



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
DEFENCE POLICY SECTOR
Institute for Strategic Research

GENDER EQUALITY

IN DEFENCE SYSTEM

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND TRENDS

THEMATIC COLLECTION OF ARTICLES

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Belgrade 2016

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FOREWORD

› by Rear Admiral Louise Dedichen
Head of the Norwegian Defence University College

Preferential treatment to promote gender equality

Collection of papers *Gender Equality in Defence System – Accomplishments and Trends* is dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the UNSC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security, but also manages to grasp the underlying and increasing relevance gender equality plays in the contemporary times.

As the Armed Forces ought to reflect the times, the people and the diversity in its society, it is fair to argue that a modern and relevant military organization also must embrace gender equality as an integrated part of the organization, and reflect the perspectives and values of both men and women. Yet, there is ultimately more to gender equality than just equal rights and opportunities. Consequently, it is also about making use of all available resources and excelling in what we do.

The thought of gender equality might not seem so remote, but measures promoting it are still often faced with misconceptions or lacks of understanding.

Promoting gender equality in very gender imbalanced environments, as the Armed Forces unarguably is, can be especially difficult if the measures are being perceived as an infringement to the already established organizational culture, or even mistakenly perceived as discriminatory towards the majority. By acknowledging both the right for equal opportunities and recognizing the vast opportunities and synergies that can be achieved by having variety and diversity in groups and organizations, one should also favor measures enabling these needed structural and cultural adjustments. In a sense, preferential treatment actually promotes gender equality, but is unfortunately often mistaken for being discriminatory.

Today, men are highly overrepresented at higher executive and managerial level, and they are naturally enough the ones interpreting and defining the social and cultural norms, goals and structural standards of their organization, group or institution. Unless gender equality initiatives are embedded at this level and formalized in organizational guidelines, the norms, goals and structural standards will not necessarily reflect the needs, nor be well adaptive, for the opposite sex. This eventually reflects on how we select our candidates, the selection process itself, how we market ourselves in the society, how job requirements are being drafted, what kind of competence we get and so forth. In sum, this reflects in our collective capacity as an organization.

The complexities of today's threats challenge our perception of what makes a good soldier. The military is not just about guns, physical fitness and other traditional labels any more, but defining individual characteristics like mind-set, attitude, behavior and intelligence are just as important in our strive for optimization. If one recognizes equal rights and at the same time acknowledges the benefits and need of diverse individual qualities for different types of jobs, one is obliged to facilitate these opportunities in a way that does not exclude a group of people based on irrelevant job requirements or unfavorable organizational structures.

The Norwegian Special Operation Force for instance recognizes the need for a team composition of different people with different sets of expertise, but much due to unfavorable requirements, no female operator has ever been an operator. In order to find a way to recruit, train and equip females as special soldiers, a separate SOF unit project solely for women was launched in 2014. Of course, the physical requirements are different from the other SOF units, but their individual and overall qualities are considered valuable enough to the unit as a whole, it surpasses the irrational seek for similarity. Similarity and equality are not necessarily equivalent, and gender equality is not about seeking sameness.

In this sense, preferential treatment is basically promoting gender equality by enabling equal opportunities through personalization and adaptiveness! However, much of the responsibility of making structural adaptations and embedding gender equality as an integrated part of the organization lies with the leaders, and must be initiated from the top.

As the Commandant of The Norwegian Defence University College, - a large educational institution, and therefore an important cultural bearer in the Armed Forces, I consider it very important to promote gender equality in my part of

the organization. Not only because equal rights are fundamental rights, but also because implementing and benefitting from gender perspectives in organizations and operations hardly can be achieved without increased gender awareness and gender equality.

In order to thoroughly address and manage all aspects of gender equality at the Norwegian Defence University College, I appointed a special gender equality committee and allocated half a million kroner of our budget to be earmarked gender equality measures, and initiatives promoting it.

To name a few, we have funded initiatives like media training programs for women, seminars on international publishing for professors, seminars on academic leadership as well as a mentoring program for professors in order to recruit and increase the number of female professors as part of the faculty staff at the Defence University College.

Gender related knowledge and skills are also part of the military education at our Officer Candidate Schools, Military Academies and at the Defence University College. Gender education is part of our pre-deployment training and we also seek to incorporate gender related scenarios in our national exercises. Having a gender-perspective in military operations improves the Armed Forces' overall ability to meet mission requirements, especially when operating in gender segregated societies.

That being said, women in the Norwegian Armed Forces have a long history of service. In 1985 the Norwegian Parliament decided that the Equal Opportunities Act also should apply for the military, and women were allowed to serve in all combat functions. Today women participate in fighting units and battles alongside men, and skills, attitude and knowledge are the decisive factors when selecting candidates for positions in our fighting units. Norwegian female soldiers and officers have already served in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Balkans, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, as well as in several operations in Africa.

Even though there are still a number of challenges related to gender equality, the status of women in Norway as a whole is relatively good, and Norway is considered to be one of the most gender equal countries in the world. The share of female employment rate is high, more women than men have higher education, even though the highest degrees still are dominated by men and there is an increasing share of fathers who take parental leave, all indicating that the traditional perception in the society of predefined gender roles is moving towards more balance and equality.

Luckily, trends regarding gender balance in the Norwegian Armed Forces, are seemingly corresponding well with the society as a whole, and also have been over the last 10 years. The share of women in the Norwegian Armed Forces from 2006 to 2014 may be an indication that some of the measures made to attract a greater number of females into the Armed Forces, like separate joint admission and selection camps for women and several directed recruitment and reputation media campaigns towards women, have been successful. Yet, despite the relative increase of women in the Norwegian Armed forces, we also have to admit that the share of female military leaders at top levels could be higher.

Moreover, the Norwegian Armed Forces is based on general conscription, which also makes the military an integral part of the society. It is paramount, and perhaps inevitable, that the trends and principles of society are echoed in the military organization. Today about 60 000 young men and women are each year summoned to annual musters, from which about 9000 are being selected into the military service. In other words, the military organization has a vital role in the culturing of our youngest, and this is a responsibility we simply cannot ignore or leave to chance.

Having realized that the armed forces should be able to access the best resources available regardless of gender and that we could not afford missing out on half of the population's talents in the recruitment process, Norway became in 2015 the first peacetime NATO member and the first European country to make national service compulsory for both genders.

This further amplifies the need for making sufficient structural adaptations. Today, the barracks and quarters for conscripts in the Norwegian Armed Forces are traditionally built to serve male-only units, which have proved to be challenging in respect to our female soldiers. In some of our garrisons however, we have implemented the mixed room initiative, placing male and female soldiers in sleeping quarters together. Not just in the same building, but actually in the same room where 6-8 people live together. So far our experiences have been good. The introduction of mixed rooms seems to diminish gender differences and thereby prejudices between male and female soldiers. Frequent and intimate exposure is most likely leading to family-like relationships, which again reduces sexual tension between roommates of the opposite sex. However, we recognize at the same time the importance and premise of a strong leadership engagement and leaders with moral strength at all levels, in order for this to work as intended.

Studies from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment indicate that women who enlist today are highly motivated for service. Thus, they also have a high level of tolerance for the male hegemony, which traditionally is quite present in the military. Many of these women have prepared themselves in advance to cope with the evident male culture, and feel comfortable with most of the aspects that come with it. With the introduction of universal conscriptions however, the criteria for which men and women are enlisted will be decisive. The Study shows that women with high grades and low motivation will presumably not have the same level of tolerance towards a work environment dominated by a male masculinity culture as motivated women in the military seems to do today.

Whether these specific initiatives and measures promoting gender equality eventually prove as effective as intended, or call for the right cultural and organizational adaptations needed in order to integrate gender equality as a natural element of an organization, might be too early to conclude with. As long as there is will and determination to make necessary structural adaptations and individual personalization, and as long as this is embedded at the highest level of an organization and formalized through operational guidelines, I am optimistic.

- Preferential treatment does indeed promote gender equality.

I am also sure we, in spite of different cultural, social and political characters, have a lot to learn from each other on the matter of gender equality, and this Collection of papers *Gender Equality in Defence System. Accomplishments and Trends* serves as a great platform in doing so.

PREFACE

› by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jovanka Šaranović
Director of Institute for Strategic Research
Gender advisor to the Defence Minister

Distinguished readers,

Question of gender equality is a question of human rights and it is an inevitable assumption of building socially just and democratic society. This assumption states that men and women have equal conditions for achieving human rights, but also that there are equal opportunities for contributing to cultural, political, economic, social and general advancement.

Current dealing and continuity of dealing with gender equality in such a specific environment as security and defense sectors are present strategic thinking and positioning of this sector in the global context, having in mind the significance given to these topics by the UN, OSCE, NATO and other international actors.

We present to international and domestic scientific, expert and other reading public the thematic collection of papers from the international scientific conference „Gender Equality in the Defense System – Accomplishments and Trends“, held on 13-14 October 2015 and organized by the Strategic Research Institute of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia.

Excellent response of conference participants confirmed the induced need to consider contemporary problems of gender equality, especially in the year of two significant anniversaries – 15 years of the UN SC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security, as well as 5 years of implementing the 1325 National Action Plan in the Republic of Serbia.

This collection encompasses articles on various aspects of gender equality topics, perceived by the representatives of scientific, research, educational and independent state institutions, but also international organizations from Germany, Austria, Norway, Hungary, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Serbia. The collection is designed so as to give var-

ious perspectives of the considered topic, thus providing reliable material that can be used by representatives of academic community in their everyday work.

Each article was reviewed by two competent reviewers from abroad and one from the Republic of Serbia. This provided for this collection of papers to satisfy the highest academic standards with its contents.

This thematic collection presents 24 papers divided into five themes: 1) The role of institutions and organizations 2) Academic approach 3) Gender regime 4) Gender perspective in missions 5) Gender and security in SEE.

The first chapter named *The Role of Institution and Organizations* explains how national and local practices and solutions contribute to establishing main hubs for improving gender equality and more efficient control of gender based violence and discrimination, coming from the authors' personal engagement.

The second chapter named *Academic Approach* contains three papers that are the result of scientific researches of authors from the defense system and from the Faculty of Security. In order to have an efficient and quality process of achieving gender equality, it is necessary to do research of organizational culture of a changing system, from registering visual identity, everyday practices and customs, up to recording opinions, assumptions and expectations of the system representatives. Through such a continuous mapping of the system needs in various process stages, more efficient planning and conducting concrete activities and measures are provided, especially in the field of training and education.

Gender Regime is the name of the third chapter and it encompasses topics that shed some light on existing gender regimes in the private sphere: through relation towards authority, family and religious, and to the public sphere: through engaging of women in 'male' professions and through the manner of their representation in the public discourse. Gender perspective is not an element that should be attached somewhere. On the contrary, it is an inevitable component that is supposed to pervade all concepts and strategies, all thinking and decisions at strategic, operational and tactical level. It is the only way that can satisfy the imperative of democratic, efficient and development-oriented system.

Gender Perspective in Missions is a chapter in which authors, civilian and military, practically and scientifically review the achievements of implementing gender perspective through various military missions, like participation in multinational operations, assisting civilian population in emergencies and defending a country.

Last chapter, *Gender and Security in South East Europe*, is based on content-wise views of specific results achieved by applying National Action Plans for implementing the UN SC Resolution 1325 in six regional countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania and Slovenia). Having in mind the fact that the majority of these countries go through numerous challenges of the transition process, presented results point to the growingly built relation of these societies towards gender equality.

Thematic collection of papers represents a significant contribution to the existing base of scientific and expert knowledge in the field of gender equality. Published articles contain an overview of contemporary tendencies in the field of gender equality; they focus on joint challenges and point to good practices, at the same time contributing to continuing cooperation of educational, scientific and expert institutions at the national, regional and international level.

Editor's intention for everybody reading this collection of papers is to be motivated to think in a way that leads to the necessity of being systematic and all encompassing in dealing with this topic, since only this way can enable creating of social context for the sake of further affirmation of gender equality.

I hope that this collection will inspire a debate on this topic at all levels and that articles in it will be used for defining future policies that would be able to accelerate not only the advancement towards gender equality, but also other development processes that are founded on quality relations between men and women in all fields of social life, especially in defence and security systems.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all authors and participants in the Conference, as well as those that contributed to technical and visual quality of this collection of papers. In addition, once again, I would like to thank the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia and UNDP SEESAC for support to publishing this thematic collection of papers.

WELCOME ADDRESS SPEECH

› by Brankica Janković

Commissioner for the Protection of Equality

Gender equality related collection of papers “Gender Equality in Defence System - Accomplishments and Trends” is a result of the conference held on 13 – 14 October 2015 organized by the Ministry of Defense Institute for Strategic Research. This conference was a review of the last 15 years and an example of gender equality concept integration into the defense system and beyond. This collection of papers shows the history of transformation of the whole Republic of Serbia defense system in terms of strategy, doctrine, normative acts, and concepts. Prior to 2000 this system had been a centrally oriented, men dominated and until recently inaccessible and impenetrable for women. The collection of papers “Gender Equality in Defence System - Accomplishments and Trends” reflects international and national experiences in contemplating the phenomenon and altered role of women in contemporary international relations and security sector which is certainly the result of a shifted security context of the 20th and 21st century.

In terms of subject matter and content, this collection of papers gives an overview of the achievements so far, but also of the challenges ahead, particularly in the area of education. From the standpoint of the defense system, the analysis which includes issues pertaining to gender in missions and tasks of the military, in multinational operations, singularities in management and chain of command, challenges of gender equality in circumstances of armed conflicts, natural disasters and emergency situations, has particular significance.

This collection of papers analyses gender perspectives, promotions and non-discrimination of women in the armed forces of Austria and Romania. The conclusions of Rear Admiral Louise Dedichen and experiences of Norwegian armed forces and armed forces of West Balkans countries bear particular significance, adding new qualitative and comparative value to this collection of papers. The experiences of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and the defense system of Montenegro regarding achievements in the implementation of 1325

UN SC Resolution “Women, Peace and Security” point to entirely new forms of sustainability, implementation and perspectives of gender issues.

Throughout this collection of papers and on the national level the stress is on the role of institutions and organizations, fundamental European principles of women’s rights with particular focus of Serbia, the significance of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality in the prevention of gender based discrimination, the role of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia in the process of institutional consolidation of gender democracy in the period 2000 - 2015, the role of Women’s Parliamentary Network in strengthening security capacities of local communities, international and national women’s organizations, which are in accordance with the concept of human security embraced by the feminist theory. Comparison is made with gender equality in the police force, women in the police force in general and stress they face as an integral part of policing as a profession. In addition, conflict related aspects of religion and gender based violence is also addressed, as well as gender ideology in the modern society and the impact it has on the marriage dynamics, achieving balance between work and family life, prevention of gender based violence, ergo strengthening family as the nucleus of each and every society. Finally, implementation of gender perspective through the education system is also addressed, as well as the impact the society and media have in terms of strengthening gender capacities and collective awareness.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in Serbia towards achieving gender equality and promotion of women’s position. A solid gender equality legislative and institutional framework has been established in keeping with international standards, while the National Strategy for the improvement of the position of women and promotion of gender equality defines a comprehensive and harmonized government policy aimed at eliminating discrimination against women and integrating gender equality principles in all spheres of activities and institutions of the system. In terms of achievements of the defense system and in general, Institute for Strategic Research Ministry of Defense Republic of Serbia has made significant contribution by acknowledging the importance of gender equality and by pursuing high quality scientific research in the past several years. Their contribution is also reflected in practice, in particular in the area of secondary and tertiary military education and improved position of women in the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces.

However, much remains to be done in Serbia, primarily in changing the traditional perception of gender roles, balancing work and family life of women in the security sector, encouraging women to seek protection in cases of dis-

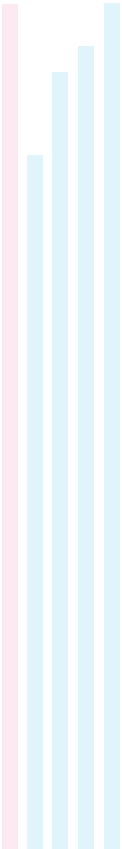
crimination they tend to underreport, facilitating promotion of women in the military hierarchy, adjusting military schools curricula and syllabi pursuant to experiences and detected flaws, as well as tackling other challenges. One of sustainable approaches in addressing these important social issues includes organizing related conferences and events like the international scientific conference “Gender Equality in Defence System - Accomplishments and Trends” which yielded this collection of papers.

The most important thing is to approach these challenges with perseverance guided by “the right man/woman in the right place” motto, which in the defense system means that the roles are defined and assigned in such a way so as to enable the Serbian Armed Forces to perform their duties within their fundamental mission – defending the country and the government and social system defined by the Constitution, participating in peacekeeping missions and supporting civilian state authorities in countering security threats.

Gender equality related collection of papers “Gender Equality in Defence System - Accomplishments and Trends” yields new quality and action guidelines, in particular bearing in mind that 15 years have passed since the adoption of 1325 UN SC Resolution “Women, Peace and Security”, as well the fact that strategic activities have been launched within the Government of the Republic of Serbia, in particular within the Ministry of Defense, aimed at developing 2016 – 2020 National Action Plan. This collection of papers is a roadmap for future generations to pursue scientific and research projects and useful guidelines for an even greater contribution of women in the defense system of the Republic of Serbia.

I

THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS



› Gordana Gasmi

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EUROPEAN CORNERSTONES OF WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS – CASE STUDY OF SERBIA

“Women are in double jeopardy. Discriminated against as women, they are also as likely as men, if not more so, to become victims of human rights violations...”

Today, what unites women internationally - transcending class, race, culture, religion, nationality and ethnic origin - is their vulnerability to the denial and violation of their fundamental human rights, and their dedicated efforts to claim those rights.”

(Amnesty International, *Human Rights are Women's Rights*)

Abstract: *The paper analyzes European cornerstones of women's human rights and provides insight in the state of women's human rights in Serbia in light of European principles. Women's human rights are an integral part of universal human rights. However, women are de facto and de jure very often subjected to unequal treatment, wherefore there is a constant need to improve gender equality. In addition to the usual approach to universal human rights, inherent to every human being, the definition of “women's human rights” includes also the enforcement of specific affirmative actions aimed at achieving real equality for women. There are several areas of concern requiring immediate action and improving gender equality in order to obtain equal human rights opportunities for women. The European Union (EU) requires of candidate countries to fully embrace the fundamental principle of equality between women and men. Furthermore, monitoring the transposition, implementation and enforcement of EU legislation in this area remains a priority of the enlargement process. Accession to the EU is one of the main priorities of Serbia, like of many other Balkan countries. Consequently, Serbia is to transpose European principles on gender equality and to achieve gender mainstreaming in the national system. At the same time, Serbia, as an OSCE participating State, has recognized equality between men and women as a fundamental aspect of a just, secure and democratic society. A case study of Serbia in the field of protection of women's human rights indicates that Serbia, as an OSCE participating State, has recognized gender equality as part of*

the universal human rights both in its Constitution and its relevant law. Serbia's legal framework on women's human rights is largely harmonized with the relevant European cornerstones. The importance of the European cornerstones lies in the fact that they represent important guidelines for transition countries, like Serbia, which are modernizing their societies and national legal frameworks, together with their public policy measures in the area of protecting women's human rights.

Keywords: *women's human rights, European Union, Charter of Fundamental Rights, Serbia.*

Introduction

Women's human rights are an integral part of universal human rights. However, women are de facto and de jure very often subjected to unequal treatment, wherefore there is a constant need to improve gender equality. Women defend their human rights by every small act defying patriarchy or inequality, whether by asking to go to school or refusing to marry the man their father chooses. Therefore, in addition to the usual approach to universal human rights, inherent to every human being, the definition of "women's human rights" includes also the enforcement of specific affirmative actions aimed at achieving real equality for women. The need to make a specific connection between human rights and women's rights is ironic considering that half of humanity is female. Gender inequality is the most pressing contemporary human rights issue, including disparities in education, employment, healthcare, power and decision-making, violence, and poverty that impact billions of women and girls from every part of the world throughout their lifetime (Hawkins, 2012).

The United Nations defines discrimination against women as "... any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (UN, 2009).

The issue of gender equality had been neglected for a long time in Europe, as well as at the global level. The family was perceived as the fundamental unit in society, and little attention was paid to the power relations and inequalities within this unit. Responsible fatherhood and the sharing of household tasks

and child care are relatively recent concepts, which touch the gender division of labor (Wittberger, 2012).

Like other transition countries, Serbia is characterized, inter alia, by high social costs of economic and political reforms that affect women and men unequally. *Exempli causa*, women constitute the majority of the unemployed (about 55% of unemployed, more in Babović, 2008) and their political participation in decision making structures is not yet equal to that of men, especially at the high decision making levels. Reproductive healthcare standards have dropped and gender-based violence is on the rise. Negative traditional stereotypes put emphasis on women as the family pillars, burdening them with unpaid house chores, and putting them in an inferior position vis-à-vis men.

Accession to the EU is one of the main priorities of Serbia, like of many other Balkan countries. Consequently, Serbia is to transpose European principles on gender equality and to achieve gender mainstreaming in the national system. At the same time, Serbia, as an OSCE participating State, has recognized equality between men and women as a fundamental aspect of a just, secure and democratic society.

Issues Relevant to Women's Human Rights

The following areas of concern require immediate action and gender equality improvement in order to obtain equal human rights opportunities for women:

- 1) Women in decision-making – quota system and affirmative action; equal representation in political parties, national parliaments, governments; proper implementation of legislation in the private sector;
- 2) Work life – informal labor, unemployment, unpaid care work, gender pay gap, child care;
- 3) The fight against gender stereotypes – media and the education system; general awareness raising through public campaigns; combating hate speech against women - misogyny;
- 4) The health system – provision of health services, financing and privatization, reproductive health, needs of specific target groups;
- 5) Violence against women – zero tolerance, proper implementation of relevant laws; training and shelters; media campaigns;

- 6) Trafficking in women and girls – measures addressing the underlying causes; ensuring women's economic independence and women's rights.

Women can participate in political and economic stabilization and the creation of democracy only if they are provided with equal chances and equal opportunities. Human rights and women's human rights are critical prerequisites for the modernization of societies in transition countries.

Consequently, European principles, contained in EU law and OSCE standards (OSCE, 2014) constitute guidelines for improving women's human rights in practice. It is, therefore, one of the priority issues the EU has been monitoring during its accession talks with Serbia and other candidate countries. The latter need to achieve tangible results in the realization of comprehensive women's human rights before they accede to the EU.

EU Cornerstones of Women's Human Rights

Equality between women and men is a key principle of the European Union (EU), which is based on the rule of law. This principle is embodied in Article 23 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Although proclaimed in the form of a political commitment at the EU level in 2000, the Charter became legally binding (*ius cogens*) with the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon (Gasmi G 2., 2013) on December 1st, 2009. The EU Charter contains the so-called minimum parameters of universal human rights that are common to all EU Member States and, among them, also references to women's human rights.

Long before the EU Charter, the original 1958 Rome Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) contained in Article 119 a provision on equal pay for men and women. The Amsterdam Treaty on the EU (1999) introduced the standard of the equal treatment between women and men (Tisheva, 2012) that was replicated in the actual Lisbon Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU). The Amsterdam Treaty on the EU also introduced the concept of gender mainstreaming that is backed by the legislation and through positive action in favor of women ("the underrepresented sex").

This concept means the incorporation of gender and women's interests in all policy-making, i.e. not only national or regional authorities' actions, but supra-national (EU) and international decision-making (Council of Europe, OSCE, UN, etc.) as well. The new Treaty on the EU (the Lisbon Treaty) comprises the following relevant provisions:: Article 8, which provides for the mission of the

EU to eliminate inequalities and to promote equality between men and women; Article 19 that empowers the EU to take adequate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation; Article 153 that enables the EU to adopt directives in the areas of equality between men and women *inter alia* in relation to labor market opportunities and treatment in work and working conditions; Article 157 that provides for the principle of equal pay and entitles the EU to adopt measures for ensuring the application of the principle of equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, including the principle of equal pay for equal work or for work of equal value.

European cornerstones of women's human rights include also strategic documents, such as the EU Strategy for equality between women and men 2010 - 2015¹ that spells out actions in five priority areas and one area addressing cross-cutting issues. The proposed actions follow the dual approach of gender mainstreaming, i.e. integration of gender equality goals into all policy areas, and implementation of specific measures. Defining equal economic independence as a "prerequisite for women and men to exercise control over their lives and make genuine choices," Priority Area I focuses on measures towards increasing women's employment, including those that enable the reconciliation of work and private life, and the removal of barriers to employment and social security. Priority Area II includes actions towards ensuring equal pay for equal work and for work of equal value, addressing structural issues such as sex-segregated labor markets and women's educational attainment and professional development. Priority Area III aims at equality in decision-making. Dignity, integrity and the end to gender-based violence are addressed in Priority Area IV, which envisages the establishment of a comprehensive and effective policy framework and measures, including criminal law. Priority Area V is concerned with how the EU will further gender equality in all activities undertaken in third countries. The document envisages active cooperation with a range of international organizations and makes specific reference to conflict, post-conflict, and humanitarian aid interventions.

The EU requires of candidate countries to fully embrace the fundamental principle of equality between women and men. Furthermore, monitoring the transposition, implementation and enforcement of EU legislation in this area remains a priority of the enlargement process. The current situation shows that

1 http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/em0037_en.htm.

those countries have made clear progress in harmonizing national legislation and policy, but that their implementation and enforcement of gender equality laws and policies are lagging. This diagnosis is valid also for Serbia. Three Horizontal Issues apply to all Priority Areas. The section on gender roles explicitly addresses boys and men and their essential involvement in promoting non-discriminatory gender roles in all areas of life. The section on legislation focuses on the need to establish an effective legal framework, which corresponds to societal change. The final section establishes gender equality as an outright governance issue, to be pursued jointly by a broad range of state and non-state actors. The European Institute for Gender Equality (2010) has therefore been established to significantly strengthen knowledge and tools for engaging in gender equality work at the EU level.

Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development – EU Plan of Action 2010 – 2015² sets out nine specific objectives on how to ensure that development cooperation among European Member States and with third countries furthers gender equality goals, such as: gender mainstreaming in all development projects, use of sex-disaggregated data, application of gender performance indicators, inclusion of gender equality issues in interventions on economic policy, health, education and women's political empowerment and measures to combat gender-based violence and all forms of discrimination against women and girls.

The European Gender Equality Pact (2011 – 2020)³ forms a close link between the EU Strategy for equality between women and men 2010 – 2015 and the EU Strategy for growth, Europe 2020. The Pact, notably, launches the implementation of the gender mainstreaming concept in the labor market, improved access to childcare and the fight against all forms of violence against women. The Pact, however, does not lay down any specific binding measures. Its main focus is on increasing women's employment, wherefore gender equality is seen through the lens of economic growth and competitiveness.

European (EU) secondary legislation on women's human rights consists of thirteen directives on equal opportunities for men and women (two of which have been amended). European directives regulate women's access to employment, the equal pay principle, the protection of motherhood, parental leave, occupa-

2 http://www.dev-practitioners.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/EU_GEAP.pdf.

3 http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?rubrique61&lang=en&debut_actu=10#pagination.actu.

tional social security schemes, prohibition of direct and indirect discrimination, remedies in case of discrimination and the issue of self-employment. EU Member States are obliged to harmonize their national regulations on those issues with the standards contained in the directives. This obligation extends also to the EU candidate countries, including Serbia. EU directives have confirmed their value as the most optimal and the most flexible legal instrument for intraregional unification of national legislation in Europe not only for the Member States, but for the candidate countries as well.

The legal profile of the EU directives indicates that they are part of the Union's secondary legislation created by the EU institutions, primarily by the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament, where the EU Commission is the initiator of the community's secondary legislation, including directives, regulations and decisions (Gasmi G. 1., 2010). The legal basis of the jurisdiction conferred to those EU institutions is contained in the constitutional treaties of the Union, concluded by the Member States, whereby they have conferred a significant part of their national jurisdiction to those institutions (Gasmi G. 1., 2010). Consequently, national sovereignty has not been lost in the EU, but only redistributed (national governments share it with EU institutions).

EC Council Directive 75/117/EEC of 10 February 1975 on the approximation of the laws of the Member States relating to the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women (EC, 1975) is the first equal treatment directive focusing on equal pay for equal work and elaborating the implementation of erstwhile Article 119 of the Rome Treaty on EEC. EC Council Directive 76/207/EEC of 9 February 1976 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions (EC, 1976) followed in 1976. Those two directives and Article 157 of the Lisbon Treaty on the EU (TFEU) are the most important *acquis*, i.e. European derivative legal cornerstones in the field of women's human rights. The other eight directives, with their subsequent amendments, focus on health and security, burden of proof, occupational and mandatory social security schemes, parental leave, self-employment, etc.

In addition to this secondary law with binding effect (*ius cogens*), the EU institutions (the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament) also adopt recommendations, resolutions and opinions. They also constitute secondary EU law, but lack mandatory legal effectiveness and judicial protection, and are advisory and consultative in character. Their legal value lies in the specific political relevance and in the representation of various interests reflected in their provisions.

Relevant International Cornerstones of Women's Human Rights

International human rights and gender equality standards remain the reference frameworks governing operations of all political institutions and actors in the OSCE region. All OSCE participating States have committed themselves to respecting these standards.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) enshrines “equal rights of men and women”, including the right to participate in government. Under Article 2 of the UDHR, adopted by the United Nations (UN): “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”⁴.

The Declaration paved the way for further international commitments in the area of women's rights, most comprehensively in the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)⁵. The Convention has been ratified by 189 countries.

Expanding upon this “bill of rights” for women, as CEDAW is often called; the 1995 UN Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action mandated that Member States “take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.”⁶ Building on commitments made during the United Nations Decade for Women⁷, the Beijing Declaration reflects a new international commitment to the goals of equality, development and peace for all women.

Similarly, the United Nations Millennium Declaration⁸, adopted in 2000, contains a statement of values and principles, as well as eight specific goals – known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – with related targets, which constitute an international agenda for the twenty-first century. In it, UN Mem-

4 <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

5 CEDAW, Article 7, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR), <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cedaw.htm>.

6 The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing, China – September 1995. Action for Equality, Development and Peace. Platform for Action. United Nations (UN). Platform strategic objective G1, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm>

7 <http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/women>

8 Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, 55/2. United Nations Millennium Declaration, A/55/L.2, <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>

ber States agreed to “promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable.” Fulfilment of Goal 3 – to promote gender equality and empower women – is widely recognized as essential to achieving the other seven Millennium Development Goals.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security⁹, also passed in 2000, reaffirmed the importance of women’s participation in the security sector and in peace processes, emphasizing the importance of their “equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.”

OSCE participating States have repeatedly pledged to end gender-based discrimination and strengthen gender equality in political and public life (OSCE, 2003). The 1990 Copenhagen Document, for example, contains non-discrimination provisions that can be particularly relevant to the protection of women’s rights - paragraph 5.9 commits participating States to “prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground” (OSCE, 1990).

The 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality directly links equal rights of women and men to “peace, sustainable democracy, economic development and, therefore, to security and stability in the OSCE region.” (OSCE, 2004). The OSCE Gender Action Plan remains the most comprehensive OSCE framework to date guiding OSCE institutions and participating States in advancing towards true and meaningful gender equality.

The OSCE Gender Action Plan’s emphasis on ensuring the equal participation of women and men in political and public life, including political parties, was elaborated at the December 2009 OSCE Athens Ministerial Council, at which the Council adopted Decision No. 7/09 on Women’s Participation in Political and Public Life¹⁰. This Decision calls on all participating States to: “[E]ncourage all political actors to promote equal participation of women and men in political parties, with a view to achieving better gender-balanced representation in elected public offices at all levels of decision-making.” (OSCE, 2009).

As this comprehensive range of international obligations, standards and instruments shows, OSCE participating States are committed to promoting gender

9 Resolution 1325 (2000), UN Security Council, 31 October 2000, http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

10 <http://www.osce.org/mc/40710?download=true>.

equality and women's political participation, including in decision-making positions. Women make up more than 50 percent of the voting public. Party leaders should take the time to reconsider what role women play within their party ideology, and where their parties stand on gender equality.

Serbia, as an OSCE participating State, has recognized equality between men and women, especially in political and public life, as a *conditio sine qua non* for a democratic society.

Case Study of Serbia – Women's Human Rights in the Light of European Principles

Equality between men and women means securing the equal rights and opportunities of women and men in laws and policies, as well as ensuring equal access to resources and services within families, communities and society (OSCE, 2014). This includes equal rights to participate in all spheres and at all levels of political and public life.

Serbia, as an OSCE participating State, has recognized gender equality as part of the universal human rights, first and foremost in its constitutional provisions. Under Article 15 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (2006)¹¹, Serbia shall guarantee equality of women and men and develop a policy of equal opportunities. Prohibition of discrimination (a gender neutral definition) is enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution. Sexual orientation is not explicitly listed as grounds on which discrimination is prohibited. Related to the issues of trafficking in women and girls, forced labor is prohibited by Article 26, paragraph 3, under which forced labor is prohibited and sexual or financial exploitation of a person in an unfavorable position shall be deemed forced labor. Articles 62, 63 and 66 of the Constitution enshrine equality of spouses; freedom to procreate; and special protection of families, mothers, single parents and children.

Under Serbia's Criminal Code¹², a breach of equality is liable to punishment (Article 128). The Code also prohibits domestic violence (Article 194), but does not specifically define gender based violence directed against women just because they are women. In 2003, an amendment to the Criminal Code was passed

11 <http://www.ustavni.sud.rs/page/view/en-GB/235-100028/constitution>

12 <http://www.legislationonline.org/documents/section/criminal-codes/country/5>.

concerning sexual harassment and human trafficking. Domestic violence is also prohibited under Articles 10 and 197 of the Family Law¹³, which was amended in 2005 and now includes protective measures for victims of domestic violence.

The Gender Equality Law¹⁴ entered into force in 2009. Serbia was, however, the last country in the Balkans region to adopt such a law. The Gender Equality Law provides the basic, systemic legal framework for regulating and improving women's human rights in the following domains: 1. Employment, social and health protection system; 2. Family relations; 3. Education, culture and sports; 4. Politics and public life; and 5. Judiciary. The implementation of the Gender Equality Law has contributed significantly to Serbia's harmonization with European principles in those areas. Nevertheless, due to the obvious need for further alignment with the European principles, a new Gender Equality Law was drafted in Serbia (mid-2015); it includes a chapter on combating gender based violence that is in line with the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (2014). The Istanbul Convention entered into force on August 1st, 2014 (Gasmi G 3, 2014).

The Anti-Discrimination Law¹⁵, adopted in 2009, prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex, gender and sexual orientation and qualifies it as a severe form of discrimination (Articles 13 and 20). It also prohibits discrimination at work, and provides a definition as to whether or not affirmative action is to be considered discrimination. The Law also established a new mechanism for protection, a Trustee (Commissioner) for the Protection of Equality, appointed to a five-year term in office and authorized to receive complaints from everyone claiming to have been discriminated against.

The Law on Employment and Insurance in Case of Unemployment¹⁶ is the first law of the Republic of Serbia that introduced affirmative action for vulnerable categories, especially women. Serbia has been party to the UN CEDAW (UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979) since 2001 (which it acceded to while it was part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

13 <http://legislationonline.org/documents/action/popup/id/16015>

14 <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/action/popup/id/16015>

15 <http://www.minoritycentre.org/library/law-prohibition-discrimination-republic-serbia>

16 <http://www.zso.gov.rs/doc/Law%20on%20Employment%20and%20Unemployment%20Ins.pdf>

The National Strategy for Improving the Position of Women and Promoting Gender Equality, along with its Action Plan for the 2010 – 2015 period¹⁷, was adopted in 2009 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No 15/09) with UNDP's technical assistance. It represented the first step towards improving the realization of women's human rights. The Strategy focuses on six overall goals and ten specific objectives. The main purpose of the Strategy is to provide opportunities ensuring the creation of systemic, institutional and development solutions for the achievement of an equal opportunities policy in various aspects of the life of women. The Action Plan sets out the specific activities to be undertaken in the 2010 – 2015 period. The Action Plan Table can be summarized as follows:

1. Increase participation of women in decision-making processes,
2. Improve the economic status of women,
3. Achieve gender equality in education,
4. Improve women's health and advance gender equality in the healthcare policy,
5. Prevent and combat all forms of violence against women and put in place a comprehensive system of protection for women victims of violence,
6. Eliminate gender stereotypes in the media.

In each of above-mentioned areas, the Action Plan defines the roles and responsibilities of the implementing partners, as well as institutional mechanisms that are to enable the attainment of the planned outcomes and the achievement of the overall strategic goals on the basis of qualitative and quantitative monitoring and evaluation indicators. The new Strategy on improving the status of women for the forthcoming period was being drafted by the Government of Serbia at the time this paper was written.

Concluding remarks

States are sometimes unable to meet the demands of their residents in term of security, justice, prosperity or human rights. Poverty and social divisions still exist despite the states' efforts to manage national economies and resources to

17 http://www.gendernet.rs/files/dokumenta/Engleski/Serbian/Plan_of_Action_for_the_implementation_of_the_National_strategy.pdf

the benefit of all their citizens. This fact has encouraged states to develop intensive international cooperation on matters of mutual interest. Women's human rights are such an issue of common interest, but of universal importance as well. EU directives deal mostly with the economic empowerment of women, while international legal principles insist on greater inclusion of women in political decision-making processes. Consequently, there is a certain synergy between those European cornerstones that is an important guideline for transition countries, such as Serbia, which are modernizing their societies and national legal frameworks, together with their public policy measures in the area of protecting women's human rights.

There is also a certain *differentia specifica* between the functioning of the EU based on supra-nationalism, on the one hand, and that of the OSCE, on the other, which is based on consensus and the principle of sovereign equality of the participating States. However, the result of implementing those European cornerstones of women's human rights is the same for each country, as well as for Serbia, i.e. those cornerstones represent the road to a secure, fair and democratic society based on social justice.

Serbia's legal framework on women's human rights is largely harmonized with the relevant European cornerstones, except for the comprehensive concept of gender mainstreaming (UNDP, 2007). However, fair regulation of women's human rights *de jure* does not automatically guarantee gender equality. i.e., the *de facto* equal status of women. Therefore, these norms have to be implemented consistently, if they are to be efficient. At the same time, it is highly incumbent to change the negative traditional stereotypes on gender roles in society that have been hindering the realization of women's human rights. Raising public awareness on anti-discrimination legislation and practice should thus be pursued as an integral part of the national public policy.

Finally, the following issues need to be considered when assessing the issue of the proper implementation of the legal framework on women's human rights in Serbia – bearing in mind that it is a policy impact assessment (Staronova Katarina et al, 2007) process, carried out *post festum*:

- A) The general context and aims of public policy on women's human rights, taking into account international rules and standards in this field;
- B) Identification of the ex-ante social impact of legislation on women's human rights, with special emphasis on economic empowerment and education of women, eradication of gender based violence and increasing women's participation in political and public life;

- C) Establishment of the process of consultations among key stakeholders and decision makers, on the basis of a structured dialogue;
- D) Regular reports on the implementation of the Gender Equality Law to the National Assembly, prepared by the Government;
- E) Public awareness campaigns on the significance of improving women's human rights;
- F) Development of partnerships in the implementation of the relevant regulations at all levels, through round tables on the social, economic and cultural impacts of the Gender Equality Law, with full participation of NGOs and government agencies.

The effectiveness of the European cornerstones of women human rights hinges on the extent of development of the national institutional capacities of Serbia (and of other transition countries) applying those rules. Namely, the judiciary, the executive and other relevant stakeholders should be vested with significant powers to implement relevant European regulations on women's human rights and to follow the European standards in this field, which are the guidelines of legislative reform in Serbia, preferably in a more advanced and prosperous manner to provide for optimal protection of women's human rights (Buscaglia, Ratliff, 2000) [1]. Moreover, the monitoring mechanism of the relevant authorities is just as important for the effective implementation of the law.

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THE ROLE OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE PROTECTION OF EQUALITY IN PREVENTION OF GENDER-BASED DISCRIMINATION

Abstract: *The paper analyzes the role of the Commissioner for the protection of equality in the prevention of gender-based discrimination. The consideration has been given to the legal profile of the Commissioner and the scope of legal authorizations which define his/her preventive and reactive functions. The paper gives the review of activities of the institution of a Commissioner in the sphere of gender discrimination prevention and gender equality promotion in social relations, in the first five-year period of her function.*

Keywords: *Gender equality, Gender-based discrimination, Commissioner for the protection of equality.*

Introduction

In the modern democratic societies, gender equality represents the essential rule and the key moral and legal values. The experience has shown that in order to realize the gender equality it is necessary to have the *Gender mainstreaming* – integration of gender dimension into public life, according to which gender equality becomes a domain/part of public policies.¹ The comparative-law prac-

¹ *Gender Meinstreaming concept* is a new approach in gender equality realization, which initially emerged in UN documents, adopted in the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, held in 1985, and accepted in the documents of the Fourth World Conference of Women, which, under the auspices of UN, was held in 1995 in Beijing (<http://www.undp.org/women/mainstream>). Choosing the *Gender Meinstreaming* approach was the result of the attitude that the efforts, oriented towards the gender equality improvement should not be limited to the application of law, measures and policies only, but that the gender aspect within these must be essentially incorporated from the very beginning, already in the process of their forming. Regarding the European Union the *Gender Mainstreaming* concept was initially defined in 1996, in the European Commission document *Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men Into All Community Policies and Activities* COM

tice confirms that it is essential for the gender equality policy to establish a valid legal and institutional framework,² and that the most important instrument of this policy is a permanent assessment of impacts produced by laws, policies and programmes with regard to women and men. (*Gender Impact Assessment*) (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1997). The review of activities, which took place in Serbia after the changes in 2000, indicates that the process of building legal and institutional frameworks for the gender equality realization and protection, “was going slow, with many obstacles, wandering and disorientation and conceptual failures, but that, in spite of the difficulties, there were established relatively satisfactory legal and institutional frameworks” (Pajvančić, Petrušić, 2014: 27), which were harmonized with International standards in this field.

In building the legal framework of the gender equality in Serbia, there was applied the usual normative method: The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia,³ bans any form of direct or indirect discrimination of any personal characteristic, including the gender. The General and Basic, so-called Umbrella Antidiscrimination Law, “Law Banning Discrimination”, as of 2009,⁴ regulate the general regime of discrimination banning, and the “Law on Gender Equality”, as of

(96) 67 final. Retrieved 24 August 2014 from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:51996DC0067&from=EN>.

- 2 For the Review of institutional mechanisms in the countries of the European Union, see: Effectiveness of Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Gender Equality Review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in the EU Member States, Retrieved 24 September 2015 from http://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/MH0213481ENC_0.pdf.
- 3 The General constitutional norm on discrimination banning is contained in the Article 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (“Official Gazette of R. Serbia”, No. 98/2006). The Article 15 of the Constitution provides that the state legally guarantees the equality of women and men and develops the policy of equal opportunities. Apart from legally guaranteed equality of women and men, there has been prescribed the obligation of the state to pursue the policy of equal opportunities in order to effectively realize the principle guarantee. (Pajvančić, 2009:24-25).
- 4 “Law Banning Discrimination” (hereinafter LBD), *Official Gazette of R. Serbia*, No 22/09. On the occasion of this Law enactment, it turned out that both the executive and legislative powers suspected confronting the strong conservative tendencies in the society and powerful factors representing them. The Draft of this liberal Law has been temporarily withdrawn from the procedure due to opposing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, accompanied by other “traditional” churches. It has been estimated that opposing this Draft was, in the first place, the result of provisions, protecting persons of different sexual orientation more than before (See the Report on the status of human rights for 2009, Belgrade Center for Human Rights, Retrieved 27 September 2015 from <http://bgcentar.org.rs/bgcentar/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/ljudska-prava-u-srbiji-2009.pdf>).

2009⁵, operationalized for the first time, the equality right of men and women, as one of the basic human rights and basic values of a democratic society by a special law (Pajvančić, Petrušić, Jašarević, 2010: 5). Discrimination banning, including as well, the gender-based discrimination in corresponding fields, such as labour, employment, education, information and other fields, has also been regulated by laws, dealing with such fields.⁶ These regulations settle the matter of civil-legal protection and misdemeanor legal protection from gender-based discrimination, while the criminal-legal protection has been prescribed by the Criminal Code,⁷ which incriminates a whole set of deeds, related to discrimination banning. In that way, there has been established a comprehensive and coherent system of protection from discrimination (Petrušić, 2012: 905-922) composed of different legal protection forms which intervene and mutually complement each other.

When it is to do with the institutional framework of gender equality, according to classification made by Marijana Pajvančić (Pajvančić, 2006: 9-25), its most significant elements are: *institutions* formed within the state structure, the authorities of which refer to gender equality, *instruments* which serve for creating, realization and protection of legally guaranteed gender equality, as well as the *strategies* which define the courses of action, priorities and commitments of the public authorities in the field of gender equality. In the Legal Theory it is estimated that institutional mechanisms “have not been satisfactorily positioned yet and that their mutual relations have not been clearly defined, and there is also a lack of an adequate operationalization of their acting, as well as their better mutual relatedness, so that there is a synergistic action missing. Due to operational discontinuity, insufficient capacities and financial resources, unrealistic goals set, not clearly defined indicators for monitoring the effects of work, their impact on realization of the gender equality is still relatively small.” (Pajvančić, Petrušić, 2014: 29).

In the extensive system of institutional mechanisms for gender equality realization, a significant place belongs to institutions, competent for protection of this right: courts, Constitutional Court of Serbia, as well as independent institutions for human rights protection: the Ombudsman of the Republic of Serbia and the

5 Official Gazette of R. Serbia, No. 104/09.

6 More: Marinković, 2012: 112-131.

7 “Official Gazette of R. Serbia”, nos. 85/05, 88/05 - correction, 107/05 - correction, 72/09 and 111/09.

Equality Protection Commissioner. This work deals with the nature and legal profile of the institution - the Equality Protection Commissioner, his/her role and legal authorizations, establishing the way of preventive and reactive acting in the field of suppressing the gender-based discrimination and promotion of the gender equality. There is also exposed the typology of cases, this institution dealt with in the first five-year period of work.

Legal Profile of the Commissioner for the protection of equality

Commissioner for Protection of Equality is an autonomous and independent body, established by LBD, with the task to work on discrimination suppression and equality promotion. The first Commissioner was elected on 5 May 2010.

When regulating the human rights protection, Serbia has chosen the model, which implies the existence of a national institution for protection of human rights (Ombudsman) and the equality body, in charge of suppression of all forms of discrimination, regardless of the personal feature it is based on.

From the point of view of the Comparative Law, in European countries there are different models according to which there were established equality bodies. Namely, some countries have founded just one equality body, while in some countries there are several such equality bodies, the jurisdiction of which has been divided according to the social group they render assistance and protection (national minorities, persons with disabilities, LGBT persons, etc. (Carver, 2011; 1-24). In some countries there is a parallel action of the national institution for human rights protection and (one or more) equality bodies, while in some countries the national human rights institution and equality bodies happened to integrate, thus forming a *Hybrid equality/human rights institution* (Equality Bodies and National Human Rights Institutions: Making the Link to Maximise Impact An Equinet Perspective, 2011: 7). When it is to do with EU states, there are two trends evident: integrating more equality bodies into one national equality body and integrating equality bodies and the national institution for human rights protection (Crowther, O'Conneide, 2013: 38-74).

Commissioner is an independent public body with a wide range of legal authorizations making it a central national institution for discrimination suppression and equality promotion. In the theory of antidiscrimination law, it is indicated that the Commisisoner is an "executive, Ombudsman type, public

body, exclusively in charge of protecting just one human right – the right to non discrimination” (Petrušić, Krstić, Marinković, 2014: 231).

The position of the Commissioner in the legal system is characterized by its status (autonomy and independence),⁸ the way of election (elected by the National Assembly)⁹ and the immunity, equal to the immunity of deputies to the Assembly.¹⁰ Autonomy and independence of the Commissioner are secured by a set of regulations. In the first place, it is provided that the Commissioner enjoys the immunity, as enjoyed by the deputies to the National Assembly, implying the immunity from liability and immunity from criminal prosecution (Petrušić et al., 2014: 225). Immunity from liability prevents the Commissioner’s calling to account for a criminal or some other liability, for the opinion expressed in exercising its function,¹¹ which ensures the free use of legal authorizations, while the immunity from criminal prosecution ensures that the Commissioner may not be detained or processed either in criminal or some other action in which it may be sentenced to jail, without the approval of the National Assembly..¹² The guarantees of independence are also given by rules which regulate in detail the way of the function termination, reasons for dismissal and the dismissal procedure,¹³ rules on financial independence of the Commissioner,¹⁴ etc.

The Commissioner, likewise the Ombudsman, is a “body of the Parliament because it helps it in making parliamentary supervision in the matter of equality realization, but it is also a special ‘public body’, that is, a civil society body, being its very part” (Petrušić et al., 2014: 225). The Commissioner has not got either the commanding or repressive authorizations, but it realizes its legal role by giving opinions and recommendations, by submission of reports, legislative initiatives, etc. The very recommendations of the Commissioner are not suitable for enforcement, but they have the effect by the power of authority of the very institution and the arguments explaining them. On the other hand, having in mind that it does not decide about the rights and liabilities of legal entities, it

8 Article 1 LBD.

9 Article 28 LBD.

10 Article 31, para 2 LBD.

11 Article 103, para 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

12 Article 103, para 3 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

13 Article 30 LBD.

14 The Commissioner is entitled to salary, equal to the salary of the of the judge of the Supreme Court of Cassation, as well as the right to reimbursement of costs incurred in exercising the function (Article 31, para1 LBD).

is not allowed to lodge a claim against an opinion, recommendations and other enactments of the Commissioner, or to initiate a procedure for assessment of their legality.

The role of the Commissioner does not essentially differ from the role of the Ombudsman, who is a General type Ombudsman, but the position of these two public bodies is completely different. Namely, the position and the authority of the Ombudsman have been regulated by the very Constitution, while the position and the authority of the Commissioner have been regulated by LBD, in that, it is hard to establish to which category of public bodies the Commissioner could be classified, having in mind the constitutional establishment of authority. As estimated by some authors, "such a situation is the consequence of the lack of a consistent approach in constitutional defining of supervisory expert bodies in the domain of human rights protection to provide for logical consolidation of regulations, regulating their position within the legal system" (Petrušić, Grubač, 2014: 69).

In regard to that, there are opened many disputable questions related to the mutual relations of the Ombudsman, as the general Ombudsman and the Commissioner for Equality protection, as a specialized Ombudsman, accountable for their work to the National Assembly of Serbia. Apart from other issues, they are concerned with demarcation of authority of these two bodies, the possibility that the Ombudsman controls the work and examines the regularity of individual acts passed by the Commissioner.¹⁵ etc. The legal certainty imposes the need to, *de lege ferenda*, more clearly demarcate the competences of the Ombudsman and the Commissioner, prevent positive and negative conflicts of competences and ensure undisturbed realization of functions which these two bodies, as the general and specialized ombudsman, have in the legal system of Serbia.

15 Law on Ombudsman ("Official Gazette of R. Serbia", nos. 79/2005 and 54/2007) does not give the answer to the question if the Ombudsman may monitor the work of the Commissioner and the decisions he may make. Namely, according to this Law, the Ombudsman protects the citizens rights and monitors the work of administration bodies and cares about the protection and upgrading of human and minority freedoms and rights, in that, it is not authorized to monitor the work of state authorities specifically mentioned in the Article 17. para.3 of this Law, and these include the National Assembly, President of the Republic, Government, Constitutional Court, courts and public prosecutors. The Commissioner is not in this list, but it could not actually be in it because, at the time of the mentioned Law enactment the Commissioner was not established. On the other hand, it is absolutely certain that the Commissioner may not be classified within the administration bodies because it is contrary to the basic characteristics of this institution.

Authority of the Commissioner

Comparative investigations show that there are big differences in terms of role and competences among the equality bodies. Some equality bodies have the task to promote the equality principle, conduct and publish independent researches, render different forms of assistance to the victims of discrimination by carrying out mediation, represent before the court, raise claims, participate in the court trial in the capacity of intervenors or *amicus curiae* etc. The term *promotion-type bodies* is used for such bodies. The second type of equality bodies are those the primary task of which is to carry out the complaints procedures, conduct investigations, establish discrimination, give recommendations and deliver legally prescribed measures/penalties. These are named as *tribunal-type bodies*, that is, *quasi-judicial bodies*. The third type of equality bodies are the mixed character bodies which have a quasi-judicial and promotive functions (Ammer, M., et al., 2010: 74-76; Krusaa, 2011). The analysis of regulations, settling the matter of the Commissioner's competence, indicates that this body belongs to the third type of the equality bodies. Its competence has been set broadly, enabling it to act both reactively and preventively and realize more different functions. Having in mind the legal authorizations, the Commissioner is, on one hand, a quasi-judicial body, but, at the same time it is the body, rendering legal assistance and supporting the victims of discrimination and promoting the equality principle, contributing in that way, to social changes.

Quasi-judicial activities

The Commissioner has got the authority to conduct complaint procedures for discrimination, that any natural and legal person, organizations dealing with protection of human rights, as well as other persons¹⁶ are entitled to initiate. The purpose of complaint procedures¹⁷ representing a specific *sui generis* procedure (Petrušić et al., 2012: 236), is obtaining the professional opinion of the

16 If the procedure is initiated to protect a concrete person, organizations for protection of human rights and other persons may do that only on behalf and with the approval of such person (Article 35 LBD).

17 The complaint procedure for discrimination, is regulated by LBD, as well as by the Rules of Procedure ("Official Gazette of R. Serbia", No. 34/11), by which the Commissioner has more specifically regulated the way of its work and conduct, in accordance with authorization, prescribed in the Article 34 and the Article 45 of LBD. Subsidiary source of complaint procedure is the Law on General Administrative Procedure, the provisions of which are implemented in this procedure accordingly (Article 40, para 4 of LBD).

Commissioner, whether, in the concrete case, the conduct (acting or failure to act), as indicated in the complaint, represents an act of discrimination, and to prevent further discrimination by delivering corresponding recommendations and providing for elimination of the condition and the effects of discrimination. When investigating whether discrimination has been made in the concrete case, the Commissioner fully implements the rules on the burden of proof redistribution, as provided by the Article 45 of LBD. The procedure before the Commissioner is free of charge.¹⁸

In the opinion expressed, the Commissioner gives its decisive stance in terms of whether the person against whom the complaint has been lodged, made the discrimination, and if established that the answer was positive, the Commissioner delivers one or more recommendations on the way of elimination of the non-discrimination right violation. The person to whom the recommendation refers, is obliged to proceed according to the recommendation, within 30 days and advise the Commissioner about that.¹⁹ Whereas the recommendations of the Commissioner are not suitable for enforcement, in order to be carried out, the LBD provisions regulate legal measures as delivered by the Commissioner in case of not observance of the recommendation: reprimand and public announcement.²⁰ The reprimand is issued in the form of a decision, leaving the perpetrator of discrimination the new 30-day term for elimination the violation, that is, the effects of the right violation.²¹ If the discriminator does not eliminate the right violation within this term, the Commissioner is authorized to inform the public about that.²² These measures are a characteristic form of “moral repression” and are reckoned to have the impact on the consciousness of a person who committed the discrimination, as well as to prevent other potential discriminators from discriminatory conduct. In that sense, the measure of public announcement achieves the function of general prevention.

Apart from the procedure carried out by the Commissioner, the subjects authorized to ask for protection from discrimination, are also entitled to initiate a litigation, as a regular way of non-discrimination right protection. Although these two methods are mutually different, when there comes to the concurrence

18 Article 35, para 1 of LBD.

19 Article 39, para3 of LBD.

20 Article 40 of LBD.

21 The Decision is final and may not be appealed (Article 40, para3 of LBD).

22 Article 40 of LBD.

of the procedure before the Commissioner and the litigation procedure for protection from discrimination, the priority is given to litigation.²³ Accordingly, if the authorized person chooses the litigation, there is an obstacle for conducting the complaint procedure, therefore in case the complaint be filed, the Commissioner would discontinue the proceedings. The Commissioner shall proceed in the same way when, during the complaint procedure, he/she finds out that after the complaint filing, there has also been initiated the litigation on the same matter. The circumstance that the procedure has been conducted before the Commissioner apropos the concrete discriminatory event, is not an obstacle for taking a litigation for protection from discrimination because by filing the complaint to the Commissioner, the persons authorized for initiating the litigation have not consumed their right to judicial legal protection of the non-discrimination right (Petrušić, Grubač, 2014: 71). On the other hand, the very Commissioner is authorized to initiate the litigation for protection from discrimination, before or after expressing its opinion and recommendation, if estimated that it is to do with a strategic discrimination case which should receive the final word of the court.

Rendering legal assistance and support to discriminated persons

One of the tasks of the Commissioner is to provide assistance and support to discriminated persons in protection of the non-discrimination right. In fulfillment of this task, the Commissioner is authorized to supply information to the complaint submitters about their non-discrimination right and about the ways of this right protection, as well as to recommend reconciliation to the parties, as a method of peaceful overcoming of the created situation.²⁴ Besides, the Commissioner is to realize this task by initiating, the so-called strategic antidiscrimination litigations. The legal authorization of the Commissioner to ask for the judicial protection from discrimination is the manifestation of the legislator's attitude that preventing and suppressing discrimination represents the general (public) interest of the society, and that the Commissioner should be enabled to initiate and handle antidiscrimination litigations in order to cause favourable judicial decisions made by its process activities. This authorization

23 Article 36, para1 of LBD.

24 Article 33, para 2 of LBD. Commissioner has developed her own mediation model in cases of discrimination. (Čuk, Petrušić, 2014: 365-380).

belongs to the Commissioner regardless of the form and case of discrimination and whether the victim of the discrimination is an individual person or a group of persons. However, if the discriminatory conduct refers to certain person exclusively, the Commissioner “may file a complaint only with such person’s approval”.²⁵

The strategic litigations are a special antidiscrimination method and mechanism, used in order to realize an extensive social change, make the impact on the judicial practice and public policies and improve the position of discriminated social groups via the court ruling (Coomber, 2012: 11-21; Schokman, Creasey, Mohen, 2012). Although, in terms of the very procedure, strategic litigations do not differ from “ordinary” litigations, their subject are discrimination cases which have the potential for realization of the strategic litigation goals. In the Comparative practice there are used cumulative indicators for qualification of strategically important cases: especially difficult position of the discrimination victim, frequency of and broadly accepted and widespread discrimination, social power of the perpetrator of discrimination, number of persons affected by the discriminatory act, the power disbalance between the victim and the perpetrator, etc. (Strategic litigation of race discrimination in Europe: from principles to practice, 2004). In that sense, strategic litigations are a part of “advocacy strategy” of the Commissioner, oriented to the promotion of the discrimination banning principle, upgrading of the judicial practice, revealing of structural and institutional forms of discrimination, realization of the rule of law principle, better approach to justice and improvement of the position of vulnerable social groups, realization of social justice, etc.

Based on this legal authorization to initiate the antidiscrimination litigations, the Commissioner is entitled to intervene in the litigation, initiated by some other legally authorized subject, in the way that it joins the Prosecutor²⁶ (Tasić, 2014: 65).

The Commissioner is also authorized to file misdemeanor charges due to offences established by LBD,²⁷ and as a public body, it is also authorized to file

25 Article 46, para.3 of LBD.

26 LBD does not contain special rules on participation of a Commissioner, as an intervenor, in antidiscrimination litigations, so in the lack of special regulations, the general litigation process rules are applied accordingly, about the participation of an ordinary intervenor, as contained in the Article 215–217 ZPP.

27 Article 33, point 4 of LBD.

criminal charges,²⁸ as well as to initiate procedures for estimation of constitutionality and legality.²⁹

Promotional activities

In the widest sense, realization of promotional function of the Commissioner implies its preventive action and working on the promotion of the principle of equality and equal opportunities. The Commissioner realizes this function by working on public awareness raising about the discrimination problem, by issuing statements and warnings regarding the most frequent, typical and serious discrimination cases, about the ways of discrimination, victims and perpetrators of discrimination, effects caused by discrimination, etc.

Besides, the Commissioner is authorized to forward recommendations to the public authorities for taking measures, in order to realize equality.³⁰ These recommendations may be oriented to elimination of the cause of structural and institutional discrimination, creating equal opportunities, etc. By these recommendations, the Commissioner also points out to the public authorities and other subjects the need of undertaking special (affirmative) measures for the purpose of achievement of substantial equality, protection and advancement of persons, that is, a group of persons found in an unequal position, compared to other citizens.

One of the most important authorizations of the Commissioner, making it especially recognizable in public, is submission of annual and special reports to the National Assembly about the status and challenges in realization and protection of equality.³¹ The annual report contains the estimation of work of public bodies, service providers and other persons, the observed failures and recommendations for their remedy, and may also contain statements about law and other regulations enforcement, that is, about the need of enactment or change of regulations for the enforcement of and improvement of protection

28 Article 280 of the Criminal Proceedings Code (Official Gazette of R. Serbia, nos. 72/2011, 101/2011, 121/2012, 32/2013 and 45/2013), provides that "Public and other bodies [...] report on criminal deeds prosecuted ex officio, about which they are informed or learn about them in some other way, under conditions provided by law or other regulations.

29 Article 168. para.1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

30 Article 33, point 9 of LBD

31 Article 33. para1, point 5 of LBD.

from discrimination.³² If there are particularly important reasons, the Commissioner may, upon the own initiative or upon the request of the National Assembly³³, submit a special report to the National Assembly. The Commissioner is authorized to initiate enactment or amendment of a regulation for the purpose of enforcement and improvement of protection from discrimination and it gives the opinion about the draft law and other regulations provisions concerned with discrimination banning and realization of equality.³⁴

In its acting, the Commissioner is obliged to cooperate with institutional mechanisms for equality, but also with all other social actors, active in this field, and to be a kind of catalyst of social changes.

Key Activities of the Commissioner in the Domain of Gender Equality

In the first five-year period, from May 5, 2010 to May 5, 2015, the institution of the Commissioner dealt with 3.108 cases in total, among which, 2.608 had been formed against complaints for concrete cases of gender discrimination, followed by cases which refer to issuance of recommendations to public authorities and other subjects for taking measures for realization of equality (543 in total). There were also filed 383 complaints for multiple discrimination, where gender emerged as one of discriminatory grounds.

In the five-year period, the Commissioner filed 13 charges for protection from discrimination in strategically important cases, 11 requests for initiation of misdemeanor procedures, 6 proposals for judgment of constitutionality, 3 legislative initiatives, 29 warnings and 103 communications. For the purpose of public information and knowledge dissemination on the discrimination phenomenon and the instruments for protection from discrimination, the Commissioner and its team members delivered more than 300 lectures and workshops, intended for civil servants, activists of civil society organizations, journalists, judges, police officers, children, the youth, etc. There were published more than 30 books, repertories of opinions, and recommendations, brochures and other publications. There were filed five Annual Reports, which contain the assessment of

32 Article 48, para1 and 2 of LBD.

33 Article 49, para1 of LBD.

34 Article 33, para7 of LBD .

the situation in realization of equality and recommendations for elimination of the causes of structural, institutional and individual discrimination.

The Analysis of the Report on work of the Commissioner shows that gender equality protection was one of its priorities.

In exercising its quasi-judicial function, the Commissioner conducted 197 procedures against complaints for gender discrimination, which makes 7.55% of the total number of the procedures carried out. The number of complaints was permanently increasing in parallel with increased visibility and availability of the institution and cooperation expanding with the civil society organizations. (Special Report on Discrimination of Women, 2015: 330).

The contents of complaints for gender discrimination confirm that in Serbia, the victims of gender discrimination are most frequently women: 60% of complaints for gender discrimination were related to gender discrimination of women (114 complaints of 197 complaints in total, for gender discrimination. On the other hand, although the gender discrimination is present in almost all spheres, most of the complaints refer to discrimination in the sphere of labour and employment (45.7%), followed by complaints for gender discrimination in conduct of the public authorities (8.6%) and complaints for gender discrimination in the domain of public information and media (6.1%). (Special report on Discrimination of women, 2015: 330). In the sphere of labour and employment, the gender discrimination is most frequently made by publishing jobs announcements which contain a discriminatory condition, in view of a candidate job, transfer of women to lower and less paid positions after their return from maternity leave. Till 2013, there were more complaints submitted by pregnant, part-time employed women, who were not extended their Labour Contract after telling the employer about their being pregnant. The Commissioner for the protection of equality warned about this phenomenon and supported the initiatives for modification of the Labour Law, which in 2013³⁵ was amended by the regulation, obliging the employers to extend the employment to any part-time employed women, when she gets pregnant, and till the expiration of maternity leave. (Annual Report of the Commissioner for 2013, 2014: 19). When it is to do with complaints for gender discrimination in proceedings before the public authorities, most of them were submitted against the local self government units and the ministries. A large part of these complaints refers to non-observance of regulations on quotes for less represented gender (women)

35 Law on amendments of the Labour Law, "Official Gazette of R. Serbia", No. 32/13.

in executive authorities, on the local and state levels. (Regular Annual Report for 2013, 2014: 36). Most of gender discrimination cases in media referred to media attachments which disrespect and insult the dignity of women and support the gender stereotypes and prejudices. (Special Report on Discrimination of Women, 2015: 57).

From the total number of 13 strategic litigations, initiated by the Commissioner, four are related to gender discrimination of women. The first strategic litigation for gender discrimination was filed against the Football Association of Serbia, which provided that reimbursement of costs invested in training and development of female footballers, paid to the female football club for the transfer of their female player to some other club, amounted to 15% of the reimbursement paid for the transfer to another club. In regard to this case, the Commissioner filed to the Constitutional Court the request for judgment of the constitutionality of the Rule Book, that established such reimbursement. One of the strategic litigations is related to the case of discriminatory practice of one bank, transferring employed women to the lower and less paid position after their returning from maternity leave, that is, parental leave for the child care. That same year, there was initiated the litigation against the chain of restaurants which employ exclusively women at their sales points. After the announcement emerged “Girls needed for work at the counter!”, there was carried out the investigation of discrimination, which revealed the discriminatory policy of the company, employing only women at the sales points. In the court trial, one of the key evidence was witnessing of voluntary surveyors of discrimination. The Commissioner also initiated the strategic litigation against the Employer who announced the Employment Inquiry in which the candidates, applying for the job, were requested to provide the data, concerned with their marriage and family status and other personal characteristics.

In the past period, the Commissioner carried out two researches on the attitude of citizens towards discrimination. Researches showed that one quarter of citizens support discriminatory attitudes towards women: almost one fourth of citizens agrees with the attitude that “Managerial positions in the business world should be held by men”, and that “The most important virtue of every woman is to be a good housewife” (Citizens attitude towards discrimination in Serbia, 2013: 51; Citizens attitude towards discrimination in Serbia, 2012: 48). Somewhat more than 17% of citizens recognized the discrimination of women, who, as a discriminated group, were classified by citizens to the sixth place. (Citizens attitude towards discrimination in Serbia, 2013: 23).

One of authorizations the Commissioner often used for the purpose of preventing discrimination were the recommendations for taking measures, addressed to the public authorities. Therefore, during 2011, there were five recommendations given to public authorities: Ministry of Education, the National Education Council and the Institute for Upgrading the Quality of Upbringing and Education for removing the gender stereotype contents from the teaching materials, Recommendation to the National Assembly of Serbia for ensuring participation of women in international delegations, Recommendation to the Government of Serbia for using gender sensitive language when drafting enactments and Recommendation,³⁶ to the Ministry of Defence and Headquarters of the Serbian Army for taking measures, aimed at creating conditions for the use of gender differentiated language in the official communication.³⁷ During 2012 there was forwarded recommendation of measures to the National Assembly, to ensure the presence of, at least 30% of the less represented gender in the composition of all international delegations and to have equally represented persons of both genders in all parliamentary boards. In 2011, it was recommended to the Government of Serbia to adopt the national strategy for combating discrimination.³⁸ In proceeding according to this recommendation, the Government adopted the Strategy of Discrimination Prevention and Protection,³⁹ by which a special set of measures and activities were intended to suppress discrimination of women, recognized as one of nine most discriminated groups. In 2014, a Recommendation was forwarded to the Mandatory for the Government composition, to take care about the equal representation of genders when composing the new Government and appointing the ministers.⁴⁰

Every annual report was pointing out to the most significant challenges in realization of the gender equality, with recommendations for improvement of the situation. Every report indicated to the Government the need to intensify the work on integrating gender perspectives in all the decisions and policies, on the National, Regional and local levels and provide for a consistent implementation

36 Recom. No. 477/2011, dated 21. 4. 2011. Retrieved 24 Sept. 2015 from <http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/sr/>.

37 Recom. No. 1279/2011, dated 2. 11. 2011. Retrieved 24 Sept. 2015 from <http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/sr/>.

38 Recom. No. 1089/2011, dated 6. 10. 2011. Retrieved 24 Sep. 2015 from <http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/sr/>

39 "Official Gazette of R.Serbia", No. 60/2013.

40 Recommendation No. 021-02-17/2014, dated 22. 4. 2014 Retrieved 24 September 2015 from <http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/sr/>.

of rules on gender analysis of the draft law and other regulations and analysis of their effects on women and men.

The last activity in the five-year period was the work on preparation of the Special Report on Discrimination against Women,⁴¹ which the institution of the Commissioner prepared on its own initiative, using its legal authorization to submit a special report⁴² to the National Assembly in case of particularly significant reasons for that. The analysis of this Report shows that it was structured, relying on UN Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination. In describing the actual situation, there were used all available sources of information, and presented all gender discrimination cases in which the Commissioner was engaged, as well as all the activities, related to promotion of gender equality and raising the public awareness. The Report also contains 40 recommendations, addressed to the legislative and executive authorities. Apart from other issues, there was recommended, as follows: to prescribe the obligation of integrating the gender perspective in all the decisions and public policies, developing the methodology, corresponding tools and capacities for public policies harmonization with principle of the gender equality and equal opportunities for women and men, including women and men from deprived and marginalized social groups, strengthening the capacities of institutional mechanisms for realization of the gender equality and improving their work, prescribing the mandatory quote of 30%, at least, for less represented gender in all executive authorities, etc. (Special Report on Discrimination of Women, 2014: 5-8).

Conclusion

In Serbia, there have been established satisfactory legal frameworks for prevention of gender discrimination and realization of gender equality. In the legislative system of Serbia, the role of central national institution for protection from discrimination is given to the Equality Protection Commissioner, an independent and autonomous public body, which is, according to its essential characteristics, a specialized Ombudsman. Its position is, however, quite differ-

41 In regard to this Report, on May 5, 2015 the Council for Human and Minority Rights and the Gender Equality of the National Assembly organized a public hearing, attended by a big number of representatives of state authorities, civil societies organizations and media.

42 Article 49, para 1 of LBD.

ent from the position of Ombudsman, which is a general Ombudsman, and the very relationship between these two public bodies has not been fully regulated. Having in mind the scope of legal authorizations and the way of acting, it belongs to a mixed type of equality bodies because it has the characteristics of both promotion-type bodies and quasi-judicial bodies.

The Commissioner occupies a significant place in the National architecture of institutional mechanisms for gender equality realization and protection. The Analysis of the Commissioner's Report shows that gender equality was one of its priorities. In parallel with proceeding in concrete cases of gender discrimination, the Commissioner was actively working on the promotion of the gender equality principle and prevention of gender discrimination. The strategic litigations are particularly significant, contributing to creation of judicial antidiscrimination practice and impacting the social changes.

Building antidiscrimination practice in Serbia, has been accompanied by numerous challenges and difficulties, stemming from the entire social context. Investigations of the Commissioner show that there are still prevailing dominant traditional, patriarchal attitudes, gender-based stereotypes and prejudices, the overcoming of which implies synchronized actions of all institutions of the system.

Summary: Having understood the importance of the gender equality principle in the past years, Serbia established the legal and institutional framework for suppressing the gender-based discrimination. In an extensive network of institutional mechanisms, which participate in creation, implementation and monitoring of regulations and policies in the field of gender equality, a significant place belongs to the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, a central national institution, specialized in prevention and suppression of all forms and manifestations of discrimination. This paper analyzes the ranges of preventive and reactive roles of the Commissioner in suppressing the gender-based discrimination, with the aim to investigate the normative and factual conditions under which the Commissioner realizes his/her role in preventing this kind of discrimination. There have been considered the status and legal profile of the institution of a Commissioner, as well as the characteristic features which classify this body within *tribunal-type equality bodies* and *promotion-type equality bodies*. A special attention is paid to realization of complementary tasks, the Legislator assigned to this body. There have been analyzed the quasi-judicial roles of

the Commissioner, realized by acting upon complaints in view of gender-based discrimination, the role of assistance provider and support to discrimination victims, realized by giving some legal information and strategic litigations, as well as promotion-role of the Commissioner, realized by submission of reports, making recommendations, statements and warnings and other activities for which he/she is legally authorized to undertake.

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ROLE OF THE AP VOJVODINA ASSEMBLY IN INSTITUTIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF GENDER DEMOCRACY PROCESSES: 2000-2015

Abstract: *This paper analyzes the role of the AP Vojvodina Assembly in gender democracy institutional consolidation processes, by providing an overview of strategies, decisions and initiatives enacted and launched by the AP Vojvodina Assembly in the 2000-2015 period, with a view to creating the political prerequisites for gender-sensitive institutional infrastructure at the local and provincial levels. By incorporating the political credo of the concept of human security - that living in non-violence is a fundamental, inalienable, inviolable and universal human right - in all its strategic documents, the AP Vojvodina Assembly has qualified violence –from physical to symbolic - as the cause of inequality of men and women.*

Keywords: *anti-discriminatory policies, solidarity, dignity, human security, UNSCR 1325, equal opportunities and gender equality, gender democracy and autonomy.*

In the 2000-2015 period, the AP Vojvodina Assembly has implemented strategies aimed at strengthening the mechanisms for institutionally supporting gender equality policies, promoting the greater inclusion of women in the key political decision-making processes, as well as in making decisions of strategic importance, and recognizing the role of women as important agents of change in our political community, and acknowledging women as a social resource necessary for the completion of the process of institutional, political, economic and social consolidation.

During the 15-year-long period of building and strengthening institutional prerequisites for gender democracy, the Assembly of AP of Vojvodina has drawn its political credibility from two indisputable facts: women's rights are human rights and human rights are always and without any exception women's rights, and the right of choice and autonomy are the foundations of a free individual,

the individual entitled to say: “I am my own choice.” Consequently, all documents and activities of the AP Vojvodina Assembly have maintained a clear political message: institutional consolidation is sustainable only provided it integrates gender equality in democracy building.

Democracy is not the rule of the majority or the minority, but the rule of righteousness. The righteousness which entails the right to be different, and which confronts social autism, provincialism and patriarchy. Only through the dimension of the rule of righteousness and ironclad women’s dignity can we talk about gender democracy.

Introduction

“There are two orders of beauty: in the one, loveliness predominates; in the other, dignity; of these, we ought to regard loveliness as the attribute of woman, and dignity as the attribute of man.”

(Marcus Tullius Cicero)¹

From December 23rd, 2002, when the Decision on the Provincial Ombudsman was adopted,² to December 23rd, 2014, when the Decision on the Program for Protecting Women against Domestic Violence and Other Forms of Gender-Based Violence in the AP Vojvodina for the 2015-2020 Period³ was adopted, the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (hereinafter: the APV Assembly) created the institutional infrastructure for a gender-equal society at every Assembly meeting through the adoption of the strategic documents, thus confirming the importance of the civilizational credo that living in non-violence is a fundamental, inalienable, inviolable and universal human right.

During the 15-year-long period of building and strengthening institutional prerequisites for gender democracy, the APV Assembly has drawn its political credibility from two indisputable facts: women’s rights are human rights and human rights are always and without any exception women’s rights, and the

1 “Even the ancient Greeks and Romans discussed human dignity. They, however, did not attribute dignity to all men. According to them, dignity was ascribed to the dignitaries, those who acted as such, that is, those who had to behave worthily. Moreover, dignity only belonged to a man, never to a woman.” (Mario Kopic, 2009)

2 Official Journal of the APV, No. 23/02

3 Official Journal of the APV, No. 54/14

right of choice and autonomy are the foundations of a free individual, the individual entitled to say: "I am my own choice."

It goes without saying that the APV Assembly activities in that period aimed at empowering women, considering them an agent of change in the processes of the socio-political development of the patriarchal post-conflict society, with a view to strengthening the mechanisms for institutionally supporting gender equality, as well as capacitating women for policymaking and planning, and that they were geared at empowering the creators of the gender institutional landscape in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Article 6 of the Statute of the AP Vojvodina⁴ lays down that all citizens shall equally exercise their rights regardless of their "race, gender, ethnicity, social background, birth, confession, political or other beliefs, financial status, culture, language, age, or intellectual or physical disability, in accordance with the Constitution and the law."

Even though the achievements of the 15-year-long process of building and strengthening the institutional prerequisites for gender democracy have been acknowledged, the achieved results, and, consequently, the issue of the responsibility of the political elites and institutions, have inevitably lent themselves to analysis. Could more have been done?

The question is whether the APV Assembly has formulated fruitful public policies recognizing women as a resource relevant to achieving institutional, political, economic and social consolidation. Is there a consensus of the elites on the key institutions responsible for creating public policies, and on the values the formulated public policies are to be based on?

It is important to answer the above questions due to the fact that the pursuit of democracy is incomplete without policies, measures and practices seeking to reduce inequalities between men and women in all spheres of life and anchoring democracy and its intersection with gender. That is how we understood the notion of gender democracy, believing that democracy is supposed to transform power relations between men and women by promoting the equal distribution of power and influence between women and men.⁵

4 Official Journal of the APV, No. 20/14

5 More about gender democracy: <http://www.idea.int/gender/>, *Democracy and Gender Equality: The Role of the UN*

A review of AP Vojvodina's demographic picture is the first step in understanding the context. According to the 2011 Census⁶, AP Vojvodina's population stands at 1,931,809 - 939,617 of its residents are men, and 992,192 are women. Adults account for 1,589,361 of the Province's population; the number of women over 50 stands at 759,751. Vojvodina residents are 41.8 years old on average (the average age of men is 40.2 and of women 43.3), and their rapid impoverishment is evident. Multiple marginalization of women, discrimination based on gender, age and nationality, as well as discrimination against women refugees, and poor and disabled women are registered on a daily basis.

Violence lies at the very heart of the patriarchal system, and the key to eliminating it lies in the change of the paradigm, in the deconstruction of the patriarchal system. Empowerment is about people – both women and men – taking control of their lives: setting their own agendas, mastering skills, building self-confidence, solving problems, and developing self-reliance. It is not only a collective, social and political process, but an individual one as well – and it is not only a process, but an outcome, too.

Let us, for a moment, review the issue of empowerment: not enough attention has been paid to the research results, including an analysis of the vulnerable groups' multiple marginalization, indicating that persons with disabilities are exposed to the highest level of discrimination. It is therefore necessary to draw attention to the report of the Provincial Protector of Citizens - Ombudsman⁷ (hereinafter: Provincial Ombudsman), in which he presented the results of a research showing that persons with disabilities, followed by older women, the Roma population, children and, finally, other national minorities, ranked the highest on the scale of vulnerability of rights of certain groups. There are numerous examples of multiple discrimination.⁸

6 2011 Census. <http://popis2011.stat.rs/?lang=en>

7 The Provincial Ombudsman's 2013 Annual Report <http://www.ombudsmanapv.org/riv/index.php/dokumenti/godisnji-izvestaj/1297-%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B8%D1%88%D1%9A%D0%B8-%D0%B8%D0%B7%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%88%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%98-%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B0-%D1%98%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B3-%D0%BE%D0%B-C%D0%B1%D1%83%D0%B4%D1%81%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B7%D0%B0-2012-%D0%B3%D0%BE%D0%B4%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%83>

8 We believe that data indicating that persons with disabilities rank first and persons belonging to national minorities rank last on the list of most discriminated groups in Vojvodina are important for the analysis, which refers to inversion (some theoreticians speak of the phenomenon of "hidden racism") – the existing social climate does not openly condone racist and nationalist attacks on minorities, wherefore public discourse on minorities re-

During the course of the last 15 years, all documents and activities undertaken by the APV Assembly have maintained a clear political message: institutional consolidation is sustainable only provided it mainstreams gender equality in democracy building. According to the 2015 data of the Standing Conference of Towns and Municipalities, local gender equality mechanisms (commissions)⁹ have been established in 38 (out of the total of 45) municipalities in Vojvodina. Significant progress has been made when these data are compared to the 2011 data of the Provincial Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality, which registered 27 local gender equality mechanisms in the 45 local self-government units in APV.¹⁰ The APV Assembly's Committee on Gender Equality (established in 2002) and the Women's Parliamentary Network (formed in 2013) have initiated the establishment and promoted the importance of the Gender Equality Commissions, as well as the establishment of women councilor groups in the AP Vojvodina city and municipal assemblies.

Gender, as a crosscutting dimension of democracy, is addressed through two complementary and critical approaches: gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment – in electoral processes, campaigning for promoting mechanisms/strategies aimed at stepping up equal entry into and retention of gender parity in political leadership and decision making at all levels; leveraging partnership networks with the aim of imposing gender as a crosscutting topic in public policies, in order to increase the effectiveness of incorporating women as subjects of development.¹¹

All this time, the APV Assembly has been endeavoring to incorporate women as the subjects of development and adhering to the critical requirement that all provincial structures take a proactive approach to/ economic, political, social and cultural developments providing women with room they can effectively participate in.

To sum up the 15-year-long work in one paragraph, the APV Assembly has promoted equal opportunities policies by strengthening the institutional mecha-

mains in the domain of political correctness, while the hostility and violence target the most vulnerable, the disabled.

9 More at <http://rr.skgo.org/>

10 The List was updated on February 28th, 2011, <http://www.psrzrp.vojvodina.gov.rs/uploads/downloads/Komisije%20baza.pdf>

11 Five of the 27 Serbian municipalities that have signed the European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life are located in Vojvodina: Kovin, Sečanj, Sombor, Žitište, and Zrenjanin. <http://rr.skgo.org/>

nisms for gender democracy, aiming to: *strengthen* women's transformative leadership skills through additional empowerment strategies that translate women's presence into critical influence. (At the time this paper was written (August 2015), women accounted for 22 out of 120 (or 18.33%) of APV Assembly deputies (sworn in on 22nd June, 2012)¹². The relatively low percent of female deputies in the APV Assembly must be interpreted in the context of the electoral system rules, according to which the APV Assembly deputies were elected in 2012¹³: specifically, the deputies were elected under a dual system - 60 of them under the proportional and 60 under the majority system, none of the women were elected or endorsed for candidacy by a political party, under the majority voting principle); *promote* actions for increasing the understanding of women's rights as human rights; *understand* the present-day global trends and set of values which, among other things, involves maximizing women's presence, increasing influence and transforming political spaces "beyond the numbers and mechanisms/strategies", for influencing decision making or effective participation.

Admittedly, even though the APV Assembly has opened up political space for the increased representation of female deputies, based on the democratic justice principle and equal opportunity policies, women have to date unfortunately been promoted only to objects of political power, but not to influential subjects who would bring about change and be the key political decision makers. That requires a lot more joint effort and willingness. Still, if we look back, progress, albeit small, has been achieved, as confirmed by statistics; after the provincial elections on 24th September, 2000, eight (6.67%) out of the 120 elected APV Assembly deputies (sworn in on 23rd October, 2000) were women¹⁴; while, out of the 1745 councilors elected in the local elections in 45 AP Vojvodina municipalities, 1620 (92.84%) were men and 125 (7.16%) were women.¹⁵

The statistics are even more devastating if we go back further in time: during the 1929 – 2015 period (the past 86 years), out of 11 Bans (the APV Assembly was the seat of the Danube Banate during the 1929-1941 period), and 31 Speakers of the Vojvodina Assembly elected over the last 70 years (1945-2015), only one

12 More at www.skupstinavojvodine.gov.rs

13 In June 2014, the APV Assembly adopted a new Provincial Assembly Decision on the Election of the Deputies, which changed the electoral rules and introduced only the proportional voting system.

14 A step back compared to the previous 1996 APV Assembly convocation, when nine (7.5%) of the 120 Assembly deputies were women.

15 Facts 2000 (*Činjenice 2000*) publication

was a woman, Adam Bokroš Verona, and even she did not serve a full term in office, but only half of it, from 1989 to 1991. To sum up: one female Speaker of the AP Vojvodina Assembly, half a term in office, in 70 years.¹⁶

AP Vojvodina Assembly: Landscape of Gender Democracy

The APV Assembly has demonstrated its commitment to improving the institutional infrastructure development processes and strengthening the gender equality mechanisms at the local and provincial levels, and the creation of the gender democracy landscape, by adopting documents of strategic importance. We will outline a number of the key steps confirming that Vojvodina has over the past 15 years been a leader in institutionalizing the protection of women's rights: in 2002, a female Deputy Provincial Ombudsman for Gender Equality was elected; in 2004, the APV Assembly adopted the Decision Establishing the Provincial Institute for Gender Equality¹⁷ and the Declaration on Gender Equality and the Decision on Gender Equality¹⁸ (the Law on Gender Equality was adopted by the National Assembly in 2009); in 2008, the APV Assembly enacted the Strategy for Protection Against Domestic Violence and Other Forms of Gender-Based Violence; in 2013, the Women's Parliamentary Network was established at the AP Vojvodina Assembly; on December 23rd, 2014, the APV Assembly adopted the Decision on the Program for Protecting Women against Domestic Violence and Other Forms of Gender-Based Violence in the AP Vojvodina in the 2015-2020 Period. Special focus was put on the prevention of violence against women, raising the women's self-esteem and awareness, as well as their economic emancipation.¹⁹

It is important to stress that, in 2000, the Provincial Government for the first time established a Secretariat charged with gender equality, operating (since 2012) under the name Provincial Secretariat for Economy, Employment and Gender Equality.²⁰

16 www.skupstinavojvodine.gov.rs

17 www.ravnopravnost.org.rs

18 At the session held on August 13th, 2004 (Official Journal of the APV, No. 14/04)

19 The Provincial Secretariat has conducted training programs educating women in IT, growing organic food, and it has also offered incentives for employing women, an especially vulnerable category in the labor market.

