

Experts and Enemies

A Field Study on the Role of Women's Organizations in the
Implementation Process of UNSCR 1325 in Serbia



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Abstract

This bachelor thesis and Minor Field Study examines how women's experiences of security are used in the process of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Serbia. The essay aims to touch the boundary between security policy in its traditional sense and a standpoint feminist view on security. Feminist security policy has gained ground the latest decades, and have contributed to a wider focus on human security instead of national security – and thereby women. One of the biggest documents to represent the broadened concept of security is UNSCR 1325. In Serbia, women's organizations have ever since the 90s wars in former Yugoslavia fought an uphill battle to gain support for their agenda on women, peace and security.

By using the standpoint feminist perspective on security, combined with theories of experience based knowledge as potential expertise, the thesis investigates how experiences of security – possessed by women's organizations, are used in the policy process. The study is based on 17 interviews made in Serbia, with representatives of women's NGOs, governmental institutions and other for the policy process essential actors.

The study shows that women's organizations on the one hand are seen as the biggest experts on women's security. In the same time they are unable to transfer their experience based knowledge to the implementation process of UNSCR 1325, because of the different conceptions of what the resolution really should mean.

Key words: Serbia, UNSCR 1325, women's organizations, experience based knowledge, standpoint feminism.

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List of Abbreviations

AWC	Autonomous Women's Center
BCSP	Belgrade Center for Security Policy
BFPE	Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
GEC	Gender Equality Council
LAP	Local Action Plan
MSCB	Multi-sectoral Coordinating Body
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SFRY	Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
OCCS	Office for Co-operation with Civil Society
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PC	Political Council
SB	Supervisory Body
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSCR	United Nation Security Council Resolution
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WAV Serbia	Women Against Violence Serbia
WfP	Women for Peace
WiB	Women in Black
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

List of Studied Organizations

Alternative Girl's Center (Alternativni centar za devojke)

A newly established organization in the town of Krusevac. Organizes activities for young girls, like joint events for Kosovo Albanian and Serbian girls. Argues for a more diverse women's movement. AGC is a part of the Women in Black-network.

Autonomous Women's Center (Autonomni Zenski Centar)

Founded 1993 in Belgrade. The coordinating organization for one of the two big networks of women's organizations: *Women Against Violence Serbia* (WAV Serbia). Provides support for women exposed to gender based violence, educates governmental and non-governmental representatives, monitors and consults policies on violence against women.

Belgrade Center for Security Policy (Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku)

Started as a think-tank during the Milosevic-regime. Focus on three themes: Security Sector Reform, Democracy and Human Rights, and Advancing Security. Conducts research and consults in the area of gender and security, but do not function as a women's organization.

Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (Beogradski fond za politicku izuzetnost)

Often goes hand in hand with BCSP, but are more of an educational organization. Founded during the 90s wars as a democracy movement. Arranges the biggest National event on security policy every year in September: Belgrade Security Forum.

Impuls (Gradanske inicijative)

Based in Tutin in the Sandzak region, close to Kosovo and Montenegro. Trains local security sector institutions in how to prevent and handle violence against women. Contributed to include UNSCR 1325 in the local action plan for gender equality in 2013.

Sandglass (Udrezenje zena Pescanik)

Founded in 2000 and is widely known in the town of Krusevac. Creates meeting places for women and runs a SOS Hotline for women exposed to violence

Women for Peace (Zene za mir)

Part of, and very active members, of the WiB-network. Situated in Leskovac. Focus on women's security as their main question and mobilizes young women

to become activists.

Women in Black Serbia (Zene u crnom)

The second network of women's organizations in Serbia, next to WAV Serbia. Was the first established women's organization during the 90s wars. Have since worked on questions as antimilitarism, antinationalism, transitional justice and violence against women. The network is a part of the global WiB-network and is known for their quiet nonviolent protest, all dressed in black.

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1 Introduction

Security policy is in a process of discourse transformation. The nation-state, which for a long time has been the point of departure for the concept of security, has in recent decades been challenged. Since UNDP launched the concept of human security in 1994, the discourse of security policy increasingly has come to focus on the security of humans rather than the nation-state (Peoples & Vaughan - Williams, 2010, p. 121). The shift benefits especially women, who are intended to be defended in the construction of the nation-state, but who in fact have been subjected to a continuous threat from the nation's defenders: men (Eduards, 2009, p. 21f). With this critical feminist perspective on security I will study the case of Serbia, where the quest for a pure nation-state created insecurity in its most extreme form less than two decades ago, in the Yugoslav wars. The country has been in a lingering reconstruction process ever since. Alongside with the nationalist and patriarchal structures, Serbia offers a women's movement that has grown strong in attempt to counteract those structures. This thesis attempts to study how their experiences have been used in the post-war transformation process.

After decades of advocacy from the worldwide women's movement on UN to take action for women's security, Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 in 2000 in order to ensure security for women during and after war or conflict. By looking at local women's organizations work with the implementation of the resolution in Serbia - this Minor Field Study, financed by Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), examines how women's experiences have been handled within the discursive shift of security policy.

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to investigate how the expertise that women's organizations possess are used in the process of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Serbia. What makes this interesting to study is the collision between feminist theory- and practice, and the traditional security theory- and policies. The clash between the two perspectives are forced to be faced when implementing UNSCR 1325 and

therefore represents an interesting case for the gathered knowledge on policy processes concerning human security in post-conflict countries.

The focus is on whether women's experiences, channeled through women's organizations and converted into experience based knowledge, have influenced security policy and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 until today. The study does not focus on the shape of security policy in Serbia as such, but on the process – and more specifically the relationship between experts, politicians and civil society within the process. The study does not focus on what women's experiences exactly consists of, but rather how they are used.

My research questions to answer in this study are therefore:

How are women's experiences of security used when implementing UNSCR 1325 in Serbia, and what possibilities do local women's organizations have to affect the policy process?

1.1.1 Delimitations

It would be impossible to study all women's experiences of security in Serbia, so therefore I have chosen the experiences that are channeled through women's NGOs. This means that the results of this study cannot count for every woman in Serbia, but only for them who experience themselves as represented by the concerned NGOs.

1.2 Background

To put the research questions on women's experiences of security and the process of implementing UNSCR 1325 into a context, I will here give a brief historical background of the women's movement in Serbia and the international work towards a gendered human security policy.

1.2.1 The Yugoslav Wars: from Titoism to Nationalism

The series of Yugoslav Wars between 1991-1999 included the War in Slovenia, the Croatian War of Independence, the Bosnian War and Kosovo War, and are often described as the bloodiest armed conflicts in Europe since World War II. War crimes and crimes against humanity such as genocide, mass rapes and ethnic cleansing have come to characterize the wars, and still today the region of former Yugoslavia has problems with residues of the past and transitional justice.

