 and €3,000 in 2012 ²⁸	Reports from impact assessment Number of cases reported	1.0	There was education organized, mostly during the 16 days campaign. ³²⁹ The number of cases reported to police seems to have increased slightly from 2011 to 2013. No known impact assessment conducted. Notably, these activities were not cost free. ³³⁰
	I.4.3. Information of the population about institutions where they can report domestic violence	Police, MoJ, Media, Legal Aid Commission, AGE, Schools, Centres for Social Work, Municipalities, Donors	2011-2013	No cost Although no budget foreseen, one official reported spending €4,000 printing brochures	Awareness Raising Campaigns Number of brochures Number of publications TV broadcasting	0.5	It was difficult to track all the awareness raising campaigns, brochures, publications and TV broadcasts. See I.4.2. Not all officials from these institutions were clear as to whether campaigns were on domestic violence in general or where it can be reported. That the population largely knows about police, but few know about other institutions suggests this was not fully implemented.
	I.4.4. To further develop the capacity of KP in order to change the approach towards violence, victims and perpetrators	Police	2011-2013	No cost Academy for Public Security, ICITAP, UNDP allocated €39,456 ³³¹	Number of cases addressed by the police	0.5	Several police officers seem to demonstrate improved capacities compared to KWN's 2008 research. However, in some regions DVIU officers have not attended any training besides the Domestic Violence course in the academy, which suggests that no further courses have been offered. Developing and providing courses would have some cost reflected in the police budget. The indicator for the number of cases addressed is a quantitative indicator (4,338), ³³² but does not reflect the qualitative change, which this activity refers to.
2. To manage, until 2013, having efficient protection mechanisms for	2.1.1. To ensure efficient services for physical protection of victims of	AGE, Police, Shelters, in cooperation with institutions, NGOs, Donors	2011	€25,000 NGOs Donors	Study completed Findings and recommendations	0	Incomplete due to lack of funding.

victims of domestic violence.	domestic violence throughout territory of Kosovo.	2.1.2. Development of social housing for sheltering and protection of victims of domestic violence	Ministry of Finance, Municipality, Donors	2011 - 14	500,000 € Donors Municipalities MEF Municipality of Peja allocated €75,000 ³³³	Funds allocated Number of flats constructed Number of victims sheltered Number of decisions taken to grant license to shelter	0.5	Only a couple municipalities have funded social housing, but seemingly not through clear, sustainable programs. ³³⁴ For example, mayors have used discretionary funds to purchase apartments for a couple cases or provide temporary funding, but funds have not been permanently allocated it seems. Nor have flats been constructed or persons sheltered in them. The number of persons sheltered in social housing was unavailable as it was insufficiently monitored. Five shelters have licenses for operating at a regional level, whereas two are still in the process of getting their licenses. Shelters still provide only short-term shelter. ³³⁵
		2.1.3. Setting up a cooperation mechanism between municipalities, in order to provide shelter to victims of domestic violence	Municipalities Shelters	2011	No cost Shelters Municipalities	MoUs implemented	I	SOPs exist formally establishing cooperation. At the same time, some municipalities (not all) have signed MoUs with shelters and/or established local coordination mechanisms. ³³⁶ Shelter Coalition supports networking across municipalities.
		2.2. To build capacities of stakeholders (police, prosecution, courts and centres for social work) for handling domestic violence.	KIPA, AGE, Kosovo Law, Kosovo Police Academy Central Institutions, Donors	2011 - 2014	€200,000 Donors Responsible Institution €11,734 Donors & OSCE allocated €78,897 and KIPA, KJI, MoH spent €644 ³³⁷	Number of trainings organized Number of participants Number of modules prepared	I	Several trainings were organized for hundreds of participants (so many by various actors that it was difficult to track). Most were attended by heads of departments and decision-makers, and less by officials working with persons who suffered violence. Both international organisations and Kosovo institutions organized and financed trainings. It was not possible to determine the number of modules as this was not tracked. Notably, it is unclear how "Kosovo Law" can be a responsible actor.
		2.2.2. Provision of necessary equipment (communications, vehicles and phones) in order to address cases of domestic violence.	MEF, MLSW, Police, Municipalities, Donors (UNDP), Private Operators MJ, MPA	2011 - 2014	€100,000 Annually Kosovo Budget, Donors 2. Spending of Fuel, Maintenance of (existing vehicles for one year) €29,000	Number of items and equipment provided Increase in the staff performance in treating and addressing cases of domestic violence	0.5	Donors, including UN agencies provided equipment particularly for police. It was difficult to track the exact number of items or increased (more accurately, "improved") staff performance, other than by KVN's research (see above). Performance seems to have improved with some exceptions. Several still lack equipment needed.

3. To ensure efficient services for rehabilitation and integration of victims and perpetrators of domestic violence throughout the territory of Kosovo	2.3. To ensure free of charge legal aid to victims of domestic violence	2.2.3. Provision of sufficient space for stakeholders to handle cases of domestic violence from reporting to the trial.	MEF, MLSW, MoJ, Police, Courts, Public Prosecutor, Centres for Social Work, NGOs	2012-2013	€92,000 annually	Space provided (m ² /for every staff member and victim)	0.5	Some police stations have separate rooms for interviewing victims. Child friendly interview rooms established in 8 CSWs and 7 police stations. Not all municipalities or institutions have sufficient space. This indicator was difficult to measure in m ² .
		2.3.1. Preparation of the brochures, leaflets in order to inform citizens about Legal Aid	Legal Aid Commission, MoJ, Parliament	2011-2013	€5,000 annually		1.0	Brochures were prepared and distributed. This specific objective requires an indicator: "increase in number of persons who receive free legal aid". Without an indicator, ³³⁸ implementation cannot be measured.
3. To ensure efficient services for rehabilitation and integration of victims and perpetrators of domestic violence throughout the territory of Kosovo	2.3. To ensure free of charge legal aid to victims of domestic violence	2.3.2. Signing of the cooperation agreements between institutions involved in treatment of cases of domestic violence	Legal Aid Commission, Institutions, NGOs	2011	No cost	Number of agreements implemented Number of institutions involved	1.0	Some such agreements were signed. However, SOPs have taken their place and institutions must collaborate in accordance with SOPs.
		2.3.3. Development of SOPs for treatment of victims of domestic violence.	MJ, MLSW, (Working Group, including central institutions and experts)	2011	€12,000 Donors European Commission	SOPs for treatment of victims and perpetrators are adopted	1.0	SOPs and minimal standards exist. However, they may not be fully implemented. Some representatives of institutions did not know SOPs exist. KWN could not identify a single case in which a perpetrator received services.
		2.3.3.1. Drafting the operative standards procedures to treat the victims of violence						
		2.3.3.2. Drafting minimal standards for offering services for the victims of domestic violence, MLSW						
	3.1. To build and strengthen capacities of health care workers, social services and educational staff for providing services to victims of domestic violence	3.1.1. Development of a medical protocol for treatment of cases of domestic violence.	MoH, Experts, NGOs, Donors	2011-2014	€3,000	Medical protocol is adopted	1.0	A medical protocol was developed and adopted. It was distributed in 2014, when this NAP was about to expire. It thus has yet to be fully implemented.
		3.1.2. Training of healthcare staff for treatment the cases of domestic violence (Training of about 150,000 persons working in the health and services sector)	MoH, NGOs	2011-2014	37,000€ MoH & UNFPA allocated €20,986 jointly ³³⁹	Number of staff trained	0.5	Only 700 healthcare staff have been trained so far by MoH. ³⁴⁰ However, KWN did not encounter a single doctor/nurse from a private or public clinic that had attended such training, suggesting it needs to be scaled-up.
		3.1.3. Training of the staff of shelter houses on identification of the clinical cases	NGOs, Shelters, MLSW, MoH	2011-2014	€200,000	Number of trainings Number of participants in the training	1.0	Shelter staff have been trained on this and other topics. It was not possible to determine the number of trainings and participants. At the shelter in Ferizaj only staff members that deal directly with victims were trained. In Gjakova only three staff members received training, whereas all staff of the shelter in Prizren were trained.
		3.1.4. Training of the staff of shelter houses on protection from STDs and HIV	MoH, Experts, NGOs, Donors		MoH allocated €3000 ³⁴¹	Number of trainings Number of participants in the training	0.0	Some shelter staff mentioned STDs and HIV briefly, but they did not report attending specific trainings on these. ³⁴²

3.3. To improve economic support policies to victims and perpetrators of violence.	3.1.5. Training of the journalists on reporting the domestic violence	Journalists association, NGOs, Experts, Donors	2011-2014	€80,000 UNDP WSSI & UNICEF allocated €13,562 jointly ⁴³	Number of trainings Number of participants in the training	0.5	Three international donor organizations reported organizing such training. ³⁴⁴ The number of participants was minimal.
	3.1.6. Training of social workers in Centres for Social Work on issues related to domestic violence	Centres for Social Work NGOs Donors	2011-2014	UNICEF allocated €46,500 ⁴⁵	Number of trainings Number of participants in the training	1.0	Social workers have been trained, mostly by international donor organizations and MLSW, However the number of trainings and participants could not be determined.
	3.2.1. Development of economic programmes in cooperation with donors and private operators, banks and businesses	MED, MLSW, AGE, MF, Donors	2012-2014	UNDP, USAID/OM allocated €66,233 ⁴⁶	Number of victims supported Amount of grants approved	0.5	There was an attempt to start such a program by a donor, but the government did not take ownership, and it was not sustained. Only a few women were assisted with grants to start businesses; it is unknown if businesses were sustained. At the specific objective level, no sustainable program developed.
3.3. To build and strengthen social services (health, educational, social, economic, legal) for victims and perpetrators of domestic violence	3.3.1. Free of charge medical examinations for the victims of domestic violence, accommodated in shelters	MoH, MoJ, Shelters, Donors Private operators	2011-2014	No cost	Number of victims examined	1.0	This has been implemented. However, costs to the state exist and have not been considered. Identifying the number of victims was difficult as data are still kept in hand-written ledgers and are not maintained electronically.
	3.3.2. Healthcare and social services for persons with special needs and victims of domestic violence	NGOs, MoH, Donors, Mental Health Centres	2011-2014	No cost	Number of persons with special needs assisted	0.5	They offered free of charge health services. However, the number of persons assisted was unavailable.
	3.3.3. Vocational training for victims of domestic violence	MLSW, MEST, NGOs, Centres for Social Work, Donors, Business Centres for Professional Information	2011-2014	€40,000 every year	Number of beneficiaries Number of persons employed	0.5	The number of beneficiaries and persons employed has not been sufficiently tracked. ³⁴⁷ Women are trained in "traditional" sectors "for women", which may not contribute to sufficient income. Most institutions provide training based on beneficiaries' demands, rather than labour market demand.
	3.3.4. Mediation in employment of victims of domestic violence	DPP- MLSW, Regional Employment Centres	2011-13	No cost	Number of persons employed	0.5	Most mediation for employment seems to have been provided by shelters, employing them in the private sector or in shelter projects. RECs have struggled to find employment for anyone, especially women. ³⁴⁸ DPP does not maintain data on the number of persons who suffered violence who were employed, so it was not possible to provide information related to the indicator.

		3.3.5. Social services for victims of domestic violence to be interlinked to programmes for family empowerment	MLSW, Centre for Social Work, SOS village –family empowerment programme Donors	2011 - 13	No cost	Number of programmes Geographic layout of programmes Beneficiary families	0.5	No information was available on this. The only known services were by SOS Children's Village which has one program on family empowerment since 2014 in Vranjevc, Gracanica, and Fushe Kosova. In cooperation with the CSW they identify families and work mostly with minorities. This has a cost.
4. Rehabilitation and permanent reintegration of victims of domestic violence	4.1. Offering of rehabilitation services/ healthy and psychosocial treatment as well as sheltering the victims of domestic violence	4.1.1. Offering of rehabilitation and psychosocial services in shelters of victims of domestic violence.	MLSW, NGOs- Shelters, Municipalities, CSW (Centre for Social Work)	2011 - 13	€800,000	A number of victims benefit from these services, six shelters contracted by MLSW	0.5	Approximately 1,057 persons received rehabilitation and psychosocial services in shelters. ³⁴⁹ Five shelters contracted. It is unclear in the NAP from where this budget should come, and sustainable state financing of shelters and these services must be resolved. The quality of services is still lacking and financing unclear, so it is not fully implemented.
		4.1.2. Offering of free services and legal counselling for the victims of domestic violence and offering free legal protection for those victims.	Ministry of Justice, Victim Advocates, Police, Courts, CSW	2011 - 2014	Legal Aid Offices, VAs, UNDP, NGOs allocated €1,265,055 ⁵⁰	A number of victims that benefit free legal services	1	Approximately 177 persons received free services and legal counselling from Legal Aid Offices between 2001 and 2014.
		4.1.4 Offering of services and professional qualification for the victims of domestic violence	MEST, Directors for Education in municipalities, CSW, MLSW-DPP, Regional Employment Offices	2011 - 2014			1	Shelters in cooperation with other actors, such as RECs and Vocational Training Centres, provided these services. However the indicator and number are unclear.
			Total cost : Kosovo Budget: Donors: Other (UT Private):		€2,414,560 €1,612,854 €780,106 €21,600		70.6%	By dividing the sum of numbers regarding implementation and dividing them by the total number of actions (34), KWN estimates this percentage of the NAP has been implemented

Based on KWN's research here and KWN's report *At What Cost?*, the estimated expenditures implementing the NAP for 2011-2014 are *more than* €2,854,026.

Annex 3. Survey Instrument

The survey instrument has been adjusted in font and font size in order to save pages in printing.

For researcher only before interview.

Interviewer code: ____

Starting time (copy to end later): ____ : ____

1. Survey number ____

2. Municipality code: ____

3. Rural/urban:

3.1. Village (no police station or CSW)

3.2. Town (rural setting but police station or CSW)

3.3. City (urban setting)

4. Gender:

4.1. Women

4.2. Men

(Begin interview here after reading consent form. Please read only text that is bold.)