20 www.spriv.vojvodina.gov.rs

On August 13th, 2004, the APV Assembly adopted the Declaration on Gender Equality aimed at advancing gender equality in the AP of Vojvodina, and improving the existing mechanisms in the field of gender equality, as well as at socially reaffirming the equal representation of women and men in all fields of society. The Declaration puts in place the social environment prerequisite for adopting legal/institutional regulations on the equality of women and men and the elimination of physical and legal inequality of women.²¹

The Decision on Gender Equality, adopted on August 13th, 2004, further elaborated the right to equality of women and men (guaranteed at the time by the Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, the Charter on Human and Minority Rights and Civil Liberties, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, the Statute of the AP of Vojvodina, as well as ratified international documents in this field), defining the means for realizing this right in the AP of Vojvodina, and laying down special measures for achieving equality in fields such as education, culture, labor, employment, and participation in public and political life. The Decision, notably, also includes penal provisions for violations of the right to gender equality.²²

Under Article 32(3) of the Decision on Gender Equality, “minimum one Deputy Speaker position in the AP Vojvodina Assembly shall be reserved for the less represented gender”²³; under Article 36, all statistical data collected by the AP Vojvodina authorities and local self-government units “must be disaggregated by gender”.

Article 37 of the Decision states that the APV Assembly shall act within its remit and: 1) enact decisions and define special measures for achieving equality of women and men; 2) draw up a provincial action plan for the achievement of equality of women and men; 3) review status reports on the equality of women and men in AP Vojvodina and amend the provincial action plan for the promotion of equality of women and men; 4) review the Provincial Ombudsman’s status reports on the equality of women and men; 5) review the national gender equality action plan, formulate its proposals and submit them to the National

21 *Information on the Status of Women in Vojvodina in 2002/2003*, p. 21, Provincial Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality, 2004.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 22,

23 Two out of six Deputy Speakers of the AP Vojvodina Assembly sworn in on June 22nd, 2012, were women. One of the three Deputy Speakers sworn in on October 23rd, 2000, was a woman. However, none of the four Deputy Speakers sworn in on October 30th, 2004, were women.

Assembly of the Republic of Serbia; 6) review the national gender equality reports, formulate its proposals, and submit them to the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.²⁴ In a word, by adopting the Decision on Gender Equality, the Assembly of the APV has provided for putting in place special measures for achieving gender equality; drawing up the provincial action plan, and reviewing the national action plans as well as the Ombudsman's reports on gender equality. The regulations provide for the establishment of an Assembly "standing working body on gender equality."²⁵

During the past ten years (since 2005), the APV Assembly has been an active partner in the activities of the "Life without Violence" network, rallying all institutions in contact with and legally obligated to help address violence against women at the municipal and provincial levels. Through the "Life without Violence" network, the APV Assembly has in the past decade endeavored to ensure and empower the institutional mechanisms for protecting victims of violence, as well as to raise the visibility of the problem by providing support to all activities and social actors.

The APV Assembly adopted the Provincial Ombudsman's recommendation²⁶ to use gender non-discriminatory terminology in all Assembly decisions, provincial regulations, declarations, resolutions, rules of procedure, rulebooks, instructions, orders, decrees, recommendations, conclusions and other enactments, as well as to take into account gender terminology in the individual legal enactments it is adopting. The recommendation has been implemented in the Provincial Assembly Decision on the Government of the AP Vojvodina and in the Provincial Regulation on the Definition of the Titles and Occupations of the Employees in the Provincial Authorities and on the Internal Organization and Job Classification Principles. Gender-sensitive Serbian language was used in the Provincial Assembly Decision on the Provincial Ombudsman and in the Provincial Assembly Decision on Gender Equality.

Given that only women can empower themselves to make choices or to speak out on their own behalf and that institutions can support processes that increase women's self-confidence, develop their self-reliance, and help them set

24 *Resolution on Gender Equality*, p. 19, Provincial Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality, 2004.

25 The APV Assembly Rules of Procedure of 2002 stipulate the establishment of the Committee on Gender Equality.

26 http://www.ombudsmanapv.org/riv/attachments/article/218/006_preporuka_RP.pdf (of December 28th, 2009)

their own agendas, the Committee on Gender Equality and the Women's Parliamentary Network of the APV Assembly focus on women's empowerment, analyzing: gender equality, power relations, equal participation, partnership between women and men. The joint commitment of the Committee on Gender Equality and the Provincial Council for Security²⁷ to create a safe environment and prevent violence against women is also visible in the Conclusions of the Provincial Council for Security, which has since 2005 been constantly calling on all the institutions to establish a methodology for monitoring gender-based violence and gender mainstreaming of the security sector, as well as advocating the significance of employing more women in the Ministry of the Interior.

Women's empowerment is central to achieving gender equality. Through empowerment, women become aware of unequal power relations, gain control over their lives and a stronger voice to overcome inequality in their home, workplace and the community. Promoting the equal participation of women as agents of change in economic, social and political processes is essential to achieving gender equality. Equal participation goes beyond numbers. It involves the women's equal right to articulate their needs and interests, as well as their vision of society, and to shape the decisions affecting their lives, whatever cultural context they live in. Partnership with women's organizations and other groups working for gender equality is necessary to facilitate this process. Gender equality can only be achieved through partnership between women and men. When choices for both women and men are enlarged, all society benefits. Specific measures must be developed to address the policies, laws, procedures, norms, beliefs, practices and attitudes that maintain gender inequality.

Human Security and UNSCR 1325

By incorporating the political credo of the concept of human security - that living in non-violence is a fundamental, inalienable, inviolable and universal human right - in all its strategic documents, the AP Vojvodina Assembly has qualified violence - from physical to symbolic - as the cause of inequality of men and women. In its endeavors to institutionalize gender democracy, it has departed from the fact that physical, psychological, economic and sexual violence, social isolation and persecution, i.e. all types of violence, are simultaneously

27 At its session held on February 25th, 2005, the APV Assembly established the Provincial Council for Security as an expert - advisory body tasked with improving crime prevention, increasing the citizens' safety culture, improving overall public safety, and continuously reviewing the security situation in APV. (Official Journal of the APV, No. 4/05)

the cause and the consequence of inequality between men and women. Only consistent condemnation of violence against women and active engagement for the benefit of women subjected to violence can stop the “vicious circle of violence”; we must never lose sight of the fact that women are a political, social and cultural resource relevant for completing the transition process and that respect for their rights to decent life and work are prerequisite for their self-actualization in the institutional, political and economic consolidation processes.

Human rights, democracy and peace are the three key points without which it would be impossible to build the institutional infrastructure for gender equality: there can be no democracy if women’s human rights are not recognized and protected and the minimum requirements for peaceful conflict resolution cannot be fulfilled without gender democracy. Vojvodina, as a safe community, promotes a new human security concept - the concept of non-discriminated male and female citizens free from worry and fear. The new human security model summarizes the basic human rights; and in the interest of their institutionalization, improvement, protection and promotion, it stresses the importance of individual security, since only a safe and secure individual is a proper referent of a secure and safe society.

In the light of the 15th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the APV Assembly Women’s Parliamentary Network has initiated a series of debates seeking answers to the following questions: how to translate the 18 Articles of UNSCR 1325 into real life: how to bring the National Action Plan (NAP) closer, “localize” it, make it part of the everyday lives of women living in small Vojvodina towns and villages.²⁸ A broad range of issues has been opened: how to establish workable channels of communication between all levels (national, provincial, local) of government in order to coordinate the different activities and facilitate exchange of information from various sources; how gender perspectives are integrated in national security policies as well as how to make use

28 A series of debates has been held, starting with the conference “Women’s Face of the NATO Smart Power” (in Serbian “Rezolucija 1325: žensko lice mira i bezbednosti”) held on May 11th, 2015 and supported by the NATO Public Diplomacy Division, follow-up organized with the aim of presenting the role and links between NATO’s project “Women, Peace and Security” and Serbian government institutions, in the light of the IPAP adopted on January 15th, 2015: of creating tools, mechanisms and the process of implementation of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR for the creators of the gender institutional landscape in the AP of Vojvodina: members and staff of the APV Assembly (with special attention being paid to the Women’s Parliamentary Network), Local Commissions for Gender Equality, members of the Vojvodina local assemblies as well as the Vojvodina local self-governments, students, civil society and media.

of the opportunities/conditions for implementing new gender mechanisms and institutions envisaged by the NAP at the local self-government level, under the umbrella of the broader framework of the Women, Peace and Security NATO program; in what way can women's inclusive leadership be understood by applying the NATO smart power concept.

By implementing the human security dimension, the APV Assembly's multi-annual commitment to the processes of institutional consolidation of gender democracy has gained a new quality. There is no doubt that, in order to create conditions for the promotion and protection of the right to a decent life as a basic human right, it is necessary to provide institutional support to the concept of a safe and secure citizen – the necessary condition for having a decent life is to minimize and allay fears of risks and threats, to which members of society are directly or indirectly exposed. A dignified life is threatened by: economic instability, exposure to health risks and risks of environmental disasters, personal insecurity and exposure to violence of various minority groups (ethnic, linguistic, religious, sexual minorities, the poor, the disabled and the children), as well as political instability which involves the risk of obstructing the realization of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

By focusing on human security, the APV Assembly and the Women's Parliamentary Network opened a new range of questions: how to create a safe and secure environment in the Vojvodina local self-governments, how to add topics of local security and mechanisms of local security protection to the new 2015-2020 NAP; how to recognize the gender dimension in ordinary, everyday work; how to mainstream gender in the complex process of reforming every dimension of the political, social, economic, security and other sectors; how to interweave the NAP with all the public policies.

How to translate paragraphs into the real life?

Based on the joint results and horizontal and vertical communication channels established between: the APV Assembly Committee on Gender Equality - Local Commissions for Gender Equality - Women's Parliamentary Network - Local Commissions for Security - women's councilor groups in the local assemblies, the future APV Assembly deputies shall, without any doubt, operationalize the following conclusions in all the strategic documents and decisions: that it is important to include as many local institutions as possible in the process of designing the 2015-2020 NAP - in order to collect all the available data informing the index of women's participation in provincial and local institutions,

local and provincial Councils for Security, emergency departments, as well as analyze and present these data regularly; that it is important to define a broadly accepted and confirmed methodology as a baseline for analyzing and reporting on the implementation of the NAP; that it is important to consider the possibility of appointing gender equality advisors to the mayors, to appoint persons of trust, to establish a provincial/local multi-sectoral gender equality body, or to launch a network of analytical groups at the provincial/local level; to review the possibility of including APV Assembly deputies in the work of the NAP mechanisms, e.g. to follow the work of the National Assembly Commission, or to take a further step and form a Sub-Commission in the APV Assembly.

In Lieu of a Conclusion

Decent life rests upon pursuit of an equal opportunities policy. Departing from the fact that “human dignity is inviolable”²⁹ and that the right to a decent life is a fundamental human right, all APV Assembly activities are underpinned by the axiom that gender, economic and social justice is not possible and that there can be no just society if women are exposed to various forms of discrimination.

The processes of democratic consolidation and transition require of the elites to assume responsibility for, as Radosavljević put it, “the development of a socially acceptable set of values, norms and attitudes expressed in the form of a basic social consensus.”³⁰ That basic social consensus is imperative since the transition processes reveal that exposure to multiple discrimination leads to negative evaluations of the institutional, political and economic consolidation processes; moreover, the prospects of marginalized groups are characterized by at least two, major negations: distrust in institutions and uncertainty.

Therefore, the primary task for all participants in public life shall be to establish a political community that will cherish the citizens’ virtues of freedom and responsibilities, and promote the dignity of man and citizen as inviolable. Only such a political community can create the institutional prerequisites for equal opportunities in an atmosphere of freedom, recognizing freedom as an aura of a dignified man. It is important to strengthen democratic institutions and

29 By analysing the notion of human dignity, Mario Kopic draws attention to the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, especially Article 1, under which: “Human dignity is inviolable. To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority”. (Kopic, 2009)

30 Radosavljević, 2001. p. 113

a new set of values; otherwise, democracy deteriorates and the majority does not protect, on the contrary, it ignores minority communities, as well as their rights and interests. When a government has nothing to say to the minorities, it distances itself from them – either through indifference, media or by building walls. Democracy can exist only if the minorities are protected.

Institutional and active protection of the minorities is the only way the institutions themselves can be defended. Unfortunately, human history has always seen women as the largest minority in every society.

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THE ROLE OF THE WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY NETWORK OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA IN STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY CAPACITIES OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES – “LOCALIZING” THE NAP FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325

Abstract: *Activities of the Women's Parliamentary Network of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina focus on: creating institutional grounds for building a secure and safe environment; strengthening the security capacities of local communities; preventing and controlling all forms of gender-based violence and discrimination; strengthening the role of local gender equality mechanisms; promoting the importance of the role and cooperation of all institutions in the process of protecting and advancing fundamental human and minority rights, and promoting the role of the women's councilor network.*

Keywords: *“localization”, NAP, UNSCR 1325, Vojvodina, anti-discriminatory and solidarity policies, partnership, women's leadership potential, responsibility.*

Women's Parliamentary Network: The Voice of Women in the AP Vojvodina Assembly

The First Multi-Party Vojvodina Assembly Elections

The first AP Vojvodina Assembly multi-party elections were held on May 31st, 1992. Twenty-one year after the introduction of the multi-party political system, women deputies of all political parties with seats in the AP Vojvodina Assembly initiated the establishment of the Women's Parliamentary Network (WPN) of the AP Vojvodina Assembly in order to improve and promote gender equality policies, strengthen the principles of the rule of law and protection of fundamental human and civil rights and freedoms, as well as the basic values and principles of parliamentary democracy. The initiative to establish the WPN was

launched in September 2013, and the founding meeting of the WPN at the AP Vojvodina Assembly (informal group of female deputies) was held on October 1st, 2013. Ever since, the Women's Parliamentary Network at the AP Vojvodina Assembly has basically been dedicated to advocating the inclusion of women and ensuring their voice is heard in the process of creating and making crucial political decisions.

A two-year assessment of the WPN's activities can be presented through an analysis of its members' thematic engagement as well the results achieved in the following areas: creating institutional grounds for building a safe and secure environment for all citizens of Vojvodina; strengthening the security capacities of the local communities, with special emphasis on the prevention and elimination of all forms of gender-based violence and discrimination; strengthening the role of local gender equality mechanisms; promoting the importance of the role and cooperation of all institutions in the process of protecting and advancing fundamental human and minority rights in a stable, democratic, political environment; establishing and promoting the role of women councilor networks in the development of strategies for the prevention of risks and threats women are facing.

Departing from the fact that discrimination is a complex idea and process,¹ members of the WPN have focused primarily on developing policies to deconstruct the so-called structural discrimination, which is by and large not recognized at all. In fact, different treatment is interpreted as a normal state of affairs, in which there is a natural preconception of social roles in the traditional social environment. Since the entrapment of all social structures by patriarchal-gender roles is perceived as something "normal", this form of discrimination is recognized as structural discrimination and most commonly evidenced by statistical data (e.g. lack of women holding decision-making positions, a greater share of women among the unemployed, etc.).²

Structural discrimination is reflected in the lack of gender-sensitive statistics, wherefore one of the WPN's tasks is to lay emphasis on the insufficient repre-

1 There are three kinds/types of discrimination: individual, institutional and structural. Behavior of an individual aiming to cause different/harmful consequences to members of a particular group leads to individual discrimination. Institutional discrimination emerges as the result of institutions applying policies leading to different treatment of men and women belonging to specific social groups or to harmful consequences for them. (*Women and Discrimination*, 2012).

2 We have a case of structural discrimination each time institutions have a so-called neutral or the same policy for everyone, not taking into account differences which characterize members of specific minority groups (*Women and Discrimination*, 2012).

sentation of female deputies in the AP Vojvodina Assembly and its working bodies.³ What do the gender statistics in the AP Vojvodina Assembly show?

Twenty-two of the 120 deputies (18.33%) of the AP Vojvodina Assembly constituted on June 22nd, 2012, are women. Only one of the present-day seven party caucuses⁴ - that of the Serbian Radical Party - is chaired by a woman.

Pursuant to the Rules of Procedure,⁵ the AP Vojvodina Assembly shall form Committees as standing working bodies. In this convocation, 20 Committees have been formed and, pursuant to Article 46 of the Rules of Procedure of the AP Vojvodina Assembly, “unless otherwise stipulated by the Rules of Procedure, a Committee shall comprise a president and ten members.”

Women head the following four of the 20 Committees in the AP Vojvodina Assembly: the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Youth and Sports; the Committee on Demographic Policy and Social Childcare; the Committee on European Integration and Interregional Cooperation and the Committee on Gender Equality.

There are no women deputies in the following three Committees: the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Administrative and Mandatory Issues, and the Committee on Privatization.

In addition to the fact that there was no room for female deputies in the Committees dealing with privatization and agriculture (key economic issues) or in the Committee charged, *inter alia*, with “identifying proposals for the provision of provincial budget funds for the activities of the Assembly and the Assembly’s Service and use of these funds; enacting annual the financial income and expenditure plans of the Assembly and the Service and the Act on Internal Order in the Assembly building”,⁶ another fact also warrants attention: as many as eight Committees have only one female deputy. In fact, women account for one-eleventh (1/11) of the members of seven Committees⁷ and one-fifteenth

3 The work of the WPN is regulated by the Rules of Procedure of the Women’s Parliamentary Network of the AP Vojvodina Assembly. The Program principles and goals of the WPN are achieved jointly and uniformly by promoting women’s rights and women’s more active involvement in the decision-making process.

4 www.skupstinavojvodine.gov.rs, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

5 “Official Journal of the APV”, No. 37/14

6 <http://www.skupstinavojvodine.gov.rs/RadnaTela.aspx?id=15&s=organizacija>

7 Committee on Cooperation with National Assembly Committees on the Exercise of the Competences of the Province, Committee on Regulations, Committee on Economy, Com-

(1/15) of the members of the Committee on Issues of the Constitutional and Legal Status of the Province since this Committee is made up of 15 members.⁸ Therefore, there is one woman in each of the Committees dealing with the following issues: exercise of competences of the Autonomous Province, cooperation with the Serbian National Assembly Committees, budget and finance, security issues, constitutional and legal status of the Province.

The “traditionally” female Committee on Health Care, Social Policy and Labor has two female members, as does the Committee on Petitions and Proposals. The greatest share of women deputies is in the Committee on Gender Equality (eight members) and there are four female deputies in each of another five Committees (only three of these five Committees,⁹ are chaired by women).

The evident under-representation of female deputies in the activities of Committees of the AP Vojvodina Assembly indicates the uneven distribution of political power and influence in creating and making crucial political decisions, deeply rooted patterns of male domination in institutions and confirms the fact that there are firm and stable structures (economic, political, and cultural) behind the gender differences which reproduce, change and redefine or remodel them.¹⁰

When we describe the participation of women in the activities of the working bodies of the Assembly as under-representation, we bear in mind the 2011 Census data:¹¹ Vojvodina has 1,931,809 citizens, 939,617 men and 992,192 women.

Since the transformation of gender regimes is an inseparable part of transition, we are facing the reality which confirms that transitional losses are not gender-neutral and that women have suffered loss primarily due to unemployment,

mittee on Budget and Finance, Committee on the Organization of the Administration and Local Self-Government, Committee Establishing the Equal Authenticity of Provincial Regulations in Languages in Official Use, Committee on Security.

8 Article 56 of the Rules of Procedure of the AP Vojvodina Assembly: “the Committee shall comprise 15 members, four of whom shall be appointed from among the ranks of eminent scientists and experts.”

9 Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Youth and Sports; Committee on Demographic Policy and Social Childcare; Committee on European Integration and Interregional Cooperation; Committee on Information and Committee on Urban and Spatial Planning and Environmental Protection.

10 More in: Blagojević, *Žene na selu u Vojvodini: svakodnevni život i ruralni razvoj* (Rural Women in Vojvodina: Everyday Life and Rural Development)

11 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings, <http://popis2011.stat.rs/?lang=en>

the collapse of the system of institutions which used to offer important support to the family and due to the processes of retraditionalization and repatriarchalization. The WPN's program principles and goals are founded on three pillars of values: dignity, freedom and solidarity; commitment to strengthen democracy in all social spheres such as: "respect for humans, their dignity, rights and freedoms regardless of their religious, racial or national affiliation, gender, sexual orientation, political opinion or social status; protection of workers' rights."

The WPN emphasizes protection of workers' rights as a program principle and a value since the status of women in the labor market is socially and culturally conditioned, or more precisely, it is conditioned by the current, widely-accepted gender roles.¹² Women's achievement of a desirable social status depends on many factors, starting from their education levels and value aspirations, place of residence to their age.¹³ Exclusion of women from the employed workforce leads to their marginalization and negligence of their basic rights and needs and to their exposure to all forms of discrimination: individual, institutional, as well as structural. According to the 2011 Census results,¹⁴ there are 607,334¹⁵ economically active citizens in Vojvodina, 355,048 are men and 252,286 are women. The majority of the economically active population is between 35 and 44 years of age – 168,738. There are 94,128 men and 74,610 women in this age group. The majority of women from the economically most active group, 57,340 of them, works in the service and trade sectors. Labor discrimination is still present to a great extent in these sectors, from unregistered employment to harassment at work. In addition to widespread discrimination in all walks of life and work, in addition to the fact that most of the unemployed workforce are women and the high rate of domestic violence, there is widespread unregistered and illegal employment where employers very often do not pay taxes and contributions and women are forced to accept such jobs in order to put food on their family's table.

Driven by a profound belief that every woman is entitled to live in a safe and secure (political, work, family...) environment, the WPN has been cooperating

12 More in: *Žene i diskriminacija (Women and Discrimination)*, 2012

13 Average age of the population in Vojvodina is 41.8—the average age of men is 40.2 and of women 43.3

14 *Supra* 11.

15 These data were collected for economically active persons aged 15 and over. The upper age limit is not defined, since persons can be economically active even after exiting the so-called work contingent (15-64 years of age).

with the AP Vojvodina Assembly Committees (especially with the Committee on Gender Equality), political parties, local self-government units, non-governmental sector, state and interregional institutions.

Vojvodina as a Safe Community: Localization and Operationalization of the NAP (National Action Plan)

The WPN's engagement is based on the strategies it has developed to prevent and combat all forms of gender-based violence, founded on the following principles: 1) the principle of partnership between all actors of the political community and, primarily, on developing trust between citizens and the police in order to build a safe community; 2) the principle of encouraging civil participation in order to build a safe community: citizens and the role of responsible individuals as holders and promoters of the new security identity is of key importance; 3) the principle of promoting accountability and solidarity policies through the citizens' active involvement in key decision-making processes at the local and provincial levels and definition of recommendations facilitates the development of short-term and long-term strategies of work of the institutions and protection of all minority, invisible, neglected and multiple marginalized groups.

Stable institutions and decentralization are prerequisite for personal safety, entailing the transfer of responsibility for the citizens' safety and protection to local autonomy institutions, and finally to civilian actors. A reform of all segments of the executive, legislative and judicial authorities, as well as decentralization, are a starting point for the development and adoption of democratic standards promoting the interests and needs of citizens and local communities through constant dialogue between all political and civil sector stakeholders.

The WPN initiated the establishment of Women's Councilor Networks in local self-government units in Vojvodina and has been extending support and professional assistance for the establishment and active operation of these groups in all 45 local self-government units.

Over the past two years, a significant share of WPN's activities focused on raising democratic capacities and resources for women's self-transformation - by promoting the role of the responsible citizen within the framework of the new human security concept. The WPN perceives the human security concept as a secure democratic environment, enabling women to fulfill their basic needs, in

which they are free from fear of constraint and assured in the existence of generally accepted European values and rules of conduct, which are a precondition for future security. The safety capacity of a community should be advanced by strengthening the place and role of responsible citizens, and encouraging the policies of public institutions (the equal opportunities policy and the role of women in designing the new concept of human security are thoroughly considered), which are prerequisite for the realization of basic human and minority rights in a stable, democratic political environment.

Human security is the concept and process of assertion of the right to choose; it is the key factor in encouraging the active involvement of citizens in assuming responsibility for individual development as well as the development of the broader community. An individual freed from fear and constraint is ready to foster community development.

Understanding that a safe and secure environment, which guarantees the fulfillment of basic needs and future planning, the environment of free citizens, who are then capable of fostering their own development and that of the community, the WPN was actively involved in the campaign of 16 days of activism against violence against women and has continuously implemented its activity entitled "Together against Violence against Women". Through these activities, which are conducted year-round, the WPN has aimed to draw the public's attention to the problem of gender-based violence and emphasize the importance of the competent institutions' accountability for responding to and preventing violence against women and protecting women.

A secure community is the result of the combined influence of economic, social, political, cultural, demographic, and ecological circumstances which, by their substance and potential, define the security capacities of a society, on the one hand; on the other hand, they are a precondition for establishing a safer society both in general and at the individual level. The women of Vojvodina are not liberated from fear, uncertainty, insecurity, prejudice or apprehension arising from the new challenges and risks they face. Aware of the fact that satisfying basic economic needs and economic development, protecting human and minority rights and freedoms, the rule of law, strengthening democracy and efficient administration, and environmental protection are topics of high importance, the WPN has particularly devoted itself to the 15th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and the results of the five-year implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. A series of thematic conferences and panels organized by the WPN at the AP

Vojvodina Assembly and in seven Vojvodina municipalities initiated a serious debate on the following issues: policies for improving the place and role of women in the process of developing, consolidating and maintaining peace and security; the extent to which the gender perspective has been integrated in national security policies; the extent to which the institutionally defined indicators against which progress in applying the NAP is assessed, by constantly seeking the answer to the question of how to “localize” the NAP and implement the planned activities at the level of each local self-government unit; and, how to bring the NAP closer to the everyday lives of women living in small, rural places in Vojvodina.

Guidelines for the WPN's future activities were marked by the following conclusions:

1. Departing from the fact that peace and security are recognized as a public good and that the main mission of the state is to provide all its citizens with protection, that is, their human rights, and in compliance with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals and UNSCR 1325– we reaffirm that the protection of the rights and status of women is of utmost importance;
2. One of the main challenges in implementing the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 arises from the lack of specific and effective mechanisms for measuring the success of its implementation. The implementation of the NAP is hindered by the lack of a clear division of responsibilities between institutions, (qualitative) indicators and a timeframe for achieving specific goals, as well as the lack of resources;
3. There are difficulties in the functioning of mechanisms of effective coordination and cooperation between institutions of the Republic of Serbia and institutions established at the local self-government level, inter alia, due to the absence of precisely defined communication channels between different government levels and clearly defined responsibilities. An effective mechanism needs to be established to coordinate the activities of all these stakeholders and enable the exchange and collection of information from different sources;
4. The new five-year NAP for the 2015-2020 period has to include the process of monitoring all relevant local and provincial level institutions, which should be tasked with: 1. Collecting data on the index of participation of women in the local and provincial authorities, index of participation of women in the local and provincial security councils, headquarters for emer-

- gency situations and civil protection, participation in training, gender budgeting; 2. Analyzing and presenting such data in regular reports and to the public;
5. In order for the work of local and provincial institutions to be meaningful, it is necessary to establish an integral methodology for monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the NAP, in order to facilitate the analysis of the reports at the local and provincial levels against agreed uniform indicators;
 6. Consideration should be given to the possibility of introducing gender equality mechanisms (defined by the NAP) at the local and provincial levels; for example, women as advisors to mayors, as trustworthy members of provincial/local multi-sectoral bodies or provincial/local analytical groups.
 7. The 2015-2020 NAP should envisage the possibility of engaging female deputies of the APV Assembly in the activities of specific bodies charged with the implementation of the NAP, for example, to monitor the activities of the National Assembly Commission for the Implementation of the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, or to make another step forward in the decentralization process and, for instance, establish an APV Assembly Sub-Commission to monitor the implementation of the NAP in Vojvodina.
 8. The Women's Parliamentary Network of the AP Vojvodina Assembly should initiate the process of "localizing" the NAP by organizing thematic conferences in seven Vojvodina municipalities in order to familiarize the local self-government units with the basic NAP principles to get them more actively involved in the drafting of the 2015-2020 NAP.
 9. The Women's Parliamentary Network of the AP Vojvodina Assembly should suggest to the Provincial Secretariat for Culture and Public Information to consider the possibility of publishing a call for proposals on the following topic: media promotion of gender equality in order to thematize the equal opportunities policy from different perspectives and bring it closer to the wider public.

By organizing thematic panels on "women's participation in security" in seven regional centers in Vojvodina, the WPN has initiated a debate on the possibilities of introducing gender equality mechanisms defined in the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 at the local and provincial levels; we opened up a new channel of communication and encouraged local stakeholders to give their suggestions and recommendations to ensure that the local initiatives are heard at the decision-making level and by the authors of the 2015-2020 NAP.

The WPN believes that the 2015-2020 NAP will correspond to reality only if the suggestions and experience of women from small local communities become a part of the National Action Plan since there cannot be any security without gender security and there cannot be any NAP without the experience of local self-government units in Vojvodina.

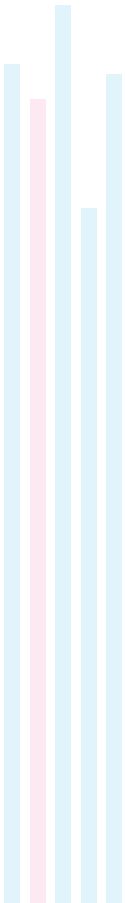
In fact, the word 'Vojvodina' is of feminine gender, too.

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II

ACADEMIC APPROACH



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INTEGRATION OF GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THE DEFENCE SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA – EMPLOYEES’ VIEWS

Abstract: *This paper presents the results of an empirical research conducted on a representative sample of 1058 members of the organizational units of the Ministry of Defence and units of the Serbian Armed Forces. The aim of the research was to provide answers to the following questions: to which extent are members of the defence system informed of the existing gender equality mechanisms; what are the views and perceptions of integrating certain aspects of gender equality; is there a difference in job satisfaction as compared to gender variable and what support mechanisms may be important to the members of the defence system? The data was registered in questionnaires designed in accordance with the objectives of the research, while job satisfaction was measured by means of the Cooper’s job satisfaction scale.*

Keywords: *gender, defence system, empirical research, employees’ views.*

Introduction

Equal participation of women and men in security institutions, creation and implementation of policies, as well as in decision making processes is an indisputable democratic value. However, apart from an imperative to observe fundamental human rights to freedom of choice and equality, this process also entails multiple benefits for individuals, the community and the defence system composed of those individuals. Diversity of qualifications and resources, complementary skills of both male and female members are crucial for the operational effectiveness of the defence system, especially in the light of the ever-increasing complexity of the civil-military interaction, public relations and information gathering. By taking into account different experiences, knowl-

edge, interests and perspectives of men and women, a unique contribution is made to the development of security institutions, which in turn become more efficient in responding to various security needs (of girls and boys, women and men), as well as development-oriented and perceived as credible by the wider community.

At the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Serbian Armed Forces (SAF), the gender perspective has been integrated in the security sector reform.

One of the essential prerequisites for the process to become fully operational is conducting an empirical research (by recording cognitive, emotional and conative sets of employees), the results of which contribute to marking the fields that need to be the focus of activities in order to modify the organizational culture in the desired direction. Options of an empirical approach to this topic are inexhaustible, and all its aspects (reconciliation of work and family life, career guidance, physical training criteria, women on the front lines, sexual harassment, etc.) are equally significant, topical and insufficiently explored. As a contribution to responding to these requirements, the Strategic Research Institute implemented the *Gender Perspective in Military Profession* project in the period from 2013 to 2015.

In this project we focused on the analysis of the socio-psychological context in which the process of achieving gender equality in the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces is being implemented:

1. We monitored the development of the idea of including women in the military system in our region during the 20th century;
2. We cited examples of good practice regarding the implementation of the gender perspective in the countries cooperating with the Serbian Armed Forces, and mechanisms that make the cooperation operational. Furthermore, we monitored the activities implemented by international organizations aimed at providing support to the defence system in this respect, and
3. We conducted a pilot survey (Social Support to Career Development of Women in the SAF) and the main empirical research. This paper will present part of the results obtained in the said research, which include the analysis of: (a) views of the professional personnel about the integration of the gender perspective in the MoD and SAF, as well as the level of their awareness; (b) job satisfaction (c) the importance of support mechanisms to the members of the MoD and SAF and the factors that affect their professional success and personnel functional capability (d) factors relevant for the ca-

reer development of female officers and (e) gender stereotypes of the SAF members related to successful military leadership.

Hence, the project involved the study of the areas of efficient integration of the gender perspective in the defence system through the socio-historical context and organizational and cultural setting in conjunction with psychological factors.

Methods

Measuring Instruments

The following instruments were used: Cooper scale for measuring job satisfaction, scale for examining gender stereotypes (Schein Descriptive Index) and the Questionnaire designed for the purposes of this research, by means of which socio-demographic variables were registered, along with all other variables defined under the draft research. The obtained Cronbach's alpha coefficients helped draw a conclusion that each individual test/scale applied in this research had a high inter-item correlation and that the measurement errors were random and uncorrelated, i.e. the instruments applied were highly reliable.

Data

The sample of the conducted empirical research consisted of 1058 respondents - members of the organizational units and units of the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces. The test material was administered on the sample in the period from 14 October to 8 November 2013 during the visits to the units in line with the predefined research schedule. The sample was representative in terms of the number and representation of respondents in relevant categories.

Results

Level of awareness

One of the most important preconditions for achieving gender equality in the defence system is well-informed and trained staff. Education and training in gender equality provide not only the basis for understanding the essence, but

also the adequate support and appropriate practical implementation of the gender perspective in everyday work. In order to adequately plan and organize training courses, it is necessary to pre-determine the level of knowledge of a specific target group. Therefore, it was crucial to firstly pose a question of employees' level of awareness of the established institutional gender equality bodies and mechanisms. The questions regarding the level of awareness, showed that, at the time when the research was conducted, 57.1% of the respondents had not heard of UNSC Resolution 1325, while 72.1% had not heard of the National Action Plan, 81.6% of them had not heard of the MoD and SAF analytical group, and 69.4% had not heard of gender advisors to the Defence Minister.

Such data provided empirical validation of the importance of undertaking activities aimed at raising awareness of the MoD and SAF members of the gender equality mechanisms, and were used as an argument when encountering resistance recognized in the form of the attitude that "too much attention is devoted to this topic". The implementation of educational activities involves the engagement of military-educational institutions (University of Defence, Military Academy, Military School, Military Medical Academy, School of National Defence), and scientific institutions (Institute for Strategic Studies), organizational units of the Serbian General Staff (Department for Doctrine and Training and Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of Joint Operations of the General Staff Command), gender trainers of the MoD and SAF independently and in cooperation with UNDP SEESAC, as well as the Analytical Group of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces. It can be expected that the next research cycle would show a significantly higher level of awareness of the MoD and SAF employees, following numerous delivered training courses, adequate media coverage and activities aimed at strengthening gender equality mechanisms.

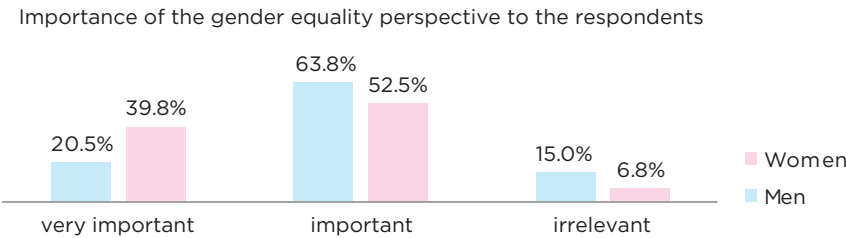
Importance of the gender equality perspective

To the question about the importance of gender equality perspective to a respondent, the obtained responses indicated that the largest percentage of the surveyed sample thinks that the gender equality perspective is important (61.3%).

In relation to the sex variable, it can be said that the responses of men and women were similarly distributed among three categories; the largest percentage believes that the topic is important (m 63.8% and f 52.5%), a slightly smaller

percentage is of the opinion that it is very important (m 20.5%, f 39.8%) while the smallest percentage believes that the topic is irrelevant (m 15.0%, f 6.8%).

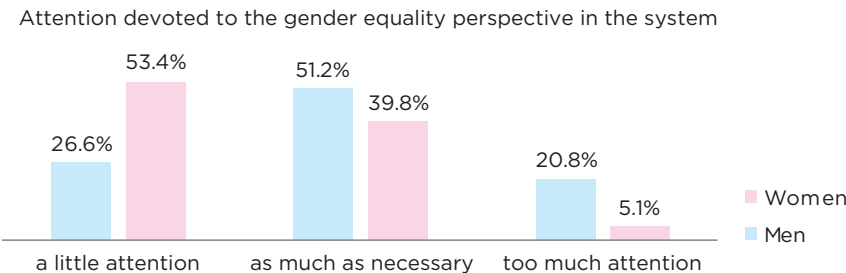
Table 1: *Response distribution to the question about the importance of the gender equality perspective to a respondent*



To the question of how much attention is, according to the respondents, devoted to the gender equality perspective in the defence system, the obtained responses suggest that the largest percentage of the surveyed sample (48.7%) believes that this topic receives just as much attention as necessary, a slightly smaller percentage (32.5%, 344 respondents) thinks that “little attention” is devoted to the topic, while the smallest percentage (17.3%) comprise the respondents who think that too much attention is devoted to the said topic.

In relation to the sex variable, the observed responses to this question, suggest that a larger percentage of women opt for the response that little attention is devoted to the gender equality perspective (53.4%), compared to the percentage of men who selected the same response (26.6%), and who, in larger percentage, report that gender equality receives just as much attention as necessary (51.2%). A larger number of men think that too much attention is devoted to this topic (20.8%) compared to the number of women who share the same opinion (5.1%).

Table 2: *Response distribution to the question about the amount of attention devoted to the gender equality perspective in the defence system*



Further analysis indicate the category of employees who believe that too much attention is devoted to the topic, and where, as a result, we may expect the most resistance, as well as which category of respondents believes that little attention is paid and where it is necessary to intensify training accordingly. The largest percentage of employees who think that little attention is devoted to the gender equality perspective are civilians (20.1%), with 1 to 5 years of service (34.9%), while the largest percentage of employees who feel that too much attention is devoted fall in the category of non-commissioned officers (12.1%) with 11 to 20 years of service (34.4%). Comparing the results regarding the level of awareness of these two categories of employees, a slightly higher level of awareness of institutional bodies and mechanisms for gender equality is observed among employees who feel that insufficient attention is devoted to the topic. A larger percentage of them believe that the topic is important (37.5%), while as many as 31.1% of respondents feel the topic is given too much attention and at the same time consider the gender equality perspective “irrelevant”. The fact that points to a lower level of awareness of employees who believe that the topic of gender equality receives too much attention, can lead to a conclusion that their attitude is a result of not being familiar with the meaning of gender equality. Further recommendations may include raising awareness and training to increase the level of knowledge and sensitivity of this particular category of employees. However, given that this target group believes that enough attention is already devoted to the topic of gender equality, their motivation to actively participate in training may be extremely low, accompanied by high resistance, thus jeopardizing the accomplishment of training objectives. In addition to training, alternative methods of informing the personnel may include acting through the established gender equality mechanisms (Gender Advisors to the Minister of Defence, “persons of trust”, Analytic Group) by their adequate promotion, and competent and timely action when resolving current gender-related matters. As a results, the employees have the opportunity to gain practical insight into the essence of gender equality and realize how important it is for the defence system to deal with this topic.

Job satisfaction

Regardless of the phase of the security sector reform, human resources have always played a crucial part and an important role in the defence forces. Even though the use of new techniques and technology requires staff reduction, there is a need for highly motivated and satisfied qualified military personnel.

Various factors may affect the interpretation and evaluation of the personnel work-related experiences, ranging from their expectations, working conditions to the exchange of impressions and experiences with other employees.¹ Identification of job satisfaction determinants may help the managerial staff to select the strategy that would increase the employees' job satisfaction in the best possible manner while contributing to the system efficiency. If we take into account that the consequences of job dissatisfaction may include: absenteeism, fatigue, turnover, early retirement, hostile behaviour, it is reasonable to consider job satisfaction an important tool in the arsenal of strategic "weapons" available to an organization. Seen from this perspective, the knowledge about employees' satisfaction and the factors that affect job satisfaction may be the key to directing the perceptions, feelings, thoughts, and finally the behaviour of employees in the workplace on daily basis. In the long-run, it is an opportunity to keep the organization and its employees within the strategic plan.

The results obtained by means of the Cooper job satisfaction scale, indicate that the respondents show greatest satisfactions with the relationship with their colleagues and immediate supervisors. Based on the total sample, the respondents express dissatisfaction with the salary and the possibility of personal development and advancement. Some aspects of job satisfaction show statistically significant differences between staff members depending on the sex, age category and rank/status.

There is a statistically significant difference between male and female employees regarding certain job satisfaction factors. Female respondents are considerably more satisfied with the amount of salary, while male respondents are more satisfied with the extent to which the job they perform requires the qualities they believe they possess.

A self-assessment confirming that we are able to successfully perform an activity is an essential prerequisite for initiating an activity, and without initiating an activity there is no success. Therefore, a positive self-assessment of one's own abilities leads to a firm initiative to act, which in turn necessarily opens up a possibility that an action will produce the expected positive effects. If accomplished, such effects will confirm the initial positive attitude of an in-

¹ According to the research conducted by the National Audit Office, the reasons why 9200 staff members chose to leave the British Armed Forces too early in 2007, were as follows: impact of work on family life (49%), feeling of depreciation (33%), poor equipment quality (32%) and too many missions (28%).

dividual about own abilities and create confidence in the positive assessment of one's own newly-acquired abilities. In this chain reaction, a positive image of oneself and one's own abilities is a major trigger for further actions, which through their mere existence increase the probability of a successful outcome. According to gender stereotypes, men and women differ in their psychological characteristics relevant for achieving success in the military profession (Boldry, Wood&Kashy, 2001). This discrepancy between the stereotypical characteristics of women and desired characteristics for the role of a soldier can produce negative effects not only in the process of: selection, classification, performance appraisal and promotion, but also in the self-assessment of possessing desirable skills/characteristics to perform a certain type of work. Bandura's personality theory emphasizes the importance of self-efficacy beliefs in the development and regulation of the behaviour associated with a gender role. The way men and women perceive their efficacy affects many of their choices and behaviours (Mitrović, Trogrlić, 2014). Joint action of the perceived self-efficacy and the level of congruency between a profession and a gender role is a regulatory mechanism when it comes to choices and behaviours associated with an individual's career.

Female respondents, as well as the members aged between 26 to 35, and unmarried respondents express greater satisfaction with the amount of salary than those falling into other categories.

Comparing the obtained results with the results of the research conducted in 2009, involving a representative sample of the MoD and SAF members (Višacki, 2009), we arrive at the conclusion that the age category of the least satisfied respondents remained the same, as well as the relationship between job satisfaction and rank, educational level and marital status. The difference lies in the fact that in 2009 there were no statistically significant differences in job satisfaction between male and female respondents, as observed in the present study.

Factors contributing to professional success

The responses of respondents of different gender show a statistically significant difference in the assessment of two factors: peer support and the luck factor. Female respondents ascribe more importance to the luck factor in contributing to professional success (55.5% of them opted for "contributes considerably") as compared to men (37.5%). A smaller percentage of the sampled women chose the response indicating that peer support contributes to success (65.7% of them

selected “contributes considerably”) compared to the assessment of the same factor by the sampled men (73.7%).

Table 3: *Differences in terms of the factors contributing to professional success in relation to the respondents' sex variable*

Respondents' sex		F	t-test	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Peer support	Equal variances assumed	16.304	2.565	1055	.010*
Luck factor		.184	-4.707	1055	.000

* statistically important at the level of 0.05

When the respondents were asked to choose three of the listed factors that contribute most to their professional success, the family support factor ranked first, both at the total sample level and at the level of subgroups of men and women. Knowledge and abilities, and personal effort and commitment ranked second and third ranked, respectively, without differences between the subgroups. A more detailed overview of the differences in terms of factors which, according to the respondents contribute to the professional success in relation to other socio-demographic variables, will not be presented in this paper as it is not part of the researched topic. However, we believe it would be interesting to note that the results obtained show that the assessment regarding the importance of family support increases with senior ranks. All employees holding colonel rank estimate that family support contributes significantly to their professional success, and the same attitude is shared by 89.8% of lieutenant colonel, while 74.3% of lieutenants believe that family support contributes to the success, whereas the remainder of responses is distributed between “a little” and “does not contribute” categories.

Factors contributing to the personnel functional capability

The respondents perceive that the following factors contribute considerably to the personnel functional capability: military vocational training (70.4% “contributes considerably”) and the team cohesion and good interpersonal relations

(70.4%). These factors ranked first when respondents were asked to single out two factors with the greatest contribution. When it comes to an absence of a specific factor, the largest percentage of respondents report that the factor that “does not exist” is care of the system for the employees’ families (20.9%).

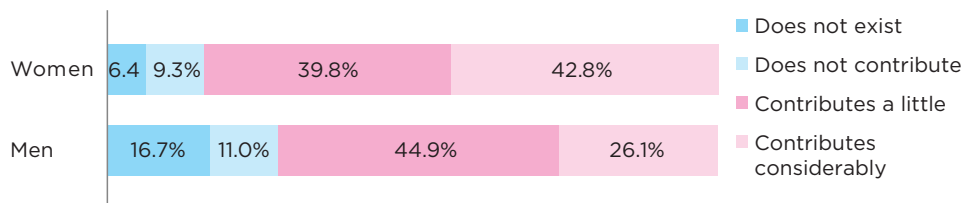
Table 4: Response rate to the question about the perception of the contribution of the above factors to the personnel functional capability

Factors that contribute to personnel functional capability	Does not exist	Does not contribute	Contributes a little	Contributes considerably
Mixed team	14.4%	10.7%	43.8%	29.8%
Care of the system for the employees’ families	20.9%	12.6%	25.0%	40.7%
Team cohesion and good interpersonal relations	2.9%	5.5%	20.3%	70.4%
Military vocational training	1.3%	3.2%	21.7%	72.8%
Physical fitness	1.3%	7.0%	35.0%	55.9%
Equipment and material resources for work	3.4%	9.9%	24.0%	61.8%

When reviewing the results at the level of subgroups of men and women, a significant difference is observed in the assessment of the mixed teams contribution, 42.8% of female respondents think that mixed teams contribute considerably to the personnel capability, as compared to only 26.1% of men who attributed a considerable contribution to this factor. At the same time, 16.7% of men do not perceive that mixed teams even exist.

Graph 1: Response rate the question about the assessment of the mixed teams’ contribution to the personnel functional capability, by sex

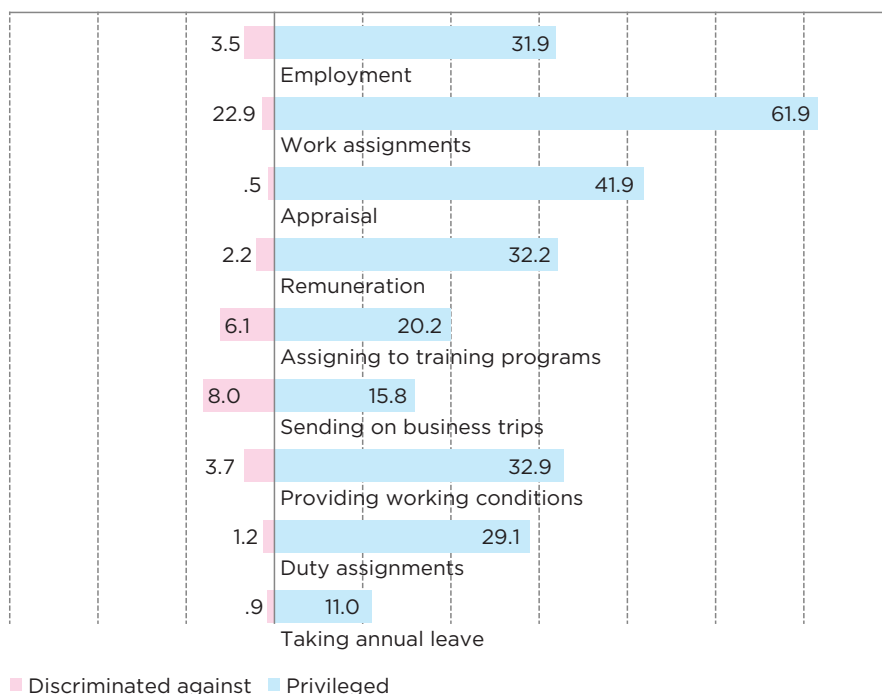
Contribution of the “mixed teams” factor to personnel functional capability



Percieved position of women in the defence system

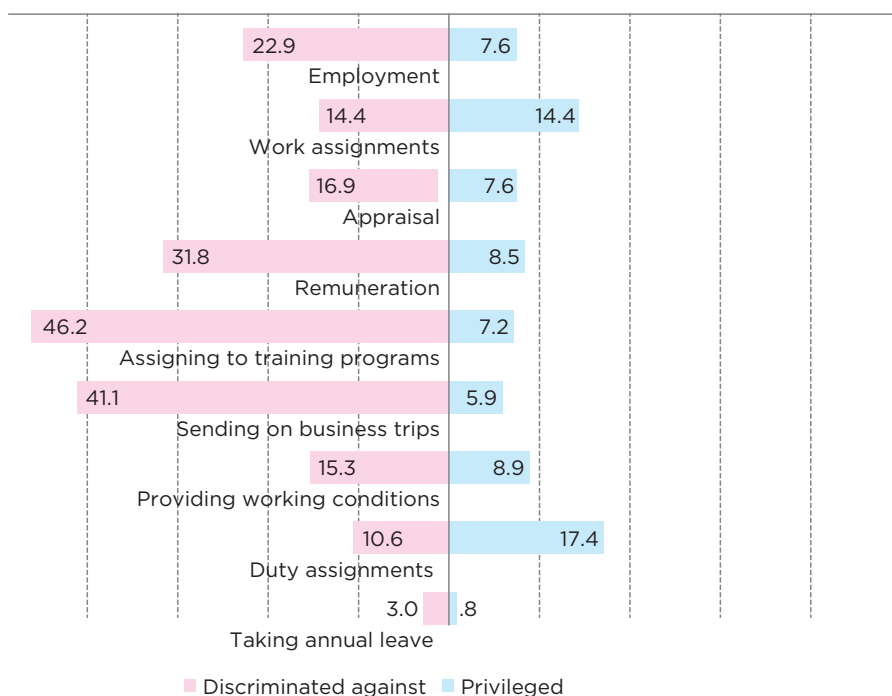
Depending on the sex of the observer, there is a noticeable difference in the perception of the position of women in the defence system in relation to the factors singled out in this research.

Graph. 2: *Responses of male respondents to the question: “Please evaluate the status of women in the defence system in relation to the factors listed in the table”*



The obtained results can be interpreted at two levels: the analysis of the response rate for “privileged”, “discriminated against” based on two subgroups and the analysis of responses by individual factors. It may be noted that the response rate of “privileged” is higher in the male subgroup, while the response rate of “discriminated against” is higher in the female subgroup, i.e. the prevailing attitude of men is that women enjoy a privileged position, whereas women tend to perceive their position as discriminated against.

Graph 3: Responses of female respondents to the question: “Please evaluate the status of women in the defence system in relation to the factors listed in the table”



Note: The offered responses also included the “equal” category. However, for the purpose of better data visibility it was decided to show only the following two categories: “discriminated against” and “privileged”.

By analysing individual factors it may be concluded that the factors such as “work assignments” and “assignment to training programs” show the biggest difference in views of men and women employed in the defence system. In the subgroup of men, even 61.9% of them believe that women are privileged as regards their work assignments, while 46.2% of women think that women in the defence system are discriminated against in terms of assigning to training programs (and 41.1% with regard to sending on business trips). Given that the perception of the concept of *discrimination* had not been previously checked as part of this research, we can assume that the said concept is widely understood (on the average, in an equally correct and equally incorrect way by both subgroups) simply as a denial of rights or possibilities. The fact that there is a big discrepancy in responses depending on the respondents’ sex, indicates that the involvement of women in the military profession is still not considered as the

“natural state of affairs.” During gender equality training courses, participants from the MoD and SAF often give practical examples which confirm the justification of such perceptions, as well as examples that challenge them. We believe that, for the final outcome it may not be significant whether men or women have a more accurate perception. In this case, the most important fact is that the prevailing attitude of men is opposed to the prevailing attitude of women. This information is vital because the very perceptions of employees (regardless of their accuracy or justification) may influence their choices of behaviour, and expectations that will primarily be based on gender stereotypes. Moreover, employees may selectively focus their attention and thus create a situation that will validate their perceptions (theory of behavioural expectations). We believe that such difference in perceptions of the status of a group of employees cannot result in a cohesive team/staff. Therefore, it is necessary to inform and train all categories of employees so as to ensure not only an understanding of the gender equality essence, but also its application in everyday work that could potentially lead to the equal status of all employees, and thus to a greater overlap of different perceptions.

Work – family support mechanisms

The literature (Batak, 2014) lists three reasons why the reconciliation of family and work obligations has become a major topic of modern societies: technological development that changes the nature of work, while requiring employees' continuous improvement and more than eight hours of work; the need for career advancement that can be perceived as conflicted to traditional values aimed at commitment to the family; the changes in the demographic and economic trends, and the increasing participation of women in the labour market. The research results (Allen 2001) indicate that an employee who perceives that his/her organization fosters a working environment that supports care for the family, is less likely to experience a work-family conflict, shows greater job satisfaction, is more dedicated to the organization and is not prone to thinking about leaving the job. In order to provide empirical support to the initiatives related to the provision of mechanisms that would enable members of the defence system to achieve better reconciliation of family and professional life, we hereby present the data obtained in this research.

The total sample singled out *organized specialist medical examinations* and *organization of foreign language courses* as the most important mechanisms for the members of the system. When looking at the sample by sex, we learn

that the female respondents favour specialist medical examinations (the largest percentage - 24.2% of them opting for this response as the first choice), while male respondents are more interested in foreign language courses (17.1 %), and rank medical examinations as the second (13.9%) most important mechanism offered. As their third priority, all respondents chose a possibility of *flexitime*. The MoD and SAF offer a possibility of rescheduling of working hours; however, it is solely within the competence of the manager of the organizational unit.

Table 5: Response rate regarding *the assessment of desirable support mechanisms by sex (women/men) and importance (to a respondent /system)*

Importance Of Support Mechanisms To A Respondent	Women	Men
The possibility of flexitime	48.7	51.0
Organization of specialist medical examinations	91.9	92.4
Health education	89.4	86.5
Lectures on raising children	68.2	68.6
Organization of events for children	70.8	70.6
Organization of cultural and artistic events for employees	80.5	74.9
Organization of sports competitions for women	73.7	70.2
Test drive of new car models in cooperation with NAVK	54.2	66.3
Available brochures and publications on the legal protection of women	82.2	66.5
SOS line - the possibility of obtaining advice by phone	68.2	67.0
Introduction of gender equality perspective into all aspects of training and development	76.7	69.3
Forming women's groups in trade unions in the MoD and SAF	74.6	50.4
Computer course as per the ECDL standard	85.6	88.3
Foreign language courses	89.8	89.5
Employees' child day-care centre organized based on the garrison principle	68.6	67.1

By observing the data for the entire sample, it can be concluded that all mechanisms are generally assessed as desirable (based on the fact that all mechanisms are assessed as important by more than half of the surveyed sample).

Employees' child day-care centre organized based on the garrison principle was selected as first choice in relation to other offered mechanisms by 66 respondents, with an equal proportion of male and female respondents, 86% of married respondents, 57.6% of aged 26 -35 and 34.8% aged from 36 to 45. Maternity leave and childcare leave for mothers last 12 months, and is usually associated with the absence due to special-care pregnancies, and subsequent childcare leave for the second (third ..) child. However, this undoubtedly favourable opportunity should not be seen only as a way of providing conditions for establishing an affective link between a mother and a child. It can also be examined in the context of a woman's satisfaction and the consequences that such prolonged absence has on her competitiveness in the labour market, and/or the possibility of obtaining employment continuity and career advancement. Moreover, despite the fact that the new Labour Law, which entered into force in July 2014, emphasizes protection of the rights of mothers and pregnant women, research shows that, in the majority of cases, they still have the same employment status after returning from a leave of absence (Batak, 2014).

For years, policies of states and international organizations have been focused on raising awareness of the opportunities, the need and importance of greater participation of men in private and family responsibilities. Redefining a man's role by liberating it from gender stereotypes and stimulating men to recognize and persevere in the desire to be treated as equally good parents (which is guaranteed by the Family Law of the Republic of Serbia²), makes it easier to leave a traditional model of parenthood where a woman is considered most competent and most responsible for family life and performing household, unpaid labour. Encouraging legally provided rights entitling a father to take a childcare leave in the defence system, would mean providing opportunities to women to achieve continuity of employment, while at the same time ensuring equal workload distribution in the units/organizational units the employees belong to, especially due to an actual increase in marriages between defence system members (thus, it can be avoided that one person, a mother, is absent for longer periods of time. Instead, two people may take a leave of absence, a

2 Pursuant to the Family Law of the RS, "Official Gazette, No. 18/2005, Article 7, both a mother and a father have the right to parenthood; the parents are equal in exercising the parenthood right and shall not violate the said right.

mother and a father, but from different system units and be absent for shorter periods of time).

An example of a well-designed, established and functional method of meeting the need to harmonize family and work commitments of employees in the defence system (setting up of “military” kindergartens, providing flexitime, part-time work, etc.) is set by the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces of the Kingdom of Spain.

The second course of action may include continual raising awareness of the managerial staff about the extent in which the care for people is a powerful tool in their hands, while constantly emphasizing that the perceived social and organizational support affects the feeling of acceptance, self-appreciation and reduction of stress which in turn encourage an employee to adequately understand the situation and activate mechanisms to overcome it. A well-developed organizational support network represents a structural predisposition to a sense of social integrity and emotional acceptance and, as studies show, is in a negative correlation with the intention to leave the job.

Creating support mechanisms and defining a target group that would be covered by such mechanisms should be liberated from any gender stereotypes and perceived gender roles. This imperative is supported by the fact that the first three mechanisms chosen according to their importance to a respondent, do not differ in male and female respondents, the difference is observed only in the rank of the first and second selected mechanism. Since gender roles are changing, the defence system, as an organization that cares about its employees, should take into consideration that a male employee can have the same needs as his female counterpart in terms of childcare, and that a female employee, just like her male colleagues, may have the same needs for the career development and raising to top positions. Thus for instance, a support mechanism that would include setting up “military” kindergartens should not be defined as a mechanism designed for mothers only, but for the parents employed in the defence system, which is the only proper way to treat both parents equally.

Finally, by joint activities the top management should raise awareness of all the lower management staff and employees about the importance and benefits of work-life harmony.

Conclusion and Way Ahead

A step further is the integration of the gender perspective across all levels of military education and delivering continuous training to various target groups. Furthermore, it is necessary to plan the education of top managers and decision makers in order to raise their awareness about gender perspective and its importance, so as to ensure their full understanding, necessary support and smooth realization of activities related to the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

Recommendations for future research may include conducting researches that would use the same measuring instruments, i.e. longitudinal surveys, which would enable data comparison during different phases of the gender perspective implementation, and thus gain insight into the process, as well as the speed and efficiency of the progress achieved in this field. Also, we believe that a research of the attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, perceptions of female officers would provide a systematic, authentic and deep insight into the various aspects of career development of women in the defence system. As the most appropriate technique for collecting such data we suggest a focus group interview that would enable collection and subsequent analysis of the facts on the perception of different aspects identified as relevant for the professional development of the target group - female officers. Such interviews would be conducted under controlled and scientifically legitimate conditions, using positive aspects of social interaction, while appreciating the female respondents as experts of their own experience and the authors of their own career stories.

The possibilities of acting on these grounds are not only aimed at raising awareness of the need for integration and observance of all gender equality aspects in the defence system. On the contrary, it is necessary to strictly comply with the selection criteria, promptly inform young people interested in the military profession and thus ensure adequately motivated personnel for education. In addition, it is also essential to implement career guidance, make the system more sensitive to all kinds of problems that occur and ready for finding adequate solutions. It is also required to operationalize the competences of certain system components and delegate responsibility in the areas where necessary, provide means of gender budgeting, promote coordinated action of institutions, foster an active approach to the media in raising awareness of military opinion and systematic work on the interiorisation of values. In addition, a responsible role of the whole community is vital in promoting human rights and gender equality values.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THE UNDERGRADUATE CURRICULUM OF THE FACULTY OF SECURITY STUDIES

Abstract: *In 2010 the Republic of Serbia adopted the National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”, which stipulates that on the basis of gender equality UN member states should build and adapt mechanisms for conflict resolution and inclusion of women in all levels of decision-making. An important role in the activities undertaken to achieve the goals defined by the National Action Plan is assigned to the ministry in charge of education (currently the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development). These activities include raising awareness of potential conflicts, launching educational programs about gender aspects of conflicts, and introducing the subject matter of gender equality and gender-based violence at all levels of education and specialization in the security sector. Given that the Faculty of Security Studies of the University of Belgrade trains its students to perform a wide range of jobs in the security sector, the introduction of said subject matter at this higher education institution has special importance. In order to determine the extent to which this subject matter is currently being taught at the Faculty of Security Studies and at the same time to work toward the NAP goals, we have conducted a pilot study which included an analysis of the undergraduate curriculum and course syllabuses as well as the opinions of first- and second-year male and female students on gender equality. Having analyzed the syllabuses of undergraduate courses, we have established that the issues of gender equality, gender-sensitive address forms, gender-based violence, and the role and position of women in the security and defense systems, are underrepresented in course syllabuses, teaching units and primary literature. Furthermore, the opinion poll of the first- and second-year male and female undergraduate students on gender equality, conducted in June 2015 at the Faculty, led us to the conclusion that despite the students’ awareness of this subject matter, certain gender-based stereotypes nonetheless exist. Also, the majority of respondents recognized the need for incorporating this subject matter into the curriculum and for organizing informal*

forms of teaching such as seminars and workshops. It is our belief that educating male and female students to perform jobs in the security and defense systems and better participate in civil society requires that this subject matter be incorporated into the existing undergraduate curriculum at this higher education institution and that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia assume a more active role in attaining the goals of the National Action Plan and achieving gender equality as an imperative of democratic societies.

Keywords: *gender equality, gender stereotypes, education, Faculty of Security Studies.*

Introduction

Achieving gender equality is of utmost importance to the protection and exercise of basic human rights and the protection of the rule of law. In recent years, the official documents of many organizations (UN, NATO, EU, OSCE, etc.) have identified the achievement of gender equality and the inclusion of women into all spheres of society as necessary prerequisites for establishing peace and economic and social development. In its 16th and 17th sessions held in 1997, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women concluded, among other things, that “governments are obliged to ensure the presence of women at all levels and in all areas of international affairs. This requires that they be included in economic and military matters, in both multilateral and bilateral diplomacy...” (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1997). This was ratified by the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 2000 UN SC Resolution 1325, both of which stress the equally important role of men and women in promoting sustainable peace as well as the necessity of including women in conflict prevention, peace-building processes and post-conflict reconstruction, and of increasing the number of women in both political life and security institutions. In other words, the achievement of gender equality was set as one of the imperatives of democratic societies.

As a post-conflict country in transition, the Republic of Serbia has made a commitment, as part of its reform processes and efforts toward integration into the EU, to adopt democratic values and standards, one of them being the elimination of discrimination and the integration of the gender perspective at all levels. Gender equality is guaranteed by the Constitution, laws and strategic documents, and Serbia is a signatory to a number of international conventions

and documents that guarantee equality of men and women and forbid sexual discrimination (Biserko, 2012). In order to increase the number of women and improve their position in the security sector and at all levels of political decision-making, in 2010 the Republic of Serbia adopted a National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325, which specified measures aimed at introducing the gender perspective into the security sector. According to the National Strategy for improving the position of women and promoting gender equality, the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia and the participation of women in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans are meant to create conditions for promoting regional cooperation, security policy and peace (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2009: 4).

However, despite the adopted laws and strategic documents, some of the greatest obstacles to achieving gender equality are gender-based stereotypes, gender roles and the division of jobs into 'male-only' and 'female-only'. In their work, Bem and Bem (1970) maintain that women have been traditionally expected to aspire to the same goal of getting married and having children as well as to pursue their careers as secretaries, nurses, or teachers. Women are believed to be gentler, kinder and emotionally expressive unlike men, who are traditionally associated with self-confidence, independence and leadership (Boldry et al., 2001: 690). Traditional and patriarchal attitudes are dominant in the sphere of political decision-making, international relations and security systems, particularly in the armed forces, which are considered an organization dominated by a culture of masculinity and stereotypes of men as 'just warriors' and women as 'beautiful souls' (Elshtain, 1995). According to gender-based stereotypes in the security system, women are not strong enough to perform military duties as well as men and furthermore, their participation in combat is challenged since they are far too emotional (Nicolas, 2014). Some authors go as far as to claim that women do not belong in the armed forces in the first place, so Mitchell (1998: xvi) maintains that "with the exception of the medical professions, there is no real need for women in the military" and Martin van Creveld (2013) believes that "women's presence in the military is little but an expensive charade". These stereotypes are also present in Serbia, where gender roles of women and men in the family and broader community stem from patriarchal beliefs and a culture "pervaded by the persistent idea that a woman's passive role and submissive position is the natural order of things" (Petrušić, 2015). Therefore, the real rights and position of women in Serbia are often described as being merely "trimmings of democracy" (EurActiv, 2012). Research on gender equality in the Serbian Armed Forces has shown that women are a minority in

this organization and that the predominant belief is that a woman cannot be as good at performing military duties as a man (Bjeloš et al., 2012). Gender roles and the division of duties into 'male-only' and 'female-only' are present in the armed forces, so that women are predominantly employed in the so-called other services which include civilians in military service, medical staff, administrative staff, military police, full-time or part-time reservists, etc. In other words, according to the study *Gender and Security Sector Reform in Serbia*, "since the end of World War II, women's access to civilian jobs in the security sector has never been challenged, in contrast to their access to operational posts in traditional security institutions" (Stojanović & Quesada, 2010:16).

One of the ways to combat this kind of stereotypes is to introduce the gender perspective into the education system. The World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century requires eliminating all gender stereotyping and considering gender aspects in different disciplines (UNESCO, 1998). The Declaration further stipulates that gender studies be promoted "as a field of knowledge, strategic for the transformation of higher education and society" (UNESCO, 1998: 23). The Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017 sets out five strategic objectives which can be attained by involving all social actors and institutions (CoE, 2014a), while the Report of the 2nd Conference of the Council of Europe National Focal Points on Gender Equality: *Combating Gender Stereotypes in and through Education* underscores the key role of the education system in achieving gender equality goals (CoE, 2014b). It also stresses that educational institutions can be a positive instrument for raising awareness, disseminating knowledge and providing a new model of behavior. This was ratified by other documents such as Recommendation Rec(2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship (CoE, 2002)¹; Recommendation Rec(2003)3 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making (CoE, 2003)²; Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)13

1 "education for democratic citizenship is a factor for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, and solidarity, that it contributes to promoting the principle of equality between men and women, and that it encourages the establishment of harmonious and peaceful relations within and among peoples, as well as the defence and development of democratic society and culture"; Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2002). Recommendation Rec(2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=313139&Site=CM>

2 "incorporate into school curricula education and training activities aimed at sensitising young people about gender equality and preparing them for democratic citizenship". Coun-

of the Committee of Ministers to member states on gender mainstreaming in education (CoE, 2007)³, etc. The importance of educational institutions in achieving gender equality, especially in the security sector, was also recognized in national action plans for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325. Certain countries such as Spain, Norway, Serbia, France, Ireland and Iceland have included their ministries in charge of education among the institutional mechanisms for the implementation of NAPs, while others have recognized the importance of research institutions in this process (Miller et al., 2014). The National Action Plan of the RS for the 2010-2015 period defines the role of the Ministry of Education and professional educational institutions in society in the implementation of the following activities:

- Conducting research projects whose purpose is to monitor and improve the implementation of the National Action Plan in practice and to inform the national and international professional public of the results of these projects.
- Creating equal opportunities in practice for the education, employment, career guidance and social care of women and men in the security sector, so that women could participate on an equal footing with men in creating and conducting security policies, national defense policies and human rights protection.
- Raising awareness of potential new conflicts and launching educational programs on the gender aspects of conflicts.
- Incorporating the subject matter of gender equality and the importance of equal opportunities for women to participate in making decisions about security and defense issues into compulsory education programs for public administration officials, particularly in the defense and security sectors.
- Incorporating the subject matter of the importance of equal participation of women in decision-making about security and defense issues into com-

cil of Europe Committee of Ministers (2003). Recommendation Rec(2003)3 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=2229>

3 “promote and encourage measures aimed specifically at implementing gender mainstreaming at all levels of the education system and in teacher education with a view to achieving de facto gender equality and improve the quality of education”; Council of Europe Committee of Ministers (2007). Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)13 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on gender mainstreaming in education <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1194631&Site=CM>

pulsory education programs for public administration officials, particularly in the defense and security sectors.

- Introducing the subject matter of gender equality and gender-based violence at all levels of training, specialization and education in the security sector (NAP, 2010)

However, analyses of the gender dimension in higher education have shown that university programs are gender-insensitive in terms of both content and language. Research into the gender dimension in higher education material, conducted by the Center for Gender and Politics of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade, led to the conclusion that educational programs and subject matter were “androcentric, anachronous and discriminatory and contribute to a stereotyping of gender roles” (Bačević et al., 2010: 8).

Bearing in mind that the Faculty of Security Studies of the University of Belgrade trains its students to perform a wide range of jobs in the security sector, the introduction of the subject matter at hand into this higher education institution is of particular importance, with special emphasis on raising awareness of potential new conflicts, gender-based violence, and equal opportunities for women to participate in making decisions about security and defense issues. In order to determine the extent to which this subject matter is currently being taught at the Faculty of Security Studies and at the same time to work toward the NAP goals, we have conducted a pilot study which, owing to its limited scope, focused on analyzing the undergraduate curriculum, course syllabuses and administrative forms, and polling the opinions of first- and second-year male and female students on gender equality. The research part of the study was based on the analysis of the undergraduate curriculum and first- and second-year course syllabuses at the Faculty of Security Studies as well as on a questionnaire completed by first- and second-year male and female students. The first two years of study were chosen because their curriculum is the same for all students, the courses taught are theoretical and applied and they are taken by the largest number of male and female students.

The main goals of the research are to identify the presence of gender equality issues in course syllabuses, teaching units and primary literature, to examine the opinions on gender equality of first- and second-year male and female undergraduate students of the Faculty of Security Studies, and to emphasize the need for this subject matter to be incorporated into the existing undergraduate curriculum at this higher education institution and for the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia to

assume a more active role in attaining the goals of the National Action Plan and achieving gender equality as an imperative of democratic societies.

Methodology

Given that the research includes an analysis of the teaching material used in the first two years of study at the Faculty of Security Studies as well as the opinions of male and female students on gender equality issues, it is divided into two parts.

In the first part of the research we carried out a quantitative analysis, which involved examining the frequency of the subject of gender equality in the curriculum, syllabuses and textbooks, and the issues of gender-sensitivity of the language of administration forms. The analysis included the teaching material used in the first two years of study since it is taught to a large number of male and female students. For the purposes of the research we analyzed the syllabuses of the following courses taught in the first two years of study: Basics of Security, Legal Aspects of Security, Conflict Theories, Introduction to Security Studies, National Security Systems, Civil Defense, Defense Management, Political System, and International Relations. A total of 12 units of teaching material – textbooks (primary and secondary literature) – were analyzed.

In the second part of the research we used a questionnaire to poll the views of male and female students. The starting point in the development of our questionnaire was the research of the Center for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research (Institute of Social Sciences) “Female and Male Citizens of Serbia on Gender Equality” (Bošković, 2010) and the research of the Psychology Department of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb “Perception, Experience and Views on Gender Discrimination in the Republic of Croatia” (Kamenov and Galić, 2011). We should also mention similar studies into gender equality conducted in the Republic of Serbia in the last ten years which have been helpful in designing, planning and conducting our research: (1) Analysis of the Gender Dimension in Higher Education Teaching Material (Center for Gender and Politics of the Faculty of Political Sciences, 2010), carried out in collaboration with United Nations Development Program and the Department of Gender Equality of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of the Republic of Serbia; (2) Mapping (Non)Discrimination Discourse in Military Education of the Republic of Serbia (Public Policy Research Center, 2013), conducted with the support of the Open Society Foundations and the

Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces; (3) (Post)secular Turn: Religious, Moral and Sociopolitical Values of the Student Population in Serbia (Center for Religious Studies of the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, 2013), conducted in collaboration with the Center for European Policy Studies (Brussels), Konrad Adenauer Foundation and with the support of the European Parliament. Other documents were also used as the basis for research design and analysis: reports on gender equality, normative-legal and strategic documents, and the National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325. The opinion poll of male and female students was carried out in May and June of 2015 at the Faculty of Security Studies.

Research results

1. *Curriculum, syllabus (courses included in the questionnaire), textbooks*

For research purposes the authors analyzed the undergraduate curriculum, the syllabuses of the selected courses, and compulsory literature used in the selected courses. The undergraduate curriculum of security studies covers four years of study, the first two of which have the same program for all students, whereas the curriculum for the third and fourth years is a combination of five courses taken by all students and four optional courses which the student chooses from an optional group of courses. Due to the fact that the curriculum is organized in this way, the analysis included only the courses taught in the first two years of study.

Curriculum

From the analysis of the undergraduate curriculum it is obvious that gender equality does not figure in any of the course names.⁴ Furthermore, in the description of the study goals and the professional competences acquired by students upon completion of undergraduate studies, there is no explicit mention of the gender dimension of the security sector at any level of analysis. The reasons are manifold. Bearing in mind the heritage of the Faculty of Security Studies from a period when it used to be the main source of qualified personnel for the

4 For more detail on the current curriculum, see: *Plan organizacije i izvođenja nastave u školskoj 2014/15. godini na osnovnim akademskim studijama* (October 2014) Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies. Available at: <http://www.fb.bg.ac.rs/download/akreditacija/Realizacija/Realizacija%20nastave%20osnovne%20studije%202014-15.pdf> (accessed on August 29, 2015).

former system of total national defense and social self-protection (the Faculty of People's Defense), it was expected that its primary focus would remain on traditional, state security actors (the armed forces, the police), which meant that the actors who had in the meantime proved to be equally important for security (private security, corporate security, civil society organizations, etc.) were pushed into the background. The Faculty has since recognized the broadened and deepened notion of security in contemporary theories and has, after the changes made to the curriculum and syllabuses in 2001, and particularly in 2003, introduced courses that deal with the dimensions of security studies previously unfamiliar in this country, such as human security. In keeping with this concept, issues of gender in security were studied, among other things, at the Department of Human and Social Resources Management Studies, both as part of primary and secondary literature and student coursework (seminar papers, essays). However, the study of these thematic units was limited to third- and fourth-year students of that department, which was one of the four available, so that a vast majority of undergraduate students were denied the opportunity to study this subject matter. These two reasons were crucial to the fact that despite being incorporated into modern curriculums and syllabuses from the very beginning, gender issues in the security sector have stayed under the radar of most students of the Faculty of Security Studies for the last 10-15 years.

Course syllabuses

For research purposes we analyzed the syllabuses of the following courses taught in the first two years of study: Basics of Security, Legal Aspects of Security, Conflict Theories, Introduction to Security Studies, National Security Systems, Civil Defense, Defense Management, Political System, and International Relations. These are theoretical-methodological (5), scientific-applied (2) and academic-general (2) courses, which, directly or indirectly, familiarize students with the basic notions necessary for knowing and understanding the dynamics of the security sector in the contemporary environment and current political situation.

The analysis of the syllabuses of the selected courses revealed that the majority of them do not feature teaching units about the gender dimension of security. The only course that deals with this issue is Security Studies: An Introduction, whose fourth teaching unit *Theoretical Approaches* covers the thematic section *Feminist Approaches to Security*. While the course Security Studies: An Introduction was introduced in the previous academic year of 2014/15, this represents the first major step toward incorporating the gender dimension of

security into the curriculum of the Faculty of Security Studies. This fact is particularly important if we bear in mind that it is an academic-general course and that it is taught in the first year of study.

Table 1: Analyzed courses

No.	Name of course	Type of course	Year of studies
1.	Basics of Security	Theoretical-methodological	First
2.	Legal Aspects of Security	Academic-general	First
3.	Conflict Theories	Theoretical-methodological	First
4.	Security Studies: An Introduction	Academic-general	First
5.	National Security Systems	Theoretical-methodological	Second
6.	Civil Defense	Theoretical-methodological	Second
7.	Defense Management	Theoretical-methodological	Second
8.	Political System	Scientific-applied	Second
9.	International Relations	Scientific-applied	Second

The selected courses generally use one compulsory textbook, while only a few courses use secondary literature as well. Most compulsory textbooks (six out of nine, i.e. two thirds) have been published in the last five years, an encouraging fact that suggests their contents is up to date. However, an analysis of these textbooks' contents revealed that most of them do not feature any thematic sections concerning the gender dimension of security. The only exception is the course *Security Studies: An Introduction*, which covers the thematic section *Feminist Approaches to Security* in all three of its sources (compulsory textbook and two secondary sources):

1. The textbook *International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels* (Ejdus, 2012), in Chapter 4: *Alternative Approaches in Security Studies*, includes the theme *Feminist Approaches* (2012: 97-98);
2. The collection of papers *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Williams, 2012), in the first part: *Theoretical Approaches*, includes the thematic section *Feminist Perspectives* by Sandra Whitworth (Vitvort, 2012: 161-175); and

3. The collection of papers *International Security: Theoretical Approaches* (Lipovac, Živojinović: 2014), in the chapter Alternative Theoretical Approaches, includes the thematic section The Feminist Security Theory by Vesna Jarić (Jarić, 2014: 293-313).

Table 2: Analyzed literature

No.	Name of course	Literature
1.	Basics of Security	Stajić, Lj. (2011). <i>The Basics of Security Systems with the Bases of Research into Security Phenomena</i> . Novi Sad: Faculty of Law.
2.	Legal Aspects of Security	Mitrović, D. (2012). <i>An Introduction to Law</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Law.
3.	Conflict Theories	Milašinović, R., Milašinović, S. and Putnik, N. (2012). <i>Conflict Theories</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies.
4.	Security Studies: An Introduction	Lipovac, M. and Živojinović, D. (ed.) (2014). <i>International Security: Theoretical Approaches</i> . Belgrade: Security Innovation Center of the Faculty of Security Studies and Academic Book. Williams, P. (ed.) (2012). <i>Security Studies: An Introduction</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies and The Official Gazette. Ejdus, F. (2012). <i>International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels</i> . Belgrade: The Official Gazette.
5.	National Security Systems	Keković, Z. (2014). <i>Security Systems</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies.
6.	Civil Defense	Jakovljević, V. (2006). <i>Civil Defense</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies. Gačić, J. (2008). <i>Civil Emergency Planning</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies.
7.	Defense Management	Mišović, S. (2013). <i>Defense Management</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Security Studies.
8.	Political System	Ivaniš, Ž., Mladenović, M. and Dragišić, Z. (2005). <i>The Political System</i> . Belgrade: Faculty of Civil Defense.
9.	International Relations	Dimitrijević, V. and Stojanović, R. (1996). <i>International Relations</i> . Belgrade: The Official Gazette of the FRY.

While it may seem at first glance that these chapters only deal with theoretical discourses, further analysis of their content reveals that this is not the case. The compulsory textbook, in addition to stating all the dominant approaches within the feminist school, also mentions the UN SC Resolution 1325. In her paper

on feminist approaches, Sandra Whitworth also analyzes the manifestations of gender relations of power on three examples: “the impacts of armed conflict, action and activism, and talking and making weapons and war” (Vitvort, 2012:161-175). In her paper, Vesna Jarić also addresses the “transformative potential of the feminist security theory” (Jarić, 2014:307-309), stating all the relevant international law sources: Resolution 1325, resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, and the UN General Assembly’s Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Teaching classes – pre-exam coursework

In addition to the usual teaching forms, i.e. lectures and practical classes based on course syllabuses and textbook contents, professors and assistants in certain courses guide students, as part of their instructional seminar paper and essay writing classes, toward topics outside the scope of the syllabus yet still connected to its thematic sections. For example, coursework in National Security Systems and Defense Management, taught in the second year, includes writing compulsory and optional seminar papers and essays on set or chosen topics concerning gender in security. In National Security Systems, one of the ten essay topics for the academic year of 2014/15 was *Gender Equality in the Security System of the Republic of Serbia*, with 20 students choosing to write on the topic. In Defense Management, as part of the optional pre-exam coursework of writing seminar papers, students wrote on the topic of *Gender Equality in the Defense Management of the Republic of Serbia*.

Analysis of administration forms

Besides the aforementioned analyses, we have also analyzed administration forms such as exam registration forms, examination reports, applications, requests, proposals, and other forms. This analysis included the following nine forms used at all levels of study at the Faculty of Security Studies: exam registration form for PhD students, report of the defense of a PhD student’s research study, report of the final examination in PhD studies at the Faculty of Security Studies, degree examination application form, request for the issuing of a certificate of exams passed, student’s proposal for the theme of graduation thesis and mentor’s proposal, exam registration form (for all years of study), statistical report on student enrolment, semestral transcript. It was established that none of these forms uses gender-sensitive language. In other words, all the terms and expressions are masculine nouns (student, candidate, mentor).

2. *Opinions of male and female students on gender equality*

In addition to the analysis of the undergraduate curriculum and course syllabuses, we have also polled the opinions of first- and second-year male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies. The research tool used in this part of the paper was the questionnaire. The sample included 304 male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies or 27.31% of the total number of first- and second-year male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies. It is safe to say that this sample is representative, seeing as it included almost 30% of the target population. Out of the total number of respondents (304), 67.9% of them were female and 32.1% were male.

Table 3: Breakdown of respondents by gender and year of study

Percent	Percent	Percent	Valid Percent
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	96	31.6	32.1
Female	203	66.8	67.9
<i>Total</i>	304	100.0	100.0
<i>Education</i>			
First year	123	40.5	40.5
Second year	181	59.5	59.5
<i>Total</i>	304	100.0	100.0

The results reveal an uneven gender structure of respondents, which coincides with the gender structure of first- and second-year male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies (Table 4), but also with the gender structure at all levels of undergraduate studies, since out of the 2,604 students currently studying at the Faculty 62.75% are female (see Table 5).

Table 4: Breakdown of first- and second-year male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies

Year of study	Female	Male	Total
First	301	162	463
Second	425	225	650
<i>Total</i>	726 (65.23%)	387 (34.77%)	1113

Table 5: Breakdown of undergraduate male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies

Year of study	Female	Male	Total
First	301	162	463
Second	425	225	650
Third	332	176	508
Fourth	229	144	373
Undergraduate ABD	347	263	610
<i>Total</i>	1.634 (62.75%)	970 (37.25%)	2.604

In the following section we will present some of the research results related to male and female students' knowledge about gender equality and stereotypes and to their opinions on the necessity for introducing such subject matter into the curriculum and syllabuses.

Research results

The analysis of the curriculum and textbooks revealed an absence of this subject matter at the Faculty of Security Studies, so we set out to analyze the first- and second-year male and female students' knowledge about and opinions on gender equality. We endeavored, first and foremost, to determine what the term gender equality meant to the respondents. In this research, we selected eight statements about gender equality from different sources, mainly from previous studies.

The question "What does the term gender equality mean to you?" was supplied with nine answers from which a respondent could choose a maximum of three answers. The respondents mostly chose the following answers: equal opportunities for all regardless of gender, equal representation of both genders in executive positions, and equal economic power of both genders.

When asked "Where have you received the most information about gender equality?", the majority of respondents replied that they had learned the most about gender equality in school/at university (48.7%), in the family (39.1%) and in the media (8.2%). Bearing in mind that the analysis of the curriculum and syllabuses of the selected courses showed that most syllabuses lacked a teaching unit concerning the gender dimension of security, one might wonder how is it that the majority of respondents have received the most information on gender equality precisely at the Faculty. Namely, besides the usual teaching forms, i.e. lectures and practical classes based on course syllabuses and textbook

contents, professors and assistants in certain courses guide students, as part of their instructional seminar paper and essay writing classes, toward topics outside the scope of the syllabus yet still connected to its thematic sections. For example, coursework in National Security Systems and Defense Management, taught in the second year, includes writing compulsory and optional seminar papers and essays on set or chosen topics concerning gender in security. In National Security Systems, one of the ten essay topics for the academic year of 2014/15 was *Gender Equality in the Security System of the Republic of Serbia*, with 20 students choosing to write on the topic. We should also mention that in 2015 the Faculty of Security Studies hosted a lecture on gender-based violence in armed conflicts, organized as part of regular activities of one of its research centers, the Human Security Research Center.

Next, we examined how familiar male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies were with the institutional and legal framework for achieving gender equality and with the institutions for the safeguarding of equality. In this part of the research we selected nine statements, some of which were formulated on the basis of previous research. Three options were offered: true, false, and undecided. Here we will present only a segment of research results, which refer to the questions of whether gender equality is regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia; whether Serbia has a NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325; and, whether there are any institutions for the safeguarding of equality in Serbia.

The breakdown of answers to the question of whether gender equality in Serbia is regulated by the Constitution and law is shown in Table 6.

Table 6: “Gender equality in Serbia is regulated by the Constitution and law”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
True	181	59.5	59.9
False	17	5.6	5.6
Undecided	104	34.2	34.4
<i>Total</i>	302	99.3	100.0

A large number of respondents (59.5%) answered the question affirmatively, but there was a significant number of respondents (34.2%) who did not know whether gender equality was constitutionally and legally regulated in Serbia.

Since the National Action Plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 is vital for achieving gender equality in the security system and seeing as we analyzed the NAP goals concerning the role of the ministry in charge of education, we examined whether male and female students of the Faculty of Security Studies were aware that such a document existed.

Table 7: “Serbia has a National Action Plan for the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
True	122	40.1	40.9
False	17	5.6	5.7
Undecided	159	52.3	53.4
<i>Total</i>	298	98.0	100.0

From the breakdown of answers in Table 7 it can be concluded that the most dominant opinion was ‘undecided’ (52.3%), suggesting that the majority of respondents were unfamiliar with the existence of the NAP for the implementation of Resolution 1325. A similar breakdown of answers was obtained for the question about the existence of institutions for the safeguarding of gender equality. The breakdown of these answers is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: “Serbia has institutions for the safeguarding of gender equality”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
True	99	32.6	33.4
False	44	14.5	14.9
Undecided	153	50.3	51.7
<i>Total</i>	296	97.4	100.0

Table 8 shows the answers to the question about the existence of institutions for the safeguarding of equality in Serbia, according to which the majority of respondents (50.3%) do not know whether there are such institutions in Serbia. At the same time, there are noticeably fewer affirmative answers compared to the previous questions (32.6% of respondents answered ‘true’), and more negative answers (14.5% of respondents believe the fact that there are such institutions in Serbia to be false).

A special group of questions was formulated in order to examine gender-based stereotypes. In this part of the research we selected twelve statements/stereotypes about gender equality, mostly from previous research. Five options were offered: two for agreement and two for disagreement, while the fifth was for the undecided.