The understanding of the wars in the early nineties cannot be based on one sole explanation. Economic, political, social and historical issues all contributed to the turmoil of the nationalistic rhetoric that made people who had lived side by side for decades go to war against each other. The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) that were formed after World War II functioned as a socialist state under the rule of Jozip Broz Tito, who came to develop a version of socialism: titoism. Titoism has been described as a balance between Western capitalism and Stalinist communism (e.g. Wilmer, 2002, p. 88). For women, this meant that they had the right to study, vote, hold office and have abortion; indicators that points to some degree of women's freedom, even if women tended to have low-paid professions and took responsibility for a large part of the unpaid work.

Despite economic difficulties during Titos' time, it was not until his death in 1980 things started to fall apart within the SFRY. Serbian nationalism came to characterize the political elite in Belgrade, with President Slobodan Milosevic in the front line. Slovenia and Croatia declared themselves independent 1991 and from that moment the wars within SFRY were a fact. It would take eight years before the last war was over. During that time women could see their situation change dramatically, and they had to go back home to focus on their roles as wives and mothers. Franjo Tudjman, President in Croatia at that time, stated that women who had abortions were the 'mortal enemies of the nation' and Serbian patriarch Pavle meant that the low birth rate in Serbia was a result of women's selfishness (Kaufman and Williams, 2004, p. 424). All this in line with the nationalistic politics of ensuring the future of the nation by having more babies and thereby a bigger military force in the long run (Turpin, 1998, p. 11). Women of other nationalities were raped systematically in a horrible extent; because, as Turpin notes, "as women are viewed as symbols of the family, and the family as the basis of society, the humiliation for women giving birth to the enemy's children symbolizes the destruction of the community" (1998, p. 5). All this are indicators on how women on all sides experienced the wars and got their personal security violated.

1.2.2 The Women's Movement as State Enemies

So how did women in Serbia respond to the wars and patriarchal and nationalist movements? Serbian nationalism had been one of the biggest contributing factors to the wars, and many women now started to organize against nationalism while war crimes mainly took place in neighboring countries. Women in Black (WiB) was the leading anti-war group, and their catchwords were “not in my name” – aiming at distance themselves from the states’ aggressions (Fridman, 2011, p. 507-508). WiB and other initiatives started as street demonstrations against warmongering, and soon became NGOs working with political pressure and data-collecting on war crimes. The activists were seen by many as state enemies, anti-Serbs and traitors. Just before the NATO intervention in 1999, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party threatened that in case of a military intervention, Serbian military would kill one WiB-activist for each NATO-plane (Fridman, 2011, p. 517).

Through these times, Western countries played a crucial role for the existence of NGOs in Serbia. Most scholars were convinced that the post-communist countries in former SFRY needed a strong support from civil society to be able to develop (Spehar, 2007, p. 12). It has also been said that the reason for a weak civil society in countries like Serbia today stand to find in the communist heritage.

Today, more than twenty years after the breakup of Yugoslavia and almost fifteen years after Milosevic’s downfall, women’s activists are still working with questions on transitional justice, violence against women and anti-militarism. Many of the NGOs are part of either one or both of the two big networks of women’s organizations: Women in Black-network and Violence Against Women Serbia (VAW).

1.2.3 National Security Becomes Human Security

Meanwhile the wars took place in the Western Balkans, international security policy experienced among the greatest shifts ever. The end of the Cold War had come to change the way the United Nations looked at threats, and the most distinct difference was the move on the scale from national to human security (People and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, p. 44). In the 1994 report from United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), human security were launched as a concept of security that encompasses non-military issues, the relationship between security, freedom and development, and the prioritizing of humans over states in the analysis of security (People and Vaughan-Williams, 2010 p. 120). The issue on human security was thereby born in policy and not in academia. But at the same time in academia, critical approaches to security were brought, and more traditional

theories of security declined. This paradigm shift is also reflected in the Balkan Wars, and Kaldor mentions the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina as the very archetype of wars in this new paradigm (1999, p. 41). To sum up: the shift to human security was seen both in parts of international policy, theory and practices on the ground during the 90s.

Since this study departs from women's experiences of security in Serbia, it is worth noticing how the issue on human security is linked both to feminist perspectives on security and the situation in Serbia during the 90s. According to Kaldor, the wars in former SFRY partly came to arrange the international security policy order after the Cold War – where EU and UN weakened as actors and civil society, media and NGOs were strengthened (1999, p. 41). International women's organizations that had been women security policies pioneers since the early 1900s, like Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was now re-energized. Finally the international discussion on security was able to embrace the concept of human security – and to see gender within it. After strong pressure from WILPF and women's organizations all over the world, the Security Council adopted UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 (Confortini, 2011, p. 22). It was later followed by UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122 on the theme of women, peace and security. UNSCR 1325 calls for women's equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace-building and peacekeeping (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

In January 2015, 48 countries in the world have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP) for 1325 (Peacewomen, webpage 2). NAP:s seeks to formulate the substance of the resolution and put it in context. NAP:s also enables coordination of the work for 1325 on a national and local level, and hopefully make the implementation more efficient. While governments are responsible for the implementation of the resolution, NAP:s can be something that are developed in cooperation with civil society. Further, civil society can have a monitoring role in the process, and not the least offer expertise to the government (Peacewomen, webpage 1). One of the countries that have adopted a NAP is Serbia. The process leading up to the Serbian NAP, and what role organizations from civil society have in the implementation process, is at the heart of this study.

1.2.4 UNSCR 1325 in Serbia

At the time of the adoption of UNSCR 1325, women's NGOs in the countries of former SFRY had been in the center of the action – both as part of the international lobbying for the resolution, and experiencing the wars themselves. As the resolution was adopted, NGOs started to lobby for a National Action Plan (NAP) for resolution 1325 in Serbia.

In December 2010 Serbia adopted its first NAP for 1325, and were then one of the first countries in former SFRY to do this. The NAP includes strategies on how to 1) increase the proportion of women in the security sector and their impact on

issues related to peace and security, 2) increase the participation of women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and a greater participation of women in multinational operations, 3) use instruments of legal protection for women, 4) educate security sector employees and 5) establish institutional mechanisms for the implementation of the National Action Plan (National Action Plan to Implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia 2010-2015, 2010).

How the process looked like between the lobbying and the adoption of the NAP will be examined in this study – through a perspective on how women's organizations' knowledge from working on issues related to human security during and after the wars, were included.