5. In which year were you born? ____

6. With which ethnic group do you identify?

6.1 Albanian

6.5 Egyptian

6.9 Multiple (please write) _____

6.2 Serbian

6.6 Bosnian

6.10 Other (please write) _____

6.3 Roma

6.7 Gorani

6.4 Ashkali

6.8 Turkish

7. How many years of schooling did you complete? ____

8. *(If stopped before university degree)* what was the MAIN reason that you stopped going to school (circle all that apply)?

8.1. Did not want to continue

8.2. Not enough finances in the family

8.3. Not enough finances in the family and family favoured: brother sister

8.4. Had to work to earn money

8.5. The school was too far away

8.6. It was not safe to travel to the school

8.7. My family did not think it was important for me to keep going to school

8.8. Had to care for family members (e.g., with disability, children, elderly)

8.9. Got married

8.10. Violence in the family

8.11. Pressured or forced by mother to stop

8.12. Pressured or forced by father to stop

8.13. Pressured or forced by partner to stop

8.14. Pressured or forced by other family members to stop

8.15. Other _____

9. What is your marital status RIGHT NOW?

9.1. Single → Q. 13

9.3. Co-habiting → Q. 10

9.2. Married → Q. 10

9.4. Engaged → Q. 10

9.5. Divorced → Q. 10

9.6. Widowed → Q. 10

10. For how many years (have you been / were you) married/co-habiting (in present marriage if married twice)? ____

11. How old were you when you were married for the first time? ____

12. How many children do you have, if any? ____

13. With whom do you live at home right now?

- 13.1. Immediate birth family (parents, brothers, sisters)
- 13.2. Married immediate family (husband/wife and/or children)
- 13.3. Partner's extended family (mother-, father-, brother-, sister-in-law, etc.)
- 13.4. My extended family (parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives)
- 13.5. Friends
- 13.6. Partner (unmarried)
- 13.7. Alone
- 13.8. Other _____

14. Altogether, how many people are living in your household right now? _____

15. What is your employment status right now?

- 15.1. Work in a paid position outside the home → Q17
- 15.2. Do unpaid work outside the home (farming, caring for animals like cows/chickens, etc.)
- 15.3. Do unpaid work at home (childcare, care for elderly gardening, housekeeping, etc.) → Q16
- 15.4. Work from time to time (Consultant) → Q16
- 15.5. Currently unemployed, but looking for a job → Q16
- 15.6. Unemployed, not looking for a job → Q16
- 15.7. Still student / pupil → Q16
- 15.8. Retired → Q18
- 15.9. Unable to work → Q16

16. (If not working for money) What is the MAIN reason you are not working for money?

- 16.1. Have to work at home (childcare, elderly care, gardening, housekeeping, etc.)
- 16.2. Have to work outside the home (farming, caring for animals like cows/chickens, etc.)
- 16.3. Have not been able to find a job
- 16.4. Do not need to work, have sufficient income
- 16.5. Family does not allow me to work
- 16.6. Still a pupil/student
- 16.7. It's not worth it (for the small salary)
- 16.8. Retired
- 16.9. Unable to work
- 16.10. Other _____
- 99 Don't know / no answer

17. (If working) What is your monthly salary: ____ ____ ____ ____

18. (If married) is your partner employed with a salary?

- 18.1. Yes
- 18.2. No

19. Altogether, how many people in your house are employed? _____

20. Can you estimate your household income FROM THE LAST MONTH (January) from all peoples and sources?

21. Does your household receive social assistance?

- 21.1. Yes
- 21.2. No
- 0 Refuse to answer
- 99 Don't know / No answer

Now I have some different questions. I would like to ask you about sexual harassment.

22. Can you tell me what sexual harassment means to you?

- 22.1 Rape or attempted rape
 22.2 Pressure for sexual favours
 22.3 Touching, pinching, pushing
 22.4 Purposely leaning against a person's body, without his / her permission
 22.5 Staring and sexual gestures, against a person's wishes
 22.6 Sending letters, telephone calls against a person's wishes
 22.7 Pressuring to go out together (for coffee, lunch, dinner)
 22.8 Questions, comments or sexual jokes, against a person's wishes
 22.9 Referring to persons with words such as: sweetie, sweetheart, sweetie pie, etc.
 22.10 Whistling in the street
 22.11 All the above
 22.12 Posting photos without the permission of the person on the Internet, against the person's wishes
 22.13 Favouritism in exchange for sexual benefits
 22.13 Other _____
 99 Don't know / No answer

Can you please tell us which of the following can involve sexual harassment?	Yes	No	Don't know
	1	2	99
23. A man harassing a woman			
24. A man harassing a man			
25. A woman harassing a man			
26. A woman harassing a woman			
27. A colleague making comments of a sexual nature about a fellow worker			
28. A boss touching a worker in a way the worker does not like to be touched			
29. Posting sexual photos on Facebook of another person			
30. Making comments to a person on the street that make the person feel uncomfortable			
31. A teacher requiring a student to come to their office at night, alone, to get their marks			
32. A boss making a worker go to dinner for purposes outside of work			

In your opinion, are the following statements true or false?

	True	False	Don't know
	1	2	99
33. Women bring harassment problems on themselves by dressing or acting provocatively.			
34. Sexual harassment at work can ONLY come from supervisors.			
35. People naturally harass others when they are attracted to them and that's OK.			
36. Harassment doesn't do any harm to the person being harassed.			
37. Young women like being harassed.			

Now I have some more personal questions. Please tell us, if any of the following ever happened to you. If so, how often?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		In the last year							
	Never	When I was younger	A few times per day	Once a day	Every week	Every month	5-11 times per year	1-4 times per year	DK/NA
38. Having someone make unwelcome sexual comments, jokes or gestures to or about you (including on the street)									
39. Having someone make unwelcome sexual comments or jokes about you on Facebook									
40. Having someone post revealing photos of you on Internet									
41. Having someone flash or expose themselves to you									
42. Being shown sexy or sexual pictures that you did not want to see									
43. Being touched in an unwelcome sexual way									

44. Having a teacher touch you in a sexual way that made you feel uncomfortable									
45. Being called gay or lesbian in a negative way									
46. Being forced to do something sexual that you didn't want to do									

47. Have you ever been harassed in any of the following ways in the last year (*circle all that apply*)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------|
| 47.1 Unwanted comments made in the street | 47.8 Sexual assault | |
| 47.2 Blocking your path | 47.9 All of the above | |
| 47.3 Following you | 47.10 Didn't harass me | → Q51 |
| 47.4 Whistling | 47.11 Other _____ | |
| 47.5 Making a sexually explicit comment | 99 Don't know / No answer | |
| 47.6 Honking | | |
| 47.7 Grabbing or touching | | |

48. Who did this? (*mark all that apply*)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 48.1 Teacher | 48.4 Co-worker | 99 Don't know / No answer |
| 48.2 Unknown person in the street | 48.5 Acquaintance\friend | |
| 48.3 Boss | 48.6 Other _____ | |

49. [*If applicable*] If sexual harassment happened to you in the street, what did you do?

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 49.1 Ignore them | 49.4 Respond physically | 49.6 Other _____ |
| 49.2 Laugh at them | 49.5 Report the incident to the appropriate authorities | 99 Don't know / No answer |
| 49.3 Respond verbally | | |

50. [*If applicable*] If another person you didn't know was present when you were sexually harassed how did that person act?

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 50.1 Ignored the harassment | 50.5 Other _____ |
| 50.2 Defended you verbally | 99 Don't know / no answer |
| 50.3 Defended you physically | |
| 50.4 Report the incident to the appropriate authorities | |

51. Have you or anyone you know ever reported sexual harassment? Yes No

If yes, what happened? (*To whom did they report; what did they do? when did it happen?*)

Now I would like to know more about you and your family. Who would you say makes most of the decisions about how money should be spent in your household for...

	.1 I do	.2 My partner	.3 My father	.4 My mother	.5 My father in law	.6 My mother in law	.7 My brother in law	.8 Joint decision between (write)	.9 Other	.99 DN / NA
52. Big purchases like a new car or furniture?										
53. For children's education (e.g., to continue education or what to study)?										
54. Who in your family has the final say when an important decision has to be made?										

55. What happens if someone disagrees with or argues with that person about the decision?

- | | |
|---|--|
| 55.1 Nothing | |
| 55.2 That person (the decision-maker) gets angry | |
| 55.3 The person (the decision-maker) yells and shouts at that person who argues | |
| 55.4 That person (the decision-maker) may physically harm the person who argues | |
| 55.5 A discussion and then a decision is made together | |
| 55.6 Other _____ | |
| 99 Don't know / No answer | |

I am going to read some statements. Please tell me if you agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, or don't know.

	1	2	3	4	0	99
	Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Refuse	DK
56. Sometimes it is OK for a husband to hit his wife						
57. Sometimes a child needs to be spanked						
58. Boys should have stricter discipline than girls because it makes them strong						
59. Girls need more discipline than boys so that they will be morally correct						
60. Persons with disabilities should stay inside their house because they bring shame to the family						
61. It is natural that physical violence happens sometimes when a couple argues						
62. It is natural that family violence happens after someone drinks alcohol						
63. Old people are a burden on the family						
64. Sexual violence can NEVER happen between two adults who are married						
65. If a husband is unemployed, violence is bound to happen sometimes						
66. Young brides are supposed to have more responsibilities for cleaning and cooking than other family members						
67. A Law for Protection against Domestic Violence exists in Kosovo						
68. If neighbours knew that one family had violence happening inside, they would consider it shameful						
69. Violence is a family matter, so neighbours shouldn't report it to police						
70. Any man who hits his wife should be ashamed of himself						
71. Violence is a normal part of any relationship, and society in general accepts that violence happens sometimes						
72. Perpetrators of family violence are guilty and should be punished by law						
73. If there is violence in a family, the woman should go to a shelter or her family, while the man should stay at home till the issue is resolved						
74. There is no point to call police when violence happens because police will not do anything						

Now I am going to read a list of interactions that could happen in a family. Please tell me in your opinion whether each interaction could be considered a form of family violence.

Type	1	2	8	9
	Yes	No	Refuse	DN
75. Calling a family member names or swearing at a family member				
76. Punishing a child by spanking him or her				
77. Punishing a child by spanking him or her with a belt or stick				
78. Controlling where a family member can or cannot go				
79. Influencing a person with a disability or a family member who to marry				
80. Not allowing another family member to work outside the home				
81. Threatening to hurt another family member				
82. An adult slapping, punching, or kicking another family member when they are arguing				
83. Harassing/touching a family member in a sexual way without that person's consent				
84. A partner making his/her partner do sexual acts that he/she does not want to do				

85. In your opinion what is the MAIN reason or reasons that family violence happens (*circle all that they say*)?
- | | |
|--|--|
| 85.1 Unemployment in the family | 85.8 Because people were married against their will |
| 85.2 Bad economic situation in the family | 85.9 Big families live together without enough space |
| 85.3 That is the culture | 85.10 Early marriages |
| 85.4 Lack of education | 85.11 To discipline family members |
| 85.5 After someone drinks alcohol | 85.12 Other _____ |
| 85.6 During arguments that get too intensive | 99 Don't know / No answer |
| 85.7 Because of trauma from the war | |

86. In your opinion, how widespread is domestic violence in your village/city? (*Probe*) Meaning, people inside the family hit each other? (*Give further explanation if needed, mention name of the village/city where the interview is taking place*).

- 86.1 That doesn't happen in my village/city (0%)
 86.2 It only happens in a few families (1-25%)
 86.3 It happens in between one-fourth and half of the families (26%-50%)
 86.4 It happens in between one-half and three fourths of the families (51%-75%)
 86.5 It happens in between three-fourths and almost all families (75%-99%)
 86.6 It happens in every family (100%)
 99 Do not know / No answer

In the last YEAR (January – December 2014), how often did you personally see or hear people in the same family doing the following: every day, every week, every month, 5-11 times, 1-4 times, never. If you are not sure, please give your best guess.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	9
How often did you see or hear during last year ...	Never	Every day	Every Week	Every month	5-11 times per yr	1-4 times per yr	DK/NA
87. Family members yelling at each other							
88. Loud noises, as if two family members were hitting or pushing each other							
89. A woman who has bruises like someone was hitting her							

90. In the last year (January – December 2014), can you estimate how many families that you know personally had violence happening inside? ____

Please think of one person you know who has been a victim of family violence. Do not tell me who the person is, but can you tell me about them... Is that person...

Nr.	1	2	3	4	0	9
91.	Male	Female	X	X	No one	DK / NA
92.	Child (0-12)	Teenager (13-18)	Adult (19-50)	Elderly (51+)		DK / NA
93.	No education	With some or all of primary school	Some or all of secondary school	Some or all of University		DK / NA
94.	Employed for €	Farmer (no €)	Unemployed	X		DK / NA

95. What type of violence is happening to that person (*read answers 1-4*)?

- 95.1 Psychological violence like name-calling, jealousy, lying all the time
 95.2 Physical violence like kicking, punching, hitting
 95.3 Sexual violence like making the person have sex when he/she does not want or do sexual acts he/she does not want
 95.4 Economical violence like not giving the person money when she/he needs it
 95.5 Or something else _____
 95.6 Combination (*write #s*) _____
 99 Don't know / No answer

96. Who is the person that most often abuses him/her?

- 96.1 Partner 96.4 Brother 96.7 Daughter 96.10 Other: _____
 96.2 Father 96.5 Sister 96.8 Father-in-law 99 Don't know/ No answer
 96.3 Mother 96.6 Son 96.9 Mother-in-law

97. What have been the negative results of violence on that person (*circle all that apply*)?

- 97.1 Body injuries 97.6 Attempted suicide 97.10 Other _____
 97.2 Psychological problems 97.7 Stopped education 99 Don't know / No answer
 97.3 Unable to care for children 97.8 Can't work which impacts economic situation
 97.4 Unable to care for self
 97.5 Thought about suicide 97.9 Murder

98. How does that person deal with the violence or reduce the pain it causes him/her (*circle all that apply*)?

- 98.1 Withdraws/doesn't talk to others 98.5 Goes to doctor 98.9 Lives somewhere else for a while
 98.2 Talks to friends 98.6 Calls the police 98.10 Other _____
 98.3 Talks to family members 98.7 Goes to a shelter 99 Don't know / No answer
 98.4 Talks to a counsellor/psychologist 98.8 Divorce

99. Do you know where a person could go to get help if they had violence happening to them (circle all that they answer)?

