



Jovanka Saranovic
Zoran Kilibarda

IN STEP WITH THE TIME

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND SERBIAN ARMED FORCES
ON THE ROAD OF GENDER EQUITY OBJECTIFICATION



**INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC
STUDIES**

Director

Dr Jovanka Saranovic

Reviewers

Prof. dr Nevena Petrusic

Prof. dr Jan Marcek, colonel

*Prof. dr Marija Dubravka Pineda
Purkarevic*

**MEDIA CENTER
“DEFENSE”**

Director

Lieutenant-colonel
Slavoljub M. Markovic

Editor in chief

Dragana Markovic

Editor

Slavica Djeric-Magazinovic

Dr Jovanka Šaranović
Dr Zoran Kilibarda

**IN STEP WITH THE TIME:
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
AND SERBIAN ARMED FORCES
ON THE ROAD OF GENDER EQUITY
OBJECTIFICATION**

Belgrade, 2011

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

355.08:055.2(497.11)

ШАРАНОВИЋ, Јованка, 1961-

У корак с временом : Министарство одбране
и Војска Србије на путу објективизације родне
равноправности / Јованка Шарановић, Зоран
Килибарда. - Београд : Институт за стратегијска
истраживања : Медија центар Одбрана :, 2011
(Београд : Војна штампарија). - 194, 204 стр. :
илустр. ; 23 см. - (Библиотека Војна књига ; књ.
бр. 1677)

Насл. стр. приштампаног превода: In Step
with the Time : Ministry of Defence and
Serbian Armed Forces on the road of gender
equity objectification / Jovanka Saranovic,
Zoran Kilibarda. - Оба текста штампана у
међусобно обрнутим смеровима. - Тираж 500. -
Напомене и библиографске референце уз текст.
- Библиографија: стр. 183-189.

ISBN 978-86-81121-07-8

1. Килибарда, Зоран, 1950- [аутор]

а) Родна равноправност - Војска - Србија

COBISS.SR-ID 186747148

CONTENTS

Instead of a foreword _ _ _ _ _	7
Extract from the reviews _ _ _ _ _	11
Introduction _ _ _ _ _	15

STEP ONE 21

REFERRING TO OBJECT LESSONS AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST

Traditional attitude and objectification of the women's role in the armed forces _ _ _ _ _	21
Women playing exclusive roles – women as armed forces leaders and rulers _ _ _ _ _	27

STEP TWO 37

INSIGHT INTO RESULTS OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ABOUT SPECIFIC FEATURES OF GENDERS

Biological and physical differences between men and women _ _ _ _ _	38
Psychological and social differences between men and women _ _ _ _ _	46
Possible social and employment implications of employing women in the armed forces _ _ _ _ _	52

STEP THREE 63

DETERMINING OWN POSITION IN RELATION TO THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND THE DOMINANT GLOBAL TRENDS

Women in armed forces of developed countries at the turn of the twenty-first century _ _ _ _ _	63
State of affairs in our armed forces, as compared to foreign armed forces _	81

STEP FOUR 89

IDENTIFYING DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES AS PRIORITISED WORK PLACES FOR WOMEN

Armed forces duties which women could fulfill as successfully as men _ _	90
<i>Opinions expressed by men in the survey on competence of women in performing various duties in armed forces</i> _ _ _ _ _	90
<i>Opinions expressed by women in the survey on competence of women in performing various duties in armed forces</i> _ _ _ _ _	98
Armed forces duties that women perceive as their preferred option _ _ _ _	111
Possibilities of additional productive engagement of women in the armed forces _ _ _ _ _	120

STEP FIVE	127
INTENSIFYING ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO PROFESSIONAL MILITARY SERVICE	
Increasing the percentage of women in the total composition of the Armed Forces and Ministry of Defence _ _ _ _ _	127
Expanding the range of service options – winning over the “men’s jobs” _	131

STEP SIX	139
BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATION OF FEMALE CADETS AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY	
Level of information conveyed to high-school students regarding the contents and requirements for studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _	140
Girls’ response to enrolling in the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _	143
Circumstances influencing girls’ interest in studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _	146
<i>Location of high school and place of residence as factors influencing girls’ interest in studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _</i>	147
<i>Type of school as a factor influencing girls’ interest in studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _</i>	148
<i>Success at high school as a factor influencing the level of interest for studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _</i>	150
<i>Financial welfare of the family as a factor influencing the interest of girls for studying at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _</i>	152
Girls’ response to public invitation for prospective students of the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _	153
Adaptability of female cadets to the living conditions and requirements of the educational process at the Military Academy _ _ _ _ _	156