2 Theoretical Framework

This field study is based on a standpoint feminist view on security. I will here explain how standpoint feminism relates to feminist security studies. Upon this, I put a more operational theory about experience based knowledge and how this can be used within policy processes. The perspective and the theory goes naturally into each other, but will here be examined separately at first. In the end of this chapter I will bring the two together.

2.1 Feminist Security Studies

As already mentioned in chapter 1.2.3, the end of the Cold War meant a paradigm shift for the concept of security – both theoretically and policy-wise. One part of the shift was a growing feminist understanding of security, which form a part of the family of critical security perspectives. Although critical security studies arose already during the 1980s with the Welsh School, Paris School and Copenhagen School, the feminist perspective was included first when theorists like Enloe, Peterson and Tickner brought feminist IR theory into the field of security studies in the early 90s (see for example Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010). This meant a critique towards most of the starting points for traditional security theories, including everything from state-centrism to militarism and masculine ideals. Feminists claims that the state and the military in fact can be the very threat to women, rather than function as security providers. Concrete examples of this is wartime rape and military prostitution (Tickner, 2014, p. 23).

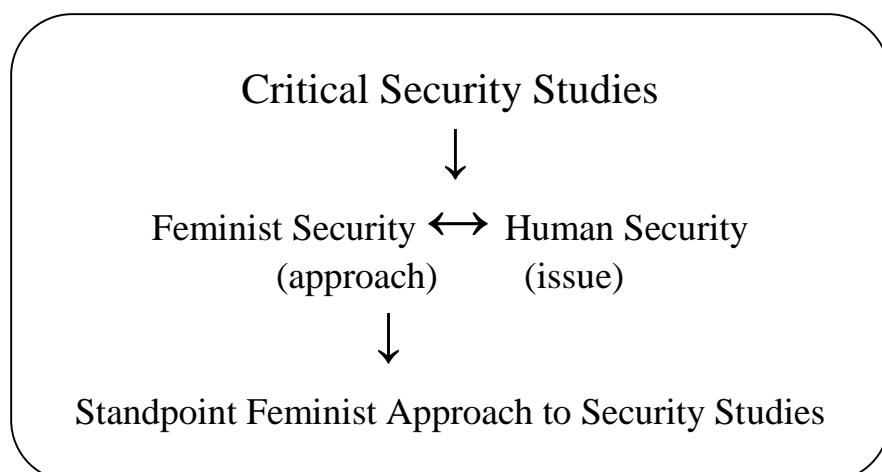
Just like feminism in its whole, feminist security studies holds many shades and varieties. Peoples and Vaughan-Williams discerns three main approaches; liberal feminism, standpoint feminism and poststructural gender approaches (2010, p. 36). Shortly one could say that liberal feminists holds that women should be more visible in security policy and security studies, standpoint feminists that women's experiences of security should be the standpoint for security, and poststructuralists that gender should be the basis for security analysis rather than sexes. I will from now adopt the standpoint approach, since the study focus on women's experiences of security.

2.1.1 Standpoint Feminism

With its roots in Marxist theory and Hegel's notion of the master/slave relationship, standpoint feminism has for decades questioned the male-based starting point in all forms of knowledge. Standpoint feminism holds that because of the different types of lives men and women live in almost every context, they have different experiences and knowledge about everything. Just like the issue on human security, a standpoint feminist view on security emphasises the security that are experienced on a personal or political level, by people in their everyday-life. Furthermore, standpoint feminism claims that the oppressed gender, just like the slave or the proletariat in Marxist theory, has a more comprehensive understanding of the whole picture – and therefore women's experiences are desirable from an epistemological view (Tickner, 2014, p. 3+87). One of the most influential representatives of the standpoint feminist approach to security studies is J. Ann Tickner, who means that the traditional concept of security must be questioned from its ground.

Certainly, there is to find criticism of the standpoint theory within critical security studies. Not the least poststructural feminists run counter to the notion that there would exist something like 'women's experiences'. This, they mean, is reproducing an essentialist view on women and men as different by nature, and will only be counterproductive (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010, p. 41f). Tickner respond to the critics from poststructuralists by asserting that if we ignore certain experiences that women have, we risk a situation where dominant norms remains (1992, p. 17). To get over gendered notions in security policy, we first have to see them.

2.1.2 Figure



2.2 Expertise in Policymaking

Policy making has always been in need of experts and expertise. Basically, it is a question of quality, but also of democracy – the level of influence from experts in policies can be crucial for the democratic vitality. Within democracy studies it is thus debated which kind of expertise that is the best or right one, and in the long run – whose knowledge that can be classified as expertise. This also makes it an epistemic question.

Traditional kind of expertise consists of professional knowledge, and attempts to make expertise value-free and objective are embraced (Douglas in Massen & Weingart, 2009, p. 155). Lately this narrow stance of expertise has been contested. As the elitist political system and technocratic governance are questioned and new democratic actors and ideas are growing, an opening towards other kind of expertise can be seen (Goven, 2008, p. 3). A political scientist that has investigated this through a lens of deliberative democracy theory, is Frank Fischer. In *Democracy and Expertise* (2009), Fischer writes about experiences as a certain kind of knowledge, and how this knowledge can be used as expertise in policy processes. This kind of *lay expertise* differs from professional expertise in one fundamental aspect: everyone possess it. While living our lives we all gather experience based knowledge about our specific context.

2.2.1 Experience Based Expertise

Among theorists that are focusing on the democratization of expertise, it is possible to distinguish three categories of values and arguments for a more frequent use of lay expertise. These can be classified as *normative*, *instrumental* and *epistemic* values.

Normative values are maybe the most often mentioned, and consists of arguments for a more fair way to make policies. Theorists like Corburn means that policy becomes more open and available for everyone if laymen are treated as experts, and not only a certain elite. Not the least structurally discriminated groups, like women, can be involved in a larger extent (Corburn, 2009, s. 423).

Instrumental values concern how the process itself become more democratic with the use of alternative expertise. One of them are legitimacy; policies that are grounded by people that are going to be affected by it, are legitimate policies (Douglas in Maasen & Wiengart, 2009, p. 153f). Effectiveness is another value that can be achieved. Instead of letting professional experts learn about a certain issue, laypeople that already are concerned about the issue can be the experts, and in that way save some time in the process (Corburn, 2003, p. 429).

The third and last value is epistemic. With the use of laymen expertise we reach another level of knowledge; knowledge that are sensitive for subtle shades of reality, and that complete the picture of an issue given from professionals (Fischer, 2009, p. 196).