- 99.1 A friend 99.6 Advocate / Lawyer
 99.2 Another family member 99.7 Local organization or NGO
 99.3 Police 99.8 Other _____
 99.4 Centre for Social Work 99 Don't know / No answer
 99.5 Victim Advocate

100. Do you know any person who has ever reported a case of domestic violence happening?

- 100.1 Yes 100.2 No → Q110

(If yes) After they reported it...

	1	2	9
	Yes	No	DK / NA
101. Did the police come?			
102. Did the person who experienced violence leave their house to stay somewhere else?			
103. Did the person receive help from the Centre for Social Work?			
104. Did the person receive help from a women's NGO or shelter?			
105. Did the person receive help from a Victim Advocate?			
106. Did the person receive some other form of legal assistance?			
107. Was the perpetrator arrested?			
108. Did the case go to court?			
109. Was the perpetrator punished?			

(Researcher: write details about what happened below)

110. If family violence happened to you, do you think you would use any law to help your situation?

- 110.1 Yes
 110.2 No → 110.2.1 Why not? _____
 99 Don't know / No answer

Now I am going to ask you some very personal questions. I want to tell you again that I will not share the information you give me with anyone. I also want you to know that if you do not feel well or comfortable at any time while we are talking, please tell me that you want to take a break, skip certain questions, or stop our discussion.

111. Were you ever told to have more children than you wanted?

- 111.1 Yes
 111.2 No → Q113 99 Don't know / No answer

112. (If yes) who pressured you? (circle all that apply)

- 112.1 Partner 112.4 Other family members 99 Don't know / No answer
 112.2 Parents 112.5 Other _____
 112.3 Parents-in-law 112.6 Combination (write): _____

113. (If children) How do you discipline your children? (If no children) In your opinion, how do you think children should be disciplined?

- 113.1 They are not allowed to play with friends (grounded) 113.7 Spank him or her with my hand
 113.2 Not allowed to watch TV, computer, tablet, etc. 113.8 Spank him or her with a belt or stick
 113.3 They have to do extra work around the house 113.9 Advise them
 113.4 They have to stay in their bedroom 113.10 Other _____
 113.5 They have to stay in the house 113.11 No punishment
 113.6 Yell at him or her 99 Don't know / No answer

114. Is the discipline the same for girls and boys?

- 114.1 Yes
 114.2 No → 114.2.1 How are girls disciplined? _____
 114.2.2 How are boys disciplined? _____

115. If you can think back, when you were a child, how were you usually punished if you were naughty?

- 115.1 I was not allowed to play with friends (grounded)
 115.2 I had to do extra work around the house
 115.3 I had to stay in my bedroom or inside the house
 115.4 They yelled at me
 115.5 They spanked me with their hand
 115.6 They spanked me with a belt or stick
 115.7 Other _____
 115.8 I was not usually punished
 99 Don't know / No answer

116. In the last YEAR, how often would you estimate that persons in your family yelled at you, swore at you or made you feel very bad?

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------|------------|----|------------------------|
| 116.1 | 1 to 5 times | 116.4 | Every week | 0 | Refused |
| 116.2 | 6-11 times | 116.5 | Every day | 99 | Don't know / No answer |
| 116.3 | Every month | 116.6 | Never | | |

117. In the last YEAR, how often would you estimate that persons in your family hurt you physically?

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------|------------|----|------------------------|
| 117.1 | 1 to 5 times | 117.4 | Every week | 0 | Refused |
| 117.2 | 6-11 times | 117.5 | Every day | 99 | Don't know / No answer |
| 117.3 | Every month | 117.6 | Never | | |

118. Has anyone ever hit you with an object like a stick, belt, or knife?

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------|
| 118.1 | Yes | → 118.1.1 | What? _____ | 118.1.2 | Who? _____ |
| 118.2 | No | | | | |
| | 0 | Refuse to answer | 99 | Don't know / No answer | |

I am going to give you a list of things that could happen in a family. In those 7 columns, *(show the card and point out the columns)*, please put an X at which times each of them happened in your life: when you were a child, an adult, *(if applicable)* during pregnancy, or in more than one of these times in your life? X all that apply. Please write in the last column **ONLY DURING LAST YEAR**, if it happened every day, week, month or 1-11 times per year. This card will remain completely anonymous. No one will know that you filled it. Please tell me if you have any questions or if you need my help. *(Give the card together with the pen to the respondent so they can fill it independently. Then, after it has been completed, put it in an envelope and seal it.)*

_____	0	1	2	3	4	9	In the last year how often did this happen?
	Never	Childhood	Teenager	Adult	Pregnant	DK / NA	
I 19. A family member swore at you							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
I 20. A family member controlled where you could or could not go							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
I 21. Your family would not let you work for money outside the home							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
I 22. A family member refused to give you money when you really needed it to survive							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
I 23. Family members made you give them your salary or social assistance							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
I 24. Your family would not let you go to the doctor when you were sick							0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)

125. A family member threatened to hurt you or someone close to you									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
126. A family member had a weapon and threatened to use it against you									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
127. A family member slapped you									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
128. A family member hit, punched or kicked you									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
129. A family member touched your private parts in a way you did not want to be touched									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
130. Your partner pressured you to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)
131. A family member made you do sexual acts you did not want to do									0 times 1 - 1 times (1) Monthly (2) Weekly (3) Every day (4) DN / NA (99)

Thank you very much for this information. Now I have some more personal questions. We are almost done with the survey.

I32. Who among your family members used violence against you most often?

I32.1 Partner (husband/wife)	I32.5 Sister	I32.9 Step-Mother	I32.13 Son
I32.2 Mother	I32.6 Mother-in-Law	I32.10 Sister-in-law	I32.14 Daughter
I32.3 Father	I32.7 Father-in-law	I32.11 Brother-in-law	I32.15 Other
I32.4 Brother	I32.8 Step-father	I32.12 Daughter in law	

I33. (If there are children in that house) Did any children in the household see or hear violence happening?

I33.1 Yes	I33.3 Can't remember	0	Refuse to answer
I33.2 No	99	Don't know/No answer	

I34. What have been the negative results of family violence on your life (circle all that apply)?

I34.1 None → III Prevention	I34.5 Unable to care for self	0	Refuse answer
I34.2 Injuries	I34.6 Thoughts about suicide	99	Don't know / No answer
I34.3 Psychological problems	I34.7 Attempted suicide		
I34.4 Unable to care for children	I34.8 Other _____		

I35. Have you had health problems because of family violence?

I35.1 Yes	I35.2 No	→ III Prevention	0	Refuse answer
-----------	----------	------------------	---	---------------

I36. (If yes), what health problems have you had because of family violence (circle all that apply)?

I36.1 Depression	I36.5 Constant fear	I37.9 Other _____
I36.2 Headaches	I36.6 Bruises	I36.10 Other _____
I36.3 High blood pressure	I36.7 Broken limbs	0
I36.4 Nervousness	I37.8 Other injuries	Refuse answer

I37. (If yes), If you were injured as a result of violence, did you ever go to a doctor or tell a doctor what happened?

			I	2	99
I37.1 Yes	I37.1.1 → Do you feel that the doctor treated you with respect?	Yes	No	NA	
	I37.1.2 → Did the doctor give you a report of what happened?	Yes	No	NA	
I37.2 No	→ Why? _____				
I37.3	I wasn't injured				

I38. When you experienced violence, did you tell any of the following people about it? If yes, who and how did they treat you?

#		Yes	How did they treat you?				
			1 Very bad	2 Bad	3 Good	4 Very good	0 Refuse
I38.1	Family member						
I38.2	Police						
I38.3	Friend						
I38.4	Shelter representative						
I38.5	Woman activist or NGO						
I38.6	Social worker at the Centre for Social Work						
I38.7	Victim Advocate / Lawyer						
I38.8	Psychologist or psychiatrist						
I38.9	Prosecutor						
I38.10	Judge						
I38.11	Other _____						
I38.12	Nobody						
99	Don't know / No answer						

I39. When you experienced violence, what made you feel better?

I39.1 Nothing	I39.5 Doing something with my hands (like sewing or chopping wood)	I39.8 Sending the perpetrator to jail
I39.2 Talking to friends	I39.6 Sleeping	I39.9 Divorce
I39.3 Talking to family members	I39.7 Living somewhere else for a while	I39.10 Breaking up
I39.4 Talking to a counsellor or psychologist		I39.11 Other _____
		99 Don't know / No answer

III. Prevention

Now I want to get your opinion as to how society and the government could stop violence or lessen the amount of harm that results from violence.

I40. In your opinion what types of assistance would be most useful for a person who suffered domestic violence (*circle all that apply*)?

I40.1 Professional help from a psychologist, psychiatrist, or counsellor

I40.2 Family counselling

I40.3 Safe accommodation (shelter)

I40.4 Access to free healthcare

I40.5 Access to more education

I40.6 Access to free legal assistance

I40.7 Assistance with finding employment

I40.8 Assistance with securing a house

I40.9 Assistance with securing land

I40.10 Assistance with starting a business

I40.11 Other _____

99 Don't know / No answer

I41. What could the government do to better address domestic violence?

I42. Is there anything else you want to talk to me about or tell me about?

(Researcher: to be completed by the interviewer alone after the interview)

I43. Date of visit: / /
 D D M M Y Y Y Y

I44. Starting time: :

I45. Ending time: :

I46. Is the questionnaire complete?

I46.1 Yes → Q148

I46.2 No

I47 (If no,) what is the reason for not completing the questionnaire?

I47.1 The interviewee was unable to finish (e.g. sick, too old, someone else present)

I47.2 The interviewee refused to continue

I47.3 The interviewee did not have time to continue

I47.4 The interviewee was not psychologically ready to continue the interview

I47.5 Other _____

I48 What was the duration of the interview?

I48.1 0-30 min

I48.2 31-60 min

I48.3 61-89 min

I48.4 90-119 min

I48.5 120+ min

I49 Please write any further comments about the interview, including your impressions as an interviewer and any explanations (how the interview went, further explanation of the respondent's comments, explanation of the respondent's body language during the interview, any relevant illustrative stories, and during particular questions, etc.)

As the interviewer, please certify by signing below that this questionnaire has been completed to the best of your ability.

Interviewer name: _____

Interviewer signature: _____

Supervisor name: _____

Supervisor signature: _____

Annex 4. List of Interview Respondents

The following persons from institutions and organizations were interviewed by KWN in order to inform this research. They are listed in alphabetical order by first name.

Name and Surname	Institution	Position	Municipality
Adnan Zahiri	Vocational Training Centre	Secretary	Gjilan
Aferita Vllasaliu- Saliu	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Gjilan
Afijete Sada	Basic Municipal Court	Civil Judge	Gjakova
Afrim Ahmeti	Regional Kosovo Police	Deputy Director	Prishtina
Afrim Ibrahim	UNICEF	Official on Child Protection	Prishtina
Agim Magrilaj	LIBERTAS	Program Officer	Prishtina
Agim Pula	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Gjakova
Agon Myftari	National Theatre	Artistic Director	Prishtina
Ahmet Panxhaj	Private Clinic	Gynaecologist	Peja
Ajmane Barani	Municipal Department of Education	Head of Department	Mitrovica
Ajser Skenderi	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Prizren
Ajshe Nuh	NGO Vita-Jeta	Director	Prishtina
Alida Miftari	Association of Craft Women	Director	Prizren
Anton Nrecaj	Centre for Legal Aid and Regional Development	Legal Advisor	Prishtina
Arben Hoti	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Ferizaj
Arbenita Gashi	Emergency Centre Mitrovica	Nurse	Mitrovica
Arber Beka	Kosovo Police Inspectorate	Head of Public Relations	Prishtina
Arber Hamiti	Emergency Centre	Physician	Ferizaj
Arbërie Nagavci	Municipal Department of Education	Head of Department	Prishtina
Ardiana Shala	SOS villages	Head of Alternative Care	Prishtina
Ardita Ramizi Bala	Women Wellness Centre	Director	Peja
Arjeta Dermaku	Emergency Centre	Nurse	Gjilan
Arlind Popaj	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Prishtina
Arrita Gjokolli	School	School teacher	Peja
Armend Rugova	Ministry of Public Administration	Coordinator of Human Rights Department	Prishtina
Arsim Gërxhaliu	Ministry of Justice, Forensic Department	Head	Prishtina
Avni Zahiti	Regional Kosovo Police	Spokesperson	Mitrovica
Basri Kastrati	VAAO	Manager	Prishtina
Basri Komoni	Municipal Department of Health and Social Welfare	Head	Gjakova
Bekim Mehana	Kosovo Police, Prishtina Station	Police officer	Prishtina
Berenika Gashi	UNDP WSSI (previously)		Prishtina
Berlinda Berisha	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Gjakova
Besa Beqiri Zejnullahu	High School	Teacher	Ferizaj
Besa Veseli	Municipal Gender Equality Office	Officer	Mitrovica
Besim Avdimetaj	Municipal Department of Education	Head	Peja
Brikena Sylejmani	UNDP	Gender Advisor	Prishtina
Bukurije Leti	Medika BL	Director	Prishtina
Burhan Maxhuni	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Mitrovica
Demë Laha	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Gjakova
Diana Qarkaxhija	Municipal Department of Education	Head	Gjakova
Drita Delolli	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Ferizaj
Drita Klaiqi	Municipal Gender Equality Office	Officer	Gjilan
Drita Krasniqi	OAZA	Manager	Prizren
Drita Vukshinaj	Association of Women with Disabilities	Director	Prizren
Driton Marevci	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Ferizaj