The statement “A woman is not fully accomplished unless she is a mother” was taken from a research carried out by the Center for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research (Institute of Social Sciences), entitled “Female and Male Citizens of Serbia on Gender Equality”, which showed that most respondents considered motherhood a prerequisite for a woman to be fully accomplished (Bošković, 2010: 43). Similar results were obtained in our opinion poll of male and female students, which revealed that over 52% of respondents completely or mostly agreed with this statement (Table 9).

Table 9: “A woman is not fully accomplished unless she is a mother”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Completely agree	70	23.0	23.6
Mostly agree	98	32.2	33.0
Undecided	22	7.2	7.4
Mostly disagree	59	19.4	19.9
Completely disagree	48	15.8	16.2
<i>Total</i>	297	97.7	100.0

The most prevalent gender equality stereotypes in the sphere of security and political decision-making are that as a rule men are better political leaders than women and that women should not pursue military careers as they are physically inferior. Ann Tickner (1992) claims that we are “socialized into believing that war and power politics are spheres of activity with which men have a special affinity” and that “the world of international politics is a masculine domain”, while the roles traditionally attributed to women are those connected with reproduction, homemaking and, often, economy. Therefore, in this part we tested, among other things, the following statements: “As a rule men are better political leaders than women”; “Women should not work in the security sector”.

Table 10: “As a rule men are better political leaders than women”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Completely agree	18	5.9	6.0
Mostly agree	58	19.1	19.4
Undecided	32	10.5	10.7
Mostly disagree	70	23.0	23.4
Completely disagree	121	39.8	40.5
<i>Total</i>	299	98.4	100.0

It is clear from the breakdown of answers that there is disagreement with the said statement. Namely, the majority of respondents do not believe that men are better political leaders than women. A similar breakdown of answers was obtained for the statement that women should not work in the security sector, with over 70% of respondents expressing disagreement with such a statement (Table 11). Such a breakdown was to be expected since the questionnaire had been completed by more female than male students.

Table 11: “Women should not work in the security sector”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Completely agree	21	6.9	7.2
Mostly agree	32	10.5	11.0
Undecided	21	6.9	7.2
Mostly disagree	48	15.8	16.5
Completely disagree	169	55.6	58.1
<i>Total</i>	291	95.7	100.0

Table 12: “Gender equality issues are sufficiently represented in course syllabuses and textbooks at the Faculty of Security Studies”

Option	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	116	38.2	44.4
No	93	30.6	35.6
Undecided	51	16.8	19.5
<i>Total</i>	261	85.9	100.0

A special group of questions was formulated in order to examine student opinion on whether gender equality issues were sufficiently represented in course syllabuses and textbooks at the Faculty of Security Studies (Table 12).

It is clear from the breakdown of answers that 30.6% of respondents do not believe that this subject matter is sufficiently represented in course syllabuses and textbooks, while 16.8% of respondents are undecided. At the same time, male and female students were asked “What should be done in order to increase the representation of gender equality issues in education?” Seven answers were offered, from which a respondent could choose a maximum of three answers. Male and female students felt that it was necessary to: change the curriculum and introduce special courses (33%), organize both courses and workshops for students (26.7%), and train teachers in gender equality issues (19.7%).

Conclusion

The gender equality issue is a basic human rights issue, the achievement of which is an imperative of democratic societies. However, numerous studies have shown that the basic obstacles to achieving gender equality are gender-based stereotypes, gender roles, and the division of jobs into ‘male only’ and ‘female only’. Educational institutions have been identified as one of the most important instruments in battling gender stereotypes and achieving gender equality, which has been ratified by many international documents. The significance of educational institutions in achieving gender equality has also been recognized in national action plans for the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325. In 2010 the Republic of Serbia adopted its National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of Resolution 1325, which defined among other things the activities of the ministry in charge of education. The activities relevant to this paper include raising awareness of potential conflicts, launching educational programs about gender aspects of conflicts, and introducing the subject matter of gender equality and gender-based violence at all levels of education and specialization in the security sector. Given that the Faculty of Security Studies of the University of Belgrade trains its students to perform a wide range of jobs in the security sector, we deemed it important to analyze the current representation of said contents in the undergraduate curriculum and course syllabuses at the Faculty of Security Studies and to poll the opinions of first- and second-year male and female students on gender equality.

Having analyzed the undergraduate curriculum, we established that gender equality does not figure in any of the course names and that in the description of the study goals and the professional competences acquired by students upon completion of undergraduate studies there is no explicit mention of the gender dimension of the security sector at any level of analysis. The analysis of the syllabuses and textbooks of selected courses revealed that the majority of them do not feature teaching units about the gender dimension of security and that most textbooks analyzed do not feature any thematic sections concerning the gender dimension of security. The only course that deals with this subject matter is Security Studies: An Introduction, whose fourth teaching unit *Theoretical Approaches* covers the thematic section *Feminist Approaches to Security*. An additional analysis of administration forms revealed that they do not employ gender-sensitive language. In the second part of the research, we used questionnaire to poll opinions of male and female students on gender equality. The results of this segment of the research showed us that most respondents were not familiar with the institutional and normative framework for achieving gender equality in the Republic of Serbia and that certain stereotypes were prevalent, e.g. that a woman is not fully accomplished unless she is a mother. On the other hand, the respondents recognized the need for introducing the gender equality issue into syllabuses and textbooks, as well as for organizing student courses and workshops and teacher training in gender equality.

On the strength of the results of our pilot-study, we believe that it is vital to incorporate gender equality subject matter into the existing undergraduate curriculum of the Faculty of Security Studies, especially subject matter related to raising awareness of potential new conflicts, gender-based violence, and equal opportunities for women to participate in making decisions on security and defense issues. For the purposes of training male and female students to perform jobs in the security and defense system and better participate in civil society, textbooks must also contain references to gender-related literature, draw on the numerous recent papers written by members of national and international academia that deal with gender issues in all areas of social sciences and humanities, and finally, incorporate the results of national and international studies on gender equality. This is particularly important if we bear in mind the fact that, because this is a dynamic field, new spaces for the implementation of gender equality are constantly opening up. So, for example, while the focus in Serbia is on the role and position of women in the armed forces and the police, developed societies have already raised the gender equality issue in other segments of the

security sector – firefighting and rescue services, intelligence services, private security companies, etc.

At the same time, it is crucial that textbooks and other materials be written in a gender-sensitive language. As well as introducing these contents into the curriculum and syllabuses at the Faculty of Security Studies, it is equally necessary for the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia to assume a more active role in attaining the goals of the National Action Plan and achieving gender equality as an imperative of democratic societies.

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GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN MILITARY EDUCATION

Abstract: *Education on gender equity within the defence forces starts with the question “why is gender important in the military?” It continues with a focus on the issues of gender and gender equality as integral parts of the reforms of the armed forces. In order to address these issues it is necessary to examine two of the most important aspects of teaching gender in the army. The first aspect is the demand to protect the human rights of both women and men in the modern world where the focus is not only on national, but personal security as well. The other aspect is the importance of involving both genders in undertaking successful military operations. The inclusion of women responds to the evolved requirements of modern military forces as well as improving operational capabilities, especially in multinational missions. This paper examines the appropriateness and effectiveness of certain content in military education to uphold human rights within the armed forces. This is applicable to both civil protection during military operations, but also for upholding the personal rights of military personnel. The paper has analyzed general issues but also specific content which relate to matters at tactical, operational and strategic levels. Apart from the specificities that exist in learning about gender when this education is conducted within the military population, additional specificity is learning about gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations. Thus, gender topics are analyzed, considered, projected and implemented as an emphasized question of operational capabilities of a unit being deployed, while on the other hand the emphasis is put on having understanding and insight into specificities of gender relations in an area of operation. Having that in mind, education on gender for personnel being deployed in peacekeeping operation is fundamental for understanding protection of civilians, as a basic task of every peacekeeping operation. Children and women, their mothers, belong to the most vulnerable category of population, so understanding the status of women and mothers through this lens imposes itself as the priority request. The issues of gender equality can be integrated into military training and education as part of group or individual education. For this reason, the paper explored optimal learning forms for certain topics on gender and gender perspective.*

Keywords: *gender perspective, gender in military education, teaching on gender, gender in peacekeeping operations.*

Introduction

In most countries, reforms of the defense forces have raised gender issues that are integrated with political, economic, institutional and social aspects of proposed changes. The processes of reform create new concepts of security where changes to the defense forces and its structure correspond to the needs of national security, but also to the needs of its citizens. An integration of the issues of gender into defense systems means an introduction of gender perspective into the politics and practice of defense institutions.

Nowadays gender equality is an integral part of the corpus of human rights. It represents one of the main indicators of democracy within a society. Women and men should have equal rights in all social areas, including the right to be represented in a defense system that is a custodian of the basic values of a country and society. Complete integration of women in the armed forces increase the ability of the army to fulfill its role as a protector of a democratic society.

Armed forces that include women in their structures are more suited to the modern social environment within which these armed forces have been created. Since women make up more than half of the total population, the issue of gender is also related to the strategy of development. Due to this fact, 'a society that does not use half of its resources is not expected to plan properly for its future' (Petrović, 2007).

Resolving the issue of gender will address the changing needs of the defense system, and improve operational defense ability. Involvement of women will enable defense forces to undertake its tasks more efficiently. It has the potential to increase the operational and functional ability of the army since there are more individuals from which military personnel can be selected. Women can also increase the scope of overall skills in the military, as it has been proved that they inherently perform better with some intellectual, practical/technical and social skills.

In addition, the public have more trust if there is seen to be an inclusion of different genders in the whole of the security sector, as shown by some research in Western countries.

Dealing with gender issues in a defense system brings in new experience, knowledge and the interest of men and women; it creates new concept of politics and new processes for performance and evaluation (Gya, 2007). Integration also eliminates discrimination that is based on gender difference.

Gender-based violence continues to be a significant threat to human security all around the world. Providing protection to women and girls, (as well as men and boys who can fall victims to gender violence during and post-conflict), is one of the most important roles of defense forces in today's world. United Nation Resolution 1325 on *Women, Peace and Security* was adopted in October 2000. The resolution reaffirms the need to implement in its entirety international human right law to protect the right of women and girls during armed conflicts. It also emphasizes the crucial role of women not only in preventing conflicts, but also in post-conflict reconstruction and decision-making.

Education and training is one of the main prerequisites to achieve the aim of integrating gender issues into the defense system. Education is part of an effort to create gender-responsible institutions. Without appropriate education that would enable understanding of the importance and essence of the gender issue in the military; it would be hard to achieve other outcomes for gender equality. To achieve gender equality, it is also necessary to adopt and apply normative decisions that introduce gender perspectives and respect gender differences. In addition, it is mandatory to establish institutional bodies such as advisers or contact officers for gender issues in military organizations. At the human resource level, it is fundamental to employ more women, keep them in the service and provide professional career paths as they are significantly outnumbered in the defense system. To make women more 'visible' in military organizations they should be involved in the process of conflict resolutions at the global level.

Gender in education and training

The issue of gender in education and training¹ can be primarily examined as the question of how many men and women, boys and girls have equal access to military academies, that is, further professional development and training within the defense system.

¹ Education means acquiring new and broadening existing knowledge in applied sciences, while education refers to acquiring new practical knowledge and skills required for work, leadership, management and organizational behavior according to set rules policies and standards.

In countries that treat gender equality as part of the concept of human rights, in general, women and girls have access to military educational institution equal to men. Some military academies impose limits to the enrolment of girls in certain military branches, such as infantry, armored vehicles or artillery. Others do not impose any impediments. For example, in the Military Academy in Belgrade, girls are required to undertake the same entry exam as boys. However, the physical capabilities are tested differently for boys and girls. This approach is significant since applying same criteria would clearly disadvantage female candidates and reduce their chances for enrollment into Academy, even if their result from the other academic test is excellent.

It is common that some institutions of military education have introduced a quota for female students. This approach may be positive and encouraging because it allows enrollment of certain number of girls into military academy that only accepted boys before. However, applying quotas for girls only neither discriminates nor gives advantage, but it can be discriminatory if affected by the quality and number of applications. Therefore, the introduction of quotas may lead to a situation where students of one gender but with relatively lower ability would have unfair advantage. On the other hand, if there is no quota for female candidates there will not be equal opportunity for women to be represented in a sector dominated by men.

Education on gender issues within the defense system can be described as '*an activity that builds the capability to increase the notion, knowledge and practical skills on the issues of gender; it is described as the exchange of information, experience and technique, promoting active discussion and deliberation on this subject*' (Kleppe, 2008).

Education and training on genders issues in the defense system should be prepared in accordance with the identified roles and responsibilities of trainees. It should also relate to their needs, prior knowledge, education and available duration of the course. It means that every cadet should gain some basic notion on gender issues through educational courses, whilst the practical skills training will depend on specific targeted groups for which the program will be compiled. For this reason, the training will be adjusted to suit different roles and responsibilities of the learners such as soldiers preparing to take part in multinational operations or leaders and managers in the Ministry of Defense.

The content of an educational course must reflect the cultural environment in which cadets live and work since cultural context defines basic values on gender issues in a military organization. It is very important to address the stereotype

and prejudice on women's participation in the system. Stereotypes are the result of traditional concepts of male and female roles in many countries. It is especially dominant in the perception of mental and physical abilities of each gender and their suitability for certain jobs in the army and the defense system.

It is commonly accepted that the gender issue is a 'cross-cutting' one since in any military organization, including military education, it cannot be avoided. Gender issues exist as a reflection on understanding, norms or current practice in a military organization. The issue also defines the content of military education and training. From this point of view, inclusion of gender issues in military education represents an attempt to integrate curriculum that will enable implementation of the positive aspects of gender equality.

Educational content and methodology on gender issues should be diversified to suit different roles/levels of learners. At the strategic level, the course enables learners to comprehend the overall importance of the subject in relation to the defense system, the army, and to familiarize themselves with the theoretical and practical basics of gender issues. As the learners are decision makers, the outcome of the course should involve knowledge of the policies and other changes they may initiate to facilitate greater degree of gender sensitivity. People at the top commanding positions can lead by their examples if they are aware of gender issues. They can also approve additional resources for education and training. Those in strategic positions within an organization are often very busy and it may be appropriate to organize individual coaching on gender issues, similar to the one implemented in the Swedish Army.

At the operational level of the organization, it is important to be aware of the different aspects of gender issues and its impact on fulfilling the mission of the armed forces. Participants who are at the operational level can make an impact on others by their own attitude to gender equality at the tactical level. Staff at an operational level can directly initiate and plan for training on gender issues, contributing this way to program delivery.

At the tactical level, it is expected that every member of the defense system should participate in some form of education on gender equality. It is important that they become familiar with basic terms, understand the importance of gender issues and gain knowledge of the norms and regulations related to gender issues and equality.

Content of gender training

The overall aim of training and education on gender issues in the defense system is primarily to understand the different roles and needs of men and women in a society. The other objectives are to enable identification of biased, discriminatory behavior and inequality stemmed out of organizational or social set up; and to enable application of that awareness in everyday tasks in the military system. For the members of the Serbian Army training modules on gender equality encompass the following topics: definitions of basic concepts (sex and gender, gender roles, etc.); identification of gender stereotypes, prejudice and various forms of discrimination that will enable course learners to recognize them in their working environment.

An important part of the training is to enable understanding of various existing international and national policies on gender issues. United Nation Resolution 1325 on *Women, Peace and Security*, as well as other relevant resolutions, were adopted with an objective to protect women and girls as the biggest victims in modern conflicts and to improve the role of women in post conflict reconstruction and peace keeping. National implementation plans for R1325 have been focused not only on the protection of women in international conflicts but also to improve the role of women internally, facilitate equal access, promotion and involvement of women in decision making within the security sector. Such an approach provides the means for the integration of gender perspectives into national defense politics. Practical examples on how to integrate gender perspective into everyday work of the defense system and identification of specific applications of gender perspective in various mission of the Serbian Army are of outmost importance to the educational program.

Content of the course should vary in relation to the focus: introducing gender perspectives internally, at the national level, or externally, at the international level, improving efficiency of taking part in multinational operations. In the case of implementing gender perspectives within a national system, the most important issues are related to human resource: gender equality, prevention of gender violence and discrimination, promotion of equal opportunity employment and progression within the defense system, amongst others.

Implementation of gender equality into the curriculums of military education institutions and advanced leadership courses set out a special way to incorporate gender perspectives into the defense system. Future officers of the Serbian Army get familiar with certain topics related to gender, gender equality and gender analysis and perspective in modules such as Sociology, Psychology, Ethics and

Human Resources Management². A topic on the protection of women and girls from all forms of violence in a war and crises situations is examined in a module “Right to Defend and International Human Rights”, the first year of study.

Types of teaching

Gender issues can be included in a curriculum that is prepared and taught at different levels of teaching, training and specialization of defense system personnel. However, introduction to gender issues is commonly presented through thematic seminars, workshops and other forms of topical seminars. Either of these forms of teaching on gender has their positive and negative aspects. Ultimately, the accepted method should be based on the module content alone.

The advantage of including gender topics in the curriculum of military education is the possibility to make the topic standardized and mandatory. In order to make gender issues part of a curriculum it is necessary to analyze if there are any prior modules that deal with these issues, and then, accordingly, prepare the program that suits educational needs and practical skills related to gender. Defining teaching programs will enable this topic to be presented in a systematic way, in stages and with optimum efficiency. It is also easier to assess the success of the program if it is a part of a student curriculum.

Seminars, workshops and other forms of ad hoc introductions to gender issues support cooperative learning. These activities are focused on the context and enable the application of various methods of teaching. However, it seems that often these types of learning programs are perceived as obligatory and should be organized only to formally fulfill the request for covering the topic of gender issues. The program may be initiated by certain events or certain dates (for example, Women’s Day) and students may view it as marginal or as a topic that is not examined through formal ways of teaching. Besides, too much focus on one topic, covered by a course or other ad hoc forms of learning, can lead to a fatigue and rejection of the subject.

2 The subject Military Ethics, which covers topics on morality of war and ethics of military leadership, deals with the issue of women in conflicts and female leadership. The subject also presents the material on discrimination workplace bullying based on gender. The teaching program of Sociology covers gender and gender equality through material about family and various forms of social structures. Human Resource Management specifically deals with selection, education and employment of women, female professional careers and leadership in the defense system and various irregularities that may happen due to gender issue.

In order to deliver education on gender issues in the defense system, it is necessary to organize 'education of educators', i.e. to provide experts on the issues of gender equality. At the same time, these experts should have didactic-methodic skills. Engagement of both women and men in becoming educators/trainers improves the success of the course since it reduces skepticism amongst attendants and 'legitimizes' the gender issues in the eyes of male participants. It is also fundamental to provide educators that can deal with gender issues within specific environments, such as, for example, various military missions.

Delivery of teaching on gender issues

The process of education on gender issues consists of four stages: planning and preparation; delivery; assessment and adjustment; and continuing education. In the planning stage it is necessary to win the support of management for organising the course; to examine institutional politics and the normative framework related to gender issues; to set the objectives; and to decide which form of education is suitable to present and initiate the subject of gender equality. Further, it is important to identify participants' level of current knowledge, tailor the training to their specific needs and confirm the skills needed to be developed in order to understand gender issues. Part of this first stage is the preparation of strategies to prevent resistance to successful delivery of the course.

Planning for the course includes formulation of specific strategies and methods for delivering curriculum alongside methods of assessment. Psychological and andragogical findings on education of adults indicate that adults need active participation in the process of learning and training. Adults want to be involved, to be treated with respect and to have opportunity to ask questions as well as have freedom to choose answers to various challenges. Research into the functioning of human brain shows that right side of the brain is used more often in general. The right side controls spontaneous and creative activities, unlike the left side of the brain that performs logical and rational thinking. This explains why adults learn best if educational method includes active participation.

'Backward Design' method of designing educational curriculum has shown to be very effective. Unlike traditional curriculum planning which starts by creating a list of content that will be taught and activities to achieve learning objectives, backward design starts by setting learning goals before defining tools that will be used to achieve those goals. Only after setting the goals, will the educator choose relevant material and adequate teaching methods. This

suits the needs of adult learning because learners will understand the reason for learning something and what content they should learn by the end of a lecture. Both learners and educators will be aware of the purpose which is clearly a motivational factor.

Understanding and application of modern methods of adult learning in order to achieve set goals and outcomes are equally important for successful teaching on gender issues.

Transformational learning is a type of learning which involves 'conscious transformation of beliefs, assumptions, opinions and emotional reactions which create our meaning scheme' (Mezirow, 1991). The emphasis in adult learning on gender issues should be on active construction and not on plain transmission of knowledge. Learners should be encouraged to establish how much their own personal frame of reference influence their assumptions, beliefs and actions.

Jack Mezirow, the author of transformative learning, stated that learning involves five interactive contexts: a frame of reference or perspective of meanings which is a framework for learning, the method of communication, activities within the learning environment, students' awareness of their own image, and situations they come across during the learning process. Transformational learning can be achieved by applying interactive learning methods.

Traditional learning methods focus on obtaining information and facts, whilst the active method promotes exchange and expansion of the existing knowledge and experience of the learner. Interactive learning/training involves exchange of experience, knowledge, beliefs and needs between educator and learners (as well as amongst learners themselves). It also enables connection with personal experience and practice, collaboration and partnership, i.e. cooperative learning based on equality, integration and respect. With the interactive method, presented ideas stem out of experience; there is mutual dependence between a teacher and a student who accepts the responsibility for the process of learning. Learning on gender issues can use methods such as brainstorming, work in smaller groups, debating, the 'four corners' technique, case studies or working in pairs.

According to the famous and still acknowledged Blooms' taxonomy of cognitive ability (Bloom, 1956) a learner is capable of:

1. knowing/ recalling facts, recognizing and remembering information;
2. understanding, explaining ideas;

3. applying, using ideas;
4. analysing, classifying elements and their relationships;
5. synthesizing, combining ideas and creating something new; and
6. evaluating, judging, supporting or criticizing.

The outcome of the learning process can be defined by the use of words that point out to thinking processes and practical actions which can be observed and measured. The outcomes of learning on gender issues will be successful if, after complete education, learners can:

- list and explain why it is necessary to undertake assessment of awareness of gender equality at the workplace;
- present in writing a summary on gender equality at the workplace;
- explain in writing a summary of their attitude toward the principles of gender equality;
- differentiate between various forms of gender discrimination at the workplace, etc.

The effectiveness of training can be assessed using the evaluation model developed by Donald Kirkpatrick (1994). The model consists of four levels of evaluation:

1. reaction; how well the training was received;
2. learning and skills; how much knowledge was obtained or improved during the course;
3. behaviour; how much of the new knowledge is applied at the workplace; and
4. results; what are the outcomes of learning and how beneficial it is for the organisation.

In the case of teaching gender and gender equality, it is essential to evaluate the first level – how did trainees/learners react to the training. It is also possible to measure the second level, i.e. test the trainees/learners before and after the course. The third level which evaluates how much trainees/learners have applied the newly acquired knowledge at their workplace, can be undertaken primarily in multinational operations where the knowledge will apply to the protection of women and girls in post conflict societies. The most difficult is to assess the final results and how much benefit has been achieved for the organisation compared to the cost of the training.

Education and training of gender perspective in peacekeeping operations

Increasing deployment of women in peacekeeping operations is a natural step after an increased number of women in the Serbian Armed Forces units. Women started to conduct medical tasks in peacekeeping missions before the first female cadets and first female professional soldiers were included in the defense sector. Later on, with deployment of platoons and companies, first in Cyprus (2010) and then in Lebanon (2012), more and more women participate in conducting soldier duties in international environment and with completely new specific and multidimensional challenges. First female officer in mission in Congo was a doctor, first lieutenant, and Serbian female non-commissioned officers still have not been deployed in missions.

While forming units to be deployed in missions, emphasis is given on testing the level of criteria during selection that future peacekeepers are to fulfill in order to be ready for further pre-deployment training. Apart from the criteria in the field of health, psychological stability, general physical fitness and language skills, basic demand is for the candidate to be primarily qualified for the duty he/she was employed in a unit, as a professional soldier. It means that these candidates will be trained in accordance with tactical demands of certain scenarios that encompass possible situations on the ground, if these are, so called, maneuver units.

On the other hand, medical contingents are qualified for task deployments like medical support to the military and police mission component. However, other numerous preparations and trainings are necessary, including cultural, religious, political, ethic and other awareness, but also in the field of gender awareness. For the sake of this, preparations and training for peacekeeping operations are a part of the complex, organized and planned process that comes from the obligation of participation of Serbian Armed Forces units in peacekeeping operations abroad. Qualification process of individuals and units for peacekeeping operations, through training, courses and pre-deployment training belongs to regular obligations of all subjects and individuals, and in accordance with strategic and doctrinal decisions that state that the second mission of the Serbian Armed Forces is precisely the participation in building and preserving peace in the region and in the world. From all previously stated, one can conclude that certain forms of preparation and education concerning gender perspective are also conducted in parent units, through regular training programs. But that is not the case. Especially when it comes to education in the field of gender equality, not even in the broadest field of knowing the basic terms.

In addition, when such training is conducted, challenges connected to such training are numerous, since it deals with the emotional, rather than the intellectual being of a person, and involves opinions, values, expectations and behavior that identify us as people. It questions certain assumptions, concepts of control and power, and asks to take a look at the world from a different perspective. As the United Nations emphasizes:

*'By distinguishing between sex (a biological term) and gender (a social and cultural construct), gender training challenges traditional ways of thinking and uncovers common assumptions about women and men. Some personnel may find that discussing how culturally defined roles and responsibilities for women and men differ among regions and communities can be unsettling or even confrontational.'*³

These challenges include a question of introducing the idea of integrating gender perspective in a way that is not confrontational, and that is practice oriented. One goal of such training is to focus on dominant relations and norms and not to consider women as a vulnerable group. It can also question those dominant masculine concepts, often present with soldiers and policemen, and instructors should find innovative ways to avoid the sense of accusation and encourage participants to consider new ways of looking at the world.⁴

In preparing candidates of the Serbian Armed Forces for participation in multinational operations, during the pre-deployment training in the Peacekeeping Operations Center of the Serbian Armed Forces General Staff, men and women undergo training concerning gender-related contents, according to the UN Core Pre-deployment Training Material.⁵ There is no separate qualification process and preparation of women, although such ideas were present during a certain time.

As stated in the National Action Plan for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325, some of the topics, like *Prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse* and *Gender equality in multinational operations* rely on gender aspect, while other topics are oriented towards good preparation for the challenges in areas of operation. There are also topics concerning responsibility to the civilian

3 A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (June 2005). New York: United Nations

4 For a detailed overview of gender mainstreaming best practices in training for the security sector, see Kleppe, T.T. *Gender Training for Security Sector Personnel – Good and Bad Practices, Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*.

5 *UN Core Pre-deployment Training Materials*, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

population in a host country, especially women and children, as well and mechanisms for preventing violence against women and children and responsibility in case of inappropriate behavior of peacekeeping personnel in the service of UN.⁶

So, there is no group of topics, i.e. lessons learned, that emphasize the scope of operational advantages of mixed units, i.e. of units where both men and women are engaged.

Perhaps it is mostly the consequence of the fact that analysis of their deployment is still incomplete due to the relatively recent renewal of Serbian Armed Forces participation in peacekeeping operations in the form of contingent, and thus, the role of women cannot be clearly recognized. Impact of such training on behavior of peacekeeping personnel and its effect on the ground is insufficiently explored area, and such evaluation would be key for identifying the best means and methods of training.

Still, analysis after deployment increasingly provide materials for possible lessons learned that are formed based on own experience. Firstly, as experience from extremely complex situations that were solved owing to gender awareness and practice, or as extremely positive examples that should be analyzed, kept and emphasized during training and preparing future rotations.

Increased number of women means that they will be adequately and highly qualified, and that they will have qualifications necessary for satisfying operational demands during deployment on the ground, so that their engagement is not reduced to secretarial and administrative jobs, or jobs dealing only with gender perspective. So, at this point a question is raised of qualifying women for peacekeeping operations. At the Working Group of the UN Security Council, a fact was stated as a statistical average that women generally show significantly weaker results than men in certain capabilities, like driving vehicles, handling and using personal and collective weapons, but also during conducting interviews necessary during the selection process.⁷

One of the proposals was to improve pre-deployment training of women with additional contents related to the aforementioned capabilities. However, here we have two new questions and two new problems that can be equally recognized in the Serbian Armed Forces units. Firstly, why the equality in capabilities

6 National Action Plan for applying Resolution 1325 of UN SC – Women, peace and security in the Republic of Serbia (2010 – 2015), page 37.

7 Gender Mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations (2006). *Progress Report*. New York: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations UN DPKO

necessary for mission was not achieved during the initial training and why men and women have different grades for the same contents and for the same duties?

Second question concerns the principle of team unity, but also irregularity from the position of gender concepts. If, during pre-deployment training, women would be separated from teams for additional qualifications for skills that they were not adequately trained to begin with, and in which only they need to improve operational efficiency, then the question of team stability would be raised. On the other hand, double discrimination would be made: first, by recognizing that one category of personnel does not have the same capabilities for certain duties, and second, during that period of separate preparations for women, men would have more time for individual preparations, which are actually something that women soldiers need more, those who are often mothers with small children.

Apart from the military training regarding immediate tactical and operational demands in missions, Serbian Armed Forces conduct other types of education, qualification, training and preparations for gender sensitive questions that pose a real challenge in modern multidimensional operations. Namely, at the academic level, Peacekeeping Operations Center has organized Gender in multinational operations Course for the fourth year in row, and apart from key personnel that will be engaged in missions, target group at this course are also representatives from the Ministry of Interior and students from the Belgrade University. Course is a great opportunity for exchanging theoretical experiences and synchronizing guidelines for further activities, mostly from the aspect of gender questions and perspective of bigger engagement of women in the security sector, and thus, in peacekeeping operations as well.

The plan for all courses in the Peacekeeping Operations Center is to introduce some kind of integrated response to the new practical challenges. Namely, Gender in multinational operations Course will become an integral part of a new course. Intensive work is done on drafting a new program and forming contents of a new course, Protection of civilians and gender in multinational operations. The program will have an open form, which means that it can be continuously added on with new experiences and according to the needs. Thus, more intensive flow of information from the ground will be provided at the academic and operational level, and it will be built into the course contents through analyzing deployments and establishing the system of lessons learned. Partially supported by theory, newly acquired knowledge and experience from the area

of operation will be at the highest level of education for missions, transferred to key personnel that are preparing to be deployed to the area of operation.

Apart from that, during presenting topics, assistant instructors or instructors themselves will be those men and women, Serbian Armed Forces personnel, who witnessed and implemented protection of civilians and gender mainstreaming in their area of operation as an integral part of their daily engagement. In this way, by turning live practice and lessons learned into theory and training, it will be possible to conclude that gender sensitive training for multinational operations is not a matter of luxury, but a real demand for improving efficient mission mandate implementation and, at the same time, reducing negative aspects of personnel behavior in peacekeeping operations and unintended negative effects of various programs and policies.

However, there is a lack of systematic and program-wise finalization of the education process for peacekeeping operations, when gender aspects are at hand. Guidelines for engaging women in peacekeeping operations are becoming more operational, since engagement of women in military operations is key. Female soldiers can contact half the population that male soldiers often cannot and in some more conservative environments, they cannot even go near them – so this results in increased situation awareness during operations (Lord, 2014). Guidelines and statistics that UN occasionally provide cause numerous activities in order for gender aspects to be shaped into an adequate program of qualification that will be universally standardized and applicable.

One valuable attempt of systematic approach to education in the field of gender was started by UNIFIL mission in Lebanon, when several key shortcomings were determined by analysis.⁸ These shortcomings were reflected in the following: UN member states believed that the contents of modules of pre-deployment training and preparations was too generic and wide and that it did not adequately consider key operational challenges and mission-specific challenges. In addition, only 69% of military and 68% of police personnel had gender training.

However, nobody considered it relevant for their job. Although troop contributing countries have a primary responsibility for pre-deployment training, level at which this training is conducted varies from country to country, and also within one armed force, from senior to junior ranks. Also, there is little documentation concerning the efficiency and influence that such type of train-

8 Women, Peace and Identifying Security: Piloting Military Gender Guidelines in UNIFIL (June 2014) Final Report, UNIFIL HQ, Naqoura, Lebanon.

ing has. Many significant troop contributing countries have a limited capacity and resources to train their contingents on gender, and gender modules that are part of standard training of UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations/ Department of Field Support are often omitted from pre-deployment training.

Although significant steps have been made in the field of institutionalization of gender mainstreaming in the training for peacekeeping operations by almost all UN troop contributing countries, peacekeeping missions and Department for Peacekeeping Operations, there are still significant gaps in this gender training coverage, and its integration largely varies from one country and mission to another. Scope in which gender sensitive training reaches the personnel of peacekeeping operations and influences it has on these operations and interaction of UN personnel with local population is certainly something that should be additionally looked into.

Program which is also attended by a part of the Serbian contingent is defined in a special handbook for UNIFIL mission, with principles that are used to avoid an artificial syncretism of theory and practice on one hand, and local and international on the other. Basic idea is to continuously educate significant number of the national contingents and to achieve a high level of training for challenges from the field of protection of civilians, specifically on the ground where mission is conducted and where gender related topics have an important role, but in the synergy of the UN and local community. Apart from the training in behavior and conducting certain procedures, second goal is to acquire a firm and resolute level of awareness on the significance of theory and practice of gender education and gender sensitive behavior.

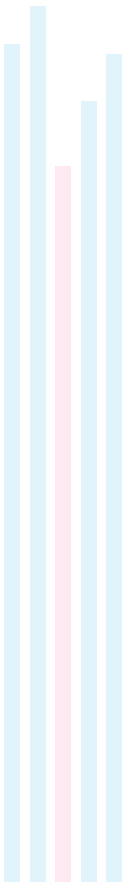
Still, the most important achievement that should be specially emphasized and that should serve as a good practice example is an intensive participation of men and women from the local environment. Their education is conducted in parallel with the education of UN forces military and police personnel and answers are uniquely received to questions that will certainly be considered in the zone of patrolling, observation zone or area of responsibility. In that sense, gender considerations have an emphasized significance. After several years of continuous education concerning gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping operations and after rotating our forces in missions, number of the Serbian Armed Forces personnel who are acquiring and confirming awareness on the significance of education in gender aspects of deployment is steadily increasing, thus increasing the operational efficiency and advantage of contingent on the ground.

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GENDER REGIME



› Helena Rosandić

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GENDER IDEOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE DYNAMICS OF MARRIAGE

Abstract: *The appropriate gender ideology and attitudes regarding gender roles play a significant role in many aspects of marriage and family dynamics. We start this paper by with the way employment of women and changes in the traditional division of household labor affect the quality of the marital relationship. We then go on to demonstrate how the adopted gender ideology, whether traditional or egalitarian, acts as an important intermediary between the division of labor and the experienced quality of marriage, affecting the functionality of partner relations. Finally, we deal with the question of how gender behavioral awareness is implemented in an effective clinical practice.*

Keywords: *functionality of marriage, gender ideology, division of labor, clinical implications.*

Introduction

Modern-day society is witnessing: fewer marriages, higher divorce rates, declining birth rates and increasing feelings of loneliness. A decline in the universality of marriage was recorded in the developed European countries in the 1970s; it was first reflected in the increase of divortiality, then a decline in nuptiality, and finally in the increase of the proportion of higher-order marriages and in consensual or common-law unions, all of which have consequently caused accumulating marital problems, affecting the further decline in fertility rates lower than those necessary for social and biological reproduction. The epicenter of the earthquake in these changes is located in the very core of the family union, within the marital dyad (Milić, 2001). Hence, the focus shifts from parenting to partnership within the family unit, which causes the intensive manifestation of the partners' individuality, the pursuit of personal self-realization, success, and even hedonism, wherefore certain authors emphasize and discuss the specific "culture of narcissism" (Lash, 1983 according to Bobić, 2003).

One of the most common causes of many marital conflicts is the rivalry between men and women about the so-called “male role”, where the term “role” should be understood in the context of the division of labor. The role of women and attitudes about the roles of women have experienced many transformations in recent decades under the influence of specific social changes, primarily due to increasing employment rates of women, and, consequently, different divisions of labor between men and women, both in the household and the workplace.

The question is what estranges a man from a woman or vice versa? Could it only be the growing professionalization of life and focus on the job, which is the characteristic of capitalism? Does financial independence necessarily lead to emotional independence? What is the cause of polarization variations, what encourages the struggle for power, what causes the partners’ feelings of increasing disconnectedness?

The qualitatively different perspectives on society and social phenomena are introduced in sociological theory in the spirit of the feminist movement for the realization of the rights of women and they are increasingly affecting another aspect of the process of learning and searching. “Gender and gender identity can be seen as a new paradigm which, in addition to the existing fundamental paradigm of class and race, is bringing a new perspective” (Sociological Lexicon, 2007: 498, by: Topić, 2009).

By definition, gender is a socially constructed definition of sex. In formal terms, the conceptualization of equality is an indispensable category in clinical observations and theories of personality psychology, where gender roles are manifested in the psychological characteristics of femininity and masculinity (Deux and La France, 1998), while, from the perspective of social psychology, gender roles are related to a set of attitudes and expectations about the behavior of women and men (Mayers, 1993) that exist within a particular cultural and historical context.

In his work, *The Future of Marriage* (1972), Jesse Bernard points out that, in order to examine the institution of marriage, we have to take into account that *her* marriage is different from *his* marriage since this state is differently experienced by each of the spouses when it comes to heterosexual couples.

Marriage is defined as one of the oldest universal institutions and a social, religious and legal union between a man and a woman. However, contemporary changes in the legal equalization of marital and extramarital relationships,

as well as the tendencies of legalizing same-sex marriages in some developed Western countries (Milić, 2001) should be taken into account.

The quality of marriage as a concept occupies an extremely important place among researchers of marriage and family, since it is an important predictor of marital stability and of great importance for the marital and child substitute, as well as for society in the most general sense. Based on the current definition of marriage, there is absolutely no doubt that attitudes regarding gender roles and expectations play an important role in many aspects of marital and family dynamics, determining what people expect from their partners and marriage.

Further perusal of modern literature reveals a number of different approaches to defining and measuring the concept of quality of marriage. The quality of marriage is perceived as a subjective experience of happiness and satisfaction experienced by one partner interacting with the other. Spanier (Spanier, 1976) defines the quality of the marital relationship as mutual adaptation of spouses.

The views on gender roles are generally positioned along the continuum between the two polarizations that are commonly labeled as traditional and egalitarian. Traditional gender ideology is based on a gender-based division of labor and male dominance. Human behavior and traditional gender roles determine the typical men as rational, independent, autonomous, powerful, controlling, assertive, aggressive and independent, while women are described by the expressive categories, such as sensitivity, dependency, tenderness and concern for others, orientation towards others, etc. (Hermann and Betz, 2004). These gender specificities, instrumental and expressive, have long been considered the basis of complementarity in relationships between men and women, which, together with the gender division of labor, contribute to a stable marriage.

Gender ideology is certainly not the only determinant of the quality of marriage, but we have emphasized it by relying on research showing that attitudes concerning gender roles explain between 10% and 14% of the variance of quality of marriage, and are, at the same time, more important than the life cycle and socio-economic variables as determinants in explaining the quality of the marital relationship (Vannoy and Philliber, 1992).

Due to the major social changes, the increase in the women's education levels and their participation in the work force, people are increasingly seeking more egalitarian relationships, changing their attitudes about gender roles, which is a precipitative factor for change in the very institution of marriage.

In the spirit of a “modern” family is the relationship between the spouses, the relationship which is designated as a partnership, with complete equality between men and women, wherefore there is a transition from marriage as an institution to marriage as a relationship (Reynolds and Mansfield, 1999), which has all the characteristics of an egalitarian marriage that is best described as an arrangement of two equal sides, “marriage of two companions” in which spouses play very similar roles (Wax, 1998).

The Division of Labor between Spouses

The Effect of Increasing Participation of Women in Work

The gender division of labor is a central feature of gender inequality, both in economic aspects and the social construction of gender identities (Lorber, 1994). Departing from the idea that gender stratification in all systems is partially present due to the gender-based division of labor, in which women are mainly responsible for tasks different than those of men (Chafetz, 1991), we will try to examine the effects of the intensified women’s participation in the labor force, which has significantly been changing their roles and, consequently, the quality of their marital relationships.

Today, around 60% of women participate in the labor market while the rate for men stands at 78% (Amato et al, 2003, by: Tošić, 2011). The dramatic increase in the number of working women has provoked many controversies about its effects on marital relationships.

Certain theories espouse the belief that the mere employment of married women destabilizes the marriage. Moreover, a large number of empirical studies show that there is a positive correlation between marital instability and divorce on the one hand, and employment of women in general, on the other. Studies (Greenstein, 1996) indicate that women, who are employed and work more than 25-30 hours a week, face two times higher risk of seeing their marriage fail. The women’s history of labor participation contributes to intensifying thoughts about divorce, where working women represent the highest risk group for possible divorce, keeping their higher salary and more working hours, than women in low risk groups (Greenstein, 1995).

Summing up the hierarchy of the causes of marital conflicts specified by spouses asked to name the three most common causes of conflict in their families, Bobić (Bobić, 2010) finds that respondents cited money (34.2%) as the primary cause of conflict, followed by “parenting”, i.e. commitments concerning children and their education, and, lastly, everyday petty skirmishes (15%). The same causes of conflict feature on the gender barometer (Ažin, 2006, according to Bobić, 2010).

When the variable “money” is observed through the perspective of differences in the relative earnings of spouses, studies show that they have significant impact on the quality of marriage and marital stability. Couples report better marital stability when a larger amount of money is earned by the husband, while marital stability goes down as the wife’s income rises; very high salaries among women are also negatively correlated to their husbands’ evaluation of the quality of their marriage (Blair and Lichter, 1991).

On the other hand, we are confronting a widespread controversy about the impact of the enormous increase of women in employment on the quality of marriage, which can find its endorsement in research that supports this opinion, arguing that a woman’s employment is associated with her higher sense of satisfaction with life (Hoffman, 1989, according to Rogers, 1996), which still reflects on overall marital and family functioning.

Greater participation of women in economy may result in an improvement of the quality of marriage through the promotion of equality in marriage (Rogers and Amato, 2000). The employment of women can have positive impact on the quality of marriage if we look at it as women’s economic contribution to reducing the general feeling of economic stress, which has been proven to have harmful effects on the interaction of spouses and quality of marriage (Voydanoff, 1990).

Some researchers, such as Kingston and Nock (Kingston and Nock, 1987), fuel the confusion by stating that, in marriages where both spouses are employed, the interaction and communion in every part of family life tends to weaken. Since these factors have proven to be greatly affecting the quality of marriage, the extreme cases of conflicts lead to rivalry and competition between the spouses, which is a negative factor in the quality of marriage.

According to Hochschild (Hochschild, 1989), spouses report a happier marriage when marriage and work roles are equally shared, while the asymmetrical power relations, with men wielding greater power than women, are more numerous among dissatisfied than satisfied couples.

These views lead to the logical conclusion that employment and improvement of woman's own economic resources can affect the quality of marriage, especially if we are referring to the dynamics of marital power, in which the power of women is associated with the quality of marital relations.

Rather different and contradictory results were manifested in the previous part of our research paper. On the one hand, the positive effects of women's employment on the quality of marriage are reported; on the other hand we are confronting a great number of negative consequences. Such conflicting opinions may mislead us into opting to rely on these opinions in order to try to conclude and predict whether the convergence in working roles results in greater tensions between the spouses or their greater cohesion.

The Participation of the Husband and the Wife in Housework

Literature indicates an increasing tendency towards the traditional division of labor in the household, i.e. the tradition in which the woman does a much greater share of housework than her husband (Rogers and Amato, 2000), regardless of whether the wife earns more than her husband or when the husband is not actually employed (Greenstein, 1996). Research (Blair and Lichter, 1991) indicates that the husbands' rate of participation in the household does not increase, and that it is distributed in accordance with specific traditional gender ideologies, even when the spouses have a higher level of education and are striving for an egalitarian ideology.

Although there are some allegations that 21st century young men, especially husbands of working women, participate more in housework, these differences tend to be relatively small and the current division is far from equitable.

Some studies show that women reduce their time spent doing housework as a consequence of their own employment, and in the relative division of labor between women and men in the household. In families where both partners are employed, husbands do relatively more family work, not because they are doing more, but because their employed wives reduce their participation in household work due to their own employment (Berardo et al, 1987).

The truth is that the time employed women spend doing housework has slightly decreased in recent years, but the difference in the degrees of participation between women and men has remained almost the same over time (Martinez et al, 2010). Both younger and older male partners are equally engaged in everyday

purchases (one in five on average, 22.7%) (Bobić, 2010). A major asymmetry i.e. the absence of shared activities has been observed globally, with the burden of most house chores (cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning, picking up after the children, daily purchases) falling on the women.

Whether they are employed or not, women still carry 90% of the burden of responsibility for childcare (Thompson and Walker, 1989). Bobić (Bobić, 2010) identifies the following dominant modes of engagement in his survey: 1) the wife/mother takes the child to daycare in one out of three families (31%); 2) the wife/mother is tasked with helping the children do their homework in almost 40% of the families; 3) the wife/mother attends the parents teachers meetings in half of the families (50.7%). The visits to the physicians are the only activity registering a higher rate of the father's involvement (57.4%), but we still cannot ignore the fact that the mother takes the children for their regular check-ups in one out of three families (33.3%), as the above survey shows.

Based on the brief summaries of studies examining the distribution of household chores between spouses we can conclude, without any doubt, that there is gender-based inequality in the division of labor in the home. Numerous studies show that changes in the employment status of women do not lead to the change in the participation of men within the family sphere, and if they do, they are usually very limited and there is no tendency that the situation will change even in the future. All this negatively affects the quality of marital experience and must be taken into account when analyzing the impact of women's employment on the quality of the marital relationships.

Gender Ideology in the Context of the Division of Labor between Spouses as an Intermediary in the Perception of the Quality of Marriage

The quality of a marital relationship is determined not by the employment of women and participation of husbands in housework, but rather by the spouses' understanding of these changes, their expectations of the roles assigned to them, simply – by their gender ideologies.

We will introduce the analysis of gender ideology in the context of the division of labor between spouses as a mediator in the experience of the quality of marriage and marital relationships by quoting a study (Greenstein, 1996), which finds that gender ideology is negatively associated with contributions a man is making in the household, and that the most traditional women work mainly

in the household, unlike the most traditional men. (Martinez et al, 2010). On the other hand, more egalitarian beliefs strive for a more equal division of labor within the home, where men espousing an egalitarian ideology tend to perform multiple tasks in the household compared to those traditionally male-oriented. Studies have found that 70% of men with egalitarian attitudes and ideological beliefs are equally involved in household chores, compared to only 22% of those who have a traditional gender ideology (Blaisure and Allen, 1995).

The results indicate that the negative effects of a woman's employment vary depending on the attitudes of her husband, where traditional expectations and attitudes regarding the role of male breadwinners lead to anxiety when the participation of women in this role increases, regardless of the men's own ability to contribute to the home budget (Thompson and Walker, 1989). The negative influence of the participation of women in the foster role on the men's personal perception of stability is supported by sociological research conducted in the region (Babović, 2009).

When a woman participates in the labor force and thus contributes the most to the family budget, her husband's self-perception, depending on these stereotypes, can be compromised and threatened, as can his sense of having a purpose that a man has in relation to the woman's primary concern and his devotion to the home and the children. Accordingly, men subscribing to the traditional gender ideology experience lower quality marriage when their wives are employed, which is not relevant to every marriage, particularly not to egalitarian marriages, in which the spouses accept equal gender roles.

Women with egalitarian attitudes often experience inequality in marital relations and since these women perceive their relations as such, they, consequently, have more influence on the quality of their own marriages than women supporting the traditional ideology (Greenstein, 1996).

In relation to accepted attitudes, spousal inequality can be seen as just or unjust, while voluminous literature on this subject indicates that marriage conflicts and, in some cases, even divorces are caused by the inequality between the two spouses, but only when they are perceived as unjust.

Egalitarian-oriented women perceive marriage as an equal relationship, and seeing their husbands as family members and themselves as participants in the economy process, they appreciate their husbands' household work more than traditional women do (Pina and Bergston, 1993). Therefore, a woman with more egalitarian views on marital roles is less likely to consider unequal

power relations and division of labor between spouses as just, but rather, as burdensome and unjust, which results in creating conditions for the deterioration of marital relations between the partners (Greenstein, 1995). Similarly, the egalitarian husband is likely to see the wife's work in the household as a sign of her own good will, and, for that reason, be more willing to participate equally in housework, which can certainly affect the quality of the relationship between the partners (Greenstein, 1996).

These findings suggest that the effect of women's employment is not the same on all marriages, and on all the partners, but primarily depends on the spouses' gender ideology and their expectations concerning the division of paid work and family work. We assume that increased employment is not the cause of lesser marital stability among nontraditional women, but above all ascribe it to their expectations concerning the equitable division of domestic labor, which are in conflict with the reality in which their husbands participate in one-third of the domestic work on average (Greenstein, 1995). At this point, another important conclusion can be drawn and it refers to the division of labor concerning the gender ideologies of both partners, suggesting that the main reason why the increase in the wives' employment has not been accompanied by the improved quality of their marital relationships can primarily be attributed to the fact that husbands do not follow their wives' ideologies in changing the traditional-egalitarian line (Greenstein, 1996).

The Issue of Gender Ideology as Seen through the Lens of the Family Psychotherapist

What follows, and somehow naturally arises as a question of major importance in our research paper is to set the topic of gender in the center of family psychotherapy. The question is how to implement the awareness of gender behavior and gender ideology in effective clinical practice.

The literature on the subject of partners and family therapy has for a long time now recognized the importance of reciprocal patterns of interaction within the persistent problem of partnership dynamics. While some authors mainly explored the interactional aspects of circular form (Watzlawick and Weakland, 1977), others, rooted in the psychodynamic tradition, dealt with the processes and mechanisms underlying the partners' mutually blocking dynamics. (Scharff, 1991). Pinsof (1995) and Jacobson and Christensen (1996) offer integrative approaches for dealing with problematic patterns. Questions of domination, sub-

ordination and inequality gradually came into the focus of understanding the dynamics of marriage in the 1980s, after the feminist theorists put the question of gender and power in the center of therapeutic attention to the structure of close relationships, (McGoldrick, Anderson and Walsh, 1989, Walters, Carter, Papp and Silverstein, 1988). Narrative therapists have recently focused on explaining how the reciprocal partnership patterns affect and interfere with their overall relations (Zimmerman and Dickerson, 1993). In a longitudinal study, Gottman (1999) observed the circular patterns relying on the emotional ecology of marriage, finding that the chances of marriages failing are higher when negative interactions prevail over positive.

Couples usually come to therapy polarized between variations and power struggles, resulting in their feeling that they are weakly bonded. Ending up in a “deadlock”, they are unable to change on their own and invite the therapists into the privacy of their “wars”, hoping they will show them the right path. “When they reach stalemate, people feel less and less connected between each other, more lonely and isolated and less able to act effectively in relationships” (Stiver, according to Bergman and Surrey, 1994). Over time, “a deadlock begins to adopt a recurring quality,” and the courses of action “are becoming less and less able to avoid the same path. There is a feeling of being trapped or defeated by this usual, stereotypical phenomenon, less sense of freedom, the feeling that we are trapped in a struggle for power”(Bergman and Surrey, 1994).

When dealing with a marital impasse, the goal is to help the partners to move their positions – from their highly reactive to the more dialogical position (Fishbane, 1998), and from the point of viewing themselves as the victim and the other as the villain, to positions of increasing responsibility and personal action.

The Explanation of “Deadlock”

Couples living together often deal with normative existential dilemmas of their relationship arising from their disagreements or from situations in which their wishes and needs are not synchronized. These dilemmas can cause problems, distress; they may even be the reason to terminate the relationship.

In such relationships, partners often feel pushed aside, caught in a deadlock, which is characterized by intense reactions and escalation, rigid positions of each partner, irrationality, and repetitive recourse to the same dynamics in the relationship. When caught in one of these deadlocks, the partners are unable to empathize and see each other’s perspectives. They feel insulted and abused

by each other's behavior, and they become more defensive, disconnected, and trapped in a power struggle and misunderstanding. Such deadlocks include vulnerability and confusion, and tend to become unbreakable over time, consistent, leading to an ever-increasing void in the relationship..

The Crux of Understanding “Deadlock”

At the heart of understanding the “substantial impasse” from the perspective of psychotherapists lies the circle of vulnerability, introduced into clinical practice by family therapists in the 1990s. The term “vulnerability” is used to indicate the presence of sensitivity accompanying individuals since their past or in the present contexts of their lives, which they bring into the intimacy of their relationship. Like wounds that remain sensitive to touch, vulnerability reactivated by the dynamics of marital relations produces intense reactions and pain. Vulnerability may be the result of past traumatic events and chronic patterns in the individual's family, previous relationships, or social context. Vulnerability may also arise from gender socialization, power imbalances, or socio-cultural trauma such as discrimination, poverty, marginalization, violence, social dislocation, or war-related experience.

Although vulnerability is related to the relationship, it often involves resonance between the current situation and a past experience. As noted, vulnerability may also be associated with the current stressful and traumatic situations outside the framework of the marital relationship, which prevail over the survival mechanism or violate the partner's system of beliefs. For example, a husband who, after losing his job, becomes extremely sensitive to the demands of his wife, interpreting them as criticism and humiliation. Other examples include a form of sensitivity due to his wife's more frequent absences from home. These situations may make the partner feel empty and weak, and therefore cause his higher reactivity to the “triggering event” within the relationship.

Vulnerability may also arise from the permanent arrangement of power and organization within the relationship, in which one partner is in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the other when it comes to gender, race, social class, cultural and educational background, or the ability to earn money. The balance of power is the fundamental question of marital relations (Walsh, 1989); when there is suspicion in a relationship with a partner holding authority or dominance over another, one or both partners may feel vulnerable. The partner in the submissive position, particularly a woman in a heterosexual relationship, may feel devalued or voiceless, even without being capable of understanding why this

is so. In relationships of abuse, male partners can become violent when they feel vulnerable, trying to reclaim their dominant position and take control by means of threats or force (Goldner, Penn, Sheinberg and Walker, 1990).

“Positions of Survival”

Family therapists use the term “survival positions” to refer to a set of beliefs and strategies individuals adopt to protect and defeat their vulnerabilities. These positions are usually the best mode the persons had adopted in the past to protect themselves or others in the family of origin, and to maintain a sense of integrity and control in emotionally difficult situations. Positions of survival are often adopted before they can be expressed by words, and certainly before they can be critically assessed. Survival positions include beliefs and premises that have become the principles we are to live with (Zimmerman and Dickerson, 1993). Some examples of positions of survival, which essentially have a gender ideology, include: “The woman is the one who works in the house, the man makes the money,” “You can depend only on yourself,” “Do not trust women, they pretend to be weak in order to manipulate,” “Be weak and submissive,” “Always be strong and do not show your weaknesses,” and “If you get too close, you will be hurt.” Gender education, cultural norms and family history lie at the heart of these beliefs.

Joint Activating Processes

When vulnerability is stimulated in an intimate relationship, the partners feel deeply offended. Survival strategies kept in reserve are automatically activated, and partners begin to use them. At the time of the threat, the individual considers that the survival strategy will protect him or her. Survival strategies, like bulletproof vests, provide a sense of security and control.

However, although partners resort to survival strategies to protect themselves, these strategies often boomerang on their interpersonal relations. They tend to stimulate the other person to behave exactly the way the individual is trying to prevent, unconsciously promoting a self-fulfilling prophecy. When employing survival strategies, people often behave in a self-referential and defensive way and may become blind to the views, needs, vulnerabilities and strengths of others. This insensitivity to the other person triggers the partner’s vulnerability, which, for its part, provokes his or her automatic self-protective responses. Furthermore, the circle of vulnerability is initiated, when each partner’s survival

strategy triggers the strategy of the other. When the essential impasse occurs, both partners are protecting their vulnerabilities and acting and reacting from their positions of survival. This is what makes the impasse so violent, confusing and intense.

The Circle of Vulnerability from the Positions of Different Gender Ideologies: the Case of Milan and Ana

The vulnerability cycle diagram is a tool family therapists use for researching marital interaction forms, including vulnerabilities, survival positions and joint activating processes. It integrates interaction, intrapsychic, and intergenerational socio-cultural elements of an impasse. In family psychotherapy, it is used to organize the information and plan the interventions, and as a tool that can be shared with the a couple in order to better understand their dynamics.

The case of Milan and Anna illustrates the circle of vulnerability. Milan and Ana started with marriage counseling after the police had intervened because of Milan's aggressive behavior (he locked the door and did not allow Ana to enter). Milan is 45 years old, a retired police officer. Ana is 35 years old, a nurse; they have been married six years. Both were concerned about their relationship that was deteriorating rapidly due to Milan's intense jealousy and escalating conflicts.

Their problems began four months ago, when Ana started working. She found a job because they had financial troubles, although she had not worked previously, except for her internship. She worked in shifts, and they saw each other less frequently she worked the night shift every third day and slept and did the housework during the day. Milan felt that Ana rejected and ignored him and their conflicts grew in intensity as Milan began to insult her and Ana became depressed. Milan complained that Anna forgot to call him as she promised, interpreting her activities as a sign of rejection and proof of her infidelity. He worried that Ana was becoming dominant and attractive to someone more educated and capable than him. Ana was of the opinion that the problem occurred because of Milan's lack of understanding of the pressures she was under at work and his lack of empathy for all the housework she was staggering under. She felt frightened and unable to protect herself from his aggressive accusations.

It became rather clear during therapy that Ana became inaccessible and tended to forget to call her husband when she was busy at work. This would "trigger" great anxiety in Milan because he would feel abandoned and imagine Ana being unfaithful to him, his anger growing as he waited for her call. When they would

finally talk, he would be furious and accuse her of seeing another man. Hurt by his accusations, Ana became increasingly introverted and depressed. Her introversion intensified her anxiety, provoking him to level even more “vehement” accusations against her. They have together unconsciously created a dance between the chaser and the escapee, which would continue for several days until it climaxed with Milan’s resentfulness and Ana bursting into tears. After these “strong emotional catharses,” Milan would apologize and they would calm down until another of Ana’s similar acts of negligence reinitiated their cycle.

During our work with Milan and Ana, we operationalized the quality of the marital relationship through the DAS scale (Dyadic Adjustment Scale, Spanier, G., 1979), which measures the partners’ suitability in different walks of life. The resulting score shows satisfaction with marriage (neither spouse thinking about divorce), the partners’ low cohesion (referring to joint leisure activities), a low score on how they get along (concerning the acceptance of each other’s religious attitudes, friends, philosophy of life, gender roles, etc.), and high dissatisfaction with demonstration of affections of both spouses.

Psychotherapist in Marital Therapy and Possible Interventions

Dealing with the Deadlock

Some therapists feel paralyzed with the intensity of the conflict that occurs during a marital impasse. One of the reasons for such paralysis is the assumption that it is the therapist’s job to successfully deal with the impasse. This assumption causes the therapist’s frustration, and may, in fact, be an impossible task. The impasse and what supports it are often complex issues, based on the partners’ vulnerabilities and positions of survival, wherefore the attempts to change them might be unsuccessful.

Couples often come to therapy in a highly competitive mood, demanding of the therapist to rule on what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. They ask the therapist to assume the position of a judge. Since a therapist cannot act as one, his objectives are doomed to fail. Some theoreticians see the benefit of family therapy in therapists accepting the role of judges, explicitly or implicitly, and acting from the position of having “diverse affection.” In this way, the therapist assesses the concerns and needs of each partner and observes their dilemmas, appreciating them as difficult for both. The therapist helps the couple

reduce anxiety by giving legitimacy to their individual feelings and assuring both partners that their needs will be taken into account.

After the therapist monitors the interaction of the “dancing couple,” he connects with the vulnerabilities of each partner and tempts their strategies for survival.

In working with Milan and Ana, the therapist established the boundaries for Milan’s terrifying behavior, proposing alternative ways in which he could express his own needs for bonding. The therapist encouraged Anna to talk more openly about their needs to establish the boundaries concerning her work, and to convince Milan that she was faithful to him. The therapist and the couple also examined the impasse, discussing the sociocultural basis relying on the facts that women are intimidated by men and that women are excessively kind. Milan did not want to be a violent partner, but he did not know any other way to express his fears. He associated his strategy of aggression with his socialization in sports and the role of men. Ana was afraid she would project an image of an aggressive and unfeminine woman if she continued being persistent.

Once the couple felt their therapist understood and accepted them, they were able to speak more openly about their vulnerabilities. Milan came to the conclusion that his irrational fears of abandonment and Ana’s infidelity were associated with his complex personal history. He grew up with a mother suffering from mental health problems and learned early on to get his mother’s attention by demanding it or tempting her whenever she would become depressive or “emotionally absent.”

His relationship with his father was maintained mainly through activities and sports, which affected the concept of his gender ideology, where the man’s role was played through the activities outside the home and the requirement for constant engagement.

Ana recounted how her vulnerability was associated with the dynamics of her family. Because her family adhered to the principle of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, Ana’s survival strategy was “to be independent.” However, her family’s gender ideology also shaped her strategy for survival; she learned to be overly friendly and not to talk openly about her own needs.

“Contextualization of Dance” in Family Therapy

Since the therapist, together with the married couple, articulates their circular impasse, he also focuses on how the occurrence of their impasse may be associ-

ated with stress and changes in their sociocultural context. The couple was asked why they started therapy when they did. We examined how the factors of their social environment may influence their images of themselves and others, their “pros and cons” and the balance of power in their relationship. Interventions at this level include the articulation of how contextual factors affect the dynamics of marriage and ease the negotiation of the new “pros and cons,” and the new organization in a relationship.

In Ana’s and Milan’s case, the therapist helped them identify how the occurrence of their impasse was associated with Ana’s work and the (gender) attitudes of both spouses. Since the couple identified that their stress was/ caused by long hours of Ana’s absence, they also discussed how Ana, in her new role, was not as accessible and helpful as she used to be. A change in the social environment also changed the organization of the financial resources and established a balance of gender power, requiring of them to modify their assumptions about themselves, others and their relationship. Since the couple acquired a clear understanding of themselves in the new situation, Milan agreed to start doing the everyday house chores, in exchange for spending more time with Ana in the evenings and on her days off. Negotiations on their “pros and cons” enabled Ana and Milan to feel closer to each other and less reactive, and much more prepared to think about other factors that have also contributed to the occurrence of their essential impasse.

Concluding Discussion

A number of studies confirm the existence of interaction between the division of labor between spouses, gender roles and attitudes on gender roles, and the estimated fair division and marital satisfaction, the quality of marriage and the possibility of divorce.

The analysis of the available research has shown that the family has over the past 50 years been gradually moving away from gender roles highlighting the differences between the sexes to the egalitarian structures of business and family roles of men and women. The changes are associated with the women’s increasing participation in activities outside the home, but without a compensatory increase in men’s participation in the work at “home”. In this study, we endeavored to draw attention to the implications of these changes and explain the way they affected the quality of the spouses’ marital relationships.

We have proven that the employment of women, upsetting the traditional gender roles, affects the complementary roles of spouses, creating negative implications on marriage, its quality and stability. The women's independence in economic terms, the reduced time partners spend together, the conflict between their roles, the women's variety of roles, with minimal participation of men in the housework, are all mechanisms by which the employment of women negatively affects the perception of the quality of the spouses' marital relationship. The above is particularly important when a woman acts from an egalitarian position, which is not accompanied by a change in the husband's traditional attitudes.

On the other hand, the tendency towards a greater redistribution of economic roles and family responsibilities when partners accept egalitarian attitudes and relationships may result in an increase in the quality of marriage, by promoting equality in marriage and the partners' satisfaction with a variety of benefits deriving from such relations, but which cannot be achieved in a traditional marriage with distinctly differentiated roles between a husband and a wife (Haas, 1980).

The redistribution of roles can be an opportunity to reap some of the benefits, for example, the increased economic resources, which are always at the family's disposal, reduced stress, caused primarily by delegated responsibility for the different roles within the family circle (wife for the household, the man for the finance), a better chance to test the ability of individuals and to pursue their own interests, functional communication that reduces the level of stress and thus increases intimacy between the husband and the wife, and so on.

Capitalism and the higher professionalization of life have led people to build their own identities through their professions and financial benefits. People are thus torn between the need for closeness and distance, dangling between traditionalism and egalitarianism.

In any case, a marriage is a necessary and beneficial arrangement for many reasons, but it is quite clear that traditional marriage renders it impossible for women to make use of these benefits as long as they are unequal with and subordinated to men. We can conclude that marriage has its own importance in the present, and is expected to have it in the future, but only by moving away from rigid traditional beliefs and towards more egalitarian relationships built on partnerships and agreements by equal partners to lead an equal life, with equal privileges and restrictions. Until then, the existence of male marriages is

inevitable, even though we consider that the sustainability and improvement of the marriage depends on the improvement of the women's marriage.

The considerations outlined in this paper lead to the conclusion that an ideal marriage should be based on gender equality and flexibility in gender roles. In this way, both partners would have equal opportunity to be professionally accomplished. The relationship would be built on mutual respect, affection and support.

The question arises whether the creation of new forms of relationships should be the responsibility of every individual and each couple, or whether it would be more functional if society organized prevention programs and helped people through their impasses, passing on their acquired knowledge and information concerning partners and marital relations, or at least giving them the opportunity to discuss these problems.

As our therapeutic experience suggests, allowing partners to create a balance between traditionalism and egalitarianism on their own, with the present polarization of attitudes, usually causes them to end up in a "deadlock."

We find the circle of vulnerability a useful theoretical tool when in working with couples of different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, and different polarizations along the traditional-egalitarian line. In addition, the articulation of the impasse by means of vulnerability is clinically useful, as is its articulation by means of the positions of survival, circularity procedures and reactions within a historic and sociocultural gender framework when it comes to a great number of couples, from those who have experienced weaker feelings of disconnectedness, to couples who are desperate because of their deteriorating relations. The therapist treats a couple by acting from two positions, seeing them, on the one hand, as vulnerable, with legitimate feelings and needs, and on the other hand, as a couple that is resilient and open to change, and then s/he tends to break down resistance and strengthen responsibility. The language of vulnerability, strategies for survival, and impasse help us confront the problematic behavior of a couple without pathologizing individuals, focusing on disclosure of circularity relations.

The approach described in this paper encourages therapists to lead the process while constantly offering each partner the choice of assuming the responsibility to change. Through the psychotherapeutic process, the therapist tends to promote flexible gender roles and values of caring and respect for others and

oneself in partner relations. We believe that this would be a globally useful intervention aimed at preserving marriage as an institution.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AIMED AT PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY AND THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE, WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS ON THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Abstract: *The Ministry of Defense (MoD) of the Republic of Macedonia has endeavored to respect the standards for including women in all aspects of defense. It has thus consistently adhered to the adopted National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution /UNSCR/ 1325 and has adopted other documents for the implementation of the Resolution. Furthermore, numerous efforts have been invested over the past few years in promoting gender equality and the gender perspective in defense. The media, as a means of informing the general public, play a prominent role in modern society. The MoD informs the public via its Sector for Communications, Analytics and Operational Support, notably, the Sector's Publishing and Production Department, which issues press releases on a daily basis. The MoD has recently expanded the range of topics it writes about to include issues of gender equality and deal with the problems and experiences of women in the field of defense. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the role of the media as a very important mechanism for promoting gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense sector. Moreover, it will also present an analysis of the articles published in the magazine Shield and academic topics published in the MoD's professional periodical. The aim of this paper is to show that sufficient coverage of the issues in Shield, a journal of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia /ARM/ and the Ministry of Defense, has influenced public opinion on the necessity of implementing the principles of gender equality in the defense sector, thus contributing to the promotion of the profession and attracting female staff. The paper will close with recommendations on how to continuously improve all gender equality mechanisms and the gender perspective in the defense system, specific actions to be taken to further raise awareness and promote the profession, as well as to overcome problems related to gender inequality and stereotypes and identify other vulnerabilities within the country's defense system.*

Keywords: *gender, equality, perspective, defense, media, information.*

Introduction

Women play an important and significant role in all walks of life in the Republic of Macedonia. Their active role in creating and implementing the country's peace and security policy is one of the important aspects that should create awareness of gender and improve gender equality in this sphere of peace and security. Gender equality denotes fair treatment of men and women in accordance with their needs. It is achieved by promoting personal, social, cultural, political and economic equality for all. Gender equality is of major importance and benefit to society, allowing it to use the potential of each individual. For this reason, this issue has always been a priority of various agencies, organizations and policies within the United Nations. UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security of October 2000 was the first to fully reaffirm the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stress the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.¹ The adoption of the Resolution marked the beginning of a different approach to peace and security and put in place the legal framework providing tools that identify women as key factors in creating sustainable peace. The Resolution calls for full and proportional representation of women at all levels of decision-making, in conflict prevention, post-conflict situations and building and maintaining peace. With the adoption of UNSCR 1325, the concept of security and defense was redefined to incorporate the concept of gender equality. The international community is committed to promoting the active participation of women in conflict prevention and peace-building in all security-related processes. The Resolution recognizes the specific effects and consequences that armed conflicts have on women and calls for increased participation of women in conflict prevention and management. It emphasizes the need to mainstream the gender perspective in the implementation of peace agreements, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and training of peacekeepers. It points out that exclusion of women from peace processes amounts to a violation of their rights, and that their involvement and mainstreaming of the gender perspective in the sphere of security and defense will contribute towards efforts for sustainable peace. The implementation of the provisions of this Resolution has become an imperative to achieve the standards and fulfil the obligations arising

1 Resolution 1325 (2000) Adopted by the UN Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on October 31st, 2000, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>.

from partnership with NATO, which has developed an action plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through supported plans and activities of partner countries. In accordance with NATO's Action Plan, the gender perspective is to be mainstreamed by: inclusion of UNSCR 1325 in all policies, programs and documents; cooperation with all governmental and non-governmental organizations in this field; gender mainstreaming at the operational level; training; public diplomacy and national initiatives.²

The inclusion of gender issues in the defense system is prerequisite for responding to society's various security needs. Defense systems also need to be established to successfully respond to different security needs, which may vary depending on factors such as gender, ethnicity, age, physical ability, economic status, religious affiliation, etc. Gender issues in defense systems should also be included to create a prominent defense and security organization. Analyses conducted in the field of defense in several countries show that women are underrepresented in the army, in senior managerial and command posts in the defense sector, i.e. at all decision-making posts and in supervisory bodies across the defense system. Although there are no formal obstacles, women are often able to be promoted only to a specific level in the defense sector. Full integration of women in defense and armed forces leads to the army's maximum capacity to fulfil its role of protector of the country's democratic order and its core values.

In this respect, the Republic of Macedonia's MoD has been continuously undertaking various activities and commitments related to gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense sector, including mainstreaming the gender perspective in the defense policy in order to provide women and men with equal opportunities to carry out their tasks and duties and implement the UNSCR 1325 guidelines.

The media play an important role in all walks of life in modern-day society. Therefore, the role of the media in promoting gender, gender equality and the gender perspective is an important ingredient for the promotion, proper understanding and implementation of the gender equality policy in all spheres of society and, in our case, it implies proper dissemination of information, constant reporting, analysis and writing about the activities and problems present in the Republic of Macedonia defense sector.

2 http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2014_06/20140626_140626-wps-action-plan.pdf

Mechanisms for promoting gender equality in The Republic Of Macedonia

In the Republic of Macedonia, the processes of mainstreaming the gender perspective in all spheres of social life, including defense, have been launched on time. This has been made possible by: the adoption of the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men;³ the establishment of the Equal Opportunities Department within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy; designating equal opportunity coordinators in public institutions; increase in the number of women in Parliament; and, creating a framework for implementing UNSCR 1325. The MoD and the ARM have been involved in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and other relevant resolutions. The Republic of Macedonia's experts, NGOs and representatives of public institutions were involved in the United Nations regional project aimed at strengthening the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Western Balkans (2011-2013). An Action Plan for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 and relevant international law in this area was developed. Given that the MoD is responsible for the strategic section of the National Action Plan for Gender Equality "Women, Peace and Security," it signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy on the joint preparation of this document. In January 2013, an Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 was adopted by the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia.⁴ All this has contributed towards stepping up activities of several MoD and ARM units in order to further promote gender equality in the defense sector.

The MoD in 2012 formed a Committee on Gender Equality and the Gender Perspective in the Field of Defense, comprising representatives of the MoD and ARM. This Committee was charged with updating the 2009 Program on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women at the MoD and the ARM, preparing an analysis of the representation of women in the defense sector and with a number of other tasks and responsibilities. The MoD, a key actor in the security and defense sector and an agent of the strategic area of women, peace and security in the National Action Plan for Gender Equality adopted in January 2013, has been committed to working on promoting gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense sector.

3 Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Official Gazette, No. 6/2012, January 13th, 2012.

4 <http://arhiva.vlada.mk/registar/?q=node/458>

A decision was taken to organize a conference as a platform for constructive discussions and debates on how to improve the situation regarding the problems and stereotypes about gender and the field of defense and security as traditionally “male” fields of action and to promote gender equality. The activity was implemented by the Sector for Communications, Analytics and Operational Support; this sector, comprising several departments, is the backbone of the media outreach activities and is tasked with informing the public about relevant MoD and ARM events and developments.

The role of the mod's publications in promoting gender equality and gender perspective

Article 20, paragraph 37, of the Law on Defense provides a legal framework for the MoD's public information activities, and paragraph 38 deals with its publishing activity.⁵ The public is informed through daily press releases, public notifications, cooperation with the Macedonian media, organization of briefings, press conferences, etc. Information about these activities is reported via the electronic media and the MoD's print publications. The ARM and MoD websites are regularly updated and report about the latest developments on a daily basis.

Many organizational changes have been made within the MoD in connection with publishing and production in the past two decades. These activities are currently performed by the Sector for Communications, Analytics and Operational Support. The Sector also includes a Department for Publishing and Production. Its main activity includes publishing information and academic papers promoting the MoD and ARM. The Department publishes the magazine *Shield* (in Macedonian: *Illmum*) and the international academic journal *Contemporary Macedonian Defense*. The first professional magazines published until 2009 were the MoD monthly *Defense* (in Macedonian: *Одбрана*) and the Army of the Republic of Macedonia mouthpiece *Army Word* (in Macedonian: *Армиски збор*). From August 17th, 1992 to January 2009, *Army Word* was published as a weekly supplement of the daily *Večer*. The contents of *Defense* and *Army Word* were compiled in the new magazine *Shield*, when it was launched in August 2009.

The Republic of Macedonia MoD's military publishing service has been issuing numerous publications in Macedonian and English, including, in April 2013, a

5 Defense Law of the Republic of Macedonia, consolidated text, 2011, www.pravo.org.mk

special edition entitled “Gender Equality and the Gender Perspective in Defense and the Security Sector”, comprising a collection of all expert papers presented at the International Scientific Conference on Gender Equality and the Gender Perspective in the Defense and the Security Sector organized by the MoD in Skopje in April 2013.

Promotion of gender equality as evidenced by the analysis of articles published in the shield

Although the activities regarding the implementation of UNSCR 1325 provisions took place prior to 2012, it can regrettably be concluded that there was no media coverage of these topics during the mentioned period. As of 2012, guidelines were issued to intensify activities promoting gender equality in the defense sector and their coverage. The Committee on Gender Equality established in 2012 was to focus on ways to improve the situation regarding gender equality in the defense sector. At its December 2012 meeting, the Committee discussed the possibility of using the magazine *Shield* as an instrument to promote topics related to gender equality issues in the defense sector. It adopted a work plan of the editorial board aimed at covering several aspects of the matter. However, perusal of the earlier editions of the magazines issued by the MoD demonstrates that various texts had been published back in 1997 (e.g. “Women Come,” by Vasil Dičevski, *Defense*, Issue No. 32, November-December 1997) on enlistment and participation of women in the Army, amendments to the Law on the Military Academy, which allowed women to become part of the military structures. It can, however, be concluded that *Shield* - which was launched in 2009, at a time when gender equality and the gender perspective in the field of defense became topical and when the Law on Equal Opportunities as well as the program for equal representation were adopted and many other activities were undertaken - did not publish a single article on these issues until 2011. It was not until March 2011 that *Shield* published an interview with a woman - Interior Minister Gordana Jankulovska - but she was not asked about the role of women in the security sector, the representation of women in the Ministry of the Interior, and so on.⁶ Nevertheless, the same issue ran an article on women soldiers (entitled “They Look Good in Uniform” (in Macedonian: “Униформата убаво им прилега”). The photographs and text promote the role of women in Army

6 Interview with Gordana Jankulovska, Minister of Internal Affairs, *Shield*, Issue No. 19, March 2011

units and their participation in missions.⁷ This indicates that the editorial board at the time had not paid enough attention to the issue of gender equality when it formulated its editorial policy, involving the identification of important topics to be covered and promoted by the articles in the magazine.

The MoD underwent changes in 2012 and a new minister (Fatmir Besimi) was appointed. He appointed a woman as the MoD spokesperson. *Shield* (Issue No. 31 of March 2012) carried an interview with Selvet Baruti, the spokesperson and Assistant Head of Department at the MoD, who spoke about gender equality as an important principle respected in the defense sector.

“... I would agree with you that there are considerations in classifying occupations into male and female, but personally, I have a different view. Representatives of the weaker sex can face the same challenges as members of the stronger sex. Moreover, I would even say that women are sometimes able to deal with challenges better...”⁸

This quote indicates positive trends in the magazine’s editorial policy in terms of gender. However, due to lack of information, gender sensitization is not reflected in the language used, as corroborated by the terms “weaker” and “stronger” sex, which is contrary to the principles of gender equality.

With the intensification of activities regarding the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and as the National Plan for the implementation of its provisions reached its final stage, the role of media coverage of these activities became evident. In its May 2012 issue, *Shield* ran a text by Ljubica Pop Talevska, the official MOD Equal Opportunities Coordinator. In her article entitled “Gender Perspective in the Defense Sector - Implementation of UNSCR 1325”, she endeavored to familiarize the readers with UNSCR 1325 and its provisions, as well as all the activities undertaken by the MoD in this respect.

“... Before the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000, the traditional definition of security and defense rarely included the gender dimension or identified the specific role and needs of women during and after war and conflict. Guided by the understanding that armed clashes and conflicts affect children, boys and girls, in a specific way and that gender inequality becomes even pronounced when conflicts escalate, as well as the fact that women are excluded from ac-

7 “*They Look Good in Uniform*” (Униформата убаво им прилега), *Shield*, Issue No. 19, March 2011

8 Interview with Selvet Baruti, MoD spokesperson, *Shield*, Issue No. 31, March 2012

tivities towards establishing peace and stability due to their marginalized role in the security processes, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1325 which brought a new gender dimension in the field of security and defense for the first time....”⁹

Shield (Issue No. 37 published in July 2012) ran an article by Mitko Vasilevski on the return of peacekeepers from the ISAF mission. The reporter focused on an interview with a female member of the mission.

“... One of the peacekeepers was Sergeant Maja Ugrinoska, a courageous mother, dedicated warrior, proud Macedonian and a member of the Macedonian Army. She emphasized that all the mission risks had been successfully overcome and that women soldiers were absolutely equal to members of the “stronger sex” and that she would never forget the mission in Afghanistan. For her, the time she spent in the most dangerous part of the planet in terms of peace - Afghanistan, was a tremendous experience in her career and a part of her biography.”

The November 2012 issue of *Shield* (Issue No. 39) contains an article by Colonel Dragan Pavlovski entitled “Meeting with Iva Matić, the First Female Cadet at the Pilot Training Center.”

“... In the Army, and even in the broader context, the percentage of the female population represented in certain segments, albeit still small, is on the rise. How does it feel to be a cadet and future military pilot as a member of the weaker sex? - I must say that I am highly appreciated by my colleagues and superiors. Therefore, I do not feel isolated, special or privileged because I’m a female, which makes me happy. However, in reality, it is a great honor and I am proud to be the first female military pilot in Macedonia.”¹⁰

In its December 2012 issue (No. 40), *Shield* published academic views on the defense sector and cited an extensive theoretical treatise in an article in the section entitled “Headlines on Women’s Participation in Wars and Armed Units” by Prof. Dr. Zorica Saltirovska and Associate Professor Dr. Žanet Ristoska. In addition, the cover page of the same issue is in the context of gender equality in the defense sector.

9 *Gender Perspective in the Defense Sector - Implementation of UNSCR 1325* (Родовата перспектива во одбраната - имплементација на Резолуцијата 1325 на Советот за безбедност на ОН), *Shield*, Issue No. 33, May 2012

10 *Meeting with Iva Matić, the First Female Cadet at the Pilot Training Center* (Средба со Ива Матиќ– првиот женски кадет од Центарот за обука на пилоти), *Shield*, Issue No. 39, November 2012

“... The presence of women in wars throughout world history is undisputable. The call of the motherland, the struggle for freedom and realization of disputed rights have always been present, even among members of the weaker sex. But what is the situation like when it comes to the participation of women in regular peacetime formations and is there real discrimination in this walk of life, as far as the freedom of choice and equal opportunities are concerned...”¹¹

The same issue of *Shield* carried an interview with Professor Dr. Snežana Nikodinovska-Stefanovska, the Dean of the Faculty of Security in Skopje, focusing on the representation of women at the college, as educators and students.

In addition to publishing more theoretical and scientific articles and reports and interviews with eminent women, the editorial board also paid attention to all the current events on the matter, which were reported on in the Info Section of the magazine. In its December 2012 issue, for instance, *Shield* ran a report on the establishment and tasks of the Committee on Gender Equality in the defense and security sector.

In February 2013 (Issue No. 42), *Shield* front-paged the headline of the article “Participation of Women in the Police and Their Role in Creating Peace and Security,” promoting the police’s recruitment of women. Its author, Dr. Frosina Remenski, the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Security in Skopje, provided a historical overview and talked about the then situation with regard to the presence of women in the security sector, offering recommendations on how to improve the equal gender representation policy in this sector.

“... Hence the need to adopt national strategies on women in the police and to learn from, as well as adhere to, the best practices in the EU and the US. Police staff recruitment principles vary, indicating deficiencies in the human resource management services, recruitment difficulties posing eligibility obstacles and disincentives for women applying for police officer jobs and police training...”¹²

On its cover, the *Shield* (Issue No. 43) of March 2013 featured women in the Special Operations Regiment of the Army and the article headlined “As Good as Men – One Day with Female Members of the Special Forces Regiment” by Ljubomir Bojmacaliev.

11 *Amazons of Modern Times* (Амазонки на новото време), *Shield*, Issue No. 40, December 2012

12 *Participation of Women in the Police and Their Role in Creating Peace and Security* (Учеството на жените во полицијата и нивната улога во креирањето на мирот и безбедноста), *Shield*, Issue No. 42, February 2013

Another headline on the front page read “Love for the Profession – Numerous Successes of Women in the Army” by Colonel Mary Rindžova, who talked about the participation of women members of the professional army, highlighting gender equality and gender discrimination in army units.

“... Women’s enlistment in the Army is an important segment of its democratization. This is an issue of non-discrimination or equal career opportunities for men and women, equal treatment in accessing different posts, equal pay, and eliminating the abuse of women in the military...”¹³

The headline section of *Shield* (Issue No. 45) of May 2013 included a text entitled “Equal in War and Peace - Gender Equality and Gender Perspective in the Defense Sector” by Dr. Žanet Ristoska, who listed all the MoD activities promoting gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense and security field, with particular reference to the international scientific conference “Gender Equality and the Gender Perspective in the Defense and Security Sector”, held in Skopje and organized by the MoD of the Republic of Macedonia, which rallied over 30 participants from several countries in the region.

In its Info Section in Issue No. 45 of April 2013, *Shield* informed the public about the signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation between Defense Minister Talat Xhaferi and UN Women Program Regional Director – Sub-Regional Office for Central and Southeast Europe, Erika Kvapilova, reaffirming the MoD’s commitment to gender equality in the MoD and the ARM.

In its Issue No. 46 of June 2013, *Shield* carried an interview with Mariet Schuurman, the Dutch Ambassador to Republic of Macedonia at the time, entitled “Women are Excellent Peacekeepers”, in which several questions dealt with the role of women in contemporary society, women as champions and guardians of peace and security, as well as the representation of women in defense, security and politics in the Netherlands.

“... I am the third female ambassador representing the Netherlands in Macedonia. This might lead to the impression that most Dutch ambassadors are women, but this is far from the truth. Currently, only 17 of 122 [Dutch] ambassadors (14%) are women. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, women hold less than 18% of the senior managerial positions. The goal pursued by the Government is to

¹³ *Love for the Profession – Numerous Successes of Women in the Army* (Со љубов кон професијата-жените во војската постигнуваат многубројни успеси), *Shield*, Issue No. 43, March 2013

increase female representation at senior managerial positions to 30% by 2017, and this can only be achieved by a proactive approach and promoting women holding important offices who can serve as an example...”¹⁴

The same issue of *Shield* in its Info section carried a report about a meeting between Minister Talat Xhaferi and Marie Skare, NATO Secretary General’s Special Representative on Women, Peace and Security, during which Minister Xhaferi informed Skare that the MoD had a Committee on Gender Equality and Gender Perspective, which organized and coordinated activities to implement the Resolution, and about the signing of the Memorandum of Cooperation with UN Women, as well as about the relevant education and training efforts.

In its Issue No. 47 of July 2013, *Shield* reported in its Info section on an ongoing UNDP/SEESAC project “*Support for Gender Mainstreaming in the Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans*” and about the activities of the 3rd Meeting of the Working Group in Belgrade, Republic of Serbia (on June 25th – 26th, 2013).

In its Issue No. 48 of August 2013, *Shield* ran an article about Monika Pavlovska, the first female infantry cadet, who graduated from the Military Academy in Skopje, entitled “I Can and I Know”.

“... A small and fragile girl in uniform, barely visible behind the stage in the amphitheater, thunders with the voice of a future infantry commanding officer. After all, she is the first female graduate in the first cohort of cadets in this branch of the Military Academy. By promoting this particular young girl, a future officer of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, the intention is to once again emphasize the importance of implementing gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense sector and the Army of Republic of Macedonia...”¹⁵

In its Issue No. 49 of August 2013, *Shield* published an interview with Prof. Dr. Arta Musaraj, the Deputy Defense Minister of the Republic of Albania, in which she talked about the status of women in the defense sector.