STEP SEVEN	167
INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND SERBIAN ARMED FORCES IN PRODUCING A NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SC RESOLUTION 1325	
Main pillars and milestones of the National Action Plan of the Republic of Serbia _ _ _ _ _	169
Importance of the National Action Plan in advancing the gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces _ _ _ _ _	176

SUBSEQUENT STEPS	183
REFERENCES _ _ _ _ _	193
APPENDICES _ _ _ _ _	201

INSTEAD OF A FOREWORD

What initiated a publication with a title like this? Why has this moment been chosen for its publication?

Gender equity in the armed forces has been a topic for a long time, addressed within various contexts and conveying various messages, so that it is not necessary to additionally assert its current importance. The association of this term with the word 'road' and the concept of a journey in the title of this work is the expression of an apparently justified effort to point to the length of the process of reviving a deeply humanistic idea, marked with periods of gradual evolutionary progress, as well as with moments of stagnation and those of occasional daring leaps forward.

This publication could have appeared earlier, or it could have been postponed for a later instance. This year, however, does seem to be the most suitable choice for its publication, being the year in which the first generation of female cadets – graduates of the Military Academy will receive their officers insignia, and also the year in which, following the reform of the defence system, possibilities have been created for men and women to enter the Armed Forces as military professionals enjoying the benefits of the equal opportunities policies, as well as to enter for the first time the voluntary military service. In addition to this, this is the year which marks the beginning of the implementation of the National Action Plan for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 which deals with women, peace and safety. All in all, we are now living a moment when a relatively high level of gender equity has been attained, providing the right opportunity to speak up not only about the current achievements, but also about the history of this process and the actions that had to be taken before the current position could be reached.

Why a duet of authors, and why we as authors of this publication?

There are at least three good reason, or three explanations for this. First, given the fact that the issue is gender equity, it was logical that a man and woman should share the arguments in this debate. Secondly, it was

logical that the authors who contribute a work on gender equity in the defence sector – especially when composing their pioneering work on this topic – ought to have certain experience of living and working in the environment where objectification of gender equity ought to take place. Thirdly, it is natural that the authors of a publication of this kind should be recruited from a circle of individuals who have dealt with this issue over a longer period of time¹, through their continual or occasional engagements in this area. The duet of the authors of this work apparently satisfies these three criteria, either fully or to a considerable extent. Our titles qualify us for the first criterion, while the second criterion is satisfied by the data contained in our working biographies, featuring long periods (26 and 37 years respectively) of professional engagement in the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence of Serbia. The third criterion is met by the collection of the earlier publications by the same authors, with several editions dealing specifically with the issue of gender equity in the defence sector.

The monograph “In Step with the Time – the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces on the Road of Objectification of Gender Equity” is not a product of a commissioned or dictated “homework”, as it may be suggested by its title. This work could be viewed as a spontaneous testimony of a process which, although it has been recognized for a long time, has started to receive direct encouragement and strong support only over the past few years, when it progressed through several inter-connected phases, or steps. The structure of this work has been determined by the insight into the contents and the chronology of these phases, as well as by