Name and Surname	Institution	Position	Municipality
Dusica Djinovic	Centre for Social Work	Social Worker	North Mitrovica
Edi Gusia	Agency for Gender Equality	Head of Division for Reporting and Monitoring	Prishtina
Elhame Berisha	Municipal Department for Social Welfare	Head	Prizren
Elida Berisha	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Peja
Elinda Elshani	Emergency Centre	Nurse	Prizren
Elmina Mahmuti	Regional Kosovo Police Unit Head	Head	Gjilan
Elvane Shehu	Centre for Social Welfare	Social Worker	Gjakova
Enes Mehmeti	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Ferizaj
Engjëllushe Susuri	High School	Teacher	Prizren
Enver Murtezi	Emergency Centre	Physician	Gjilan
Ergita Zajmi	High School	Teacher	Peja
Eroll Raskova	Municipal Financial Department	Finance Officer	Prishtina
Fadil Gashi	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Peja
Fahri Drevinaj	Ministry of Health / Forensic Psychiatry	Psychiatrist	Prishtina
Fahrie Qoraj	Ministry of Economic Development	GEO	Prishtina
Fakete Kuka	Ministry of Local Government Administration	GEO	Prishtina
Fakete Elezi	Regional Employment Centre	Adviser	Gjakova
Fatime Jasiqi	MEST	GEO	Prishtina
Fatmir Baloku	Basic Municipal Court	Civil Judge	Peja
Fatmire Hysenaj	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Prishtina
Faton Ademi	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Mitrovica
Fazile Bungu	NGO HendiFer	Director	Ferizaj
Fetije Bajrami	Regional Basic Prosecution	Prosecutor	Vushtrri
Fetije Mehmeti	Association United Women	Director	Prizren
Flora Macula	UN Women	Director	Prishtina
Flutura Zena	Agency for Free Legal Aid	Assistant/ Legal Advisor	Prishtina
Gani Kamberi	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Mitrovica
Gezim Bekqeli	Vocational Training Centre	Coordinator and Trainer	Prishtina
Gëzim Pozhegu	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Gjakova
Hajrije Haxhiaj	Municipal Financial Department	Head	Peja
Hake Gegaj	Regional Employment Centre	Employment Advisor	Prizren
Halil Zahiri	Basic Municipal Court	Judge	Gjilan
Hamdiye Selmani	Centre for Social Welfare	Social Worker	Ferizaj
Hamez Berisha	Emergency Centre	Physician	Mitrovica
Hektor Elezi	Private Clinic	Physician	Prizren
Hilmi Jashari	Ombudsperson Institution	Ombudsperson	Prishtina
Ibrahim Krusha	NGO NEVO Concept	Coordinator	Prizren
Ibrahim Musliu	Municipal Department for Social Welfare	Head	Ferizaj
Ibrahim Terstena	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Ferizaj
Ilmi Limoni	Municipal Department of Finance	Finance Officer	Gjilan
Imer Beka	Regional Basic Prosecution	Head Prosecutor	Prishtina
Indira Elshani	Caritas Kosova	Coordinator	Prizren
Ismet Rrahmani	Regional Basic Prosecution	Prosecutor	Ferizaj
Jeta Rexha	High School	Teacher of Psychology	Gjakova
Jubilea Kabashi	Centre for Sheltering Women and Children	Director	Prizren
Kada Bunjaku	Basic Municipal Court	Head of Court	Vushtrri
Kadri Gashi	Initiative "Bonu Burrë"	Project Coordinator	Prishtina
Kaltrina Kelmendi	Psychology Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Prishtina "Hasan Prishtina"	Professor	Prishtina

Name and Surname	Institution	Position	Municipality
Kastriot Jashari	KAPS, Department for Trainings and Educational Support	Director	Vushtrri
Kristë Gjokaj	Regional Kosovo Police	Head	Gjakova
Leonora Kelmendi;	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Mitrovica
Linda Sanaja	UN Women	Project Coordinator	Prishtina
Lindita Jashari	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Ferizaj
Liridon Shala	Paediatric Private Clinic	Physician Assistant	Prizren
Liridona Haziri Mustafa	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Gjilan
Lirije Syla	Municipal Department of Finances	Finance Official	Ferizaj
Lulejete Prekazi	Centre for Protection of Victims and Prevention of Trafficking	Project Coordinator	Prishtina
Luljeta Sallahu	High School	Teacher	Ferizaj
Lumnije Shllaku	Municipal Gender Equality Office	GEO	Gjakova
Lumturije Ibra	Women Wellness Centre	Coordinator	Peja
Majlinda Gojani	High School	Teacher	Gjakova
Mehat Berisha	Centre for Social Welfare	Head	Gjilan
Mehreme Hoxha	Regional Basic Prosecution	Prosecutor	Prizren
Mehreme Llumnica	HANDIKOS	Coordinator	Prishtina
Memli Haxhishabani	Emergency Centre	Physician	Gjakova
Mensur Beqiri	Municipal Department of Social Welfare and European Integration	Head	Mitrovica
Miradije Gashi	NGO Venera	Director	Peja
Mirlinda Roka	High School	Teacher	Gjakova
Mirlinda Sada	Medica Gjakova	Director	Gjakova
Mybexhele Zhuri	Municipal Gender Equality Office	Officer	Prizren
Myfera Bamja	Municipal Department of Finances	Financial Officer	Prizren
Myrvete Bajrami	Centre for Social Emancipation (QESH)	Project Coordinator	Prishtina
Naser Syla	Emergency Centre	Physician	Prishtina
Nazife Jonuzi	Liria	Director	Gjilan
Nazmi Cakolli	Municipal Health and Social Welfare Department	Head	Prishtina
Nazmi Musa	Municipal Department of Education	Head	Gjilan
Nazmije Kajtazi	Ministry of Health	GEO	Prishtina
Nehat Murati	Kosovo Police	Police Officer	Gjilan
Nexharie Islami Pllana	Municipal Department of Health	Head	Mitrovica
Nexhat Çoçaj	Municipal Department of Education	Head	Prizren
Nezaqete Rukovci	Ministry of Culture, Youth, and Sports	GEO	Prishtina
Nuhi Koçinaj	Centre for Social Welfare	Director	Prizren
Nurgjan Curri	NGO NEVO Concept	Coordinator	Prizren
Nysret Manxhera	Municipal Department of Finances	Head	Mitrovica
Perparim Poroshtica	High School	Teacher	Gjilan
Petrit Loci	Municipal Department of Health and Social Welfare	Head	Peja
Premtime Preniqi	Municipal Gender Equality Office	GEO	Prishtina
Qamile Zhanjani	Emergency Centre	Nurse	Ferizaj
Rajmonda Sylbije	Centre for Equality and Liberty (CEL)	Director	Prishtina
Raze Malaj Maksutaj	Emergency Centre	Nurse	Peja
Rexhë Gashi	Vocational Training Centre	Head	Peja
Rrezarta Recica	Shelter "My home"	Director	Ferizaj
Ruzica Simic	Centre for Preventive Treatment and Protection of Women from Violence in North Mitrovica "Zensko Pravo"	Director	North Mitrovica
Sabiha Spahija	Regional Employment Centre	Advisor	Peja
Sadik Çoçaj	High School	Teacher	Prizren
Sadri Hulaj	Emergency Centre	Physician	Prizren
Sakibe Doli	Shelter "Safe House"	Director	Gjakova

Name and Surname	Institution	Position	Municipality
Sami Ahmeti	Municipal Department of Social Welfare	Official for Social Services	Gjilan
Sami Vranovci	Municipal Department of Education	Head	Ferizaj
Sebahate Qorkadiu	Municipal Gender Equality Office	GEO	Peja
Selvete Gurgurovci	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Ferizaj
Selvete Krasniqi	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Ferizaj
Selvi Izeti	Kosovo Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims	Psychologist	Prishtina
Selvie Murati	Regional Employment Centre	Adviser	Mitrovica
Shaban Laha	Vocational Training Centre	Director	Gjakova
Shaban Shala	Regional Kosovo Police	Director	Peja
Shemsije Sagdati	VAAO	Victim Advocate	Prizren
Shemsije Jonuzaj	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Prizren
Shpresa Bakija	Regional Basic Prosecution	Prosecutor	Gjakova
Shpresa Emra	Regional Basic Court	Judge	Prizren
Shpresa Siqeca	NGO "Shtjefan Gjeçovi"	Director	Prizren
Shqipe Gjocaj	Peer Educators Network	Coordinator	Prishtina
Shukrije Gashi	Partners Kosova	Director	Prishtina
Shyhrete Stublla	Liria	Social Worker	Gjilan
Shyqeri Mehmeti	Centre for Social Work	Director	Ferizaj
Sinan Gashi	Vocational Training Centre	Director	Prizren
Skender Dreshaj	Emergency Centre	Head, Physician	Peja
Sokol Zogaj	Kosovo Correctional Service	Director	Prishtina
Sylejman Topalli	Private Clinic	Physician, Head of Clinic	Ferizaj
Tahire Haxholli	Kosovo Police, Sector of Domestic Violence and Child Abuse	Head	Prishtina
Teki Shala	Municipal Department of Finances	Head	Gjakova
Valbona Çitaku	Hope and Homes for Children	Director	Prishtina
Valbona Doli-Rizvanolli	Active Women of Gjakova	Director	Gjakova
Valbona Salihu	Lawyers Association Norma	Director	Prishtina
Valentina Bejtullahu Turjaka	OSCE	National Program Officer	Prishtina
Valmira Baftiu-Rushiti	Private Clinic	Psychologist	Gjilan
Vebi Mujku	Centre for Social Welfare	Head	Prishtina
Veprora Shehu	Medica Kosova	Director	Gjakova
Vesna Krivokapic	Kosovo Police	DVIU	North Mitrovica
Veton Uka	Municipal Department of Health	Head	Gjilan
Violete Demhasaj	Kosovo Police	DVIU	Peja
Virgjina Dumnica	UNDP	Programme Analyst, Justice Portfolio Manager	Prishtina
Visare Mujko-Nimani	UNFPA	Programme Specialist	Prishtina
Vjolla Zymberi	High School	Teacher	Gjilan
Vlora Jonuzi	Help Line - Victim Advocates Main Office Prishtina	Help Line Operator	Prishtina
Xhevat Aliu	Regional Employment Centre	Head	Gjilan
Xhuljeta Buzuku	Mental Health Centre	Social Worker	Prishtina
Zana Hoxha- Krasniqi	ArtPolis	Director	Prishtina
Zete Emini	Kosovo Police	Coordinator of DVIU	Gjilan
Zylfije Mujku	Centre for Social Welfare	Head of Social Services	Mitrovica
Zylkifli Obertinca	Regional Employment Centre	Director	Prishtina
Zymer Rizanaj	Municipal Department of Health	Director	Prizren
Zyrafete Krasniqi	Centre for Social Welfare	Social Services Coordinator	Gjilan
Zyrafete Murati	Ministry of Public Administration	GEO	Prishtina

Annex 5. Personal Stories of Domestic Violence

Survey respondents told harrowing stories of domestic violence occurring in Kosovo, about themselves, their neighbours, and people they know. While only a few of these stories are in the main text of the report, others are included here. They supply qualitative evidence that undermines any remaining false beliefs that domestic violence does not exist in Kosovo. Further, the details shared by survey respondents put a story behind the numbers, a visual image of the suffering that people experience as a result of domestic violence. Some tales involve a proper institutional response, while others end in despair. They are divided according to different moments of the process to which they refer and the institutional response.

Violence Reported

“Her husband cheated on her, brought another woman home. Then, her husband beat her, and she called the police.” - Woman, 32, Skenderaj

“The husband is performing illegal work, like drugs and prostitution. He beats his wife and children. He broke his wife’s leg and arm; his son’s leg; and beat his daughter. His son stopped school because of his threats. This person has been reported to the police several times for being violent.” - Woman, 19, Prishtina

“Since she was married, she’s been suffering violence from her husband, for three to four years now. After this time, the police came, and now the case is in court. No decision has been made yet, and she’s scared. They’re not divorced, but they’re not living together.” - Woman, 27, Suhareka

No Action Taken

“The husband has beaten his wife several times. The police came to calm the situation, but they still live together.” - Woman, 40, Dragash

“The husband beat his wife several times. The police came only to calm the situation.” - Woman, 38, Prizren

“The husband beat his wife several times, but nothing was done about it.” - Woman, 43, Prizren

“The husband beats his wife several times. The police came only to calm the situation.” - Woman, 26, Prizren

“The husband beat his wife. Police came and calmed the situation. Afterwards, the wife took her children and left the home.” - Woman, 53, Prizren

“The husband beat his wife. She reported him to the police. The police didn’t take him away. He only paid a fee.” - Woman, 75, Prizren

“Neighbours called the police after hearing noises. They sent the woman to a shelter.” - Woman, 44, Glogovac

“The son beats his father. Police came and interrogated them, and they still live together.” - Man, 31, Glogovac

“The woman suffers violence from her husband every day. And the police, even though they come, they don’t do anything for this case.” - Woman, 31, Novo Brdo

“The son and his wife beat his mother because of rumours the mother has been saying about her daughter-in-law. The mother called the police, but police withdrew with a warning.” - Man, 19, Prizren

“The husband lost money while gambling, playing cards, and when he went home, he beat his wife. She called the police, but they didn’t do anything.” - Woman, 47, Ferizaj

“The woman told me that she was beaten by her husband. Her eyebrow was fractured. She informed me that she called the police, but there was no result because she still lives with that man since she didn’t have any other option.” - Woman, 29, Ferizaj

No Action Taken Due to Nepotism

“The wife was beaten by her husband. Police took him for 24 hours. They made a court appointment, but he never was found guilty, since he had acquaintances.” - Woman, 30, Ferizaj

“Police closed the case, since the person had acquaintances there.” - Man, 45, Gjilan

“Police came and saw the situation. They told the perpetrator not to repeat it and [they did] nothing more, since they were acquaintances.” - Woman, 23, Decan