To sum up, experience based knowledge can contribute to policymaking in many respects. It is thus important to note that lay expertise is not a substitute to professional expertise, but a different kind of knowledge-making. For this study, the question is whose and what kind of expertise that is taken into account when it comes to the specific policy on UNSCR 1325.

2.3 Linking Standpoint Feminism and Experience Based Expertise

The standpoint feminist approach to security studies and theory on experience based expertise have both academic and practical connections. A concept that has permeated chapter 4.1 and 4.2, is *experience*. In the perspective of standpoint feminist security, women's experiences is the focus for analysis. Clearly, it is the same in theory on experience based expertise. Another part of the theoretical connection is the *bottom-up perspective*; policy-making knowledge should be found on the ground and produced by groups that are concerned by the given issue – in this case women and human security. In governance models where the bottom-up perspective is at core, civil society plays a crucial role (see for example Held, 2006 and Fischer, 2009). Fischer means that civil society form the link between state and public, and this lead up to the third connection between the standpoint feminist perspective and experience based expertise: NGOs.

NGOs form concrete bodies of societal experiences. They gather knowledge and lay expertise on the most local level, and is therefore an important component when working for greater influence from lay people in policy processes (Fischer, 2009, p. 248). NGOs are also particularly suitable actors working for the issue on human security. As they are neither national nor international; local NGOs are by its nature closer to the new paradigm of security than state- or international institutions are. Although states are responsible for ensuring human security, NGOs can fill an important role in the process, where states on a number of grounds have a hard time to reach local communities or represent certain groups. "Protecting human security involves representing local populations and, therefore, requires relevant actors to gain legitimacy in the eyes of such populations" (Michael, 2002, p. 11). Eduards too means that knowledge-making activism through NGOs are the most effective tool to form a new security agenda, since women's NGOs challenge

the focus on nations in security policy – both ideologically and in its way to organize (2007, p. 243ff).

To sum up, the standpoint feminist perspective on security and theories of experience based knowledge will be used in order to find out how women's experiences of security are used in the process of implementing UNSCR 1325, and what role women's NGOs have in that process.

3 Methodological Framework

In this chapter I will explain how the methodological framework for the study is structured. Methods and techniques during the sampling process and the following analysis will intersperse.

3.1 Research Design

The study is of qualitative nature and takes the form of a case study. This means that it is the contextualised situation with its specific frames of time and space that is studied. (Teorell and Svensson, 2007, p. 266f). One reason for the choice of a qualitative study is because it goes hand in hand with the feminist study (Kvale, 1997, p. 72f). Namely, if you strive for the general, you will find the male. Women's stories and knowledge of their own security are not visible in the traditional study of security policy, and since this study is of feminist critical character, I have strived to find the knowledge beyond the general.

However, it is difficult to argue that no generalising ambitions exist at all - the study aims nevertheless to describe a case of a phenomenon: women's experiences of security as a possible source of expertise in security policy processes in post-conflict countries. The fact that the study discusses exclusively Serbia does not preclude that the result also is interesting in another context.

3.2 Material and Technique

The technique of tracing policy processes will here be explained, just like the kind of material that is used during the tracing process.

3.2.1 Tracing Policy Processes

This is not a study purely on power but at a large extent a study on power related issues, as expertise, governance and gender. The technique of sampling and analysing the material is therefore based on one often used in studies on power and policies – the technique of tracing policy processes.

To be sure that it is the women's organizations role in the process of implementing UNSCR 1325 I examine, and not someone or something else's impact or role, I have penetrated the very process of implementation. By taking a deep look into how things have proceeded according to different parties, it has been possible to trace what role the women's organizations have played. Social scientists that have developed and written about this technique are among others George and Bennett (2005), Aminzade (1993) and Collier and Collier (1991). Spehar means that "process tracing is the basic method for exploring the potential policy influence" (2007, p. 2) and has herself shown that process tracing is a good technique to use when investigating particularly the influence of women's organizations in different policy processes (2007).

To use the technique of process tracing, I have asked the interviewees about happenings, sequences and patterns related to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and NAP to get a picture of the whole process.

3.2.2 Interviewing

To trace the policy process I have interviewed 17 persons in Serbia during a field study. Interviews are relevant to use when studying a relatively undiscovered field like this (Esaiasson et al, 2007, p. 285). As there are few written documents on how women's organizations are functioning within the process of implementing UNSCR 1325 in Serbia, profound stories from people that are involved in the process, are needed. I also aim to reach beyond the few written official documents on the process that exist. As Spehar puts it – official documents often presents a non-controversial version of reality, while interviews can give the whole complex story (2007, p. 81).

The interviews are of semi-structured character, which means that the questions are relatively controlled by me as an interviewer, but open for modification depending on the interviewee (Lantz, 2007, p. 33ff).

The interview is, as Kvale introduce it, a situation where two persons' views and understandings of the world meet - which also the word *interview* is telling (1997, p. 9). Thereby, I am also aware of the fact that some effects caused by the specific relation between the interviewer and the interviewed may exist. One of them can be the *women relation* that Widerberg describes (2002, s. 108). By this, she means that being a woman can affect the way one understand phenomenon's related to women issues. For the research itself it may be positive since the

understanding improves – but also problematic for the study as the result then would be dependent on the interviewer. However, it is hard not being influenced by one's gender in any academic research method.

The interviews were conducted in English or Serbian through the assistance of interpreters. Only one of the interviewed persons asked to remain anonymous in the study, and is therefore referred to as Anonymous person. All other interviewees are mentioned by name.

3.2.2.1 Selection of Interviewees

The interviewees have been asked to participate in the study depending on their relation to the implementation process of resolution 1325. To get the whole picture of how the process is functioning, I have interviewed persons from both governmental bodies and from women's NGOs. I also interviewed representatives from independent think tanks and international organizations. All four categories of interviewees are relevant for the study since they all are involved in the process: the government are responsible for the implementation, women's NGOs can monitor and contribute expertise, think tanks create opinion on the resolution and were an active part in the drafting process of the NAP in Serbia, and international organizations in Serbia, namely UN Women, set a link between the UN system and Serbia – which is of certain relevance since the studied policy is grounded in the UN system. The hardest part was to get contact with persons that could represent the government. This might be because of Serbia's bureaucratic system, which above all is very comprising.

Another consideration is that persons operating in different parts of Serbia have been interviewed to get a more comprehensive picture of the process. Belgrade, Leskovac, Krusevac and Tutin are the cities in which I have made the interviews. The cities are selected depending on the presence of women's NGOs and different political landscapes.

To find the persons I aimed to interview, I partly used the snowball method (Esaiasson et al, 2007, p. 291). After being in contact with key persons- and institutions in the process, these have in their turn guided me to further interviewees. It has been particularly effective to use the snowball method since the 1325-network is rather closed and many of the involved persons are only known to people already in the process.