¹ Šaranović, J., Ograničenja i mogućnosti angažovanja žena u odbrani zemlje, Vojno delo, br 2/ 1995; Šaranović, J., Marček, J., Kilibarda, Z. Uticaj obrazovnog profila i radnog iskustva oficira na njihove procene mogućnosti angažovanja žena u vojsci, Vojno delo, br. 4/2005; Šaranović J., Žena u odbrani – od tradicionalnog do savremenog, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Beograd, 2006; Šaranović, J., Istorijska i naučno teorijska ishodišta savremenog oblikovanja uloge žene u odbrani, Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne konferencije „Žene u vojsci“, 2006; Kilibarda, Z., Poslovi u vojsci na kojima bi žene trebalo prvenstveno da se angažuju, Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne konferencije „Žene u vojsci“, 2006; Šaranović, J., Kilibarda, Z., U susret školovanju žena na Vojnoj akademiji, Školovanje i obuka u sistemu odbrane - evroatlanski aspekt, Naučno-stručna konferencija sa međunarodnim učešćem, 29. i 30. novembar 2006; Šaranović J., Kilibarda Z., Školovanje devojaka na vojnoj akademiji, Ministarstvo odbrane, Sektor za ljudske resurse, Uprava za školstvo, Vojna akademija, Beograd, 2007; Šaranović, J. Kilibarda, Z., Za i protiv školovanja žena za oficirske dužnosti u Vojsci Srbije, Vojno delo, br. 1/2007; Kilibarda, Z., Šaranović, J., Obrazovni i socijalno-ekonomski korelati motivisanosti devojaka za vojni poziv, Zbornik radova fakulteta bezbednosti, Beograd, 2007; Šaranović, J. Kilibarda, Z., Angažovanje žena u funkciji poboljšanja kvaliteta popune jedinica civilne zaštite, Defendologija, br. 19-20/2007, Banja Luka; Šaranović, J., Milenković, S., Đorđević, A., Višacki, T., Maturanti o profesiji oficir, Institut za strategijska istraživanja, Beograd, 2008; Šaranović, J., Doprinos Vojske Srbije afirmaciji rodne ravnopravnosti u sektoru bezbednosti, Revija za bezbednost, br. 4/10. Šaranović, J., Rodna ravnopravnost u Vojsci Srbije-između diktata prošlosti i izazova budućnosti, Vojno delo, br. 1/2011.

the ensuing anticipation of the subsequent activities in this sphere, so that each of the steps was dedicated a separate chapter in the monograph: Referring to object lessons and experiences from the past, Insight into results of contemporary research into specific features of genders, Determining own position in relation to the current state of affairs and dominant global trends, Identifying duties in the armed forces as prioritised work places for women, Intensifying admission of women to professional armed-forces service, Beginnings of education of female cadets at the Military Academy, Involvement of the Ministry of Defence and Armed forces of Serbia in producing a National Action Plan aimed at implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325, Subsequent steps. The authors' intention has been to retain a moderate and balanced approach in all of the phases of the process that ultimately produced the chapters of this monograph, starting from the account of the experimental knowledge, the description and interpretation of the research results, to the formulation of the key principles. At the same time, they have tried to avoid exclusive impressions, exhibitionism of trendy attitudes and hasty conclusions. Hoping this goal has been achieved, the authors leave it to the readers to make their own judgment of this.

The reviewers, Colonel Prof. Dr. Jan Marček and Prof. Dr. Dubravka Marija Pineda have supplied their comments and suggestions, helping the authors to eliminate certain weaknesses of the first version of the text. The authors are grateful to them for their precious contribution.

Belgrade, May 2011

AUTHORS

“You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist”.

Indira Gandhi

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK REVIEW

... One of the key values of this monograph is its demystification of patriarchal ideology in the security sector – one of the last sacred “male” areas. The monograph offers an intersection of the current gender regime in the military and disproves, with arguments, stereotypes and prejudices about the biological inferiority of women, owing to which the military duty has still been perceived as a typically masculine engagement by general public. Particularly significant are the results of well designed scientific researches which give insight in the attitudes of women and men regarding the competency of women to perform specific activities in the military as these attitudes exactly are the indicators of deeply rooted gender stereotypic constructions. Having this in mind, the authors indicate the key challenges and obstacles which stay on the way of integrating gender perspective in the security sector and offer the competent authorities plenty of ideas about the measures and activities which can gradually be changing the obsolete discriminatory attitudes and give women the opportunity to be able, with their own potentials, to change the security sector itself contributing to its role of securing peace and stability. In that sense the monograph is a guide book of a kind for all who participate in articulating and implementing the policy of gender equality in the security sector...

Prof.. Dr. Nevena Petrusic,
confidant for protection of equality

...The study of Dr. Jovanka Saranovic and Dr. Zoran Kilibarda "In step with time – Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces of Serbia on the way of objectification of gender equality" is systematically elaborated scientific work which is based on the theoretic groundings and methodologically correct research in focus of which is the possibility of women engagement in the defense activities. It consists of scientifically supported findings about the characteristics of female population, up to date experiences of women engagement in the formation duties in the army, the possibilities of women engagement in the defense activities, motivation of secondary school youngsters, especially girls, for military academy. Part of the study presents the program framework of National Action Plan for implementation of the resolution SB UN 1325, with focus on the aims and tasks of Ministry of Defense and Army of Serbia in objectification of gender equality. The study can be of great use in educative and scientific work, as the textbook literature, as well as the instructive material for research projects in this area...