Short-term Detainment without Prosecution

“Violence occurred repeatedly. Police would come and arrest the husband. They would release him after 24 hours. This happened a few times until the wife escaped to Gjakova with her little girl. Other children remain with their dad.” - Woman, 57, Ferizaj

“Called the police, but they only kept him for 24 hours and did nothing more.” - Woman, 44, Ferizaj

“In a case when a woman experienced physical violence, she reported her husband to the police, but the man was released after a couple of hours. I don’t know what happened later.” - Woman, 40, Peja

“The police came, but the victim was obliged to withdraw the accusation. The police didn’t suggest to the victim any further steps. The perpetrator was released after a 72-hour detention. Later the victim left.” - Woman, 39, Ferizaj

“The perpetrator was released after a day.” - Woman, 37, Malishevo

“The police kept the husband in prison for three to four hours. Then they released him, and he returned home. They live together.” - Woman, 36, Peja

“I do not know exactly what happened. That is what I heard. But I know they released him after detaining him for a while.” - Woman, 44, Mitrovica

Action Taken

“In the neighbouring village, violence happened. The son attacked his mother regarding money. She reported him to the police. The person was arrested and jailed.” - Woman, 54, Prishtina

“She notified the police through her children. They came and imprisoned the perpetrator.” - Woman, 23, Prizren

“A young girl suffered violence from her partner who used to rape her and isolate her inside for a year. She reported him to the police, and he was punished.” - Woman, 65, Glogovac

“After violence occurred, the victim went to her family. The police were called, and the case was solved after that.” - Man, 26, Gjakova

“Her husband beat her. She called the police, and they took him to prison.” - Woman, 33, Glogovac

“Police came and arrested the perpetrator.” - Woman, 57, Kamenica

“At my work we offer all kinds of legal procedures. After court verdicts, a lot of perpetrators were not allowed to get close to victims.” - Woman, 47, Fushe Kosovo

No Justice

“The husband, while drunk, beat his wife. We [police] went there, and he wanted his wife to leave the house, but we arrested him. Usually all cases go to court, but this time it wasn’t like that.” - Woman, 33, Kamenica

“The police came. The victim went to the hospital. The court didn’t react. The process was solved by the families, and things became normal.” - Man, 56, Gjakova

Family “Reconciliation”

“The wife reported her husband to the police. Police arrested him, but then released him because they decided to get back together with his wife’s conditions.” - Woman, 49, Suhareka

“After the case was reported, police came. But since the people involved found understanding, the case didn’t go further to other institutions.” - Man, 46, Prishtina

“The case was closed because the wife was guilty, and they have an agreement now.” Woman, 59, Prishtina

“They reached an agreement after the police intervention.” - Man, 56, Ferizaj

“Police came, and they ‘made a deal’ with by words, saying to them ‘don’t argue’.” - Woman, Gjakova

“I reported the case to the police. They came, and I gave a declaration. Then they took the perpetrator, but after that the woman decided to forgive her husband.” - Woman, 29, Peja

“They called the police who came and took the perpetrator; then his wife was called to testify, but she forgave her husband, and he wasn’t punished.” - Woman, 35, Gjakova

Sentenced

“Due to violence, the couple divorced and the perpetrator [man] stayed in jail for some time.” - Woman, 23, Gjakova

“I know about a case that happened three years ago, and the perpetrator stayed in jail for one month.” - Man, 82, Gjilan

“The husband exercised economic and psychological violence against his wife. The mother-in-law also exercised violence. Later on, she [the respondent] heard that she [the victim] had physical violence. The case was reported to the police, and the husband was arrested and convicted.” - Woman, 39, North Mitrovica

“The father hit his daughter. We know that he was imprisoned and still remains in prison.” - Woman, 39, North Mitrovica

Quick Release

“She stayed home. They beat her. Her son was sent to jail but stayed there only two to three days. Later, she died. She [the victim] told these things to our respondent when she came for coffee time after time.” – Researcher notes from interview with woman, 48, Malishevo

Treatment of the Person Suffering Violence

“Years ago, police came but they behaved badly with the woman who suffered violence.” - Woman, 58, Glogovac

“After police closed the case, they only told her that ‘the case is closed’.” - Woman, 24, Glogovac

No Long-term Solution

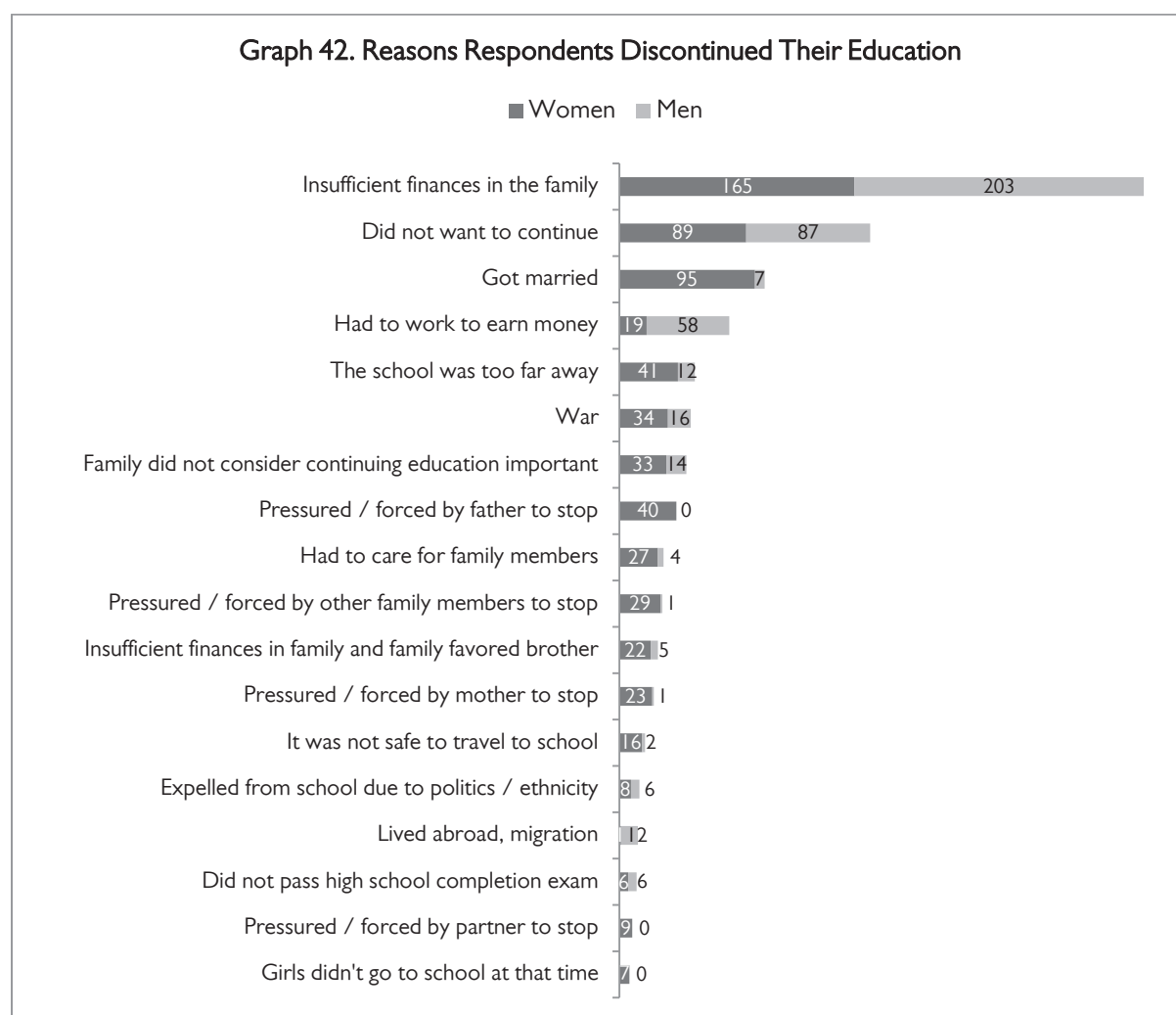
“She called the police. She received help, but the police didn’t have anywhere to accommodate her in a shelter. The state didn’t offer help for a mother with a child. She went to her family for a couple of months and then returned back [to the perpetrator].” - Woman, 43, Ferizaj

Annex 6. Other Survey Findings

Not all survey findings were directly relevant to the content of the report. However, some findings are interesting and useful in and of themselves. Therefore, they are included here.

Discontinuation of Education

Respondents provided several reasons for discontinuing their education prior to completing university (see Graph 42). Most persons cited insufficient finances within the family or not wanting to continue. Certain issues seem to impact women's educational attainment more than men's, such as getting married; being unable to travel to a school located far away; family members not considering education important (for girls); the family favouring brothers' education when short on finances; the war starting; having to care for other family members (e.g., persons with disabilities, children, the sick, elderly); and facing pressure by fathers, mothers, or other family members to stop. More men discontinued their education for reasons such as a need to work or migration. Other issues mentioned by respondents included parents passing away, military service, unavailability of schools at that time, attending private lessons instead of formal university, the poisoning of school children in the 1990s, imprisonment as a political prisoner, and the lack of schooling in the Albanian language.



Annex 7. Statistics from Police

The following table summarizes the number of criminal acts that were committed within a domestic relationship since 2000 through the end of June 2015.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Murder					1	4	4	4	3	3	5	4	1				22
Aggravated murder														4	3		7
Attempted murder					4	3	6	6	3	3	4	3	1				24
Murder and suicide										1							1
Attempted suicide									4	4	5						9
Suicide												6					6
Inciting suicide													5				5
Assisting in suicide													1				1
Inciting suicide and assisting in suicide					5	3	13							6	3	3	33
Aggravated crimes (murder, suicide, attempted murder, attempted suicide)	3	1	5	24													33
Light bodily injury					290	408	462		538	457	569	518	495	440	163		4,340
Grievous bodily injury					5	21	14		9	10	14	12	16	51	23		175
Causing property damage									1								1
Coercion												1	2		1	1	5
Threat									181	159	196	221	181	173	51		1,162
Threat, unauthorised possession of weapons										4							4
Threat with weapons									15	1							16
Threat with a weapon						9	4										13
Violation of protection order									6	4	4	20	28	19	47	12	136
Physical maltreatment								10	141	60							211
Psychological, emotional, physical, sexual maltreatment									3								3
Psychological, physical maltreatment								10									10
Psychological maltreatment									40	47							87
Sexual maltreatment																	

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Harassment														19	34	44	97
Assault					661	341	215							103	261	115	1,696
Physical assault									58	79	79	110	91	110	4	15	467
Sexual assault					2		1					5				1	9
Disagreement									34	56							90
Rape								1	2			5	2	1			11
Attempted rape									1	1							2
Degradation of sexual integrity													1	1			2
Non-consensual sexual acts and sexual ill-treatment													1				1
Blackmail																1	1
Distress									8	6							14
Violating family obligations									1	3	2	2	7	6	5	1	25
Forcibly entering /removing from a common residence or other person's residence							16	12	17	9	9	7	14	17	7	4	103
Slavery, slavery-like conditions and forced labour														3			3
Unlawfully limiting freedom of movement									4	4				6			14
Cause of real property damage									8	11							19
Unlawful taking or keeping of a child														8			8
Mistreating or abandoning a child					2	2	2							2			8
Sexual relations within the family								1			4	1					6
Sexual abuse of persons under the age of sixteen (16) years													1				1
Kidnapping												1		1	3	3	8
Unlawful kidnapping of a child									1								1
Extortion									2								2

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Insult											5						5
Insult, offence, calling by offensive names and other forms of violent intimidation												73	33	36	9	5	156
Intimidation											1						1
Taking of documents without authorization											1						1
Causing the other person to fear for his or her physical, emotional, or economic wellbeing										5		2	4	4	61	2	78
Unlawful deprivation of liberty																	
Use of physical force or psychological pressure exercised towards another member of the family												4	33				37
Any other action of a family member, which may inflict or threaten to inflict physical pain or psychological suffering												1	3	12	7	5	28
Property damage or destruction; or threatening to do this												10	15	15	10	1	51
Repetitive behaviour with the aim of derogating the other person												11	19	13	1	1	45
Causing the feeling of fear, personal danger or threat of dignity												1	8	7	57	7	80
Domestic violence													4				4
Avoiding maintenance support														1			1
Violation of the integrity of the residence and its premises														1	1		2

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Self-justice															1	1	2
Unlawful occupation of property																1	1
Unlawful termination of pregnancy							1	1									2
Physical violence	864	560	494	250	43	44	38										2,293
Total																	11,679
Gender of Victim																	
Women										915	764	804	826	869	930	381	5,489
Men										215	190	242	220	220	281	89	1,457

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⁵ Art. 53.

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⁹ Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 4.

¹⁰ Kosovo Programme against Domestic Violence, Art. 27.

¹¹ Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 2, paragraph 1.2.

¹² Ibid, Art. 2, paragraph 1.1.

¹³ Ibid, Art. 1 defines the “Protected Party” as a person who has been subjected to domestic violence and his/her subordinate for “whose benefit a protection order, an emergency protection order or temporary emergency order is sought.” The “victim” is defined as “a person who was subjected to domestic violence.”

¹⁴ Articles 17 and 22.

¹⁵ The Kosovo Law on Courts No. 03/L-199 involved structural changes, foreseeing Basic Court, Appeals Court, and Supreme Court jurisdictions, previously known as Municipal Courts, District Courts, and Supreme Court, respectively. The jurisdictions were changed based on crime and regional coverage (at: <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/2010-199-eng.pdf>).

¹⁶ Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, articles 3.2 and 3.3.

¹⁷ Art. 15.1.

¹⁸ UNMIK Regulation 2003/12, Art. 12.5 (b).

¹⁹ Art. 18.

²⁰ Art. 21.

²¹ Art. 2, Definitions.

²² Articles 22 and 23.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, articles 4 to 10.

²⁵ Art. 11, Property Protection Measures.

²⁶ Art. 22, paragraph 3.

²⁷ This issue was also identified as crucial in KWN, *At What Cost? Budgeting for the Implementation of the Legal Framework against domestic violence*, which should be consulted for additional information and evidence (Prishtina: KWN, 2012, at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20130405120224756.pdf>).