3.3 Case Selection

The case to study is selected on the basis of its particularly interesting character – empirically, theoretically and the relation in between. Empirically because the

entity we today call Serbia was involved in all Yugoslavian wars, and where women's NGOs acted as a counterweight to this with their distinct agenda on human security. This is linked to why the case also is theoretically interesting; theories on gendered human security and experience based knowledge make an important combination when elaborating theories on human security in post-conflict countries.

3.4 Operationalization

To be able to reach answers to my research questions on how women's experiences are used in the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and what possibilities women's organizations have to affect the policy process, I have operationalized the essence of them into questions for the interviewees. The two central parts to operationalize are:

Women's experiences of security. This part of the research question is linked to the perspective of standpoint feminism, and security is therefore defined as gendered human security. Experiences of security here means the gathered knowledge built on actual happenings in women's lives related to security/insecurity, as discussed in standpoint feminist theory (see chapter 2.1.1) and are operationalized through questions about the perspective of women in the implementation process.

Possibilities to affect. Mainly linked to theories on lay expertise, possibilities to affect are here defined as grade of influence from women's organizations in terms of potential ways to manage a role as experts in the policy process. Key concepts which function as operational indicators are advocacy, invitations, platforms, meetings, advising, inclusion/exclusion, monitoring.

4 Findings and Analysis

In this chapter the findings from the field study will be presented and analyzed. Based on 17 interviews made in Serbia, subsections below will handle the implementation process of UNSCR 1325 in Serbia. Focus will be on tracing women's organizations possibilities to affect the process and how their knowledge are seen as expertise or not. The chapter is structured in chronological order between the time before and during the drafting of the NAP, and until today.

4.1 The Drafting of NAP

"This is a child of women's movement, so how can you do it by yourself?"
(Interview with Gordana Subotic, 060313)

As explained in section 1.2.4, Serbia adopted a NAP for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2010. The process leading up to this was lengthy, and the first ones to plant the idea of a NAP were Women in Black (WiB). WiB had been lobbying for the resolution to be adopted in the UNSC during the 90s, and now the time for its implementation in Serbia had come. But there was no political initiative for drafting a NAP, so WiB drafted their own, including special goals and measures for the context of Serbia. WiB sent the draft to the parliament, but it was never discussed (interview with Maja Bjelos, 050913 and Gordana Subotic, 030613). Not until 2007, when Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE) initiated a project on women and security – plans for a NAP on 1325 became realistic. BFPE, who describes themselves as more linked to the government than any other organization dealing with security policy, succeeded in 2009 to print recommendations for drafting a NAP. Another NGO that functions as a think-tank, Belgrade Center for Security Policy (BCSP) had been a part of this draft. UNIFEM (today UN Women) and OSCE supported the project. WiB participated in the beginning, but left the project after a short while. They accused the process for lacking transparency, and for focusing on wrong issues (interview with Nenad Bosiljcic 052013, Maja Bjelos, 050913 and Gordana Subotic, 060313). WiB felt that NAP exclusively would come to handle women in the security sector, and that issues on women's security were neglected.

We will never know what would have happened if WiB had stayed in the drafting group, but the NAP that the government the year thereafter adopted was highly influenced by the draft that BFPE initiated. One of the few female politicians who were part of the group that wrote the final NAP, Dragana Petrovic, is very happy with how the NAP finally was formed. She means that the punctuality that is typical for the defence sector is behind the good result of the NAP, which bear witness of who Dragana sees as the natural actor to draft the NAP. The only obstacle Dragana is pointing to was that people who wrote the NAP did not know anything about gender. Dragana participated as a gender adviser, only based on her sex and her high position in the party she belonged to at that time. It was also common that people within this group, and security sector over all, questioned the necessity of a NAP for 1325 (interview with Dragana Petrovic, 100113).

According to WiB:s Gordana Subotic, WiB tried to influence the NAP also after the first draft was finished, as they wrote comments and critics to the Ministry of Defence (MoD). They also sent lists of all women's organizations in Serbia to show where MoD could find expertise in different fields. "Otherwise we knew that they would say that 'we don't know who's got expertise or doing what amongst women's organisations'. It didn't help - they never used the expertise, and never adopted anything from our comments". Another problem that Gordana identifies is the fact that only the MoD were included in the process amongst all possible departments, like Ministry of Interior, health or justice (interview with Gordana Subotic, 060313). This fact reveals the focus on defence rather than the broad security perspective. Human security, that the resolution is the first to handle, are built on more pillars than only the defence sector, and that was missed in the drafting process. This might be one of the reasons for why the next steps in the process continues to be strained, and difficult for women's NGOs to influence.

4.1.1 Expertise during the Drafting of NAP

"For us, 1325 is primarily about security, while for women's organizations, 1325 is primarily about women." (Interview with Nenad Bosiljcic, 052013).

Among those who were involved in the process of drafting the recommendations for a NAP, all of the interviewed agree upon the notion that a wide gap between the different actors appeared. It was about the nature of 1325. As the resolution handles two highly contested concepts: security and gender, different analysis of the resolution resulted in different views on what a NAP should include. While WiB were unwilling to compromise with their perspectives on security, other organizations like BCSP and BFPE tried to satisfy both women's organizations and the government. All this are also closely linked to how women's and gender issues are separated from security issues; in academia, as well as in practice. Maja Bjelos at BCSP testifies that gender studies in Serbia do not include issues on security, and

security studies do not really handle gender – even less a critical-feminist perspective. The academic expertise is thus divided in the field that 1325 contain (interview with Maja Bjelos, 050913), which conform to the general academic debate on traditional- and critical security studies.

Also in practice, gender- and security issues in Serbia are miles apart. Zorica Skakun who works for UN Women in Belgrade notes that “security policy is a well-defined, protected masculine environment in Serbia. Within security sector they do not know women, and moreover – they do not know how to change” (interview, 050713). When Zorica started to work on a UN Women funded project about 1325 in 2011, women’s organizations and people in security sector did not even want to talk. A similar problem exists between women’s NGOs and others. While women’s NGOs should be more focused on security, the ones that are specialized on security should be more focused on gender, Nenad Bosiljcic at BFPE admits (interview, 052013).