“... Albanian defense today, when it comes to the representation of women in the defense sector, can be compared to analog systems in the region, not only horizontally but vertically as well, in view of career promotion. This is so be-

14 *Women are Excellent Peacekeepers* (Жените се извонредни чувари на мирот), interview with Mariet Schuurman, the Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Republic of Macedonia, *Shield*, Issue No. 46, June 2013

15 “*I Can and I Know*” (Можам и знам), *Shield*, Issue No. 47, July 2013

cause we do not see it in terms of social sensitivity, but in terms of a progressive vision, a vision of quality management of the national human resources...”¹⁶

In the same issue, the magazine published an analytical review headlined “Network of Women in the Defense Sector - integrating the gender perspective in the security sector reforms in the Western Balkans” by Dr. Žanet Ristoska and Dr. Bekim Maksuti, detailing the activities arising from the regional project aiming to improve the situation and raise awareness of gender equality and the gender perspective in the countries’ defense and military structures. This project has been carried out in cooperation with the Ministries of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and financially assisted by Norway, the Swedish Armed Forces and the UN Development Programme. It was implemented by UNDP/SEESAC, an organization advocating the promotion of peace and security through regional cooperation in South East Europe. The project highlights the role of the media among the activities promoting and raising awareness of gender equality.

“... To attract quality staff, all countries in the region need to encourage the media at the state level and within the Ministries of Defense and the armed forces to cooperate and actively engage in efforts to promote the profession. In all four countries, outreach is conducted through the written and electronic media, articles, pamphlets, broadcasts, press releases on websites, etc. ...”¹⁷

In the Info Section of its Issue No. 50 of October 2013, *Shield* reported on the conference “Implementation of UNSCR 1325: effective platform to overcome the existing challenges of Macedonia’s efforts to contribute to world peace,” organized by the Atlantic Council of Macedonia in cooperation with the British Embassy.

In its Issue No. 54 of February 2014, *Shield* published an interview with Bekim Maksuti, the Head of the MoD Sector for International Cooperation and a member of the working group charged with preparing a study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Western Balkan countries. One of the questions he answered regarded the participation of women in peacekeeping missions.

16 Interview with Prof. Dr. Arta Musaraj, the Deputy Defense Minister of the Republic of Albania, *Shield*, Issue No. 49, September 2013

17 “Network of Women in the Defense Sector – integrating gender perspective in the security sector reforms in the Western Balkans” (Мрежа на жените во одбраната – интегрирање на родовата перспектива во реформите на безбедносниот сектор на Западен Балкан), *Shield*, Issue No. 49, September 2013

“... The project on gender equality in the defense structures of the region began in March 2012 with the signing of the Memorandum of Cooperation under the auspices of UNDP/SEESAC and ended in October 2013. The project was first launched in Macedonia on February 4th this year. The project involves painstaking work of a team from all countries involved in the project along with UNDP representatives, but it depicts the position of women in the defense sector. What is the situation with the participation of women in peacekeeping missions? I must admit that I, personally, am dissatisfied with female representation and the approach to this issue because, as a man, I am a proponent of the position of women in the armed forces and their engagement in peacekeeping operations. This thesis has been supported by my personal experience as a peacekeeper. There were difficulties in carrying out the assigned mission fully and successfully due to the lack of women soldiers during the daily raids and searches, when search had to be conducted by a woman under common law and rules of war.

This was the reason to join this campaign, which should not only yield results in terms of statistics, but also raise awareness among my fellow officers, regardless of their function or the formation they belong to. It is true that such involvement requires special efforts and sacrifice, but it is something that is imposed by NATO and UNSCR 1325.”¹⁸

Issue No. 55 of *Shield* includes an article on the launch of the “Study on the Representation of Women in the Armed Forces of the Western Balkans”.

Issue No. 56 of *Shield* of April 2014 published an interview with Martha Pshe-niozlo, the Acting Polish Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia, who talked about the implementation of gender equality in the defense and security sector.

“... Poland has a long and rich tradition of women in the armed forces. As of the end of 2013, a total of 2,774 women proudly wore the uniform of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland. They are still underrepresented, accounting for approximately 2.92% of the total number of Polish troops, but there has been a trend of continuous increase in the representation and influence of women in the Polish Armed Forces. To illustrate, in Poland today, there are ten women with the rank of colonel, and there are also women in the elite Special Forces and women pilots of MiG-29 combat aircraft...”¹⁹

18 Interview with Bekim Maksuti, Head of the Sector for International Cooperation, *Shield*, Issue No. 54, February 2014

19 Interview with Martha Pshe-niozlo, the Acting Polish Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia *Shield*, Issue No. 56, April 2014

The same issue of the magazine reported on the implementation of a training of gender trainers program, which took place in the Peace Support Operations Training Centre (PSOTC) in Sarajevo. The preparation and implementation phase of the course involved regional trainers certified at a Centre in Sweden, and a trainer of the MoD of the Republic of Macedonia. Our country had three course participants and new gender trainers.

In Issue No. 59 of July 2014, *Shield* published an interview with Gudrun Steinacker, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Macedonia at the time. One of the questions regarded women's participation in missions.

"... The participation of women in foreign missions currently stands at around 7%, i.e. 333 soldiers are women and they are deployed in various missions abroad (on June 6th, 2014, the total number of troops in missions was 4,723). Women currently account for 10% of the armed forces. Since 2001, all career opportunities in the military profession have been open to women and women's participation should increase to 15% in the future. They are engaged primarily in the medical services, where they account for 37% of the staff."²⁰

Shield ran an analytical text in Issue No. 61 of September 2014, entitled "What UN Resolution 1325 Really Is and Is Not", which was written by international law professor Dr. Methodi Hadžijanev, who reviewed the Resolution from the international law perspective.

In Issue No. 70 of June 2015, *Shield* published an article by Biljana Popovska, "Women in the War for Peace and Security: Agents of Peace and Stability."

"... Not only do the proponents of Resolution 1325 call for a more democratic representation of women given they account for 51% of the population, but they also advocate the thesis that women's participation leads to safer, sustainable and stable peace."²¹

The same issue included a report about gender training completed by 85 officers and non-commissioned officers at the "Cede Filipovski Dame" barracks in Kičevo and organized by the MoD and the ARM.

In Issue No. 70 of July 2015, *Shield* ran an article by Dragan Pavlovski on NATO gender representation and diversity policies.

20 Interview with Gudrun Steinacker, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Macedonia, *Shield*, Issue No. 59, July 2014

21 *Women in the War for Peace and Security: Agents of Peace and Stability* (Жените во борбата за мир и безбедност—носители на мирна стабилност), *Shield*, Issue No. 70, June 2015

“NATO as an organization offers equal opportunities dedicated to the valuation of each individual. Efforts towards gender balance and diversity have been introduced at NATO headquarters since 2002. They aim to address issues such as the imbalance of gender representation, age and national representation in the International Secretariat of NATO...”²²

In Issue No. 72 of August 2015, *Shield* published an interview with Caroline Bechtel from the USA, who attended the Macedonian Military Academy Summer Camp. One of the questions she was asked was about the classification of professions as male and female.

“... For me, there is no difference in terms of male and female occupations and the like. Young men and women train together and learn how to promote national interests and serve our country. We are soldiers and we are all doing our job. The army fulfills me completely as a person. I have achieved full psychological readiness. Not only have I strengthened my physical abilities through exercises and training, but I have become emotionally and mentally strong and ready for all the tasks as well. When we train and prepare for the challenges of our profession, we are not young men and women, we are simply soldiers carrying out our duties. This is my view of feminism - equality of men and women - in everything...”²³

Issue No 73 of *Shield*, published in September 2015, includes a wonderful text “Women, Peace and Security in Afghanistan - Implementation of Resolution 1325” by Antonijela Stanojevska, a participant in the “Resolute Support” mission in Afghanistan. The article covers several aspects of the situation of women in Afghanistan as a typical post-conflict society.

“... Implementation of UNSCR 1325 is related to the experiences of women in conflict, which has impact on and contributes to peace-building worldwide, and creates a security agenda. In this context, one cannot but mention that special emphasis has been put on gender equality in Afghanistan over the recent years. Moreover, Afghanistan now has a Ministry of Women’s Affairs. In addition, it has adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Also, the number of women in all “male dominated sectors”, such as the Afghan National Army and police, has increased. Within the Min-

22 “A Different Perspective of NATO Policy”(Поинаква димензија на политиката на НАТО), *Shield*, Issue No.71, July 2015

23 “Interview with Summer Camp Participant Caroline Bechtel,” *Shield*, Issue No. 72, August 2015

istry of Foreign Affairs, a unit has been established to raise awareness of the position of women in Afghan society by organizing workshops and seminars on gender representation and the gender perspective...”²⁴

The articles published in *Shield* can be classified by their content and intended goal in the following manner:

1. On the one hand, there are articles informing of and reporting on events. Hence, it may be concluded that almost all events related to MoD activities implementing the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and aimed at promoting gender equality in the media have been adequately covered by articles in the magazine *Shield*.
2. On the other hand, the reports evidently include educational articles about gender, peace and security studies. Many analytical and educational texts by eminent professors have been published, with the aim of informing the readers about the theoretical concepts of gender equality, scientific problems and issues associated with it, as well as other topics in connection with this issue.
3. Interviews with eminent figures, especially women holding senior managerial offices and competent to answer questions about gender equality, have been aimed at drawing attention to specific issues and analyses regarding the need to increase the visibility of women in the defense and security sector. The vehicles used included comparative analyses of the situation in specific institutions in other countries and theoretical elaboration, as well as views of the situation in the country and its institutions (Ministry of Defense, Ministry of the Interior, Faculty of Security, the Institute for Security, Defense and Peace, the Armed Forces of other countries).
4. Finally, mention should also be made of reports and articles on women in the armed forces aimed at promoting the profession and making military daily life and benefits appealing to the readers.

The following table provides a chronological overview of the articles published in *Shield* from 2010 to 2015:

The table shows intensive reporting on this issue as of 2012. This may be ascribed to the increased number of activities in the MoD and the ARM in connection with the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

24 *Women Peace and Security in Afghanistan - Implementation of Resolution 1325* (За жените мирот и безбедноста во Авганистан – имплементација на Резолуцијата 1325), *Shield*, Issue No. 73, September 2015

Table 1: Coverage of Gender Equality and Gender Perspective Content in the defense magazine *Shield*:

Year	Information	Interviews	Educational Content	Reports
2010	/	/	/	/
2011	/	1		1
2012	/	2	2	2
2013	5	2	4	2
2014	2	3	2	/
2015	3	3	3	2

A review of data on the share of women in the Army from 2009 to 2015 demonstrates a slow but sure increase in female representation. This increase is also reflected in the number of women holding managerial positions.

Thus, in 2009, women accounted for only 5.5% of all Army staff: 7.9% of them were officers, 11.3% were NCOs, and 2.3% were professional soldiers. In 2009, the figures were as follows: only 376 of all Army personnel were women: 90 were officers, 197 were NCOs and only 89 were professional soldiers. The highest ranking female officer was a Lieutenant Colonel.

This paper will not deal with the proportional increase in the number of women in the past period, but it will provide data on female representation at the end of 2015.

Statistics show that women accounted for 9.20% of all ARM staff in 2015: 11.48% were officers, 12.34% were NCOs, and 3.49% were professional soldiers. Expressed in figures, 99 Army officers, 184 non-commissioned officers, and 128 professional soldiers are women, and the highest ranking female officer holds the rank of Colonel. The number of female lieutenants, majors and captains has also increased. In 2015, the first woman was promoted to the rank of Colonel and appointed battalion commander.

The statistics for the MoD of the Republic of Macedonia are similar. The number of women holding managerial positions at the MoD has increased proportionally. Hence, as opposed to 2009, when there was only one woman state councilor and no women at the helm of any MoD sectors, the MoD today has a female Undersecretary of State, three female state councilors and two female heads of department.

This shows that the ARM has in the recent years been paying particular attention to the integration of gender equality principles, while slowly changing both the army's and the general public's attitudes and perceptions of the army as an institution primarily engaged in warfare to those that it is a structure aimed at building peace and security. Magazine *Shield*, as a public mouthpiece of the MoD and the ARM, has undoubtedly made a small albeit visible contribution.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to show the notable and prominent role of the media in promoting gender equality in defense through a chronological analysis of the content and articles published in *Shield* – the mouthpiece of the MoD of the Republic of Macedonia. The number of articles about gender issues in 2012 was proportional to the activities undertaken by the Ministry of Defense and the ARM regarding gender equality and the gender perspective. It, inter alia, it sought to emphasize that the articles aimed at promoting gender equality also intended to publicize the activities undertaken by the Army and MoD; at informing about projects, training conducted by certified trainers, etc.; at expanding the horizons of gender equality and gender perspective through its educational content. In addition, it endeavored to focus attention on political and international jurisprudence through interviews with eminent figures, diplomats, et al on gender equality and the gender perspective in the defense sector; contribute to attracting quality staff by posting interesting articles and other reports on female members of the Army of Republic of Macedonia. Unfortunately, there are still problematic issues, such as forms of gender discrimination, and violence against women within ARM ranks that could not be covered as no female interlocutors were willing to speak openly about such issues. These issues will hopefully be reported on and publicly debated in time, providing the opportunity to discuss and address them at the appropriate level.

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VOICES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. CONTRIBUTION OF INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS TO UNSC RESOLUTION 1325

Abstract: *In 1915, at the Women's Peace Congress in The Hague, two thousand women delegates from belligerent countries involved in World War 1 established the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which was renamed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Zurich in 1919. It was based on the initiatives of local women's organizations belonging to the IWSA. The Hague Resolution proclaims the need to stop the war and lays down the foundations for sustainable peace. The congresses discussed the position of women in armed conflicts and their role in peacebuilding. Apart from following how the ideas of Resolution 1325 can be linked to these two congresses and the ideas of earlier pacifist thinkers, this paper will also highlight the connections between the initiatives of earlier feminist organizations and the concerns of UNSCR 1325. The paper will also provide an overview of the activities and anti-war ideas of pacifist feminists in Hungary during WWI linked to international movements.*

Keywords: *UNSC Resolution 1325, women's international peace movements, WILPF, pacifism, feminism.*

The United Nations Security Council adopted *Resolution 1325* on October 31st, 2000 expressing concern about the vulnerability of civilians, particularly women and children, affected by armed conflicts and reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, in peace negotiations, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. This paper examines ways in which the principles of the Resolution were formulated and influenced by earlier pacifist thinkers and especially by Resolutions of two international peace conferences organized by women's suffrage organizations in The Hague and Zurich, as early as 1915 and 1919, respectively. The women organizers of these congresses were committed to the ideals of a peaceful and socially just society. The example of

activists of the first wave of the Hungarian feminist movement, included in the paper, illustrates how local organizations contributed to international efforts and what characterized their pacifism.

The United Nations Security Council adopted *Resolution 1325* on October 31st, 2000. The Resolution *expresses* concern about civilians, particularly women and children, affected by armed conflict. It reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, in peace negotiations, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. The document also alerts to the need to involve women in the humanitarian response to crises and violence and to the role of women in post-conflict reconstruction. It stresses the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. The Security Council formulated Resolution 1325 by recalling its earlier resolutions¹ and considering the statements of the UN President on the occasion of United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of March 8th, 2000. By adopting the Resolution, the UNSC also recalled the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the Outcome Document of the 23rd Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), particularly those concerning women and armed conflict (Sharp 2013).

The 1995 *Beijing Conference* identified key security issues and areas of concern and included them in the *Platform for Action*, (the document of the conference) such as women's vulnerability in armed conflicts and women's agency in peacebuilding. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 was also the result of lobbying efforts of different women's organizations. One of the strongest and most conscious organizations among them is the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), which was founded one hundred years ago, in 1915.

Earlier peace studies showed that the principles of Resolution 1325 could be linked to the ideas of pacifist thinkers and especially to the values expressed in the Resolutions of the two international peace conferences organized by women's suffrage organizations during and after World War I in The Hague and Zurich, in 1915 and 1919 (Sharp, 2013). The women organizers of these congresses were committed to the ideals of a peaceful and socially just society.

1 UNSC Resolutions 1261 (1999) of August 25th, 1999, 1265 (1999) of September 17th, 1999, 1296 (2000) of April 19th, 2000, and 1314 (2000) of August 11th, 2000

The origins of UNSCR 1325

Ingrid Sharp, a researcher of international pacifist movements, points out that the vision behind both Resolution 1325 and the *Platform for Action* (Beijing) can be linked to the philosophy of Johann Galtung² (Sharp, 2013). However, some of his ideas are widely debated as Galtung is recognized as the principal founder of peace and conflict studies. He has developed several influential theories, such as the distinction between positive and negative peace, structural violence, theories on conflict and conflict resolution, and the concept of peacebuilding. Galtung first conceptualized peacebuilding by calling for systems that would create sustainable peace. The peacebuilding structures needed to address the root causes of conflict and support local capacity for peace management and conflict resolution. His distinction between negative and positive peace is relevant from the point of view of the Resolutions discussed in this paper. By negative peace, Galtung means the absence of war and violent conflict, while the concept of positive peace includes a set of social conditions that prevent war, such as: just and fair distribution of goods, lack of serious poverty and discrimination. The precondition to accomplish these social affairs is the culture of peace. To create such a culture in a given society the following needs to be in place:

1. Education must replace military values with alternatives;
2. Economic and political power should be shared; and
3. Efforts should be made against poverty and inequality.

The history of pacifist thinking shows that similar conceptual foundations can be found in the works of early suffragette pacifists, for example, in the works of Jane Addams.³ She also developed her ideas around the values of a good and “structurally” peaceful society in her “social justice feminism” shared by many first wave feminist activists. In *Newer Ideals of Peace*, published in 1907, Jane Addams criticized militarism in city government, inadequate responses of legislation to the needs of industrial society, lack of immigrants and women in

2 Johan Galtung (born October 24th, 1930) is a Norwegian sociologist, mathematician and the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies. He launched the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964.

3 Jane Addams (1860–1935), the first American woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (1931), is considered the founder of the social worker profession in the United States. She was a pioneer American settlement activist/reformer, social worker, public philosopher, sociologist, author and women's suffrage and world peace leader.

local government, and inadequate protection of children and social problems in the labor movement. Jane Addams was the Vice-President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1911 to 1914; but when the war broke out in Europe, she devoted all her energy to working for peace. She was the President of the International Women's Congress at The Hague in 1915 aiming to stop the war and working for international order.

The vision of a just society based on gender equality was the core element of efforts exerted by the organization, called the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), which was founded in 1902. The idea to form a worldwide organization was initiated by Carrie Chapman Catt who understood the needs of the movement. By that time, after a decade of activism, feminists in different countries realized that their struggle would be much stronger and effective if they cooperated across national borders, so they created a huge worldwide network often based on personal connections and friendships. The IWSA had national affiliates that worked locally in their homelands and maintained contact with the IWSA headquarters through correspondence and the regularly printed newsletter, *Jus Suffragii*. The organization held international congresses every two years in different cities in Europe. The 7th IWSA Congress, the last one before the war, was held in Budapest in 1913. The event was organized and hosted by the Hungarian affiliate of IWSA, the Feminist Association. IWSA encountered difficulties working during the war (economic difficulties, press restrictions, correspondence and travel) and could not hold its next congress (in Geneva) until 1920. President Chapman Catt addressed that congress with these words: *"Let us meet once more not only as friends but as guardians of the great democratic liberty."* Later she pointed out: *"The congress calls upon all the women of the world to use their power to prevent future wars."* The IWSA thus expressed that work for women's rights was inseparable from peace.

However, the case of WWI demonstrated that the suffrage movement was not unified in its assessment of the war. The question of military defense of the homeland and women's duty in it divided the movement. Many British suffragettes enthusiastically joined the military service on the frontlines and were also involved in production, in the military industry on the homefront and considered this as an achievement of women's emancipation. German suffrage activists also found it was their patriotic duty to support the war. Yet, there was significant opposition to these tendencies as many of the leading personalities of the international suffrage movement within the IWSA took a stand against the war and against militarism in general.

Besides the efforts of the IWSA during the war, other platforms of the women's movement were active and new platforms emerged. In May 1914, the "International Council of Women" (ICW) held its Congress in Rome where the women delegates warned of the coming danger even before the war. At the IWC Congress in Rome, the participants agreed on the importance of calling on the mothers in all nations to avoid war toys and war stories for children. Also, they made the point that history books should be revised in order to teach respect for other nations, their cultures and societies.⁴

Another initiative was a peace mission in September 1914, which came from Europe to the USA, to President Wilson, who then declared neutrality and intended to mediate between the nations in conflict. RózsaSchwimmer⁵, the founder of the Feminist Association in Budapest, took part in organizing this action. By that time, Schwimmer was appointed the corresponding secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) and worked in the organization's office in London. In August 1915, IWSA distributed its petition to all London-based ambassadors of nations involved in the conflict. On behalf of women from 26 countries as "mothers of humankind"⁶ they called on all governments involved to prevent the bloodshed and save the values of human culture and civilization. This action demonstrates that IWSA was increasingly committing itself to the peace cause. Thus, in 1915, it organized the "International Women's Peace Congress" that was held from April 28th to May 1st. The main message of the Congress was to stop the war (Sharp, 1915). The presidents were: Dutch suffragist and pacifist Aletta Jacobs and Jane Addams.

The Congress was especially important for several reasons. Primarily, it aimed to analyze the reasons behind the outbreak of World War I and tried to find ways to stop the fighting and destruction. The Congress discussed possible ways of mediating between the nations at war, and how future conflicts could be resolved without violence. They petitioned the governments to find peace-

4 The journal of the Hungarian Feminist Association in Budapest, called *The Woman* (A Nő), published a report about the Congress and the details of its Resolution. The Hungarian delegation also took part in the Congress, led by Mrs. Zipernowsky (*The Woman* May 1914: 199)

5 RózsaSchwimmer (1877–1948) was one of the internationally best known pacifist feminist activists and thinkers of the Hungarian women's movement. She also worked as a professional journalist. She and VilmaGücklich co-founded the Feminist Association in Budapest (1904). She was an editor of the Association's journal. After WWI, she moved to Vienna and then to New York. She was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947.

6 Quote from the IWSA Petition, 1914.

ful ways to resolve the conflict. Also, at this meeting they founded the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. This organization was later renamed and is called the “Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom” (WILPF) to this day. Hungarian feminists were also present at the “Women’s International Committee for Permanent Peace” - Schwimmer and Jacobs both serving as Vice Presidents to Jane Addams. The participants in The Hague Congress, following Wilson’s principles, set out their resolutions about peace to be based upon the following:

1. There should be no forcible annexation of territories without consulting the wishes of their male and female inhabitants.
2. All nations have the right to autonomy and a democratic parliament.
3. Foreign affairs are to be controlled by democratic institutions.
4. International conflicts should be resolved by non-violent means and women’s suffrage was a necessary condition for the preservation of peace.

Thus, the suffragists at the Congress once again confirmed the idea that peace and equal rights for women were closely related and proclaimed that war was not inevitable in the midst of World War I. The resolution adopted at the Hague Congress proclaims the need to stop the war and build foundations for sustainable peace based on principles of social justice, democratic institutions, respect of autonomy of all nations and resolution of international conflicts by peaceful means.

Between Congresses: Feminists on the Homefront – Practical Work

In addition to desperate efforts to influence politicians to stop the war, feminists also realized the need to help women on the homefront. Due to mass mobilization in European countries involved in the war, a large number of men were recruited to the army and sent to the front. Their absence resulted in a shortage of workers on the labor market. Women did not replace men only in agricultural production and fields of industry employing unskilled labor, but also in professions that had been off limits to women in the past, which now invited the female workforce. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for example, this was the first time that women appeared as waitresses in restaurants, conductors in trains and trams or trained journalists and photographers. Realizing that employed women needed support, feminists in Budapest opened an Employ-

ment Office for women offering consultations about vacancies, defending their interests with employers, if necessary, and helping them find their way among new emerging possibilities of vocational training for women. In support of the war widows and employed women with children, the Feminist Association established “The Mother and Childcare Committee” (Anya és Gyermekevédelmi Bizottság) and cooperated on these issues with the State Employment Office.

In addition to social work and peace campaigns, the Feminist Association continued to stress the importance of women’s political rights. Women’s rights received a new context in the war. As outlined above, the Association felt that women’s suffrage could reduce militarism, make governments stop the war and avoid violent international conflicts in the future.⁷

The Association published its journal, called *The Woman*⁸, regularly during the war with a strong pacifist commitment. In addition to essays and analyses about the effects of the war, it contained news about initiatives of international peace movements as well as news about the activities of the Association in Budapest. After the outbreak of the war, the editors sent the following message to their fellows in the international movement:

“Let us make a stronger connection with our foreign sisters, the connection that has always existed among mothers of humankind. Let us gather strength from this solidarity in order to restore the peace that our civilization deserves and to find the way of non-violent resolution of conflicts between nations.”⁹

1919 Zurich Congress

The second significant event that became essential as the forerunner in constructing the philosophy of UNSCR 1325 was the International Congress of Women in Zurich in May 1919, organized by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. The organization at this event renamed itself to Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The Congress was held after the signing of the Armistice, but before the Paris Peace Conference. Other connecting initiatives also organized by women were launched ear-

7 *The Woman* January 1916: 15.

8 The journal of the Feminist Association was founded in 1907. Its title was “*Woman and Society*” and it changed its name to *The Woman* in 1914.

9 *The Woman* April 1915: cover page

lier that year. In February 1919, the Inter-Allied Women's Conference was held in Paris to formulate demands to be placed before the Peace Conference, and an impromptu Women's Conference was convened at Bern. Also in 1919, women's deputations to the Commission of the League of Nations were discussed.

While the message of the 1915 Conference in The Hague was to stop the war, the main agenda of the meeting in Zurich in May 1919 was to find ways to build sustainable peace. The participants included many women delegates, who had also been in The Hague in 1915, and Jane Addams as the President. Besides defining the conditions and terms of sustainable peace, the other essential element of the Congress was to work out the inclusion of women in the peace talks. Among other things, the Resolution of the Zurich Congress included:

- a protest against the blockade after the war, and
- a statement about the peace treaties.

The participants thus stated the following: „*This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the terms of peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept.(...) With a deep sense of responsibility this Congress strongly urges the Allied and Associated Governments to accept such amendments of the Terms as shall bring the Peace into harmony with those principles first enumerated by President Wilson.*”

The Congress thus explicitly expressed its regret that the Allied and Associated Powers at Versailles did not bring the negotiations in accord with President Wilson's Fourteen Points. The participants also claimed that the new peace should respect the right of nations to self-determination and the rights of ethnic minorities, and that pacts should not serve as a source of new conflicts. Following the event, WILPF also pointed out in several ways the danger of new conflicts resulting from disrespectful decisions of the peace treaties and the need for strengthening the reconciliation processes.

In 1919, despite their explicit demand, women were excluded from the peace negotiations. Yet, a delegation of women from the victorious nations could arrange one hearing before the Commission of the League of Nations, and it did influence some aspects of its constitution. (Sharp 2013: 5, 6)

After 1920, several women's organizations, WILPF among them, understood their role in “*restoring all the damages that the war and the so-called Peace*

*Treaties caused.*¹⁰ They expressed in many ways their concerns about the unjust elements of the Treaties. In their view, the Treaties hurt several interests and neglected the ethnic composition of the local population that was affected. These could turn into sources of new conflicts between nations. However, feminists involved in the peace work kept emphasizing that emerging new conflicts should, by all means, be resolved peacefully on the basis of respect of the nations' right to self-determination. In their opinion, sustainable peace in these regions could be maintained through mutual elimination of armaments and mutual disarmament, respect for minority rights and respect of free trade. These concepts were also embodied in the foundations of the League of Nations. Women's organizations also made other peace-related proposals and became involved in practical initiatives in the coming years and decades. These were dedicated to working out ways to contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts between nations, such as:

- arbitration,
- conflict resolution, and
- education and inter-ethnic communication.

Thus, women connected to WILPF organized summer schools, for example in Geneva in 1921, for teachers aiming to provide peace education and how to avoid stereotyping and hostility between nations and ethnic groups. The organizer of this event was Hungarian activist VilmaGlücklich. A similar event was also held in Podebrady in 1923, aimed to provide alternative peace education for youth.

The Nature of Pacifist Thoughts of the First Wave Feminists

In view of the values and philosophy behind pacifist feminism at the time of WWI, it may be ascertained that the formulation of their arguments contained both modernist and essentialist elements. Among the sources of radical pacifist thought within the movement (shared, for example, by influential Hungarian pacifist activist RózsaSchwimmer) were the ideas of Austrian campaigner and

¹⁰ Quote from a letter sent from the Budapest office of the Feminist Association written by VilmaGlücklich to Miss Balch in 1920. Source: Hungarian National Archive. Magyar OrszágosLevéltár. P999. külföldilevelek, 17 doboz, 14/b. 473. lap

writer Bertha von Stüttner. Stüttner's ideal was to avoid all war from a humanistic perspective. She founded the Austrian Society for Peace in 1891 and worked tirelessly for the international pacifist movement. In her novel *Lay down Your Arms*, she describes the horrors of armed conflict. Before WWI, she denounced rearmament in peacetime, which would ruin nations, and warned about various countries' preparations for a major conflict.

Feminist peace activists during WWI claimed that women's participation in politics was necessary as they believed that women's presence in decision-making could guarantee more peaceful ways and also help avoid armed conflicts. They thus held that the question of peace and equal rights were inseparable.

They considered that women should by all means be 'naturally' pacifist because of their mentality and social role and thus they saw it was their duty as "guardian angels" to defend civilization from destruction. In their practical work, they aimed to set right what was destroyed and support the vulnerable and the victims (women and children, widows and orphans) on the homefront.

The discourse of the first wave feminists involved in pacifist activism thus included essentialist elements meaning that in certain contexts they shared a gendered vision of both men and women. In their arguments, they claimed that the aggression of men was at the very base of all armed conflicts and while at the base of women lay their nurturing nature, to hold back men and make them restrain their negative passions. However, at that time, these frameworks of thought were not considered contradictory, wherefore the feminists combined revolutionary, new and radical notions with archaic cultural images. The following quotes illustrate the successful combination of these diverse philosophical foundations:

*"Let our hearts speak. Men's minds have ruled for too long - and this is where we have arrived. So I ask you now to let our hearts speak through our minds."*¹¹ (RózsaSchwimmersaid in her essay after the outbreak of the war).

The same emotional and passionate, but at the same time, very rational and conscious attitude can be traced also in Carrie Chapman Catt's letter to the participants in the Women's Congress in The Hague in 1915: *"I predict that your gathering will pass into history as the beginning of a great international woman's movement which will extend its influence into every quarter of the globe which*

11 See: Schwimmer, *The Woman*, July 1915: 106

will make its demand for the abolition of war.(...) Oh my sisters, this henceforth, is the special task of the World's Mothers. "

Conclusion

Studies of the history of pacifist thinking and the history of women's movements have shown that the concerns of UNSCR1325 adopted in 2000 about civilians, particularly women and children affected by armed conflict, originate from previous initiatives. Among other things the mentality of two international congresses, one in 1915 and the other in 1919, organized by women activists of the suffrage movement, must have had great impact on the formulation of the Resolutions. The first one, the International Women's Peace Congress, was the reaction of the international IWSA community to WWI. The main concern of the Congress was the necessity to find ways to peacefully resolve the emerging conflicts among nations and stop the war. The second congress was organized by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (established at the Congress in The Hague) with the main agenda to look for possibilities to build sustainable peace. It also promoted women's participation at the peace talks and evaluated the Treaties. The organization initiating the congress was named Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) at this event.

The efforts of local women's suffrage organizations before and after WWI linked to the international movement of the IWSA (for example, the Feminist Association in Budapest) contributed to the achievements that preceded the implementation of Resolution 1325. There are a number of recent initiatives as well, following these principles, for example, women's activism in arbitration in several countries. Recent armed conflicts and the consequences of wars on civilians in different regions of the world have created new challenges for pacifist organizations to deal with. There is a special need to carry on the work started one hundred years ago and to continuously monitor the effectiveness of Resolution 1325 and how the effective inclusion of women in security issues and peacebuilding is implemented.

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RELIGION AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

“A woman must cover her head because she is not the likeness of God.”

(St. Ambrose)

Abstract: *The development of monotheism as an essential idea of one God is, in principle, valued as a step of humankind towards an abstract way of thinking. This process had been developing under the strong jurisdiction of patriarchy, and the subordinate role of woman is thus visibly reflected in the core of major monotheistic religions – Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The topic of this paper deals with the position of woman in the world’s contemporary major monotheistic religions. The contradiction of this topic is reflected in the fact that women are subordinated in major monotheistic religions of the contemporary world and yet, it can be argued, with considerable certainty, that women are more religious beings than men, a theme which will also be elaborated.*

Keywords: *religion, women’s rights, equality, violence, misogyny.*

The origins of misogyny in monotheistic teachings

Let us begin by trying to leave aside what in theological circles is called “verbal inspiration”, that is, the claim that the holy books are the direct record of the word of god, in the way that every verse, psalm or surah is an unalterable god’s claim and, as such, literally proclaimed and revealed. In this case, Talmud, Bible and Quran could be interpreted as historical records which belong to the religious, but also to the legal and literary traditions of certain peoples. Recorded in concrete historical situations and edited throughout the centuries that followed (Onfrey, 2005), they represent an image of societies and social relations of those times. Because they are found in holy scripts, they have been shifted to the mythological time and gained the necessary “divine legitimacy”. In this

way, the authority justifying the then *status quo* became unconditional, absolute, and divine. The holy books of monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, can also be understood as an “immortalised patriarchal ideology” (Radulović, 2003). “Monotheism did not invent patriarchy, it found patriarchy already operating in the society, and co-opted it, justifying it along the way: it is actually recorded in the then cultural tradition and by means of prophets, who are the sons of that culture, monotheism speaks a patriarchal language. Thus, the divine message, framed in an androcentric vision shared among the members of community to which it is directed, is expressed in male language. In this way, patriarchy is reshaped from an accidental historical state to an insurmountable model based on divine authority” (Longoni, 2006).

In general, we can conclude that all three monotheisms are, to a lesser or greater extent, characterised by exactly the same attitude towards a woman: she is not a subject in her own right and not worthy as much as man. She represents the *Other*, the reverse, made by and for bearing the first child. Whilst being the “second created” from the rib of Adam, she is the first in sin. Thus, there is a reason for her subordinate position – her culpability, as well as the original sin she initiated. In Onfrey’s (2005) words: it is a sexualisation of guilt. The “male” becomes a norm, a privileged element in a range of binary oppositions which had been established between these two poles. Thus, the source of female power needs to be dark inherited from whispering to the snake in the Garden of Eden. The women, therefore, even after the exile remains dangerous, secretive nightly, Moon-directed, an eternal source of desire, coax, evil thought, blood and life.

Although all three monotheistic proclamations contain both an egalitarian and non-egalitarian potential, the former, unfortunately, most often refers to the hopes invested in the transcendental, in equality before god’s judgement, while life and relations in this world are regulated in a well-known hierarchical key.

Judaism

Almost all Jewish religious laws expressly describe duties and rights of men, while the rights of women are only indirectly stipulated, often from the description of certain events in the Bible. While men had been going three times a day to pray in a synagogue, women remained at home and were obliged to go to the temple only three times a year: the first at the age of 12, celebrating the legal age, the second during the wedding, and the third marking the end of Torah’s annual reading cycle. Women were standing in a separate section of

temple and were not allowed to enter the male part of temple, while men were allowed to freely enter the women's section. Women could be present at the sacrifice offering and had the right to put their hand on the head of the sacrificed animal. However, women were obliged to offer a sacrifice after giving birth but were only allowed to enter the temple once they were "clean" – 40 days after the birth of a son and 80 days after the birth of a daughter. Worship in a Jewish synagogue could not be held in the presence of less than 10 men older than 13. The presence of women did not count.¹

The male-female relationship is illustratively described already in early-morning prayer by having different practices for the two genders. Namely, in his daily morning prayer, a Jewish man praises god for not creating him as a woman, while a woman praises god for having created her after his will. Only a rabbi can gather them in matrimony and its central function is reproductive. Polygamy with its particularities is the best example of this. Polygyny² is justified but not the polyandry³; divorce is consented to the husband by the simple delivery of a letter to a repudiated wife. Women are not allowed to study the Torah⁴, obligatory for men; nor are they allowed to take part in the minimal group of ten necessary for the prayer – *minyan* (the minimum is ten grown-up men older than 13); they are not eligible to carry out administrative and judicial duties; they are allowed to own but not to manage their own property, which is the duty of husband (Onfrey, 2005).⁵ In orthodox synagogues women do not take part in worship services and they are separated from men by a divider.

1 For more information on this subject see: <http://www.pouke.org/verujem/index.php?topic=8950.5;wap2>, accessed on 18 January 2016.

2 *Polygyny* – polygamous marital relationship between one man and more than one woman.

3 *Polyandry* – polygamous marital community composed of one woman and more than one man. This type of family is primarily found in tribes following the mother line of kinship. It is conditioned by a matrilocal marriage, when men from time to time or always reside with their wife's family. Certain animal species can also be polyandric.

4 The Israelites used two names for Bible – Old Testament in this case – Torah and Tanakh. Torah or instruction is the name for the first five Biblical books, i.e., the five books of Moses. This name is also very often used for all books of Old Testament, as found in some writings such as Apostle Paul (Romans, 3:19). Still, Israelites used the name "Torah" specifically for Pentateuch, while they called the rest of the scriptures of the Old Testament "testimony" (Isaiah, 8:20) and divided them into prophets (Nevi'im) and scriptures (Kethuvim). The name "Tanakh" is acronym from Torah, Nevi'im, and Kethuvim.

5 See Onfrey, op. cit., p. 143.

Christianity

Along with the undoubted faith in one god, a parallel order of patriarchal social order was created with man as the undisputed ruler. Namely, if god was a man, it deductively follows that man stands beneath god, that is, that god stands above man and also that man stands above woman. Simultaneously, male superiority entailed authority over women. This is quite evident in the Epistle of St. Paul to Corinthians (1 Corinthians, 11. 7-10)⁶. Another, perhaps more obvious example of this distorted relationship between sexes is the example of the myth about Adam and Eve. This is certainly one of the most efficient means of propaganda in a long history of gender inequality. This myth places man at the centre of attention – god first creates him and only after does he create a woman from a man's rib. Unlike evolution, where men and women are equal and develop together, the Biblical story on creation of life, more precisely on creation of humans, places men at the centre of its focus, determining, thus, since the very beginning, the position and role of women. The legend about the rib that God extracted from Adam in order to create Eve contributed to the belief that the woman was created because of and for the man. He decides about her place and role, while she exists to be "helpful" to him. Sex is understood as a means of procreation⁷ and not pleasure, at least not for women, while men could have sex without significant limitations. The female ideal of that time was no longer associated with a fertile, sensual woman but rather with a girl who has not yet developed secondary sexual characteristics, which, naturally, entailed obligatory preservation of virginity. The original sin which Eve brought upon the whole humanity is repented by her daughters through their submissiveness to their husbands, but also through the labour pains which go along with their salvation on earth and their mission – childbearing. Drawing on the wisdom of one of the most cited philosophers – Aristotle, well-known theologians, questioned quite seriously whether a woman had a soul at all.

Having estimated that she did not have a soul in the same sense as a man – a human in the true and full sense of the word – but that women had more of a soul than animals, they concluded that there was still something to be saved for eternal life and granted women a choice between celibacy and motherhood

6 "A man ought not to have his head covered, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man. For man does not originate from woman, but woman from man; for indeed man was not created for the woman's sake, but woman for the man's sake." (English translation from: http://www.gasl.org/refbib/Bible_King_James_Version.pdf Accessed 27 January 2016).

7 Procreation – sexual drive exclusively for the purpose of continuation of species.

within ecclesiastical marriage. To redeem this wavering entity which could after all be called a soul, and, to deserve the heaven and atone for the sin of the first among them as well as their own sins, women will be either nuns, which is more desirable, or mothers.⁸ The choice is somewhat broader than in Judaism and Islam since it includes the right to celibacy and a life dedicated to God. Priesthood is, however, not an option since “I suffer not a woman to teach.”⁹ A woman in the public space, in a position of power, is not something that can be tolerated in a deified patriarchal tradition.

Islam

Even the most recent among the three major monotheistic religions does not offer a more “generous” or better position for women. It is a fact that the Quran has certainly improved the catastrophic position of women in regard to the previous situation existing in pre-Islamic Arabia. Certain tribes of pre-Islamic Arabs had a practice of killing female new-borns, burying them alive in the desert. The Quran mentions and condemns this custom.¹⁰ When it comes to the female body, it is within the man’s power, to whom the woman belongs and is always available for accommodating his needs.¹¹ The sole woman’s partner is her husband, obviously also a Muslim, who can have more wives – a privilege which, as it can be assumed, does not apply *vice versa*. However, the Quran

8 1 *Corinthians* 7:34: “The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband”; and 1 *Corinthians* 7:38: “So then he that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.” (English translation from: http://www.gasl.org/refbib/Bible_King_James_Version.pdf Accessed 27 January 2016).

9 1 *Timothy* 2:11-15: “Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.” (English translation from: http://www.gasl.org/refbib/Bible_King_James_Version.pdf Accessed 27 January 2016).

10 Quran, XVI, 58-59: “And when one of them is informed of [the birth of] a female, his face becomes dark, and he suppresses grief; He hides himself from the people because of the ill of which he has been informed. Should he keep it in humiliation or bury it in the ground? Unquestionably, evil is what they decide.” (English translation from: quran.com, accessed 29 January 2016).

11 Quran, II, 223: “Your wives are a place of sowing of seed for you, so come to your place of cultivation however you wish and put forth [righteousness] for yourselves.” (English translation from: quran.com, accessed 29 January 2016).

does set limitations to polygyny.¹² Such limitations are set also for the, thus far, entirely accepted and justified violence against women.¹³ Unfortunately, as it can be noted, this limitation does not mean prohibition of violence. To hit a woman is consented for “educational purposes” in a way that does not leave marks on her body: bruises, wounds, fractures of body parts... However, as it can be noted, in the holy book women are not equal to men.¹⁴ Similarly to Judaism, the husband has the exclusive right to unilateral divorce by simply declaring his decision, the so-called *talaq*. By this act, the husband “lets his wife go”, he “divorces her”. The duty of wearing a hijab (a veil that covers the head) or chador (a veil that covers the whole body, burqa) for all girls who entered puberty (i.e. from the moment of first menstruation) is not found in the Quran in an unequivocal binding form. Namely, both female and male believers are recommended to “reduce [some] of their vision” and to cover themselves, specifying however persons to whom a woman can show herself and to whom she cannot.¹⁵ Which “private parts” are to be covered is not explained precisely in the Quran but only in the Hadith – a collection of reports which describe

12 Quran, IV, 3: “And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four. But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hand possesses. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice].” (English translation from: quran.com, accessed 29 January 2016).

13 Quran, IV, 34: “But those [wives] from whom you fear arrogance - [first] advise them; [then if they persist], forsake them in bed; and [finally], strike them. But if they obey you [once more], seek no means against them. Indeed, Allah is ever Exalted and Grand.” (English translation from: quran.com, accessed 29 January 2016).

14 Quran II, 228: “And due to the wives is similar to what is expected of them, according to what is reasonable. But the men have a degree over them [in responsibility and authority]”; IV, 34: “Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient.”

15 Quran XXIV, 30-31: “30 Tell the believing men to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts. That is purer for them. Indeed, Allah is Acquainted with what they do; 31 And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts and not expose their adornment except that which [necessarily] appears thereof and to wrap [a portion of] their headcovers over their chests and not expose their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands’ fathers, their sons, their husbands’ sons, their brothers, their brothers’ sons, their sisters’ sons, their women, that which their right hands possess, or those male attendants having no physical desire, or children who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women. And let them not stamp their feet to make known what they conceal of their adornment. And turn to Allah in repentance, all of you, O believers, that you might succeed.” (English translation from: quran.com, accessed 29 January 2016).

the prophet's life – a religious tradition established much later. They can be also found in more recent, most often fundamentalist interpretations of the Quran.

These few citations, while not extensive, provide us with a general picture of a woman they describe but what is more important is that the same picture is prescribed in all three holy books: she is not worth as much as the man and therefore cannot be left to decide on her own about her body, life and destiny. The choice belongs to others, usually to the “head” of the family, who makes decisions in accordance with the personal, national or religious interests.

The woman exists for the purpose of reproduction; she is a guardian and transferor of traditional values but not their creator. The central category of subjectivity– autonomy – does not belong to her; free will does not belong to her either, probably because she had “demonstrated” back in Eden how she uses it. This has very concrete and far-reaching consequences to the woman's life – both throughout history and today. Deified patriarchal ideology exercises decisive influence on the construction of gender identity, distribution of gender roles, the position of women in society and to the whole corpus of rights: right to freedom of movement, thought and expression, right to vote and to be elected, right to inherit, right to education, right to exercise sexual rights including free choice of partner, regardless of her/his class, race, religion, nationality or any other belonging, reproductive rights (right to decide if, when and with whom to have children, regardless of her marital status), availability of medical protection, services and right to be informed about them. In a nutshell, this influences all aspects of women's every-day life, in both private and in the public sphere.

Fundamentalisms and women's human rights

The nature of political-religious interaction is very complex. “Political traditions presuppose value commitments and interpretation of collective association. In the extent to which these elements are also prescribed in religious traditions, it becomes clear that the religious-political system is an integrated network and that the elements in the religious sphere and those in the political sphere tend to reinforce each other. When there is compatibility between these two spheres stability is promoted. When there are tensions between them, the political system faces the problem of legitimisation and the result is a social anomaly, destabilisation and potential for social chaos. This suggests that politics permeates religion and vice versa” (Ramet, 2006).

By claiming that only their version of religion are true, fundamentalists want to impose their undisputable and exclusive interpretation of faith which should

become binding for all citizens by incorporating it to the applicable law of a state. This is why we cannot view religious fundamentalism as religious but only as a political movement which manipulates and misuses religion with the goal of gaining political power. Fundamentalist hard-liners are characteristic for all three major religions and are therefore promoted in a global phenomenon representing a serious threat to democratic processes worldwide and act in the direction of jeopardising human rights, particularly women's human rights.

A paradox – women as more religious beings

Although it was previously mentioned that all three monotheistic religions almost unanimously characterise women as beings not equal to men in “earthly life”, the fact that, according to available research on this topic, women are more religious beings than men comes as a paradox. It is true that there are certain problems related to specifying what religiousness is, and some shortcomings due to the fact that this claim has not been verified in historical and geographical specificum. Namely, earlier research on this topic is largely linked to Christianity. However, there are opinions that more widespread religiousness of women is not confirmed even in this case (Deconchy, 1973; Feltey and Poloma, 1996). Not only is it not possible to discuss a more widespread and intense religiousness in so-called popular, non-proclaimed religions but also in Islam and Judaism.

However, there is no dispute about the very matter: the record on more widespread religiousness among women in Christian cultural circles is massive. The differences between men and women are not always radical but they are systematic vis-à-vis the existence of religiousness and pertain to all dimensions of religiousness. This problem was studied particularly by Francis (1997) who recorded women's experiences during their visits to churches, mystical experiences, believing in god and the presence of a positive attitude towards religion in general. In relation to these, he offers evidence of over one hundred research cases from different Christian communities related to different age of respondents. None of his statements diverge in regard to the aforementioned difference in degree of religiousness between men and women. Other prominent researchers of this topic also do not doubt the existence of this difference (Thompson, 1991; Walter and Davie, 1998). The difference in the extent and intensity of religiousness can be unreservedly taken as one of the facts on which the sociology of religion can be constructed, although it is not as clear and outstanding as “the basic fact of criminology” that committing crimes is

concentrated with men between the age of 16 and 21 in all societies (Kanazawa and Still, 2000).

Indeed, it needs to be mentioned here that the problem is not exhausted by clarifying the greater prevalence and intensity of women's religiousness and some of its dimensions. For the science this problem is certainly compounded if in addition to this women are religious in a different way than men, if there is a different type and configuration of religiousness. This diversity of religiousness between men and women, boys and girls, consists in the way that a monotheistic god is understood. For boys he is a powerful lord, omniscient, and for women it is a character of confidence to whom one expresses trust, and with whom one is in intimate contact and dialogue. Boys more often pray for specific goals, to get a specific accommodation and response, while girls accept the very dialogue with god as a value, the contact itself is the goal (Reich, 1997; Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi, 1975). The male focus on achieving an individual goal is visible here in contrast to female holism and expressiveness.

To study the problem more systematically, it is necessary to enter into a classification of sociological and psychological theories and explanations, which deepen the issue so that we can draw a clearer image of this phenomenon. Although there are explanations that at first seem ethical (different ethical attitudes and beliefs in men and women), functional (different functions of women and men in life), in reality all explanations could be classified as *psychological* or *sociological*. Biological determinism in its essence also belongs to the psychological one, since it deals with apparent biological differences that produce differences in psyche, which results in women being more inclined to religion.

Psychological explanations

Psychological explanations derive from specific psychological male-female dynamics, but even more from their inborn psychological differences or stable psychological structure formed in the process of socialisation. This especially pertains to the psychological structure that leads to differences in personality configuration. These are the most characteristic standpoints:

Freudian viewpoint

Notwithstanding the entirety of Freudian thought on religion and religiousness, what is important is that god is understood in analogy with a father. In *Totem and Taboo* Freud writes that "god is in every case modelled after the father". Different consequences can follow from this in regard to religiousness of men

and women. However, the baseline is the one leading through boys, who after overcoming the Oedipal complex, have an ambivalent attitude toward fathers, while girls overcome this phase having a positive, unambiguous loyalty toward fathers. It follows that girls could be more attracted to god than boys who experience certain reserves and barriers in that relationship. This standpoint is theoretically clear and potentially contains a vast explicative power. However, there are problems regarding its empirical verification, which is a weaker side of Freud's psychoanalysis in general. Some research does confirm, especially with children, that God is understood as a father, as a father figure, as a being with male characteristics. These findings are indeed not unequivocal and partially depend on the respondents' gender (sometimes the respondents tend more to equate god with their own gender, while in other cases it is the other way around) (Francis, 1997).

Female personality traits

These explanations are similar in some ways and can be drawn from the Freudian one. They are about certain personality traits that are supposedly dominant in women but at the same time there is their supposed organic link with religiousness.

One such viewpoint is that the feeling of guilt is more present in women, and that religion "covers" very well situations in confronting guilt. Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi support this thesis arguing that the share of women in Catholicism is much larger than in (fundamentalist, charismatic) Protestantism which centres much more on sinfulness of human nature, thus inducing and reinforcing the feeling of guilt. However, there is no sufficient empirical evidence to support the argument that female religiousness could be greater in Catholics than in Protestants.

There are opinions, insufficiently supported, that greater religiousness originates from female anxiousness, fearfulness and frustration (e.g. Bourque and Back). The weakness of these viewpoints is that differences in personality structure are not universally confirmed, and Francis would add that it is not about differences at the level of gender but rather at the level of gender personality types (1997).

Among the presupposed personality traits there is also the assumed male inclination to take risks that makes religion with its certainty strange to a man, as opposed to a woman. In this case, what needs to be explained is the low religiousness of men, which originates from male adventurousness and propensity to uncertain, risky endeavours (the hunter mentality). This higher propensity to

risk is confirmed in men but the question is whether it can be brought in direct connection to religiousness. In addition, some believe that this is about a deeper phenomenon – male psychoticism (according to Eysenck, Francis, 1997).

Furthermore, a similar standpoint is that women are more prone to dependency and submission than men, which is also empirically verified. “The relationship with Christ fulfils woman’s need for relationship, as opposed to a man’s need for independency” concludes Walter (1990). For all conceptions from this group it can be said that it has not been sufficiently proven that these personality traits are not socially or culturally conditioned.

Low psychoticism as being more characteristic for women

A significant part of contemporary psychology and social psychology is still under the strong influence of Eysenck. He was an advocate of behaviourism and author of a large empirical In addition to *intelligence*, there is *psychoticism*, *neuroticism* and *extraversion* (or their absence). Eysenck and his numerous associates established the existence of those three clusters of personality traits as well as the applicability of this theory in research of criminality and politics. These clusters are confirmed by standard psychometrics and statistical verifications.

Psychoticism consists of the following personality traits: cold-bloodedness, aggressiveness, egocentricity, impersonality, impulsivity (outright acting), anti-social and anti-empathic behaviour, creativity and cruelty (Eysenck and Gudjonsson, 1989). According to the researchers who had worked on the basis of Eysenck’s methodology, it is the low psychoticism (and not introversion or low neuroticism) that is supposed to be the basis for religiousness to the extent in which it is connected to women and female types of personality (Francis, 1991).

Female and male personality type

Francis did not continue to advocate Eysenck’s model. He later opted for female and male personality types, irrespective of gender (men can belong to a female type of personality and vice versa). He used Daryl J. Bem’s much contested psychological inventory, which lists personality traits apparently characteristic for male and female gender and male and female orientation. In case of female orientation, such traits are: sensitivity, joy, childishness, complicity, the non-use of strong terms, enjoying flattery, tenderness, credulity, love toward children, loyalty, sensitivity for the needs of others, quiet speech, understanding character, loyalty, a tendency towards giving in. On the other hand, male orientation would imply leadership inclination, aggressiveness, ambition, an analytical mind, importunity, sportsmanlike orientation towards competitiveness, upholding one’s

own believes, dominance, ability to lead, independence, individualism, easy decision-making, masculinity, self-confidence, self-sufficiency, strong personality, willingness to take positions and risks (Maznah and Choo, 1986).

Thompson followed Francis's path and also established that the presence and absence of religiousness is better explained by gender orientation (femininity and masculinity) than by gender itself. Moreover, he established that female and male gender orientations can better explain differences related to social positions. This means that differences are clearer when it comes to respondents with one or the other orientation than members of two genders (masculine women are thus less religious than other women and feminine men are more religious than other men). However, he introduced an element of social position to additionally examine the extent of gender orientation influence, and, having worked mostly with students, he looked only at fathers' education (Thompson, 1991).

Genetic assumption of female religiousness

In today's sociology and psychology, socio-biology, that is, evolutionary psychology represents a current and bold standpoint. There is an extensive literature on this topic as well as attempts to explain different concrete social phenomena using this framework: from criminality to politics as well as moral. However, cultural phenomena are, such as it is, harder to explain in this context and yet there are attempts to do this too, the most prominent being that of L. Kirkpatrick (1999). He does not claim that religion has a specific evolutionary-adaptive use, but is more inclined to claim that religion is a by-product of certain adaptation mechanisms, primarily when it comes to expanding adequate ways of discovering and understanding the world during childhood. Children develop ways which correspond to specific experience of certain domains of reality. However, these ways are sometimes expanded outside of the domains to which they correspond. As an example of this he offers totemism where categorization, that is, the classification of nature is expanded to social objects (families, tribes). This could be one of the sources of religious thinking in general (Kirkpatrick, 1999). For this paper it is interesting that Kirkpatrick (1999) states what we wish to explain as one of the arguments for our thesis: the fact that women are more religious and that they are religious in a different way is the evidence that it has a biological (evolutionary-adaptive) basis.

Differences in moral development

Some authors stress that there are differences in degree of moral development of men and women by claiming that women's moral development ends in the care

for others and in attempts to bond with others and to understand them, which could lead to a greater extent of religiousness (contrary to male “isolationism”, not to say “autism”, and certainly contrary to their individual focus on achieving ultimate moral and other principles) (R. Fowler, C. Gilligan, 1998). Those endeavours as well as all efforts to establish clear stages in moral reasoning and development are not proven (Reich, 1997).

Sociological explanations

Sociological explanations take into consideration not only differences in social position and different roles of men and women, but place them in more general theories of patriarchy, modernisation and secularisation, as well as on decreasing the importance of natural determinism in contemporary society. The following standpoints can be distinguished:

Differential socialisation of boys and girls

Doubtlessly, there are differences in modalities and content of boys’ and girls’ upbringing and socialisation. From our point of view, there are two key differences:

- a) *Differences in general expectations from and orientation of girls and boys.* In addition, by positively valuing boys’ aggressiveness, boys are expected to achieve specific goals and to be analytical, while girls are expected to manifest tendency to understand situations in general (in contrast to a specific situation), and to be accommodating and to find solutions by reconciliation. The latter would match submissiveness – characteristic of the prevailing religiousness of Christianity. There is extensive literature on this topic particularly by feminist authors.
- b) *Differences in religious education.* Supposedly, girls are expected to behave in a more religious way and to have a more religious disposition; the exception being sectarian religiousness, where conversion is expected by men, who deviate and are prone to making more mistakes than girls.

Differences in social position

Women and men do not have the same social roles, which are not equally valued either. By default, women’s roles are less valued. These are, however, also subject to change, and the tendency to improve the position of women does exist. This said, however, today we are still facing evident inequalities. Francis believes to have verified those inequalities and demonstrated that inequities in

women's social position are not a factor that produces differences in the extent and intensity of religiousness. However, he unjustifiably narrows the notion of social position. Supposedly, the absence of women's employment leads to the narrowing down of social contact, into isolation which is then in turn compensated by religiousness: he analyses only employment of women and men and establishes that women are still more religious if the religiousness is controlled by employment.

According to de Vaus's research in the US, to which Frances makes reference, employed women are less religious than unemployed women (which is in line with the assumption but, according to Francis, insufficient to confirm such a hypothesis). In addition, unemployed men are more religious than employed men. He states that it is possible that religious women opt more for the traditional role of housewife and that economic activity therefore represents a consequence and not the cause of religiousness. However, this standpoint is clearly too narrow when it comes to the analysis of a woman's social position. In addition to employment, components of social position of a woman include the type of job, social influence and power that stems from the profession and job, and a pronouncedly political nature of that influence (political power and participation), as well as financial status.

Women's role in child-birth and care

Davie and Walter expressed a new variant of a social position of women as a cause of them being more frequently and intensely religious. They did not dwell upon the framework of social stratification but rather focused on a specific set of women's roles which are apparent in both professional and private life. Women more often perform professions related to child-care and care of others. They do this more often also in their daily lives, going through the experience of child birth and they are closer to dealing with the event of death. Facing and enduring such experiences is much easier if one believes that they are holy events and the result of god's will. »In these cases, the holy and the divine can be not only more visible but also more explicit.«They state that religiousness is more pronounced with those having other professions dealing with facing death and caring for the wounded and injured (such as soldiers grown old). In addition, they claim that differences between men and women do not pertain only to the extent of religiousness but that the religiousness of women is more often a religiousness of connecting and helping than religiousness of absolute justice (Walter and Davie, 1998).

Instead of a Conclusion: Directions to possible solutions for the problem

The struggle for safeguarding and promotion women's human rights endangered by the strict application of certain parts of holy monotheistic books, as well as by the growing fundamentalist forces ranges from *efforts of feminist theology/theologies* to *primarily secular approach to human rights*.

Efforts of feminist theology/theologies

Rising from the experience of multilevel oppression, feminism as a line of thought, reinterpretation of scriptures, deconstruction of social constructs and dogmatised interpretations, has in its essence women's insurgence against definitions of who and what would a woman need to be (Raiser, 2002).

Unfortunately, in all three major religions, misogyny is traditionally deeply rooted in dominant structures and teachings of religious "rulers"¹⁶. In a religious hierarchy or structure of the most prevalent and most known monotheistic religious communities there is no place for women (Spahić-Šiljak, 2007). The problem of misogyny, that is, of systematic discrimination against women in religious structures is not the only oppression faced by religious communities through history. History also records slavery, which was defended by religious "officials" and dignitaries. It recalls remembers racial discrimination too, the problem of attitude toward other ethnicities, peoples and religions. Nowadays, in some religious communities many of these problems are still present to a lesser or greater extent and at a lower or higher level (especially the issue of attitude towards other religions and their members).

All these problems which humanity has been facing through its history of religiousness and religious emancipation, led to returning to the sources of religious teachings as well as to mythology and tradition, and to their reinterpretation in light of contemporary social, philosophical, psychological, medical, political and other achievements. In those cases where theology is presented with the task of facing the problem for which it found itself philosophically, psychologically and anthropologically misguided, a new, contemporary approach to theology is being developed. Unlike previous centuries when only certain social strata had been considered privileged and called upon to discuss matters of faith, interpret and read scriptures in general, this new approach to theology

¹⁶ We use the term "rulers" to denote dominant individuals who represent religious groups and promote their ideas and have a considerable if not major social and political influence.

invites each individual to deal with it, to have their own approach to texts from their personal context and life circumstances and to give their contribution to the overall theological thought. Such a new, even revolutionary approach is called liberation theology.

Even though theology of liberation originates from Roman Catholic circles of Latin America during the 1950's and 1960's as a cry of the poor and socially and economically vulnerable social strata against economic, social and political inequality (some claim that it was under the influence of Marxist teachings), today it attained a much larger context. According to Gutierrez (1980), liberation theology has become inter-denominational and worldwide, while some scholars today group feminist theology under the domain of liberation theology because of the similarities in approach and connectedness in terms of opposition to oppression.¹⁷ Feminist theology in Christianity is dealing with an enormous and arduous task – a total transformation of centuries of masculine (male) dominance over church, theological language, religious tradition, and an opposing patriarchal system of thinking through a new approach to the Holy Scripture, through analysis and deconstruction of tradition, history and culture (Belonik, 2002).

In Judaism too, feminist theology finds motivation for rebirth of the tradition that places the woman on a lower social ranking than man. Feminist movements, with different methods of action and different results, are founded in all leading branches of Judaism (Hyman, 1976).

The main strategy of feminist theologians' and reformist forces' struggle is re-interpretation of holy books in an egalitarian spirit. Namely, in each Annunciation there are both egalitarian and discriminatory elements, while through history and history of legislation brought by the fundamentalists who seized power, non-egalitarian potential of holy scriptures had always been actualised for the purpose of control, most often over women, of course, but also over all marginalised groups in general, all "others". Emphasizing that in the Quran (and the same can be claimed with certainty for Talmud and Bible) there is tension between an egalitarian attitude by which the believers are judged only according to their merits, and non-egalitarian which determines different roles for men and women, Karla M. Obermeyer (2003) notes that traditional interpretations stress those parts of holy scriptures which value women less than men and use them to define the subordinate role of women, in contrast to interpretation

¹⁷ Oppression (lat. *oppressio*; a pressing down, violence) represents manifesting authority or power in a burdensome, cruel and unjust manner.

of feminist theologians and reformists who claim that essentially there is an egalitarian ethos in Islam deformed by patriarchal forces. Religious advocates of women's human rights are not trying to monopolise the area of human rights – they rather conclude alliances with secularists.¹⁸

The Secular approach

On the other side of the spectrum there are women's networks and groups which do not consider the discussion on religion as a main strategy of social change. This movement is not primarily directed towards opposition to religious dogmas from the holy books of monotheistic religions. It is a blade turned towards fundamentalisms, that is, political interpretation of the holy books. Criticising conservative and inhuman laws and practices, they condemn violation of women's human rights regardless of them being justified by religion at a local, national or international level. They believe that women's human rights can be fought for, preserved or reformed only through permanent opposition to theocratisation of state, insisting on secular character of society and strengthening global women's networks against fundamentalism (Zajović, 2006).

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¹⁸ As noted by Marieme Helie-Lucas (2007) in her interpretation of achievements of feminist theology and its differences from fundamentalist practice. Endeavours of women's movement Catholics for Choice are directed in the same course – they fight for legalisation of abortion, and a theological teaching which recognises moral validity of decisions made in the area of reproductive capability, acquitting women also when they decide to have an abortion.

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GENDER AND THE INFORMATION SECURITY PROFESSION

Abstract: *This paper presents the results of gender influence on the information security sector. Research of gender equality in the IT sector in the Republic of Serbia presented in this paper is based on a survey of 96 respondents of both sexes. They were asked about their general understanding of the information security field, awareness and understanding of security treats, security policies, technical knowledge, and IT crises. Researches of the evolving need to empower women in the field of information security are also presented. The results show that women account for approximately ten percent of the information security workforce, which deviates from the gender breakdown in the other professions. The paper demonstrates that information security is not just about information technology but also about educated men and women, who have a general understanding of information security and have the skills and knowledge needed to maintain the highest level of information security.*

Keywords: *information security profession, gender equality.*

Introduction

The rapid development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the recent years has influenced not only the economic and political trends, but changed the quality of life as well. Business is effective, paper documentation is reduced, communication with customers and business partners is faster and easier, etc. Globalization has made a wide variety of information available to anyone with Internet access. However, due to tradition, religion, language, or government policies, some people cannot take advantage of the global network. The issue also affects gender equality and is often equated with problems of inequality of and discrimination against women. This concept is widely accepted because of the fact that women are often discriminated against. Women are subjected to discriminatory treatment, enforced through the imposition of

cultural, social and religious norms, and may be severely punished for transgressing them.

Studies of gender equality and ICTs indicate a lack of relevant data to confirm the fact that gender inequality is partially imposed by ICT development. Researches mostly refer to discrimination against women due to their computer illiteracy. There are studies that aim to “encourage” companies to implement the principles of gender equality at the workplace. Recent studies are related to the new non-traditional relationships in business and the urgent need for highly skilled personnel. Finally, specific studies elucidate the current status of women working in the ICT sectors. Gender inequality, in the context of the ICT usage, was one of the main topics discussed at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) summit held in Paris in 2003. The participants highlighted the need to build the gender perspective into all aspects of the information society, by all stakeholders (governments, private enterprises and civil society organizations, and international organizations) (Primo, 2003). In 2006, the European Commission commissioned a research of the situation of women working in the ICT sectors in 462 organizations in 25 member-states. The results showed that IT professionals were typically male, young and without domestic responsibilities (GENIS LAB/INFN, 2011). In April 2011, the International Trade Centre published the results of a UN study on gender equality in ICTs. Only twenty-four percent of the 2010 ITC projects demonstrated any gender dimensions within them. UN policy is consequently accompanied by an Action Plan (2011-2012), providing guidance for implementing gender mainstreaming in business. It particularly emphasizes the following: *While the strategic objectives and programming areas may be reprioritized over time, the gender mainstreaming policy will remain in place.* (Bisnath, 2004)

The need for information security (IS) and, therefore, security measures in a democratic and open society is currently the subject of many debates, and will continue to feature as such for a long time. Organizations are required to mitigate IS risks and threats arising from use of information and information systems in the execution of business functions. A significant challenge for an organization is to determine an appropriate set of security controls¹, which, if implemented and determined to be effective, would mitigate risks most cost-effectively (National Institute for Standards and Technology, 2009). The second

¹ IS controls are management, operational and technical safeguards, or countermeasures employed in the organizational information system to protect it from malicious attacks.

challenge, perhaps more important than the first one, is how to recruit IS personnel. Selecting an effective mix of IS personnel requires the consideration of a number of criteria – some are within the control of the organization, others are not. IS personnel are in short supply; those in the field are rewarded well, i.e. companies recognize the high costs associated with weak security and have decided that prevention “outweighs cleanup”.

Accordingly, the biggest future threat to IS may come from the lack of skilled and educated professionals in the industry. There is an ongoing need for network security engineers, information systems security engineers and other digital security specialists. These are fast paced, dynamic careers that require curious individuals who understand digital communications and software, and value the structure of a regulated environment (De Leeuw, Bergstra, 2007).

Integration of gender issues is key to the effectiveness and accountability of the IS sector. Gender training promotes a non-discriminatory workplace free from gender inequalities. Gender training can also make existing personnel more receptive to the promotion of women, as well as men from majority groups (Kleppe, 2008). However, although IS is a fast growing discipline, the low percentage of women in this profession is a fact (frost.com, 2013). That is one of reasons why both male and female IS practitioners must understand their legal and ethical responsibilities. As individuals, they elect to trade some aspects of their personal freedom for social order. They should follow laws, which are rules adopted for determining expected behaviors and are drawn from ethics, which define socially acceptable behaviors. Several professional organizations have established codes of ethics; the best known being are (ISC)² and CSI¹ (Legal, Ethical, and Professional Issues in Information Security [Internet] 2015).

In addition to laws and ethics, many organizations develop and formalize a body of expectations called “policy” that serves as an organizational law. Employees must be trained and kept aware of a number of topics related to gender and IS, including the expected behaviors of an ethical employee. A code of ethics can have positive effect on an individual’s judgments. Unfortunately, having a code of ethics is not enough.

1 (ISC)² - International Information System Security Certification Consortium – non for profit organization; code primarily defined for IS professionals who have (ISC)² certification; code of ethics focuses on four mandatory canons; CSI - Computer Security Institute – though without a code of ethics, has argued for the adoption of ethical behavior among IS professionals

It is well known that men and women bring different things to the table, and when they put their minds together, a combination of their skills can accomplish IS tasks much faster and give better results (Bev, 2015). By educating the management and employees of an organization about their legal and ethical obligations, IS professionals can help keep an organization focused on its primary objectives (Cengage Learning, 2015).

This paper comprises the following sections: Chapter 2 presents the results of a survey on gender equality in IT services in Serbia; these results closely correspond to global statistics. Chapter 3 describes IS in general and discusses some of the basic IS principles. The IS profession is elaborated in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents statistics on gender and the IS profession. Chapter 6 concludes the paper.

Gender and IT in Serbia

Studies of gender equality suggest the importance of equal representation of both sexes in IT services, regardless of the job or level of responsibility. The survey of gender equality in the IT services in Serbia focused on gaining insight in the understanding the complex relations between female and male IT professionals working in the ICT sectors of banks, IT companies, universities, and government and non-government organizations. It covered 96 persons, both male and female, aged over 18 years. The results show that most IT professionals are men (73%), in their mid-thirties and without domestic responsibilities. Forty-five percent of the respondents are aged 31-40, 77% are aged 31-50, while 11% are over 50 years of age.

A third of the interviewed IT professionals are software designers and developers (29.5%), while 70.5% of the respondents are advanced users. Due to lack of hardware maintenance staff, more than 60% of all the professionals also do “the hardware jobs”. They often perform two or more tasks, which burden them with more responsibilities.

Most of those in the IT sector have been employed full-time, for an indefinite period of time. Fixed-term employment is very much an exception, though it is more common among female employees. Full-time employment often means long working hours. Project work can be unpredictable, involving tight deadlines, so that spending the evenings and weekends working is commonplace. Working hours definitely often exceed those laid down in the employment

contracts. Indeed, the long hours are often self-imposed by the employees. In practice, they can come to work and leave when they wish, which tends to translate into extended working hours. It is perhaps not surprising that, given these kinds of working patterns, the sector employs predominantly young men, who seem able (and apparently willing) to provide the total availability needed by their employers (Bisnath, 2004.). According to the survey, more than 90% of the respondents in Serbia are employed for an indefinite period of time, while 7.7% women and 10% men are fixed-term employees.

There is a major discrepancy between the numbers of men and women who studied computer science and technology. Analyses of the national employment/ data in Serbia show that almost 87% of the IS workforce has a university degree; 38.5% of women and 21.4% of men have the highest degrees (master's and doctoral degrees). The percentages of highly educated respondents, regardless of gender, are almost equal: 70% are women and 77% are men. Both women and men are generally well-educated but, at the same time, most leadership positions are held by men, while women perform jobs with a lower level of responsibility.

This survey asked the respondents to mark one of the four levels reflecting their positions in their organization. Their replies are presented in Table 1 and Figure 1.

Table 1: Position Level – Description of the Position

Level 1	Owner/Shareholder/Board Member
Level 2	Senior Manager/Project Manager/IT Consultant
Level 3	Team Leader/Manager
Level 4	Not at the managerial/leadership level

The results indicate that there are no women in the highest managerial echelons. In general, a small number of IT professionals are owners, shareholders or board members. According to these results, approximately 3% of Level 1 personnel are men. Results also show that more than four times more men than women are working as senior managers, project managers or consultants, while 30% of the lower-level managers or team leaders (Level 3) are women. These jobs are organizationally demanding and involve short deadlines for realization. As expected, most of the employees do not hold any managerial positions (Level 4).

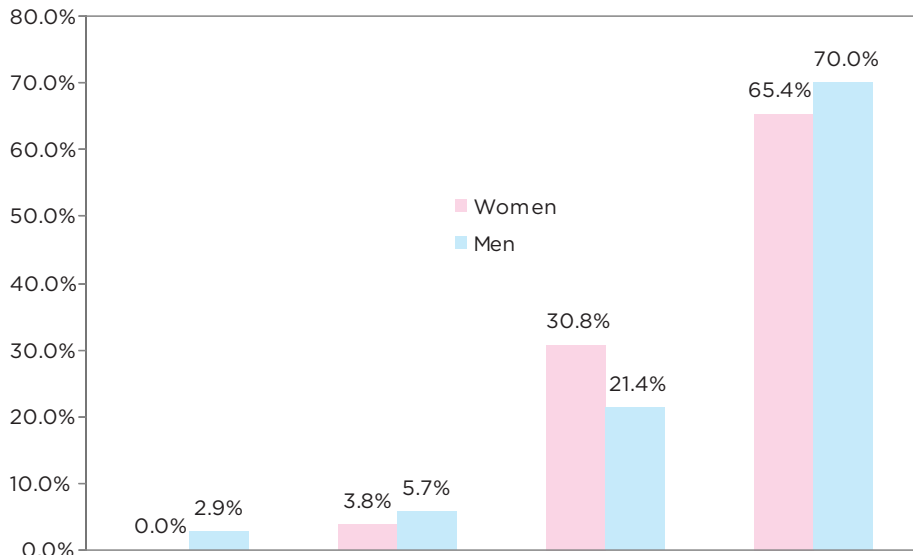


Figure 1: Position in the Company

What is Information Security?

The history of IS goes back to ancient times and starts with the emergence of bureaucracy in administration and warfare. Some aspects, such as the interception of encrypted messages during WW2², have attracted huge attention, whereas other aspects have remained largely unnoticed.

IS was a cryptographic technique for information protection from Caesar's cipher to the 18th century. However, cryptography as a discipline emerged during Renaissance in Europe, in the 18th century. In the last 30 years, the focus shifted from military to civilian use, with IS assuming a pivotal role in protecting information infrastructure on which businesses and customers, or governments and citizens depend for their day to day dealings (De Leeuw, Bergstra, 2007). Security of information is today in public focus given that confidential information can be modified, destroyed, or become available to unauthorized people. It needs to be noted that "information" denotes a meaningful set of data that can be spoken, written, printed or digitally stored.

² World War II

Information security is usually achieved through a mix of technical, organizational and legal measures. These may include the application of cryptography, the hierarchical modeling of organizations in order to ensure confidentiality, or the distribution of accountability and responsibility among the stakeholders by law. Information security is a multidisciplinary area, which is concerned with the research, development and implementation of security mechanisms to protect information from any malicious attack. Protection denotes protecting information and the information-communication system (ICS) from unauthorized access, use, disclosure, disruption, modification or destruction. (Note that ICS comprises personnel, hardware, software, equipment and wire(d)less connections.)

IS includes those measures necessary to detect, document and counter malicious threats (Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 2005), and is achieved by implementing administrative (procedures, policies), technical (encryption, passwords, cards) and physical (hardware, computer, cable lock) controls to ensure that the specific security objectives of an organization are met (Harvard Graduate School of Education, 2015). It is important for maintaining Confidentiality, Integrity and Availability (the CIA Triad) of the ICS and data, regardless of the form the data may take and the structure of the ICS. The CIA Triad eventually evolved to Parkerian Hexad, which includes confidentiality/control, information integrity, authenticity, availability and utility (Villanova University, 2015). The Hexad relies heavily on authentication and cryptography in order to guard against threats. Other properties can also be involved in IS (reliability, non-repudiation, etc.).

Information Security Profession

The IS industry has consistently held a good reputation for offering career progression, job satisfaction, stability and excellent salaries that women and men can take advantage of (Peeler, 2015). Anyone who pursues a career in IS should be passionate about the work and generally like the kind of life in which people work 24/7, contribute to security in many different ways and often do that after business hours. As Patricia Titus put it, IS is not a glamorous job so an IS professional must have “a strong stomach and a lot of intestinal fortitude”³.

The IS profession is a good choice for those who want an occupation helping them improve their skills, and develop expert knowledge in a business field

3 Patricia Titus, former CISO at Symantec, Unisys and the US TSA

which is productive, never-ending and offers the challenge of staying up to date with the latest developments in different areas of securing information and ICS. IS professionals keep learning, they solve problems, and make decisions which help them improve people's lives and organizational safety. These activities preoccupy IS professionals to such an extent that they often identify "life-style" with "job-style".

The IS professionals' business activities can be classified in a number of ways, for example:

- Strategic - concerning long-term strategic objectives. They can be affected by areas such as legal and regulatory changes, reputation, political risks, and change in the physical environment.
- Knowledge management - concerning the effective management and control of knowledge resources, protection, production and communication thereof. External factors may include the unauthorized use or abuse of information, area power failures, and competitive technology. Internal factors may involve loss of key staff, or a system malfunction.
- Operational - concerning day-to-day issues in business.
- Other issues such as consumer protection, employment practices, regulatory issues, etc.

IS professionals at different levels within the organization need different information from the IS business. Top-level personnel should know more about the most significant risks facing the organization, how the organization manages crises, how to manage communication, etc. Business-unit personnel should have at their disposal performance indicators, allowing them to monitor progress towards objectives. Individuals should understand individual risks. They should improve their knowledge, report systematically and promptly to senior managers, thereby ensuring effective and efficient operation of the organization (IRM, AIRMIC, and ALARM, 2002).

It is commonly argued that the IS industry needs to market itself better, which is perhaps even more relevant for attracting women to the industry (Peeler, 2015). Lack of IS personnel requires of those working in this industry to make a concerted effort to advocate the IS profession within the education system, the workplace and society at large.

Most IS professionals also actively encourage more women to join the IS, be it through supporting a career-change, inspiring them to re-enter the workforce after raising a family, etc.

Gender and the Information Security Profession – Statistics

The information security profession is eager for women - that is the fact. A huge gender gap exists in the IS profession today, with women constituting 10-15% of the global information security workforce. Based on an (ISC)² survey conducted in 2012 and 2013, the IS discipline is not evolving fast enough. Notably, women account for only 11% of this workforce (frost.com, 2013). The figures are even worse in Europe – only 7% of all IS staff are women ((ISC)² Transcends Technology, 2015). However, there are some initiatives, i.e. the intent to increase and support women entering the profession (Dallaway, 2015). These initiatives have originated both internally in the industries and externally through government organizations. Commenting the gender gap in the industry, Richard Nealon, CISSP, a member of the (ISC)² Board of Directors, said

“The current skewed gender bias against women must change. The information security profession has a lot to offer women in terms of job satisfaction, healthy salaries and career progression.”

The contingent of women within the IS profession has a higher concentration within the area of governance, risk and compliance (GRC) – which an (ISC)² and Booz Allen Hamilton report⁴ identified as having a growing role in information assurance and cyber security. One in five women in the profession identified GRC as their primary functional responsibility, compared to one out of eight men holding similar positions.

Most women working in the IS profession come from an IT or engineering background. Studies show that 58% of women in the field hold advanced - master's or doctoral - degrees, compared to 47% of the male workforce. At junior levels, women are more educated and less paid than men, while women holding senior IS roles earn an average median salary equal to that of their male colleagues. Yet, women who have the academic background and the diverse perspective to accelerate real change in the information security industry are being ignored (Peeler, 2015). As Richard Lane⁵ (2013) said

“The Information Security needs to lead the charge in shaking off the archaic image of being a “guys-only” profession – an image which seems largely responsible for

4 Conducted by Frost & Sullivan and released on September 28th, 2015.

5 Richard Lane, CISSP-ISSMP Head of Information Security for an International Organization and Lead Volunteer, Safe and Secure Online Switzerland

discouraging young women from choosing the academic programs that lead to careers in InfoSec, or IT in general which suffers a similar disparity.”

The resulting survey of an (ICS)² subset contained 5814 respondents, categorized under two job title classifications, presented in Figures 2 and 3. Figure 2 presents the Leaders, i.e. executives, managers, strategists, architects, and strategic advisors, whereas Figure 3 presents the Doers, i.e. all other job titles, with the most frequently chosen job titles being security analyst, followed by security and compliance auditors (frost.com, 2013). There are notable gender differences in job title distribution. In Leaders, men account for a higher share of architects, while a higher share of women have consultant and advisor job titles. In Doers, more men than women are security engineers and have network administration job titles, while almost 40% of the women selected security analyst as their job title.

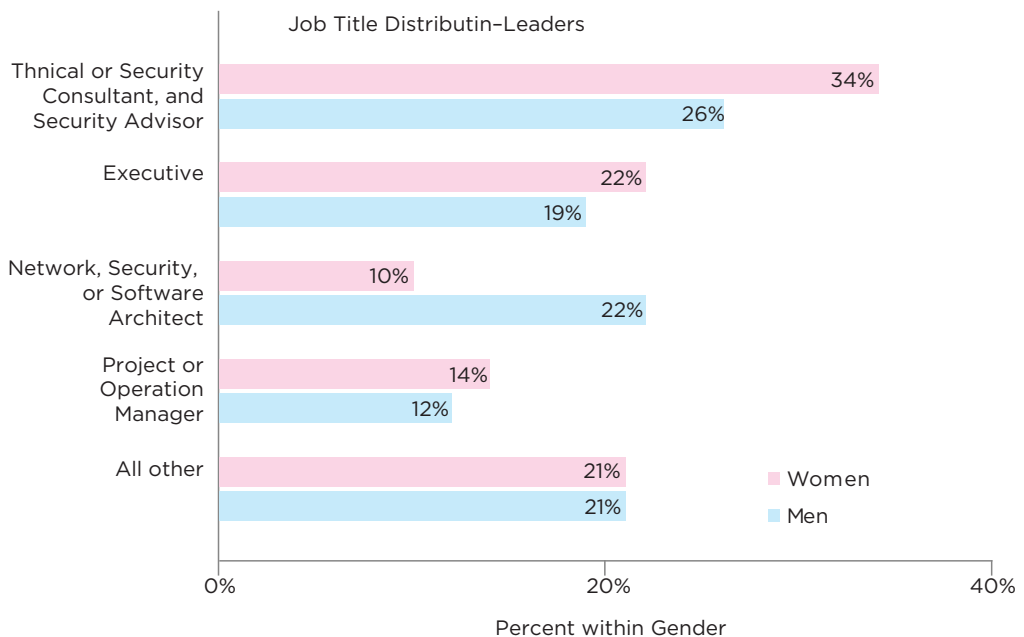


Figure 2: Job Title Distribution – Leaders

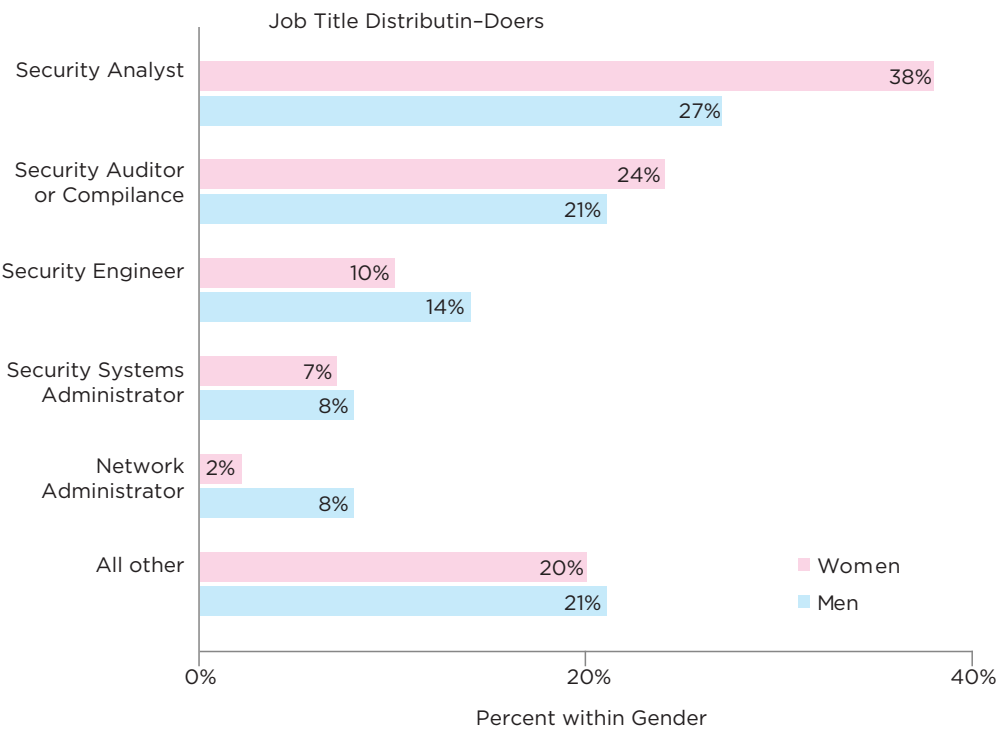


Figure 3: Job Title Distribution – Doers

The gender breakdown indicates male domination in both the Leaders and the Doers (Figure 4).

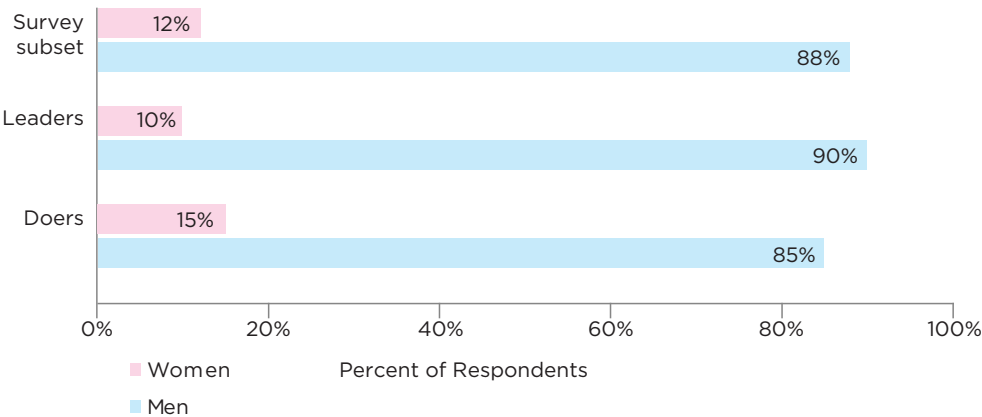


Figure 4: Gender Breakdown in Information Security

It should be noted that the average number of years of service in the IS profession stands at approximately 13.5 years for Leaders, and 12 years for Doers.

The backgrounds of women in IS are more diverse than those of men. Although a technical background is important in the IS business, the women's background focuses more on social sciences, economy, management, business and less on education traditionally associated with engineering or IT. Women also put greater emphasis on the importance of communication skills, awareness of threats, broader understanding of security, leadership, policies and standards, while men support technical knowledge and skills closely related to it.

Studies also show that women and men have different views about how to address the widening talent gap for IS personnel. Women in the industry stress the need to look beyond technical skills in hiring, as technical skills alone are insufficient to resolve complex risk management dilemmas now faced by cyber security leaders. Women also advocate the implementation of both financial and non-financial incentives, such as flexible work arrangements and varied training and education methods, to attract and retain key talent to the industry (Kassner, 2015).