Prof. Dr. Jan Marcek,
Vice Principal of University of Defense in Belgrade

...The work that Saranovic and Kilibarda offer to us is a “Tour de Force” from a historic perspective, to a psychological, sociological and politico-economical perspective, and an example to follow. Dr. Jovanka Saranovic’s and Dr. Zoran Kilibarda’s book is a remarkable contribution to the literature and the knowledge about women’s leadership, involvement and agency in the security and defense sector, not only for Serbia, but for the region and the literature in general. Authors’ methodological scholarship and thematic experience and expertise make this book, one of the most important resources for future comparative studies on the subject...

Dr. Maria-Dubravka Pineda Purkarevic
Visiting Professor at the Naval Post-Graduate School
Monterey California, USA

INTRODUCTION

Although gender equity is neither new nor uncommon a topic in the modern armed forces, it remains a topic that is provocative enough. The questions that it may raise may seem banal at a first sight, but they can also be very difficult to answer at times. What, for example, is gender equity and the equality of sexes in general? Does being equal mean being identical? Is gender equity applied to the equality of the sexes, or is it a separate, self-contained area? What are the implications of gender equity in the armed forces? If being equal means being identical, is there any sense in discussing the equality of the sexes? How can it be possible to be identical or even equal, for the two sides that are so different that they are commonly referred to as “the opposite sexes”?

Does it seem surprising then to conclude that advocating gender equity can be perceived as disputing one's natural right not to be identical, or even as a derogatory assault on the God-given or Nature-granted blessing of being different, so unambiguously manifested by the bi-polarity of everything that exists? Is it then a mere chance that we have witnessed for so long (and still find it quite recognizable) the conceding attitude and accepting as natural the division of labour into ‘men’s’ and ‘women’s’ jobs, whereby armed forces occupations are a privilege of the so-called ‘stronger’ gender? As for the alleged superiority of men over women - has it been disputed with enough arguments to effectively abolish men’s prerogative to military occupations, a prerogative which is rooted in this very supposition? Have women made the right choice in deciding to step into this world of men which, until recently, used to be so sovereign and exclusive? To what extent does this choice truly contribute to the interests and welfare of both women and this ‘world’ that has finally become accessible to them? Are those who support this decision acting from their beliefs or just because it is a current fad to be followed? Is it appropriate to ask a question: Who are these women who enlist in the armed forces? Are these persons atypical – women ‘having an excess of male hormones’ who tend to behave like

men? Is it, as some may argue, a rebellion of daughters against their fathers and the patriarchal order of their world, or is it after all an exclusive form in which women's emancipation is manifested and which, as such, had marked several decades of the twentieth century? And can it be that, by entering a profession that until recently was an exclusive right of men, women have actually disturbed the apparent harmony of the ruling stereotypes and, if so – has the gate to the 'forbidden city' been opened to women in a way that will guarantee a new and real harmony to be established fast enough, free from old stereotypes?

Why are there so many ambiguities and so much caution in the process of establishing gender equity in the armed forces?

The reason for this can be found in the fact that the general role of women in the society, including their role in certain areas of work such as the military professions, has been modelled for far too long under a strong influence of the dominant thesis that women are biologically predetermined to be primarily mothers and wives, responsible for raising children and taking care of the household. It is little wonder then that for centuries women have been shadowed by the dominant role of men-hunters, men-warriors, soldiers, heads of family. Therefore, the traditional role that women played in the affairs of defence was almost exclusively limited to assistant (non-combatant) duties, mostly performed behind the front line, and it was this role that had gradually led to the first immediate engagements of women in the armed forces where, instead of remaining a sporadic and assistant segment, they became a regular part of the formations, with all their duties fully and explicitly specified.

The Second World War was marked with what in those times could be described as a mass involvement of women in the composition of regular armies, especially in various liberation movements. It is true that, once the War had ended, most of these women went back to their 'women's' duties; however, it is also true that, given the overall reduction in the size of the armies, the percentages of women in the armed forces did not decrease (and were even increased in some cases). So, over the time, during the first half of the twentieth century, the exclusivity enjoyed by men in the armed forces professions had gradually disappeared and a woman-soldier became a common site in many armies around the world. What is more, the new situation was neither a chance occurrence nor a show-off project, which is best proven by the fact that the past century, with only a few minor exceptions, had seen a tendency of constant growth in the participation of women in armed forces, which is taken as a major indicator of gender equity in the armed forces.