²⁸ Interview, 2015. For further information about these issues, please see the section on courts.

²⁹ Articles 4 and 9.

³⁰ Administrative Instruction Nr. 12/2012, at: http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/UA_per_trajtimin_psiko-social_te_kryersve_te_dhunes_ne_familje_10.09.pdf and Administrative Instruction Nr. 02/2013, at: <http://msh-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Udhhezim%20Administrativ%2002-2013.pdf>.

³¹ The aim of Administrative Instruction Nr. 12/2012 in determining the place and ways of psychosocial treatment for perpetrators of domestic violence, Art. 1.

³² AI in determining the place and ways of psychosocial treatment for perpetrators of domestic violence, Art. 8, paragraph 3.

³³ AI on treatment methods for perpetrators of domestic violence imposed by mandatory measure of treatment from alcoholism and addiction to psychotropic substances, Art. 6, paragraph 2.

³⁴ Art. 1, Purpose of the Law.

³⁵ See also the Office of the Prime Minister and Agency of Gender Equality, “Commentary on the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, by Haxhi Gashi, Ruzhdi Berisha”, Pristina: 2014, at: <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/Commentary%20on%20Law%20On%20Pretection%20Against%20Domestic%20Violence%20%20Anglisht.pdf>, p. 38.

³⁶ Art. 48, 2011, at:

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³⁷ See, *Kosovo Programme and Action Plan against Domestic Violence 2011-2014*, at: <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/Programi%20i%20Kosov%C3%ABs%20Kund%C3%ABr%20Dhun%C3%ABs%20n%C3%AB%20Familje%20dhe%20Plani%20i%20veprimit.pdf>.

³⁸ The only reference to addressing the legal and psychosocial needs of the victim is under Art. 24 of the Law; Kosovo Police responsibilities include informing victims of such services provided by the government and non-governmental sector.

³⁹ See AGE, publications, at <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/Programi%20i%20Kosov%C3%ABs%20Kund%C3%ABr%20Dhun%C3%ABs%20n%C3%AB%20Familje%20dhe%20Plani%20i%20veprimit.pdf>.

⁴⁰ For further information see KWN, *At What Cost?*

⁴¹ Ministry of Justice, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, Prishtina: 2015.

⁴² KWN interviews suggested that few representatives within institutions possess information about the NAP (2015).

⁴³ Activities in this vein were foreseen in NAP I.2.1, I.2.2, I.4.2, and I.4.3.

⁴⁴ Interviews with social worker and educator.

⁴⁵ KWN interviews suggested that UNDP WSSI supported the creation of a database for case management of domestic violence cases, based on SOPs. It was to be managed by the National Coordinator and police. For data and victim protection, different institutions would have restricted, limited access to data. The software developed also took precautions for data encryption. Following several discussions, it was decided that only police would have full access to data and others would have partial access. Then, when the database was almost complete, UNDP WSSI received information that the Norwegian government was supporting a database for courts and prosecution. Institutions said that they did not have human resources available for data entry in multiple databases.

⁴⁶ Such responsibilities are further emphasized in the new Law on Gender Equality (Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, Law No. 05/L-020, 2015, at: <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/05-L-020%20a.pdf>).

⁴⁷ NAP 2.1.1.

⁴⁸ NAP 2.1.2. The Municipality of Gjakova has agreed to prioritize persons who suffered domestic violence for apartments owned by the municipality, which will be provided free of charge. In the municipality’s recent project constructing social housing, it plans to set aside two apartments for persons surviving domestic violence. Other municipalities have funded apartments for persons suffering violence through mayors’ discretionary funds and other *ad hoc* means, but do not have long-term solutions or programs.

⁴⁹ NAP 2.3.1.

⁵⁰ NAP 2.3.2.

⁵¹ Interview with shelter representative, 2015.

⁵² KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 2.

⁵³ NAP 3.1.1. Interview with representative from the Ministry of Health, 2015.

⁵⁴ NAP 3.1.2.

⁵⁵ NAP 3.1.3 and 3.1.4.

⁵⁶ NAP 3.1.5.

⁵⁷ Interview with NGO representative, 2015.

⁵⁸ NAP 3.1.6. and 3.3.2.

⁵⁹ NAP 3.2.1.

⁶⁰ NAP 3.3.1

⁶¹ NAP 3.3.3 and 3.3.4.

⁶² NAP 3.3.5. Interviews, 2015. For further information, see section on CSWs below.

⁶³ NAP 4.1.1.

⁶⁴ KWN interviews, 2015.

⁶⁵ NAP 4.1.2. This is also foreseen in the responsibilities of VAs and Legal Aid Offices (see below).

⁶⁶ NAP 4.1.4. For further information, see section on Employment Offices and Vocational Training Centres below. Some respondents felt that this had not been implemented.

⁶⁷ See Annex 2 for further information regarding the percentage of the NAP that has been implemented.

⁶⁸ Vice-Minister of Justice, Decision Nr. 78/2013, adopted 15.07.2013, SOPs at: <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/Procedurat%20Standarte%20t%C3%AB%20Veprimit%20p%C3%ABr%20Mbrojtje%20nga%20Dhuna%20n%C3%AB%20Familje.pdf>, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ KWN conclusion following interviews with several respondents from each of these institutions (2015).

⁷¹ Interview, 2015.

⁷² See Art. 385, failure to report preparation of criminal offenses, paragraph 3: "Except for offenses involving child abuse and domestic violence, a person is not criminally liable under paragraph 1 of this Article if he or she is related to the perpetrator of the criminal offense as the parent, child, spouse, sibling, adoptive parent or adopted child or person with whom the perpetrator lives in an extra-marital communion." Also, Art. 386, failure to report criminal offenses or perpetrators, paragraph 3: "Except for offenses involving child abuse and domestic violence, a person is not criminally liable under this Article if he or she is related to the perpetrator of the criminal offense as the parent, child, spouse, sibling, adoptive parent or adopted child or person with whom the perpetrator lives in an extra-marital communion."

⁷³ See CCK, Chapter XVI Criminal Offences against Life and Body.

⁷⁴ Kosovo Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 26, paragraph 1.

⁷⁵ CCK, Art. 120, paragraph 37 in Definitions.

⁷⁶ CCK, Art. 120, paragraph 23 of the Definitions.

⁷⁷ Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, Law No. 05/L-036 on Crime Victim Compensation, 2015, at: http://www.md-ks.net/repository/docs/LIGJI_PER_KOMPENSIMIN_E_VIKTIMAVE_TE_KRIMIT_anglisht.pdf.

⁷⁸ Law on Crime Victim Compensations, Art. 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid, Art. 3.1. See the Criminal Procedure Code, Art. 19, Paragraph 1.7.

⁸⁰ Art. 7 of the Law.

⁸¹ KJC does not currently keep track of this information and therefore does not have information as to whether compensation has been given (telephone conversation, 2015).

⁸² See Art. 186, paragraph 2; Art. 188; Art. 189; Art. 187, paragraph 3; Art. 194, paragraph 2.4 (the perpetrator committed the offense against a vulnerable victim); Art. 195, paragraph 2.4 (the perpetrator committed the offense against a vulnerable victim); Art. 196, paragraph 2.1; Art. 230, paragraph 4.9 (domestic relationship with persons between the age 16-18); Art. 232 (domestic relationship with persons between the age 16-18); Art. 233, paragraph 3.9 (domestic relationship with persons between the age 16-18); Art. 234, paragraph 4.9 (domestic relationship with persons between the age 16-18); Art. 250; Art. 251; and Art. 252.

⁸³ Art. 169, paragraph 3.

⁸⁴ Art. 78, paragraph 2.

⁸⁵ Art. 63, paragraph 2.

⁸⁶ See Jon Smibert, Resident Legal Advisor, U.S. Embassy Prishtina, "Guide to the Criminal Procedure Code of Kosovo and Criminal Procedure Code of Kosovo," Prishtina: 2013, at: http://www.kgjk-ks.org/repository/docs/Udhezuesi-dhe-kodi-i-procedures_anglisht_225215.pdf.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 22.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 31.

⁸⁹ Art. 218, ibid, p. 22.

⁹⁰ Declaration of Damages, at: http://www.psh-ks.net/repository/docs/Deklarate_mbi_demin.pdf.

⁹¹ In 2015, there was no statistically significant relationship between gender and whether a participant agreed that it is okay for a husband to hit his wife. This was using a Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$).

⁹² KWN has grouped together these responses and some responses to other questions based on the assumption that somewhat agreeing with such a statement is just as concerning as totally agreeing. Responses also are grouped like this to facilitate reading and save space.

⁹³ However, there is no statistically significant relationship between gender and this response.

⁹⁴ However, there was no statistically significant relationship with respondents' gender or their area of residence.

⁹⁵ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$).

⁹⁶ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% confidence interval).

⁹⁷ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression for gender, ethnicity, and level of household income. No statistically significant result existed for Serbs.

⁹⁸ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Tests of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% confidence level). No statistically significant relationship was found for income, urban/rural location, age, or gender.

⁹⁹ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Tests of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% confidence interval). No statistically significant results were found for gender, area of residence (urban/rural location), or level of income.

¹⁰⁰ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Tests of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% confidence level). No statistically significant result was found for the residential area of the respondent (rural or urban).

¹⁰¹ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Tests of Independence at the 5% level ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% confidence level). No statistically significant relationship was found between Serbs and the belief that this constitutes an act of domestic violence. No statistically significant relationship was found between age and residence (rural or urban) and the belief that one partner making his/her partner do sexual acts that he/she does not want to do constitutes domestic violence.

¹⁰² Analyses show no statistically significant correlation with gender or age for any of the three forms of domestic violence.

¹⁰³ A Chi-Square Test of Independence suggests a strong statistically significant relationship between gender and views on whether neighbours would consider domestic violence shameful at all convectional levels of significance ($P = .000$, Cramer's $V = .164$).

¹⁰⁴ KWN interviews, 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with social worker, 2015.

¹⁰⁶ A Chi-Square Test of Independence and logistic regression (95% confidence interval) did not suggest a statistically significant relationship between gender or age, and views that "it is natural that physical violence happens sometimes when a couple argues" ($P = .275369$) and ($P = .9106$) for gender and age, respectively.

¹⁰⁷ However, Chi-Square Tests of Independence and logistic regression (95% confidence interval) show no statistically significant relationship between age or gender, and this belief.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Director, CSW, 2015.

¹⁰⁹ A Chi-Square Test of Independence ($P < .05$) and logistic regression (95% Confidence Level) suggest a statistically significant relationship between having experienced domestic violence in 2014 and partner's employment status at 5% ($P < .05$).

¹¹⁰ KWN research has shown that women who experience violence are often prevented by their abusers from seeking medical help whilst their health situation is affected by lack of access to medical facilities due to their geographic location in rural areas or are affected by financial dependence on male family members. Untreated injuries often lead to worse health problems. (KWN, *Exploratory Research on the Extent of Gender Based Violence in Kosova and Its Impact on Women's Reproductive Health*, Prishtina: KWN, 2008, at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20130120165614663.pdf>, p. 54).

¹¹¹ Kosovo Agency of Statistics (ASK), *Kosovo 2014 Labour Force Survey*, Prishtina: ASK, 2015, at: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2015/07/14/090224b082ff4883/1_0/Rendered/PDF/Results0of0the0labour0force0survey0.pdf, p. 10.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ulf Farnsveden, Ariana Qosaj-Mustafa and Nicole Farnsworth, *Kosovo Country Gender Profile*, Prishtina: financed by Sweden, 2014, at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20140513160130237.pdf>.

¹¹⁴ Interview, 2015.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Gender Equality Officer, 2015.

¹¹⁶ However, no statistically significant relationship exists between this belief and gender or age (as a continuous variable). There is a positive, statistically significant correlation with the age group 36-45 years and a negative correlation with the age group 46-55 years (Chi-Square Test of Independence ($P < .05$)).

¹¹⁷ Woman, age 63, Decan.

¹¹⁸ Further, he said he is very jealous and that if his wife would report the violence to police, she should leave. Otherwise, he would kill her (man, age 51, Gjilan).

¹¹⁹ See, KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 68.

¹²⁰ For further information, see Graph 27 on decision-making within families within the section on Economic Violence below.

¹²¹ Using a Chi-Square Test of Independence there is a strong and statistically significant relationship between gender and the amount of perceived violence in the respondent's village/city. This relationship is significant at all conventional levels (Chi-Squared with six degrees of freedom = 92.715, $P = .000$, Cramer's $V = .266$)

¹²² KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 12.

¹²³ Using a Chi-Square Test of Independence there is a strong and statistically significant relationship between gender and how frequently the respondent had heard people in the same family yelling at each other in the last year. This relationship is significant at all conventional levels (Chi-Squared with six degrees of freedom = 38.767, $P = .000$, Cramer's $V = .172$)

¹²⁴ Among respondents, only 12.6% of women worked in paid positions outside the home, compared to 31.6% of men; 5.7% of women and 10.1% of men did unpaid work outside the home. In contrast, 35.8% of women said they do unpaid work at home (childcare, care for elderly gardening, housekeeping, etc.), compared to only 1.7% of men. Other respondents seemingly spent a mix of their time inside and outside the home. The largest difference is between the percentage of women who reported hearing family members yelling at each other 5-11 times in the last year (27.6%) and men who heard the same (24.8%).

¹²⁵ Using Chi-Square Test of Independence, no statistically significant relationship exists between gender and reports of hearing loud noises in 2014, as if two family members were hitting or pushing each other (Chi-Square with six degrees of freedom = 10.390, $P = .109$)

¹²⁶ For example, a study conducted by the European Agency for Fundamental Rights in 2014, found that only 14% of women reported their most serious incident of intimate partner violence to the police, and 13% reported their most serious incident of non-partner violence to the police, even though one in 10 women has experienced some form of sexual violence since the age of 15, and one in 20 has been raped. Further, just over one in five women has experienced physical and/or sexual violence from either a current or previous partner, and just over one in 10 women indicates that they have experienced some form of sexual violence by an adult before they were 15 years old. The study was based on interviews with 42,000 women across the 28 EU Member States (*Violence Against Women: an EU-wide Survey*, 2014, at: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14_en.pdf, p. 2).