Conclusion

Information security led to a new way of business planning, standardization and changes in the law. The increase in security measures due to the complex business "situations" calls for the realization of reliable, high-structured ICS. While the technical difficulties may be considered "transversal", and therefore reasonably "known" (Savastano, Riccardi, 2005), non-technical issues in IS may differ from organization to organization and therefore be "unknown".

Nowadays, the number of IS professional "branches" is ever-increasing, as occupations become more specialized in nature and more "professionalized" in terms of requiring certain standards. This is one of the reasons why IS professionals are in the position to lead rather than to follow the transformation of the IS practice to a more comprehensive, business oriented and risk-based IS.

The IS profession relies on high-skilled personnel with special training and knowledge, who typically have higher education and an engineering background, maintain their skills through continuing professional development and commit to behaving ethically, to protect the interests of organizations and

the public in general. However, while the status of women has improved over the years, many women still struggle for equality in IS.

Male-dominated occupations employ fewer women and are particularly vulnerable to masculine stereotypes. Senior leadership teams dominated by men set the tone for talent management norms, where masculine stereotypes can influence promotion and development opportunities. For these reasons, many women (for example) deliberately delay having children to pursue their career goals and are far more likely than men to believe that extended workdays and lack of sleep are necessary to achieve success (Fogarty, 2005), etc.

Nevertheless, women bring diversity to the IS industry along with a different understanding of skills and tools to fight against malicious attacks, wherefore companies often consider the steps to encourage more women to pursue the IS profession. Currently, women are more likely than men to be employed in occupations such as technical or security advisors or consultants, executives, and project or operations managers, while men are more likely to be employed as security engineers, security systems administrators, network administrators, and network, security or software architects.

What many women might not realize is that jobs in IS have the potential to offer significant advantages. High pay, promotion opportunities, and flexible work schedules are just some of the benefits of a career in IS. Companies with a critical mass of female executives perform better than those without women in leadership positions, because women are more likely to engage in people development, participative decision making, and other leadership behaviors that help companies succeed.

Successful women in the IS profession definitely include Diana Burke (Royal Bank of Canada), Radia Perlman (Sun Microsystems Boston), Linda Stutsman (Xerox), Gail Hamilton (Symantec), Kendra L. Martin (American Petroleum Institute), Susan Koehler (Microsoft), Jana D. Monroe (FBI Cyber Division), Shery Steele (Electronic Frontier Foundation), as well as other women with overall responsibility for securing information and ICS of the largest global institutions and organizations.

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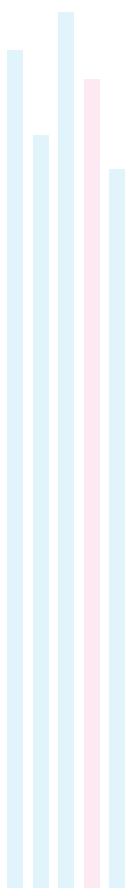
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IV

GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN MISSIONS



› Dragan Knežević

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GENDER EQUALITY AND CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL LAW APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS¹

Abstract: *The implementation of norms of international law applicable in armed conflicts, namely international humanitarian law, is based on explicit and non-controversial distinctions between the two sides/parties or dichotomies of all kinds – permissible and impermissible objects of hostilities, combatants and civilians, neutrals and belligerents. Under these circumstances, international law has a place reserved for women (as well as for children and the elderly) in the category of civilians protected by the IV Geneva Convention of 1949, which guarantees them the status of victims of war. The Additional Protocols of 1977 follow the same pattern. However, the armed conflicts at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries show increased female presence within fighting units and groups, without exception (in international and non-international armed conflicts). Therefore, women, as combatants have quite regularly been in a position to be taken prisoner or detained and the III Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War regulates the treatment of women in a handful of articles. Women are not covered by the rules of maritime warfare or by the I Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces. Gender equality has not been mainstreamed within international humanitarian law so far. Reasons for that probably lie in the mentioned dogmatically promoted dichotomy, according to which extracting the ‘female factor’ from one category (civilians) to another (combatants) with the possibility of it still being found widely in the first group (victims of war) – complicates the traditional matrix. Are the recent activities of the UN and the adoption of binding legal instruments applicable in armed conflicts a way to mainstream gender issues in international humanitarian law? To what extent does the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction of 1997 (Ottawa Treaty) make a difference in terms of gender equality and international law in armed conflicts?*

¹ The views expressed in this article reflect only the author's opinions.

Keywords: *gender equality, women, international humanitarian law, Geneva Conventions, United Nations (UN), combatants, civilians, detainees/prisoners of war*

Equality policy initiatives, particularly gender mainstreaming, offer scope for the integration of gender into international humanitarian law and policy (Barrow, 2010). Gender is not only about women (Durham and O’Byrne, 2010), but in view of the circumstances of modern armed conflicts and rules of war, women’s gender remains a crucial factor in their participation in militaries around the world (Sjoberg, 2010), as well as in the protection of victims of armed conflicts. The traditional roles of men and women have changed, both in times of peace and in times of war. Men are not the only ones who participate in armed conflicts and women are not the only victims of war. Today, increasing numbers of women are also engaged in hostilities, in regular and irregular forces. On the other hand, men have been more and more present among the civilian population exempt from acts of violence and fighting. This condition of modern-day armed conflicts directly affects international humanitarian law (*jus in bello*)² and its implementation from a gender perspective. And, at the

2 International legal instruments applicable and relating to armed conflicts are mainly derived from the Geneva Conventions and its Additional Protocols. The International Committee of the Red Cross indicates the following instruments: I VICTIMS OF ARMED CONFLICTS: 1) Hague Convention on Hospital Ships, 1904; 2) Hague Convention (XI) on Restrictions of the Right of Capture, 1907; 3) I Geneva Convention on the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field, 1949; 4) II Geneva Convention on the Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked of Armed Forces at Sea, 1949; 5) III Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, 1949; 6 & 7; 8) 4th Geneva Convention on Civilians, 1949; 9) United Nations Resolution on Human Rights in Armed Conflicts, 1968; 10) 1st Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, 1977; 11) 2nd Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, 1977; 12) Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; 13) Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict, 2000; 14) 3rd Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, 2005; II METHODS AND MEANS OF WARFARE: 1) Hague Convention (IV) on War on Land and its Annexed Regulations, 1907; 2) Geneva Protocol on Asphyxiating or Poisonous Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods, 1925; 3) Convention on the Prohibition of Biological Weapons, 1972; 4) Convention prohibiting Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), 1980; 5) CCW Protocol (I) on Non-Detectable Fragments, 1980; 6) CCW Protocol (II) prohibiting Mines, Booby-Traps and Other Devices, 1980; 7) CCW Protocol (III) prohibiting Incendiary Weapons, 1980; 8) Convention prohibiting Chemical Weapons, 1993; 9) CCW Protocol (IV) on Blinding Laser Weapons, 1995; 10) CCW Protocol (II) prohibiting Mines, Booby-Traps and Other Devices, amended, 1996; 11) Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, 1997; 12) Convention prohibiting Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), amended Article 1, 2001; 13) CCW Protocol (V) on Explosive Remnants of War,

very beginning of any research in this respect, it becomes obvious that the ‘rule of gender stereotypes’ defines the role and place of women and men in warfare and their protection in accordance with (international) legal instruments, based on patterns which have been archaic for ages (Durham and O’Byrne, 2010). In addition, Barrow (2010) underlined that underpinning the Geneva Conventions (the most relevant source of international humanitarian law) is a “male as perpetrator, female as victim paradigm” that serves to exploit gender stereotypes in conflict and it is clear that the relationship between gender and international humanitarian law is problematic and also:

Without any amendment to the Geneva Conventions, the adoption of alternative legal instruments that broach gender in a more sophisticated way and support existing international humanitarian law provisions becomes increasingly important.

The UN (and its agencies) and its system of codification and drafting of binding instruments either through the General Assembly or the Security Council (soft law) bring some light to the dark tunnel. In this regard, the principal aim of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality by implementing gender as a central component at all levels within the UN system and beyond (Barrow,

2003; 20) Convention on Cluster Munitions, 2008; III NAVAL AND AIRWARFARE: 1) Hague Convention (VI) on Enemy Merchant Ships, 1907; 2) Hague Convention (VII) on Conversion of Merchant Ships, 1907; 3) Hague Convention (VIII) on Submarine Mines, 1907; 4) Hague Convention (IX) on Bombardment by Naval Forces, 1907; 5) Hague Convention (XI) on Restrictions of the Right of Capture, 1907; 6) Hague Convention (XIII) on Neutral Powers in Naval War, 1907; 7) Havana Convention on Maritime Neutrality, 1928; 8) London Treaty on Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armaments, 1930; IV CULTURAL PROPERTY: 1) Roerich Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions, 1935; 2) Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property, 1954; 3) 4) Hague Protocol for the Protection of Cultural Property, 1954; 5) Resolutions on Cultural Property, The Hague, 1954; 6) Second Hague Protocol for the Protection of Cultural Property, 1999; V CRIMINAL REPRESSION: 1) Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal, 1945; 2) United Nations Principles for the Nuremberg Tribunal, 1946; 3) Convention Statutory Limitations to War Crimes, 1968; 4) European Convention on Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes, 1974; 5) Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 1993; 6) Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 1994; 7) Statute of the International Criminal Court, 1998; 8) Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, 2002; 9) Amendment to the Statute of the International Criminal Court, amended article 8, 2010; 10) Amendment to the Statute of the International Criminal Court, articles 8bis, 15bis and 15ter, 2010; VI OTHER TREATIES RELATING TO IHL: 1) Hague Convention (III) on the Opening of Hostilities, 1907; 2) Hague Convention (V) on Neutral Powers in case of War on Land, 1907; 3) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, 1948; 4) Convention prohibiting environmental modification techniques (ENMOD), 1976; 5) Convention on Mercenaries, 1989; 6) Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance, 2006; 7) Arms Trade Treaty, 2013.

2010). UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security have predominantly been used as gender mainstreaming tools and may help develop key norms on women and armed conflict, thus enhancing the understanding of gender in international humanitarian law (IHL). Furthermore, the sensitivity of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction of 1997 (Ottawa Treaty) on gender issues through the adoption of a 5-year Action Plan is an additional impulse to adopt more realistic regulations of armed conflicts (*jus in bello*) in the future.

This article is actually an overview of gender equality in contemporary international law applicable in armed conflicts aimed at drawing attention to the necessity of adjusting and amending the valid legal norms in favor of men and women in arms and those who are *hors de combat*.

Women in Basic IHL Instruments

Closely connected with ‘gender’,³ the common element in each articulation of the terms ‘women’ and ‘men’ is the distinction drawn between differences based on sex (biology) and differences based on social assumptions about masculine and feminine behaviors (social constructs) (Durham and O’Byrne, 2010). In differentiating between genders, stereotypes have been created about the (traditional) roles of men and women in different, similar and/or identical situations, including armed conflicts (gendered nature of warfare) (Sjoberg, 2010). The matrix of warrior has been reserved for men in contrast to women, their innocence and peacefulness based on mothering and abstention from war (Sjoberg, 2010), but not from involvement in hostilities. The concept of the Geneva Conventions is based on the protection of victims of war, namely the

3 The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (2004) indicated that ‘gender’ refers to the culturally expected behaviors of men and women based on roles, attitudes and values ascribed to them on the basis of their sex, whereas “sex” refers to biological and physical characteristics.

Article 7(3) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court regulates that *for the purpose of this Statute, it is understood that the term “gender” refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term “gender” does not indicate any meaning different from the above.*

Article 3(c) of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence [Istanbul, May 11th, 2011] stipulates that “gender” shall mean the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men.

wounded, the shipwrecked, prisoners of war and civilians. In that framework, women are considered to be victims rather than combatants, being covered by norms which regulate the treatment of civilians. Although *hors de combat*, women are not uninvolved in hostilities and the Geneva Conventions do not exempt women from conducts, results and outcomes of belligerency in general. Being on the side of the enemy, they are subjects of internment, interrogations and different adversary procedures. As major sources of IHL, the four Geneva Conventions and their three Additional Protocols simply protect (non-combatant) women from violence, but leave it to the belligerents to consider women as enemy subjects and treat them as such.⁴

Based on the above, herewith an overview of norms regulating the status and treatment of women in basic IHL instruments (the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their three Additional Protocols of 1977):

1. *Women shall be treated with all consideration due to their sex* (Article 12(4) of the I Geneva Convention) – But not ‘gender’, or does it mean that men’s sex is not relevant? Women on the enemy side will be allowed to enjoy the same advantages as women patients who are nationals, as well as any other favorable distinctions to which they are entitled by reason of their race, or because of the climate or food to which they are accustomed, in the same way as men of the same origin as themselves (Pictet I, 1952).
2. *Women prisoners of war shall be treated with all the regard due to their sex and shall in all cases benefit from treatment as favourable as that granted to men* (Article 14(2) of the III Geneva Convention) – This is a rare provision in all the Geneva Conventions that puts women and men in correlation. It is extremely relevant in terms of non-discrimination provided by IHL eliminating any predicament on the less favorable status of women detainees (prisoners of war). The paragraph originating from the 1929 Geneva Convention stipulates that the treatment to be accorded to women prisoners is not based on the rather vague idea of ‘regard’ but on treatment at least as favorable as that granted to men (Pictet II, 1960). ‘Regard’, for its part, should be understood as a term pertaining to women in view of their: (a) weakness, (b) honor and modesty, and (c) pregnancy and childbirth (Pictet II, 1960), once again, a rather obsolete attitude from the current perspective.

⁴ *Civilians who take direct part in hostilities are colloquially called “unprivileged belligerents” (or, incorrectly referred to as “unlawful combatants”)* (ICRC, 2014)

3. *In any camps accommodating women, separate dormitories/conveniences shall be provided for them* (Art. 25(4) and 29(2) of the III Geneva Convention) – The most elementary rules of decency require that separate conveniences should be provided for them (Pictet II, 1960). The mentioned Articles are based on the principle introduced in Article 16 (Equality and Treatment) of the III Geneva Convention, which prohibits discrimination based on sex in addition to other considerations, such as rank and age, but also state of health.
4. *The Detaining Power may utilise the labour of prisoners of war who are physically fit, taking into account their age, sex, rank and physical aptitude* (Article 49(1) of the III Geneva Convention) – The term ‘physically fit’ is problematic from the perspective of detained women. Do pregnancy and nursing constitute grounds to consider one being not physically fit? Yes – for hard labor, but what about clerical work? That brings us to the inconsistency of the next term, namely ‘physical aptitude’. These two phrases reflect the whole demer of the IHL and its lack of gender sensitivity.
5. *A woman prisoner of war shall not be awarded or sentenced to a punishment more severe, or treated whilst undergoing punishment more severely, than a woman member of the armed forces of the Detaining Power dealt with for a similar offence* (Article 88(2) of the III Geneva Convention) and *Pregnant women and mothers having dependent infants who are arrested, detained or interned for reasons related to the armed conflict shall have their cases considered with the utmost priority* (Article 76(2) of the 1st Additional Protocol) – This is an important principle preventing discrimination in judicial proceedings. Article 88(2) of the III Geneva Convention refers not only to disciplinary punishment but to penal sanctions as well (Pictet II, 1960). The 1st Additional Protocol goes further and stipulates urgency/priority to cases involving mothers with dependent infants, covering all infants who require the presence and care of their mothers and have not yet acquired full independence (Pilloud et al., 1987). Participants in the Diplomatic Conference for the adoption of the Additional Protocols proposed that elderly persons responsible for young children also be covered by this provision, but no consensus was achieved on this point (Pilloud et al., 1987).
6. *Women prisoners of war undergoing disciplinary punishment shall be confined in separate quarters from male prisoners of war and shall be under the immediate supervision of women* (Article 97(4) of the III Geneva Convention) and in non-international armed conflicts, *except when men and women of the same family are accommodated together, women shall be held in quarters*

separate from those of men and shall be under the immediate supervision of women(Article 5(2.a) of the 2ndAdditional Protocol) – The provision in the III Geneva Convention is designed to protect the honor and modesty of women prisoners of war (Pictet II, 1960). For internal armed conflicts (2ndAdditional Protocol), this measure of special protection for women is an essential element of what must be done to comply with the prohibition of outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault laid down in Article 4 (Fundamental Guarantees) and it follows automatically, since Article 4 forms a part of the body of absolute obligations (Pilloud et al., 1987).

7. *In time of peace, the High Contracting Parties and, after the outbreak of hostilities, the Parties thereto, may establish in their own territory and, if the need arises, in occupied areas, hospital and safety zones and localities so organized as to protect from the effects of war, wounded, sick and aged persons, children under fifteen, expectant mothers and mothers of children under seven*(Article 14(1) of the IV Geneva Convention) – What about (single) fathers caring for children under seven? Mothers with children under seven were considered as appropriate, reasonable and generally in accord with the requirements of the physical and mental development of children (Pictet III, 1958). Also, expectant mothers of enemy nationality would thus have the same right to shelter in a refuge zone as expectant mothers who are nationals of the State concerned (Pictet III, 1958).
8. *The wounded and sick, as well as the infirm, and expectant mothers, shall be the object of particular protection and respect* (Article 16(1) of the IV Geneva Convention) and the definition of wounded and sick expressly includes *maternity cases, new-born babies and other persons who may be in immediate need of assistance or care, such as expectant mothers (...) and who refrain from any act of hostility* (Article 8(a) of the 1stAdditional Protocol) – This is a general principle based on the high risk of vulnerability of persons concerned, which stresses that they must not take part in hostilities/combat, otherwise their protective status will be compromised. Also, ‘protection and respect’ make it unlawful to kill, ill-treat or in any way injure an unarmed enemy, while at the same time they impose an obligation to come to his aid and give any care of which he stands in need (Pictet III, 1958). ‘Mothers with new-born babies’ are persons benefiting from protection (Pilloud et al., 1987).

9. *States shall permit the free passage of all consignments of essential foodstuffs, clothing (...) intended for children under fifteen, expectant mothers and maternity cases* (Article 23(1) of the IV Geneva Convention) – Once again, the status of expectant mothers and maternity cases is reaffirmed, although ‘parental cases’ would be more appropriate from the gender perspective.
10. *Women shall be especially protected against any attack of their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any other form of indecent assault* (Article 27(2) of the IV Geneva Convention) – Again, men being victims of sexual attack or harassment are not considered and neither are single fathers, but it is just that in all circumstances women, whatever their nationality, race, religious beliefs, age, marital status or social condition have an absolute right to respect of their honor and modesty, in short, of their dignity as women (Pictet III, 1958). Indeed, Article 27 (General Observations) of the IV Geneva Convention is relevant as a principle of non-discrimination present in this international legal instrument stipulating, among others, that *without prejudice to the provisions relating to their state of health, age and sex, all protected persons shall be treated with the same consideration by the Party to the conflict in whose power they are, without any adverse distinction based, in particular, on race, religion or political opinion*.
11. *The Occupying Power shall not hinder the application of any preferential measures with regard to food, medical care and protection against the effects of war which may have been adopted prior to the occupation in favour of children under fifteen, expectant mothers and mothers of children under seven years of age* (Article 50(5) of the IV Geneva Convention) – This is a provision about the treatment of children. They are generally associated with mothers (but not parents) in the common phrase used throughout the Convention in its gender insensitive manner, namely ‘children under fifteen years, expectant mothers, and mothers of children under seven’.
12. *To accommodate women internees who are not members of a family unit in the same place of internment as men, the provision of separate sleeping quarters and sanitary conveniences for the use of such women internees shall be obligatory* (Article 85(4) of the IV Geneva Convention).
13. *Maternity cases and internees suffering from serious diseases, or whose condition requires special treatment, surgical procedures or hospital care, must be admitted to an institution where adequate treatment can be given, and shall not receive care inferior to that provided for the general population* (Article 91(2) of the IV Geneva Convention) – In general, pregnant and nursing

women (maternity cases) belong to the category of protected persons (victims of armed conflict) and their position is more favorable in comparison with other individuals (including other women), even if there is a well-grounded assumption or charge that they have committed war crimes or other crimes and are, consequently, detained.

14. *A woman civilian internee shall not be searched except by a woman* (Article 97(4) of the IV Geneva Convention) – This regulation does not refer to female prisoners of war since the III Geneva Convention does not provide for exclusive searches by a woman.
15. *In no case shall disciplinary penalties be inhuman, brutal or dangerous to the health of civilian internees and account shall be taken of the internee's age, sex and state of health* (Article 119(2) of the IV Geneva Convention) – This is the prohibition of cruelty (Pictet III, 1958).
16. *In the distribution of relief consignments, priority shall be given to those persons, such as children, expectant mothers, maternity cases and nursing mothers* (Article 70(1) of the 1st Additional Protocol).
17. *Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault; (...) 3. To the maximum extent feasible, the Parties to the conflict shall endeavour to avoid the pronouncement of the death penalty on pregnant women or mothers having dependent infants, for an offence related to the armed conflict. The death penalty for such offences shall not be executed on such women* (Article 76 – Protection of Women, 1st Additional Protocol) and *the death penalty shall not be carried out on pregnant women or mothers of young children* (Article 6 of the 2nd Additional Protocol) – It does not refer to (single) fathers and their dependent children, as Article 76 of the 1st Additional Protocol is entirely dedicated to women. ‘Special respect’ is provided for them in terms of person and honor (Pilloud et al., 1987). Also, the death penalty for pregnant women or mothers with dependent infants should be avoided as much as possible in international and internal armed conflicts where a death sentence may be pronounced but may not be carried out on pregnant women or mothers of young children (Pilloud et al., 1987).

Therefore, nearly half of the specific provisions relating to women in the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols deal with women in their roles as expectant or nursing mothers (Durham and O’Byrne, 2010). There is little focus in IHL on women combatants with the real possibility of them being captured

and detained, not to mention the fact that women detained in an armed conflict can be perpetrators of crimes and grave breaches of IHL.⁵

But, it seems that the inconsistency of IHL from the gender point of view is mostly present in cases/crimes of sexual violence in armed conflicts. The Statute of the International Criminal Court constitutes a remarkable international legal source, responding to widespread crimes of rape and sexual assaults which took place in the recent armed conflicts in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Under Article 8(2.b-xxii) (War Crimes) of this document, *committing rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, as defined in article 7, paragraph 2 (f), enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence also constituting a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions*, where 'enforced sterilization' is understood to be *the unlawful confinement of a woman forcibly made pregnant, with the intent of affecting the ethnic composition of any population or carrying out other grave violations of international law* (Article 7(2.f) (Crimes against Humanity). Men (and boys) are also subjects of sexual violence in armed conflicts targeted to be pushed to the bottom of a power structure based on gender stereotypes, so as to debase, humiliate and emasculate them (Durham and O'Byrne, 2010). So far, sexual violence against men in wartime has been largely an invisible offence, the perpetrators of which have gone unpunished. The point is that IHL provisions and their imperfect gender expansiveness have contributed to such a result. Hence, there are many reasons to amend the whole legal system in order to be more gender sensitive and more responsive to reality, as Durham and O'Byrne state:

While the international community has heard and responded to calls for new legal instruments to realign IHL with contemporary understanding of the way armed conflict specifically impact upon women, in more recent times the debates appear to have shifted. Concerns about the dangers of developing new and specific treaties and 'reopening the basic principles of the existing texts' in IHL have been identified.

Nevertheless, there is a lot of hesitation, not because of the unpalatable notion of women being killed, but because of the lack of acceptance in many societies

5 The well-known case of Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, the former Rwandan Minister for Family and Women's Development, who was on trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of IHL Committed in the Territory of Rwanda. In 2011, Nyiramasuhuko was found guilty of seven charges including genocide and incitement to rape and was sentenced to life imprisonment, without eligibility for parole for 25 years.

of women killing (Durham and O’Byrne, 2010). Until this situation is overcome, IHL will not respond to the needs and be distanced from its role of an efficient system for the protection of victims in armed conflicts.

UN Response to IHL Demur

Only 21 of the 650 articles (about 3.5 percent) in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their three Additional Protocols (together with the annexes thereto) relate to women provoking IHL comprehensive gender-based critique (Durham, 2002). Clearly, the relationship between gender and international humanitarian law is problematic (Barrow, 2010).

The practice of the UN and its agencies (including legislative activities) has been invaluablely significant for addressing the insufficient gender sensitivity in existing laws applicable to armed conflicts, in particular the Geneva Conventions. As stated in the Report Summary of the International Expert Meeting: “Gender Perspectives on International Humanitarian Law” (held in Stockholm on October 4th and 5th, 2007), post-conflict reintegration has sometimes proved to be harder for women combatants than men combatants, and the post-conflict period may be beyond the scope of *jus in bello*, but more recent developments in public international law suggest that armed conflict and its significant impact on women, during and after armed conflicts, are increasingly recognized (Barrow, 2010). Under the circumstances, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is particularly relevant in stressing the importance of including women as active participants in peace processes. In the view of Barrow (2010), UNSCR 1325, as well as UNSCR 1820 consolidated:

the concept of gender mainstreaming and highlighted women’s experience of armed conflict as a critical area of concern. Both SC Res. 1325 and SC Res. 1820, relating to women, peace and security, have increasingly been used as gender mainstreaming tools and may help to develop key norms on women and armed conflict, thus enhancing understanding of gender in international humanitarian law.

Although soft law instruments, the Resolutions make reference to existing obligations under the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols as well as to the 1951 Refugee Convention of 1951 (and the 1967 Protocol thereto), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and its 1999 Optional Protocol. Durham and O’Byrne (2010) consider that:

Currently, 'soft law' options to increase the protection of women during times of armed conflict – including standards, guidelines and resolutions from the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly – are being reviewed and considered as a method for supplementing the existing legal norms in this area.

The Resolutions have attempted to empower as well as protect women in armed conflicts (and after). The framework of Resolution 1325 includes a preamble and 18 clauses reaffirming the role of women in conflict prevention, resolution and peace-building. But, in general, it does not regulate numerous occurrences in armed conflicts and the vast area of hostilities, which were evaluated for the last time in a more profound manner through the international codification of norms of *jus in bello* almost half a century ago.⁶ The Resolution is just a 'legislative' example of a drafted and adopted gender-correct and gender-sensitive international instrument, which has taken as much as possible into account the latest progressive developments in international law and applicable and relevant international human rights standards, within its ambit.

With regard to hard law, one of the contributions for the (re)affirmation of the principle of gender equality in international law applicable in armed conflicts might come from the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction of 1997 (Ottawa Treaty). Although a disarmament treaty in its origin, it should also be understood as a humanitarian law convention and a human rights treaty as stressed in a Working Paper submitted by Portugal at the III Review Conference on the Ottawa Treaty (2014). The follow-up mechanism for the implementation of the Convention provides regular meetings of the State Parties (Article 11) in order to consider any matter with regard to the application or implementation of the Convention, including matters arising from reports submitted under the provisions of this Convention, international cooperation and assistance, and development of technologies. In result, the Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009 (Ending the Suffering Caused by Anti-Personnel Mines) was adopted in December 2004 stipulating activities of Parties concerned for clearing mined areas, assisting the victims, transparency and exchange of information. In Action 21 ('ensure that mine risk education programmes are made available

6 The Diplomatic Conference of 1974-1977, which ended with the adoption of two Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions, was probably the last event at which countries and members of the international community seriously joined forces and resources to bring about qualitative and progressive changes within IHL. The subsequent adoption of the 3rd Additional Protocol (in 2005) was just a swan song of the previous results and international codification.

in all communities at risk') 'gender' is mentioned as an issue significant for broader relief and development activities in ensuring consistency with relevant International Mine Action Standards. Besides that, Action 35 "ensures that, in all victim assistance efforts, emphasis is given to age and gender considerations".

The next Cartagena Action Plan 2010-2014 was adopted at the end of 2009. It went further in introducing the gender perspective as a tool for accomplishing the Plan's objectives. Action 7 thus aims to pursue a gender-sensitive, age-appropriate, inclusive, coherent and coordinated approach to the development and implementation of relevant national policies, plans, legal frameworks and instruments of international law. The Cartagena Plan provided for the collection of all necessary data, disaggregated by sex (Action 25), enhancing the capacity of women and men [in their respective domains] (Action 30) and increasing the availability of and accessibility to appropriate services for female and male mine victims, by removing physical, social, cultural, economic, political and other barriers [namely, gender stereotypes] (Action 31). International cooperation and assistance, including development cooperation, has to be gender-sensitive (Action 41).

Finally, the latest Plan (for the 2014-2019 period), was adopted in Maputo on June 27th, 2014, insists that the State Parties implement it in a cooperative, inclusive, age-appropriate and gender-sensitive manner. In addition to the already accepted sex-disaggregated collection and handling of data and gender-sensitive educational programs, the Maputo Plan contributes further to the equal treatment of women and men by imposing upon States Parties to support plans and programmes [...] - including information collected and analysed from a gender perspective - and that promote and encourage gender mainstreaming (Point 22) and, notably provides that:

The State Parties will make use of synergies [of the Convention] with other relevant instruments of international humanitarian and human rights law (Point 31).

In result, the countries concerned have developed various national projects for the implementation of the Ottawa Treaty provisions based on, *inter alia*, gender equality.⁷ In view of the above considerations, it needs to be underlined that

7 For instance, Tajikistan has records of a number of surviving mine victims, with data disaggregated by sex and age in order to provide age and gender sensitive support and assistance, ensuring that all have equal opportunities regardless of sex. This is underlined in the strategic plan, under the victim assistance goal which states that: "all persons with

this is the only way to treat this specific issue properly from the perspective of human rights and the agreed and adopted international standards, which should be expanded to IHL in general so as to make it applicable and in accordance with the circumstances on the ground.

* * *

The gender perspective (gender mainstreaming) is a way to negotiate and achieve true gender balance in IHL, because a gender perspective in IHL rejects the use of gender as justification for discrimination between classes of victims and encourages us to realize that protection of men and protection of women in armed conflict is not a contest between mutually exclusive concepts, but in rejecting (gender) stereotypes and recognizing gender nuances. The cause of one can aid the cause of the other as Durham and O'Byrne (2010) stated, adding:

A gender perspective on IHL insists on emphasizing two principles: first, that where women (and men) participate in war, their experiences should be recognized as valid, rather than being excluded from the discourse or reduced to stereotype; and secondly, that IHL norms apply to all participants in war, in both a protective and a regulatory sense, regardless of gender.

Human rights and international law in general have accomplished numerous changes in prevention from discrimination through enhancing the status of women and their equality with men.⁸ Initiatives should come from conventional

disabilities, including mine victims, regardless of their sex and age, shall have equal and proper access to adequate medical and physical rehabilitation and psychosocial support.” In Serbia, the Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs set up a Working Group in February 2015 to monitor the implementation of the Ottawa Treaty. The Group is authorized to: propose measures aimed at improving the status of victims of anti-personnel mines, aligning the valid national regulations with international agreements and standards, and cooperation with international organizations in terms of protecting mine victims. The Working Group, headed by the Ministry State Secretary, comprises representatives of various institutions of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, including the Department for Gender Equality. It was recognized that any national activity related to mine clearing and, in particular, assistance to persons suffering from the effects of anti-personnel mines, should take into account equality between women and men and that all actions, including reporting on their results, should be gender sensitive.

- 8 The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 is one of the greatest successes in the field of international law and one of the core human rights instruments. The Convention has been ratified by as many as 189 countries so far. The Optional Protocol to the Convention was adopted by the UN General

and extra-conventional human rights mechanisms in order to continue and strengthen considerations of all gender-based violations of human rights. As emphasized in a Report of the UN Economic and Social Council (2002) – targeting more comprehensive and realistic regulations within IHL, the international community should be encouraged to provide systematically all relevant information about the issue. At the end of the process, there should be widely accepted agreement on existing/contemporary relations and their international legal arrangements within armed conflicts (IHL) taking into account all ongoing situations, relations, persons concerned, roles of various players in armed conflicts, modern arms of war and methods of their utilization.

There is an old maxim that ‘new weapons cause new rules’ (Köpfer, 1975). It seems that there have been a lot of new weapons, but very few new laws in the last several decades. The need to overcome the current passivity in the progressive development (and codification) of IHL in terms of its gender sensitive approach is more than evident.

Summary

Only 21 of the 650 articles (about 3.5 percent) of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their three Additional Protocols (together with annexes thereto), refer to women provoking international humanitarian law (IHL) comprehensive gender-based critique. Under the circumstances, UN Security Council Resolution 1325–Women, Peace and Security is particularly relevant in stressing the importance of including women as active participants in peace processes. Although a soft law instrument, the Resolution makes reference to the existing obligations under IHL, as well as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and its 1999 Optional Protocol. With regard to hard law, one of the contributions for the (re)affirmation of the principle of gender

Assembly on October 6th, 1999 and it entered into force on December 22nd, 2000 as a side-agreement to the Convention, which allows its parties to recognize the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to consider complaints from individuals. Article 17 of the Convention provides for the establishment of the Committee (formed in 1981) to oversee the implementation of Convention's norms and lays down its rules, purpose and operating procedures. During the course of its work, the Committee has held multiple sessions to ensure that the rules outlined in the CEDAW are being followed. Over time, the practices of the Committee have evolved due to increased focus on human rights issues and women. The Committee has to date published 33 General Recommendations on various gender equality and women empowerment issues.

equality in international law applicable in armed conflict might come from the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction of 1997 (Ottawa Treaty). Although a disarmament treaty in its origin, it should also be understood as a humanitarian law convention and a human rights treaty, which could lead to generally accepted accord on existing/contemporary relations and their international legal arrangements within armed conflicts (IHL) taking into account all the circumstances from a gender-based perspective.

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ENGENDERING DISASTER MANAGEMENT AND RESILIENCE BUILDING: LESSONS FROM THE SEMIPERIPHERY

Abstract: *In this paper we exhibit how gender roles and gender regimes are being manifested in disastrous situations, on different levels (individual, group). The influence of gender is visible in exposure to the risks, as well as on institutional level, and in risk management. We claim that the semiperipheral social context, such as the Serbian context, determines the specificity of gender regimes, as well as the potential of good practices, which were and are present due to the recent historical past and a high level of previously achieved gender equality (during socialism). However, the problem is in a discrepancy between a high level of women's resources and their actual use and recognition in the public sphere. On the other hand, we offer examples to show how women's specific needs were not recognized during the process of risk management. While we insist on a gender dimension, we also understand the risk of oversimplified approaches, which is why we advocate the intersectional approach as more open and sensitive to individual and human differences in reality. In this text we offer arguments in favor of higher inclusion of women and their capacities into the process of risk and disaster management. We believe that it would help a better grounding, higher sensibility and a higher efficiency of the whole process of risk and disaster management, as well as a higher level of general resilience of local communities. As we also advocate a transformative approach to gender inclusion, we claim that taking into account gender would lead to the empowerment of women, but also to the transformation of gender roles, which would translate into a higher quality of life, of individuals as well as of communities.*

Keywords: *gender, disaster, resilience, risk management, vulnerability*

Introduction: General Framework

In this text we are dealing with the issue of engendering of the process of disaster management and increase of resilience of the general population to the different types of risks. Our focus is on improvement of resilience itself since it is what precedes disasters, and, also, high level resilience is a condition for adequate, rational, effective and efficient response to such situations. Disaster management in this text is not treated as an issue of operational and organizational management of responsible institutions and organizations, but mainly from a sociological perspective, as an issue of resilience of the whole community and its specific segments, at all levels, from local communities to society in general. Gender, as an organizational principle of societal functioning, cuts across all relevant parts of society, as well as through different levels, so it represents an essential dimension in both resilience building as well as disaster management.

Under “resilience” here we understand, in short, “social immunity”, in fact a present status (as opposed to “vulnerability”) and a capability of society to react and recover from disastrous situations, regardless of source or specific characteristics of different states of emergency.¹ That is why our starting assumption is that there is a kind of “general immunity”, as a type of resilience which can cover all different sorts of threats and emergency states. So the key question is: how to build a generally high level of social resilience, and in what way a gender sensitive approach can contribute to that process?

Resilience of one specific community or group is being determined by its status in society in general. That status precedes any emergency situation. This means that resilience is connected to the set of characteristics of society in questions, which includes: social organization, predominant value system, way of life, level of knowledge and awareness in regard to different risks, as well as recognition

¹ Law on Emergency Situations defines emergency action need in emergency situation in the following way: “This Law defines emergency action, declaration and management; protection and rescue system of persons, material and cultural goods and environment from natural disasters, technical and technological hazards - accidents and catastrophes, consequences of terrorism, wars and other large scale disasters (hereinafter: natural and other disasters); competences of state agencies, autonomous provinces, local governments and participation of the Serbian Army and Police in protection and rescue activities, rights and obligations of citizens, organization and activities of civil protection on protection, rescue, and elimination of the consequences of natural disasters and other accidents, funding; inspection and supervision, international cooperation and other issues relevant to organization and functioning of the protection and rescue system.” („Zakon o vanrednim situacijama“, *Sl. glasnik RS*, br. 111/2009, 92/2011, 93/2012)

and mapping out of all relevant resources which might be mobilized in emergency situations. Resilience should be built on clear recognition of all different factors which could be mobilized in emergency situations, but also on in depth understanding of all factors of risk and vulnerability which exist in normal situations, and which in emergency situations could be largely increased (i.e. crime and violence). Instead of treating disaster situations as unique and special, it is important to understand the high level of connection between “regular” and “extraordinary”, since those are actually “two sides of the same coin”, since the social context remains the same. Therefore, there is high level continuity between “optimal” scenario of social life and “the most disastrous one”. In extraordinary situations institutions which enable “normalcy” and “protection”, or which “compensate” for the lack of capacity and resources of the individuals and groups often stop functioning, or function in a considerably reduced capacity. In emergency situations, also, previous investments into individual and collective capacities for resilience become evident and tangible. From the way in which society treats its own capacities and resources, and how it treats its vulnerabilities on different levels, largely depends how those vulnerabilities will be treated in extraordinary situations. The UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction defines the term as “the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner” (UNISDR, 2012).

Society represents an organized system in which all parts are interconnected, and its reaction to emergency situations is mediated by social rules and regulations which are more or less formalized and usually long lasting patterns. One of the most stable patterns represents gender structuration of society, its dominant gender regime, which defines gender roles, as well as distribution of resources and vulnerability along the gender lines. Since all power differentials in disastrous situations usually get even more pronounced, gender structuration of inequalities is extremely relevant in managing disasters. Gender determination which is manifested at individual, group and institutional level in everyday settings, could become even more pronounced in emergency circumstances. On the other side, knowledge, skills, human resources which get concentrated along the lines of gender, could be used efficiently in disastrous situations.

In this text we try to explain from the sociological perspective what are the reasons for this duality: danger and potential in connection to gender structuration. At the same time, we argue for the necessity of the semiperipheral perspective, meaning that we argue for a strong contextual approach in dealing with risk and disaster management. We argue that characteristics of Serbian society

in general, and its prevailing gender regime, are closer to characteristics of other semiperipheral societies in Europe, than to societies which belong either to the center or to the periphery of the world system. We argue that difference of the semiperipheral societies also defines specific constellations of resources and vulnerabilities, as well as modes of mobilization of the resources and disaster management. This leads us to the conclusion that it is equally important to take into account good practices from other contexts, as it is to follow and learn from both good and bad practices of one's own social context. We advocate a rational and constructive approach in building "social immunity" and managing disasters, which in the best possible way use social potentials of the concrete society, and manage both weaknesses and strengths. This approach is following the logic of "social learning", and it is neither overevaluating nor diminishing social resilience and ability of society to recover. However, the possibilities and the scope of recovery in a concrete social context are connected to both wide social consensus about the major democratic values and respect of human rights. This approach includes not only the value system as a set of prevailing attitudes in a population, but also an efficient system of control and sanctions. This is the stand point we are taking in dealing with the issues covered by this text.

Also, in this text we are giving different examples of how gender patterns of social life have been manifested in emergency situations. Further, we discuss some of the possible and necessary changes of practices which would lead to considerable advancement of risk management, as well as resilience of communities, and we exhibit arguments in favor of gender mainstreaming of disaster management. As is the case with other sectors, in disaster management gender mainstreaming is in fact revision of the existing rules and regulations with the aim to increase efficiency but also social justice, social inclusion and social cohesion by eliminating prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination, while at the same time taking into account the concrete needs of concrete people. Binary division between genders, women and men, is not only insufficient, but in fact it represents an unsustainable generalization when all other concrete individual characteristics are taken into account, such as: age, economic status, dis/ability, education, rural or urban situatedness, ethnicity, family and kinship belonging to the networks etc. This is why the intersectional approach (Lutz et. al, 2011), is both more rational, logical, and more sensitive and just, in comparison to a rigid gender approach, based on essentialism (assuming rigid biological differences between women and men). On the other side, we want to show that those rigid gendered patterns of social organization are mainly shaping institutional solutions which in emergency situations are directly influencing coping with

disaster, and in some cases even survival of individual women and men. Gendered social structuration is directly affecting the extent and quality of exposure to risks and vulnerabilities of individual women and men. At the same time gender is still a powerful principle of organization of the system of responses to emergency situations, since adequate gender mainstreaming has not taken place yet. That means that on the both sides, on the one of the exposure, as well as on the one which relates to the response, gender needs to be taken into account, while simultaneously deconstructing gender stereotypes, and working in line with long run transformation of gender based hierarchy.

In the second part of this text we are focusing on three levels in which it is necessary to change a system: at the level of policies, at the level of organizational structure, and at the level of capacities of individuals and communities. Strengthening of resilience of individuals and communities is also instrumental to the structural and socio-economic development of communities. Development, meaning advancement and improvement, in this concrete sector could be seen as narrowing down the scope of vulnerabilities together with strengthening of institutional capacities. We explain how the inclusion of women and gender sensitivity, in general, can profoundly contribute to: 1. the resilience of the whole community, 2. to empowerment of women themselves, thus leading to transformation of the existing patriarchal gender regime.

This text is based on a meta-analysis of data gathered from empirical research on gender aspects of emergency situations, recently made in Serbia, and related to floods in 2014. Sources used mostly come from interviews, focus groups and observation, as well as document analysis (institutional and legal documents). Although limited by scope, those research projects allowed insights and identification of the problems which could be considered as unique for the context and useful for the further improvement of the emergency responses.

Gender determination at individual and group level: the semiperipheral perspective

Gender aspects of disaster management have become a relevant topic since the 1990s, first at the international level (within international and multilateral organizations), and from flooding in 2014, also in Serbia. In May 2014, Serbia was hit by floods that caused damage estimated to Euro 1,532 billion, claiming the lives of 51 people, 24 of whom drowned (data provided by the government of the Republic of Serbia). The worst flood-affected areas were in and around

Obrenovac, Svilajnac, Paraćin and Krupanj municipalities, which also suffered destruction and loss from landslides (Baćanović, 2014:7). The experience with this major disaster has shown that the system of disaster management was not only “gender blind”, but also that it was not based on local needs nor adequate utilization of local capacities and resources. In addition, the institutional response was not only delayed, but it was not adequately coordinated with a spontaneous and broad reaction of large number of citizens, who self-organized using social media, and who were in many ways leading the process of emergency response.

“Gender blind” in this concrete case means that the differences between men and women are not being recognized and taken into account when public policies are being designed and implemented, and that gender power imbalances were neglected, or obscured. Gender is absent from all relevant criteria, indicators, measurements, rules and regulations. However, in reality, disaster management and resilience not different from other areas of public and private life, and differences between men and women have shown to be connected to both consequences and responses to natural disasters.

The semiperipheral perspective which we advocate here, exhibits how the gender regime in Serbia is structured in a specific mode, which does not include “only” “simple”, gender hierarchy, but relates to much more complex phenomena. Without going into details, we can state here that semiperipheral societies in Europe, including Serbia as well as former socialist societies, have gender regimes which include the following:

- intense usage of women’s resources in both public and private spheres
- existence of “self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy”
- existence of strong “masculinity crises”, meaning “male identity crises”
- extremely strong patriarchal ideologies, with pronounced misogyny (Hughson, 2015: 87).

These characteristics are structurally interconnected, in fact a specific gender regime represents a structured pattern of gender relations. In the concrete case of Serbia, if that would be “translated” to the language of “human resources”, it would mean that women in Serbia have the following characteristics:

- they are educated also most to the same level as men, and in younger generations even more educated

- they are employed and have high inclination towards employment and financial independence
- in a long period of time they have developed considerable power and authority on a micro level
- they are exposed to strong, misogynous ideologies, which keep them “in place”, in fact pacify and demystify them, and which represent a “counter-balance” to self-sacrificing micro/matriarchy.

On the other hand, men in Serbia, already in several generations go through the experience of “masculinity crises”, which is the result of “emptied gender role”, and high resistance to accept new egalitarian gender roles in private and especially in the public sphere, which would lead to a more egalitarian distribution of power and responsibilities. So, the dominant way of functioning in a private sphere is “self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy” (Blagojević, 1994). That kind of gender arrangement is a logical consequence of high level of dependency of all family members on provision of goods and services by a central women’s figure, which sustains due to the low income, economic crises, poverty and inadequate service provision (austerity). In this model women are also employed and provide financial means for the family as well. The self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy is a model which exists for generations but gets especially strengthened during the time of crises, as research results show from the latest Gender Barometer in Serbia (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013), but it is also being slowly abandoned by younger generations of women, who develop in a direction of “self-entrepreneurship”, rather than “self-sacrifice”. However, another aspect of gender regimes, and gender identities, in Serbia is also very relevant and it adds to an overall complexity. Male identities in Serbian patriarchy are constructed not only in relationship with stereotyped “women”, in opposition to “women”, but also by their relationship towards the “West”, which is constructed as an opposition to what is “genuine” “Serbianhood” (Hughson, 2015). Serbian patriarchy is in its essence “anti-western”, and it resonates with the imaginary “tradition” with what is often described as, “head of the Serbian household” (“srpski domaćin”), recalling “family idyll” which supposedly once characterized Serbian rural communities. Although this “family idyll” is just a manipulative construct which empirically never really prevailed in the reality of Serbian patriarchal families, still as a myth it is dominantly shaping discourses of male elites in different public domains (Tomić, 2015).

In emergency situations and crises situations, different archetypes and imaginary metanarrations are being activated in parallel with concrete human agency

which is at work, not necessarily being in congruence or synchronized. Myths can exist regardless of realities, or even opposite to realities. Therefore self/sacrificing micro-matriarchy which makes for the prototype of women's identity, according to which women are strong, responsible, protective, ready to work and sacrifice for their families, and therefore natural leaders, at the same time can provoke an avalanche of negative statements, misogyny, verbal and physical violence. On the other hand, young men who usually have strong need for defining their identity, and often do that through and by violence (Hughson, 2015a), can transfer from, for example, habitual violence and "brotherhood of men" of football fans, into new "brotherhood of heroes-saviors" in emergency situations.² Paradox and contradiction of such a situation exists in regular social conditions, as well, but in an emergency situation it gets strengthened, and turned into some kind of "raw material", which denotes new quality of gender identity and which has a potential to produce positive lasting effects for both individual and group transformation.

Gender determination in risk exposure

Data at the global level are showing that women in natural hazards and other disasters are more vulnerable than men: in Bangladesh, in 1991 90% of those killed in floods were women (Oxfam, 2010). The most important study related to natural disasters and life risks (E. Neumayer and T. Pluempner, 2007³) showed, on the basis of analysis in 141 countries that women are more often in life threatening situations, and actually get killed more often. This means that their vulnerability is higher, while their capacities to deal with the challenges in those situations is considerably lower. At the same time, these differences are gender based, and closely related to gender inequalities. Experiences in Serbia, including floods in 2014, as well as earthquakes in Kraljevo in 2006, and floods in 2006 in Jaša Tomić, confirm that similar patterns could be identified in this country as well.

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- 2 This situation actually happened during the floods in 2014, when young men, fans of different football clubs, overnight redefined their identities and turned their animosities into solidarity, working across club lines, but also ethnic lines. It became evident that heroic identities could transfer from criminal to "saviour", in a short period of time, and then come back to the previous situation, after the threat is gone.
 - 3 'The gendered nature of natural disasters: the impact of catastrophic events on the gender gap in life expectancy, 1981– 2002', Social Science Research Network, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=874965>

Unfortunately the full information of those killed in the floods in 2014 are still missing, and the existing data from Red Cross and the Sector for emergency situations are not gender sensitive. However, the existing data revealed that those who were the most at the risk of being drowned were those who were older than 65 and living alone and had difficulties with physical movement (disability). The most vulnerable in emergency situations, especially those related to flooding, are the people who live in informal, provisionary, settlements, far from city centers, who are poor and territorially at the margins, in remoted rural areas or peripheries.

When these findings are connected to data from official statistics, based on census, it becomes possible to get a more precise mapping of vulnerabilities. In Serbia 78% of people older than 65 are women (Blagojević Hjuson, M. 2013a) Gender determination of this phenomena is related to women's high life expectancy, so their probability to live in a single HH is also higher. Men widowers, also, more often re-marry than women widows, since they have "social permission" to find a new partner, and also they are more often than women financially independent. So gender is closely linked with differences in the household structure of older women and men. Older women have an increased risk in emergency situations also due to the fact that in general they have a lower educational level than men of their generation. Also, when low level education, or even illiteracy is connected to ethnicity, Roma women appear to be especially vulnerable due to their high level illiteracy and gender based discrimination, in households and in public. In Serbia 80% of the illiterate population consists of women, the major part being Roma women. Also, in Serbia 80% of single parent households, are headed by women (Blagojević, 2012), which makes them, but also small children, very vulnerable in emergency situations. Women are more often providing care for elderly people and dependants and they are the major bearers of care provisions within the households. At the same time, professions and occupations related to care provision are heavily feminized (i.e. teachers, nurses, doctors, dentists, pharmacists). The percentage of women in those professions is up to 90% (Blagojević Hjuson, 2013a). So, women are the key social actors for care provision in both private and public sphere, which make their knowledge and skills even more critical in emergency situations. That concentration of skills and knowledge is especially relevant at countries at the semiperiphery, like Serbia, which have attained generally high levels of women's education in a long run.

However, one aspect of women's positions impose strong limitations in the utilization of their generally high human resources. As data show, women in

Serbia take very few positions in decision making at the local level, and they lack political power. At the local level women make up 23.7% of representatives in local parliaments, and only 13.2% of members of the local community councils (Baćanović, 2012.).

In Bangladesh one of the major causes of large numbers of women victims was related to their traditional clothing which disabled their free physical movements and eventual escapes from a disaster. However, this situation is not likely to happen in Serbia, since no such traditional clothing exists. But, gender differences in possibility of physical escape still exist, since women have a generally lower level of physical skills, and lack of sporting experiences make women more vulnerable, besides their often lower level of physical strength. Data from the Gender Barometer in Serbia (Blagojevic Hjuson, 2013) showed that women engage much less frequently in recreational and sport activities than men do. It could be supposed, although exact figures are missing (but could be obtained), that the majority of those who are not swimmers are also women. Experience with flooding in 2014 has shown that women in comparison to men, have fewer resources and less skills necessary for reaction in emergency situations, such as: skills to drive boats or driving licence for cars and other vehicles, and they less frequently possess different means of transportation. Also, it appeared that women are more often reluctant to evacuate if they are not given permission or support from their husband, or other male family members (Baćanović, 2014). The problem goes far beyond the issue of family authority in a patriarchal society, and it illustrates that women actually have more confidence in male judgments when it comes to the 'outside world', including the emergency situations, and less confidence and trust in their own judgments about the danger.

Although collective vulnerability could have several different sources (territorial, social, economic, infrastructural), some of even more relevant sources or causes, could be purely individual and biological (such as: age, gender, family status, dis/ability, health status), but also social (such as: educational level, possession of skills and information, inclusion into the social networks). However, gender is connected with all those characteristics, which is why an intersectional approach is the only valid one. It enables better screening of specific needs of individuals which emerge as a result of concrete cross sections of those characteristics. Most concretely, such an approach allows us to step out from a rigid gender diad, while at the same time allowing for more sensibility for more concrete differences, which exist between individuals and which, in emergency situations, can have impact on individual survival, injury or trauma.

However, what usually happens in emergency situations is that exactly because of the intense pressure, gender is defined through a set of stereotypes or remains invisible, or both. This is why the preceding preparation, or resilience building needs to address the issue of gender not as a set of petrified male or female characteristics, but through the set of intersections, while keeping an eye on real differences and inequalities which still exist between women and men. Finding the right balance in, on the one hand, recognizing the relevance of specifically women's vulnerabilities, while at the same time understanding the complexity of intersections which define individual differences, is of outmost relevance, for the creation of the most effective intervention in emergency situations. Not only that gender roles still define women's vulnerabilities to a large extent, but they also bring additional risks for women and girls in emergency situations, and that needs to be addressed. At the same time, still powerful gendered organization of everyday life creates some specific skills and knowledges of women which can be utilized in emergency situations. Patriarchal lenses are preventing women to be seen for what they really are, and instead, they feed on stereotypes. In emergency situations this creates a double-edged sword : on one hand, women are treated as passive victims, and their capacities are not being utilized, and on the other hand, women's real weaknesses created by patriarchal organization of everyday life are not taken into account, and women could be even be additionally exposed to dangers, including sexual harassment and violence. The archetype of a "prince the saviour" and a "passive princess" gets easily activated in the collective consciousness, as shown in analysis of media coverage of floods in 2014 (UN WOMEN, 2015). This pattern demands from men to be brave and strong, which also means to expose themselves to higher level risks, conforming to masculine role of a "hero" (Pavićević, 2013), which is exactly in line with the dominant construct of masculinity feeding on the "masculinity crises" (Hughson, 2015).

Studies on floods in Serbia in 2014 (Baćanović 2014, 2015.) have shown that not enough has been done on a prevention and readiness for emergency situations. At the individual level, gender differences manifested primarily on the level of information and knowledge. Women are generally being underrepresented in bodies and organizations which are managing emergency situations, and they are underrepresented in public services which are in charge of those situations. So women were getting information more often through informal channels, from other women whose husbands and relatives were employed in police or army and have been engaged in defence from a disaster. They were transmitting the information through "women's channels", which are also a

result of gendered organization of social life. In fact women's networks and communication channels can be seen as a well developed pattern of women's counter-power to counterbalance men's formal patriarchal structures in public life. Anthropological research has shown that, for example, "women's gossiping" is a way of gathering useful information to counter balance men's power in a local community (Ortner, 1983), while at the same time it is useful for improving performance of care work which is a part of women's roles in a traditional society. In emergency situations, knowledge which women hold on vulnerable members of community (old, sick, disabled, children) could become an essential resource for effective action.

Women, with children and other dependent members of families, are more often located in communal evacuation centers and shelters. However, those centers most often, according to experiences from Serbia, do not respond adequately to women's and childrens' hygienic or safety needs, neither they provide services which can be essential for the normalization of everyday life. Very often this is not only the result of real material limitations, as much as a lack of understanding and knowledge of what those needs could be. In collective centers gender inequalities increased, and they included gender based violence as well as exclusion of women from decision-making in those centers (about collective dynamics and distribution of resources). Within the centers, women were reduced, regardless of the level of their education and expertise, to "only women" identity, they were de-subjectivized and their potentials were marginalized, while their sexual objectification was intensified. Figures from Nepal have shown the increase of the rate of sexual and gender based violence in temporary shelters. In Africa, similarly, in refugee camps, there were the cases of practice of sexual blackmail in exchange for food provision, for which the UN has gone through a series of public scandals.

In collective centers during the floods in Serbia specific women's hygienic needs and needs for adequate clothing, were not addressed, neither were they provided adequate psychological support. However, again in line with gender roles, when psychological support was present, men were reluctant to accept it, thus reproducing their traditional "strong men" role. At the same time, there were no teams for care provision for persons with special needs, or disability.

Although men are much more represented in official public bodies which are in charge for disaster management, it became evident that women's contribution in solving problems created by emergency situations, was considerable, although it stayed almost invisible. Women promptly self-organized, mainly through

the network of existing women's organizations. They organized collection and distribution of humanitarian aids and they took part as volunteers in shelters, on equal ground as men. They also provided expert help for psychological support in shelters and collective centers, and also took part in food preparation. Although in many of those activities, gender roles were just reproduced, they were significantly contributing to normalization of the situation. It is important to note that women's traditional gender roles which include main responsibility for organization of the households were at the same time the main resource they could use and rely on, to help those in need in emergency situations. Economy of care which is mainly provided and organized by women, in private and in public, make women more resilient, more responsible, more confident and more skillful, in helping others in need. They are more sensibilized for the needs of others, and that quality becomes an important resource in a disaster situation, as long as gender division is still active in creating different roles and responsibilities between women and men. In the process of transformation of traditional gender disbalances, this will become equally distributed, but at the moment, it is a valuable resource which mainly women bring in response to emergency situations.

Invisibility of women's work in disaster relief was also visible in inadequate institutional support to cleaning of the houses and flats after the floods. Although the cleaning was performed mainly by women as "women's job", only in the municipality of Paraćin women were timely provided with adequate tools, protection and instruction of how the process of cleaning should be managed. This means that women were exposed to health risks which could be safely prevented, only if this task of cleaning was not seen as a "normal" continuation of their daily activities in households, which created blindness for the health risks. However, due to the fact that women were in large numbers self-organized, and that younger women especially, were sharing useful and timely information through social media, serious large scale negative consequences have been prevented. In fact, floods in 2014 have shown how important is self-mobilization of citizens, regardless of gender, especially when institutions do not provide adequate and timely response.

The consequences of emergency situations stay with communities for a long time after the immediate threat is gone. One of them is related to the functioning of the service sector in a community which has been hit by a disaster. Gendered patterns of social life make women more dependent on different services in a community, such as: public transport, hospitals, care centers for old, disabled

and children, schools, markets and shops etc. UN WOMEN in Serbia has estimated that the expenses of child rearing and unpaid housework during the emergency situation is 79.000 USD.⁴ Women also are much more often engaged in the informal economy than men, but also more often unemployed. Chances for informal employment decrease during the emergency situations and recovery, so they and their families, especially if they are single parents, are even more exposed to the risk of poverty. Although these are just fragments of the analysis which deserves to be made with more details, it is possible to conclude that economic inequalities between women and men increase as a consequence of effects of disasters. This is in line with the general assumption that emergency situations make the vulnerable even more vulnerable, and that the most resilient society is the one where the vulnerabilities as a result of social inequalities and exclusions, are being mostly reduced.

Gender analysis is also relevant in dealing with recovery efforts, and the best method to approach financial aspects of that phase is to apply gender responsible budgeting. Gender disaggregation of data related to reconstruction, recovery, national and international donations, as well as local and national budgetary funds, are all essential steps in ensuring that principles of gender equality are being applied, and that the results will be favoring more and not less of gender equality in a post-disaster phase. In Nepal, for example, women's organizations asked for gender responsible budgets and creation of special funds for agricultural recovery, which was also mainly feminized activity, since men were migrating from rural areas in search for employment. This is why earthquake has affected much more rural women than rural men (UN Gender Equality Update, 2015). Although this case is not completely comparable with Serbia (since men are still major decision-makers in agriculture) the fact is that women are involved in agricultural production in large numbers, so that they can be very much affected, even more than men. Also, after the floods it has been shown that men had more opportunities for informal work (because of building and reconstruction), while women lost their previous opportunities, plus they could not go for work due to the fact that day care provision for pre-school children was not recovered and provided in many communities hit by floods.

In emergency situations, speaking in general and not about the individual cases, the most vulnerable ones are those that are socially marginalized and excluded,

4 Gender Equality in Post-Disaster Needs Assessment: Floods Recovery and Reconstruction in Serbia, UN WOMEN, 2014.

those who generally have fewer resources and less capacities: skills, material resources and information. This could be generalized to the level of different societies. This is why the level of inclusivity of a certain society and the level of its social cohesion determines the level of vulnerability of different parts of population in emergency situations. Although, at the first glance, natural disasters affect everyone equally, both the risks, and even more so, the recovery, are often being distributed along the lines of social exclusions.

Potentials for inclusion of women in disaster management and emergency situations

In literature, the most frequent framework for analysis when it comes to disaster management is the following: prevention, readiness, reaction (immediate response to emergency situations), sanitation. In all those phases there are some relevant gender differences which need to be taken into account during the planning of disaster management. At the same time, disasters affect women and men often differently and produce different impacts on their daily lives afterwards. Gender is also essential for risk assessment in planning disaster management. A study from 2015 (Baćanović, 2015) has shown that women and men experience risks differently and name them differently: women incline more to name different threats to security in local community, which are sometimes beyond what the law has described as “emergency” or “threat”. For example, women include political instability, institutional non-responsiveness, poverty, as “risks”, so their understanding of human security is broader.

Women are, because of their gender roles, much more included into the life of community, since they are connected to informal women’s networks in a community and exchange information about other families, but also because they represent the majority of employees in the service sector, which gives them additional opportunity to network. This is why they are highly aware of the needs of inhabitants of different communities or neighbourhoods. Their knowledge is thus critical for realistic evaluation of risks and needs. Also, many women as mothers transfer the knowledge about safety and security to their kids. That is another important reason why women need to be included into the whole process of disaster management and strengthening of capacities of local communities and individual households to cope with emergencies.

The present practice does not encourage adequate information exchange between different social actors, especially at the local level. Local community councils and NGOs in the present system of disaster management stay invisible

and marginalized, which has direct negative consequences for women's inclusion and gender sensitive planning. Analysis of the present disaster management (Baćanović, 2015) has shown that it was exactly the women organizations and other NGOs that had a critical role the collection and distribution of humanitarian aid, mapping of the needs of those affected, delivery of psychological support and providing general normalization of everyday lives of communities after the floods. If the role of those social agents have been recognized and supported systematically, the results would have been more positive and beneficial. The general conclusion was that the potentials of the networks and civil society has not been recognized and utilized adequately.

For the increase of the general level of resilience of a community it is important on one hand to include women's knowledge, and on the other hand, to include women into the process of acquiring new relevant knowledge. This means the following:

- utilization of women's knowledge through and by women's networks, while it is important that it does not stay ghettoized in specific "women's spaces", but instead gets mainstreamed into all activities, at all levels of decision-making (gender mainstreaming)
- inclusion of women into training and learning processes about emergency situations and what needs to be done in those circumstances.

For this to be possible it is important to put emphasis on local community as the proper framework for disaster management and to define its vulnerabilities and capacities. That would lead to clear understanding of what local community can do for itself, and what are the areas in which it will have to rely on the help from the outside, from higher levels of social organization. This requires changes at the levels of public policies: in laws, action plans, and instructions related to emergency situations. Knowledge production in that area is possible only if data are available to track down the influence of emergency situations on men and women, but it would also be interesting to explore the reverse - how the resilience building of a community is shaping its social cohesion and inclusiveness, and whether the positive influence is spreading to other sectors, such as: social services, public decision-making, the health system and quality in life in general.

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GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND NATURAL DISASTERS

Abstract: *In the past three decades gender-based violence has been recognized as an important social and political issue requiring action at local, national and international level. At the same time, greater activist and academic interest has been directed towards natural disasters and their consequences, and in the past twenty years more attention has been given to its gender aspect. In this paper we will present some of the most important aspect of gender-based violence and then discuss the necessity of including gender perspective and issue of gender-based violence in process of planning and implementing activities related to natural disasters.*

Keywords: *gender perspective, gender-based violence, natural disasters, gendered intervention programs, social roles.*

What is gender-based violence?

In 1996, The Forty-ninth World Health Assembly adopted Resolution WHA49.25, which declared that “violence is a leading worldwide public health problem” and urged Member States to assess the problem of violence on their territory and communicate data to WHO. In the same resolution, request has been issued to initiate activities addressing the problem of violence with the aim to characterize different types of violence using gender perspective in the analysis, assess types and effectiveness of measures and programs to prevent violence and mitigate its effect, and promote activities to tackle this problem (WHA49.25). Seven years later, two chapter of the World report on violence and health of WHO were dedicated to violence by intimate partners and sexual violence, both strongly emphasizing gender perspective.

Gender-based violence is violence that has been directed toward someone only because of one's gender. Both men and women¹ can be victims of various forms

¹ For the purpose of this article we will focus on cisgender women, because there is not enough data on transgender women and people of other trans identities. However, when

of gender-based violence - while women are more likely to be exposed to domestic and sexual violence, men are more often exposed to physical violence by unknown men and acquaintances. However, in this article we will focus only on gender-based violence against women committed by men and we will use term gender-based violence (GBV) to refer to this kind of violence against women.

How can we define gender-based violence? One of the most important documents in this area that offers clear and broad definitions for GBV and domestic violence is Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (2011), also called Istanbul Convention. In Article 3 of the Convention violence against women is defined “as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women”, and as violence directed at women only because they are women. Gender-based violence includes all acts of gender-based violence that either result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women. Violence also includes threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, both in private and public life. It is also important to emphasize that, when talking about domestic violence, Istanbul Convention defines it as violence that occur within the family or domestic unit, or between former or current spouses or partners and that it doesn't require that the perpetrator shares or has shared same residence with the victim.²

When discussing gender-based violence, it is always important to have context in mind, primarily its societal and cultural background.³ This is also stated that the Convention - “ (...) violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between women and men”, that has resulted in male domination over women and discrimination of women, as well as in prevention of the full advancement of women and girls (p. 5). When reflecting on GBV, we always have to bear in mind various cultural beliefs, norms and

we talk about gender and gender-based violence, it is important to have in mind that this notion refers to both cisgender (people whose gender identity is in accordance with sex assigned at birth) and transgender people (people whose gender identity differs from sex assigned to them at birth).

- 2 Though Republic of Serbia has signed (2012) and ratified (2013) Istanbul convention, existing legislation has not yet been harmonized with the text of the Convention. For example, one of the most important obstacles is definition of family in Penal code, that requires same residence for victim and perpetrator in order to characterize violent incidents as domestic violence. Also, in December 2015 national Parliament has failed to adopt amendment which would require perpetrator to leave the place of residence of a victim, regardless of ownership or lease of real estate.
- 3 Importance of cultural and societal factors is emphasized in the very name of the phenomena - gender-based violence - which refers to gender and gender roles as social constructs.

social institutions, that participate both in legitimization and in perpetuation. Crucial effect of these aspects can be seen stated in Population Reports by Heisse (1999): “the same acts that would be punished if directed at an employer, a neighbor, or an acquaintance often go unchallenged when men direct them at women, especially within the family” (p. 1). gender-based violence is always embedded in certain context which defines certain behaviors as expected of male and female roles and proscribes various forms of sanctions for their disobedience. Importance of social and cultural aspect are maybe the most visible in the definition of what is being referred to as violence - many behaviors that were socially acceptable (and still are in many patriarchal societies) are now regarded as violence (Klasnić, 2011)

Forms and mechanisms of violence

Gender-based violence has multiple forms. In literature, three most common forms of violence are considered: physical, sexual and psychological violence (Rakić-Vodenilić, 2010; Ignjatović, 2011; Otašević, 2011).

Physical violence is the most studied and the most visible form of gender-based violence and includes any kind of physical contact with the purpose of causing harm to a woman: hitting, slapping, kicking, threats with weapons etc. This kind of violence imposes direct danger upon women’s safety and life. Physical violence in a relationship usually begins in one of the the following four periods: after marriage, during the first year of marriage; during pregnancy; after child-birth and upon woman’s establishment of financial independence (Otašević, 2011), and its frequency and severity grows over time.

Sexual violence includes all forms of sexual harassment and abuse, including rapes. This form of violence, especially in domestic context, is not being recognized as violence in certain societies, e.g. where women don’t have the right to deny sex to their husbands (and are usually physically punished for attempting to do that). Also, in patriarchal societies, sexual violence is connected with marked social stigma directed towards the victim, who can be exposed to blaming and shaming and who is often ostracized, and in some cases even murdered for “shaming the family”. Besides forms that are usually legally recognized as crimes (rape, sexual assault), sexual violence also includes intimidation, verbal pressure and forced marriages, trafficking of women, rape in war and sexual coercion, with women’s lack of choice to reject sexual encounter.

Psychological violence is usually the most invisible and the least recognized form of violence, and the most common form as well. It includes multiple forms of emotional abuse: humiliation and vilification, isolation, emotional violence (shouting, jealous behavior, insults etc.), which is usually connected with controlling behavior; threats, threatening behavior and blackmailing, use of male privilege etc. Though often not recognized, psychological violence is particularly destructive for woman's mental health and has profound negative impact on her self-perception and self-esteem, and presents one of main mechanisms that keeps woman in abusive relationship,

For the purpose of this paper we will also briefly present the concept of *economic violence*, which is often neglected and justified due to women's prevalent economic dependency in households. Economic violence includes certain behaviors that perpetrator uses to limit and control economic resources and potentials of a woman, such as unequal control of common resources, denying woman access to money, employment and education, controlling woman's ability to earn, use and maintain economic resources and thus imposing threat to woman's economic security and independence (Klasnic, 2011). It is important to note that economic violence is a form of gender-based violence, but it one of major factors that prevents woman from leaving abusive relationship due to impossibility to achieve economic independence.

Prevalence of gender-based violence

Gender-based violence occurs in all countries, regardless of their social, economic, religious and cultural characteristics. In data collected for Population Reports, between 10% and 69% of women reported being physically assaulted by a male intimate partner during their lifetime. Though physical abuse is almost always accompanied by psychological abuse, psychological violence is harder recognize and name as such, due to cultural norms that tend to normalize it (e.g. culture-specific "just cause" for gender-based violence). However, invisibility, as well as normalization of various forms of gender-based violence, and especially of domestic violence, and its concealment in the protected sphere of private life, still leaves many women in situation of life-long gender-based violence.

One of the major recent research of gender-based violence in Serbia was conducted in *Vojvodina* in 2009 on the sample of 516 women who were interviewed on their life-long experiences of gender-based and domes-

tic violence and on last violent incident they were exposed to (Nikolic-Ristanović, 2010). It is important to mention that 43% of total number of women who were approached by interviewer (927) refused to participate in research. Results show that more than half of the respondents (56,2%) were exposed to some form of family violence after the age of 18. Half of the interviewed women had experiences psychological violence (49,8%), one-third of them experienced physical violence (33,9%), and every tenth women has survived sexual violence (9,1%). 18,6% of respondents were exposed to persecution and 27,3% were threatened with physical violence. Patterns between various forms of violence show high correlation between threats with physical violence and exposure to physical violence, and between threats, physical and psychological violence. In interpretation of the data it is important to keep in mind the under-reporting of violence, even in this kind of research, as well as stigma connected to various forms of domestic violence, especially sexual abuse. Also, in analysis of cases reported to Belgrade's social services, in cases of domestic violence victims were in 73.5-83.5% female, and perpetrators were predominantly male (82.6-88.3%), and on average half of the perpetrators were current or previous male partners (Ignjatović, 2011).

Dynamic of gender-based violence

Main aim of violent behavior is to establish and maintain control and power over victim. That is achieved through various forms of emotional abuse and controlling behavior: isolation (with the aim to restrain woman's contact with other people, especially family and friends, and thus leave her without her support network), threats, denigration, making meaningless demands in order to deplete a woman, demonstration of power (to intimidate her and make her feel helpless), monopolization of perception (so that victim would draw all her attention to the perpetrator and not think about anything else) and limiting her access to information and any form of support.

If we want to understand the dynamic of violent relationship, it is crucial to be aware of *cycle of violence*. First phase of the cycle is the so-called honeymoon period characterized by good relationship between partners. However, after this period comes the period of building up tension, that eventually escalates in violent incidents. Shortly after the incident, honeymoon period prevails again, perpetrator is usually making effort to compensate and persuade victim that violence will not happen again; however, in abusive relationships violence does

happen again and in time the cycle starts spinning faster and faster and, after some time, honeymoon period completely disappears and victim is left to escalation of violence and periods of arising tension, when she fearfully expects violence to happen. This pattern of abusive behavior indicates that the “honeymoon phase”, characterized by regrets and apologies on behalf of perpetrator, should also be regarded as violence, because its main purpose is to manipulate the victim, installing false hope that something will change, and keep her in an abusive relationship (Ignjatović, 2011).

Another concept important for understanding situation of gender-based violence, especially in the context of domestic violence, is concept of victimization. In situation of long-term violence, woman goes through three phases of victimization. In the first phase violent and abusive behavior is usually not recognized as such and woman questions her behavior and tries to “correct” herself so that she could be more in accordance with her partner’s expectations. After the phase of denial, second phase of victimization marks the beginning of understanding that the problem of violence exists. In this phase a woman might share her experiences with people close to her; however, support system usually fails underestimating and normalizing the experience of violence. In this phase chances for leaving abusive relationship are high in case she gets enough support from important people around her. If that doesn’t happen, a person enters into third phase of victimization, where long-term violence leaves serious consequences on her personality. Woman feels hopeless, depressed, dependent, her self-esteem is low, she feels lonely and isolated, and is basically left to herself and to the mercy of the perpetrator. However, women do leave abusers even in this phase. For the people providing support to women exposed to GBV it is crucial to be patient, to reflect their unquestioning trust in the victims’ truth and experiences and to keep in mind that leaving the abuser is often a process that requires certain period of time and that it often happens that woman leaves the abuser and gets back to him several times before finally leaving him.

It is important to recognize that most women exposed to gender-based violence use various strategies to maximize their safety. This strategies may include resistance or leaving abusive relationship, but in many cases they are oriented towards learning how to survive in violent conditions. Women stay in violent relationships for various reasons: because of fear of retribution, lack of means of economic, emotional and social support, isolation, concern for the children, fear of being stigmatized, but also because of feelings of shame and self-blaming connected with experience of being abused.

Detailed analysis of risk factors for gender-based violence is exceeding the purpose of this paper, so we will just stress out that gender-based violence happens in the interplay of personal, situational, social and cultural factors and that all of them must be taken into account when trying to understand specific situation of gender-based violence. Also, depending on context, relative contribution of each of these factors is different and we should keep in mind that personal factors are of less importance in societies with high prevalence and general tolerance towards gender-based violence.

Consequences of gender-based violence are profound and multiple - they affect women's health, her socio-economic situation, and by perpetuating a violent pattern GBV can influence not just particular family and its direct environment, but the whole society as well. On personal level, health consequences are related to the somatic (physical and sexual) health of a woman - as acute or chronic consequences of physical violence (bruises, fractures, lacerations and abrasions, abdominal and thoracic injuries) and/or sexual abuse (pelvic inflammatory disease, pregnancy complication and miscarriage, sexual dysfunction, sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortion). GBV also takes its tool in the form of somatization, which are usually not adequately recognized by health care professionals as a consequence of violence: headaches, gastrointestinal disorders, irritable bowel syndrome, chronic pain and fatigue syndrome should all be considered alarming signals to raise question of GBV. Psychological and behavioral consequences are also numerous: depression and anxiety, eating and sleep disorders, alcohol and drug abuse, phobias and panic disorders, feelings of shame and guilt, poor self-esteem, post-traumatic stress disorder etc. Also, every situation of abuse carries the risk of ending in victim's suicide or murder.

Femicide is form of a murder where victim's female gender is the crime's defining characteristic - victim is being murdered because she is a woman (Mršević, 2014). Mršević cites data from U.S. where femicide is among the main five reasons for premature death of women between the age of twenty and forty. Also, when analyzing cases of femicide, risk of a woman being murdered by her current or previous intimate partner is nine times higher compared to being murdered by an unknown person. Risk factors for femicide are clearly connected with gender-based violence: perpetrator's tendency towards violent conflict resolution, intensive physical abuse of a woman, verbal aggression and death threats⁴ all

4 Besides that, among risk factors related to perpetrator are: history of substance abuse, paranoid psychotic disorder, personality disorders, unemployment and poor socio-economic situation (Mršević, 2014).

increase the risk of violence to end in femicide, and main risk factor on behalf of woman is attempt to leave abusive relationship and thus escape perpetrator's abusive and controlling behavior!⁵ These risk factors emphasize importance of existence, availability and accessibility of various services for women exposed to gender-based violence, such as shelters and safe houses, help-lines and legal and psychosocial counseling.

Gendered approach to natural disasters

Human beings have always been exposed to events like floods, volcano eruption, landslides, tropical storms, hurricanes, forest fires and droughts, tsunamis and other natural hazards. However, in the past centuries, there has been a significant shift in understanding these phenomena - from mystical and divine forces that happened as a warning or punishment for improper deeds, they became conceptualized as forces of nature - "natural disasters". However, natural disaster exist only in the interactions of changes in physical systems with existing social condition (Weichselgartner, 2001). Though they are called natural, social aspect is actually crucial for their definition - majority of events that would be called natural disasters when they happen in areas populated by humans, would probably go unnoticed in isolated parts of the Earth.

Natural disasters are determined by the very event (flood, hurricane etc.), but also by the social factors that influence the exposure of these events, as well as coping mechanisms and effect on individual (Neumayer, Eric and Plumper, 2007). All major hazards could be regarded as triggers with effects on both physical environment and societal structures. "Disaster risk is socially distributed in ways that reflect the social divisions that already exist in society" (Enarson et al, 2005, pp. 130), and concept of social vulnerability to disaster is deeply connected with social categories such as gender, class, race, culture, nationality, age, dis/ability etc. Concept of *social vulnerability* can be explained as a function of person's relative exposure to a disaster, her attempt to mitigate the consequences and her access to crucial resources required for anticipation, coping and recovery of natural disasters (Enarson, 2000).

Natural disasters are created in interaction of physical hazards and forces with social structure and power relations in everyday life (Enarson, 2000). Studies

5 The fact that violence intensifies in quantity and brutality when women try to escape violent situation can be considered within the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

show that natural disasters have a disproportionate impact on poor populations - they are most devastating in developing countries, where they take great human toll. Another major vulnerability in these events is gender - natural disasters deepen social inequalities, including the gendered ones (Enarson, 2000) Women are more vulnerable in all phases of natural disasters - they are neglected in prevention programs, and due to their social role, they encounter gender-specific difficulties in evacuation process, as well as in phases of immediate and long-term recovery. Gendered vulnerability and gender differences exist when it comes to emergency preparedness, communication, division of labor and psychological variables, including coping strategies and development of post-traumatic stress disorder. Issue of gender-based violence, as one of major threats to women's life, safety and wellbeing, escalates in situation of natural disasters; however, it has been neglected for decades and only recently gendered analysis and intervention programs became a requirement.

Different impact that natural events have on women and men cannot be sufficiently explained in terms of biology and sex. Socially constructed concept of gender and gender roles are crucial to understand different reactions and different consequences of these events on men and women (Neumayer, Eric and Plumper, 2007). Natural disasters do not happen in vacuum, separately from existing social and cultural marginalization of women (Rees et al, 2005). Situations of natural disasters are characterized by a break-down of existing social structure, insecurity, instability, fear and dependency on help of others. Gender, as the primary organizing principle of societies, as well as differences and inequalities based on gender and sex, must be addressed in analysis of various aspects of natural disasters - its impact, coping mechanisms and recovery process (Enarson et al, 2005). Women's roles in pre- and post-disasters environments must be taken into account - her dependence on natural resources, responsibility for other household members, difficulties in accessing relief and, at the same time, her engagement as main housekeeper and food-provider (though through unpaid work) etc.

As Red Cross Australia (2013) emphasizes, gender inequalities in situation of emergency manifest in multiple ways. In the first place, it is important to understand that gender inequalities in emergency situations happen due to pre-existing political, social and economic structures and conditions, which influence the response, survival and recovery process. Gendered division of labor, gender violence, barriers to education, employment and achievements, along with gender stereotypes present in disaster services, both when it comes

to process of planning and implementing relief programs, have predominantly negative effect to women's access to resource and information in situations of natural disasters (Enarson, 2005). Consequences of disasters: homelessness and loss of material possessions, unemployment, lack of childcare service, dismantling of routine and stability, separation of family members, loss of schools and neighborhoods and uncertainty about future influence all human beings in affected area; however, gender differences must be taken into account. Gendered analysis of disasters is necessary to understand its influence on gendered social structures of communities, organizations, households and intimate relationships (Fothergill, 1999).

Natural disasters have major impact on increase of women's economic insecurity: women lose productivity assets (especially in rural areas), they became sole earners, lose their entitlements, self-employed women lose work, and women who had been employed in some other way lose jobs and work time. Also, gender barriers limit women's access to relief funds and programs (relief programs often target men over women, believing that they already received aid through their husbands) and their workload increases dramatically - they participate in post-disaster reconstruction, maintain activities expected of their gender role (including caregiving activities, that are usually expanded), and their working conditions deteriorate.

Displacement of people and consequential breakdown of law and order, instability, insecurity and fears, loss of autonomy, disrupted access to resource, as well as exacerbation of previously existing gender inequalities, result also in increase of gender-based violence. This includes both increase in severity and types of violence, occurrence of various forms of gender-based violence for the first time, significant increase of sexual violence and exploitation in collective camps and intensification of violent social practices (like forced marriage, female genital mutilation etc.). Post-disaster mortality, injury and illness rates are often higher for women, including post traumatic stress symptoms.

Gender-based violence in situations of natural disasters

As Krantz (2002) states, common theme for natural disasters and gender-based violence is the difference in power that puts woman in a vulnerable position. However, gender-based violence in situations during and after natural disasters

has been neglected until 1990s,⁶ when first systematic research and gendered intervention programs took place. Research, as well as experiences of outreach workers, clearly indicated increase of gender-based violence in times of natural disasters, and two forms being most prevalent: sexual violence and domestic violence.

“*Sexual violence* is the most immediate and dangerous type of gender-based violence occurring in acute emergencies” (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2005, p. 1). Sexual violence against women by male perpetrators is most frequent in early stages of post-disaster recovery - when communities are evacuating and moving, and everyday life is seriously disrupted. During evacuation process, when families separate and women lose protection of male relatives, they are more exposed to sexual assault. Situation is particularly difficult in collective camps, where great number of people share same space. In these kind of shelters risk factors are numerous: unsafe living conditions, lack of private bathing facilities, lack of lighting and lack of police presence are among factors contributing to sexual violence (Red Cross, 2013; UNPFA). Increase in prevalence of sexual violence in these conditions is also due to breakdown of traditional prevention and response services and loss of social and family protection. Lack of privacy in collective camps, especially for young women, leads not only to sexual abuse and harassment, but also to intensive and continuous fear of being abused (Rees et al., 2005).

Later, during stabilization and recovery, other forms of GBV are reported with increased frequency, in the first place *domestic violence* (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2005). Research aiming to explore relation between domestic violence and natural disasters mainly show temporary decrease in counseling request during and immediately after disasters,⁷ and significant increase in the following twelve months. Fotherill (1999) offered an explanation for this pattern - in the moments when disaster is happening and in the first days and weeks after catastrophe had happened, services are hard to reach; however, in period of (relative) stabilization support workers report increase in demand. Still, data is inconclusive when it comes to determining whether this increase is due to new cases of domestic violence, or already existing domestic violence had become more frequent and severe. Also, this increase might indicate greater

6 In 1990s in refugee camps in western Tanzania the first humanitarian program aiming at dealing with sexual violence was implemented (HPN, 2014).

7 Mainly when it comes to disasters that require evacuations; however, there is evidence that during blizzards number of calls to help-line increases.

propensity to report violence, but also woman's greater inability to handle the violence on her own, due to compromised psychological resources, but also due to potential increase in violence.

For example, there was a 53% increase in family violence call out right after Christchurch Earthquake (2010), four fold increase after Hurricane Katrina (2009), and 50% increase of spousal abuse calls after Hurricane Andrew. Also, study of domestic violence after Black Saturday bush fire (2009) shows increase in severity for women who had already experiences domestic violence, but also that fire triggered beginning of family violence for women who weren't previously exposed to it (Enarson, 2012). In Guatemala, study by Gestion y Tecnologia en Salud y Desarrollo (GETSA) found that psychological violence in families has increased from 7% prior to the storm to 22,5% during the storm, and 19% after the storm (UNPFA).

After the great floods in Grand Forks, number of crisis calls to help line for women exposed to domestic violence rose by 21%, and counseling of ongoing clients rose by 59% in the following year. Also, staff reported more referrals from emergency rooms, indicating rise in physical assaults (Ernason, 1999). This increase in post-disaster calls from know clients is illustrative of vulnerability of women previously exposed to gender-based violence. During this research another worrisome pattern has been identified that should be taken into account when planning intervention programs: when it comes to gender-based violence, post-disaster period is characterized by increase in demands and *decrease in resources* - various services for women exposed to violence - because in reconstruction process issue of gender-based violence often becomes invisible or is perceived as less important.

Also, we should keep in mind that natural disasters can also increase women's fear (especially for women with less privilege) that they won't be able to survive without male partner. This is the example that Fothegill (1999) cites in her study - L, who has lived in poverty all her life and was disabled from a car accident, felt that she won't be competent enough to survive without her extremely abusive husband. However, L. also stated that she managed to take floods as the opportunity for personal growth and she eventually left her husband, demonstrating that every crisis is at the same time risk and opportunity.

What are potential explanation for increase in domestic violence in these times? Some authors believe that, due to men's loss of social status, risk of domestic violence increases, which is especially prevalent in societies where gender-based

violence is being normalized, and traditional concept of gender roles prevails (Fothergill, 1999; Red Cross, 2014). Connected with this explanation is standpoint that violence escalates due to increase in relationship stress over struggle to compensate for lost possessions, housing, jobs etc, which is again connected with gender roles - man as the provider of the family, and woman as the main (patient) caregiver.

Some other factors should also be taken into consideration. Natural disasters separate women from support network they have built for many years. Regardless of whether she is in collective shelter, or she moved to some other place, she is isolated from her usual surrounding, including supportive family members, friends and neighbours. Also, in situations where evacuation from home is not required, but households become isolated (e.g. during snow blizzards), violence might increase, but do to heavy weather conditions woman has no chance to escape. In this way disasters minimize women's opportunity to leave abusive relation and maximize her physical and psychological isolation.

Another issue that is often neglected is safety of women who had already been exposed to situation of domestic violence and who had left the abuser and are residing in safe houses or some other protected place. During disasters, their anonymity and safety might be compromised in collective shelters and, at the end, woman is forced to chose between two potentially life-threatening situations.

We should keep in mind that domestic violence is too often invisible and that, due to perceived stigma, shame and self-blaming, victims are often reluctant to share their experiences, especially if they are still in a violent relationship. Fothergill illustrates this with example that in her research only two women reported that they experienced abuse from their intimate partners, and one of them shared that information in the third interview (note that majority of participants were interviewed only once). However, researchers, both from activist and academic background, have to deal with the fact that gender-based violence is vastly *under-reported*, but not just by abused women, but by field workers as well! Rees et al. (2005) report on "culture of denial" among some of the helpers in Sri Lanka's post-tsunami relief programs, including authorities' ignoring abuse and silencing victims; Parkinson (2011) emphasizes that after Black Saturday bush fire both women and rescue workers often used toned down words and phrases when talking about family violence, and Inter-Agency Standing Committee warns that sexual violence is under-reported even when well-organized help services are offered.