By accepting the concept of gender equity as one of its strategic commitments, the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces have made a commitment to act in accordance with the available opportunities

and seek to attain the highest standards in this area, relying by all means on the own experience, as well as the specific elements of the inherited conditions and the trends present in the countries which can be accepted as attainable and desirable role-models in this area. In other words, this means that the term 'gender equity' is first and foremost understood in its basic meaning, in the way it is used in the European Union countries, where it implies a strategy of including both women's and men's interests and experiences in the corresponding development programmes, in all the various political, economic and social spheres, so that the benefits are equally enjoyed by men and women.² In this sense, the 'European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life'³, emphasizes the necessity of providing equal opportunities for women, men and persons with different gender identities, so as to enable them to contribute to the cultural, political, economic and social prosperity, as well as to be given an equal access to all the benefits and welfare brought about by the progress of a community.

A successful realization of what beyond any doubt is an ambitious undertaking will require a synchronized action of a wide range of relevant subjects, accompanied by continual implementation of the principles of systematic and gradual approach, which from the very start has determined the concept of objectification of gender equity to be laid out in multiple steps, mutually interconnected and reciprocally conditioned. The first step in the series, which represents a preparation phase of a kind, gaining orientation in time and space, i.e. determining the own 'foothold' and the elements of the 'starting point', was to analyze the understanding and objectification of the role that women played in the armies of the past.

² Gender Equity - Concept and Tools for Development, The Centre for Development and Population activities (CEDPA), Washington, 1996.

³The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life, http://www.ccre.org/docs/charte_equalite_en.pdf

STEP ONE

REFERRING TO OBJECT LESSONS AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST

*“...defense is closely tied up with life!
Nature provides everything with weapons...
Sharp spikes are there to protect the corn stalks,
and thorns defend a rose from being plucked!”*

Njegoš



REFERRING TO OBJECT LESSONS AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST

Some of the most important initial dilemmas include questions such as: 'How far have our Armed Forces progressed in the implementation of the standards of gender equity?', 'What are the directions to be taken in changing the current state of affairs?', 'What is the best rate or dynamics for the planned changes?'. These questions would be impossible to answer without taking into consideration – apart from the relevant scientific knowledge – the object lessons from the practice so far. It is a well-known fact that solutions that have lived through centuries can be taken as a road-sign, if not as a role model in finding a right direction to follow in a quest for valid solutions. Anything that is modern and has no regard for the traditional, has very little chance of success. So, what are the basic characteristics of these solutions, and what are the postulates that they are based on?

Traditional attitude and objectification of the women's role in the armed forces

A dominant characteristic of the traditional role of the woman in the armed forces has been shaped by the general attitude that a woman is not made to be a warrior. The excuse for depriving the woman of this role is found in a strong and widespread belief that the two genders are distinctly biologically unequal. It is a common comprehension that women are significantly different from men in their ability to perform certain jobs. Based on the assumed radical differences, the man has been clearly labeled as the creature predestined for warfare. There can be no doubt that this 'natural' division of duties into 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs' is an ancient one, which is perhaps best illustrated by Vegetius who wrote that 'fishermen, bird-hunters, cake-makers, weavers, and all the others who seem to be engaged in jobs that are suited to women, should never be allowed to enter military barracks'⁴. This view implies beyond any doubt that women are

⁴ Martin, Van Creveld, *Men, Women and War*, Cassell & Co, London, 2001, p. 43.

banned from the military units. There is more ‘proof’ in favour of this ban, which can be found in the ancient Greek myth about the origin of the man and woman, as well as in the more recent Biblical interpretation of the man’s genesis. By depicting the woman as a God-sent temptation for the man, luring him to evil-doing, the Bible adds yet another handicap to the profile of the woman – a certain ethical inferiority⁵. The Biblical anathema had modelled various norms, both in customs and legal systems, so that women were not only deprived of their right to do various ‘men’s’ jobs, but also – in some countries – prevented by governing legal regulations to appear as witnesses in the court of justice. This speaks volumes about how much a woman’s word was trusted. The great poet himself⁶ wrote that ‘a woman’s nature is a funny thing’, and it was clear that funny things had no place in a serious business such as soldiers’.