It is controversial to talk about 1325, and the creation of NAP, as something that should belong more or less to the field of gender or security, and thereby what kind of expertise that should be used. While parts of Serbia’s NGOs see 1325 as something more connected to the women’s movement than to anything else (interview with Maja Bjelos, 050913), parts of the women’s movement have problems with 1325 and see it as part of defense policy. Jelena Cakic, president of WiB:s partner organization Women for Peace, criticize the resolution for not being what it once were meant to be, when it still was in the hands of a global women’s movement (interview with Jelena Cakic, 051413). Likewise, Gordana Subotic is not happy with the content of the resolution, although it is the only thing they have on the international arena. She mean that it should include a larger portion of anti-militarism, and start from a different perspective. “It contains liberal feminism, but where is the standpoint feminism?” (Interview with Gordana Subotic, 060313).

To concretize the conflict between the different interpretations of security, I will in the next chapter lift the subject of representation as one of the most controversial parts of the resolution and the NAP.

4.1.2 Feminist Standpoints on Security during the Drafting of NAP

“We talked about personal security when drafting the NAP, but what we actually mean with NAP 1325 is to engage women in national security issues. Let us put women in the military and things will change”.

(Interview with Dragana Petrovic, 100113)

The quotation above pinpoints how the government has interpreted the concept of women’s security. A higher representation of women in security sector is therefore a big part of the NAP. Women for Peace’s Jelena Cakic is one of those who are disappointed on the big focus on representation, at the expense of other things,

during the drafting of NAP. She means that for the Ministry of Defence (MoD), everything related to 1325 is about how to engage women in national defence. “If you dress women as soldiers, what do you get? Not a big difference.” (Interview with Jelena Cakic, 051413). Gordana Subotic from WiB notes that representation of women in security sector indeed is important, but only if they are feminists. If they think and act like their male colleagues, then women’s politics are not involved – even if women are. The problem is just, as Gordana sees it, that feminists only are found in civil sector and not in the government or security sector (interview, 060313).

Zorica Skakun from UN Women (interview, 050713) also witness a drafting process of NAP where representation overshadowed all other 1325-related issues. She calls for more situations when we stand back and ask questions like “what are we doing in Afghanistan?” before asking “how many women in uniform are going to Afghanistan?”. Instead, we have a situation where Dragana, who represented the government in the drafting of NAP, answers “a female minister of defence, female officers and a female president of Serbia” on the question of what visions she has for a gendered security policy (interview with Dragana Petrovic, 100113). Jelena Memet pinpoints the phenomenon when describing the situation in the following way: ”Feminist security policy thought it got out of patriarchy, but patriarchy did not get out of it.” (interview, 051713).

For this study, the discussion on representation is relevant since it reveals an important division between different feminist standpoints. From one side, mainly the government, it is argued that a higher representation of women in security sector is a desirable goal. From the other side, mainly women’s NGOs, it is argued that a higher representation of women in security sector indeed is an important tool if those women can represent a standpoint feminist view on security, but also that the focus on women in security sector risk to delete the alternative focus on what security sector can do for women. By extension, women’s NGOs mean that focusing on representation prevents a broader discussion on what security for women really should mean, and thereby also prevents their expertise to be heard.

4.2 After Adoption of NAP

“I am in love with 1325, but I have a lot of problems with it.”

(Interview with Nenad Bosiljcic, 052013)

As the NAP were adopted in 2010, a process of implementing it followed. Very quickly the establishing of adequate mechanisms started, and new institutional

bodies were created. The existing institutions at a national, provincial and local level which normally handled gender- and security issues were thereby complemented by the Political Council (PC), the Multi-sectoral Coordinating Body (MSCB), the Supervisory Body (SB) and analytical groups. All institutions have different functions within the implementation process, and are also described in the NAP (Serbia's National Action Plan for implementing UNSCR 1325, 2010). But after the creation, the process were stuck. The new institutions functions poorly, and only MSCB can be said to really develop with its task (interview with Nenad Bosiljcic, 052013, Maja Bjelos, 050913 and Zorica Skakun, 050713). Among things that do not function currently, Nenad Bosiljcic mentions that no report from the governmental institutions have so far been submitted. And if there are no reports, NGOs cannot monitor or deal with the process properly.

The only person among the interviewees that are happy about the process is part of one of the governmental analytical groups. These groups consists of persons working within either the Ministry of Defence's or the Ministry of Interior's area, and aim to analyse and process data regarding the implementation of the NAP (NAP, 2010, p. 19). The interviewed person testifies to a well-functioning work within the group. As they are supposed to do, they produce a report every six months (interview with anonymous person, 052213). Holding Nenad's word in mind, it does not seem as these reports reach, for the process relevant, NGOs.

4.2.1 Tracing Expertise through Implementation Initiatives

Despite the dissatisfaction among NGOs, a range of initiatives have been taken to make the implementation process of NAP 1325 inclusive and open. First and foremost it is UN Women's project office in Serbia that have pushed for co-operation between the government and women's NGOs. *The Dialogues*, developed by UN Women, is a form of conference where governmental institutions and concerned NGOs are invited to discuss the NAP. Gordana from WiB mentions the Dialogues as an opening towards a better understanding between the parties (interview, 060313). *Open days* is another, global, initiative which UN Women have taken, and in Serbia it has been launched as a meeting between decision makers and local women's groups. Zorica, the National Project Coordinator for UN Women in Serbia, bear witness to a broad support for this kind of meetings as well, and mentions especially women's organizations who normally do not talk with decision makers at all (interview, 050713). At the same time, the exchange does not seem to be very fruitful; both Zorica, Maja and Nenad (all of them representing organizations that are neither governmental, nor women's NGOs) are exhausted by the fact that they spend so much time just to put the two parties in the same room, with no actual result. Maja Bjelos still thinks that "the most important part, to include women's organizations, is so far neglected. We are all the time trying to

find points where they can cooperate” (interview 050913). But one fact remains – unlike the drafting process, the implementation of the already adopted NAP has included women’s NGOs to some extent. The problem now is not so much the lack of initiatives where all parties meet, but rather that the agenda during the meetings is based on a NAP that women’s NGOs do not agree with.

In addition to the initiatives specific for the implementation of NAP 1325, the last years have shown that the deep gap between government and civil society slowly is narrowing. A certain governmental body named Office for Cooperation with Civil Society (OCCS), whose role is to connect the government and NGOs in all areas, was established in 2011. The body was initiated on demand by civil society and the EU. One of the advisors at OCCS, Djorde Popovic, admits that the mission of the body is not that easy to carry out in Serbia. The institutionalized picture of NGOs as state enemies and traitors, especially women’s NGOs, makes the whole situation very strained. The only really acceptable NGOs are some think-tanks, like BFPE and BCSP, and the ones that existed in Yugoslavia: service providers that complemented the state without threatening it (interview with Djordje Popovic, 100113). Djordjes words reinforce the theory on how women’s NGOs can be seen as enemies of the nation, and academic knowledge as preferable to lay knowledge. When it comes to the implementation of NAP 1325 specifically, he identifies a problem: “It is hard to involve the women’s organizations in the process, because many of them do not understand the process itself.” Therefore, he thinks it is good that NGOs like BFPE and BCSP exists - to connect the different worlds (interview with Djordje Popovic, 100113).