Intersectionality and natural disasters

Though adopting gendered perspective in preventing and mitigating consequences of natural disasters is crucial for successful relief programs, it is also important to notice that women present a diverse group with different needs in the periods before, during and after disasters. Because of this diversity within one highly vulnerable population, both researcher and creator of various intervention programs should adopt non-universalistic view on women and ensure sensitivity in recognizing and meeting their needs.

Gender-based violence in disasters depends on various factors: individual social vulnerabilities (gender, age, socio-economic status, ethnicity), communities and societies context, and different aspects of reconstruction and rehabilitation activities (UNPFA). Though gendered analysis should be implemented in research, as well as in planning and conducting relief and recovery activities, we should keep in mind that not all women share same experiences and same social position. Issues of class, race/ethnicity, age, ability, sexual orientation and gender identity, are all shaping women's position in society, pre-disaster experiences, coping mechanisms and access to information and relief during and after various hazards (Forhergill, 1999; Enarson, 2005). For example, poverty is one of major social vulnerabilities to disasters - when women living in poverty face disasters, they are more endangered and their recovery is more difficult: they are more exposed to hunger, they are physically weaker and less able to survive injuries and deprivations during and after crisis. When internally displaced, they lose safety networks that they have built over time; due to their dependency on community services, such as public transportation and public health care, they cannot compensate loss of these resource as women who are financially secure. They are more likely to stay in collective camps and shelters for longer period of time, where they are, again, isolated from their support network and exposed to risk of sexual and other forms of violence. Also, post-disaster unemployment affects more poor women, because they don't have economic resources, such as land and insurance, and their access to labor is compromised (Enarson, 2005).

As Enarson (2000) states, besides poverty as additional vulnerability factor, intervention programs should also keep in mind needs of other potentially marginalized and socially excluded groups of women: senior women, women with language barriers, refugee women and homeless, recent migrants, undocumented women, women with cognitive or physical disabilities, chronically ill women, women living alone, widows and frail elderly women, bisexual, lesbian and trans women etc.

Despite the fact that women present vulnerable (though not monolith) group in situation of disaster, it is important not to lose out of scope that they are also *active and resourceful disaster responders*. Women actively participate in mitigating effects on households and possessions, organize family and community activities to prepare for anticipated disaster, but also in the post-disaster situation, they provide care for children, ill and disabled family and community member, manage household relocation, repairs and reconstruction. They also participate in mitigation as skilled workers in human and social services and they can and should participate in all organized relief activities around relief planning and distribution (HPN, 2014).

Important issues for gendered intervention programs

At World Conference on Disaster Reduction, held at Kobe, Hyogo, Japan, Hyogo Declaration and Hyogo Framework of Action 2005-2015 were adopted. Among other things, Declaration recognizes that disasters, in a very short time, undermine the results of development investment and prevent sustainable development and poverty eradication. Though natural disasters are unavoidable, it is crucial to strengthen global disaster reduction activities, reduce the vulnerability of societies, build resilience and strengthen capacities for prevention, quick action and successful recovery related to all kinds of hazards. Hyogo Framework of Action 2005-2015 requires “gender perspective to be integrated into all disaster risk management policies, plans and decision-making processes, including those related to risk assessment, early warning, information management, and education and training” (p. 4). This is in accordance with United Nations Population Fund recommendation that gender should be an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of post-disaster programs (UNPFA), as well as of other relevant organizations (Red Cross, WHO, UNICEF etc).

Both during disasters and in the period of recovery, gendered approach easily gets out of sights, and more attention is given to reconstruction activities compared to medical and social services and reports of gender-based violence (UNPFA). Because of that we will list some of the major issues that should be taken into account when planning and implementing intervention programs.

The Women’s Refugee Commission identified two broad areas of risk related to gender-based violence during and after natural disasters, that need to

be considered in intervention programs: lack of basic/survival needs and lack of economic, educational and social opportunities (HPN, 2014). The lack of *basic/survival needs* affects the exposure to gender-based violence in various ways - women will have to go to or through unsafe areas for food and other basic resources, risking to be exposed to sexual violence; they can be coerced into sexual intercourse in exchange for food and clothes or, due to lack of other opportunities, engage in involuntary sex work etc. On the other hand, thoughtful planning of interventions tackling *economic, educational and social opportunities* is necessary both for mitigating immediate effect of disasters, and for long-term recovery process. These activities include: direct provision of energy re/sources, establishing girls-only spaces for adolescent girls to build social networks and participate in protection and empowerment programs, organizing various educational activities, creating safe job opportunities and safe workplace for women and ensuring equal access to economic opportunities for both men and women that will be, at the same time, sensitive enough to meet their specific needs and that take into consideration various risks (including gender-based violence) that women might be disproportionately exposed to.

Gendered division of labor is another aspect of women's lives that need additional attention in post-disaster programs. Gendered division of labor, women's care-giving and housekeeping responsibilities may influence process of recovery, but also women's survival. In life-threatening events, woman is held responsible for keeping family together and taking care of other family members, especially children, even at the cost of her life. Also, social norms will impose on a women to put more effort in meeting her family's emotional needs, hosting other evacuees and participate in multiple ways in recovery process. Ensuring other family members safety, especially in situation of minimal resources, puts women at the greater risk of serious exhaustion, injury and even death. Break-down of existing social relations and obstacles males face in attempt to preserve role of the "head of the family" may also lead to increased domestic violence and even to its normalization, because especially in these situations women use men's difficult and conflicting situation to justify beginning or intensification of violence.

Also, *social norms* influence access to post-disaster relief funds and programs. In certain societies women are not allowed to enter public sphere, which leaves them completely dependent on male relatives when it comes to relief fund. On the other hand, relief providers often disregard women as primary service recipients - in a study of the 1949 Malawi famine, it was found that government

relief agents denied relief to women as they were assumed to be supported by husbands (Vaughan, 1987). This question is extremely important for young girls, single women, divorced or widowed women, as well as for women of non-traditional sexual orientation and gender identity (Enarson, 2005; Red Cross). Recognizing relief planners' and providers' gender prejudice, as well as adopting gendered perspective in recovery and reconstruction programs, in some cases can be a matter of women's very survival.

Though question of physical safety is being prioritized in natural hazards, once physical safety is being ensured, attention should be paid to women's *psychological needs* as well. Efficient intervention programs are always multi-sectoral - they should include counseling and psychological support, socio-economic support, again with detailed consideration of women's needs, as well as community-based health care (Rees et al, 2005; HPN, 2014). Health care should also be gendered, it should guarantee privacy and confidentiality for all patients, services should be provided by women practitioners who have sensitivity for working with women with psychological traumas, survivors of sexual assault, rape, dealing with unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and physical assaults (Rees et al, 2005).

Recommendation

Though natural disasters have always been part of human experiences, their frequency and impact are increasing - there were three times more natural disasters reported in 1990s than in 1970s. "Environmental degradation, increasing social inequalities, population pressure, hyper-urbanization, and economic globalization are powerful global forces increasing the likelihood of destruction after a major earthquake or cyclone" (Enarson, 2000, p. 2), which urges better planning in order to mitigate destruction and long-term consequences these events may cause. When analyzing implications of rethinking natural disasters in social context, Weichselgartner emphasize that "mitigation of natural disasters must stress out social, rather than physical approaches, that those approaches should be pro-active, focused on internal structures in society, integrating reduction of vulnerability, and that policies and programs dealing with these issues must be constantly reviewed, evaluated, and modified" (2001, p. 86).

When contemplating best approach to natural disasters, Inter-Agency Standing Committee (2005) identifies three important phases: emergency preparedness, early phase (minimum prevention and response) and stabilization phase (com-

prehensive prevention and response). In this closing part of the paper we will shortly describe each of the phases and highlight major issues that should be addressed to.

In the *phase of emergency preparedness*, focus should be on activities aiming to enable rapid implementation of minimum prevention and response in early stages of emergency. This phase should include trainings on gender-based violence for all relevant stakeholders and trainings for field workers on gender-based violence and working with abused women. Also, it would be useful to discuss reactions in situations of emergency with organizations providing support to women - victims of gender-based violence and to consider possibility of cooperation when natural disaster happens. Recommended activities in this phase also include awareness-raising at the community level, as well as women's empowerment as ongoing activities (HPN, 2014). Women - survivors of gender-based violence experience self-blame, fear of reprisals, mistrust of authorities, fear of re-victimization, shaming and blaming in communities, as well as various forms of punishment if they openly speak up about violence they have survived, both before, during and after natural disasters. All these process are present in pre-disaster periods and they get intensified when disaster strikes and in recovery process. Because of this, it is crucially not only to include support to women suffering from gender-based violence in the period during and after disaster happens, but also to provide continuous support and empowerment to women in the peaceful times as well. *Second (early) phase* is a phase of minimum prevention and response. In this phase main priority is to ensure safety for all people affected by disaster. Since gender-based violence happens in this phase as well, issues of GBV and increase of sexual violence should be addressed in planning and implementation of activities as well. On the other hand, *stabilization phase* allows enough time for comprehensive prevention and response. This is the phase when recovery and rehabilitation process has begun, but also other forms of gender-based violence come into scope, especially domestic violence. It is also important to keep in mind that this phase also requires well-planned and systematic actions and that it can last for a longer period of time, which should be taken into account when planning the needed resource. Also, like in participatory-based post-disaster program, developed by Eileen Pittaway and Linda Bartolomei in cooperation with women's groups in Sri Lanka, it would be important to provide support to women's organizations and identify their needs (Rees et al, 2005).

Besides engendering support, it is crucial to ensure *women's participation in decision-making* in all three phases of dealing with natural disasters, and thus

secure that women's needs will be met in the long-term recovery process (Rees et al, 2005). Women's active participation, both on the side of planning and implementing programs' activities as well as service-receptients and agents in process of reconstruction, is a necessary precondition of gender-sensitive intervention program.

Note

In this paper we have presented various aspects of gender-based violence in situation of natural disasters, where GBV is defined as violence perpetrated by men and directed against women. However, it is important to emphasize that gender-based violence can also be interpreted to include violence against some men, based on policing mechanisms aiming to enforce gender hierarchies in which men are privileged in relation to women, but also in relation to some group of men, as well as to children. Though lesbian, bisexual and trans women are already included in the first, more "traditional" definition of GBV, they still remain invisible, marginalized and neglected both in planning and in implementation activities. Situation is even more difficult for groups that are included in the second definition of victims of gender-based violence - LGBT persons. Literature on LGBT and natural disasters is much more scarce than on gender-based violence against women and natural disasters. On the other hand, challenges LGBT people face during and after natural hazards, though similar to the rest of population, are also in many areas quite specific and more difficult. Questions like sexual, physical and psychological abuse in collective centers, problem of corrective rapes, forced disclosure of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, even more profound impact of destroyed neighbourhoods, difficulties in accessing reliefs conceptualized in a heteronormative and cisnormative manner, together with lack of knowledge and sensitivity in recognizing and responding to their needs, are among the ones that require urgent action. Because of all stated above, it would be important to include perspective and needs of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in creation and implementation of gendered programs dealing with natural disasters and to pay additional attention to issue of gender-based violence directed at this vulnerable groups.

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GENDER SPECIFIC MANAGING AND COMMANDING CONTINGENTS IN UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Abstract: *UN peacekeeping operations represent the biggest effort that a human civilization can undertake in order to prevent, stabilize and put an end to an armed conflict in any part of the world. At the same time, UN efforts represent the best possible contribution to the peace and prosperity of the human kind. As a member of the United Nations, the Republic of Serbia has a prominent role in the aforementioned contribution and throughout the world it deploys its armed forces composed of military and civilian personnel, men and women, operational and support forces. Since 2014, for the first time, Serbia and Serbian Armed Forces have started independently deploying military contingent in MINUSCA peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic. The very fact that the contingent composition is mixed calls for discussion on specificities of managing and commanding such personnel. Contingent is composed of 2/3 men and 1/3 women. In addition, half of the total number is military, and the other half is civilian personnel. In addition, part of personnel deployed in Africa already has rich multinational experience, and one part of personnel are people who left their home country for the first time. In such circumstances, aspects of equal treatment of every contingent member are very much in focus, in all significant areas regarding the rights and obligations in mission, for the sake of fulfilling basic and other requirements, with reliable force protection, and thus, including the topic of gender mainstreaming as a significant element of mixed teams' cohesion.*

Keywords: *peacekeeping operations, gender perspective, operational necessities, civil protection.*

Participation of the Serbian Armed Forces in the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations and in the European Union (EU) crisis management missions comes from the strategic decision of the Republic of Serbia as the UN member, but also as a candidate for a full-fledged membership in the EU, to

actively participate in mitigating crisis, terminating hostilities and preserving peace in the region and throughout the world. It is a unique impression that in the aforementioned missions, Serbia does not participate only in symbolic numbers, but in very significant ones, with more than 330 personnel deployed in 11 missions. Out of this number, they are deployed in 7 UN peacekeeping operations as military observers, staff officers, medical teams, infantry platoons, infantry company, but also as a level II Military hospital¹.

Apart from soldiers, NCOs and officers, civilian personnel is also deployed, since they are military servants employed in the Serbian Armed Forces (SAF), women and men, in all positions, from the commanding ones, to those control and executive bodies. The last significant increase in deployment was the United Nations mission in the Central African Republic, MINUSCA. After reviewing the capacities of military healthcare system, together with the risk assessment and the overall benefit of deployment in this mission in Africa, in the end of 2014, at the invitation of the UN, a decision was made at the level of the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces General Staff to deploy a military contingent in this country ravaged by war and hostilities. The majority of this contingent was medical personnel of the level II Military Hospital. One third of the contingent was composed of officers, NCOs, soldiers and military servants of logistic specialty. Apart from that, the contingent had one third of women, members of military medical institutions, primarily military servants, like doctors, nurses, technicians or at logistic duties. However, this mixed and specific contingent structure required good general and individual pre-deployment training, but also very much patience and many skills in organizing life and work and during assigning specific tasks.

Main challenges put in front of the decision makers included the composition and structure of the contingent, i.e. forming clear and sustainable criteria during selecting personnel to be deployed. Apart from the general criteria regarding physical and psychological readiness, language skills and expert competence, there were not any additional criteria regarding gender perspective, in sense of increasing the number of women or men for presenting a desirable gender structure, which is often a recommendation in the UN invitation. Instead of that, there was a criterion to select a man or a woman for each individual position, in accordance with their expert competencies. A favorable circumstance

¹ Level I, II, III or IV signify a level of medical treatment provided in the hospital. Level II includes surgeon, orthopedist, anaesthetist, radiologist, internist, dentist and other specialists that can conduct simple and general medical treatments.

was also in the fact that for each prescribed position there were sufficient candidates of both sexes and with equal starting advantages and shortcomings that were taken into consideration during the selection. At the very beginning, it was clear that the number of women in this mixed medical-logistic contingent would be significantly bigger than in the other units of the Serbian Armed Forces, primarily because of the fact that, in general, women in healthcare have a visible presence and that in certain duties, like medical technicians, they are more numerous than men. The expected discussion regarding stereotypes of the alleged inferiority of physical and psychological competencies of women was occasionally led during the selection process, but also later, during the preparations and pre-deployment training.

Apart from that, even during the selection process, it could be seen that gender awareness and education in the field of gender requirements has an important place in discussions concerning numerous questions connected to the basic approach to the contents that the UN also promote as necessary and correct. That was especially visible in comparing with the presented (un)awareness and (un)preparedness to actively think and participate in discussions during forming the team. Very often, during the selection process, members of the selection commission debated whether it was better to have a woman or a man of requested specialty in a certain position, and the majority of male population there stated the alleged weakness of the female body as a negative argument, even the psychological capacity to put up with all the stress in an area of operation. These efforts were perceived as a collection of physical and psychological stress factors embodied in the environment of high temperatures and high humidity, as well as very high precipitation percentage, insects and contagious diseases that come with them, but also threats to physical security coming from various armed groups and individuals or from collateral damage.

According to such conclusion, men are far more ready to cope with all of this, so they should be given an advantage during the selection of personnel and giving a dimension to the whole contingent. These were all wrong suggestions and concepts and they were not taken into consideration, having in mind that they were not supported by any valid argumentation, thus being only separate positions coming from somewhat inadequate education.

As the majority of modern United Nations peacekeeping missions, MINUSCA mission in the Central African Republic is marked as a multidimensional and integrated mission. Multidimensional aspect is reflected in the very participation in all spheres of life and work of people on the whole territory of the coun-

try that is often the same as the area of operation. This means that UN activities are not related only to putting a stop to shootings and eliminating hostilities, but also in establishing sustainable social and economic system in many spheres of life. The mission supports political, military, economic, social, educational and many other aspects of revitalization of the state administration and system.

However, in order for all of these previous categories to be made certain, realistic and sustainable, protection of civilians represents a priority task of all actors in the area of operation. On the other hand, mission integration could be reflected in the participation in many activities of establishing or imposing peace in all the aforementioned social activities, but also in synergy and synchronized activities with the host nation government. Thus, the UN have an enforced mandate that is supported by active participation of the local community, so responsibility for potential lack of success is distributed and equally divided between the UN and the host nation.

Thus, the United Nations are dedicated and intensely work on integrating gender perspective directly in areas of operation, not only as the UN project and effort, but with clear and visible result, together with building awareness of state administration and local government of the host country. MINISCA peace-keeping operation recognizes the significance, place and role of good practice of gender perspective implemented in daily activities of mission personnel. In that sense, Serbian contingent personnel were surprised with the intensity of commitment to establish a gender network in each contingent, among more than 12 thousand mission personnel, with focal points in each battalion level unit or contingent of the same level. The total and multidimensional scope of the problem could be seen very soon in defining the scope of the UN participation in numerous publications of mostly non-governmental sector. Most often, the position of children and women was in the focus, but also the position of internally displaced persons in conditions of further instabilities and hostilities.²

It was known that immediately after hostilities started between the minority Muslim and majority Christian community, more than half of the population was in some kind of migration or refuge movement into the unknown.³ According to the first information of the International Rescue Committee (IRC),

2 Gender Briefing Note on Central African Republic June 2014, <http://www.unocha.org/car>

3 Gender-based violence in the Central African Republic, Diana Trimino Mora, Elisabeth Roesch and Catherine Poulton, September 2014, Commissioned and published by the Humanitarian Practice Network at ODI No 62.

among 950 women and girls who asked for help in that first wave, more than 80% of individual cases of violence included rape.⁴ A special characteristic is also a fact that many of them were raped more than once by various armed groups. The youngest recorded victim was five years old. One of the experimental violence prevention models was an urgent response of the rescue committee by drafting a program of urgent measures that included engagement of mobile teams for helping victims, but also to educate as many people as possible. However, even then there was a question that proved to be very significant and sensitive. It was about the model of approaching the problem, either vertical or horizontal, with all their advantages and disadvantages. The first approach meant that programs of prevention and protection of women, girls and boys should be conducted at the horizontal level, through the existing sectors, institutions and bodies. On the other hand, a vertical approach was designed to form the line of help by dedicated experts who would independently act on protecting civilians with some kind of cooperation with other actors on the ground and with the government.

It turned out that the combined model, which was implemented in the Central African Republic for the first time, gave the best and most obvious positive results. The foundation of this model is based on efforts of experts to recognize forms and consequences of gender based violence, to direct the existing governmental and international capacities and to help the victims of violence by providing the necessary medical care, psychological support and recovery, but also protective measures of potential victims.⁵ Urgent medical care is precisely what is the most important, but also what is always lacking in gender based violence, where rape is a dominant form of the exploitation of women. Most often, victims of rape that suffer most are those in rural areas, far from any forms of providing medical help, so many cases end with death due to the lack of any medical assistance. One of logical responses to such a situation would include establishing mobile medical teams, well-equipped and able to move around quickly, so they can cover big territories and many cases that require urgent medical help.⁶ Experience of International Rescue Committee show that timely

4 Ibid, p. 26.

5 First forms of this model of protecting women and girls were established in the middle of December 2014 in cities of Bangui, Kaga Bandoro and Bokaranga.

6 Approximately 90% of victims supported by the International Rescue Committee are immediately redirected to healthcare. However, many government, some private and NGO healthcare clinics were taking money for their services, which largely discouraged the victims. In addition, NGOs which were providing free services were not equipped with ade-

association with women organizations in the local environment for the sake of joint urgent response to gender based violence increases the access to victims and is key in sustainable provision of basic services, since victims can recognize other women and feel more comfortable when other women are involved in helping them. This enables new channels of exchanging key information, since local organizations insure that main services will continue working, although security risks do not provide easy access to international organizations.

Many non-governmental organizations working on the ground in the Central African Republic have been working without cooperation with the local community and under extreme security restrictions. Domestic and displaced population was very often responsible for its own survival. However, in places where International Rescue Committee trained volunteers from the local women groups from community, before the outbreak of violence, primary care and support continued, even when non-governmental organizations, including International Rescue Committee and UN agencies, were not present.

Emergency training and support programs on the ground were also built into MINUSCA mission, so additional capacities already existing with the local organizations would be efficiently used. That is the reason why experts are engaged working hand in hand with local women associations, providing services and at the same time transferring skills. Association with the local women organization can also connect help and recovery, since these same women are often essential in the renewal and economic recovery of their communities. This is a model that the UN is also using in UNIFIL mission in Lebanon.

It cannot be decisively stated that the Serbian Armed Forces contingent was adequately prepared, when it comes to gender perspective. Primarily because not much attention was given to gender perspective in their home units, from the aspect of theory or education, nor from the aspect of recognizing the role of gender mainstreaming in practice. On the other hand, these men and women were quite familiar with their rights and obligations, forms of potential sexual abuse or harassment as the most frequent terms, but not with questions of gender as social constructions and categories. In fact, apart from certain lectures and conversations regarding this topic, we could easily say that the contingent personnel mostly remained in the field of prejudice. Both men and women. One of the memorable scenes was a characteristic reaction of the female part of the

quately trained people for medical treatment, or did not establish the necessary contact in order to inform victims on available services.

contingent to a statement that came from a male doctor. This doctor declared that it was good that women also participated in the mission, since he had no intention of making coffee and doing dishes, having in mind that it was a woman's job. Although gender instructor said that it was clearly a stereotype without any logical argument, the majority of women in the contingent loudly reacted and defended their male colleague. Still, as a possible description of the aforementioned reaction, it would be wrong to conclude that women and men from the defense system easily face inequalities that carry with themselves certain shortcomings concerning gender as a social construction, where it is necessary to provide equal chances under equal conditions for everybody, regardless of the sex. We could perhaps talk about laziness or insufficient good will to correct certain gaps with joint engagement and to adjust one social perspective to general rights of people and citizens, which gender mainstreaming essentially is.

However, in colloquial conversation, and even in expert discussions, at least two completely new perspectives were concluded of the place and role of gender in peacekeeping operations. Firstly, insisting on gender perspective is not set as a debate on women's rights as such, but as a question of operational capabilities. And by using common sense reasoning, like follows: Question: What is the basic task of peacekeeping operations? Answer: The one and only – protection of civilians! Question: What civilians? Answer: Not men who are soldiers, not those who occasionally take weapons and join this or that armed group! Not women soldiers! Protection of civilians considers the protection of those most vulnerable. Those are children and women, their mothers. Question: How should they be protected? Answer: By adequately recognizing the nature of their needs, and thus knowing how to overcome problems in the easiest possible way. Question: How to get to know the characteristics and the very nature of their vulnerabilities and how to determine an adequate response? Answer: By including women, who recognize and feel all the aforementioned, in the decision-making, planning, organization and implementation of mission with troops on the ground, as a specific operational request. That is why we have women in our units. They should be the engine of initiative, talk to female victims, encourage them, understand all possible approaches and ways of solving their problems.

Other key remark was created as a consequence of a long comparison of atmospheres of interpersonal relations in troop contributing contingent in MINUSCA mission. More than 20 nations have their forces and representatives in military, police or civilian mission component. There are also contingents with over 1000 soldiers that do not have any women in their units (Pakistan,

Congo, Indonesia and Morocco). By inspecting such units on the ground, it is easy to observe a specific atmosphere and mood that point out to the fact that the uniformity of unit will produce monotony and increased aggression, as well as an emphasized need for leaves and visiting family. However, precisely in such contingents, there is a practice of personnel not having leaves or family visits for more than 30 months. That, in turn, redirects irritation caused by being bored and leads to various forms of aggression and intolerance towards the local population.⁷

On the other hand, one third of women in the Serbian contingent make the unit stronger and more resistant to stress factors of natural or social origin, which are multiplied in specific geographic, climate and security circumstances. Presence of women colleagues in a team contributes to the feeling of family and social atmosphere similar to the atmosphere that used to be in their homes. Thus, the strength of a team relies on an intrinsic compactness in natures of women and men, who in certain specific environment jointly carry the burden of mission and also share certain rights. Contrary to that, in contingents composed only of men, there is no challenge of maintaining family atmosphere, and it is a classic military daily life in which boredom is dominant. Apart from boredom, due to the absence of female personnel, there is also an absence of the sense of respect of women's, girls' and boys' personalities in the local population, so examples of sexual exploitation and abuse are numerous. Very often, UN soldiers offer money or even food and water provided by the UN, for sexual services by boys, girls and women.⁸

Gender questions in MINUSCA mission are treated at three levels and in two ways. Three levels of conducting the activity of gender perspective consider bodies, plans and activities at the level of state where MINUSCA mission elements have a significant role, then at the level of mission command towards the subordinated contingents and as a third level, we can talk about gender affairs within basic units, i.e. contingents. In that sense, each unit of battalion level or independent company, or national contingent establishes a focal point or a group of people that compose gender network of the mission military component. This network has its own planned and organized activities relating to occasional meetings, exchange of experience or joint urgent response as re-

7 There is a record of several cases of sexual exploitation of girls and boys by the UN personnel, mostly from African battalions.

8 Due to the escalation of sexual violence by the UN personnel, in the middle of August 2015, UN General Secretary, Ban Ki-Moon, has replaced the Chief of Mission, Babacar Gaye.

quired. At the level of mission, gender officer has a role of military component commander's adviser for questions of gender mainstreaming in the daily work of military forces. Similarly, there is also a position of a gender officer in the mission police component. Finally, at the level of the Central African Republic, whose territory is the same as mission area of responsibility, gender questions are conducted as organized state project supported by UN expert bodies, some EU bodies and numerous NGOs and institutions from throughout the world.

When principles of solving gender questions are at hand, models 'towards oneself' and 'from oneself' are recognized. Principle 'towards oneself' means that gender equality policy is adequately held within a national contingent concerning all questions of deployment or organization of life and work. Gender is mainstreamed in all mission systematic documents and apart from striving to prevent segregation of every kind, efforts 'towards oneself' contribute to making a favorable atmosphere for achieving one's work obligation within the prescribed scope and jurisdiction, having in mind the specificities of the difference in sex. Namely, in a good and stable mixed team, men understand the needs of women in an appropriate way, e.g. additional hygiene requirements in hot weather conditions or monthly menstrual cycle. In addition, a hairdresser was also deployed, qualified to take care of women's haircuts, as well. Fulfilling these needs in certain circumstances had a very positive influence on a good mood and motivation to undergo significant efforts. Special emphasis goes to a good will of a female part of the contingent to accept and adjust to uniforms. Not because it is a military uniform, but because it is completely modeled and tailored according to the dimensions and characteristics of a male body.

The other way, 'from oneself' included a complex system of activities of multi-dimensional and integrated character related to activities on the ground, which improved the protection of civilians where gender mainstreaming had almost a dominant role. In the following specific examples of key gender and humanitarian problems in the Central African Republic, it will be shown how models and ways of solving problems were determined in a specific way, in areas of operation. The examples that follow represent a practical experience acquired in practice and implemented in the area of operation through previously mentioned multidimensional and integrated approach.

In the field of education, most frequently reported key problems are deeply rooted gender inequalities between boys and girls in the field of rights and needs for education in a situation of having no schools or limited education capacities. Apart from that, girls have a high rate of dropping out of schools due to

insufficiently adjusted conditions for their education. They are raped, with unplanned pregnancies and they are constantly encouraged to an early marriage. Those who are at most risk are girls between 12 and 14 years, especially in rural environments, but also in Bangui, the capital. Additional problem for girls and boys is also that schools are closed due to migrations caused by conflict. Continuing education is most often very difficult or never organized again. Certain specific solutions were proposed for the aforementioned problems. Firstly, to open mixed or single sex schools across the country, with considering creating appropriate programs for girls and boys where it is not possible to organize regular schools. Additionally, it is necessary to create conditions for girls in adolescent period (including adolescent mothers), as well as for boys, in order to continue education and complete elementary education.

Key problems in organizing food from the aspect of gender perspective often remain unnoticed, although they have a visible and serious influence. Participation of women is very much neglected in strategic decision making in the process of food distribution to displaced people. In addition, this problem is reflected in low capability of women and men to lead their households, especially those who are located in internally displaced people locations (camps and asylums) without any money or property, and without possibility to provide food for themselves and their families. Among these displaced, there is a great difference in gender concepts concerning who will lead the household, men or women. This is why there is a negative stereotype question: How one woman, who is left as a head of family, can lead a household at all? Still, the most vulnerable during providing food and water are pregnant and nursing women, sick men and women and those over 70, as well as those under 5 years in households led by women and those in many poor families. Priority for solving this set of questions is a constant and timely provision of food for households led by both men and women in numerous camps for the displaced. Apart from that, it is necessary to provide participation of women and men in planning specific needs concerning the distribution of food.

Challenges in the field of health are the key problems reflected in high mortality rate of girls and women in rural environments in Bangui. There is also a disproportion of HIV being spread among women, especially from 20 to 24, which is connected to the limited access to HIV prevention services, especially in rural environments. Distribution of resources for basic needs is also limited. Women in refugee camps wear clothes that are used as protective clothes for work. Pregnant girls and women do not have any or very limited access

to consultations regarding pregnancy and postnatal care, while more mature women, especially adolescent women, do not have any access to institutions for reproductive health (there is no such institution in the country, apart from the capital). There is also a low level of emergency in cases of rape that goes over several days after receiving information. As possible priority solution, there are certain activities structured that can be immediately implemented in the area of operation. Firstly, continue with the protective surveillance and increasing requests for providing material for basic life needs, which also includes materials for basic clothes for refugees, but in a way to satisfy their needs and habits in clothing (pagnes – colorful handmade cloth). In addition, continuously provide obstetrician equipment and services regarding the reproductive health in local hospitals, as well as instructions on family planning. Protect adolescents from survival marriage, sexual exploitation and abuse and unplanned pregnancy and provide emergency medical and clinical help in cases of rape and in regional clinics outside the capital.

From the aspect of sustainability and stabilization of local communities, key problems are also reflected in discrimination of groups of women and men farmers/traders who have low productive capacity due to unsteady market. Bad investments and equipment, poor quality of products and bad infrastructure make their living very difficult and very hard to survive. This, repeating negative mechanisms – especially sexual exploitation of women who do it for survival or joining armed groups, selling drugs and conducting other criminal activities in small cities and in Bangui is something that needs to be eliminated. There is a low inclusion of women in social initiatives and activities in Bangui and in rural areas. As priority, it is necessary to support women and mixed groups of producers in their efforts to increase the productivity of their households and in reducing disproportion in value of what women produce compared to what men produce.

Finally, concerning housing, there are very low possibilities for renewing households where women are head of households compared to when men are in these positions. In addition, poverty struck families hard and due to the lack of asylums, they are exposed to psychological, but also climate influences and risks. In such conditions, children aged over 14 accept certain bad forms of behavior and in certain parts of the country, men, women, girls and boys still hide in woods exposing themselves to many physical risks. In order to solve these problems, it is necessary to provide asylum and accommodation, equally for men and for women who are heads of households, and also provide more

women participating in committees regarding accommodation distribution. Additional efforts concern the possibility of building 'safe houses' in all struck areas, with constant surveillance of protecting men, women, boys and girls who are directly connected to the needs of providing accommodation and asylum.

The aforementioned group of problems is added to the one connected to the lack of water and problems regarding hygiene measures. There is a very low standard of toilets and bathrooms, and in many refugee camps there aren't any. If there are, it is very difficult to use them during night, since there is no light in camps. Thus, women are exposed to sexual abuse and rape on their ways to toilets and water stations. At the biggest camp, at M'Poco airport, there are cases of continuous rape of women that go to collect water. In order to prevent this from happening, separate toilets have to be provided for women and men in camps for the displaced and constant lights on all the way to the toilets and other premises.

The aforementioned questions and immediate specific answers on the ground represent a daily scope of MINUSCA mission deployment and numerous government and non-government domestic and international organizations. Many do not have concrete results and the unfortunate African people and suffering of women and children are very often only a cover for creating worthless projects, money laundering through such projects, as well as organizing exotic trips through cities and villages of the Central African Republic. From year to year, it is possible to follow the increase in the rate of violence at the general level and at the same time, radical reduction in the number of victims in some other environments. This indicates the fact that on the whole territory of the country struck by conflict, there is no protection network that can be fully responsive to protection requirements. Protection results are visible in places with relatively easy access to those in danger, in refugee camps in bigger populated places. However, in rural and inaccessible places, number of those most vulnerable categories is still growing, probably even more radically than can be recorded, since numerous cases of violence and gender based violence remain unrecorded and undetected.

The aforementioned new experiences regarding the protection of civilians, gender mainstreaming and gender based violence acquired in the area of operation are valuable because of several reasons. Firstly, it is a practical experience of the requirement and possibility of gender mainstreaming and responding to gender challenges, within own units, 'towards oneself', but also in approaching civilians, women and children, as the most vulnerable category, following the

principle 'from oneself'. Participation of the Serbian Armed Forces soldiers, officers and military servants in the United Nations missions provides for the systematic inclusion into the UN system that promotes gender equality and gender questions as key principles of good organization behavior, oriented towards the protection of civilians and human rights, including the rights of children and those who are the weakest. Thus, the necessary awareness and knowledge is acquired and it will systematically be transferred down into teams to each and every individual. There is also recognition of multidimensional and integrated approach. Missions and all mission subjects have to develop adequate capabilities for fulfilling the mission mandate. Apart from the quality military training, knowing of humanitarian and martial law, apart from the quality individual protection, it is necessary to know how to find, recognize, approach and help those who are the most vulnerable in the civilian category. Finally, in these examples of integrated and multidimensional action in efforts to protect civilians, gender mainstreaming is obviously and realistically operationalized. Results of this operationalization indicate that the presence of women in peacekeeping operations is a thing of operational needs and requests, and not a game of numbers, but also that mixed teams composed of men and women are more stable and more resistant and homogenous in comparison to many stress factors characteristic to those conditions where peacekeeping operations are conducted. Such teams are more ready and adequate to focus on the protection of civilians and its multidimensional and integrated approach in a wider context of executing the mission mandate and the mandate of their own unit.

Military commanders, but also other owners of complex activities of management, leadership and command in peacekeeping operations also have to own wide knowledge and built awareness on the place and role of gender perspective and the strength of mixed teams where men and women can be deployed as individuals and experts from a certain field on joint units tasks and efforts, but also individually, as people who, with their natural inclinations contribute to unit's operational capabilities in cases when certain typical requirements of rescue and protection are closely connected to sex and gender specificities.

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WOMEN OF THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES IN INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND MISSIONS

Abstract: *Female personnel of the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) were engaged within international operations and missions since the first deployment of the SAF. Both, NATO and the professionalization of the SAF gave rise to an enhanced acceptance and recognition of women in the military, which led to the support of the deployment of women to international operations and missions. For the purpose of our survey, we launched a questionnaire for Slovenian Armed Forces personnel. Our intention was to get an insight into their personal views related to gender. In this article, we will focus on gender with an emphasis on the involvement of female SAF members in international operations and missions, and on UNSCR 1325. The research was open for both men and women until the end of September 2015. The results showed how many women in the sample had been deployed; what were their experiences during the deployment; what was their opinion about their military role in international operations and missions, and how their presence could influence the role of women in the foreign country according to UNSCR 1325 provisions. The male part of SAF personnel also filled in the same questionnaire and we compared the answers of both groups.*

Keywords: *International, operations, missions, gender, women, Slovenian Armed Forces.*

Gender perspective in international operations and missions

In the early years of the new millennium, gender became a topical subject ranking high on the political agenda. In just a few years, it has been put on the military agenda based on the experiences from international operations and missions (Gender makes sense, 2008). It contributes greatly to the success of

the mission, or as Dunmurray (2015) quotes: “Today we know that the implementation of gender perspective is vital for increasing the operational effect on the missions.”

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of men, women, girls, and boys in the society. There are differences between men and women in terms of opportunities, rights, obligations, and other. Cultural and religious environment influence the position of men or woman in the society as well. Furthermore, it is known that women and children represent the most vulnerable part of the population in a conflict. In order to raise the empowerment of women and to protect them, appropriate measures have to be taken with focus on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325). UNSCR 1325 (2000) is focused on the importance of the protection, full involvement of women, and their decision-making role. The understanding that “men, women, boys and girls are affected differently by war and conflict” (Gender Perspectives in Military Operations, 2010) reinforces the need for the integration of the gender perspective into military operations. The answer to the question “Why?” is simple – in most of the countries where international operations and missions are in place, only female servicemembers can have access to local women. Therefore, the presence of female servicemembers within international operations and missions has to be ensured.

Some theoretical bases and experiences worldwide

Gender values and norms are of great importance and might contribute to a change in the gender regimes of military forces especially in missions. The way how gender impacts on missions is affected by the existing domestic structures and cultures of contributing countries’ military forces, says Carreiras in her article *Gendered Cultures in Peacekeeping Operations* (2010). The specificities of missions, their goals, requirements, and unique characteristics, also impact on the identity of the soldier and the military as a whole (Carreiras, 2010, p. 471).

Various types of missions can also be built differently according to gender archetypes, which depend on a variety of factors, such as the mission’s specific goals and rules of engagement, the way that pre-deployment training has raised gender awareness among soldiers, characteristics of the local contexts, and patterns of civil-military interaction in the field, she continues. “Symmet-

rically, there is also empirical evidence showing that increased participation in missions has led to a redefinition of the contents of traditional professional roles among certain sectors of military personnel” (Carreiras, 2010, p. 475). This is why; she continues, it is important to observe the impact of missions on military professional identities and their gendered expression.

The U.S. Secretary of Defence announced in January 2013 that from January 2016, women would be allowed to serve in ground-combat roles in the U.S. armed forces and in this regard King says that, today, gender is not what determines cohesion, but training and competences. Female Canadian soldiers have themselves affirmed that for as long as professional standards have been enforced and they have been able to meet those standards, they have been able to integrate. In one of his interviews, he said “I don’t think there is a huge bias now. Several years ago, there was maybe a bias but there are now no issues. It’s not about gender when it’s about war, it’s about training” and he concludes “In the combat arms trades, you are equally accountable, it is task-oriented and task-based; it is about meeting the standard” (King, 2013, p. 7).

But Carreiras argues that in this field there are some paradoxes. She mentions that the first one is a gap between rhetoric and reality; while a new streaming regime in missions is being built at the level of policy documents and initiatives, implementation has been difficult and change has not followed at the desired place. As the second paradox she emphasizes the irony; new opportunities for women in the military are legitimized by discourse that conforms to traditional gender stereotypes. Carreiras concludes and refers to disparate research results; while a majority of studies and analyses stress the relationships between successful mission performance and the increased involvement of women in missions, others still underline the cultural contradictions surrounding the construction of the peacekeeper’s role and the tensions that ensue from that process with possible negative effects on performance (Carreiras, 2010, P. 477). Carreiras wrote this three years before King published his article. Let us take a look few years further back in the past and see what Captain Valcu from the Romanian Armed Forces wrote and presented in Belgrade in 2007 at a conference on Women in the Armed Forces. Valcu stated: “The experience of female employment in international operations is favourable” and continues that women are fully integrated with their male mates while she describes experiences of Romanian Armed forces. According to her she can underline the fact that the United Nations shows how women involvement into peace maintaining operations is well seen by the affected population and has a positive influence

over the results of the operations Women have lived and worked in the same units in the same conditions as the men, without differences. Their support has been considered as very important for the relationships with the local women and children (Valcu, 2007, p. 144).

Gender Statistics by Mission

For the month of December 2015

Mission	Military						Police								
	Military Expert			Troops			Military total	Individual Police			Formed Police Units			Police total	Grand Totals
	M	F	UNMEM total	M	F	Troop total		M	F	Indiv Pol total	M	F	FPU total		
MINURSO	196	4	200	21	5	26	226	2	0	2				2	228
MINUSCA	151	7	158	10,089	131	10,220	10,378	288	54	342	1,543	98	1,641	1,983	12,361
MINUSMA	39	3	42	10,380	183	10,563	10,605	206	16	222	799	41	840	1,062	11,667
MINUSTAH				2,255	97	2,352	2,352	723	119	842	1,525	133	1,658	2,500	4,852
MONUSCO	461	18	479	16,526	522	17,048	17,527	285	57	342	755	103	858	1,200	18,727
UNAMA	11	0	11				11	3	1	4				4	15
UNAMI				228	15	243	243							0	243
UNAMID	175	7	182	13,864	539	14,403	14,585	1,032	265	1,297	1,793	32	1,825	3,122	17,707
UNDOF				770	23	793	793							0	793
UNFICYP				808	51	859	859	45	9	54				54	913
UNIFIL				10,100	394	10,494	10,494							0	10,494
UNISFA	91	14	105	4,076	304	4,380	4,485	18	3	21				21	4,506
UNMIK	8	0	8				8	5	3	8				8	16
UNMIL	88	7	95	3,142	164	3,306	3,401	259	59	318	840	160	1,000	1,318	4,719
UNMISS	180	5	185	11,256	451	11,707	11,892	384	103	487	554	102	656	1,143	13,035
UNMOGIP	43	1	44				44							0	44
UNOCI	174	14	188	4,886	103	4,989	5,177	396	53	449	992	0	992	1,441	6,618
UNTSO	143	7	150				150							0	150
totals	1,760	87	1,847	88,401	2,982	91,383	93,230	3,646	742	4,388	8,801	669	9,470	13,858	107,088

Picture 1: Gender statistics in United Nations missions in December 2015.
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/gender/2015gender/dec15.pdf>,
 (Accessed on 30. January 2016).

Futhermore, Witman and O'Neill (2012) gave some practical examples on how women contribute to the success of the missions. In the article, they shared lessons learned from the field - from Swedish Provincial Reconstruction Team (SPRT) in Mazar-el-Sharif in Afghanistan, European Union Force in Chad, and United States Engagement Team in Helmand Province in Afghanistan. In one case, a female soldier from the team had connected with local women and got important information, for example that there would be a wedding in following days and more than hundreds of people were expected to come. As a consequence, SPRT was able to organize all the necessary security measures

in the area. Another example was related to the local farmer who wanted to talk to a woman and not to a male member of armed forces to tell her about the position of mines in the near surroundings (Witman, O'Neill, 2012). Those two examples illustrate very clearly how the involvement of women in the composition of the field teams enhance the effect of a mission.

Current data on the United Nations (UN) missions about the Gender Statistics on missions of December 2015 (Picture 1) show that in all UN missions both male and female are engaged in military troops. Women are also represented in almost all missions as military experts (eleven of thirteen missions). Data about police forces are similar- there was just one mission without female engagement within individual police officers (one out of thirteen missions) as well as one in the formed police units (one out of eight).

Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) in international operations and missions

Ever since the beginning, the armed forces of the Republic of Slovenia (at that time the Territorial Defence-TD) were open for the employment of both male and female members. One of the major changes which raised the question of integrating women into a whole range of tasks resulted from the implementation of the national security strategy which changed with Slovenian's integration into the collective security system (NATO). NATO membership combined with the professionalization of the SAF has devoted more attention to the role of women in the SAF which also led to empowering the deployment of women to international operations and missions (Tkavc, 2015).

As shown on the official web page of the Slovenian Armed Forces "International operations and missions" (2015), SAF members were deployed for the first time to a crisis response operation on 14 May 1997, namely to the humanitarian operation ALBA in Albania with a medical unit and four liaison officers. Female personnel from the medical branch were also included in this first contingent. Later on, the number of SAF members, also female, gradually increased.

In the first decade, women in international operations and missions were mainly in charge of supporting tasks (Šteiner, 2014). In February 2007, however, the SAF for the first time in its history deployed a battalion-sized unit, which took over its own area of responsibility and was in command of foreign troops from a NATO country (International Operations and Missions, 2015). According to

Šteiner (2014), the deployment of a battalion in 2007 also brought about the assignment of female military personnel to combat positions. Furthermore, in 2006, the SAF brought in the process of evaluating the lessons-learned process as a feedback from international operations and missions. The experience of SAF personnel from international operations and missions has brought forward the need for the presence of women in field teams and their contacts with the local population. From 2009 onward, the SAF has been more focused on the planning process where the involvement of female personnel is needed, especially in the composition of field teams (Tkavc, 2015).

More surveys have been conducted in the SAF on the involvement of women. The results of the analyses have been published as articles in different issues by various editors, some of them in special publications with many articles dealing with gender topics (Ženske in oborožene sile, Zbornik študij, 1995; Seksizem v vojaški uniformi, 2002). However, we did not notice that both men and women would be included in the same research at the same time and with the same questions in any of the previous researches conducted within the SAF.

Method

We decided to address almost the same questions to both men and women in the SAF. We prepared 29 questions for women and 24 for men. Both questionnaires begin with the same 6 questions about the demography. The next part of the questionnaire for female respondents included 13 questions about women in the SAF in general, while the questionnaire for male respondents included 11 questions about women in the SAF which were the same as those for women. The last part of the questionnaire was about international operations and missions and included 8 questions for women and 7 for men. However, this article includes only a few selected results referring to international operations and missions, with focus on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325). In this article we have focused just on the part related to international operations and missions.

The questionnaires were designed on-line with the support of the www.mo-jaanketa.si webpage and were separate for men and women. We started to invite women to fill in the on-line questionnaire on 3 September and men the next day. By the end of the month, 99 female SAF members (9%) and 80 male SAF members (1.3%) filled in the questionnaire. We did not proceed with the process, because we had already reached our goal – the sample of 5 to 10% of

all women in the SAF. It would be very good to have a 5 to 10% sample of the male population in the SAF, but we realized that this would be very hard to reach since there were 5,912 male SAF members in October 2015.¹ After all, our main focus was on women in the SAF and their opinion about the involvement in international operations and missions.

Research

In order to ensure a better understanding of the results, it is important to take into consideration the demography of our sample. Most of the women were aged 30 to 50, but the largest percentage, namely 44.4% included respondents aged between 40 and 49. 36% of male respondents were of the same age group, which was also the largest male age group included in the sample. 84.8 % of all women were married and 88.8 % male were married. In the female sample 10% of respondent were privates, 25.3% NCOs, 28.3% officers, 24.6% military specialists, and 12% civilians. In the male sample, 15% of respondents were privates, 33.8% NCOs, 45% officers and 5.1% military specialists.

In the section of the questionnaire about international operations and missions we started with the question on how many times SAF members had joined international operations and missions. Below, you will find the comparison of the answers given by male and female SAF members.

The results in Chart 1 show that more than half of women in the sample had not been deployed to international operations and missions. In order to understand this in comparison with the SAF statistics, it is good to take into the consideration that only 6.1% of women included in the sample work in the combat area; 36.7% of them perform specialist tasks such as law enforcement, protocol, information and technology; 42.9 % work on staff tasks, planning, human resources, and 14.3% of them on administrative and technical support.

Additionally, we asked if they worked mainly in the HQ/Command structure or in the field - only the questionnaire for women included this question. 80% of the women in the half of a sample who had been deployed to international operations and missions answered that they had worked in the HQ/Command structure of the military base. In the 'comments' section, some of them explained that they had worked at both places depending on the international

¹ This kind of goal would be very hard to reach because Slovenia witnessed severe floods in September and many SAF members were included to help on the field. Additionally, the SAF hosted the exercise Immediate Response 2015.

operation and mission, as they had been deployed more than once. Three women in the sample have been deployed in international operations and missions more than three times.

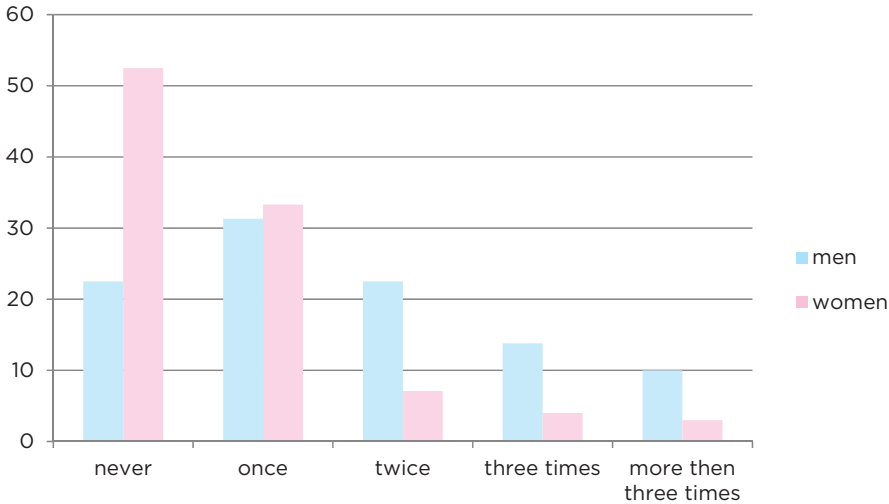


Chart 1: Question: How many times were you deployed to international operations and missions?

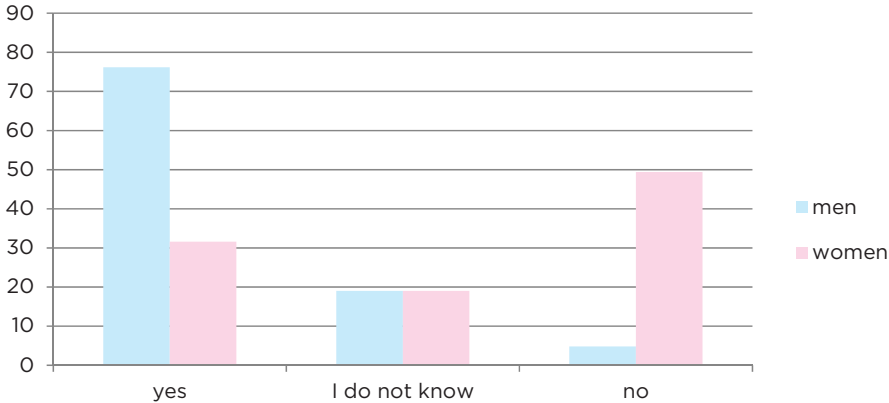


Chart 2: Question: Do you believe that the participation of women in international operations and mission contributes to the quality of the mission?

The following question, which was included in both questionnaires, was based on our belief that the participation of women in international operations and mission contributes to the quality of the mission.

As we can see in Chart 2, male SAF members value the role of women in the SAF more highly than women value themselves, and neither men nor women decided to make any comments on this topic.

The question that followed was about the belief that families of deployed women found deployment harder than the families of deployed men. Both parts agreed that this was the fact. Women wrote more comments than men to this question, mentioning that there had been many circumstances that could have made the deployment of women more of a tough mission than just a regular interesting job. One of the most important circumstances is the support of a spouse.

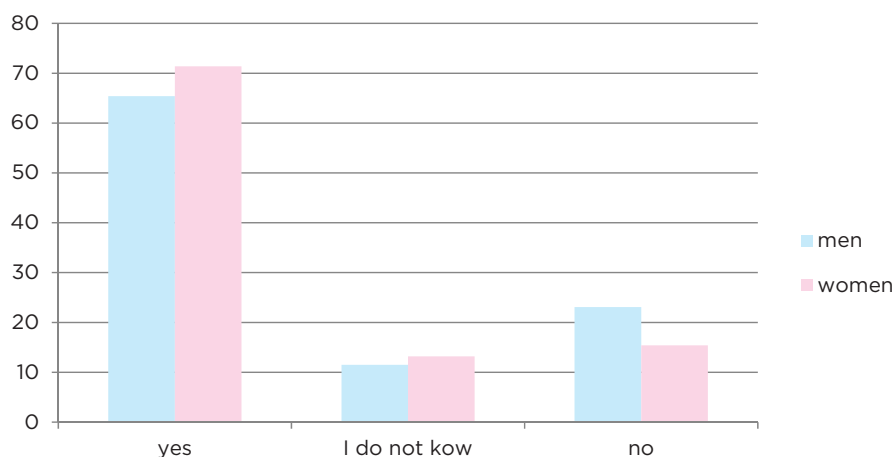


Chart 3: Question: Do you believe that families of deployed women find deployment harder than the families of deployed men?

As Chart 4 shows, the question about stress associated with deployment is interesting and different in comparison to the previous question and is again relevant both for male and female respondents.

Both groups of respondents had very similar opinions about the difficult circumstances surrounding the deployment of women. However, the percentage of those who believed that deployment was stressful was not so high. As shown in Chart 1, more than one half of women in the sample had never been de-

ployed. Nevertheless, with regard to men who had been deployed more often, almost the same percentage of them thinks that deployment is stressful. We can conclude from these two previous questions that deployment is a more challenging situation for women than it is for men. However, we have to bear in mind that the majority of women and men in our sample are married and have families. Therefore, we could assume that the hardship of women is related to family demands.

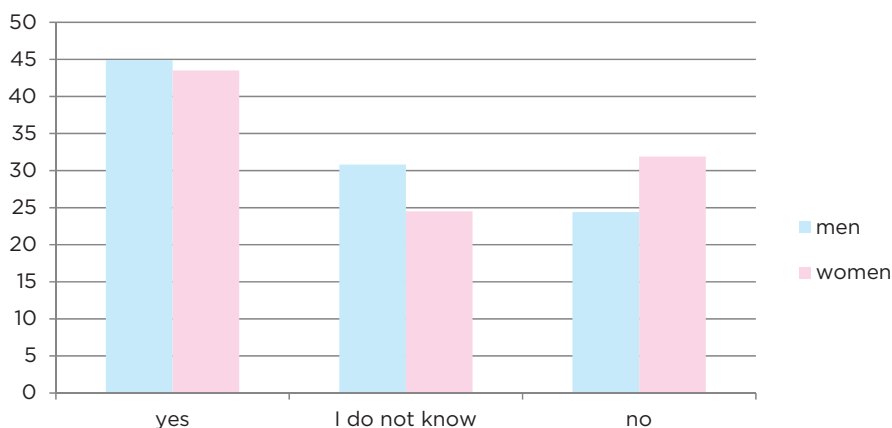


Chart 4: Question: Do you believe that deployment to an international operations and missions is more stressful for women then it is for men?

With the following question, we focused on the local environment of the international operations and missions where SAF personnel are deployed. We wanted to find out more about the opinion on the role of female SAF members with regard to the local environment as well as get an insight into the awareness on gender perspective in international operations and missions.

The question focused on the acceptance of female military in the local environment in comparison to male servicemembers. It was interesting to see if there were any differences between men and women regarding this question. In the sample of 99 women, 72 of them responded to this question and their attitude about it was very positive. We understand this as a view of the women who have actually been deployed and speak from their own experience. The rest of them commented on this question in a special section for comments where they wrote that they had not been deployed yet. The answers of male respondents were evenly distributed among the three possibilities.



Chart 5: Question: According to your experience, how does the local environment in the country where SAF members are engaged, accept women in comparison to men?

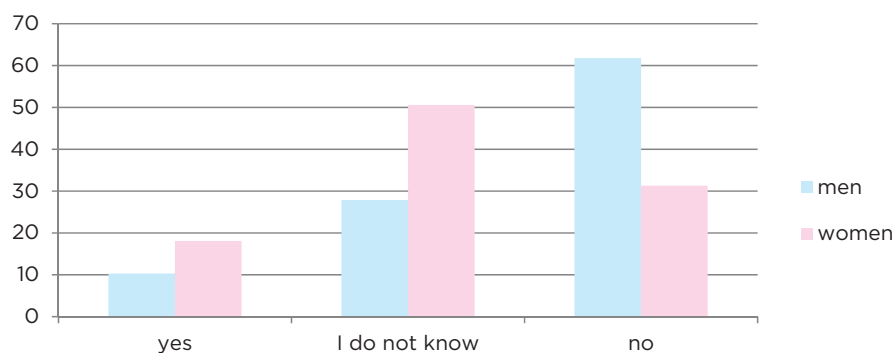


Chart 6: Question: Do you believe that there are duties within military operations for which it is essential that they are performed by women?

The results which presented in Chart 6 at first seem surprising. It is interesting that just a small part of male and female respondents replied affirmatively and that a large part of the respondents replied either negatively or “I don’t know”. By looking deeper into the results, we realized that the awareness about the role of women in international operations and missions was present. Nevertheless, most comments to this question were added at the end. The majority of comments were by female respondents. They emphasised the importance of cultural background of a country where military forces were deployed. For some post

it is essential that they are held by women. This is especially important in the areas where military forces come in interaction with the civilian environment. Liaison Monitoring Teams, medical support, and inspection of persons at check points were specifically mentioned.

The last question referred to UNSCR 1325 and the social roles of women in the local environment with the focus on question if women in the military can induce changes there.

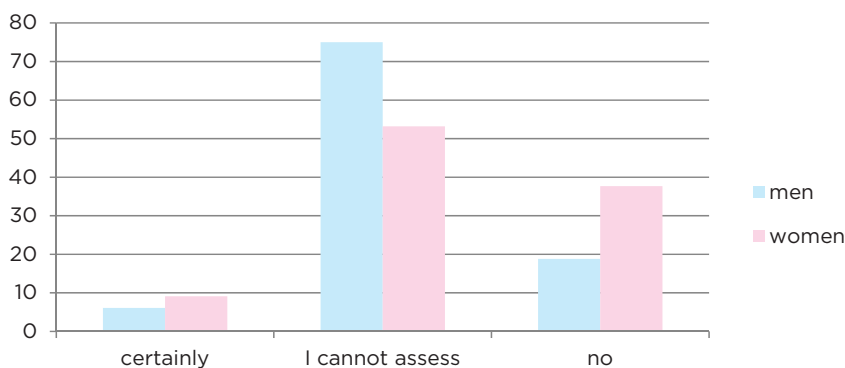


Chart 7: Question: Do you believe that the presence of women in military operations can influence changes in the role of women in the local environment?

The majority of respondents, both male and female, replied "I cannot assess". A substantial number of them replied negatively, and just a small number of respondents replied affirmatively. Nevertheless, like with the previous question, the comments speak for themselves. None of the male respondents commented on this question. However, female respondents did. They emphasised the role of education which is, according to their opinion, even more important for a men than it is for women. Many respondents commented that female military can be seen as role models for local women, encouraging their empowerment. It can be concluded from the comments that female military with international experiences understand the complexity of the international environment and how challenging and important their assignments on the mission are. Those results showed also the awareness about the role of the UNSCR 1325.

Discussion

When interpreting the results, it should be taken into consideration that the questionnaire was open to all SAF personnel and that the sample was not selected with a specific focus. Therefore, considering our topic – international operations and missions – the data would be clearer if the sample included only the personnel who had been deployed to international operations and missions.

As we can see, most of the female respondents in this sample (52%) have never been deployed. Most of those who had been posted to international operations and missions (57 of them) worked in staff or supporting positions, while only 14 of them spent their deployment in field positions. Only 6.1% of female respondents in the sample work are involved in combat troops and all others perform support tasks. Considering the official SAF data, female servicemembers are relatively distributed among all duties within the military structure, also in combat positions. We therefore assume that our sample included a small number of SAF members working in the field mainly due to the fact these servicemembers have limited access to computers and consequently the questionnaire. Moreover, in the overview of the involvement of female SAF members in international operations and missions, Tkavc (2015) mentions that the SAF's planning process has been focusing on ensuring female involvement in specific tasks, such as Liaison and Monitoring Teams, since 2009. This corresponds to the comments of female respondents with regard to the positions and tasks within international operations and missions that should be performed by women, where respondents mentioned Liaison and Monitoring Teams and body search tasks. This is seen more than just awareness. We can assume that this proves the necessity of ensuring female engagement in specific tasks, which is a result of lessons learned as well as pre-deployment training which the SAF has been conducting since 2013 (Tkavc, 2015). More armed forces have experienced the need for gender-mixed teams, which can be found in the Practical examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations (2015, p. 33) where it is quoted that "gender-mixed Liaison and Monitoring Teams enhanced the credibility of the mission."

On the basis of the results of the survey, we can claim that female SAF members are aware of the importance of their involvement in the international operations and missions. Moreover, also those who had not been deployed abroad yet, understand the role of women in the spirit of UNSCR 1325. Let us give an example of an interesting comment by one of the female respondents who emphasised that she had never been deployed to an international operation

or mission. She wrote that according to her understanding “women can have influence on the social roles of women in the local environment because they are more dedicated to social problems. Their approach is more sophisticated, genuine and subtle; they are ready to listen, help and give advice.” Further on, she says that everything depends on the reactions of the environment, religion, and culture. “It is not right to compare other environments with Slovenia, because they are so different,” she concludes. This statement shows the awareness of different factors, such as cultural or religious, which have impact on creating the social roles between men and women in the society. It also points to the value of “woman-to-woman” contact.

Women also experienced positive feedback from the local population when in contact with them. This is very encouraging. And the influence does exist. One of the comments speaks in favour of both of these features: one of the female SAF members was performing a task in the civilian environment and was observed by a father and his 13-year-old daughter. When the daughter saw her, she made a remark: “You see, dad, she is a soldier, and you say that women cannot join the army?”²

With this comment we can conclude that the assumptions of other women in the sample who claimed that changes in the local environment might be slow and long lasting, but were present, were right. The impact might seem small, but with small steps we can come a long way.

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ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN AND NON-DISCRIMINATION IN THE AUSTRIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND SPORTS AND THE AUSTRIAN ARMED FORCES

Abstract: *Based upon a solid legal framework, strong efforts have been made by the Federal Ministry of Defence and Sports of the Republic of Austria and the Austrian Armed Forces to increase the number of female personnel and to improve work conditions, set against the overall aim to empower women. However, implementation within the Ministry and the Austrian Armed Forces has met its obstacles, such as budgetary cuts and structural challenges. Through targeted measures and awareness-raising, the Ministry and the Austrian Armed Forces continue to strive for an increased number of female personnel and better reconciliation of family and work.*

Keywords: *Advancement of women, Retention of female soldiers, Austrian Armed Forces, Ministry of Defence and Sports.*

Introduction

In April of 1998, a change of the Austrian Federal Constitutional Law opened up the path for women to join the Austrian Armed Forces, being one of the last countries of the members of the European Union to allow women in the services of the armed forces. Since then, women are allowed to join all branches of the Austrian Armed Forces with no restrictions, other than the qualification and physical fitness criteria applying to men as well. Despite of these equal conditions, the number of female soldiers as of 2015 is still at a comparatively low rate of 1.97 per cent in the standing part of the Austrian Armed Forces. However, there is a strong legal and political framework in place with the long-term aim of increasing the number of women in the armed forces and of supporting female employees in pursuing their careers within the Ministry of Defence and Sports of the Republic of Austria. A small success of raising the

numbers in the Austrian Armed Forces from 1.42 per cent of female soldiers in 2012 to 1.53 per cent in 2014 and to 1.97 per cent in 2015 shows the effect of some of the measures taken.

Legal and Political Framework

Constitutional and Federal Law

Article 7 of the Austrian Federal Constitutional Law states that all nationals are equal before the law and that privileges based upon birth, sex, estate, class or religion are excluded (Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz).

Based upon this constitutional principle, on 23rd February 1979, the Austrian National Council passed a federal act on the equal treatment of women and men concerning remuneration in the private sector (Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 1979). This act, applicable for all forms of employment in the private sector, regulated that any kind of discrimination based upon sex is prohibited for the determination of remuneration. In order to supervise implementation, a special ministerial commission was set up that can be contacted by employers and employees alike, as well as by Austrian institutions protecting worker's rights. In addition, alleged violations of the federal act can be brought forward to the labour court and can result in legally binding judgements correcting the remuneration of an individual employee or a group of employees.

This federal act of 1979 has been updated several times and in its current form also prohibits discrimination for entering into employment, all measurements of training and education, decisions on promotion, ending employment as well as all other working conditions where differences could apply for women and men (Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 2004).

Initially, no need was identified for a legal framework regarding non-discrimination in the public sector, because payment is regulated based upon federal laws defining salary schemes and functions, resulting in pre-determined payment irrespective of the sex of the employee. However, in parallel to one of the revisions of the federal act for the private sector, where the provisions were broadened not only to cover payment, the Austrian National Council also passed a federal act for non-discrimination binding for all federal entities (Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 1993). In comparison, the regulations for federal entities contain more detailed obligations to actively advance women through measures specifically targeting the education and training of women

to qualify them for higher positions in the future. To ensure implementation in the government entities, a new instrument was introduced in 1993 – the implementation plan for the advancement of women, called “Frauenförderungsplan” (Article 42 Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 1993). The federal act calls for such a plan to be adopted in every ministry, where women were numerically underrepresented in employment in overall or in specific salary schemes. This document then serves as an implementing plan for the advancement of women where they are underrepresented and should therefore reflect the situation for women in each ministry. The first plan for the advancement of women was adopted by the back-then Ministry of Science, Research and Art in 1995, regulating measures relating to the employment or promotion of personnel, the organization with regard to positions flagged for women and training to increase females in each salary scheme (Frauenförderungsplan BMWFK 1995).

Non-Discrimination as Political Objective

The advancement of women both in the private and public sector has long been declared a political objective of the Austrian Federal Government. In the most recent Work Program of the Austrian Federal Government for the years 2013 to 2018 (“Arbeitsprogramm der österreichischen Bundesregierung”), the Government has formulated the following objectives related to family policy and the situation of women:

- better reconciliation of family and work while appreciating family work, and promoting true choice while supporting women in employment;
- further implementation and assessment of the effectiveness of gender budgeting throughout government entities;
- equal pay for equal work with the aim of reducing differences in payment and to advance women, truly reflecting their qualifications;
- further support for the increased participation of women in international peace efforts.

With regard to the Austrian Armed Forces, the overarching political objective to advance women in all parts of society and for all forms of employment, in particular in public service, is reflected in the Partial Strategy for Defence, which is built upon the Austrian Security Strategy. The Partial Strategy for Defence sets the aim to make the employment for the Austrian Armed Forces more attractive by improving education and training for female soldiers, by introducing consistent and coherent career paths to facilitate planning and to

advance women actively when choosing personnel for leading and management functions (Teilstrategie Verteidigungspolitik). In addition, the Partial Strategy for Defence also sets the ambitious goal of increasing the portion of female soldiers within the Austrian Armed Forces to 10 per cent.

Implementation within the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces

The implementation plan for the advancement of women

Based upon the federal act for non-discrimination, the (back-then) Ministry of Defence issued its first implementation plan for the advancement of women in 2001. This plan focused on the preferred appointment and promotion of women in case of equal qualification, support for women to participate in education and training to acquire higher qualifications, and the appointment of women's representatives throughout the Ministry and the Austrian Armed Forces to create a women's network for advice and support (Frauenförderungsplan BMLV 2001).

Since then, the plan has gone through seven reforms and stages of revision. Today, it is a comprehensive plan for the advancement of women in the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces, outlining the following specific aims (§ 1 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014):

- recognition of women on all levels of hierarchy as equal employees;
- promotion of women's potential in the areas of human resources planning and development;
- increasing the percentage of women in all levels of pay grade and throughout all salary schemes;
- gradual reduction of existing structural disadvantages for female soldiers;
- recruiting female personnel for the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces.

Measures to achieve the above mentioned aims include the obligation to actively inform female personnel of their rights and possibilities upon entry, the obligation to formulate job descriptions and announcements neutral with a view towards gender as well as using gender-sensitive qualification criteria that are non-discriminatory, and the obligation to choose female candidates for

employment and appointment when they are equally qualified as male candidates (§ 2 to 7 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014). Addressing the issue that in the past there had been a lack of suitable and qualified female candidates within the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces for high-level leadership and management positions, the plan for the advancement of women now includes the obligation for superiors to actively identify and approach women that have the necessary skills for future leadership positions and to support them in the process of becoming such leaders, in particular through preferred access to training and education (§ 12 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014).

While most of the aims and measures exclusively relate to the advancement of women, the plan also covers a range of objectives concerning equality for both genders and, where necessary, supporting and strengthening the rights of male employees (§ 1 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014):

- optimizing the preconditions for the reconciliation of family and work interests;
- supporting all employees when re-entering work after longer periods of absence;
- increasing acceptance for taking leave for family reasons, in particular for paternity leave.

The sum of these measures aims at levelling working conditions and furthering the acceptance for having a family life, so that both genders have truly equal choices and in the long run equal career opportunities.

The implementing bodies

Drawing upon the strong legal framework described above, there is a wide network of both formal and informal institutions to ensure the advancement of women is practically implemented. Firstly, every Ministry is obliged to appoint at least three Special Representatives for Gender Equality, depending on the structure and size of their responsibilities and competencies. (Article 26 Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 1993). These Special Representatives have the task of advising the Minister in matters of gender equality, advancement of women, and non-discrimination. In addition to advising the Minister as employer, they are also available as a point of contact for receiving questions, complaints or suggestions from individual employees.

In addition, at the level of each Ministry, a Working Group on Gender Equality has to be established (Article 28 Bundes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz 1993). This Working Group deals specifically with the questions at ministerial level and is responsible for drafting and revising the ministry-specific implementation plan for the advancement of women.

Finally, the Chairman of the Working Group on Gender Equality may appoint a Women's Representative for each department that has more than five employees. These representatives serve as first-level responders concerning all questions related to gender equality, advancement of women, and non-discrimination. Their main role is to advise the employees, to inform them about their rights and to assist them in enforcing them. Unlike the Special Representatives for Gender Equality and the Working Group on Gender Equality, Women's Representatives do not advise the Ministry as employer, but assist the employees exclusively.

In addition to these institutions foreseen in the federal act for non-discrimination, the Minister of Defence and Sports voluntarily established a separate working group for gender mainstreaming embedded within the General Staff in 2004. This informal working group has the responsibility to identify and address structural discrimination and analyse all decisions taken within the Ministry of Defence and Sports against the background of possible differences for women and men and to advise the political leadership in future decisions. To further institutionalize the efforts concerning gender equality and diversity management, a newly formed department for human leadership will be established at the level of the Ministry of Defence and Sports. Related to the advancement of women, their main tasks are to streamline gender implications into concepts and the regular decision-making processes, to assist, to support and to advise other departments and to supervise the implementation of their recommendations. These measures in sum will create a framework and organizational structures necessary for the institutionalized integration of gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment within the Ministry of Defence and Sports.

Gender Budgeting

A cornerstone of implementation for the active advancement of women at the federal level was adopted through the reform of the legal framework for the household in 2013. This comprehensive reform also included measures to be taken to reach the objective of gender equality through assessing the financial aspects of legislation and of financial means spent in a gender-sensitive mea-

sure. Based upon this reform, all legally binding measures (including laws, regulations and treaties) need to include a gender-sensitive financial assessment. In particular, the drafters have to make the estimation on how the foreseen measure will affect women and men, if it affects them differently, and what impact the measure will have on families. While this is only a first step in the direction of comprehensive gender budgeting, this reform has already allowed the government and its entities to gain a better appraisal of the impact of their legislative measures and to not only rely upon gender-sensitive data for the actual effects in the aftermath, but instead to include gender aspects already in the planning and drafting phase.

Measures taken for all employees

One of the initiatives triggered by the gender mainstreaming working group was a project for children's day care. When reviewing the possibilities of children's day care nearby the location of the main building of the Ministry of Defence and Sports, the working group observed that the possibilities were rather limited. The result of a poll among employees was that there was both a need and an interest for having a new children's day care centre nearby. In consultation with other ministries in the area, where polls had shown similar results, a new children's day care centre was therefore opened up in order to facilitate the reconciliation of family life with work. As a trial run, children's day care was then offered not only nearby the Ministry of Defence and Sports, but instead at 13 different locations during the months of July and August 2014. This temporary offer was an immediate success, hosting 26 children's groups with 465 children. Based upon this successful initiative, the plan for the advancement of women contains the provision that polls assessing the need for children's day care centres will be conducted on a regular basis for all Ministry of Defence and Sports sites. The aim is to respond to needs of employees for children's day care, also taking into consideration possible cooperation with external partners (§ 17 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014).

Specific measures at the level of the Ministry of Defence and Sports

The plan for the advancement of women takes into account that employees within the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces face different challenges and have diverging needs. This is reflected by the measures

taken for the advancement of women at the level of the Ministry of Defence and Sports.

One of the recent projects dealing specifically with the challenges at ministerial level is the Anti-Mobbing-Initiative. This initiative focuses on the prevention, intervention and sanctioning of mobbing against employees. In order to establish a neutral and confidential point of contact, a special Help Desk was created, available both through a special telephone line and via e-mail. Next to assisting affected employees, this initiative also aims at gathering gender-sensitive data concerning the work environment and the relationships between co-workers and supervisors. It further contributes to an atmosphere of accountability for the senior leadership level, sending the clear signal that behaviour amounting to mobbing will not be tolerated and that supervisors have the active obligation to protect their employees and to intervene constructively.

Another initiative aimed at advancing women working on the level of Federal Ministries is a program available to female employees – the cross-mentoring program offered and coordinated under the auspices of the Austrian Federal Chancellery. The objective is to connect women from all ministries (mentees) with senior employees in leadership positions (mentors), so they can share and benefit from existing experience. In addition to bilateral meetings set up between the mentees and their mentors, the program also hosts workshops with all participants on a regular basis to enable women to expand their professional networks. Acknowledging the importance and relevance of this program, the support and encouragement for participation of employees of the Ministry of Defence and Sports has been included in the plan for the advancement of women (§ 14 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014). The success of the cross-mentoring program is reflected by its number of participants – between 2005 and 2014, 750 mentors and mentees from all ministries have committed to this program.

Specific measures at the level of the Austrian Armed Forces

As of October 2015, there are 1.97 per cent of female soldiers within the Austrian Armed Forces. In order to achieve the long-term political objective of increasing this number to a total of 10 per cent as determined in the Partial Strategy for Defence, detailed measures have been included into the plan for the advancement of women, specifically targeting the situation of female soldiers in the Austrian Armed Forces:

- conducting a revision of all career paths for officers and non-commissioned officers with a view to eliminating criteria that discriminate women;
- developing targeted marketing strategies and recruiting processes, based upon these revised career paths;
- revision and adaptation of the physical performance limits against the background of actual requirements for each branch of service;
- assessment of the training and education of soldiers with regard to the reconciliation of work with family life and childcare.

One of the key factors cited both by women interested in joining the Austrian Armed Forces as well as by female soldiers for staying with or leaving the Austrian Armed Forces is the improvement of the framework conditions. While the measures related to reconciliation of family life and work cover female soldiers and civilian employees alike (see above), two initiatives have been introduced in 2014 in the plan for the advancement of women, specifically aimed at retaining women in the Austrian Armed Forces and improving their careers.

Based upon the idea of the cross-mentoring program for civilian employees of the Ministry of Defence and Sports, a program for female soldier mentoring was started in 2014 (§ 20 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014). This program follows the same principles as the one for ministry level employees – partnering a more experienced and senior level mentor with a female soldier entering the Austrian Armed Forces as mentee. It is designed to share experience and best practice among women, to improve the exchange of information and in this respect to provide informal communication channels concerning the situation and work within the Austrian Armed Forces. In its first year of existence, already 57 mentees and 24 mentors participated in this program. For the future, it is planned that every female soldier who is appointed to a training and career path will already be paired with a mentor at the point of time where she has successfully completed the respective performance test for that career path. Based upon this new mechanism, the exchange of experience will already be facilitated throughout the phase of training and education.

Already in 2004, the reform commission for the Austrian Armed Forces identified in its report that one of the key element to retain women in the armed forces was the improvement of opportunities for communication among female soldiers (Bundesheer 2010). In line with this recommendation, the plan for the advancement of women calls for the founding and support of communication platforms for female soldiers to encourage networking and dialogue. It also specifically

establishes the annual meetings of female alumni of the Austrian National Defence Academy, the Theresian Military Academy and the Non-Commissioned Officers Academy (§ 19 Frauenförderungsplan BMLVS 2014). The first alumni meetings took place in 2013, and up until today, 200 female officers and almost 40 female non-commissioned officers have attended the annual meetings. In the short time of their existence, the meetings have already led to the creation of reliable and substantial networks among female soldiers, and women are supporting and advising each other throughout their military careers.

In addition to the measures aimed at retaining women within the Austrian Armed Forces, the Ministry of Defence and the Austrian Armed Forces have launched substantial media campaigns to increase the number of women interested in joining the armed forces. A specific section of the website of the Austrian Armed Forces has been dedicated to the topic of female soldiers, combining information about what positions and options are available, what qualifications are necessary for which branches of service, how to join and who to contact for further information (<http://soldatin.bundesheer.at>). Furthermore, an annual Girl's Day with open doors in the main barracks and headquarters is aimed at letting female soldiers take a look behind the scenes of the work of a soldier and to meet both female and male soldiers to learn more about the job opportunities available at the Austrian Armed Forces. Finally, traditional print media campaigns are complemented by social and new media initiatives, for example through the distribution of video clips on the Facebook site of the Austrian Armed Forces and on the Austrian Armed Forces YouTube account (YouTube Clip "*Als Frau zum Bundesheer*").

Moreover, encompassing recruiting measures have been implemented. The Austrian Armed Forces are now hosting annual open days, where girls and boys alike are invited to take a closer look at the routine and daily life of a soldier and where they have the opportunity to test some of the equipment. The average numbers of female participants at these open days ranges between 800 and 900, enabling an informal setting to become more familiar with the tasks of the Austrian Armed Forces. In addition to addressing the youth, career days are also offered for women and men in collaboration with the Public Employment Service Austria ("Arbeitsmarktservice").

All of the measures described above are aimed at increasing the number of females interested in a military career, opening up new career paths within the Austrian Armed Forces and improving the work-life balance for female soldiers.

Ultimately, this should increase the number of women joining the Austrian Armed Forces and improve the retention rate of female soldiers.

Challenges

Despite of the solid legal and political framework for the advancement of women and their implementing instruments and measures described above, some statistics show that there are still substantial obstacles to overcome. The tables below compare the percentage of female employees and male employees, between the years 2012 and 2014 for the Ministry of Defence and Sports and between the years 2012, 2014 and 2015 for the Austrian Armed Forces:

Employees of the Ministry of Defence and Sports				
	2012		2014	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Academics	24.45	75.55	23.80	76.20
High School	23.04	76.96	23.05	76.95
Mandatory School	25.69	74.31	24.21	75.79
Officers	0.85	99.15	2.03	97.97
Non-Commissioned Officers	1.99	98.01	1.29	98.71

Employees of the Austrian Armed Forces						
	2012		2014		2015	
	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Officers	2.06	97.94	1.93	98.07	2.17	97.83
Non-Commissioned Officers	1.28	98.72	1.45	98.55	1.93	98.07

Both tables demonstrate that there is an overall marginal increase of female soldiers, in particular for the officer ranks. The decrease of female officers within the Austrian Armed Forces between the years of 2012 and 2014 is based upon the fact that those female officers advanced in their careers to move onto positions within the Ministry of Defence and Sports. However, the figures also show that the increase is taking place at an extremely slow rate, making it clear that there is a long way ahead towards the aim of a 10 per cent rate of females in the Austrian Armed Forces.

Concerning the situation within the Ministry of Defence and Sports, the advancement of women has mostly been obstructed by budgetary cuts that had to be implemented over the last decade. At this point of time, no new personnel may be employed in the Ministry of Defence and Sports. This in turn has led to a statistical decrease in the number of female employees, with each woman transitioning into retirement reducing the total number of women within the Ministry of Defence and Sports.

While these budgetary cuts have less impact on the Austrian Armed Forces for the employment of new personnel due to higher fluctuation rates, they continue to struggle with work conditions that make it difficult to reconcile personal or family life. A certain degree of unpredictability of regional assignment for military personnel adds to this problem. This used to be particularly true for graduates of the Theresian Military Academy or the graduates of the Masters in Military Arts programme and the General Staff Officers Course. Having to complete their practical rotation in military units, the possibilities of assignment cover all of Austria and usually exclusively depend on qualifications and posts available at that point of time. Tackling in particular this problem, a recent internal regulation aims at improving the possibility of planning ahead by assigning personnel to the later military rotation already at the point of time where they have successfully completed the performance test to enter the training for their later career. This new procedure is aimed at improving both the attractiveness of military service and the reconciliation of private or family life through increased predictability of geographical rotation.

Achievements and the Way Ahead

While the number of women employed in the Ministry of Defence and Sports has been stagnant for a longer period, and the Austrian Armed Forces are struggling with a comparatively low joining and retention rate, the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces remain dedicated to their efforts in increasing the number of female personnel both in civilian and military positions. Recent developments prove that there is reason for hope, and two examples of milestones recently achieved provide basis for such optimism: In 2013, the first two women were accepted into the General Staff Officers Course, having successfully passed the required initial exams (bundesheer.at). Secondly, as of 1 April 2014, Dr. Andrea Leitgeb was appointed as first Brigadier of the Austrian Armed Forces in the function of the Commander of the Armed

Forces Medical School (bundesheer.at). These developments prove that despite of the progress being slow, it is nevertheless taking place and women within the Ministry of Defence and Sports and the Austrian Armed Forces are steadily advancing – one step at a time.

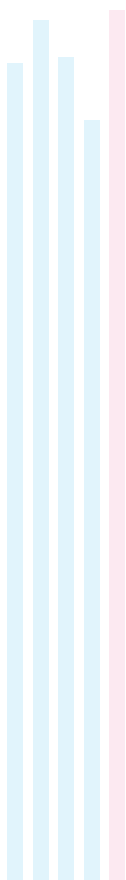
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GENDER AND SECURITY IN SOUTH EAST EUROPE



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ACHIEVEMENTS IN AND PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTING UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGH THE NATIONAL ACTION PLANS PRACTICE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: *The adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325 implies a greater presence and participation of women in peace processes, strengthening protection mechanisms and mainstreaming gender equality in the democratic systems. Gender equality activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have, inter alia, involved the adoption of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the first country in the region to have adopted such an action plan. This paper presents the practical scale and scope of applying UNSCR 1325 and the National Action Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The implementation of the adopted Action Plan has required the involvement of the state authorities, as well as individual action, which is one of the key factors in this process. The paper includes an analysis of the stages of implementing the Action Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the difficulties and challenges experienced in the process. It sheds light on the effects of implementing the Action Plan and formulates recommendations for its further implementation. Although the commitment to fulfil the NAP objectives has been declared in a planned manner, greater participation of women in security is still undermined by their status in society and prejudices about their involvement in the security sector and their position and role in the decision-making process, which have reflected on all forms of organized structures, companies, local authorities and the highest political authorities. Factors influencing the presence of women in the security sector can be economic and material in character. The stereotype - that security is a man's job - is another factor preventing greater participation of women in the security sector, wherefore any other opinion meets with the disapproval of the family and coworkers. Therefore, awareness of the equitable participation of women in social life, especially in the security sector, is correlated with the country's social values, and economic and material constraints.*

Keywords: *equality, gender, sex, security, discrimination, peace and implementation.*

Preliminary Considerations

The study of the correlation between security and the realization of human rights in the contemporary stage of human civilization has become a challenge, particularly in parts of the world undergoing transition, such as Southeast Europe. The reasons are manifold. The first lies in the experiences characterized by the disrupted or impaired realization of fundamental human rights in the past years, coupled with changes in the socio-economic system. Against the background of past experiences, technical and technological achievements and economic development have led to different courses of events and developments in Southeast Europe. This is reflected in the prominent role of the media, which are increasingly assuming the role of active participants, not only informing the public but engaging in promotional and propaganda activities as well, no longer limited to a specific area or law enforcement authorities, but targeting all actors of society as a whole.

None of the phenomena or concepts at issue can ever stand alone in the correlation between peace and security¹, on the one hand, and human rights, on the other. It is essentially an interdependent relationship, since their correlation affects several activities within the entire process, preventive, operational and analytical action alike. It is in this context that the need for achieving gender equality², one of the principles of modern democratic societies, is treated. Gender equality is generally associated with the political struggle for the evolution of the current relations and forms of human communication, all with the aim of exercising a fundamental human right – liberty. The man-woman dichotomy has been transcended in the present stage of human existence, but securing a life in dignity is basically an interest shared by all. Herbert Marcuse said that “the domains and the particular aura of the feminine had to be strictly separated from the production sphere: femininity became a quality that was validated only

1 Security is a concept that appears (the feeling), applies (regulation) and causes the need (state) in all areas of life and work, either on an individual or group basis or in another organized setting. Security is therefore a need and the key prerequisite for the existence of an individual and an organized human community throughout the history of humankind. M. Smajić, *Međunarodne organizacije i sigurnost Bosne i Hercegovine u postdejtonskom periodu*, Dobra knjiga, Sarajevo, 2011, p. 18.

2 There is a variety of definitions of the term gender equality. The author of this paper understands it as denoting equal rights, responsibilities, treatment and valuation of women and men. In his view, gender equality exists when people can exercise individual rights and opportunities irrespective of their sex.

within the four walls of the private dwelling and in the sexual sphere.”³ This paper will take Marcuse’s aforementioned views as the point of departure in the elaboration of the situation and changes in the field of human rights and gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the prism of the implementation of its National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Thus, transformation is not only conceptual within the correlation of security and human rights, and gender equality in particular; it causes economic and political turnabouts as well. In other words, it establishes a different mode of action and improves the system of needs and their satisfaction by women.

Why an Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 - Understanding the Context

“We can not achieve democracy and lasting peace in the world unless women obtain the same opportunities as men in order to influence developments at all levels of the society.” Statement by Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Nobel Peace Prize winner⁴

The changes manifested in man and mankind in general are presented by a variety of indicators. These changes are assessed on the basis of indicators, their movement, by degrees of stagnation or progress. The overall changes are monitored and analyzed mainly through the prism of the three times: the past, the present and the future. Consideration of the achievements and prospects of the Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 must reflect on the context in which the Resolution and, subsequently, the National Action Plans, have been adopted. In other words, what has contributed to the declarative definition and promotion of gender equality, that is, the emancipation of women in the 21st century?

Aggressiveness mobilized on a military basis (by armed conflict) during the 20th century was manifested in brutal denials and violations of law and order, use of violence and sexuality and the lack of a sufficient counter-offensive in this struggle. Men and women are subjected to suffering and pain in wartime, and their various social responsibilities require a different approach to the analysis of victims in areas torn by armed conflict. For example, women are more ex-

3 H. Marcuse, *The Failure of the New Left?* published in translation into Serbian in *Merila vremena*, Grafos, Belgrade, 1985, p. 51

4 The Nobel Peace Prize 2011 - Press Release, October 7th, 2011, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/press.html

posed to sexual violence, they are used as a “weapon” in the war. The household roles of women and men differ during and after armed conflicts. With the disintegration of families and communities in conflict, woman can play the role of fighters on the frontlines, or of the fighters’ wives, as well as the roles of family heads and community leaders maintaining infrastructure and satisfying other needs. Women are thus not only the victims of the conflicts, but they can also take a role in leading the family or the community, and win recognition or reaffirmation for their participation in peace-building..