¹²⁷ Interview with civil court judge, 2015.

¹²⁸ Interview with CSW, 2015.

¹²⁹ KWN faced several difficulties securing data from institutions. The Ombudsperson Institution does not have data divided in this manner and therefore could not report the number of cases treated.

¹³⁰ A representative from the Legal Aid Commission said, "From our experience we can see that the number of cases reported is decreasing each year. Maybe the number is different in the prosecutor's office and Victim Advocates, but in our office, we have less cases than in previous years" (interview, 2015).

¹³¹ Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 2, paragraph 1.2.

¹³² KWN interviews, 2008, 2009, and 2010.

¹³³ Kosovo Police statistics (see Annex 7).

¹³⁴ The percentage of people reporting economic violence in their lifetimes and in 2014 is similar. Therefore, only 2014 data is reported here.

¹³⁵ In *Budgeting for Social Welfare*, KWN found that men tend to collect social assistance more than women. However, among family members dependent on social assistance within these households, women comprise a majority. Research in other countries has suggested that women may tend to spend social assistance more on foodstuffs and direct living expenses than men, but no such research has been conducted in Kosovo.

¹³⁶ Woman, age 42, Malisheva.

¹³⁷ Police statistics. For further information, see Annex 7.

¹³⁸ Man, age 78, Istog.

¹³⁹ Police statistics. For further information, see Annex 7.

¹⁴⁰ Forms of sexual violence reported by both women and men included being touched in an intimate way by a family member against their will and being pressured by their partner to have sex when they did not want to.

¹⁴¹ WHO, *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*, 2014, p. 31, at: http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/85239/1/9789241564625_eng.pdf.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ United Nations General Assembly, CEDAW.

¹⁴⁴ KWN interview, 2015.

¹⁴⁵ For example, see the section on violence against children below.

¹⁴⁶ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 16

¹⁴⁷ No statistically significant relationships were found between rural/urban location and domestic violence ever occurring or domestic violence in 2014, using Chi-Square Tests of Independence.

¹⁴⁸ No statistically significant relationships were found between region or municipality and domestic violence ever occurring or domestic violence in 2014, using Chi-Square Tests of Independence. There was only one statistically significant result: a positive correlation with ever having experienced domestic violence and Gjiilan. This may be attributable to increased reporting given the intensive efforts there on raising awareness in recent years. However, the P value is very close to .05 (.048).

¹⁴⁹ Using a Chi-Square Test of Independence and logistic regression (95% confidence level), data show that Serbs are more likely than Albanians to have experienced any type of violence during their lifetimes. The data show no statistically significant relationship between having ever experienced domestic violence and being of another ethnicity (non-Albanian and non-Serbian).

¹⁵⁰ Using a Chi-Square Test of Independence and logistic regression (95% confidence level), data show that there is a statistically significant relationship between ethnicity and having experienced domestic violence in 2014.

¹⁵¹ Using a logistic regression (confidence interval 95%) of school years and school years squared, there is no statistically significant relationship ($P=0.5177$) and ($P=0.8094$).

¹⁵² Using a Chi-Square Test of Independence and logistic regression (95% confidence level). Survey data showed that the relationship between having experienced domestic violence in 2014 and working in a paid position outside the home, working from time to time, being unemployed (either seeking or not seeking work), being unable to work or receiving government transfers (from the Serbian government) is statistically insignificant.

¹⁵³ Statistically significant using a Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P<.05$) and a logistic regression (95% confidence level).

¹⁵⁴ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence ($P<.05$) and logit regression (95% confidence level). Data show no statistically significant correlation between this belief and residence (urban or rural) or age of respondent.

¹⁵⁶ Another potential factor may have been the fact that this question was placed later in the survey, after questions related to sexual harassment had been asked. There was a tendency to blame young women for bringing harassment upon themselves by the way they dress and act. The line of questioning relating to this, which proceeded questions on how children should be raised, may have influenced how respondents thought about this question.

¹⁵⁷ Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence ($P<.05$) and logistic regression (confidence interval 95%). Data show no statistically significant correlation between Albanians sharing this belief, whereas Serbs are less likely than other ethnicities to believe that girls need more discipline than boys. There also was no correlation between age and the belief that girls need more discipline than boys.

¹⁵⁸ Woman, age 23, Prizren.

¹⁵⁹ Man, age 20, Prishtina.

¹⁶⁰ Man, age 19, Leposavic.

¹⁶¹ Interview with judge, 2015.

¹⁶² Statistically significant using Chi-Square Test of Independence ($P=0.000$) and logistic regression (95% confidence interval).

¹⁶³ Even using the term “cycle of violence” can be misleading and problematic. Whether violence occurs as part of a cycle or whether it occurs only once, it is serious and important; focusing on the cycle may neglect attention to non-cyclical violence. As Womensafe noted, “Not all victims of abuse experience abuse in this way. Comparing a victim’s experience of abuse to this cycle may not accurately reflect their experience.” Other difficulties with the “cycle of violence” focus include: it may refer to prior abuse or ongoing abuse; and it may focus only on physical violence that happens periodically, though other forms of abuse may be ongoing and left unconsidered. (For further information, see: <http://www.womensafe.org/get-help/links-and-literature-resources/the-cycle-of-violence/>.)

¹⁶⁴ Using Chi-Square Test of Independence at the 5% level ($P<.05$), survey data show a negative, statistically significant correlation exists between domestic violence and years married. The more years a person had been married, the less likely the respondent was to state that they had experienced domestic violence. However, this likely relates to memory issues or underreporting among persons of older generations, rather than a lower prevalence of domestic violence.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with representative of an organization working with disabled persons, 2015.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with LGBT organization representative, 2015.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with LGBT organization representative, 2015.

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- ¹⁶⁸ M.S. Popa, "Domestic Violence and its consequences on health," *Management in Health*, 3/2009, at: <http://journal.managementinhealth.com/index.php/rms/article/viewFile/28/96>.
- ¹⁶⁹ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 51.
- ¹⁷⁰ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 52.
- ¹⁷¹ Interview with judge, 2015.
- ¹⁷² Several representatives of interviewed institutions also noted the negative impact that domestic violence can have on families, particularly children and communities (interviews, 2015).
- ¹⁷³ Domestic violence has been found to contribute to asocial behaviour among children (see: Sousa, C. *Longitudinal Study on the Effects of Child Abuse and Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence, Parent-Child attachments, and Antisocial Behavior in Adolescence*, 2010).
- ¹⁷⁴ Interview, 2015.
- ¹⁷⁵ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁷⁶ KWN, *At What Cost?*.
- ¹⁷⁷ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 60. It should be noted that in 2008, it was a regulation and not a Law and the question asked of respondents corresponded accordingly, asking about the regulation.
- ¹⁷⁸ A similar percentage of women and men said they would use the law.
- ¹⁷⁹ Man, age 80, Malisheva.
- ¹⁸⁰ Man, age 19, Malisheva.
- ¹⁸¹ Man, age 26, Rahovec.
- ¹⁸² As a woman said, "I'm afraid of my family members" (age 37, Decan).
- ¹⁸³ Woman, age 37, Gjakova.
- ¹⁸⁴ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, p. 60.
- ¹⁸⁵ Given the very small number of cases, it was difficult to evaluate how respondents felt they were treated by these institutions, though this information is included in future sections, as relevant.
- ¹⁸⁶ Interview, 2015.
- ¹⁸⁷ Interviews with institutions, 2015.
- ¹⁸⁸ Interview, 2015.
- ¹⁸⁹ Interviews, 2015. KWN's 2009 research similarly found that numerous prosecutors and judges placed higher value on the preservation of the family and marriage than on the wellbeing of women (see: KWN, *More Than "Words on Paper"? The Response of Justice Providers to Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, Prishtina: KWN, 2009, p. 27, at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20130120165443203.pdf>).
- ¹⁹⁰ The Republic of Kosovo, Government "Decision of the Kosovo Government and Terms of Reference on the Appointment of the National Co-coordinator against Domestic Violence," approved on 11.07.2012, by decision Nr. 04/83, Annex II http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/Vendimet_83.pdf.
- ¹⁹¹ Interviews with representatives of international organizations involved in the process, 2015.
- ¹⁹² Interview with government representative, 2015.
- ¹⁹³ These recommendations also were made in a letter to the current National Coordinator, sent by the Security and Gender Group in 2015.
- ¹⁹⁴ See CCK, Chapter XVI Criminal Offences against Life and Body.
- ¹⁹⁵ Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 26, paragraph 1.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid, Art. 22.
- ¹⁹⁷ For detailed roles see the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence, Art. 24.
- ¹⁹⁸ Art. 24, paragraph 3.1 The Law obliges police to have a special telephone line for domestic violence cases.
- ¹⁹⁹ Interviews with police officers, 2015.
- ²⁰⁰ Interviews with respondents in Peja and Gjakova, 2015.
- ²⁰¹ EULEX, *Police and Prosecutor Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, Prishtina: EULEX, 2015, p. 37.
- ²⁰² NAP I.4.4.
- ²⁰³ Interview, 2015.
- ²⁰⁴ Interview, police officer, 2015.
- ²⁰⁵ Interview, police officer, 2015.
- ²⁰⁶ For evidence, see quotations in section on "Blaming the Victim" above.
- ²⁰⁷ Interview with school pedagogue, 2015.
- ²⁰⁸ Interview, 2015.
- ²⁰⁹ Interview with police officer, 2015.
- ²¹⁰ Exact words of a woman (age 77, Gjilan), but several respondents made a similar comment.
- ²¹¹ Interview, 2015.

- ²¹² For example, one survey respondent said, "In Lipjan Municipality, there is a case when for seven years the husband beat the woman. She called the police. They sent her and the children in a shelter, and she now has a job. The police didn't take the man."
- ²¹³ Woman, age 22, Peja.
- ²¹⁴ See KWN, *More than "Words on Paper"?*, p. 50.
- ²¹⁵ Woman, age 70, Suhareka.
- ²¹⁶ The training has 15 topics, including: 1. What is Domestic Violence; 2) Female Victims of Domestic Violence; 3) Domestic Violence; 4) Human Right Violations; 5) Community Police; 6) Power and Control; 7) The Law on Protection from Domestic Violence; 8) Possible Causes/Reasonable Suspicions; 9) Reacting when a Domestic Violence Incident occurs; 10) Interviewing the victim, the perpetrator, and witnesses; 11) Interviewing Children; 13) Arresting; 13) Studying cases; 14) Safety of police officers in Domestic Violence cases; and 15) Preparation of police reports for the Division for Protection and Assistance of victims of domestic violence. Trainings are organized by instructors from the Kosovo Police. When needed for a specific topic, other experts are invited, such as prosecutors or judges. The curricula are prepared by the Kosovo Police, assisted by KAPS, and it is constantly updated based on changes in laws. Participant knowledge is tested after training. If they pass the test, they receive a certificate.
- ²¹⁷ *Standard Operation Procedures for Protection from Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, p. 43.
- ²¹⁸ *Standard Operation Procedures for Protection from Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, p. 45.
- ²¹⁹ This is being supported by the UNDP Support to Ant-Corruption Efforts in Kosovo project. Only two of the KWN survey respondents reported working with the prosecution in domestic violence cases that concerned them. While one man felt he was treated well, one woman felt she was treated badly.
- ²²⁰ Interview 2015.
- ²²¹ KWN interviews, 2015.
- ²²² Interview with basic prosecution, 2015.
- ²²³ Office of the Prime Minister and Agency of Gender Equality, "Standard Operation Procedures for Protection from Domestic Violence", 2013, p.33
- ²²⁴ See the CCK.
- ²²⁵ Interview with Helpline Operator at VAAO, 2015.
- ²²⁶ Republic of Kosovo, VAAO, Bulletin no. 1/2014, "12 Years Serving Victims of Crime", at: http://www.psh-ks.net/repository/docs/BULETINI_BEKIM_DUGOLLI_VERSIONI_FINAL_10.10.2014.pdf.
- ²²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁸ See Kosovo State Prosecutor, Victims Advocacy and Assistance Office, at: http://www.psh-ks.net/repository/docs/Declaration_of_damages.pdf.
- ²²⁹ See KWN, *More Than "Words on Paper"?*, p. 26.
- ²³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²³¹ Conversation with VAAO, 2015.
- ²³² Ministry of Justice, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, Prishtina: 2015. p. 21.
- ²³³ See the Kosovo Law on Free Legal Aid, Art. 31, at: [http://www.md-ks.net/repository/docs/Ligji_per_ndihme_juridike_falas_\(anglisht\).pdf](http://www.md-ks.net/repository/docs/Ligji_per_ndihme_juridike_falas_(anglisht).pdf).
- ²³⁴ *Ibid.*, Art. 31, paragraph 4.
- ²³⁵ *Ibid.* Art. 25.2
- ²³⁶ The 2015 budget for the Agency for Legal Aid is €160,215. However, it is unclear how much is distributed to a single office.
- ²³⁷ Law on Ombudsperson, Law No. 3/L-195, 2010, at: <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2010-195-eng.pdf>, Art. 15.
- ²³⁸ Ombudsperson, Report, Complaint no. 442/2011 M.B. Against Municipal Court of Gjilan and Center for Social Work, Gjilan, Prishtina, 2012, at: http://www.ombudspersonkosovo.org/repository/docs/A.nr.442-2011_M.B.-Raport_238566.pdf. KWN examined all other reports on the Ombudsperson's website and could not identify any other cases. Representatives of the Ombudsperson Institution said that their database does not include domestic violence as a separate category as it is based on constitutional categories. Other complaints may have involved signs of domestic violence, but were not classified as such (phone conversation, 2015).
- ²³⁹ Interview with Ombudsperson, July 2015.
- ²⁴⁰ The Ombudsperson Institution did not maintain data on the number of such cases referred.
- ²⁴¹ Interview with Ombudsperson, July 2015.
- ²⁴² See Kosovo Law on Witness Protection, 2011, at: http://www.md-ks.net/repository/docs/law_on_witness_protection.pdf.