All of the interviewed persons from NGOs have the same picture of who is really treated as an expert by the government: BCSP and BFPE. Maja Bjelos from BCSP means that although the government do not always love their results, the expertise of BCSP is never questioned. The same applies to BFPE. For Gordana Subotic, this is a strategy the government uses to exclude feminist organizations in the process. She means that instead of engaging organizations like WiB and AWC, the government select some non-feminist organizations (BCSP and BFPE). Then they are able to say they are listening to NGOs, but are really never criticized (interview with Gordana Subotic, 060313). Maja Bjelos admits that when it comes to gender, and not only security with a hint of gender, BCSP are not the top experts; “gender expertise is built somewhere else – in women’s organizations” (interview 050913). Autonomous Women’s Center (AWC) were experts in the field of violence against women long before the adoption of NAP 1325, and WiB can be said to embody the very process of 1325. Both WiB and AWC *are* gathered experiences of being women in war, according to Maja. The problem is just that their experiences are neglected by the government.

When talking about the expertise of WiB with Gordana Subotic, she is very clear about the ignorance from the governmental institutions that were created to implement the NAP. Gordana mean that WiB are treated only as someone who talks too much. For example, WiB collected some experiences of women’s security in Afghanistan, Nepal and Fiji, and invited MSCB to discuss them in relation to

Serbia's NAP. Nobody from MSCB came (interview with Gordana Subotic, 060313).

For AWC that coordinates the big network Violence against Women Serbia, the problem is of different nature; when I talk to Aleksandra Nestorov and Jelena Keserovic who both have been working for AWC since the 90s, it becomes clear that AWC is part of every single working group regarding the national strategy for violence against women – while they are totally separated from the process of NAP 1325. Aleksandra tells me about a special protocol on violence against women for the Serbian police service that recently were signed by the minister of interior. AWC wrote a draft for the government, and in the final version nearly nothing had changed. So clearly, AWC has a great impact on the policy for violence against women in parts of security sector, but are never invited to talk about resolution 1325. Holding in mind what Djordje Popovic said about different kind of NGOs, it is easy to see why AWC, compared to WiB, more easily can affect some policies. Since AWC in one way functions as service providers, and have not been as aggressive in its antinationalism as WiB, they do not threat the state or the nation in the same extent. AWC also see themselves as dealing with human rights issues rather than security policy (interview with Aleksandra Nestorov, 051013 and Jelena Keserovic, 051013), which again suggests difficulties with handling human security as something that relates to spheres outside the traditional security sector.

Finally, Zorica Skakun from UN Women notes that the part of the NAP that handles violence is the one that make least progress. To fix that, Zorica means that “we *have* to move violence from a social issue to a security issue, and use the right expertise”. Furthermore, she means that the right expertise are found in both the WiB-network and the VAW-network, and these two networks have different kind of expertise. While WiB possess knowledge of women as actors in security policy-and sector, AWC possess knowledge of women as victims of violence. Both kind of knowledge are relevant for the resolution, but remains unused today (interview, 050713).

To sum up, the implementation process of UNSCR 1325 has proven to be strongly affected by the conflict between national security and human security. What kind of security the resolution should mean, and do mean, in the Serbian context is still disputed. This conflict has consequences for the knowledge-making process; while women’s organizations in many ways are seen as the main experts on women’s human security, the NAP do not allow that expertise to be used. Instead, NGOs like BFPE and BCSP are accepted both as the main initiators for the drafting of NAP and different implementation initiatives, and experts on security policy – and thereby the resolution. Looking at what kind of expertise that is used in the process, there are no doubt about the academic knowledge, represented by BFPE and BCSP, is valued higher than the lay expertise that women’s NGOs represents.

4.2.2 Local Examples of how Women's NGOs can affect the Implementation Process

Until now I have written about the implementation of the resolution on a national level, but the process has also been investigated on a more local level to see how women's NGOs can affect on another spatial scale. I have therefore gathered material from three smaller towns in Serbia, where women's NGOs have operated differently during the process of implementing UNSCR 1325. In Tutin, Krusevac and Leskovac, at least one women's NGO works actively on implementing the NAP on a local level.

4.2.2.1 Tutin: Creating a LAP including UNSCR 1325

In Tutin in southern Serbia, the women's organization Impuls decided to take the implementation of UNSCR 1325 into its own hands. Since Impuls did not really have any influence over the process when Serbia's NAP was written and adopted, they soon thereafter decided to decentralize the policy as much as they could. Dzeneta Agović, president of Impuls, tells me that in co-operation with the City Council, they could adopt a Local Action Plan (LAP) for gender equality in May 2013 (interview 052813). As the first municipality, UNSCR 1325 were included in Tutin's LAP.

In line with the LAP, institutions within security sector are helped by Impuls' knowledge to implement resolution 1325 on a local plan. Impuls train the police, social workers and politicians in issues related to violence against women. As an example, Sara Saljic, activist in the organization, says that "the policemen sometimes ask us how to talk with women under violence. They lack that knowledge and ask us how to deal with it, since we have that knowledge from our work and personal experiences" (interview 052813). Dzeneta proclaim that "women under violence trust us more than institutions. We get more reports than institutions do. We are more or less responsible for the implementation of resolution 1325" (interview 052813). In Tutin it is clear that Impuls functions as the experts in the process of implementing the resolution, and has a great impact on how the work should be formulated.

Atifa Saljic, both member of the City Council for the Bosniak Democratic Union and activist in Impuls, agrees with the description of Impuls as the real engine in the production of a LAP. She also admits that part of the success is thanks to her, since she stands with one leg in the City Council and the other in Impuls (interview 052813). It is thus not sure that Impuls would have the same impact if Atifa not was a member of the City Council, and it is thereby hard to say what possibilities Impuls really have to affect the policy process without the help from personal relations. On the other hand, Tutin stand out as a good example of how the NGO and local authorities can co-operate in the process of implementing the resolution, which has proven to be harder on the national level.