The marginalized role of women in preventing and resolving conflicts and in peace-building implied the need to protect them and increase their involvement in decision-making related to peace and security. This resulted in the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (on October 31st, 2000). The Resolution focuses on the impact of war on women and girls and women’s participation in building peace and security. Against this background, the Resolution became the first legal and political framework emphasizing the importance of women’s participation and inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, peace operations, post-war peace-building and governance.⁵

This document acquired the attribute of a landmark resolution due the scope of the measures it envisages and its implementation. The dilemmas about its effects and why nearly ten years had to pass before its provisions were reaffirmed, however, remain.

Although UNSCR 1325 is recognized as a historical document, and an unprecedented one, it is important to point out that it neither appeared nor exists in a vacuum. Many resolutions, agreements, conventions, declarations⁶ and state-

5 Furthermore, the 18-point Resolution calls for: the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, including emergency and humanitarian action, as well as in refugee camps; planning and execution of preventive training of personnel of peacekeeping operations in terms of the rights of women and girls and protection measures; prevention of violence against women through the promotion of women’s rights, responsibilities and law enforcement, including: the prosecution of those responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and other violations of international law; respect of the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps; and the prohibition of sexual violence. The Security Council called for: strengthening women’s rights under national law; supporting local women’s peace initiatives in conflict resolution; and mainstreaming a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations. Source: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement>, accessed on September 14th, 2015.

6 Including, notably, CEDAW, the Beijing Declaration, the Resolution of the Council of Europe and others.

ments preceded its adoption or subsequently monitored its implementation, citing the importance of the role of women in peace and security.

The UN Security Council has adopted five other resolutions on the topic since: Resolutions 1820 (June 2008), 1888 (September 2009) and 1960 (December 2010) focusing on sexual and other violence against women in conflict, systematic use of rape to achieve military or political ends and opportunistic actions stemming from a culture of impunity. UN Security Council Resolution 1889 (October 2009) calls for the establishment of global indicators for monitoring the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the integration of a gender perspective in all decision-making processes, particularly in the early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding.

It would be desirable to conduct specific researches of the applicability and effects of UNSCR 1325 in the context of the current crises in the Middle East, Africa or at the Russian-Ukrainian border. Have the intentions of its authors reached those who are responsible?

What Does the Action Plan Mean for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The mechanism of coordinating the administrative bodies at various government levels and non-government organizations has been launched with the aim of subliming the activities and identifying the common objectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina associated with the process of implementing UNSCR 1325. The activities have been implemented within the established legal remits and available capacities. The establishment of a working group charged with drafting the National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 was the initial value of planning and implementing the program objectives.

The establishment of the working group and its remit were a method to ensure joint action of all relevant stakeholders. Participation of the representatives of the Ministries of Defense, Security⁷, Human Rights, Foreign Affairs, and the representatives of the entity Ministries of Internal Affairs and the Bosnia and Herzegovina Mine Action Center (BH MAC) ensured their commitment to

7 The representatives of the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) and the Border Police have also been involved, in addition to the representatives of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Security.

intensified work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, i.e. preparation and implementation of the NAP over the four-year period.

The B&H NAP, the first plan for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Southeast Europe, was adopted by the Council of Ministers on July 27th, 2010.⁸ It was one of the first action plans which was adopted in the post-conflict period. The NAP was not adopted in a vacuum; rather, it is one in a series of strategic documents defining policies and plans and focusing on the contribution of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this regard, it is important to note the Law on Gender Equality in B&H⁹, which, among other things, stipulates equal representation of both genders in the governance and decision-making processes (at least 40% of the less represented gender). This Law was the basis for the development of the Gender Action Plan,¹⁰ a five-year strategy for the inclusion of the principle of gender equality in all spheres of public and private life and work.

The National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in the 2010-2013 Period was stratified through the following program goals:

- Goal 1: Increased participation of women in decision-making at all government levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Goal 2: Increased number of women in the military and police forces and affirmation of women as holders of managerial offices within the military and police forces;
- Goal 3: Increased participation of women in peacekeeping missions and the introduction of the gender perspective in the training of peacekeeping mission personnel;
- Goal 4: The fight against human trafficking;
- Goal 5: Demining;
- Goal 6: Improved network support and assistance to women and girls victims of war

8 Official Gazette B&H No. 92/10.

9 Official Gazette B&H Nos. 16/03 and 102/09

10 The B&H Gender Action Plan for the 2013-2017 Period is a strategic document laying down the strategic objectives, programs and measures for achieving gender equality in all spheres of social life and work, in both the public and private spheres. This strategic document covers all areas of social life, but also identifies priority and transversal ("crosscutting") areas, including areas related to strengthening the system, the mechanisms and instruments for achieving gender equality, and strengthening cooperation and partnerships.

- Goal 7: Enhanced knowledge and capacity of government services for implementing UNSCR 1325
- Goal 8: Improved cooperation with non-governmental and international organizations on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The extent and scope of the NAP constituted the platform for integrating gender issues and UNSCR 1325 in the programs of all the institutions and administrative authorities and society in general. Furthermore, the participation of the European Union, the United Nations, NATO and other regional and international bodies and their Member States enabled the implementation of campaigns raising awareness in Bosnia and Herzegovina of the importance of gender issues and building public support for UNSCR 1325.

These facts rendered the B&H NAP not only a basis for the preparation of similar plans by the countries in the region, but also a good practice example globally, of a country recently affected by war, as corroborated by the statements by international officials¹¹, who emphasized that the B&H's NAP was a positive example of a systematic approach to creating inclusive policies and the implementation of specific measures for stabilizing peace and security in the region and more broadly.

To sum up, it may be concluded that the B&H NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 epitomizes the need to be aware of, implement and respect - both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere in the world and at all times - a vision of the world in which women and men are safe, live in peace and have equal rights, opportunities and political influence.

Achievements and Lessons Learned

Multidimensional Aspect of Planning and Cooperation in the Implementation Process

Every document dealing with turbulent content changing the environment involves a significant number of actors and a number of factors in the process of its preparation, and, especially, its implementation. It is necessary to precisely

¹¹ To illustrate, NATO Secretary General Special Adviser Mari Skåre said during her visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2012 that B&H had achieved extraordinary success in

define who is accountable for what, and, moreover, put in place regular systems for reporting on progress in its implementation.

The specific make-up of Bosnia and Herzegovina is an aspect that had to be borne in mind in the process of preparing and implementing the NAPs for the 2010-2013 and 2014-2017 periods. This is why B&H's NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 was created interactively, in accordance with the key remits of the relevant governmental institutions, including the leading role of the B&H Gender Equality Agency. The Plan is a symbiosis of the objectives and activities of the key stakeholders in charge of security policy, including contributions from staff with enough knowledge of and experience in issues related to peace and security, and involving greater cooperation among the representatives of numerous institutions. In addition, the NAP recognizes the need for the exchange of creative and innovative ideas and experiences, which should lead to concrete joint actions. The Coordination Committee, established within the Gender Equality Agency, plays an important role in mobilizing the relevant institutions and individuals for the implementation of the NAP in B&H. The Committee includes 20 or so officers/counselors from the relevant ministries and institutions, as well as representatives of civil society and the Agency. An important element in the functioning of this Committee is the fact that its members have been dealing with the issue for a long time, as most of them had been involved in drafting the first Action Plan.

Cooperation between the individual stakeholders has increased and improved during the implementation of the B&H Action Plan for the 2010-2013 Period. For example, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Security have begun jointly organizing training for future participants in peacekeeping operations. Close cooperation between the government bodies (ministries and embassies) and civil society organizations proved to be of particular importance, as corroborated by the numerous forums held in the previous period in B&H and abroad, at which the results in the implementation of the NAP for Bosnia and Herzegovina were presented.

This confirms the maxim on concerted work, objectives and best practices, given that the NAP stakeholders established cooperation in implementing the

implementing the Action Plan. Furthermore, during his visit to B&H in 2015, Radhika Coomaraswamy, authorized by the UN Secretary General to develop a global study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, praised the activities of the B&H Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces for their contribution to meeting the goals and obligations arising from UNSCR 1325. www.mod.gov.ba, accessed on September 16th, 2015.

goals. This kind of teamwork is best suited for situations characterized by rapid changes and uncertainty, typical of areas defined in the NAP. Effective and efficient cooperation between the implementers identified by NAP and other relevant stakeholders is an important factor to ensure the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The previous NAP, covering the 2010-2013 period, was a major step in the right direction, as indicated by the vision, perspectives and actors in the current, 2014-2017 Plan, because the participants have expressed their willingness to take the next step towards joint action, putting in place the necessary prerequisites, including monitoring/evaluation in order to facilitate specific actions.

Equal Participation of Women and Men in Peace Processes and Reconstruction

UNSCR 1325 calls for paying special attention to the peace processes, because they provide major opportunities for transforming relations, structures and institutions through political, economic, security and socio-cultural reforms in post-conflict societies. It is therefore important to involve women fully from the onset of the peace process, although military intervention and peacekeeping operations typically mean that foreign troops - mainly men - are deployed to impose a ceasefire or control peace. These operations are dominated by men, and there is a risk that the “soft” feminine mode of action is increasingly treated differently. Women are not only important sources of information; they are also involved in relevant and productive “alternative” peace initiatives as well. Arguments in favor of the participation of women and the inclusion of the gender perspective in peace and reconstruction processes are normative and instrumental in character. From the normative perspective, the participation and contribution of women is both a fundamental human right and a goal per se. From the instrumental point of view, it needs to be borne in mind that women account for half of the world’s population and that it is thus important to tap into half of the world’s human capital. Furthermore, women also have the experience and perspective arising from their specific social roles as wives and mothers. Their opinions and participation are essential to the success and sustainability of any social change. However, they are usually insufficiently or inadequately presented in formal peace negotiations at the national and international levels.

B&H’s contribution in peace operations is a kind of manifestation of the message of peace, because, through their engagement in the mission areas, the male and female members of the armed forces and police structures reaffirm that peace is

what gives everyone a chance to build a better future. By starting to participate in peacekeeping operations, Bosnia and Herzegovina has progressed from the object of security arrangements undertaken by the international community to a direct actor significantly contributing to maintaining peace. The implementation of the UNSCR 1325 NAP created opportunities for equal participation of women and men in peace support operations. Such an approach is manifested by the participation of B&H Armed Forces female staff in peace support missions in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Iraq and Afghanistan, their share increasing to between 3% and 10%, depending on the nature of the mission/tasks, as well as whether they are involved as military observers, staff officers, deminers or in the infantry.

A total of 15.38% of women police officers took part in peacekeeping missions in the 2000-2013 period, most of them in Sudan. The trend of their increase has continued and women now account for 24.04% of all B&H police currently participating in missions abroad. The greatest shares of B&H women police officers have been deployed in the missions in Cyprus and South Sudan. The presented data¹² show increasing interest in and opportunities for women's participation in peacekeeping missions. Women have been appointed commander and deputy commander and to other managerial posts in the B&H contingents in the peacekeeping missions as well. For the sake of comparison, the percent of B&H women police officers in peace missions exceeds the average shares of their counterparts from NATO and EU Member States. Success has been achieved thanks to the understanding and support of all law enforcement agencies in B&H, without whose consent the police officers cannot apply for deployment in peace missions. The Action Plan has played an important role in this process.

Mechanisms Ensuring the Presence of Women at All Levels of Decision-Making

Equal participation of women and men at all levels of decision-making is one of the NAP's goals. The question of "equal representation" in B&H usually boils down to fulfilling the "national key" requirements when staffing various government institutions. Insistence on the equal inclusion of women is often perceived as an aggravating factor in a system that is already complicated enough. However, gender quotas¹³ have been introduced in response to the lesser or insufficient

12 Ministry of Security statistics; available at: <http://www.bihat.ba/>

13 The Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in line with the Law on Gender Equality, which in Article 20 explicitly states, inter alia, that efforts shall be invested in ensuring

representation of women in leadership and decision-making offices.¹⁴ The 40% quota of the less represented gender set by the law is respected only where absolutely necessary: for the verification of the election rolls, but it is ignored in appointments to the executive or other senior management offices. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, data on women's participation in the executive and legislature do not reflect their general share in the total population. At the moment, the B&H Council of Ministers includes two women (the Minister of Defense and the Minister for Human Rights), the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina includes four women, while the Government of Republika Srpska has a woman Prime Minister and three women ministers. As per the Federation cantons, no woman has been appointed prime minister of a cantonal government and women account for only eight of the 68 cantonal ministers i.e. 17.5% of them.

These data, reflecting the situation since the 2014 general elections, indicate that the situation has improved in terms of gender representation, as far as the composition of the B&H Council of Ministers is concerned. The changes are significant, because women in the previous Council held the office of Deputy Minister, while one woman is now heading the Ministry of Defense. Twenty or so years ago, this would have been unimaginable, described as mission impossible. The general understanding was that the Ministry of Defense could be led by people with a military background, and the recent breakthrough has shown that this duty can be performed successfully by someone who has no exclusive military training.

Consequently, as per the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, it may be concluded that political empowerment is not just about women's participation but about encouraging them to act within political reality as well. The number of women in political parties is relatively high and estimated at minimum 33%¹⁵, including the number of women holding decision making posi-

equal representation of the less represented gender in the governance structures, decision making and representation.

14 Ushant (Ouessant), the Women's Island in France, is a place where women do all the work, because the men are mostly away, fishing at sea or with the merchant navy. The situation has remained unchanged for generations, but the women have managed to keep the community functioning, paving the streets, driving tractors and other machinery to make the place suitable for life. Such an expanded role of women used to be identified with feminism, but it is a necessity on this island.

15 The assessment is based on the election rolls, but the issue of political party membership is still open because, to the best of our knowledge, not one party has given precise figures on the sex breakdown of their members.

tions in the parties. The extent to which politically active women have had an opportunity to gain the political experience parties consider prerequisite for appointment to a decision-making office, however, remains unknown.

In addition, interesting changes are taking place in other institutions. For example, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the staff currently working in diplomatic and consular missions of Bosnia and Herzegovina is made up of 78 women and 73 men. This indicates a 20% increase in the number of women compared to 2009 when the B&H missions were staffed by 56 women and 122 men.

Important initiatives and strategies have been developed and implemented based on the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 2010-2013 Period. Many examples illustrate NAP's achievements. With the aim of attracting a greater number of women to the armed forces, a number of activities have been launched since the Ministry of Defense became involved in the process of drafting the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. For instance, the five-year armed forces development plan stipulates that the number of women in the armed forces should attain 10% by 2015. In order to spark greater interest in joining the armed forces and be in the position to select the most qualified and motivated candidates, the Ministry of Defense has actively been promoting military jobs in the print and electronic media, during school visits and open days. Visual materials include photographs of women in uniform with the aim of changing the general opinion that the army is for men only. Statistics (Table 1) show that this (pro) active campaign has resulted in a gradual increase in the number of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The data included in the statistics go back to the year before the design of the 2010-2013 NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325. Positive changes have already taken place within individual categories (officer, NCO, soldier) as well as within individual ranks. Account needs to be taken of the career development system that considers the amount of time a person has held one rank, as well as other promotion criteria. In any case, the career management system puts in place development opportunities for both women and men. Nevertheless, one should not resort to "artificial means" and promote women only in order to achieve the desired percentage of women in the chain of command.

Therefore, the alignment of existing institutional rules and procedures with the Action Plan goals is an example of good practice and achievements of the NAP. For example, an officer cannot move up in the army or police unless s/

he fulfils specific prerequisites. One such prerequisite regards his/her years of service in the security sector, which often limited the possibility of promoting women officers. Women officers who took maternity leave would often have fewer years of service, limiting their prospects of promotion. By implementing the NAP, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the B&H Federation redefined these requirements, putting in place a platform for achieving gender equality; female police officers can now be promoted to higher ranks as well, provided they meet the other criteria. The creation of the Network of Women Police Officers in the region has also been supported within the implementation of the NAP. Such networks allow women police officers to extend each other support and assistance.

Table 1: Representation of Women in the B&H Armed Forces in the 2009-2015 Period

Representation of Women in B&H Armed Forces	%			
	2009	2011	2013	2015
1. Civilian personnel	28.0	23.8	23.8	24
2. Professional military personnel	5.0	5.4	6.5	6.6

The NAP-related activities of the Ministry of Defense include, inter alia, the appointment of gender focal points at the MoD and the B&H Armed Forces commands and units up to the level of battalion or unit of the same or higher level. In addition to performing their regular duties, the focal points are charged with monitoring and analyzing the situation, reporting and suggesting measures on gender equality issues.

Men and Women Acquire Skills and Knowledge to be Effective Leaders (Political, Military or Otherwise)

Greater participation of women, perceived as a meaningful and important process, implies that women possess the appropriate conflict resolution and negotiation skills and knowledge, i.e. entails empowering women to communicate effectively and muster support for their views, interests and goals. Access to training, workshops or other forms of advanced training has remained scarce for most women for various reasons, including the high costs of attending such programs, the significant amounts of time they have to set aside and distance from home. The administrative authorities and the non-government sector

have therefore organized a number of educational awareness raising programs, including workshops, presentations, meetings and work with the media, either themselves or in cooperation with international organizations. Such training was initially attended by high-ranking officials, officers and managers, but was over time extended to other groups. Topics relating to gender equality are included in all aspects of training for members of the B&H Armed Forces.

The training of the Armed Forces members, both general and specialized, is conducted continuously and systematically. Courses on peacekeeping operations for officers and NCOs include gender equality modules, each of which comprise a theoretical lecture and a short practical exercise/discussion. The Peace Support Operations Training Center (PSOTC) has developed a specialized gender course “Utility of Gender in Peace Support Operations,” which is held once a year for members of the B&H Armed Forces and other international students with a view to preparing police and army officers of Western Balkan countries to effectively serve in future missions. This course is accredited by NATO and the UN in order to increase awareness and the conceptual understanding of gender issues in the security sector and understanding of the benefits of mixed units in planning and executing missions. At the entity level, the Ministries of Internal Affairs have developed modules for police academies that cover gender issues. Specialized courses for intervention units also include modules on the treatment of victims of domestic violence.

Measures to Protect Women against Violence

The development and implementation of the NAP is the joint responsibility of government institutions and NGOs. In addition to the institutions with representatives in the Coordination Committee, the key stakeholders in implementing the Plan include non-government organizations operating at various levels, which, so to speak, live with the everyday realities of violence and insecurity, restoration of peace, conflict and the transition of the state. Some local NGOs, which focus on violations of women’s rights, have been the champions of change and their opinions have had significant impact on the actions of the government sector. Women victims of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina have rallied and started jointly lobbying for their benefits, seeking support from the government and the status of an official category of war victims. Their association and collective lobbying have already led the authorities to express their understanding and extend specific support for the needs of this category of war victims.

Precise data on the number of prosecuted war crimes of sexual violence against women are unavailable, because these crimes were mainly carried out in conjunction with other war crimes. In 2011, the B&H courts delivered 75 final convictions in war crimes cases, 38.6% of which involved sexual violence against women. Effective access to justice for women victims of sexual violence during the war, including adequate compensation, is reflected in a recent judgment of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which convicted Bosnian Serb Army troops B.M. and O.M. to 10 years' imprisonment for the war crime of raping an underage girl. This was the first time in the history of B&H. criminal proceedings that the Court decided to grant compensation to a victim of a war crime. The convicted men will pay the injured party damages in the amount of 26,500 Convertible Marks (13,550 Euro), which is a precedent, because, in addition to convicting the perpetrators, this was the first time the court awarded compensation to the victim.¹⁶

Countering gender inequalities is an integral part of the policy of peace and security, which is why this need has been recognized in the programs and activities in the implementation of the B&H NAP. This applies not only to situations during armed conflict, which can have devastating effects on women, but to peacetime as well. One such phenomenon is human trafficking, which plagues all post-conflict and transition countries, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. Poverty, unemployment, lack of awareness/information, gender discrimination, lack of adequate protection, all these factors are conducive to the emergence of human trafficking. Data on human trafficking demonstrate a decreasing trend of human trafficking cases in the last three years. The provision of adequate services to victims of trafficking, such as shelters, has mostly been initiated by non-government organizations, which rely on foreign funding.

The number of women and children subjected to torture on a daily basis is best illustrated by statistics of the SOS Hotline operated by the Banja Luka NGO "United Women". According to its data, it received 834 calls in the first six months of 2015 alone (and 1,731 in 2014). A total of 9,764 calls were made to the Sarajevo Canton SOS hotline operated by the Foundation for Local Democracy from its establishment in 2004 until early September 2015. As is well known, violence against women takes the form of physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence, and women are most often subjected to all four types, physical violence being the most visible.

16 Source: <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/za-silovanje-u-ratu-zatvorska-kazna-i-placanje-odstete>

Awareness of Gender Equality

In order to generate a broad base of support for UNSCR 1325 and the B&H NAP for its implementation, the government and the NGO sector have designed activities to raise awareness of the importance of these documents. They have not only targeted the “usual suspects,” the promoters of the organizations involved in the implementation of the NAP, but have also identified new target groups, and alternative awareness raising channels and means, to be explored and developed. Their partnership is manifested in drumming up public and political support for the NAP goals through the social and other media, opinion leaders and participation in conferences. The stakeholders have at the same time been continuously engaged in lobbying and advocacy targeting leaders and politicians, as well as various potential international donors, with a view to improving gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When it comes to awareness of gender equality, it is important to take a look at mutual understanding and behavior, that is, how male colleagues react in real, everyday life to their female colleagues who perform the assigned tasks just as well or better than them. Making use of the potentials of both sexes is not just a women’s issue. It also requires a critical mass of “masculine support.” This is why ensuring that men understand and support UNSCR 1325 is crucial for its effective implementation. One way to achieve this and to expand the concept of gender mainstreaming is to invest in “male alliances.” Conducting training for a part of the male population opens the possibility of developing their awareness and reaching out to other men through them. The male coworkers’ awareness and attitudes are a useful method for mainstreaming gender equality in life of men and women together.

The Reach of the NAP at the Local Level

A number of institutional gender equality mechanisms have already been established in the relevant local B&H government institutions (cities and municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and cantons in the B&H Federation). Although a balanced approach to the establishment of these mechanisms and their competences has not been achieved yet, these mechanisms are tasked, inter alia, with coordinating the implementation of the program goals laid down in the B&H NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and ensuring the implementation of international standards in the field of gender equality. Measures covering all areas of public and private life at the local level have been

designed with a view to ensuring the fulfilment of the NAP goals. All programs of measures geared at achieving gender equality in all areas include, among other things, an analysis of the state of general equality in the respective area and measures for eliminating the identified gender inequalities in that area.

In cooperation with the Gender Equality Agency, and with the financial support of UN Women in B&H and FIGAP (Financing the Implementation of the Gender Action Plan) program, several non-government organizations have been implementing specific projects at the local level through the prism of the concept of “human security”. This initiative identifies local priorities and obstacles to the safety of women in local communities and the environment. This includes access to educational and health services, clean water and safe food, and adequate infrastructure (electrified streets, roads, adequate public transportation, etc.). In other words all those areas that affect the safety and security of both the male and female residents of the local communities.

Exchange of Knowledge, Ideas and Strategies

There is a clear need for the exchange of knowledge, ideas and strategies in a regional or broader context. One of the most significant projects that has fully justified the effort is the regional project entitled “Support for Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans” organized by UNDP/SEESAC. The Ministries of Defense of B&H, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia have taken part in the project. Eleven trainers (gender equality instructors) have been trained within the project. Meetings of the representatives of the gender equality mechanisms of the Western Balkan Defense Ministries and Armed Forces and meetings of gender equality trainers have been organized twice a year, within the same project. An important study elaborating the situation, challenges and obstacles to women’s representation in the armed forces/armies of the Western Balkan countries was prepared within the Project. The Project has also resulted in improving the infrastructural capacities, notably the hygiene, at the Basic Training Center in Pazarić. The final stage of the project includes the equipping of a gym in the army barracks in Rajlovac, which will contribute to the improvement of the psycho-physical abilities of the army personnel and their professional career development.

B&H NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the International Context

Bosnia and Herzegovina boasts a positive international reputation when it comes to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the development of gender equality policies. Improved international coordination among various actors can serve to highlight examples of the representation and participation of women. Policies and practices, measures and activities promoting the involvement of women in dialogue, mediation and peace processes could be identified.

A comparative analysis of the content and form of the National Action Plans of the countries in the region: (Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia) demonstrates their similarities and differences. The analysis of these plans focused on the process of designing the plans, their structure, the relevant implementers and the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. The analysis reveals the following similarities: all the plans have been developed by working groups composed of representatives of government institutions and civil society; they all explicitly define the chief implementers of the activities; all action plans set explicit time-frames for the individual activities, ranging from 6 months to two years; and, all plans include the obligation to regularly report to the national governments and parliaments on progress in implementing the activities.

The differences in the analyzed plans are manifested in the structures of the individual action plans. The Croatian Action Plan activities are organized in four main columns reflecting the areas of UNSCR 1325, while the Serbian NAP is broader and includes seven target areas, which are not directly related to the UNSCR 1325 areas/columns. The B&H and Slovenian NAPs are structured under a number of strategic goals. There are also some differences among the NAPs with respect to the monitoring and evaluation systems and who is charged with coordination (the Gender Equality Agency in B&H, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration in Croatia and the Ministry of Defense in Serbia).

To sum up, the specified similarities and differences indicate that the NAPs follow a classical structure and that their implementation hinges on ensuring adequate funding.

Instead of a Conclusion: Next Steps in the Implementation of the 2014-2017 NAP

The success of the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 is assessed on the basis of the results achieved by the implementation of activities, within the set deadlines, the system of monitoring and securing financial support for its implementation. Apart from progress at the local and state levels, the NAP also brings a country, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, international acknowledgment of its efficient public administration system.¹⁷

The design of the 2014-2017 NAP took on board the experience and lessons learned during the implementation of the 2010-2013 NAP. The goals, eight of them in the previous NAP, are now grouped in three main categories in accordance with UNSCR 1325: equal participation, prevention and protection, whereby the strategic and medium-term objectives, expected results, and the formulated specific activities have been interlinked. To illustrate, protection and prevention are covered by the Strategic Goal 2: *Increased human security*. The NAP thus promotes a concept based not only on the security of the state or an institution, but of individuals and groups as well, from fears and threats they face on a daily basis. The human security approach has paved the way for introducing the principle of gender equality in the local communities. Furthermore, the structure retains all the goals from the previous Action Plan, except that the priority areas are covered by Strategic Goals 1 and 2, while the third strategic goal (“horizontal goal”) deals with transversal (“cross-cutting”) areas that are just as important for achieving the first two strategic goals.

The new NAP retains the model under which monitoring is performed by the Coordination Committee, consisting of members of security sector institutions and one representative of the non-government sector in B&H. The Coordination Committee’s NAP monitoring activities have been recognized both in B&H and the region as an example of very good practice, interest in and cooperation among the relevant institutions in the implementation of strategic documents.

The new NAP introduces a more efficient monitoring and evaluation system. A special document / matrix with the set indicators and initial (baseline) bench-

17 At the proposal of the NGO Women to Women, the Ministry of Security in 2012 received the UN public service award for strengthening gender equality in the public administration, as well as for the promotion and inclusion of women in UN peace support operations. *Monografija 15 godina učešća policijskih službenika iz BiH u misijama UN-a Podrška miru, Ministarstvo sigurnosti*, 2015, p.53.

marks has been designed. The NAP also defines the data collection and reporting methods, the timeframes and the responsible actors. Monitoring and evaluation will be carried out at two levels, quantitative and qualitative. Insight and further support will be brought into question if there is no measurement or understanding of the effects of the implemented activities and the achieved results, because it is well known that changes occur, whether or not in connection with a planned document. All this will contribute to increased awareness of the importance of gender equality. Particularly because it will facilitate the involvement of local stakeholders, notably the representatives of the local authorities and political parties. It is also necessary to ensure that the policies and programs designed to achieve gender equality are realistically presented by the media.

Bringing about change through the implementation of the NAP in Bosnia and Herzegovina is necessary, but calls for measures, as well as resources and time. Adequate funding for effective implementation is prerequisite in the process, because the NAP goals and activities are not recognized as funding priorities. This is why the international community will have to continue financially supporting this endeavor.

There is, however, a value added in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Western Balkan region. Mutual cooperation and the development of good neighborly relations is all the more significant in view of the prevalent views on the status and role of women. Furthermore, the media are increasingly becoming an actor in the promotion of gender equality at the national and regional levels. The academic community is also joining in more and more, complementing the UNSCR 1325 issue theoretically, as the achievements of this thematic conference corroborate as well.

Thus, at the contemporary level of human existence, the ever-faster spiral of progress and destruction, rule and subordination, can be stopped only if women and men manage to keep open the new dimensions of transformation and articulate the vital need for a qualitatively different way of life, where women and men develop a mutual need for gender equality, through evolution within the framework of present-day society. The emancipation of women, understood in the broadest sense, is no longer an abstract concept, but undoubtedly an exigent process and the real step towards equality. And, it seems that this process has no alternative.

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SUSTAINABILITY OF UNSCR 1325 IMPLEMENTATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Abstract: *The authors deal with the issue of sustainability of further implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia, and the extension of its implementation for the next five years (2016-2020) in light of the announced creation of a new action plan. Based on the methods and techniques of gender analysis and evaluation, this paper summarises the results achieved and provides a summary of the achieved goals and implemented activities envisaged by the National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015). It also highlights the salient challenges and problems from the past five years of implementation. The paper concludes by underscoring the need on further implementation of the Resolution 1325 at the local level, with a greater involvement of civil society and women in the post-conflict rehabilitation of society, conflict prevention and protection of human rights of vulnerable persons in the Republic of Serbia.*

Keywords: *gender, equality, analysis, sustainability, development.*

Introduction

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (hereinafter: UNSCR 1325), adopted on 31 October 2000, emphasises in particular the consequences of armed conflicts suffered by women and girls and the importance of the women's role in peace-building and post-conflict rehabilitation of the country. This is in line with previous conventions such as: the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)¹ as well as with the

¹ Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), *Official Gazette of SFRY – International Treaties*, no. 11/1981.

adopted resolutions on women, in particular with: Resolution 1820, adopted on 19 June 2008; Resolution 1888, adopted on 30 September 2009; Resolution 1889, adopted on 5 October 2009; Resolution 68/33, adopted on 5 December 2013.

The UNSCR 1325 is one of the most important UN resolutions in the sector of peace and security policy. Thus, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its adoption and upon the initiative of several civil society organizations, the Government of the Republic of Serbia decided to initiate the development of a national action plan for its implementation.² Upon the Government's decision, the Ministry of Defence was appointed to provide expert and administrative-technical support to the Government's Working Group for the development of the action plan, composed of representatives from 12 public administration institutions. On 23 December 2010, the Government of Republic of Serbia adopted the *National Action Plan to Implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015)* (hereinafter: National Action Plan). Its implementation began in late December 2010.³

In relation to this, it should be noted that in the development of the National Action Plan, the Republic of Serbia, as a potential member of the European Union (EU), took into consideration the contents of the *EU Strategy for equality between women and men 2010–2015*, as well as the *Plan of Action for the implementation of the Strategy for equality between women and men 2010–2015*. Bearing in mind that the gender perspective mission of the EU in the framework of Common security and defence policy of the European Union (CSDP) is achieved also through the presence of one or more gender equality advisors in all civil and military missions, the National Action Plan envisaged the introduction of this new prerequisite of the Republic of Serbia.

Furthermore, in the process of development and implementation of the National Action Plan, the September 2009 North Atlantic Alliance (hereafter: NATO)

2 Government of the Republic of Serbia Decision 05 no. 02-4622/2010-1, dated 24 June 2010 on the establishment of the Working Group for the development of the *National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015)*, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, no. 44/10, Belgrade, 30 June 2010.

3 Government of the Republic of Serbia Conclusion 05 no. 337-9657/2010, dated 23 December 2010 on the adoption of the *National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015)*, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, no. 102/10, Belgrade, 30 December 2010.

Directive⁴ by which all members of Partnership for Peace (PfP), including the Republic of Serbia, are directed to integrate the UNSCR 1325 recommendations, was also taken into consideration. Upon the adoption of the National Action Plan, in the framework of PfP Planning and Review Process (PARP) the Republic of Serbia accepted one of the goals of PfP pertaining to gender perspectives. In this context it should be pointed out that the documents adopted on 21 October 2013 – *2013 PARP Assessment* and *2012 Partnership Goals in PfP for the Republic of Serbia* – also contain a goal related to the gender perspective.

Following the five-year implementation of the National Action Plan in the Republic of Serbia, a question arises on whether or not there were limiting factors and to which extent they influenced its sustainability? This paper is partly the result of independent research efforts of two members of Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces Analytical Group (hereinafter MoD and SAF Analytical Group) for the analysis of the National Action Plan implementation. MoD and SAF Analytical Group consists of 24 representatives from 18 MoD and SAF organisational units. A part of its work is based on the analysis of documents and relevant literature, among which also reports of the Government's Political Council for the implementation of the National Action Plan (hereinafter: Political Council). One of the authors of this paper also took part in preparation of these reports.

Sustainability Based On The Achieved Progress

Following the results achieved in the implementation of the National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security (2010–2015), based on the comparative analysis and synthesis of the data contained in Political Council's reports submitted to the Government for the implementation period from 2011 to 2015, it can be concluded that the sustainability of UNSCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia is based on significant results achieved in this five-year period.

Among the most important achievements in the National Action Plan's implementation is the improved "visibility" of the representation of women in the security system, as well as their position and role in safeguarding peace and security in the Republic of Serbia. This result is all the more significant if one considers that at the time of developing the *National Strategy for the Improve-*

4 Bi-SC Directive 40-1, *Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspectives in the NATO Command Structure Including Measures for Protection during Armed Conflict*, Brussels, 2009.

*ment of Women's Position and Promoting Gender Equality for the period 2009-2015*⁵ and its Action Plan⁶, women employed in the security system institutions remained an “invisible force” within the reforms of the Republic of Serbia. Thus, in the framework of the September 2010 action research conducted in the Ministry of Defence for the purposes of developing the National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325, numerical parameters on representation of women in the security system and in decision-making (management/command positions) were established for the first time. In addition, parameters on the representation of women in multinational operations, their participation in activities of international cooperation, in trade unions, professional associations etc. were also established. Starting from 2010, by virtue of the National Action Plan, the progress has been measured in achieving goals to increase the representation of women in the security system of the Republic of Serbia for the period 2010–2015. In 2015, this systemic change acquired a strategic and planning structure when the Government of Serbia's Coordination Body for Gender Equality endorsed the proposal to amend and supplement the *Strategy for Gender Equality for the period 2016-2020*, and the *Action Plan to Implement the Strategy for Gender Equality for the period 2016-2020*⁷. The proposal was elaborated in writing by the Ministry of Defence and communicated at the session of the Political Council for the implementation of the National Action Plan held on 26 November 2015. In this occasion it was decided that the final version of the abovementioned documents would include a special strategic measure for achieving gender equality. It was named “Women in security” and elaborated in detail by the adopted documents. At the same time, the Coordination Body for Gender Equality also endorsed a proposal of the Political Council that resulted in amendments and supplements to the Law on Equality between Women and Men in the Republic of Serbia. These changes are indicative not only of good

5 National Strategy for the Improvement of Women's Position and Promoting Gender Equality for the period 2009-2015, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, no. 115/09, Belgrade, 2009.

6 National Action Plan for the Improvement of Women's Position and Promoting Gender Equality for the period 2009-2015, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, no. 67/10, Belgrade, 2010.

7 Based on the Conclusion from the 13th session of the Political Council, held on 26 November 2015, the Secretariat of the Ministry of Defence submitted in its document no. 2574-4, dated 15 December 2015, an elaborated proposal for amendments and supplements of the Strategy and its Action Plan to the Government's Coordination Body for Gender Equality. The document was adopted. On 14 January 2016. The Government of the Republic of Serbia issued a decision on the adoption of the two documents as well as the Law on Equality between Women and Men in the Republic of Serbia – authors' note.

cooperation between the two Government's Bodies but also of a firm political commitment to improve the overall position of women in society.

The establishment and functioning of institutions is a specific characteristic of the National Action Plan in the republic of Serbia, which, unlike other action plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325, envisages the establishment and functioning of a network of interrelated institutional gender equality bodies and mechanisms. By analysing this segment of the National Action Plan, it has been concluded that during the first three years of its implementation (2010-2013) all planned institutional bodies were established, while there is one gender equality mechanism that has yet to be instituted – that of Gender Equality Advisors to commanders of national contingents in multinational operations, even though 120 persons have been educated for this duty both in country and abroad.

In relation to this, four institutional bodies for the National Action Plan implementation were established and are currently operational: (1) the Government's Political Council, (2) the Government's Multi-sector Coordinating Body, (3) analytical groups and research teams, and (4) Supervisory Body of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia for monitoring the implementation of the National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security. Furthermore, the following gender equality mechanisms are envisaged: Gender Equality Advisors to a minister/director in competent public administration institutions; the gender equality mechanism of "trustworthy person"; independent monitoring (which may be performed by the Ombudsperson, the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance and Personal Data Protection, civil society organisations, representatives of academic community and the media); as well as the mechanism of gender-responsive budgeting, at present established only in the Ministry of Defence. In addition, the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance – Customs Administration, Ministry of Justice – Administration for Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Security Information Agency established a database for gender disaggregated data on employees' records, which are regularly updated.

The effectiveness of the envisaged measures and activities in the seven areas is measurable, which is also one of the features and achievements of the National Action Plan in the Republic of Serbia. For instance, during the period 2010–2015, the gender analysis for measuring the achieved progress (undertaken using 74 indicators) was regularly conducted by the Ministry of Defence. In relation to this, it is noteworthy that an international conference on "Gender

Mainstreaming and Indicators for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325”, was organised by the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku – BCBP), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and Women in International Security (WIIS) and opened by the president of the Government Political Council. At the conference it was underscored that a number of countries in the world had not yet adopted an action plan to implement UNSCR 1325. In addition, in a number of countries where action plans had been adopted, no indicators are in place for the monitoring of their implementation. This speaks for itself on the importance of the issue and progress achieved in this field in the Republic of Serbia.

Increase of the overall representation of women in the security sector by 4.13 percent is one of the evidence based results of the National Action Plan implementation. Compared to the initial figures of 2010, where there were 27.40 percent of women in the security system, in 2015 the representation of women in the sector reached 31.53 percent. During the implementation period a significant qualitative change occurred since the representation of women has not increased in the administration sector but rather in operational capacities of the armed forces and in the police, as well as in customs and in the Ministry of Justice Administration for Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions (the so-called “women in uniform”).

The increase in the overall representation of women in the decision-making (management/command positions) within the security system of 5.21 percent is one of the effects of the National Action Plan implementation. Namely, based on the comparative analysis of data provided by public administration institutions, it has been established that in 2010 there were 14.47 percent of women in management and command duties, while the five-year implementation of the National Action Plan resulted in an increase of the overall representation of women in managing and command duties in the security system institutions which in 2015 reached 19.68 percent.

An increased participation of women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and in multinational operations represents another positive result. Namely, in the period 2010–2015 members of the Serbian Armed Forces and the Ministry of Interior participated in 14 multinational operations (hereinafter: MOs), out of which 10 under the auspices of the United Nations (in Burundi, East Timor, Chad, Republic of Liberia – UNMIL, Republic of Cote d’Ivoire – UNOCI, Democratic Republic of Congo – MONUSCO, Republic of Cyprus – UNFICYP, Republic of Lebanon – UNIFIL, in the Middle East – UNTSO, and in Central

African Republic – MINUSCA), and in 4 MOs under the auspices of the European Union (in the Republic of Somalia – EUTM Somalia, and in the Gulf of Aden – “EU NAVFOR Somalia-Operation ATALANTA”, in the Republic of Mali – EUTM Mali, and in the Central African Republic – EUFOR RCA).

Strengthening building and cooperation among all actors involved in the UNSCR 1325 implementation both in the country and in the region, together with the continuation of cooperation between public administration institutions of the Republic of Serbia with certain civil society organisations and international organisations such as the EU, UNDP, UN Women, NATO (PfP), OSCE Mission to Serbia, DCAF, represents a positive result too. The UNSCR 1325 implementation was also a topic in the framework of the implementation of Code of Conduct of Politico-Military Aspects of Security (CoC) and of numerous aspects of bilateral cooperation between individual public administration institutions, civil society organisations and international actors in 2010–2015. The examples include the 2015 OSCE Ministerial Council held in Belgrade during the Serbian chairmanship of OSCE, and a part of the debate in the UN held on the occasion of the 15-year anniversary of UNSCR 1325.

All forms of education, professional development and training in military and police institutions have been opened for the participation of women and girls. This is a very important and even historical breakthrough which occurred in the security system of the Republic of Serbia. After centuries of women not being able to receive education for military and police vocation under the same conditions as men, from 2007 to 2014 all forms of education in the armed forces and the police have been opened for the participation of girls and women, including Advanced security studies at the Military Academy of the University of Defence, General Staff Course, Command and Staff Course, BA studies at the Military Academy and at the Military Medical Academy Medical Faculty of the University of Defence, Military High School, Reserve Officers training, the Criminal and Police Academy, Centre for Basic Police Training in Sremska Mitrovica as well as in other institutions.

A number of trainings in gender equality have been implemented for the employees in the security system. During the period 2010–2015, most of the activities for the implementation of the National Action Plan have been carried out in the education and training sectors, with the participation of a large number of men and women employed in public administration institutions. Education and training was implemented with the engagement of the existing domestic potentials, while in some cases it included the support of international organisations and partners from abroad.

Initiatives were launched for amending and supplementing the existing and the development of new normative documents aimed at combating violence against women. In the 2010–2015 period, for the purpose of combating violence against women and improvement of human security, the following documents were adopted and their implementation initiated in the Republic of Serbia: General Protocol for Action and Cooperation of Institutions, Bodies and Organisations in the Situations of Violence against Women within the Family and in Intimate Partnership Relations; Special Protocol on Conduct of Police Officers in Cases of Domestic and Intimate Partner Violence against Women; Special Protocol for Action of the Centre for Social Work – Custody Authority in Cases of Domestic and Intimate Partner Violence against Women; Special Protocol of the Republic of Serbia Ministry of Health for the Protection and Treatment of Women Victims of Violence; and, the Special Protocol for Judiciary in Cases of Violence against Women in the Family and Partnership Relations. In 2014, the Ombudsperson verified the effectiveness of these documents in practice and issued a publicly available report on their implementation. In addition, in their regular reports on the National Action Plan implementation, the representatives of competent public administration institutions also submitted reports on the implementation of the abovementioned protocols. These are included in the reports of the Political Council submitted to the Government for their adoption.

Measures have been undertaken for providing support to women in harmonising their professional and family roles⁸, and in normative protection women professional soldiers during their maternity and pregnancy leave⁹.

Media campaigns for attracting a greater number of women into operational capacities of the armed forces and the police, and for the acceptance of girls in all forms of education and professional development were successful. Based on the research data, the activities of institutional bodies for the National Action Plan implementation as well as effective media campaigns and other media content

8 Government of the Republic of Serbia Conclusion 05 no. 337-1685/2015, dated 19 February 2015, and *Report of the Political Council on National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) for the period 2011-2013*. Available at the Ministry of Defence website: http://www.mod.gov.rs/sadrzaj.php?id_sadrzaja=4352, Belgrade. Accessed on 10 March 2015.

9 Government of the Republic of Serbia Conclusion 05 no. 021-11794/2015-1, dated 28 November 2015, and *Report of the Political Council on National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) for 2014*. Available at the Ministry of Defence website: http://www.mod.gov.rs/sadrzaj.php?id_sadrzaja=4352, Belgrade. Accessed on 20 December 2015.

popularised the implementation of the National Action Plan among the general public in the Republic of Serbia. They contributed significantly to awareness raising *vis-à-vis* the role of women in the society, particularly in relation to their place and role in the armed forces.

Challenges In The National Action Plan Implementation

By considering the factors that can potentially limit sustainability of the UNSCR 1325 implementation, noteworthy conclusions can be drawn to provide a more objective picture of the situation in Serbia. Such factors may be related to: strategic commitments, policies, functionality of institutions, necessary material, financial and human resources (especially the motivation factors) – all being indispensable preconditions for the sustainable implementation of commitments contained in UNSCR 1325 and other similar resolutions. Namely, while the representation of women in the security sector and decision-making has been improved in the five-year National Action Plan implementation, *there has been no significant improvement of personal and overall security of women in the civil society*. The fact that also needs to be taken into consideration is that achieving these goals is conditioned by changes contributing to the development of systemic policies and the overall democratic development of the society. This pertains in particular to the concerning trend of increased violence against women, especially in domestic context.¹⁰

In relation to this, according to the assessment of the Political Council, *no significant improvement was made in the area of effective protection of women in practice* since the achievement of this goal is conditioned by systemic policies and economic development, which would, eventually, lead to the improvement of gender equality and economic position of all categories of population, including women as the most numerous and poorest category within the society.¹¹

10 According to the 2009 Autonomous Women's Centre research conducted in 7 towns and cities and 40 villages on the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, only one out of six victims of violence requested assistance of the competent centre for social work, civil society organisation, medical doctor or psychologist (for more information see the brochure: *Nasilje nad ženama u svetu i kod nas* ["Violence against Women in Serbia and abroad"], Provincial Secretariat for Labour, Employment and Gender Equality, Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, p. 2).

11 *Government of Serbia Conclusion 05 no. 337-1685/2015*, dated 19 February 2015, and *Report of the Political Council on National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace*

In this context, it needs to be stressed that the USA-based Institute for Inclusive Security's and the OSCE Mission to Serbia's reports on the National Action Plan implementation in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015) *evaluated the activities related to the financing of the National Action Plan with the lowest mark 1 (in the range 1/5)*. This pertains to: b) funds assigned for monitoring and evaluation of the National Action Plan; and c) access of the civil society to funds for implementing the National Action Plan activities. The fact that the National Action Plan has been implemented in the period 2010–2015 without specially designated funds from the budget of the Republic of Serbia for this purpose weakened the possibilities for achieving effective and sustainable results.¹²

In addition, *the existence of parallel institutional bodies* dealing with gender equality in the Republic of Serbia as well as the non-coordinated policies and action plans influenced unnecessary duplication of content pertaining to gender equality within public administration institutions. Furthermore, their work was often paralysed by the *frequent changes of personnel* in already established gender equality institutional bodies and mechanisms and the absence of a quorum for work and decision-making. According to the opinion of the MoD and SAF Analytical Group, *administrative obstacles and limitations in using the available resources* (financial, material, technical and human) represent a challenge in the creation of effective and operative solutions and often slowing-down the work in providing professional and administrative-technical support to the established gender equality institutional bodies and mechanisms.

Additionally, as noted at the debate during the dialogue between the Political Council and civil society organisations, held on 28 May 2015, *civil society organisations are not satisfied with the degree of their participation* in the National Action Plan implementation, particularly regarding the implementation of the content related to the security of women and children at the local level of public administration and with the financial resources assigned for these purposes, etc.

However, these challenges as well as other identified problems have never jeopardised the sustainability of the National Action Plan in Serbia or the need to continue the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the forthcoming medium-term.

and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) for the period 2011-2013. Available at the Ministry of Defence website: http://www.mod.gov.rs/sadrzaj.php?id_sadrzaja=4352, Belgrade. Accessed on 10 March 2015.

12 *Report from the Workshop on the UNSCR 1325 National Action Plan implementation results, 9-10 September 2015*, Institute for Inclusive Security, Washington, USA, in cooperation with the OSCE Mission to the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 23 October 2015, p. 6.

Swot Analysis And National Action Plan Evaluation Conducted By The Ministry Of Defence

In the framework of their regular reporting duties, MoD and SAF Analytical Group used several times the SWOT analysis, a well-known and widely used tool in scientific circles. Results from the SWOT analysis conducted in October 2014 highlight the following: 14 identified “strengths”, 16 “weaknesses”, 12 “opportunities”, while the number of 7 “threats” represents only a numerical indicator that the significance and influence of “threats” is not perceived in the same range as other factors. It is also characteristic that MoD is often perceived by other public administration institutions as an example to follow when it comes to the National Action Plan, while the actors coming from the MoD system were much more critical in regard to the National Action Plan implementation results in their own environment. This can be observed in the brief illustration of the SWAT analysis (Figure 1).

In addition to the SWOT analysis, on the basis of an internal evaluation of the National Action Plan implementation in MoD and SAF in the period 2010–2015, the first implementation area was marked with the highest grade 4.00. This was because in the past six-month period MoD and SAF had established almost all gender equality institutional bodies and mechanisms envisaged by National Action Plan, except for Gender Equality Advisors to multinational operations. The reason why this mechanism was not established in practice is due to the fact that the Republic of Serbia does not participate in national contingents with the sufficient number of members, thus preventing this mechanism from being built in. A very dynamic work of the Political Council headed by a MoD representative at the level of state secretary and receiving professional assistance by MoD was highly valued. Being the highest level Government’s body for the National Action Plan five-year implementation, it held 13 sessions, submitted 3 reports to the Government and contributed to the strategic changes in the area of gender equality. In addition, a high level of activity was also demonstrated by members of MoD and SAF Analytical Group, who have held 20 meetings and regularly reporting on their duties, as well as by the person designated as Gender Equality Advisor to the Minister of Defence. In addition, a database with gender disaggregated employees’ records and the mechanism of gender-responsive budgeting were established, and 730 “trustworthy persons” were elected (their inactivity, however, being the reason that MoD did not acquire a higher evaluation in this area).

Strengths <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Existence of political willingness in the highest institutions in the Republic of Serbia to mainstream gender equality ➤ Efficiency of the Political Council management ➤ Arrangement and functionality of the defence system ➤ Beginning of education of women at the Military Academy and Serbian Armed Forces... 	Weaknesses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Small number of women in managing and command positions in MoD and SAF ➤ Non-flexibility of formation elements in MoD organisational units ➤ Absence of career guidance of military officers in MoD and SAF, in particular for women ➤ Insufficient financial means available to MoD and SAF for the National Action Plan implementation
Opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Higher investments in training and information ➤ Changes of the existing and adoption of new legislation ➤ Career guidance for all categories of employees ➤ Increase of number of women in multinational operations... 	Threats <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Employees of public administration institutions often do not sufficiently understand the essence of gender mainstreaming in the context of the security sector reforms ➤ Important reforms in normative, organisational, human resources and financial sector, which could contribute to equal treatment of women employed in the security sector have not been implemented yet

Figure 1. Segment of the 2014 SWOT analysis conducted by the MoD and SAF Analytical Group in the framework of assessment of National Action Plan implementation

The evaluation of the National Action Plan second thematic area implementation regarding the increase of the representation of women in the security system and thus in MoD and SAF, concluded that the process has been divergent and that it actually recorded a decrease during four years, achieving both qualitative and quantitative progress only in the end of 2015 (from 19.50 percent of women in 2010 to 19.71 percent in 2015). The mark for the progress in this area of National Action Plan implementation was therefore 2 (Table 1).

The third area of National Action Plan pertaining to decision-making was evaluated with the mark 2.70 because of the evident progress in increase of the representation of women in MoD and SAF in management and command positions (from 10 percent to 17.40 percent, against the total number of women employed in MoD and SAF). However, from the point of view of their representation in decision-making, measured against the total number of employees, the figure is much lower (0.59 percent). Furthermore, the assessment took into consideration the fact that the highest number of women exercise the lowest

level decision-making duties (group manager/chief of section), while the lowest number of women are at the highest positions of decision-making (minister / state secretary / assistant minister). These facts were accordingly evaluated with an adequate grade.

Table 1. Overview of the representation of women in MoD and SAF by the categories of personnel, based on the results of gender analysis covering the period 2010–2015.

Representation Of Women In The Ministry Of Defence And In Serbian Armed Forces						
<i>Categories Of Personnel</i>	September 2010.	September 2011.	September 2012.	October 2013.	October 2014.	September 2015.
<i>Officer</i>	0,10%	0,20%	0,21%	0,43%	0,63%	0.78%
<i>Non-commissioned officers</i>	0,10%	0,10%	0,11%	0,14%	0,14%	0.16%
<i>Civilians</i>	17,30%	16,00%	15,87%	15,99%	15,68%	15.53%
<i>Professional soldiers</i>	2,00%	2,80%	2,90%	2,80%	2,89%	3,24%
<i>Total</i>	19,50	19,10	19,09%	19,36	19,34%	19.71%

The fourth area of the National Action Plan implementation did not receive the highest grade even though the conclusion is that the highest number of MoD and SAF activities in the period 2010–2015 was implemented in the area of education. Namely, the achieved results in the National Action Plan implementation in MoD and SAF in the area of education received the grade 3.75 because there has been no necessary training for the category of managers and commanders in MoD and SAF, who held a crucial role in providing support to decision-making in relation to the implementation of the National Action Plan's key goals. On the other hand, in this area, the opening of all forms of education in MoD and SAF for a free access for women and changes in curricula and teaching content, as well as trainings provided for MoD and SAF employees were positively valued. In this context, a particularly good evaluation was granted to: (1) promotion of the first generation of women officers educated at the Military Academy, class 2011/2012, among whom the first women pilots in the Serbian Army; (2) promotion of the first woman to receive a PhD for strategy in military sciences in 2013 at the Military Academy of the University of Defence in Belgrade; (4) a call for applications for the school year 2014/2015 for acceptance of girls to the Military High School, published for the first time

in Serbian history; (5) Command and Staff Course attended by a woman officer at the General Staff School of the MA in 2014; (6) Promotion of the Military Academy 136th class of cadets and of the Military Medical Academy Medical Faculty of the University of Defence 1st class into officers. In the event held on 12 September 2015, the President of the Republic of Serbia presented sabers – traditional military medals to the 3 best cadets – female students of the study programme *Logistics of Defence*, majoring in *Finance*.

The evaluation of the fifth area of National Action Plan activities implementation in MoD and SAF, dealing with normative and effective protection of women, states that, while a significant progress was made in this area, the fact remains that women employed in the security system are the least satisfied by progress in this particular area. This opens a space for examining the need for creation and implementation of special policies, measures and activities dedicated to a more effective protection of women. In addition, the fact that women employed in MoD and SAF have initiated the re-establishing of the right to a free-of-charge and organised systematic medical examination, especially for gynaecological examination as a form of preventive measure to reduce the incidence of cervical and breast cancer, but the initiative remained to no avail. However, positive changes that occurred in MoD and SAF in this area cannot remain unnoticed. They pertain to the amendments and supplements to the Law on the Serbian Armed Forces and the Serbian Armed Forces Service Regulations, establishment of systematic monitoring and reporting on mobbing and violence against women in MoD and SAF, exploring potentials for adaptation of the Military High School, etc. Achievements in the framework of this area received the grade 3.25. This relatively high grade is due to the following results: (1) normative changes introduced to the Serbian Armed Forces Service Regulations in 2013 regarding the status of women professional soldiers, and to the Law on the Serbian Armed Forces in 2015 regarding the status of women professional soldiers during pregnancy and maternity leave; (2) initiative of the MoD and SAF for adjusting the working hours of employees in the public administration institutions aimed at better organisation of employees' professional and private life, which was endorsed and verified in 2014 by the Decision of the Government of Serbia; (3) the initiative for establishing a nursery and kindergarten for the children of MoD and SAF employees (currently in progress).

Last but not least, in monitoring the effects of the goals set in the National Action Plan implementation area number seven on the role of the media, an evaluation of their influence to overcoming gender stereotypes in the society received the grade 3.75. In the framework of this part of the evaluation,

the media campaigns of the MoD Directorate for Public Relations aiming to increase the number of women professional soldiers in the SAF, as well as to attracting a larger number of women to enrol at all levels of military schooling and development, were particularly praised. A significantly smaller effect in awareness change on the role of women in MoD and SAF was achieved by the reports dealing with the current events in the defence system which had women as protagonists (available at the MoD and SAF websites), or by writings in printed editions of the Media Centre *Odbrana* („Defence“). The least progress was achieved in efforts to encourage other electronic and printed media to report on the National Action Plan implementation or on success of individual women in MoD and SAF.

Bearing in mind the overall content and significance of the National Action Plan to Implement UNSCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015), this paper provided an analytical overview of evaluations of achieved goals and implemented activities for the purpose of identifying lessons for the future steps *vis-à-vis* further implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia. Some of the possible issues and dilemmas on this topic that could have been heard in the public were addressed by the Government's Decision to draft a new National Action Plan (2016–2020). In this way, a clear message has been sent to the public in the country and abroad that the National Action Plan is not only sustainable but that it certainly will be implemented also in the forthcoming medium-term.

Conclusion

After the five-year implementation of the National Action Plan in the Republic of Serbia, it can be concluded that significant progress has been made in the achievement of each goal, but also that there have been many challenges which did not essentially call into question its sustainability. Improvement of gender equality in the security sector is one of the current issues of security sector reforms, in which the Ministry of Defence held an important role, taking into consideration its coordination role for activities of drafting the National Action Plan to Implement the UNSCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015). The implementation of this document positively influenced the introduction of many reform changes, which, considering the membership of the Republic of Serbia in the UN, OSCE and PfP as well as the potential EU membership, emphasised the importance of equal participation of men and women in con-

flict prevention and conflict resolution, as well as in promotion of culture of permanent and sustainable peace.

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REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA'S EXPERIENCES IN IMPLEMENTING UNSCR 1325

Abstract: *The Republic of Macedonia has prepared a National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in order to advance the status and role of women and their participation in security policy and peace processes locally, nationally and internationally. It may be noted that some of the guidelines and obligations arising from UNSCR 1325 have already been covered by the institutions' gender policy activities. However, the part of UNSCR 1325 referring to the role of women in peace and security remains underdeveloped within the strategic documents. An analysis of the activities undertaken in this area shows that additional activities need to be launched to sensitize institutions, governmental and non-governmental alike, and develop gender-sensitive policies in the fields of peace and security. This paper presents in detail the results of implementing UNSCR 1325 at the national level, as well as the problems that have arisen in the process.*

Keywords: *equality, women, implementation, standards, security.*

Introduction

The Republic of Macedonia (RM) is a democratic and social state in which all citizens are equal before the Constitution and the law. The Macedonian Constitution contains a number of provisions enshrining fundamental human and civil rights and freedoms. Notably, the provision on civil and political rights and freedoms lays down that “the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia shall enjoy equal rights and freedoms regardless of their sex, race, color, national or social origin, political or religious beliefs, property or social status.”¹ This

1 See: <http://www.sobranie.mk/the-constitution-of-the-republic-of-macedonia.nspix>.

provision establishes the principle of equality and guarantees equal rights to all the country's citizens.

By adopting the Law on the Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination (LPPD),² Macedonia expressed the political will and reaffirmed that it was a democratic state building its order with full recognition and promotion of equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of their gender, ethnicity, disability, age and other personal characteristics, which is an indispensable precondition for sustainable and democratic development. The political principle that parity democracy is the only true democracy has thus been confirmed and the foundations for further legislative regulation putting in place conditions for the realization of equal opportunities for all citizens and the consistent application of the regulations in this area have been set.

Pursuant to the modern democratic civil concept and in accordance with international standards, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia established the Equal Opportunities Department in March 2007, under the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy systematization and organization enactment.³ The main task of this Ministry Department is to promote equal opportunities and equality, as well as prevent and protect against all forms of violence and discrimination based on gender, age, ethnicity, mental and physical disability, dual discrimination, etc. in all areas of social life, both at the national and local levels. The Equal Opportunities Department is also responsible for ensuring inter-ministerial and inter-sectoral cooperation and cooperation with civil society and social partners and the implementation of the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, the Law on the Prevention of and Protection from Discrimination, as well as other laws and programs in this field, and with coordinating and monitoring the implementation of policies, measures and activities.

The principles of respect for human rights, equality and non-discrimination of citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are among the basic principles of democracy and social order, guaranteed by the Constitution and laws as one of the most important values and priorities of the state.

Efforts to achieve genuine respect for human rights and promote democratic processes, as well as address the existing inequalities and the phenomenon of discrimination, often entail different treatment of women and/or men, people

2 *Official Gazette of RM* No.50 /2010.

3 Rulebook on Jobs in the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, No. 04 - No. 04-8093/2 of December 12, 2012, Skopje.

of different ages, persons with mental and physical disabilities, and of different ethnic communities. This view is based on the concept of substantive equality, not just formal equality or equality before the law.

In this context, these different groups will achieve equality and non-discrimination while ensuring their views are heard and taken into account. This entails promoting the inclusion of these categories of citizens in consultations and decision-making at all levels, especially the policies and issues directly affecting them.

Legal Guarantees of Gender Equality

The legal status and position of women in Macedonia country are regulated by the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. The laws of the Republic of Macedonia include numerous anti-discrimination provisions prohibiting discrimination in specific areas of social life and on specific discriminatory grounds. The principle of equality in the legal system of the Republic of Macedonia derives from the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. Namely, Article 9 of the Constitution provides that “the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia shall enjoy equal rights and freedoms regardless of their sex, race, color, national or social origin, political or religious beliefs, property or social status.” The constitutional provision on equality was the legal basis for the adoption of the new Law on Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination (LPPD), which prohibits direct and indirect discrimination not only on grounds of race, color, ethnicity, language, nationality, religion or beliefs, but also on grounds of sex, gender, membership of a marginalized group, social origin, education, political affiliation, other beliefs, personal, social, family or marital status, mental or physical disability, age, economic or health status, as well as on any other grounds provided by law or an international treaty. In addition, the Law penalizes incitement, promotion and support of discrimination, particularly acts of harassment, victimization and segregation or separation.

The Law also contains a number of procedural provisions, including provisions moving the burden of proof to the alleged perpetrator and providing for the possibility of specialist non-governmental organizations not only intervening in proceedings as third parties, but assuming the role of prosecutor and co-plaintiff under specific conditions as well. The Law also provides for the establishment of the Commission for Protection against Discrimination. The LPPD is extremely important for the Republic of Macedonia because it is the first law to prohibit discrimination thoroughly.

Even before it adopted the LPPD, the Republic of Macedonia had enacted a number of laws containing provisions concerning (non-)discrimination (in one way or another). These laws span a host of legal fields, and can be categorized into two groups. The first group includes laws prohibiting discrimination in the areas they govern.⁴ All these laws comprise a more or less “modest” anti-discrimination provisions and, in general, do not have a consistent approach to the issue of non-discrimination/discrimination. However, what matters most is that all these shortcomings have now been eliminated by the Law on the Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination. The LPPD provides guidance on how the provisions of these particular laws should be interpreted. The second group of laws include those relating to criminal and other discrimination-related offences, procedural laws and laws governing the work of institutions that have specific responsibilities in the area of (non-) discrimination.⁵

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women – CEDAW (which came into force on September 17, 1991), – is one of the most important international treaties constituting the basic legal framework in the area of equal opportunities for women and men. As a country successor of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), the Republic of Macedonia acceded to the CEDAW in 1994, when it bound itself to honor this Convention. Macedonia signed the Optional Protocol to the Convention in 2000; its parliament ratified the Protocol on June 24, 2003 and it entered into force on October 17, 2003. By ratifying the Protocol, the Republic of Macedonia recognized the competence of the Committee on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and thus enabled its citizens to complain to the Committee in case any of their rights under the Convention are violated.

One of the most important laws relating to gender equality is the Law on Equal Opportunities, adopted in May 2006, as well as the new Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men⁶, adopted in January 2012. The latter law aims to set out the basic and special measures for creating equal opportunities for women

4 They include the Labor Law, Law on Social Protection, Law on Health, Law on Health Insurance, Law on Mental Health, Law on the Protection of Patients’ Rights, Law on Primary Education, Law on Secondary Education, Law on Higher Education, Law on Volunteering, Law on Public Health, Law on Courts, Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, Law on Use of Languages, Law on Use of Flags of Communities in the RM, et al.

5 Notably, the Criminal Code, the Law of Torts, the Civil Procedure Law, the Criminal Procedure Law, the Administrative Procedure Law and the Ombudsman Law.

6 *Official Gazette of RM*, No. 6 / 2012.

and men, as well as the duties, obligations and responsibilities of the entities charged with ensuring equal opportunities, the procedure for identifying unequal treatment of women and men, and the rights and duties of the advocate of equal opportunities for women and men. The law is a milestone in the process of gender equality in the Republic of Macedonia because it is the first specific law on gender equality providing a package of measures promoting equal opportunities for men and women and granting special powers to the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in support of its role of regulator of gender issues.

The National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAPGE)⁷ has been of particular importance. Its goal is to improve the status of women and to ensure the continuous development of gender equality. NAPGE is a strategic document of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia for the 2007-2012 period, defining ten strategic areas for action⁸, activities, indicators and the institutions and stakeholders responsible for establishing gender equality in different areas. The NAPGE has been successfully implemented through the preparation of annual operation plans for its implementation. In addition, gender equality has been incorporated in other laws.⁹

The National Strategy for Equality and Non-Discrimination on Grounds of Sex, Age, Ethnicity and Disability is a strategic document of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, which defines the objectives, measures, indicators and key policymakers for promoting equal rights and equal opportunities in various walks of life and the actors and stakeholders responsible for ensuring equality and non-discrimination in the Republic of Macedonia¹⁰. The National Strategy for Equality and Non-Discrimination covers the 2012-2015 period. The main goal of this document has been to ensure continuous progress in the realization of the right to equality and the creation of equal opportunities. The specific short- and medium-term tasks and activities to advance the objectives and

7 <http://www.mtsp.gov.mk/dokumenti.nsp>

8 These areas include: women's and human rights, women in decision-making processes, women's health, women and social protection, women and education, women and employment, women and violence, women and the media, women and the environment, women and peacekeeping activities.

9 For example, Law on Secondary Education; Law on Higher Education, Law on Internal Affairs; Criminal Code; Inheritance Law; Law on Local Self-Governments; Law on the Election of Members of Parliament; Law on Local Elections; Law on Political Parties; Labor Law; Law on Courts; Electoral Code; Law on Social Protection; Law on the Prevention of and Protection from Discrimination, etc.

10 See: <http://www.mtsp.gov.mk/dokumenti.nsp>

implementation of the measures have been set out in the annual action plans, which define the two-year priorities, manner of implementation, timeframes, implementing institutions, as well as the anticipated budget, expected results, and the qualitative and quantitative indicators of achievement.

Full provision of equal opportunities to all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia will contribute to the achievement of the capacities and potentials of all individuals in all spheres of life, thus ensuring a fair, progressive and efficient society. The Strategy is also based on the efforts of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia to apply the approach based on the promotion and provision of equal opportunities and non-discrimination on all grounds, with special focus on persons with mental and physical disabilities, citizens belonging to different ethnic groups, of different genders and ages. The preparation of this Strategy is the result of cooperation among the state institutions, civil society, and international organizations.

In addition to national legislation, account also needs to be taken of the Republic of Macedonia's international obligations, both within the universal and the regional human rights protection systems.¹¹ Moreover, as a candidate country for EU membership, Macedonia is obliged to align its legislation with the EU legal system. Its commitments to combat discrimination also arise from its membership in the Council of Europe and the UN, which prohibit discrimination as well.¹²

11 The most important instruments adopted within the UN include: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The most important Council of Europe human rights instruments directly related to the prevention and prohibition of discrimination include the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Protocol 12 to the ECHR, the revised European Social Charter and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

12 Namely, the EU assumed responsibility for combating discrimination (except for discrimination on grounds of sex and gender) in 1999 with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty (Article 13), which constituted the legal basis for the adoption of the two anti-discrimination directives: Directive 2000/43/EC and Directive 2000/78/EC. In addition to these two Directives, note needs to be taken also of the directives on the prohibition of sex discrimination, Council Directive 2004/113/EC and Council Directive 2006/54/EC, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, as well as of the efforts to adopt a horizontal directive on equal treatment.

Hence, it appears that the framework and the process of improving the legal framework, especially in the area regulating the protection of and respect for human rights, forms of discrimination and penalties, as well as non-discrimination and equal opportunities measures in other spheres of social life, are not complete yet. The Republic of Macedonia should work intensely, with utmost dedication and focus, on overcoming this situation and addressing these gaps in a democratic manner, in accordance with its international obligations and within the EU accession process.

Institutional Mechanisms for Protection against Discrimination

The Macedonian Parliament

The Assembly of the RM is the legislative institution responsible for adopting and amending the Constitution (which lays the foundations for the concepts of equality and non-discrimination), as well as all the laws submitted by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. In addition, the Assembly elects the members of the independent state institutions (the Ombudsman and Commission for Protection against Discrimination), and the members of the Constitutional Court and the Judicial Council.

Many committees have been functioning as working bodies within the parliament. The ones most relevant to our subject include: the Standing Inquiry Committee on the Protection of Civil Rights and Freedoms (generally responsible for human rights matters), the Committee on Inter-Community Relations (focusing on the assessment of the implementation of the double majority voting in of laws, equitable representation and discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, the Committee for Equality of Women and Men (established to promote and monitor gender equality in all fields of social life) and the Committee on Labor and Social Policy (parent committee for all legislative proposals in this area). Additionally, an informal body operates within the parliament – the Inter-Party Parliamentary Group for the Disabled.

The Executive

Although lacking direct responsibilities as the representative of the Republic, the President of the Republic of Macedonia should protect and promote the values enshrined in the Constitution, including equality and non-discrimination.

The Government of the Republic of Macedonia reviews and adopts draft laws, national strategies and action plans submitted by the ministries, monitors their implementation and reacts to any identified human rights violations, especially those committed by the state bodies.

The Secretariat for European Affairs monitors the harmonization of national law with the *acquis* through the transposition of EU directives into national legislation.

The following ministries have special jurisdiction over equality/non-discrimination: Ministry of Labor and Social Policy - MLSP, Ministry of Interior - MOI, Ministry of Local Self-Governments - MLSG, Ministry of Justice - MOJ, Ministry of Education and Science - MES and the Ministry of Health – MOH.

The Secretariat for the Implementation of the Framework Agreement (SIFA) has special responsibilities, particularly with regard to discrimination on grounds of ethnicity. There are two separate administrations within the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture, with specific duties related to the equality of the communities within their respective remits.

The Equal Opportunities Department within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy is charged with conducting the procedure to establish unequal treatment of women and men and with extending legal protection of victims of discrimination. In this regard, in case of unequal gender-based treatment, persons discriminated against on grounds of gender are provided with legal protection by the legal protection advisor. The Department is also tasked with coordinating activities geared at providing protection against all types of discrimination.

Ministries are obliged to designate officials, Equal Opportunities for Women and Men Coordinators, who are responsible for implementing the obligations within their ministries' remits in order to ensure equal opportunities.

The Judiciary

The Constitutional Court is the highest national institution all citizens who believe their human rights are violated can turn to, including if they had been subjected to discrimination, in accordance with Article 9 of the Constitution.

Discrimination lawsuits may also be filed with the ordinary courts. The courts can rule on cases previously reviewed by one of the two independent state institutions.

Independent State Institutions

Two independent state institutions have been established in the Republic of Macedonia to protect citizens against violations of their rights enshrined in the Constitution and the law: the Ombudsman (for all violations committed by state institutions), an institution set up in 1997; and the Commission for Protection against Discrimination - CPD (which reviews discrimination claims against all legal and natural persons), formed in late 2010. Among their other responsibilities, the two institutions receive complaints from citizens (or other entities) and ascertain whether their rights have been violated. If they find a violation, the offender must take steps to eliminate the causes of the breach.

In addition to the Ombudsman and the CPD, the Agency for the Rights of Communities established under the law is also important for combatting ethnically-based discrimination. The Agency ensures the implementation of the basic principles deriving from the Ohrid Framework Agreement (and the Constitution) and related to the protection of the rights of members of minority communities represented under 20%. The Agency pays special attention to the consistent application of the principle of equitable representation.¹³

Local Self-Governments

The main local self-government bodies dealing with issues of equality and non-discrimination are the committees for community relations (which must be established in ethnically mixed municipalities) and commissions for equality between women and men (which should be established in all municipalities). They are advisory bodies of the municipal councils and discuss issues within their remits, and their recommendations are taken into account by the councils.

Social Partners

Major social partners are the associations of workers and employers, as well as the academic community and the broader civil society, including religious communities. Media are also crucial.

Given that discrimination is the most widespread in the field of labor, companies of particular interest, especially since they did not fall under the jurisdiction of an independent authority until 2010. Since the adoption of the Law on the Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination and the establishment of Commission for Protection against Discrimination, they can now be sued in

13 Equitable Ethnic Representation Program, Ministry of Defense, 2012.

court for discrimination. Moreover, associations of workers and employers are some of the key partners in protecting the rights of workers, especially from acts of discrimination.

Other relevant stakeholders include civil society organizations which are active in the following fields: legislation – extending support to the drafting of legislation with their comparative analyses, surveys of the situation and formulation of proposals; raising awareness – promoting the concept of equality, launching anti-discrimination campaigns; institutional development – capacity building, participation in the state institutions’ working groups; and, in monitoring equality/discrimination – identifying cases and conducting public opinion polls on the perceptions of citizens. Some of these civil society organizations have joined forces in, e.g., the Macedonia without Discrimination Alliance.

International Community

Institutions and organizations that are part of the international community, such as UN agencies, the EU Delegation, the OSCE, diplomatic and consular missions, international NGOs and consulting firms have multiple functions in this area (with varying degrees of involvement or responsibility in any of them), such as: promotion of international standards on human rights and non-discrimination; supporting and monitoring the processes of integrating these standards in national legislation; monitoring and reporting on the enforcement of the standards; extending support to institutions to exercise their new powers in this field (technical assistance, training and other capacity building activities); and support to awareness raising projects (mainly extended to the local civic organizations).¹⁴

Republic of Macedonia’s National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

The National Action Plan (NAP) of the Republic of Macedonia for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security has been prepared with a view to fulfilling Macedonia’s interests and priorities to effectively and fully join in the activities of the UN, EU, OSCE and NATO in this regard.

¹⁴ Equitable Ethnic Representation Program, Ministry of Defense, 2012.

In cooperation with the countries in the region, Macedonia will contribute to the achievement, promotion and protection of human and women's rights, increase the role and active participation of women related to peace and security by enhancing human security and creating conditions for development and prosperity, reducing gender inequality and eliminating the factors exacerbating gender discrimination.

The NAP defines the policies, strategies, principles, activities, media indicators, monitoring and evaluation, and financial implications of implementing the NAP. Implementation of the NAP is primarily the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and all the institutions designated in the 2012 Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. The MLSP, MFA, MOI, MOD and the Center for Crisis Management are the key institutions charged with implementing the NAP. Experts and civil society representatives are also involved in the implementation of the NAP.

In order to effectively proceed with the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 recommendations, the MLSP initiated the adoption of a National Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325, which aims to:

- Strengthen the gender perspective in the formulation and implementation of the peace, security and defense policy (PSDP) of the Republic of Macedonia;
- Strengthen women's participation in and contribution to international, civilian and military missions the Republic of Macedonia is participating in;
- Prevent violence and protect women's rights in peacetime, conflict and humanitarian disasters;

The realization of these objectives is expected to achieve the following results:

- Greater representation of women in security sector institutions and their participation in decision-making, which will ensure a gender-sensitive and effective security policy at the national and international levels;
- Inclusion of the gender-sensitive approach in the creation of the security policy to be based on an integrated approach (as part of sectoral/ministerial legislation), in particular through the reform of the security sector; the police; defense; crisis management; civil protection; integrated border management;
- Greater women's participation in politics and the activities of the Secretariat for the Implementation of the Framework Agreement geared at implement-

ing the Strategy for the equitable representation of communities not in the majority and the Action Plan, which will contribute to and respect the needs of women affected by the process of peacebuilding and conflict prevention;

- Increase in activities of national and local institutions to promote the importance of UNSCR 1325, especially through prevention committees and councils and their cooperation with civil society, which will increase public awareness;
- Identification of UNSCR priority points as short- and long-term goals within the NAPGE and the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR1325 by each institution;
- Identification of the security sector institutions' (human and financial) capacities to implement UNSCR 1325;
- Establishment of a nationwide register of (institutional and human) capacities for participation in civilian missions and of the basic requirements, competencies, skills and other criteria for participation in international missions in the MOD and humanitarian mission areas;
- Definition of the policy/strategy, principles, legal framework and priorities (in accordance with international humanitarian law) for participation in civilian and military missions that are part of the Strategy for Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Peacebuilding, whilst taking into account UNSCR 1325;
- Participatory approach (sectoral/ministerial, cross-sectoral/ministerial, national, local, international) to policymaking and the implementation of UNSCR1325;

System for the Protection of Security Sector Staff from Discrimination

As an active member of the UN, CoE, OSCE and as an EU and NATO candidate country, Macedonia has been implementing the CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 guidelines operationalized in its Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (of January 2012) and other legislation that includes gender dimensions.

As a UN member, the Republic of Macedonia initiated the preparation of the NAP for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in order to advance the position and role of women and their participation in peace and security policy issues both at the local, national and

international levels. The Republic of Macedonia drafted this NAP in response to UNSCR 1325, the subsequent resolutions on WPS as well as the UN Secretary-General's 2010 report on their implementation.

The implementation of the UNSCR 1325 recommendations is related to the framework established by the CEDAW, under which inequality is understood as a consequence of discrimination against women. In its reporting guidelines, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women requires of states to reflect in their reports the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, while UNSCR 1325 recalls in its Preamble the states' commitments to standards in the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action.

International humanitarian law (Geneva Conventions and Protocols thereto) and international human rights law constitute the framework and contain specific guidance for countries on dealing with the issue and protection, while CEDAW obliges them to document incidents of any kind of violence against women. The gender perspective and the tools for gender equality and equal opportunities for men and women in the design and implementation of security policies and peace processes are hence an important aspect of the activities at both the national and international levels.

UNSCR 1325 calls upon all UN Member States and all parties to the armed conflict to respect fully international law with respect to women and girls and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It also calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict.¹⁵ This Resolution creates the basis for the so-called PPP strategy (Protect women against violence; Prevent gender based violence; Participation of women in peace processes), i.e. protection of women against violence; prevention of gender violence and participation of women in peace processes.

15 International interventions in conflicts can take the form of preservation of peace, participation in peace negotiations, humanitarian aid or reconstruction missions and consolidation of peace missions. Military, police or civilian forces participating in various forms of interventions are required to respect and apply the standards of international law and gender aspects in all conditions and stages of intervention in conflicts or emergencies and complex humanitarian situations caused by natural disasters, such as prevention of conflicts, establishment of peace, rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation, and participation in political decision-making in post-conflict stabilization, justice and legislation, preservation and missions in support of peace, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, et al.

The experience of the Republic of Macedonia during the twenty-year period since it gained independence shows that the internal and regional crises and conflicts pose challenges to peace and security of the states and their citizens and can result in various forms of instability. Volatility increases uncertainty and strengthens or generates additional forms of gender inequality.

Experiences in dealing with crises and conflicts in the region show that gender aspects have been an integral part of the causes and consequences of instability, i.e., that gender-sensitive policies are a necessary part of the democratic process. In this regard, the effectiveness of the reforms in the political, economic, social, and security sectors depends on the successful implementation of policies and instruments for reducing inequality and the realization of human rights, as well as on the implementation of a gender perspective in these processes.

The Republic of Macedonia has participated in international missions (Iraq, Bosnia, and Afghanistan) with its military and civilian facilities. The declaration of forces to and participation in EU and the United Nations missions will extend the state's engagement in international peacekeeping missions.

The below Tables (1-7) provide an overview of the gender breakdown of the Ministry of Defense and the Army of Republic of Macedonia (ARM) staff. Namely, they outline the number of women registered for voluntary military service, Military Academy cadets, newly commissioned pilots, applicants/candidates for professional soldiers, an overview of the number of women participating in peacekeeping missions, a breakdown of male and female ARM personnel by category and of men and women in the Ministry management structure.

The presented data lead to the conclusion that the participation of women in the Ministry of Defense and the Army of Republic of Macedonia has been gradually increasing. Although women still account for a very small number of professional soldiers (3%), the situation is somewhat better in the officers' and NCO corps (8.6% and 11.1% respectively), while the share of women employed as civilians in the two institutions is solid (34.6 %). On the other hand, the number of women cadets at the Military Academy (25%) and holding senior offices in the MOD (39.7%) is quite high. The number of women participating in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Afghanistan (123) is encouraging given the total number of women in the Army (611). Hence, one out of five women employed in the Army has participated in a peacekeeping operation. We can be satisfied with the trend of improvement of the gender

balance in the MOD and ARM, but improving the gender balance in the ARM is likely to take more time.

Conclusion

The analysis of the situation shows that, since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2001, the Republic of Macedonia has paid particular attention to the gender concept in national legislation, to issues related to gender-based discrimination and equal opportunities for women and men. It may be noted that some of the guidelines and obligations arising from UNSCR 1325 have been covered by the activities the institutions have been undertaking within the gender policy (such as suppressing various forms of discrimination, trafficking in women and children, sexual abuse and exploitation, domestic and other forms of violence). However, the part of UNSCR 1325 concerning the role of women in peace and security remains underdeveloped within the strategic documents. The analysis of the activities in this area shows that additional activities need to be launched to sensitize the institutions, governmental and non-governmental alike, and develop gender-sensitive policies in the field of peace and security.

Table 1: Voluntary Military Service (Women)

	Military Service	Number of Applicants (and in % vis-a-vis Men)	Number of Applicants who Already Passed the Medical Examinations (and in % vis-a-vis Men)	Number of Accepted Candidates (and in % vis-a-vis Men)
1	October 2014	19 (5.22%)	14 (5.79%)	14 (7%)
2	February 2015	9 (2.74%)	5 (2.16%)	5 (4.75%)
3	June 2015	22 (4.06%)	15 (4.75%)	15 (5.3%)

Table 2: Women at the Military Academy

	Competition 2014 (Female Applicants)	Number (%) of Admitted Applicants	Total Number (%) of Females at the Military Academy
1	42 (25.15%)	5 (20%)	30 (25%)

Table 3: Commissioning of Pilots – First Cohort at the MOD Training Center

	Competition (April 2014)	Admitted Female Candidates	Commissioned Female Candidates
1	4	1 (25%)	1 (25%)

Table 4: Registered Candidates for Professional Soldiers (2014)

	Registered Candidates	Male	Female
1	164	154	10

Table 5: Overview of the Number of Women Participating in Peacekeeping Missions

Mission	Officers	NCOs	Professional Soldiers	Civilians	Total
ALTEA (B&H)	18	27	/	18	63
ISAF (Afghanistan)	/	20	28	12	60
Total	18	47	28	30	123

Table 6: Overview of Army Members by Category and Sex

	Category	Female	Male	% Females
1	Officers	85	988	8.6
2	NCOs	197	1772	11.1
3	Professional Soldiers	112	3712	3
4	Civilians	217	627	34.6
/	Total	611	7099	8.6

Table 7: Overview of Senior Civil Servants by Job Title and Sex

Title	Number	Male	Female
State Secretary	1	1 (100%)	/
State Advisor	7	6 (86%)	1 (14%)
Head of Department	8	8 (100%)	/
Deputy (Assistant) Head of Department	14	7 (50%)	7 (50%)
Head of Section	33	16 (48.5%)	17 (51.5%)
Total	63	38 (60.3%)	25 (39.7%)

› Mehmedin Tahirović

354.61-055.2(497.16)

355.12-055.2(497.16)

355.1-055.2(497.16)

GENDER ISSUES IN MONTENEGRO, DEFENCE SYSTEM AND THE ARMED FORCES OF MONTENEGRO

Abstract: *The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security”, on October 31, 2000 in order to promote and protect women’s rights in the world, and particularly in armed conflicts where women and children appear as the biggest victims of these events. Bearing in mind the strategic commitment of Montenegro to adjust its security policy with the EU and NATO during the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, it is important to emphasize the alignment of gender issues in the Montenegrin defence system with NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, which takes care of establishing the equal status of women in the defence system of the Alliance’s member states. The Constitution of Montenegro defines that the state guarantees equality of women and men and develop the policy of equal opportunities. In Montenegro, there are three institutional mechanisms for achieving gender equality: Gender Equality Committee of the Parliament of Montenegro; the Department for Gender Equality Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms of Montenegro. Three priority areas related to gender equality are in the focus and in the policy agenda of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, all together being in line with the commitments and achieving EU standards, are: the political participation of women, combating violence against women and women’s economic empowerment. Duties and activities of the Ministry of Defence in the field of gender equality, arising from the Action Plan for Gender Equality, which is a development document for implementation of gender equality. In order to raise awareness of the gender perspective in the defence system, in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of Montenegro, through the implementation of NATO’s Partnership for Peace program, a special Partnership Goal –Gender Perspective, was established in 2003, which specifies continuation implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in the defence system, in accordance with the recommendations of the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives for the implementation of Resolution 1325.*

Keywords: *Gender Policies, UNSC Resolution 1325, NATO, Montenegro, the Ministry of Defence, the Armed Forces of Montenegro.*

Introduction

Gender equality policies in the state, particularly in its security sector, are accepted today not only in the EU and NATO member states, but also those that wish the membership thereto. The success of this policy depends primarily on the degree of influence of traditional heritage, the intensity changes in the minds of people and their gender sensitivity in everyday life as well as the institutional mechanisms undertaken by the state.¹ In order to improve the protection of women's rights in the world, and particularly in armed conflicts where women and children appear as the main victims of such events, the *UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security", on October 31, 2000.*² After that, based on this Resolution, a number of others were adopted aimed at continuous improvement of the situation in this very important area for women, such as: Resolution 1612 (2005), Resolution 1674 (2006), Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1882 (2009), Resolution 1888 (2009) and eventually the Resolution 1889 of 05 October 2009. The resolutions calls on states and international organizations to actively protect women and children from violence in armed conflicts, prevent sexual war crimes, advocate for gender equality in international missions and operations, improve specialized training and support initiatives for peace of the local women. In addition, the resolution obliges UN member states to ensure increased participation of women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, to expand the role of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and propose more women candidates to become special and diplomatic UN representatives.³

During the functioning of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro - SME, on 08 June 2005, the Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro has defined the future foreign policy priorities by adopting the *Declaration on the European Integration of Montenegro*. In the second item of the Declaration "express its willingness join NATO and other European and Euro-Atlantic security struc-

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- 1 Mehmedin Tahirović, *Montenegro and Partnership for Peace Program*, Connections, The Quarterly Journal, Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Spring, Gramish-Partekirchen, 2008., p.32
 - 2 Proceedings from the International conference "Women in the Army", 2007, *Text of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325)*, the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, The Strategic Research Institute, Belgrade, 2007, pg. 235
 - 3 Megan Bastick and Daniel de Torres, *Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions in Security Sector Reform*, Gender and SSR Toolkit, Tool 13, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), Page 10-13.

tures in order to achieve full and permanent stability and regional security through the Partnership for Peace Programme”⁴

After the restoration of statehood in May 2006, Montenegro has opened a new page of engagement in the international community. Bearing in mind the expressed need of the state to intensify integration processes, yet on 03 June 2006, the Parliament adopted the *Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Montenegro*, which highlighted the Montenegro’s strategic commitment “to join European and Euro-Atlantic - NATO security structures and to continue to contribute to strengthening regional stability and security”⁵.