- ²⁴³ Centre for Research, Documentation, and Publication, *Witness Protection in Kosovo: Policy Analysis*. Prishtina: 2015.
- ²⁴⁴ Art. 123.
- ²⁴⁵ Haxhi Gashi and Ruzhdi Berisha, *Commentary on Law on Protection against Domestic Violence*.
- ²⁴⁶ Interview, 2015.
- ²⁴⁷ Some respondents believe that cases still are processed slowly, which could involve regional differences as well (interview, 2015).
- ²⁴⁸ Ministry of Justice, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, Prishtina: 2015. p. 19.
- ²⁴⁹ *Commentary on Law on Protection against Domestic Violence*.
- ²⁵⁰ KWN, *Security Begins at Home*, pp. 80-81
- ²⁵¹ Interviews, 2015. Unfortunately neither KJC nor VAAO appears to track the number of different types of measures requested and given. This could provide useful data that could inform future policy-making.
- ²⁵² Interview with civil court judge, 2015.
- ²⁵³ Interview with head of a Basic Court, 2015.
- ²⁵⁴ Interview, 2015.
- ²⁵⁵ Interview with basic court judge, 2015.
- ²⁵⁶ Man, age 51, Decan.
- ²⁵⁷ Interview with representative of women's organization in northern Kosovo, 2015.
- ²⁵⁸ Office of the Prime Minister and Agency of Gender Equality, "Standard Operation Procedures for Protection from Domestic Violence", 2013, p.19
- ²⁵⁹ See "Declaration of Damages," at http://www.psh-ks.net/repository/docs/Declaration_of_damages.pdf.
- ²⁶⁰ A survey respondent also mentioned an instance where a husband beat his wife, and she reported him to the police. However, the police did not arrest him; he only paid a fee. Respondents operating in the north and using Serbia's legal framework also said that sentencing is low (interview, 2015).
- ²⁶¹ Interview with prosecutor, Mitrovica, 2015.
- ²⁶² Ministry of Justice, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, Prishtina: 2015. p. 19.
- ²⁶³ Ministry of Justice, "Kosovo Correctional Service," at: <http://www.md-ks.net/?page=2.62>.
- ²⁶⁴ Interview with KCS representative.
- ²⁶⁵ Ministry of Justice, "Kosovo Probation Services," website: <http://www.md-ks.net/?page=2.31>, accessed 29 Sep. 2015.
- ²⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁶⁷ Interview with Probation Services, 2015. Unfortunately they did not have data on domestic violence cases readily available.
- ²⁶⁸ Office of the Prime Minister and Agency of Gender Equality, "Standard Operation Procedures for Protection against Domestic Violence", p. 20, 37.
- ²⁶⁹ Law on Family and Social Services, Art. 9, Services to Children and Families, at: http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2005_02-L17_en.pdf.
- ²⁷⁰ Kosovo Juvenile Justice Code, Art. 2 at: <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2010-193-eng.pdf>.
- ²⁷¹ This is also reflected in the Government of Kosovo *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program Against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*.
- ²⁷² Some of these issues were identified previously in KWN monitoring reports.
- ²⁷³ KWN, *More Than "Words on Paper,"* p. 60.
- ²⁷⁴ NAP 3.1.6.
- ²⁷⁵ Interview with social worker, 2015.
- ²⁷⁶ Only two survey respondents had received support from social workers. One said she was treated "very well" and the other "badly."
- ²⁷⁷ NAP 3.3.5. Interview with NGO representative, 2015.
- ²⁷⁸ Interview with an NGO representative, 2015.
- ²⁷⁹ Woman, age 43, Mitrovica.
- ²⁸⁰ Lawyers Association NORMA, *Research and monitoring of public institutions regarding the implementation of the Family Law*, Prishtina: 2015, p. 60.
- ²⁸¹ Interview with police officer, 2015.
- ²⁸² KWN, *More Than "Words on Paper,"* p. 29.
- ²⁸³ Interview, 2015.

²⁸⁴ Law on Family and Social Services, Art. 8.3.

²⁸⁵ Interviews with shelter representatives and social worker, 2015.

²⁸⁶ Interview with shelter representative, 2015.

²⁸⁷ Interviews with NGO representative and police, 2015.

²⁸⁸ Law, Art. 27.

²⁸⁹ Unfortunately, due to the lack of detail in Kosovo budgets, it was not possible to verify whether a budget existed for these positions.

²⁹⁰ KWN interviews and discussions with young women from five municipalities via FemACT discussions in 2014-2015.

²⁹¹ KWN interviews with psychologists, 2015.

²⁹² KWN interview, 2015.

²⁹³ KWN interviews with educators throughout Kosovo, 2015.

²⁹⁴ Interview with Head of Municipal Department for Education, 2015.

²⁹⁵ Interview with a secondary school teacher, 2015.

²⁹⁶ Interview with a secondary school pedagogue, 2015.

²⁹⁷ Interview with secondary school teacher of civic education, 2015.

²⁹⁸ Interview with a different Head of Municipal Department for Education, 2015.

²⁹⁹ Interview with school official, 2015.

³⁰⁰ Ministry of Health, Administrative Instruction No. 02/2013.

³⁰¹ Republic of Kosovo, Government of Kosovo, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program Against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, p. 18.

³⁰² Of the 25 persons surveyed who had health issues that resulted from domestic violence, only 12 visited a doctor. Nine felt that the doctor treated them with respect. Only three received a report regarding the types of injuries they had sustained.

³⁰³ Interview 2015.

³⁰⁴ Assembly of Kosovo, Law Nr. 04/L-125 on Health, Art. 52.2.3, at: <http://msh-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Ligji-per-shendetesi-2013.pdf>.

³⁰⁵ Interview with doctor at private clinic, 2015.

³⁰⁶ Interview with representative of international organization working with doctors, 2015. Only six persons sought assistance from psychologists or psychiatrists after experiencing violence. While three women said they were treated “very well,” a man and two other women felt they were treated “badly.”

³⁰⁷ Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, Law No. 04/L-083 for registration and records of the unemployed and jobseekers, Art. 8, at: <https://mpms.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/Ligji/PrimarAnglisht/Law%20for%20registration%20and%20records%20of%20the%20unemployed%20and%20jobseekers.pdf>.

³⁰⁸ KWN, *Budgeting for Social Welfare*, p. 46, at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20140702111942678.pdf>.

³⁰⁹ As per NAP 3.3.3. Interviews, 2015.

³¹⁰ KWN, *Budgeting for Social Welfare*, p. 46.

³¹¹ Law on Family and Social Services, Art. 1.

³¹² Interview, 2015.

³¹³ The shelter has agreed with the responsible commission to consider domestic violence cases when assigning social housing. For every 10 houses, two must go to persons who suffered domestic violence.

³¹⁴ Interview with doctor, 2015.

³¹⁵ Interview, 2015.

³¹⁶ Interview with social worker in North Mitrovica, 2015.

³¹⁷ Ministry of Justice, *Evaluation Report of the Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan 2011-2014*, Prishtina: 2015, p. 57.

³¹⁸ This was also recommended by a specialized domestic violence investigator in the police (EULEX, *Police and Prosecutor Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, pp. 37, 50).

³¹⁹ ASK, *Registration Atlas of the Population of Kosovo 2011*, Prishtina: 2013, at: <https://ask.rks-gov.net/ser/images/files/Atlas%20popisa%20stanovnistva%20Kosovo.pdf>.

³²⁰ KWN, *At What Cost?* p. 102.

³²¹ Telephone conversation with MEST, 2015.

³²² Interview with representative of the Psychology Department at the University of Prishtina, 2015.

³²³ In 2011, the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), spent €5,200 on brochures for police to distribute (KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 88).

³²⁴ TV campaigns: By police in Gjakova four times a year, two by AGE as a clip on DV and reporting it in 2011 and with MED on negative effects on society; one by QESH; one by Medica Kosovo; TV interviews by Municipal GEO in Mitrovica; 16 by Artpolis funded by UNFPA; 8 by Artpolis funded by Kvinna till Kvinna and the U.S. Office; by the Gjakova shelter; 10-15 TV appearances by Centre for Preventive Treatment and Protection of Women from Violence in North Mitrovica “Zensko Pravo”; two roundtables with media presence by Venera; by VAAO in Prishtina; by the Peja shelter; four by OSCE; by the Municipality of Gjakova; by the Municipality of Prishtina; and by Active Women of Gjakova. Radio campaigns: by Active Women of Gjakova; UNFPA; Ministry of Local Government Administration; Gjakova shelter; and Women’s Wellness Centre in Peja. Newspapers/articles by: Active Women of Gjakova; Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports; and Women’s Wellness Centre in Peja. Informative videos by: AGE and VAAO in Gjiilan. Informative billboards: one by UNDP WSSI and one by AGE with the Ministry of Infrastructure on 60 regional roads “against violence against women”; four by media specifically on domestic violence (in Zana, *Civil Society’s Monitoring Report on Kosovo’s Program and Action Plan against Domestic Violence 2011-2014, National Strategy and Action Plan against Trafficking in Human Beings 2011-2014 and Law on Protection against Domestic Violence*, Prishtina: 2012, pp. 28-29). Documentaries: three by UNDP WSSI. Brochures by: UNDP; Lawyers Association Norma; Prizren shelter; MEST; Women’s Wellness Centre in Peja; and Municipality of Peja. Social media campaigns: ArtPolis. AGE general campaign annually and MAPL did several. Donors, GEOs and CSOs including shelters also had campaigns.

³²⁵ MoJ allocated €3,000; AGE, municipality, police €22,479; and NGOs, donors, other actors €188,695 (KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 102).

³²⁶ By UNICEF in cooperation with *Terre des Hommes* and Peer Educators Network (PEN); more than 70 between 2011-2014 by UNDP WSSI; more than 20 between 2011-2014 by UNFPA; by the Municipal Department of Education in Prishtina supported by UNICEF and other NGOs; by Active Women of Gjakova at least three per year between 2011-2014; by PEN; 12 between 2012-2014 by Gjiilan shelter; 24 by Women’s Wellness Centre; three between 2012-2014 by the Municipality of Mitrovica; by QESH; three by Ferizaj shelter supported by U.S. Embassy; by Gjakova shelter; by NGO Venera; by OSCE; by PEN; by the Kosovo Judicial Institute; three in 2014 by the Prizren shelter; by the Municipality of Peja; in 2011, AGE organized a discussion presenting this Program.

³²⁷ Although UNDP WSSI contracted the development of a shared database, it was not completed reportedly due to security concerns and potential overlap with another donor-funded database at the Ministry of Justice.

³²⁸ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 89.

³²⁹ Education activities identified were organized by AGE, police, the State Prosecutor, courts, some officials at municipal levels (namely GEOs), CSOs, donors, etc.

³³⁰ All persons interviewed, that were responsible for organizing campaigns said that they needed money to organize campaigns.

³³¹ KWN, *At What Cost?* p. 103.

³³² This is the number of cases reported to police from 2011-2014. During the period of 2011 to 2014 the number of cases reported increased slightly each year from 1,046 in 2011 to 1,179 cases in 2014.

³³³ KWN, *At What Cost?* p. 103.

³³⁴ For example, in Gjakova social housing is being constructed, but it has not been determined who will live in these homes, though some should be reserved for domestic violence (interview with Head of Social Services Department, Municipality of Gjakova, 2015). Reports also exist of Obiliq, Lipjan, Peja, Gjakova, Gjiilan, Viti, Kacanik, Prizren, Suhareka, Mitrovica South, and Glllogoc providing some social housing. However, usually it was only for one case once and not any sustained approach to ensuring access to social housing.

³³⁵ Interview with MLSW, 2015.

³³⁶ Reportedly such mechanisms exist in Prishtina, Peja, Gjakova, Gjiilan, Viti, Prizren, Dragash, Mitrovica South, Glllogoc, Skenderaj, and Vushtrri. MoUs between shelters and municipalities reportedly existed in Obiliq, Gjakova, Gjiilan, Ferizaj, and Prizren.

³³⁷ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 103.

³³⁸ VAAOs in Ferizaj and Prishtina, the Lawyers Association Norma, and the Gjiilan shelter reported having implemented this activity, even though they did not have exact numbers of brochures distributed or of beneficiaries.

³³⁹ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 104.

³⁴⁰ GEO in the Ministry of Health, KWN interview, 2015.

³⁴¹ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 104.

³⁴² According to the GEO of the Ministry of Health, she was just trained on these topics and in 2016 she plans to train healthcare staff.

³⁴³ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 104.

³⁴⁴ UNDP WSSI, UN Women, and OSCE.

³⁴⁵ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 104.

³⁴⁶ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 104.

³⁴⁷ In Prishtina, from 2011-2014 only six women who had suffered domestic violence were trained (in 2014). Two were employed. At least one donor also funded such training.

³⁴⁸ The Regional Employment Centre in Prishtina employed only two women who had suffered domestic violence; other data was unavailable. See KWN, *Budgeting for Social Welfare*, which details the small percentage of people registered with employment offices who were employed.

³⁴⁹ This is the total number of “cases” assisted by shelters with financial support from MLSW. However, the same persons may have received assistance over multiple years, which would mean that fewer persons received such assistance. MLSW reported supporting 267 persons in shelters in 2011, 241 in 2012, 268 in 2013, and 281 in 2014.

³⁵⁰ KWN, *At What Cost?*, p. 105.

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It is difficult to keep confidentiality in Kosovo because people like to gossip.

NO EXCUSES
For a lack of confidentiality
For failing to prosecute ex-officials

If we can reconcile the couple, that is the best solution.
[Public institutions]

NO EXCUSES
For failing to prosecute ex-officials
For failing to prosecute ex-officials

We do not have enough resources to handle domestic violence cases.

NO EXCUSES
For institutions failing in their legal responsibilities
For institutions failing in their legal responsibilities

The family is sacred. Women must endure violence for the sake of their children.

NO EXCUSES
For women having to endure violence
For women having to endure violence

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