4.2.2.2 Krusevac: Shrinking Possibilities to affect Women's Security

In Krusevac, just like in Tutin, the feminist security debate since the 90s wars has been fueled by a women's organization – in this case Sandglass. Two of the Sandglass-activists, Snežana Jakougević and Slavica Stanojlović, tell me that since 2008, Sandglass are members of the local Gender Equality Council (GEC). The organization has a representative in the GEC, and could during the first years influence the strategies on violence against women. They brought up 1325 on the agenda, despite weak response. Since the last election when nationalist parties became bigger, Sandglass is however not invited to the GEC-meetings anymore (interviews, 051613). Snežana, president of Sandglass, tells me that she used to go anyway – but feels like everyone in the council dislike her presence (interview with Snežana Jakougević, 051613).

An example of what happens when Sandglass after all is listened to, is the question about support for women under violence. Sandglass asked for fundings to be able to maintain their shelter and SOS-line, but instead the City Council decided to take over the activity from the NGO. Since they did not know how to work with the support, and did not want to use the expertise from Sandglass, the result is now that no one is able to do it. A clear example of both the NGOs' shrinking possibilities to affect the work on women's security, and ignorance of the NGOs' experience based knowledge.

In Krusevac, I also interviewed three female politicians to get their picture of how Sandglass can function in the municipality's work on 1325. One of them, Slobodanka Miladinovic, is in the GEC – representing the national conservative Democratic Party of Serbia, but do not want to talk about 1325 or even about Sandglass. Her only thought about women in relation to peace and security is that "women are more peaceful and tolerant by nature" (interview, 051613), which would mean that women by birth get different knowledge of security rather than by experiences through life. The other two politicians, Dejana Jovanovic and Vesna Veskovic, are in opposition and not in GEC. But they have both learnt a lot about feminism thanks to Sandglass. When Vesna's party (Democratic Party) had the power in Krusevac, they were the first ones to have a budget for women's NGOs. They also founded the GEC to give women's NGOs more power. Vesna describes NGOs as the power behind all post-Milosevic changes, and the women's NGOs as the only ones that really have knowledge about women's roles in post-conflict Serbia (interview with Vesna Veskovic, 051613). Like Vesna, Dejana Jovanovic from Liberal Democracy Party, points to women's experiences of the wars as completely vital for tomorrow's security policy (interview, 051613).

In Krusevac, it seems as if Sandglass' possibilities to affect the agenda on UNSCR 1325 is dependent on what party is in power. Now when the nationalist party is in power, the NGO have a harder time to contribute with their knowledge in policy processes on women's security.

4.2.2.3 Leskovac: Unused Lay Expertise

In the third city, Leskovac, Women for Peace (WfP) is frustrated about the fact that they do not have the mandate themselves to implement UNSCR 1325. Ever since the 90s wars, women in Leskovac have tried to make the issue on men's violence against women visible. Nowadays, WfP advocate the process on 1325 as one of their biggest questions, and recently they made a survey to find out what local politicians knew about 1325. Jelena Cakic, president of WfP, made clear for me that politicians did not know anything, except for what she already had told them (interview, 051413).

In 2012 WfP initiated to write a new local plan for security. The one that was written was, due to WfP, beneath contempt from a gender perspective, and did not mention 1325. So far, local politicians have not satisfied the claims from WfP. But Jelena Cakic do not only blame the local politicians – she means that the whole process of 1325 is based on the national level. “On the local level, you don't see NAP. And in NAP you don't see the local level”. Further on, she puts Leskovac and WfP:s engagement in a broader perspective: “Leskovac was one of the most war-torn cities in Serbia during WWII and the Kosovo war, so many people were killed during the bombings, so many women were hurt when their men came back from the wars, and now Serbia wants to buy more bombers. It is madness” (interview, 051413). Jelena concludes by saying that if women's organizations had the power to implement the resolution, they would know how to do it from day one.

5 Conclusion

There is still a long way forward for Serbia to be able to use all the experiences of (in)security women gathered before, during and after the 90s wars. In the implementation process of UNSCR 1325, this has been tested, and also proven to be hard in many ways. The research questions will here be answered one by one.

How are women's experiences of security used when implementing UNSCR 1325 in Serbia?

Experience based knowledge is not used in the implementation process at any great extent. Especially not women's experiences, and certainly not feminist women's experiences. This in spite of the fact that all of the interviewed persons from civil society admits that organizations like WiB and AWC possess knowledge of women's human security that is more advanced than any others'. In the same time, the ones that think about the knowledge of women's organizations as less suitable for the process on 1325, do have a point. As some women's organizations think that 1325 and the NAP are too traditional in its way to define security, it is hard to reflect a standpoint feminist perspective in the implementation process: they do not see their own experiences of security being represented in the NAP. Other NGOs, like AWC, do not count their knowledge as belonging to the field of 1325. The gathered experiences of women's security from the women's movement are therefore hard to translate into the implementation process.

What possibilities do local women's organizations have to affect the policy process?

During the time before, during and after the drafting of the NAP for 1325, women's organizations have been consistently excluded from the process. Some implementation initiatives shows however that the organizations are invited, mainly on the initiative of UN Women, but also thanks to BCSP and BFPE – who all tries to connect the government with the women's NGOs. But related to the answer on the first question, women's NGOs do not always feel concerned by the implementation. The other way around, if they had been able to affect in the first stages, it maybe would have been a different NAP, and then easier to include them throughout the whole process.

On a more local plan, in the towns of Tutin, Krusevac and Leskovac, it has proven to sometimes be easier to affect the policy on 1325-related issues, even though women's NGOs there experience difficulties of being a part of the discussion that is conducted on a national level.

The final conclusion is thereby that women's experiences of security are not the same as the description of the solutions in the NAP, and therefore it is hard to see that the experiences can be applicable to the implementation process. Even when a policy is explicitly about women's specific role within a field like security, women's own experiences of security are most unwelcome.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Interview Guide

Note: The questions varied depending on the interviewee and her/his role in the implementation process.

Background

- Your role in this organization?
- How long have you been working for this organization?
- Why do you work for this organization?
- Your personal background, experiences from the past?
- Education?
- How would you describe your political beliefs/orientation/values?

Security

- What does security mean to you? Experiences of security/insecurity?
- Are women's security different from men's in a Serbian context? How?
- What is the most important content to build security/safe society?

1325 and NAP

- In what way does your work relate to women's security and 1325?
- How would you describe the situation of the implementation of 1325 in Serbia right now? Where are Serbia in the implementation process?
- Who was the primary initiator of NAP in Serbia?
- What do you think about the implementation process? Experiences from it?
- Who are trusted as experts in the implementation process?

Women's organizations

- Were women's organizations involved in the writing of NAP?
- Are there any channels for women's NGOs and decision-makers to communicate? Or how can women's NGOs express their standpoints?
- What are the main obstacles for including women's NGOs in a wider extent?