Bearing in mind the strategic commitment of Montenegro to comply its security policy with the EU and NATO during the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, it is important to emphasize the alignment of gender issues in the Montenegrin defence system with *NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives*, which takes care of establishing the equal status of women in the defence system of the Alliance’s member states.

The practical application of the NATO policy towards gender issues, initiated in 1973, with the forming of the Committee on Women and creating the first tasks list with description, and thereafter on 19 July 1976, the Military Committee of NATO formally promoted the *Committee on Women in the NATO forces – CWINF*. In order to improve the work of the Committee, the Office Women in the NATO Forces – OWINF was established in 1998 in International Military Staff - IMS. This office has a role of a secretariat and advisory body to the Committee for women’s issues in NATO forces. The office is responsible for developing a network with defence and other agencies concerned with the employment of women soldiers, providing short reports on the integration of the sexes, collecting and processing relevant information for dissemination among member and Partner countries, Mediterranean Dialogue countries and other international agencies. The Committee is a focal point of NATO for all matters concerning recruitment, training and development, and quality of life of women in uniform. Also, it monitors the result of the work and participation of women in a multinational environment during the mission led by NATO. In May 2009, the mandate of the Committee was expanded to provide support

4 *Declaration on the European Integration of Montenegro*, Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro, No. 36/05 of 16 June 2005.

5 *Declaration of Independence of Montenegro*, Parliament of the Republic of Montenegro, 03 June 2006.

for the integration of gender issues in NATO military operations, in particular to support the implementation of Resolutions 1325 and 1820, as well as the future UN Security Council resolutions. On this occasion, the Committee was renamed to *NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives - NCGP*, as currently named.⁶

One of the most significant achievements of NCGP is the creation of *Recommendations on Implementation of UNSCR 1325 of the UNSC* at the end of 2010. The conclusion of this 30-page document provides basic guidelines to partner countries about necessary steps to be taken as regards this issue in the forthcoming period.⁷

The NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP) recommends:

- nations to develop a National Action Plan (NAP) and directives to promote gender mainstreaming;
- senior leaders to commit and to actively support the implementation of a gender perspective at NATO and national levels;
- NATO offers a gender training template to enable a greater coherence of gender training across NATO nations;
- NATO offers a “train-the-trainer” program to meet the requirement for standardization and interoperability within gender;
- NATO and nations provide appropriate resources in terms of funding, time and personnel;
- gender focal point network to exchange knowledge and share best practices with the gender advisers;
- centralized database with lessons learned, mission successes and failures to be created;
- gender advisor, as a counsellor, has to be integrated into the military structure to support the Commander.

These recommendations represent an adequate basis for establishing the legal-normative and organizational basis in the defence system of Montenegro

6 Mehmedin Tahirović, Article: *Women in the Security Sector and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Montenegro*, Thematic Proceedings, Women in the Security Sector – A Regional Perspective na perspektiva, Military Printing, Belgrade, 2012. Link: http://www.isi.mod.gov.rs/pdf/publikacije/1338804270_Zene%20u%20sektoru%20bezbednosti.pdf

7 Gender Training & Education, *RECOMMENDATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325*, Brussels, 0012-10 NATO Graphics & Printing, Page 23.

for the implementation of gender equality policies in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro.

Legal and institutional framework on Gender Equality in Montenegro

Legal Bases

The Constitution of Montenegro, in Chapter Human Rights and Freedoms, defines also that all shall be deemed equal before the law, regardless of any particularity or personal feature. Also, in the same Chapter of the Constitution, it is set that state shall guarantee the equality of women and men and shall develop the policy of equal opportunities.⁸

The Law on Gender Equality as the first anti-discrimination law in Montenegro is the most important mechanism for the elimination of discrimination on the grounds on sex, and its adoption is creating an environment for achieving gender equality.⁹ The law establishes a government body responsible for tasks referring to achieving gender equality and application of the Law and that is the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights. The Law on Gender Equality prescribes mechanisms for achieving gender equality. In order to eliminate gender discrimination on the grounds of sex and achieving gender equality, the Law establishes obligation of the government bodies, public administration bodies and local self-government bodies, public institutions, public companies and other legal persons which exercise public authority. The Law also highlights the role of the civil society and significant room is given to participation of NGOs in all activities towards achieving gender equality.

The Law on Amendments to the Law on Gender Equality was passed on 26 June 2015 by the Parliament of Montenegro. The Law expanded the scope of the sanctions concerning gender discrimination and violations of the principle of equal treatment of men and women in certain areas of life, including discrimination against women due to pregnancy. The Law is harmonized with the *Law*

8 *The Constitution of Montenegro*, Official Gazette of Montenegro, No.: 1, Year: LXIII, Podgorica, 2007

9 *The Law on Gender Equality*, Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 01-245/6, Podgorica, 2007.

on *Prohibition of Discrimination*,¹⁰ and the *Law on the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms of Montenegro*,¹¹ as well as the EU acquis. This primarily refers to the harmonization of definitions of discrimination on the grounds of sex to the definitions of direct and indirect discrimination in line with EU standards. The Law has been complied with ratified international treaties and other documents adopted under the auspices of the UN, EU and Council of Europe. Compliance with *EU Directives* has been carried out based on multiple bodies decision-making concerning the *Council Directive 79/7/EEC* on the progressive application of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security; *Council Directive 2000/78/EC* establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation; *Council Directive 2004/113/EC* implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services; *Directive 2006/54/EC* of the European Parliament and of the Council on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and performance; *Directive 2010/41/EU* of the European Parliament and of the Council on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity and repealing Council Directive 86/613/EEC.

The Law on the Elimination of Discrimination on the Grounds of Sex and Achieving Gender Equality, has been set as an imperative, since the introduction of penal provisions prescribed a very clear obligation of legal entities, responsible persons of the legal entity, and male and female entrepreneurs to respect the anti-discrimination standards and norms that ensure the full realization of gender equality. It is expected that the application of the prescribed sanctions will contribute to better implementation of the Law which is the most important mechanism for the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of sex in all areas and structures of society.

The Law i.a. has defined that gender equality, beside men and women, included also persons of a different gender identity. Under the Law, the implementation of gender equality has been extended to companies, other legal entities and entrepreneurs. It has been defined that the matters of direct and indirect discrimination on grounds of sex (in addition to all forms of discrimination)

10 *The Law on Prohibition of Discrimination*, Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 46/2010, Podgorica, 2010

11 *The Law on the Protector of Human Rights and Freedom of Montenegro*, Official Gazette of Montenegro, No. 42/2011 and 32/2014, Podgorica, 2011 and 2014

has been vested in the *Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms*, within his/her competencies, in line with the said the procedure to petitions in cases of discrimination on grounds of on sex has moved from the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights to the jurisdiction of this Institution as a national institutional mechanism for the protection of human rights and freedoms.

One of the most important documents for the implementation of gender equality is the *Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality in Montenegro (APAGE)*, which is profiled so to fit in the system of Montenegro in ideological, political and legal sense.¹² Political dimension of APAGE is clearly reflected in its relations to other adopted development documents, strategies, policies, and in many segments it represents their realization. Legal framework comprises the existing international obligations and national laws. Development of this document was based on the context of the EU accession of Montenegro, recommendations of the *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* and national priorities in the field of gender equality. The APAGE is based on the national legislation and international instruments for human rights, legal documents of the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the European Union and international organizations specialized for equality between women and men. It is important to emphasize that APAGE included commitments and recommendations of the Regional Declaration on Cooperation of Institutional Mechanisms for Gender Equality from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia (2005).¹³

Two Action Plans for Achieving Gender Equality has been adopted so far. The Government of Montenegro has approved the first one in 2008 for the period 2008-2012, and the second one for the period 2013-2017. Simultaneously, the Implementation Programme has been adopted for the period 2013-2014, and in March 2015, the Implementation Programme for the period 2015-2016 as well.

Of 12 critical areas in which gender inequality is most pronounced in the Beijing Declaration, Montenegro has opted for the nine areas in which it intends to take actions in the forthcoming period in order to achieve gender equality. APAGE has considered the following areas: a) improving human rights of

12 *The Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality in Montenegro*, The Government of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2008

13 *Declaration on Cooperation of Institutional Mechanisms for Gender Equality in Western Balkan Countries*, Sarajevo, 19 October 2005.

women and gender equality; b) gender-sensitive education; c) gender equality in economy; d) gender-sensitive health care; e) gender-based violence; f) Media and Culture; g) equality in the decision-making process in political and public life; h) international politics and cooperation ii) institutional mechanisms for the implementation of gender equality policies. In every area strategic objectives are set as well as measures to be taken. Holders of activities have also been defined as well as, partners and the time frame.

Institutional Mechanisms

In Montenegro, until now, three *institutional mechanisms* for achieving gender equality have been established: *Committee for Gender Equality of the Parliament of Montenegro*, *Ministry for Human and Minority Rights (Gender Equality Department)* and *the protector of Human Rights and Freedoms of Montenegro*.

The Committee for Gender Equality of the Parliament of Montenegro was established on 11 July 2001 which in accordance with its competencies carries out the following tasks: discusses proposals for laws, other regulations and general acts which refer to the establishment of the principle of gender equality; monitors the implementation of these rights through law enforcement and improving the principle of gender equality, particularly in the area of the right of the child, family relationships, employment, entrepreneurship, decision making processes, education, health care, social policy and information; takes part in preparation, development and harmonization of laws and other acts with the standards of the EU legislation and the programs of the European Union which refer to gender equality; promotes signing of international documents dealing with this issue and monitors their applying; cooperates with adequate working bodies of other parliaments and NGOs in this field. Also, the Committee monitors and evaluates harmonisation of the laws of Montenegro with *Acquis* and based on the Governments reports monitors and evaluate applying of laws particularly the laws from which obligations harmonised with *Acquis* stem. This year (2015), it is the first time that the Committee as a National Committee considered the Draft Law on Amendments to the Law on Gender Equality.

The Government of Montenegro established the *Office for Gender Equality* at the meeting held on 27 March 2003. According to the Law on Gender Equality, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights is in charge of the tasks related to achieving gender equality. In April 2009, the Gender Equality Department (renamed Office) becomes an integral part of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights.

Gender Equality Department carries out activities in relation to: the protection against discrimination in the area of gender identity; preparing, creating and coordinating research on various aspects of gender equality; coordinating activities on gender equality issues; carrying out activities in the field of gender equality with regard to joining full membership in the European Union and matters related to European integration; building up the necessary administrative capacity to fulfil the obligations in the field of gender equality arising from membership in the Council of Europe and the United Nations; establishing regional cooperation in the field of gender equality and cooperation with regional initiatives within the scope of the Department; monitoring the implementation of international treaties in the areas of gender equality and initiating harmonization of domestic legislation with international treaties and other international acts that relates to gender equality; preparing reports on the implementation of international multilateral agreements in the field of gender equality; performing other tasks in the field of gender equality.

Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms of Montenegro is a central institutional mechanism for the protection against discrimination.¹⁴ In accordance with the Law on the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Protector in the exercise of his/her function acts in a way that: points, warns, criticizes, proposes and recommends. The Protector may provide his or her opinion on the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms, upon the request of the authorities. The Protector deals with general issues that are important for the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms and cooperates with organisations and institutions dealing with human rights and freedoms. The most important segment is that the Protector is authorised to initiate proceedings following the complaint of a citizen about discrimination based on sex as defined by the latest amendments to the Law on Gender Equality. The Institution of the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms projected a work post – Adviser to the Protector in the institutional mechanism for protection against discrimination of minority rights and gender equality. Currently, a deputy protector of human rights and freedoms for issues of non-discrimination, within his or her competencies is dealing with these issues.

Coordinators for gender equality appointed in state institutions (currently there are 105 designated persons) and at the local level (currently there are 20 of them

¹⁴ Gordana Đurović, *Montenegro's Strategic Priorities on the Path of Euro-Atlantic Integration*, Connections, The Quarterly Journal, Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institutes, Winter, Garmish-Partenkirchen, 2009., p.29

in 20 municipalities and they form a network aimed to establish cooperation between local governments regarding the implementation of gender equality and strengthening the mechanisms for realization of equal opportunities at the local level) are dealing with the gender equality issues.

Priority areas for achieving Gender Equality in Montenegro

Three priority areas in relation to gender equality and in the focus and on the agenda of the Ministry for human and minority rights, which is in line with obligations and achievement of EU standards, are: *women's political participation, combating violence against women and women's economic empowerment.*

The participation of women in *political decision-making* at central and local level is an extremely important aspect and prerequisite for establishing gender equality. Currently, there are 14 female MPs or 17% in the Montenegrin Parliament, somewhat more than at the beginning of this convocation but still the lowest percentage of the female MPs in the wider region (B&H 21.4%; Croatia 23.8%; Macedonia 30.9%; Slovenia 32.2% and Serbia 32.4%). Montenegro holds the 95th position in the world as regards this percentage.

In 14 Montenegrin municipalities where elections were held in April 2014, according to the Law on Amendments to the Law on Election of Councillors and Members of Parliament – the average female representation amounted to 26.52%, and a slight increase was noted compared to the previous 15%. In some municipalities, this percentage is over 32%, as is the case with the local communities of Podgorica and Kolasin. Pursuant to the said Law, it has been established the requirement that among 4 candidates one should be of less represented gender.

The Government of Montenegro has 17 ministerial positions in total, and 4 women perform a ministerial function: the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Science, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare and the Minister without Portfolio. Although this number does not look great, women are at the forefront of very important portfolios – and it is particularly admirable that at the moment of EU and NATO integration the defence sector of Montenegro is led by a woman.

Deputy Minister's positions in the Government of Montenegro are occupied by over 44% of women, and if we look at the negotiating structure of Montenegro, we can conclude that leading positions of the working groups for chapters 23 and 24 are held by women.

In percentage terms, the average proportion of women in positions of judges is: 63% of male and 37% of female. Women are more dominantly represented compared to men when it comes to the holders of the prosecutorial function, 60% of women and 40% of men.

An important fact is that 65% of women have higher education in Montenegro, which indicates the potential that Montenegro should use in the future

Protection of human rights and the protection of women against violence, in the process of European integration of Montenegro, have been recognized as one of the national priorities and obligations in terms of the fulfilment of Montenegrin foreign policy agenda. In the negotiation chapter 23 - Judiciary and Fundamental Rights,¹⁵ this issue was raised as very important in terms of the realization of human rights, and therefore measures have been taken for the realization of commitments for further improving the situation in this area. The Government of Montenegro is implementing a policy based on the principles of non-discrimination and respect for human rights, and it is expressed through the existing legal and institutional framework.

As to preventing and combating violence against women and women's access to justice, a significant progress has been made in Montenegro over the past few years, particularly in the legislative field and a plan to raise public awareness about the problem of violence against women. A series of laws and regulations have been adopted of which the most important are: *Law on Protection against Family Violence* (2010);¹⁶ *The Strategy for Protection against Family Violence* (2011); the *Protocol on procedures in family violence cases* have been signed between all relevant institutions in 2011. Montenegro acceded to the *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* in 2011. Montenegro was among the first five member states of the *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*, the so-called the *Istanbul Convention*, which came into force in August 2014 and which obliges Montenegro to comply domestic legislative framework and institutional mechanisms with the provisions of this Convention.

From the moment of the adoption of the *Law on Protection against Domestic Violence* (2010), it has been noted the increased number of reported cases of

15 Gordana Djurović, Lidija Čehulić, Mehmedin Tahirović, Danijela Jaćimović, Nikola Milović, *Crna Gora u 21. stoljeću u erikompetitivnosti - Integracija u evropske i evroatlantske strukture*, Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti 73/4, Podgorica, 2010., p.121

16 *The Law on Protection against Family Violence*, Official Gazette of Montenegro 46/10, Podgorica, 2010

domestic violence and violence against women. This clearly indicates that the Law began to be applied in practice. It is important to highlight the increasing number of misdemeanour charges, while the number of criminal charges was reduced as was the intention of passing a special law, the victim to receive a quick and efficient preventive care.

The Ministry for Human and Minority Rights conducts every year a campaign of 16 days of action opposing violence against women and domestic violence. The campaign is being conducted in cooperation with the UNDP, the OSCE mission, NGOs and within it, there are held round tables, prepared video clips addressing the prohibition and prevention of violence. There are appearances at media, held public lectures in all municipalities in Montenegro for high school students on "Opposing violence against women and domestic violence". Brochure in Montenegrin, Albanian and Roma is published with the directory of institutions the victims may contact in case of violence and events marking the mentioned campaign are organized. It is important to point out that the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights continuously conducts training on combating violence against women and domestic violence for different target groups (judicial positions holders, multidisciplinary teams' members, teachers/professors, media representatives, students, etc.). A special form of violence against women/girls is the practice of the early-forced marriages, which is present especially among RE population. The Government of Montenegro adopted the *Strategy for the Improvement of Roma Status 2012-2016* that addresses this issue as well. The Ministry for Human and Minority Rights conducts training and campaign researches, in order to reduce and eradicate this phenomenon, together with other relevant institutions and NGOs dealing with this issue.

With a view to achieving the third national priority, *economic empowerment of women in Montenegro*, through the process of preparing for participation in the single EU market by building their capacities within the guidelines for the development of the European Union by 2020, the Government of Montenegro, in cooperation with the EU and the UNDP, adopted in June 2015, the *Strategy for the Development of Women Entrepreneurship from 2015 to 2020*.

According to data from the Statistical Office of Montenegro - MONSTAT for 2013, only 14.8% of employees are engaged in some form of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, gender inequality in the development of entrepreneurship in Montenegro is very noticeable. Male population is characterized by a higher degree of entrepreneurial activities, or 19.2% of employed men have their own business, while only 9.3% of women is engaged in this form of employment.

According to the Labour Force Survey published by MNOSTAT, in 2014 the activity rate for women was 55.4%, the employment rate of 45.3%, while the unemployment rate is 18.4%. These indicators for the male population are more favourable and amount 67.7%, 55.5% and 18.0%. Compared to 2013, it is evident that the situation is improved on the labour market for the female population in 2014. Namely, in comparison with the data in 2013, the activity rate is increased by 1.6 percentage points (from 52.8% to 54.4%), the employment rate is increased by 2.5 percentage points (from 42.8% to 45.3%) while the unemployment rate is decreased by 0.5 percentage points (from 18.9% to 18.4%).

Employment Agency of Montenegro implements measures that increasingly influence women to be involved in some kind of program or training, with a view to achieving greater success in finding a job or accepting the jobs offered. Furthermore, it is achieved through the project *Self-Employment Support*, which includes financial and professional assistance that an unemployed person can obtain, where conditions are more favourable for women in terms of lower interest rate that amounts 3%.

Also, the Investment Development Fund - IDF of Montenegro, taking into consideration the importance of the target groups, implemented credit line for women. In fact, all interested entrepreneurs can choose between two support programs designed for this target group.

The first Support Program (which was announced in cooperation with the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights and UNDP, based on the signed, joint Memorandum), defines the conditions that are administratively more simple than the Support Program that is intended for entrepreneurs who are planning or already have private business of larger scale. Both credit lines contain certain benefits because the goal of these programs is to stimulate women to start and/or continue their own business. Depending on the Support Program, the interest rate ranges from 2% to 3.5% annually, with repayment period of 12 years, including the possibility of using the grace period up to 4 years. The benefits, in addition to stimulation that is reflected in the reduction of the interest rate for the north and less developed municipalities (Ulcinj, Niksic and Cetinje) also include the elimination of restrictions in terms of investments in fixed and/or working capital and in any activity as well as more flexible administrative procedures. More concretely, the basic Support Program for women in business that have a need for more resources in order to develop their own business, IRF provides funding of up to EUR 200,000 with an interest rate of 3.5%, or 3% if the project is implemented in the north of Montenegro or less developed

municipalities - Niksic, Ulcinj and Cetinje and repayment period of 12 years, including grace period of 4 years.

The second IRF Support Program, which was announced in cooperation with the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights and UNDP, is implemented through direct lending to loan users, and it envisages in addition to IRF financial support to all interested, training in the field of entrepreneurship. Conditions for obtaining IRF financial support, which are defined by this program, include loan funds amounting to €10,000 with an interest rate of 2.5%, or 2% if the project is implemented in the north of Montenegro or less developed municipalities - Niksic, Ulcinj and Cetinje, and repayment period of 6 years, including grace period of one year. It is especially emphasized that, in terms of financing conditions, both programs, designed for women in business are among the most favourable within the overall IRF Financial Support Program in 2015. In addition, the Government of Montenegro adopted on 27 August 2015 the Guidelines for the creation of a favourable environment for women's entrepreneurship in the local communities in Montenegro.

Cooperation with international and non-governmental organizations

The Ministry for Human and Minority Rights continuously cooperate with the UNDP Office in Montenegro. Within the *Gender Equality Programme IPA 2010*, which is implemented by the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights in partnership with the UNDP Office in Montenegro and the EU Delegation to Montenegro, there were carried out activities in three areas: combating violence against women, economic empowerment of women and empowerment of women to participate in political and public life.

In December 2014 the external evaluation of the Gender Equality Program was carried out, where it was estimated that the program succeeded in all areas (violence against women and domestic violence, political empowerment of women and economic empowerment of women) to strengthen capacity, improve mechanisms, improve policies and improve the conditions for the implementation of the Action Program for Achieving Gender Equality.

The European Commission has approved the project "Support to Policies of Anti-Discrimination and Equal Opportunities", which is a continuation of the IPA Program 2010 and which will be implemented from 2016 through common

partnership of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, Ministry of Justice, the Council of Europe and UNDP.

Activities under this project will contribute to the protection, promotion and strengthening of human rights and equal opportunities. They refer to the need for stronger implementation of policies and standards of anti-discrimination and equal opportunities, and are also aimed at improving the system of protection of human rights of detainees.

Implementing the project “The Economic and Social Empowerment of Women in Montenegro” and “Improvement of Economic and Social Rights of Women” funded by the United Nations Agency for Women - UN WOMEN in 2013, the Department for Gender Equality has organized seminars for women from rural areas, then seminars, in order to introduce the various target groups on gender equality issues, domestic regulations and international standards and the need of economic empowerment of women, as well.

In the area of gender equality, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights has a successful and continuous cooperation with the OSCE mission to Montenegro. Project *“Promotion and implementation of Gender Equality Principles and Standards”* has jointly been implemented, aimed at implementation of gender equality policies at the local level. Memorandum of Cooperation has been signed, within the project, with 16 municipalities in which are implemented intensive activities in this field. It also supported the development of local action plans for gender equality in some municipalities and there are held seminars and training.

Cooperation with the NGO sector in Montenegro in the field of gender equality is continuously maintained. Regular meetings are held with NGOs, dealing with human rights, gender equality, combating violence against women and domestic violence, economic status of woman and etc. It is common practice that Forum for Dialogue with NGOs is held minimum, once a year, where are addressed topics of common interest. Activities are conducted through joint campaigns, trainings, researches and implementation of projects financed by the international organizations. As a result of joint activity of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights and NGO - “Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence” from Podgorica, during the 2014-2015 years there is implemented the project *“Establishment of an Effective System of Prevention and Protection of Children and Young People from Violence in Family and Educational Institutions”*, which is funded by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Nor-

way. “*Handbook for Employees of the Vocational Educational Institutions on the Treatment, Prevention and Protection of Children and Young People from Violence in Family*” was prepared and published within the project. Memorandum of Understanding was also signed in June 2015 with NGOs that provide services of entity for support to women and children who are victims of domestic violence.

Implementation of Gender Equality policy in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro

In the defence system a special attention is given to gender issues. So in the Strategic Defence Review of Montenegro, which the Government of Montenegro adopted in July 2013¹⁷, which defines the modalities and dynamic of reforms in the defence system and determines the future development of the MoD and the Armed Forces of Montenegro, in the part that covers the area of the key priorities of the development of the defence system it is concluded that significant progress has been made in the area of women’s presence in the defence system and the gender structure of contract soldiers, the participation of women in the Armed Forces of Montenegro at the level of modern armed forces, while women are less present in the structure of non-commissioned officers and officers, therefore it is necessary to develop mechanisms that will provide more balanced presence of women in this area and within the PARP program of military cooperation carried out by the MoD and MNEAF within the Euro-Atlantic integration there is defined a special partnership goal - gender perspective¹⁸.

Duties and activities of the Ministry of Defence in the field of gender equality are arising from the Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality - APAGE, which is a development document for implementation of gender equality policy. Gender equality, at the legislative, political and the level of real life circumstances is a necessary precondition which makes Montenegro through the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration closer to the European Union and NATO countries, as well as the fulfilment of existing obligations as a UN and the Council of Europe member state.

Within the APAGE the Ministry of Defence is recognized in the following areas:

17 *Strategic Defence Review*, Government of Montenegro, June 2013

18 Mehmedin Tahirović, *Integration of Montenegro into NATO*, Human Resources Management Authority of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2015, p. 121

- *Action to establish* equality in decision-making process in political and public life, which *strategic goal* is participation of women and men at all levels of decision-making through the implementation of Resolution 1325 UNSC - Women, Peace and Security;
- *Activities* to integrate a gender perspective in the training of personnel in the defence system and the Armed Forces concerning Resolution 1325 UNSC and
- *Training* on gender-based violence, improving the database on the presence of women and men in the Armed Forces, promoting greater involvement of women in the Armed Forces, with special emphasis on training of military contingents members, participating in international missions and operations.

Appointment of the first woman Prof. Milica Pejanović, PhD to the position of Defence Minister in 2012 is an indicator of the decisive implementation of set goals. At the same time, a woman is also appointed to the position of Secretary of the Ministry of Defence. Through the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality, *women coordinators* of the activities are appointed in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro concerning gender equality as an institutional mechanism whose introduction ensures that gender equality in the defence policies and practices represents an important element of the implementation of gender equality.

Training in the field of gender equality, Resolution UNSC 1325 and gender equality in international missions and operations, was included from 2013 in the *Instruction for Training of the Armed Forces of Montenegro*, as the key document for the training the Armed Forces members and since December 2014 and as a special topic in the program of training persons involved in international missions abroad, as well as in the training programs of the Armed Forces members, on the basic NCO courses, lasting two teaching classes. Introduction of training in the officers' training courses is planned. The total number the Armed Forces of Montenegro members that has passed training on gender equality from 2008 until today is 400 persons. In 2014, 61 members underwent training, 40 members in 2015 and in 2016 there is planned training for 50 members of the Armed Forces of Montenegro.

In cooperation with the Department for Gender Equality Affairs of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, the Ministry of Defence, with the participation of representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration

and with the financial and logistical support from UNDP / SEESAC, organized a seminar in 2013 on “*Gender Equality in the Defence System*”, with special emphasis on gender-based violence. There were 10 members of the Armed Forces of Montenegro who participated in the seminar and four employees of the Ministry of Defence, who made themselves familiar with: the basis of gender equality, national and international legal framework in this area and the obligations of state entities, with Resolution UNSC 1325, the statistical indicators regarding gender equality in the Montenegrin society, on gender sensitive language, the phenomenon of violence against women, as well as with the Montenegrin legislative framework in the field of violence against women and domestic violence.

For recruitment and retention of women in the defence system, setting of database in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro on all employees is very important (KAIS CIS - personnel information system for professional military personnel and civilians employed or working in the Armed Forces of Montenegro and CIS - personnel information system for the administration and registration of all legally regulated about employed civil servants and employees in the Ministry of Defence). These databases provide recording, managing and analysing of data related to the planning of internal organization and systematization, the efficient allocation and use of personnel, the efficient system of continuous education and training and monitoring of all processes related to personnel and they are constantly updated. From the budget funds of the Ministry of Defence and the funds from donations there is in progress the implementation of the activities related to the development of a unique information system of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro, which will, among other things, be gender sensitive and provide better management of gender-sensitive statistics and monitoring of career development and employee turnover (recruitment and retention of women) and adequate regulation of the system for collection, dissemination and analysis of gender-sensitive data in the Armed Forces of Montenegro. Necessary equipment is procured and software is to be created in the current phase.

The Ministry of Defence carries out, military profession promotion, with a focus on women, through a special link that is posted on the web site of the Ministry¹⁹, within the project “*EU and NATO, Our Choice*”, implemented by local television 777 in Podgorica. Activities of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Montenegro concerning gender perspective in the defence system of Montenegro are broadcasted in the show “*Women and Euro-Atlantic Integra-*

19 <http://www.mod.gov.me>, “*Women in the Armed Forces*”, December 2015

tion” broadcasted on this channel. Human Resources Directorate, during public announcements for education at military academies for the needs of MNEAF, organize visits to high schools, guest appearances on local TV and radio stations and broadcast spots, where representatives of the MoD and MNEAF promote the military profession, speaking on conditions of education at the prestigious military academies in the world, the perspectives after graduation, and the conditions, way of work and the role of women in the Armed Forces.

Gender Equality Partnership Goal

In order to raise awareness of the gender perspective in the defence system, in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of Montenegro, through the implementation of NATO’s Partnership for Peace Program, 2013 there is established a special *Partnership Goal-gender perspective (PG-Partnership Goal - Gender Perspective)*, which specifies continuation of the implementation of R 1325 UNSC in the defence system, in accordance with the recommendations of the NATO Gender Issues Committee for the implementation of Resolution 1325. This Partnership Goal is implemented through:

- Raising awareness of the gender perspective,
- Training of military contingents members deployed in international missions and operations on gender perspectives,
- Training of MNEAF members on gender equality and R 1325 UN SC through the establishment of a team of professionals trained on gender issues, which may be delegated advisers, liaison officers and officers for search, in order to be available for deployment in multinational operations,
- Increase of women’s participation in international missions and operations and
- Contribution to project implementation “*Female Leaders in Security and Defence*” (FLSD), through the process of cooperation of South Eastern Europe Defence Ministers - SEDM (SEDM - South Eastern Defence Ministerial).

At the annual conference of the NATO ACT Command Transformation (ACT - Allied Command Transformation), to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of R 1325 UNSC, which was held from June 1-5, 2015 at NATO headquarters in Brussels, which was attended by representatives of the MoD and MNEAF, it was pointed out that R1325 and the accompanying resolutions, NATO Directive BI-SCI 40-I (implementation of Resolution 1325 in the military organizations and the obligation of introducing gender advisors at all levels), NATO / EAPC

policy and Action Plan on the implementation of Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security, binding on all members of NATO and PfP countries.

In relation to that, in the Armed Forces are introduced the training in the area of gender equality and R 1325 SBUN at all levels and in training the members that goes in international missions and operations. From 2010 till now four women members of the AFMNE participated in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan.

By implementing the activities and measures on national and regional level and through special Partnership Goal, in the Armed Forces are undertaken following activities:

- It is appointed the contact point regarding the affairs of gender equality;
- In accordance with verified activities of PARP from 2011 in the AFMNE continuously are conducted the training related to gender equality and R 1325 SBUN;
- in the Instruction on Training in the Armed Forces of Montenegro from 2013 is introduced the training in the area of gender equality and UNSC Resolution 1325, while from December 2014 as a special topic in the training program for the persons that are deployed in the international missions and operations abroad as well as in the training programs for the members of the Armed Forces on Basic NCO Courses. During 2016 it is planned to be introduced the training in the area of gender equality also for Basic Officers Training;
- Women officers of the AFMNE have completed specialized courses abroad in the area of defense and security aiming the improvement of own knowledge, skills and professional development;
- The Armed Forces of Montenegro received the team of five regional trainers from the area of gender equality in international missions and operations which can be delegated advisors and be available for participating in missions and which are also holders of activities to raise awareness on gender equality in the units of the Armed Forces of Montenegro;
- Trainers are involved in the regional project through Regional Security Sector Reform Platform (RSSRP), that has the goal that based on the requirements provide quick, effective and short lasting technical support in order to strengthen the cooperation between states in transition. They conduct training on that manner that through training by trainers prepare and make capable the instructors and trainers from the Armed Forces of other states to successfully plan, perform and evaluate the training, exercise in which is integrated the gender perspective;

- Through special program the officers of the AFMNE are educated on implementation of the gender equality policy in the AFMNE while through regional cooperation the senior cadre of the AFMNE has completed the training in the area of gender equality and UNSC Resolution 1325;
- Through a regional project, with the financial assistance of the UNDP / SEESAC in the amount of \$ 30,000, have been renovated sanitary facilities in the barracks “MilovanŠaranović” in Danilovgrad, thus improving the conditions of life and work of members of AFMNE;
- At military academies abroad for the needs of AFMNE, currently are on schooling nine cadet women of whom one at the prestigious military academy “West Point” in the United States;
- Through the program of education and employment in the AFMNE is increased the number of women officers in AFMNE, currently are 8 (eight);
- The Ministry of Defense continuously since 2011, allocates funds for realization of activities and measures for the implementation of gender equality policies and UNSC Resolution 1325. The amount in 2015 is 4000 Euros.

In accordance with the established guidelines and commitments in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of Montenegro, the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Montenegro will continue to implement gender equality policies, or the application of UNSC Resolution 1325, in order to integrate gender issues in the process of building the defense system at all levels, in which decisions are made, creates and implements policies.

According to data from the Directorate of Human Resources, as at 01.12.2015 the number of women employed in the defense system of Montenegro is the following (see attached table):

Women In The Defense System Of Montenegro

Category	Total employed	Women	Women %
Officer	310	8	2.58
NCO	817	17	2.08
Contract Solders	541	38	7.02
Civilian	240	104	43.33
Civil servants and employees	149	91	61.07
Total	2057	258	12.54

Women in Ministry of Defense

Category	Total Employed	Women	Women %
Officer	55	-	-
NCO	7	-	-
CS and E	149	91	61.07
Total	209	91	43.54

Women in Armed Forces of Montenegro

Category	Total employed	Women	Women %
Officer	255	8	3.14
NCO	810	17	2.11
Contract Solders	541	38	7.02
Civilian	240	104	43.33
Total	1843	167	9.06

Participation of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Montenegro in regional projects on gender equality

Since the introduction of the gender perspective means new experiences and perspectives in an international, collective and national defense, the integration of gender issues in the process of building the defense system of Montenegro, it is very significant regional approach.²⁰

Activities of the Ministry of Defense at the regional level arise from the three regional projects. The Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, together with the Ministry of Defense of BH, the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia and the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, supported the regional project in the field of gender equality “Strengthening regional cooperation for the integration of a gender perspective in security sector reform in the Western Balkans”, which is realized by UNDP (The Development Project of the United Nations) / SEESAC (Regional Initiative for the Control of Small arms and Light

20 Jovanka Šaranović, Zoran Kilibarda, *In Step With the Time: Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces on the Road of Gender Equity Objectification*, Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, Institute for Strategic Studies, Belgrade, 2011. pp. 127 - 131

Weapons in South East Europe - the Center for Southeastern and Eastern Europe). The project is financially supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway, the military forces of Sweden and UNDP Serbia. The project assists the efforts of countries in the region to improve the presence of women in the military profession and to increase or maintain existing female military personnel in defense systems and contribute to the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security. The project consists of three components:

- Support the institutionalization of mechanisms for gender equality with the Ministries of Defense and in the Armed Forces and the development of their capacities,
- Support the reform of personnel policy to improve the recruitment and retention of women in the service and
- Raise awareness on gender equality through sensitization program.

The Ministry of Defense has prepared the *Program of Activities for Implementation of the Components of Regional Project for the period 2012-2015*²¹, according to their priorities and needs. By realizing the components of the said project has so far are held seven regional meetings of representatives of mechanisms for gender equality in the Ministries and the Armed Forces, which are organized twice a year in order to facilitate the exchange of information on experiences in implementing activities related to promoting gender equality and with the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 and regional planning activities in accordance with the needs of the Ministries of Defenses. It should be noted that each regional meeting had a specific topic and goal. In this way is created a unique platform for regional cooperation mechanisms for gender equality in the defense of the Western Balkans.

In the second component of the regional project, the Ministry of Defense and the Army of Montenegro participated in the implementation of regional research, which had as objective to provide comparable data on participation of women in the Armed Forces, Ministries Of Defense policies on attracting and employment, education and training, participation in international missions and operations, career development on gender equality and other issues relevant to the position of women in the institutions of the defense system. The

21 *Program of Activities for Implementation of the Components of Regional Project for the period 2012-2015*, Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, Podgorica, <http://mod.gov.me> (visit website 01.12.2015)

result of this research is the adoption of the “Study on the situation of women in the Armed Forces of the Western Balkans”, with recommendations presented by Defense Minister in February 2014, at a meeting of the Committee for Gender Equality of the Parliament of Montenegro. Ministry of Defense adopted also the Plan for realization of the activities for implementation of the recommendations from the Study. Through second component of the project are verified and realized the study visits of the representatives of Ministries of Defense and the Armed Forces of the Western Balkans countries to the Ministries of Defense and Armed Forces of Sweden, Spain, Netherland, Switzerland with the aim to exchange best practices concerning the strengthening of personnel policy and practice in a gender sensitive manner.

In the frame of the third component of the project it is developed a regional program of the course, together with the Nordic center for gender in peacekeeping missions (NCGM), which was attended by representatives of the MoD and AFMNE. The program made possible to train a regional network of trainers, members of Armed Forces Ministries of Defense and Armed Forces of the countries of the Western Balkans who are responsible for organized raise of awareness of gender equality issues in depth in the Armed Forces. The course included components related to the understanding of the international framework, the importance of gender equality and the inclusion of a gender perspective in the defense and the Armed Forces. By participating in the regional course, the Montenegrin Armed Forces has received a team of five regional trainers in the field of gender equality in international missions and operations. Thanks to the implementation of this training was created a regional network of trainers / women trainers who held the training in their institutions with the aim to further expand the number of trainers / women trainers and to raise awareness on gender equality in the Armed Forces. Regional trainers from AFMNE already held trainings on gender equality in their units. In the frame of the project it is implemented the program “Mentoring for gender equality”, which has been successfully implemented in the Swedish Armed Forces since 2007. The aim of the program is to raise awareness on gender equality and to provide practical advice on how the gender perspective is included in policy-making through the daily work of the Armed Forces. The project allows officers on higher positions to learn more about gender equality and it is implemented through regular meetings and consultations between experts / women experts for Gender Equality, who are at the same time mentor / women mentors and appointed officers. Meetings between the mentor / women mentors and AFMNE officers are held once a month, beginning in February 2015, between the Chief of the

Department of Human Resources Management of the Department of Human Resources in the General Staff of AFMNE and experts from the field of gender equality and the President of the Gender Equality Committee of the Parliament. With the organization, financial and logistical support from UNDP / SEESAC, women officers of AFMNE, in 2014 and 2015 attended the short specialist courses in the field of defense and security at the University Cranfield, Great Britain, which is an integral part of the Defense Academy of the United Kingdom, with the aim of improving the skills and professional development. UNDP / SEESAC 2015 created a *Regional Security Sector Reform Platform* (RSSRP), which aims to provide upon request fast, efficient and short-term technical support, to strengthen cooperation between the countries in transition. The platform offers expert services over 50 experts / women experts from state institutions of Southeastern Europe, among which are included instructors from the Armed Forces of Montenegro, thanks to expertise in the field of gender equality in the Armed Forces. Regional coaches VCG involved in the said platform and through the UNDP / SEESAC, where a lieutenant and a captain VCG, participated in the training of trainers for gender equality from MoD and the Armed Forces of the countries of the Western Balkans and the Armed Forces of Georgia. Their task consisted in training trainers to prepare and train instructors and trainers in the armed forces of other countries, to successfully plan, carry out and evaluate training, training or practice in integrating gender perspectives.

Second regional project that supports and in which is involved the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro is "*Female leaders in security and defense*" (FLDS), which is realised within the Regional Initiative SEDM. At the initiative of the NATO Command Transformation (ACT) and the US Naval Postgraduate School in Sarajevo, Bosnia, on 26 and 27 June 2011, is organized a conference on "Involvement of women leaders in the defense and national security." The conference discussed the strategic issues of the development of capacity, which was attended by women - senior officials from the field of security and defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatian, Macedonia, Norway, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia and the United States as well as regional and international experts from this field. The main outcome of the conference is the mentioned project, which was initiated by the MoD of Bulgaria. Given that an increasing number of members of international organizations recognizes gender as a very important aspect of peace and security, the project contributes to the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 and aims to bring together women leaders in high positions in the defense and security to discuss and determine how to

involve women in defense and security organizations in Southeastern Europe. In the frame of this project, the Ministry of Defense of Montenegro participated in the work of the first workshop of human resources on the topic *“Diversity and utilization of human resources-challenges and best practices.”* The Ministry of Defense has supported the second draft of the White Book, a document which indicates that the diversity of human resources and gender integration can bring new perspectives and experiences of international, collective and national defense.

The third project of the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Montenegro is realized within the “Bilateral cooperation with the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Slovenia”. Thanks to this cooperation in October 2015 were organized training of AFMNE members and state employees of the Ministry of Defense on the theme “Gender issues in the defense system of Montenegro”. The training was organized by the Centre for European Policy (CEP), located in Slovenia. Center is a government organization that provides training for capacity building in neighboring countries that are on the path to EU integration and NATO. The target groups covered by the training are employees in senior positions in the MoD and Armed Forces of Montenegro, in order to get acquainted with international, regional and national commitments and achievements in this field, and to be able to recognize the importance and benefits of high-quality, timely and the proper integration of women in the defense system. Training successfully completed by 24 participants from the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Montenegro (heads of organizational units).

Conclusion

In the process of Euro-Atlantic integration is developing the stable democratic institutions of the society, which is a necessary requirement for democratization and prosperity of Montenegrin society. By participating in the collective security system, such as NATO, immediately is ensured political stability and promote economic prosperity of the country. Professionalization and optimization of the system and the security forces is one of the very important possibilities that are realized through participation of the state in the Partnership for Peace and Membership Action Plan - MAP. In circumstances where contemporary risks and threats to the security of the state, its citizens and the entire international community are common danger it is necessary to apply different methods of action in finding the most effective security solutions, using modern and so-

phisticated systems and devices, which are provided by membership in NATO. Montenegro as a small and insufficiently developed country would not be able independently to find more efficient and better answers on its security than membership in the NATO.

A gender equality policy in the state, particularly in its security sector is accepted today not only in the EU countries but also to those that want to become. The success of this policy depends primarily on the degree of influence of traditional heritage, the intensity changes in the minds of people and their gender sensitivity in everyday life. In order to improve and protect the rights of women in the world, and particularly in armed conflicts where women and children appear as the biggest victims of these events, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security", on 31 October 2000.

Bearing in mind the fact that Montenegrin society is traditional and that, above all, the position of women in society is still inadequate in comparison to developed Western societies, with special emphasis on the role of women in the security and defense, is of crucial importance to the implementation of the provisions of resolution 1325 "Women, peace and Security" in these systems.

Invitation for Montenegro's membership in NATO, by the North Atlantic Council, which was submitted to the ministerial meeting of 02 December 2015, is a very clear indication that Montenegro is firmly committed to as soon as possible to become a member of NATO. Accordingly, the recommendations of the NATO Committee on Gender Issues for implementation of Resolution 1325, with the continuous cooperation with other international and regional organizations, is the most suitable framework for the implementation of gender policies in the system of security and defense of Montenegro, which is in one part is implemented through a special Partnership Goal - A Gender Perspective In The Defense System.

If there is an important fact in mind that Montenegro only nine years before became an independent state, it inherited a very modest defense potential of the common state of Serbia and Montenegro and in 2006, there were no women officers, and having in mind the current situation, it can be concluded that the defense system made significant progress in the application of gender policies.

Today, out of 258 women employed in the defense, slightly more than half of women are with tertiary education and are in the rank of senior advisors who perform the most complex tasks that require special expertise and independence in their work. They participate in the preparation of texts of laws and by -

laws in the defense and security system, coordinate cooperation of Montenegro with foreign countries and international organizations and work as advisor/counselor for the defense in a military Mission of Montenegro to NATO. In managerial positions in the Ministry of Defense were two women, the Minister of Defense and Secretary of the Ministry, on expert level - management staff 4 women. Seven women officers out of 8 have finished education in the best military academies of NATO members, while currently abroad are on schooling nine female cadets. All indicators point to a strong commitment that the gender perspectives in the defense system are oriented in a positive direction.

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GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES; REVIEW AT THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Abstract: *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) was issued 15 years ago. However, addressing women in the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) we could not avoid the processes which had already taken place before. Women have been an integral part of the SAF from the beginning. During the past fifteen years, the SAF has undergone some vital changes. The major ones refer to the professionalization of the SAF, and to the integration into the collective security system (NATO). There are no lawfully forbidden areas for female personnel nor programs or branches excluding participation of women in the SAF. Female representation is ensured in SAF units and commands at all levels. During the past decade, the percentage of female members has remained between 15 and 16 percent. Women in the SAF hold high positions both at home and abroad. The highest rank held by a female in the SAF since 2012 is that of a brigadier. Women have also been deployed to the international operations and missions since the first Slovenian contingent in 1997. Gender perspective and UNSCR 1325 are performed through different processes, such as pre-deployment trainings, or operational planning with the focus on ensuring the composition of the gender-mixed teams on international operations and missions.*

Keywords: *Women, Slovenia, Armed Forces, Gender, Implementation, UNSCR 1325.*

Introduction

The Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) are relatively young armed forces (AF), established after the independence of the Republic of Slovenia (RS) in 1991. Since the beginning, the armed forces of the Republic of Slovenia (at that time the Territorial Defence-TD) were open for employment to both male and female.

Taking care of the questions related to women in the SAF is a continuous process. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) was issued 15 years ago; however we could not avoid the processes which had taken place in the SAF before and were related to women in the SAF structure. Basically, we could point out that the main reason has been found in the legal aspects which supported equality between men and women, on the both national as well as the international levels since the establishment of the armed forces of the Republic of Slovenia. Secondly, all development processes on the path of the SAF and lessons learned influenced gender-related needs and involvement of women in the SAF.

Looking from the starting point of the UNSCR 1325, during the past fifteen years, the SAF has undergone some vital changes. In this period, the year of 2004 somehow represents the turning point. Up to 2003, the SAF was based on the conscript system involving only male citizens of the RS; but the active duty structure included both male and female personnel who were employed under the same conditions as other civil servants and were legally given equal employment possibilities to join the Territorial Defence/SAF. The SAF professionalization process was completed in 2004. One of the major changes related to SAF force structure in 2004 resulted from the implementation of the national strategic objective about the provision of national security through the integration in the collective security system (NATO). This raised more attention to women's role in the SAF.

Gender equality policy is ensured in all processes. There are no lawfully forbidden areas for female personnel nor programs or branches excluding participation of women in the SAF. Female representation is ensured in SAF units and commands at all levels, and women have been considered an integral part of the Slovenian Armed Forces.

Gender Equality and Gender Perspective

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) was adopted in 2000. It provides a legal and political framework (UNSCRs on Women, Peace and Security; Summary and Extracts for Military, 2014). In general, it concerns women in armed conflict and recognizes the impact of women on peace. The second paragraph of the Resolution 1325 (2000) states that UNSCR 1325 is "Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those

contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century” (A/S-23/10/Rev.1)”. It brings forward the understanding about the processes and legal aspects which has been in place before UNSCR 1325. On the other hand, one more important subject is pointed out: Gender Equality, Development and Peace as three closely interlinked elements. Even though UNSCR 1325 does not primarily address gender equality, we should bear in mind that we cannot reach the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 and have influence on the empowerment of women without including the perception of gender equality.

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of men, women, girls, and boys in the society. Cultural and religious environments influence the position of men or woman in the society. Equal opportunities, rights, and responsibilities refer to Gender Equality (Schuurman, 2015), but “to have a Gender Perspective is to have the ability to detect if and when men, women, boys, girls are being affected differently by a situation due to their gender” (Gender Perspectives in Military Operations, 2013, p. 2). This perspective is a matter of great importance when it comes to performing tasks in international operations and missions. As gender itself is related to differences caused by the social environment, the understanding of gender reinforces the need for the integration of the gender perspective into military operations. We could assume that gender equality is fundamental when integrating gender perspective. Furthermore, ensuring gender equality within the AF structure is a prerequisite for the involvement of women in all range of duties and ranks within the AF; and consequently for the UNSCR 1325 successful implementation.

Legal aspects related to gender and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in SAF

Legal framework is fundamental at the international and national levels as well as in more subtle acts which are needed to reach the implementation in practice. It provides the basis for work, directions to be focused on, and the rules. The legislation applying to the SAF and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is first delivered through commitments at the national level. In particular, it provides gender equality for women and men in all domains of social life, in the work environment which respects the dignity of all employees and a greater role and involvement of women in all areas and levels of the AF struc-

ture, women's engagement in human resource processes, including recruitment, transition, retention, promotion, education, and other. Facilitating an active role for women in ensuring international peace and security has been a priority of the SAF, especially since 2009 when the Government adopted the Strategy for Participation of the Republic of Slovenia in International Operations and Missions (Vurcer Straže, 2015). Taking into consideration the UNSCR 1325 as one of the acts at the international level, the National Action Plan (NAP) could be considered the basic act at the national level. The Republic of Slovenia adopted the first NAP in 2010 for a five years period (Action plan of the Republic of Slovenia for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions no. 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security for the period 2010-2015, 2010). Currently, the revision is underway with the goal to prepare the NAP for the next period. Additionally, the Resolution on the national programme for equal opportunities for women and men, 2015-2020 (ReNPEMŽM15-20) was adopted on 27 October 2015 (2015). In the resolution, the UNSCR 1325 provision is included with the goal to "Increase the role of women in ensuring international peace and security and the protection of women in conflict situations" (ReNPEMŽM15-20, 2015, p. 68-69).

In the past, changes in law and regulations were required in the SAF also due to the professionalization process. The Republic of Slovenia adopted the amendment to the Defence Act in 2004, including the principle of gender equality for men and women in employment, and in establishing employment contracts. This took into account gender and thus ensured the same conditions for men and women in the SAF. In 2007, a new law - Service in the Slovenian Armed Forces Act - came into effect with more defined principles of gender equality and non-discrimination clauses. The contents of ensuring gender equality have been further defined in the same year through the regulation acts as the Declaration on Safety at Work with Risk Assessment, Slovenian Armed Forces Regulations and Classification of Military Duties (MOS – military occupational specialization) (Jurkovič, 2007).

Between 2006 and 2009 more regulations were adopted related to dignity, harassment and ethics. With the goal to define and eliminate the "disagreeable behaviour", with focus on the sexual harassment, the Statement about Zero Tolerance between the Members of the SAF was released by the SAF Chief of General Staff in 2006. A year later, the Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) with measures to protect dignity was issued, and later on also amended with the additional procedures in case of alleged mobbing. Additionally, in 2009

the Chief of the SAF General Staff appointed advisors for the protection of human dignity (two advisors, represented by both genders – male and female personnel, in each unit of the SAF from the battalion level up). They are trained in awareness, dissemination of information and counselling to alleged victims. This is an informal way of taking measures, and one of the best methods to ensure prevention from any form of harassment and mobbing on a workplace. In the same year, 2009, the Military Code of Ethics of the Slovenian Armed Forces was passed laying down the conduct principles and standards of SAF members. In general, the Military Code states that members of the SAF must respect the rights and obligations of other military and civilian personnel. The same applies to the equality of SAF members, regardless of their gender, religion or political beliefs. They should respect dignity of other members of the SAF and prevent or act against interference with the dignity of members of the SAF.

The SAF has included the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women in armed conflicts and the urgent role of women in conflict prevention, peace building and sustainable development in its Periodic Plans for 2008 – 2009 and 2010 – 2011 on the implementation of the Resolution on National Programme for Gender Equality of Women and Men 2005 – 2013 (Vurcer Straže, 2015). The first document related directly to the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the SAF was the Directive for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, which was adopted in 2009. The main focus and goal of the Directive are the empowerment of the role of SAF female personnel in decision-making processes, representation of both genders in international operations and missions, increased awareness of gender perspective, and lectures on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective.

Gender-related Research, Education and Training in SAF

The SAF are devoting a lot of attention to education and training, and also to the research which serves as the argumentation for the implementation of changes with focus on the development. Military education and training also empowers men and women with competences to fulfil the requirements for their promotion in rank.

The international seminar on women in the armed forces was organized by the General Staff of the SAF and Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana in 1995. It was organized as a conference which encouraged debate on different topics

related to women in the AF. After the seminar a collection of seminar papers was published with a title “Sexism in Military Uniform” (Jelušič & Pešec, 1995). However, a lot of research has been done in the SAF in the past, usually including socio-demographic data with a focus on the ratio between men and women. Within the framework of Target Research Programs which were conducted at the Ministry of Defence and the SAF in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Sport, a project task “Women in the Slovenian Armed Forces – Operationalisation of Gender Equality” was carried out from 2006 to 2008. There were also several other Target Research Programs conducted by universities, focused on different views on organizational climate, human resources management, psychological aspects, etc. They included interpersonal relations and also gender-related topics. The obtained findings served as arguments for the implementation of the improvements in the SAF.

In all SAF units we have also held several lectures and workshops with an emphasis on ensuring the conditions for a sound and proper psychosocial climate in general. The inter-gender relationships and possible disagreeable behavior/harassment constituted the better part of it, especially when it comes to units on international operations and missions, which tend to be more sensitive due to specific living and working conditions. Members of the SAF of different ranks were included in different working groups and meetings were led by governmental and non-governmental organizations in relation to dignity. From 2011 to 2014, eight-hour workshops for the SAF’s commanding personnel on the protection of dignity were organized for both male and female members, including sexual harassment and zero tolerance to it. The workshops included lectures which gave directions how to identify mobbing, inappropriate behavior, potentially involving elements of unequal treatment of women, responsibility, and procedures and sanctions in case of zero-tolerated behavior/harassment. The lectures known as “dignity” were performed twice per month and SAF members were required to attend lectures on this topic.

The SAF’s Directive for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 in 2009 provided a more systematic approach to raise the awareness on UN resolutions and gender perspective in the SAF. The lectures on UNSCR 1325 have become also an integral part of the basic military education at the Officer Candidate School. Furthermore, since January 2013, the lectures on the UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective have been given during all pre-deployment trainings. The lectures are focused on the understanding of the UNSCR 1325 as well as on practical examples as lessons learned from the international operations and missions; with the guidance on how to implement the provisions of the resolu-

tion during the work, as well as on what servicemembers should pay attention to, with focus on the importance of reporting and evaluation. The lectures also give information and description of the situation on gender-related specifics in the country where the contingent is going to be deployed. When one integrates the gender perspective into their daily work in international operations and missions, his or her security and the security of troops also increase. Additionally, there are more other topics performed during pre-deployment training, such as cultural awareness, international humanitarian law, and other.

The pre-deployment trainings and trainings are besides operational planning & operations and evaluation one of the three general recommendations of NATO (CWINF Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming, 2003). Over the past years, we have been providing training on gender-related topics especially for servicemembers who are going to be deployed whether to the international operations and missions, or to different structures abroad, like military representation to NATO and European Union (EU). There were some who attended the courses abroad related to gender topics. Most recently, in 2015, five participants from the SAF successfully completed “Gender trainers for training course”, organized by the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM) and the Swedish Armed Forces International Centre (SWEDINT) in collaboration with the Centre for Security Cooperation SE Europe (RACVIAC) in Croatia.

Overview of women representation in the SAF

First of all, when reading further data it should be considered that gender in the SAF has developed within the overall SAF development processes throughout 24 years. We exposed some data and also some positions of women in the SAF to show the importance of each step within the development process of armed forces. Additionally, to bear in mind the size of the SAF, which on the ten-years average includes 7326 servicemembers, 1139 of which are female (Table 1).

As evident from Table 1, the SAF structure of the past fifteen years has on the average included 84.7 percent of male and 15.3 percent of female members in overall representation. With the SAF professionalization process up to the year 2003, the percentage of female members has been constantly increasing, from 14.0 to 15.9 percent. From 2004 to 2007, the years after the completion of the professionalization process and the first years after officially entering into the Alliance there is a slight decrease in the female representation in comparison with men (2004: 15.7%; 2005 and 2006: 15.3%; 2007: 15.5%). The percentages in

the years 2008 to 2014 have shown relatively constant representation of women in the SAF (average 15.6%).

Table 1: Ratio between male and female SAF members in the period 2000 - 2015 (on 31 December of each year)

Year	Number (Total)	M (No)	F (No)	M (%)	F (%)
2000	4875	4191	684	86.0%	14.0%
2001	5038	4322	716	85.8%	14.2%
2002	5584	4765	819	85.3%	14.7%
2003	6367	5355	1012	84.1%	15.9%
2004	6948	5858	1090	84.3%	15.7%
2005	7324	6206	1118	84.7%	15.3%
2006	7333	6213	1120	84.7%	15.3%
2007	7071	5974	1097	84.5%	15.5%
2008	7040	5909	1131	83.9%	16.1%
2009	7505	6333	1172	84.4%	15.6%
2010	7539	6373	1166	84.5%	15.5%
2011	7567	6393	1174	84.5%	15.5%
2012	7437	6292	1145	84.6%	15.4%
2013	7312	6175	1137	84.5%	15.5%
2014	7133	6005	1128	84.2%	15.8%
Average:				84.7%	15.3%

M – Male; F – Female; No – Number; % - Percentage

Table 2 shows the representation of female servicemembers by ranks in 2014. It is evident that the highest percentages of women in comparison to the representation of men are in the ranks from OF-1/First Lieutenant to OF-2/Captain (20.1%), followed by soldiers (14.7%), officers ranked OF-4/Major to OF-5/Colonel (13.6%), non-commissioned officers (10.7 %), and the lowest representation of women is among the highest ranks, only one (6.3 %). The average percentage of female in comparison to male on military duties is 13.9 %.

The highest rank held by a female in the SAF since 2011 is that of a brigadier. She is currently holding one of the highest positions in the SAF at the General Staff and is responsible for one of the three pillars in the SAF, i.e. the operations pillar. She thus holds the position of Chief of Joint Operations Division and as Assistant to Chief of the General Staff. The second highest female rank is that

of a colonel. One of female colonels is currently holding the position of Deputy Commander of one of Brigades. Nevertheless, one more important step forward related to gender perspective was taken in the SAF in 2015: the first full-time gender advisor (GENAD) job position was created at the General staff. This position has been in function since 1 June 2015 and pertains to the rank of a lieutenant colonel.

Table 2: Female SAF member's representation by ranks in comparison to the representation of men (on 31 December 2014)

Rank	OF6 and higher	OF-3/ OF-5	OF-1/ OF-2	OR-5/ OR-9	OR-1/ OR-4	Total/ Average
Number	1	74	151	240	465	931
Percentage	6.3	13.6	20.1	10.7	14.7	13.9

The participation of SAF and contribution to the structures of different international institutions has been in place for many years. Several female SAF members have been posted to different positions; some also holding the highest, senior and decision-making positions. One example is a female SAF member who has been selected among the applied candidates of member countries of the International Military Sports Council (CISM) for the position of the Director. She has high valuable competencies to fulfil the requirements and has succeeded in taking this position in the rank of colonel as the first female director in the 60-year history of this worldwide organization. At the time of working at the CISM Headquarters, from 2009 to 2011, she was also in the function of the Deputy Secretary General of CISM, and was as such involved in several commissions of this organization. One of the commissions was the Women in CISM Commission. Following her initiative to upgrade the event Women in CISM week, to a conference, the first such conference on women for CISM member countries was convened and organized in 2010 under her expert leadership by South African delegation in 2010. In the past, some more women were posted to senior positions to international institutions. From 2008 to 2011, the military specialist in the rank of colonel was appointed as Faculty Adviser to the NATO Defence College. Then in 2012, one of colonels was appointed to Allied Command Transformation (ACT/NATO) as National Liaison Representative. Since September 2013, the civilian in the rank of a brigadier is in function of the Dean of NATO Defence College. Last but not least, the first female Military Attaché from SAF was appointed in 2014 (colonel).

The SAF collaborates also through the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Especially in relation to the Vienna document and arms control international inspections and evaluations have to be performed. Several female members were appointed to perform inspections and evaluations in the past years. Data from 2014 and 2015 have revealed one female inspector in the rank of a lieutenant colonel (OF-4).

Representatives from the SAF are regularly attending the annual NATO conference held by the NATO Committee on Gender Perspective (NCGP) (in the past years named as the Committee on Women in the NATO Forces - CWINF). In 2000, the SAF attended this NATO conference for the first time. In 2008, the national representative from the SAF was officially appointed to CWINF. In recent years, the work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has intensified within NATO which also influenced SAF processes related to gender perspective, especially through the work of appointed national delegate and a deputy delegate from the SAF to the NCGP. So far, only women from the SAF have been involved and appointed as national delegates and deputy national delegates to NCGP.

Involvement of SAF women in International Operations and Missions

The SAF is regularly involved in International Operations and Missions through UN, NATO, and the EU. According to data on the official web page of the Slovenian Armed Forces “International operations and missions” (2015), SAF members were deployed for the first time to a crisis response operation on 14 May 1997, namely to the humanitarian operation ALBA in Albania with a medical unit and four liaison officers. Female personnel were also posted to this mission. According to Šteiner (2014), in the first decade, women in international operations and missions were mainly in charge of supporting tasks.

In February 2007, the SAF for the first time in its history deployed a battalion-sized unit, which took over its own area of responsibility and was in command of foreign troops from a NATO country (International Operations and Missions, 2015). The deployment of a battalion in 2007 also brought about the assignment of female military personnel to combat positions (Šteiner, 2014). The increase of the number of deployed male and female personnel in 2007 is evident from the Table 3 which can be explained by the deployment of the battalion-sized unit. However, the percentages between gender did not increase in

2007 (8.9% women) comparing to data in the year before, 2006 (11.8% women). When interpreting these results we have to bear in mind that the percentage shows overall representation of men and women who were deployed to different international operations and missions on yearly average basis data. To find out exactly how many male and female servicemembers were deployed to combat duties in this battalion, we should take a more detailed look at the data. However, data from regular analysis in the SAF show that women are nowadays deployed regularly to a whole range of tasks - combat, staff, and other. Data from Table 2 indirectly support this statement as well. It is evident that the highest percentages of women in comparison to men are in the ranks from OF-1/First Lieutenant to OF3/Captain (20.1%), and in between soldiers (14.7%). Considering the military structure one can presume that those ranks are mainly represented in troops.

Table 3: Involvement of SAF women in International Operations and Missions in the period 2000 – 2014 (on 31 December of each year)

Year	Number (No) Total	F (No)	F (%)
2000	194	10	5,2%
2001	165	16	9,7%
2002	136	8	5,9%
2003	341	9	2,6%
2004	425	13	3,1%
2005	474	49	10,3%
2006	575	68	11,8%
2007	994	88	8,9%
2008	961	94	9,8%
2009	1037	92	8,9%
2010	919	62	6,8%
2011	894	61	6,8%
2012	897	60	6,7%
2013	1119	80	7,2 %
2014	1129	101	8,9 %

F – Female; No – Number; % - Percentage

As seen from Table 3, an average of women in the SAF on international operations and missions (compared to men) over the last decade represents 9.2

percent, the highest percentage was in 2006 (11.8 %), and the lowest percentages in 2003 (2.6 %) and 2004 (3.1%). This data are interesting if we consider data from Table 1 where it is evident that overall representation of women in the SAF in 2003 (15.9 %), and 2004 (15.7 %) are one of the highest in the 15 years overview. Therefore a very low percentage of deployed women might be understood as temporarily inhibit of the involvement of women into operations. The reasons might lie in the professionalization process as well as entering into the Alliance (NATO). Those two processes were made at almost in the same period of time and could be considered as “turning points” in the structure of SAF. They brought also necessary changes in legislation, which consequently in the period of adopting it, raised some discussions about the inclusion of women into combat duties due to the consideration of the legislation of some other armed forces at that time. For example, the United States (US) military has prevented women from serving in combat in 1994 (Harris, 2013). However, women in the SAF had taken on a whole variety of professional duties (except conscripts) already before the professionalization of the SAF and entry of the RS into the Alliance. Time showed that decision of the SAF’s leadership to continue with gender equality policy and leave open possibilities to both men and women servicemembers was the right path to stick to. In the past years, more and more armed forces who had had restrictions related to women have been abandoning them. The examples could be found in the Canadian Armed Forces who opened the submarine service for women in 2001 (Considine, 2001), and the US military who officially lifted a ban on female soldiers serving in combat roles in 2013 (Harris, 2013).

The SAF established the lessons learned process as a feedback from international operations and missions in 2006. This action provides an important information flow on the experience from the field. For example, the experience of SAF personnel from international operations and missions has brought forward deeper understanding of the inclusion of women in tasks, especially in those involving contact with the female part of the local population. Experiences have shown that in many cases male soldiers did not have access to the local women due to the cultural and religious specifics of the environment in the area of operations - it is known that those factors have influence on gender, ie: the position of men and woman in the society. Therefore, if we want to have access to local women in order to involve them into the post-conflict processes, then we have to involve both, men and women in performing tasks.

Lessons learned raised more attention to the composition of teams, like Liaison Monitoring Teams (LMT) are. As a consequence, from 2009 on the SAF has

been more focused on the operational planning. In the same year (2009), the Slovenian contingent in KFOR mission had three teams of six, composed of both men and women. In the following years women were also represented in field teams. The focus in the planning process for deployment into operations is to assure at least one woman in LMT's composition. Nowadays, the SAF is regularly posting female members to the positions of LMT leaders, LMT patrol leaders, and LMT members. Furthermore, women are regularly posted to the combat duties in the composition of troops (squad, platoon, company). However, through operational planning SAF is assuring female involvement into all range of duties on the international operations and missions. Women from the SAF occupy also senior positions, perform leadership and decision making tasks. For example, there were two female colonels (OF-5) at Kosovo Force - KFOR HQ in the period of 2009 to 2010 deployed on the decision making positions as chiefs directly under the command of the KFOR commander. In 2013/2014 Slovenia posted two Lt-Colonels (OF-4) at KFOR mission, one as director and another one as advisor. At the same time two civilians from Slovenia were posted as advisors to KFOR. It can be noticed that the appointment of female civilians (as outsourced specialists, or MOD employees) to advisory positions in the composition of Slovenian contingents has increased in the last years.

In addition to enhancing awareness on gender perspective through pre-deployment training, and focus on planning for assuring both genders in the international operations and missions, in 2013 the appendix on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective was additionally included to each deployment order. Since then every deployment order for SAF contingents includes the information and directions for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective. Specified instructions for SAF contingents with focus on the consideration of the gender perspective in international operations and missions are ensured.

Conclusion

Through all those years, women in the SAF have demonstrated their professionalism and capacity. We do not have special programs for the integration of women into the SAF's activities, since our legislation dictates equality of treatment for both men and women. According to our opinion, the SAF environment ensures gender equality for the integration of female personnel in all areas of military work. All aspects of equal involvement of women are taken

into account in all fields of work in the SAF, and the aforementioned endeavors continue.

The implementation of the UNSCR 1325 has brought about challenges, and opened new perspectives. According to the experiences of the SAF, one of the most efficient tools to raise the awareness and tolerance, as well as the understanding of the situation is education & training. Gender mainstreaming in the education and training as well as in the process of operational planning can serve as a good example in the lessons learned of the SAF. Therefore, we believe that the SAF is taking appropriate measures for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. At home and abroad women from the SAF will continue to assume tasks on the field, as well as in the senior, leadership and decision making positions. We believe that the SAF's experience on the integration of gender perspective can serve as an example of good practice, especially considering gender in frame of the developing processes of armed forces which has been in existence for only 24 years.

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A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON ROMANIAN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS. FEMALE ENGAGEMENT TEAMS A BRIDGE BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND COSMOPOLITAN MILITARIES?

Abstract: *This paper aims to highlight to what extent the types of Security Sector Reforms adopted by Romania are truly effective regarding the condition of women in the military. Did the adopted reforms manage to advance the women's rights in Romanian Army, or were they just a prerequisite in the preaccession process? Furthermore, this article tries to highlight whether the society managed to impose a gender agenda in the military, or gender in the military contributed to the developments in politics. If the level of women's integration is very low, which are the main causes: the low level of gender equality in Romanian society or the resistance of military senior officials to these gender equality policies? Do the Female Engagement Teams (FET) represent a sign of advancing women's rights in military?*

Keywords: *gender perspective, Romanian Army, civil-military relations, Female Engagement Teams, Security Sector Reforms.*

Theoretical framework

This article aims to highlight to what extent the types of SSR reforms adopted by Romania are truly effective regarding the condition of women in the military. Did the adopted reforms manage to advance the women's rights in Romanian Army, or were they just a prerequisite condition in the pre-accession process? Furthermore, this article tries to highlights whether the society managed to impose a gender agenda in the military, or gender in the military contributed to the developments in politics. If the level of women's integration is very low, which are the main causes: the low level of gender equality in Romanian society or the resistance of military senior officials to these gender equality policies? Does the Female Engagement Teams (FET) represent a sign of advancing women's rights in military?

In support for questions raised above, I will try to analyze Romanian's women condition in military and which is the importance of their implication in FET for their role in the military, using the critical models proposed by J. Anne Tickner (2001), Karen O. Dunvin (1997) and Annica Kronsell (2013).

Tickner (2001) argues that it is not enough for women to represent a certain percentage of military staff and to end up by imitating the established masculine behavior model, that women must also have an important role in shaping the defense concept according to their own values. Dunvin (1997) analyzes two opposing cultural models for military, stating that the military should renounce the combat warrior model for a more evolved and inclusive one if it aims to become more democratic and professional. Kronsell (2013) argues that the new international realities, which include a focus rather on maintaining and assuring peace, than on winning wars, impose the necessity of adopting more cosmopolitan values in the military.

Taking into account that SSR is considered to be "a much broader and more inclusive... [approach]... than simply enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of the traditional security sector", this article tries to highlight which were the effects of this measures on citizens, whether we speak about military women or civilian women. SSR approach refers not only to state security, but to a more extensive perspective focusing on human security, implicitly on citizen's security (Mobek, 2010).

On the one hand, the most important reasons which contributed to women's access into military institutions were the innovations in the technological, geo-strategic and societal framework which demanded the necessity of a new type of army, one that should be more professional and which should rely on volunteers prepared also for the new tasks of military forces: humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. These type of missions supposed that the military forces evolve on the same path in order to assure an efficient collaborations. This need for standardization and interoperability worked toward women's inclusion (Forsters, Edmunds and Cottey, 2002). One can add to the innovations factors mentioned above the cultural and societal values, the socio-economical context of each society, or the armies' structure and human logistical necessities (Carreiras, 2007). Therefore, in order to have democratic civil-military relations, the military institutions were obliged to transpose the society principles, to create institutions which should represents all the citizens, and implicitly to include women as their equals and to promote them in senior positions is a demonstrations of using "the maximum strength of NATO military forces" (Harris, 1997). The more women's

rights are advanced in a society, the more citizens should identify with all the state institutions, thus creating legitimacy for the institutions itself (Forsters, 2006).

On the other hand, the decision to allow women into military was often criticized by the military officials, who complained that this type of “social experiment” could destroy the military ethos or the warrior ethic (Lister, 2003). Even if, as mentioned before, the new realities imposed a different type of war, the military officials used for very long time the physical strengths argument as the justification for not opening all the positions to women (Forster, 2006). Also, over time, another main argument which justified women’s exclusion was the association of men with war and of women with peace, because of their specific experiences (Elshtain 1987, Tickner 1992, Charlesworth 2008). Thus, being perceived as birth-givers and caretakers, women were the ones protected by the men, be they their fathers, partners, or their male colleagues in the military institutions. Feminists questioned the power relations rapport between the males “Just Warriors” and the females “Beautiful Souls” and this essentialist myth which portrayed women as being more peaceful and men as being more warriors (Elshtain, 1995; Enloe, 1989, 2000, 2004; Ruddick, 1983).

Senior officials in military institutions protected women’s because of their “supposed” vulnerabilities (bones density, the influence of menstrual period on focus and performance and the lack of tactic lessons) (Gomez, 2008), firstly by not allowing them to enter military, and further “condemning” them to desk jobs. Justifying their exclusion politics, they were using the moral superiority of women as an argument for hiding the prejudice that they could be defeated by women. Also, they were arguing that they were protecting themselves from the presumable situations where their female colleagues could distract their attention, or they could be injured or captured and they would feel obliged to protect them (M. Segal, 1983; M. Segal and Hansen, 1992; M. Segal, 1999 apud Forsters, 2006). Following the same argumentation line, women were perceived to “degrade the military’s mission readiness and war-fighting capability” (Dunvin, 1997), implicitly the military officials decided that they should delay the decision of allowing women to perform combat or other tasks, which were denied before for them, as much as possible.

Even if, the decision to include women in military is a political one, the military officials “mediate the pressures on the armed forces, in terms of balancing the right and the need to be different” and often in the name of “operational effectiveness” they excluded different categories of persons and tried to maintain “long-standing employment practices” (Forsters, 2006).

Forsters (2006) analyses the military institutions across Europe and shows why Romania is part of the *Strong Gatekeeper group*, explaining that military institutions still have a great role in deciding over the equality and diversity policies, underlying also that these policies are not considered a priority in these societies. Therefore, if these types of policies do not prevail in our society in general, they are much less likely to be transposed to a large extent in the military system. Without contesting that East European are traditional and patriarchal societies, he assumes that one of the reasons for this evolution is the lack of political and legal effects of EU and also, the lack of policies for the implementation of “pan-European legal obligations contained within the European Convention of Human Rights” (Forsters, 2006). Even if Romania has become a member of EU in 2007, since then women’s role in military not only did not expand but was constantly diminished.

Romanian women were allowed to enter in the military in 2001 under the pressure of international organizations. The military institutions decided to adopt this “room-service feminism” measure (Miroiu, 2004), in order to try to align to the standards of other European and international military institutions. The post-communist reforms adopted in East Europe were not always very popular among the senior officers because “they involved complex institutional [...] issues”, proving that there was a shift of decision power from the military institutions toward the civilian ones regarding the institutional or defense policy design (Cottey, Edmunds and Forster 2005). This was the case of Romania too, where the senior officers did not receive the news of allowing women into military very enthusiastically, as one will remark from the interviews analysis in this article. Therefore, even if women were accepted into the military institutions, they do not have the power to propose their own solutions for change; they had to obey the institutions’ rules and to maintain the “warrior spirit/ethos”, which was imbedded in the military culture. Military women tended to portray the masculine model virtues, trying to blend in this masculine culture, otherwise they would be marginalized.

Gender equality in Romanian military institutions

In 2001 Romanian women were allowed to enter military institutions, under the pressure of the accession negotiations for NATO and the EU. This was a typical „room-service feminism” measure, meaning that gender equality policies were

a result of external pressure, and not the result of an internal need identified by the decision-making political sphere (Miroiu, 2004).

Although a legal framework imposing equal opportunities for men and women in the labor market existed, from 2005 the Defense Ministry has restricted women's access by imposing an accession quota. The accession rights granted to the military women resemble the first wave of feminism, when women gained access to civil and political rights but not the actual power to exercise them in order to improve their status. Thus, having gained access to the military structures did not imply that women also had the capacity to produce institutional change and to promote a different defense design, in accordance with their values and interests (Rădoi, 2011).

After the Romanian Ministry of Defense started this women recruitment program, because of the large number of women who attended military education institutions, an admission quota for all the military institutions was imposed. The Romanian Constitution, the Equal Opportunities Law 202/2002 and an internal decision (2003) of the Defense Ministry which supports the pre-accession "National Action Plan for equal opportunities" (2000), advocate for the equal rights of women regarding their access to these institutions, but also for their promotion in position adequate to their qualifications. In 2005, Romania decided to take one step forward in the professionalization process and gradually renounced the compulsory military service by adopting the voluntary service. Even though this measure contributed to security sector reform, this decision did not imply that women had a greater role in the military, as has happened before in other countries (Carreriras, 2007).

The decision to restrict women's access in the military was not approved by National Council against Discrimination (CNCD) who recommended to the Defense Ministry to remove it. The Ministry did not take into account the recommendation and claimed that since women represented 70-80 % of the military students from academies and high schools, accepting all of them will lead to the Romanian Army facing an imbalance, and the Romanian Army could not afford to "become an army of women" (According to one of the senior officials interviewed in "Women's condition in military" research).

In Romania, women were recruited since 1973, when they were requested to instruct the female students who were pursuing compulsory military service. The fields for their training were initially: "infantry, communication services, chemical industry, railroads, civil defense, topography and constructions in-

dustry". After 1980, women were allowed to train as helicopter pilots, physicians, pharmacists, and also for performing logistics tasks. After the end of the communist regime, the authorities removed the compulsory military service for women and the female instructors were redirected toward administrative positions, with limited responsibilities and therefore, limited access to the highest decisional levels (Romania National Report, 2004).

In 2003, the proportion of women in the army was 3.99%, in 2004 it increased to 5.18% and by 2008 they represented only 3.16% (Romania National Report, 2004; Romanian National Report for 2009)¹. The evolution of women's proportion in the military is directly correlated with the access restrictions imposed on them. Thus, from 2005-2006, the quota imposed for Army Academy and Navy Academy was 25%, except for the Navy Engines and Electrical Equipment specialty, where no seats for female candidates were reserved. Also the quota was 30% for the Air Force Academy. The imposed quotas decreased in 2010 to 9.79% in the Army Academy, 16.39% in the Air Force Academy and 10.25% in the Navy Academy (Defense Ministry website, 2010). Currently, even if the percentages are higher than in 2010, the situation has gotten worse, taking into account that the number of positions assigned to candidates from military academies has decreased significantly. Therefore, even if women are allowed to apply for approximately 21 % of the positions from the Army Academy (20% of the infantry positions, 16 % of military police positions, 25 % of artillery, 25 % of communication and information positions) and for 20% of the positions from the Aviation Academy, the disproportions created before are not diminished. Furthermore in some specialties, women are allowed in a very small proportion. They have access to only 6% of all positions offered by the Marine Academy, and in some study programs they are not allowed at all, like in the Auto section from the Army Academy or in the Electro-Mechanic section from the Naval Academy (Defense Ministry website, Extras din planul de școlarizare în instituțiile militare de învățământ în anul de învățământ 2013-2014, 2013).

If since 2005, the military high schools allotted 20% out of the total number of places to female candidates (Romanian National Report for 2007, 2008), by

1 Taking into account that Romanian Ministry of Defense does not allow to have access to information regarding to their personnel staff, even though in Romania there is legal framework which states that Romanian citizens can have access to public information (Law 544/2001), the information regarding the proportion of the female personnel hired in military institutions was obtained from the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives and the last report presented is for 2008.

2013 women were allotted the same numbers of places, but the number of places for men increased. Consequently, the proportion of places allotted to women decreased to 16% (Defense Ministry website, Extras din planul de școlarizare în instituțiile militare de învățământ în anul de învățământ 2013-2014, 2013).

The departments in which women activate in the army are human resources, staff and logistics positions, finance, medical service, information management and technology, military law and military engineering, project and resource management, administration, public relations and military education (Romania - National Report, 2004). Notice that the women occupational field is similar to the career field for which women are trained. It is also worth noting that the gender distribution of superior officers shows that women make up only 2.63% of the total number of generals, 4.55% of senior officers and 5.29% lieutenant colonels respectively (Romanian National Report for 2007, 2008). The small number of women at the higher, decision making, levels is the reason why women cannot determine institutional change and impose a different perspective on defense. Although the Defense Ministry argues that all positions are open to women and that women are the ones that refuse to occupy certain high level positions (Romanian National Report for 2008), it has been proved that by using mechanisms such as rank restriction or maximum ceilings, their promotion is restricted (Carreiras, 2007).

Romanian Female Engagement Teams

At the moment, Romania sends 1743 military personnel in missions like: KFOR and ISAF for NATO, EUFOR, EUMM, EUSEC for EU, and also sends military observers for UN missions. (Defense Ministry website, *Efective Participante la Misiuni Internaționale*, 2013) According to one of the respondents in my research (2011), 2% of the military personnel in all the missions of the Romanian Army are women. In Afghanistan, Romania is participating to the international mission ISAF with 1582 soldiers and also, according to Voicu research (2011), women represent just 2% of the military personnel. Women are generally occupying non-combat positions and activate in health, legal, psychological and logistic positions (Voicu, 2011). Romania's mission in Afghanistan is to contribute to the demilitarization of this country, by providing help to the local people and by facilitating safe network communication (Voicu, 2011). The ISAF mission is "to assist local leaders in building a secure and safe society through security sector reform and encouraging good governance" (Kronsell, 2013).

In 2011, Romania has accepted that women serving in ISAF mission should have a greater role in the interaction with the civilian population, allowing that they also participate to the field missions along with their male counterparts. According to one of my respondents, the Romanian Defense Ministry took this decision due to the external pressure of the USA military officials, who saw that Romanian female personnel were very enthusiastic and wanted to have a greater role in the missions (D.M.D., 2013). Therefore, one can speak about Female Engagement Teams (FET) initially as informal teams, and after this moment, under the pressure of the US military commanding officers, who appreciated the results of these women teams, the formal framework for FET activities was created from 2012.

The FET activities started in Iraq, through the 'Lioness' program of the USA Marine Corps, and continued in Afghanistan since 2009. Soon the program has been adopted by the armies of the allies. The role of these teams was to create a relationship with the Afghan women and men and to help in empowering them through "economic development programs, education and training" (Holiday, 2012). These teams have in fact two roles which are mainly interlinked. More precisely, if female military personnel are helping Afghan women empower themselves through these economic development projects, in fact, they are also contributing to the counterinsurgency operations. The FET teams helped Afghan families to create small businesses, in tailoring for example, helped create spaces for women and children where they could meet and discuss community problems or could learn elementary medical and hygiene information (Regional Commands Southwest website, 2013).

On the one hand, a part of the feminist scholars saluted one of the declared reasons for the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, "the cause" of saving women and children in the name of their rights and in the name of human rights (Sutton and Nokvok, 2008). As Barbara Ehrenreich mentions, if for the U.S. foreign policy women's rights did not have any importance, one "should perhaps be grateful that they have at least been important enough to deploy in media mobilization for war" (Ehrenreich apud McBride, Wibben, 2012). Therefore, this war was presented and implicitly, softened up in this manner, like a "feminist war", in order to obtain the support of the civilians for its continuation.

On the other hand, other feminist scholars did not see this as attempts that are really targeting women's rights, and focused more on the deployment of FET teams as a perfect justification for lobbying for their cause (McBride, Wibben, 2012). If the allies troops were conducting insurgency operations, which some-

times affected even the civil population (Sutton and Nokvok, 2008), the actions conducted by FET teams were presented as „the civilized option which aims at winning the hearts and minds of civilian populations” (Khalili, 2011) Female military personnel was sent in these missions under the umbrella mission that they bring with them women’s rights to Afghan women, and their female identity was meant to create a bridge through the given association of women with culture and with family (Charlsworth, 2008). Therefore, on the one hand, the critics of FET teams defined their actions as just „an attempt to reframe the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan as a humanitarian, even progressive, mission” (McBride, Wibben, 2012). On the other hand, the supporters of these teams’ actions were saluting the degree to which they have managed to convince women and men to accept that even women have rights and can be empowered, and could become a factor of “peace and stability” at the international level (McBride, Wibben, 2012).

Without necessarily taking a side in the debate on the benefits of the FET teams, some argue that unfortunately the US military decided to apply this strategy a little bit too late (Wibben, McBride, 2012), taken into account that ISAF missions is near its final and the resources destined to it are almost over. According to the principles that prevail in a patriarchal order from our society, the senior officials prioritized building roads and did not use these funds to prioritize women’s needs, and therefore, a more sustainable society (McBride, Wibben, 2012. See also Miroiu, 2004).

As Khalili (2011), McBride and Wibben (2012) summarize, one can remark that female military personnel contributions are presented like a token for the occidental moral superiority and civilizing potential for these populations. These types of missions, which grant military women a greater role, defend both the cause of just war and the professionalization of the military. Therefore, as has happened in many occasions, women are showcased to demonstrate that the military is becoming more democratic. Although the specifics of these counterinsurgency activities still “protect” women from the task designed for the “real warriors”, because they are not place “in overly hazardous situations [...]”, as the declarations of many female personnel highlight, they also led to women “still receiving some training like infantry personnel” (Irby, 2013). The military officials’ declarations still fail to recognize women’s efforts, forgetting to mention that “when women are involved in critical jobs like bomb disposal or intelligence; the female engagement teams are to be ‘attached’ to all-male infantry units” (Bumiller, 2010, apud McBride, Wibben, 2012)

Whether the role of FET is just one which serves the hidden cause of softening the war and of demonstrating its necessity, or if it really manages to also advance women's rights in conflict areas and in the military is still highly debatable.

Conclusions

As Lion (2008), Khalil (2011), McBride and Wibben (2012) reflected in their studies women in the military still represent just "a false front image". Whereas this can still be interpreted as a sign of the modernization of military institutions, it is merely a first step, and the process remains a long and difficult one. If the allies' members presented the actions of FET teams as part of a "feminist war" campaign, in Romania their objective was more to aid in proving that the conditions imposed pre-accession to international organizations (NATO and EU) were respected, rather than to contribute in softening up the consequences of the war.

Forsters (2006) showed that the level of integration of women in military and the level of advancing their rights is highly correlated with the level of gender equality in that country. In the Romanian case, evidence for this view can be found in the Gender Equality Index (2013), which places it last in the EU countries, indicating that it remains still very traditional. Forsters concluded that Romania is part of the "Strong Gatekeeper Group", based on the fact that the European reforms were not yet effective after six years of Romanian membership in the EU, and that, furthermore, the gender equality policies were even moving backward. The most important institutions which had a role in promoting these types of policies was dissolved in 2010, and replaced by the Direction of Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (DEOWM), a department subordinated to the Labor, Family and Social Protection Ministry (according to website Ministry, 2013). However, this department lacked financial and human resources as well as proper gender expertise and failed to produce results (According to A.C., Gender Expert DEOWM, 2013). Despite the fact that Romania has been a member of international organizations for several years and is participating in many international missions, achieving and applying gender expertise does not appear to be a priority for the Romanian Ministry (Rădoi, Voicu, 2011). The lack of proper gender training for the superiors and for the subordinates who are part of these missions fails to facilitate the process of changing the behavior of the subordinates, and measures to implement and deliver real sanctions for the disrespectful behavior of the subordinates toward

their (female) colleagues are not taken by senior officials. These contribute to the preservation of the same traditionalist, masculinized and patriarchal rules, which cannot be characteristics of a cosmopolitan military conducting peace-keeping missions. They are also not in keeping with claims that female officers are being promoted to make a difference in the communities they are helping in the process of democratization.

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