It will be interesting to notice here that this attitude was not disputed even by the philosophical thought of the Ancient Greece, at the summit of the Athenian democracy. We see that, for example, *Aristotle* claimed that the superiority of men over women is a phenomenon rooted in the laws of the nature. He found proof for this in a ‘scientific’ fact that everywhere in the nature male facial features were more developed than female’s, and claimed that the man’s role in relation to the woman was that of the sun in relation to the earth. *Pythagoras* considered that ‘there is a good principle that created the order, the light and the man; and a bad principle that created the chaos, darkness and the woman’⁷. Later contemplations of this theme introduced significant novelties but did not, however, significantly change this attitude. *Rousseau* argued that it is the woman’s duty to be appealing to the man, to comfort him and take care of his upbringing and –

⁵ The early church blamed Eve for the original sin, thus identifying women with sexuality and sin. In the New Testament, Saint Paul promotes the principle of subordination of women to men, saying that ‘It is not Man who was made of Woman, but Woman was made of Man; it was not Man who was made for Woman, but Woman was made for Man’. Another quotation tells us that ‘In the same way as Church obeys Christ, so are women to be obedient to their husbands’. The religious belief, labelling sensuality as anathema, proclaims the woman as the devil’s most dangerous temptation, so Tertullian writes: ‘Woman, you are the hell’s gate, you have persuaded him whom Satan dared not confront face to face, and it is for you that the Son of God had to die; you ought to wear black forever, and forever walk in rags’. Saint Ambrosius says: It was Eve who made Adam commit sin, not the other way round. It is therefore just that the woman should accept as her master him whom she made sin’. For Thomas Aquinas, the woman remains an ‘imperfect’ or ‘faulty’ man. Answering the question of the true nature of the woman, both Chistostom and Tertullian list a series of sins – ‘an enemy to friendship, a necessary evil, nature’s temptation, threat to the household, comfortable doom, quintessence of evil’ (Source: Simon de Bovar, *Drugi pol*, Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, Belgrade, 1982 p.129-130: Gisele Bok, *Žena u istoriji Evrope*, Clio, 2005).

⁶ Petar Petrović Njegoš, *The Mountain Wreath*, Translator’s note.

⁷ Source: Simon de Bovar, *Drugi pol*.

last but not least – to be of use to him⁸. *Hegel* supports the idea that a woman's place is in the family, and leaves her no option of leaving the family circle. In this way, marriage and family become the woman's sole duty, and the purpose of the marriage is propagation of the species.

Shaped by this deeply rooted and widely spread concept of the natural inequality of the genders, the roles played by the two genders remained strictly divided until the spread of the industrial revolution. Women's duties were rendered to the household chores, while men took care of the out-of-the-house activities, especially those that brought in income, so that the man was considered a sole provider and pillar of welfare in the family. The hypocrisy of this morality is reflected in the fact that same jobs were done either by men or women, depending only on whether they were done inside or outside of the household. Later, when the woman had left the narrow circle of the household, the condescending attitude was manifested through under-estimation of her work, regardless of the actual efficiency.

It can be concluded therefore that the attitude that determined engagement of women in social life in general, and especially in the armed forces, remained for far too long limited by the stereotypes present in the comprehension of the woman's nature which, in its extreme variant, portrayed them as ignorant, stupid, rash, always prone to contradicting orders, overly emotional, tender, changeable and careless, treacherous, inclined to telling lies, incapable of killing and likely to express undesired mercifulness. With these stereotypes prevailing for so long, the role of women in the armed forces was inevitably rendered to the functions that safely remained outside the inviolable world of 'men's duties'. This certainly does not mean that women did not play an important role, within the scope of the opportunities that were given to them, even though this role may have been shadowed by the much more exposed and – as a rule – socially much more acknowledged men, especially taking into consideration the general opinion that for men to be a soldier and warrior was synonymous with elite social duties. What remained for women was to provide unreserved contribution to successful performance of these duties, while at the same time never endangering men's prioritized right to the established roles. So numerous and diverse are the ways in which women performed this traditional role, that it would be hardly possible to classify them into any final number of separate categories.

There can be no doubt, however, that there are certain functions that can be clearly recognized as vital and distinct, constituting as such what could be called a traditional role of women in the armed forces, complementary to that of men: 1) *providing moral support*; 2) *raising and bringing*

⁸ J. J. Rousseaux, *Emil*, Kultura, Belgrade, 1950

*up future soldiers; 3) providing first aid to the wounded and the weak; 4) alleviating suffering; 5) providing supplies for soldiers, and 6) participating in warfare activities in the front line.*⁹

The importance of the understanding and support, i.e. *the moral support* provided by women to men, is illustrated by the following words of Virginia Woolf: 'for all these centuries, women have been magnifying looking-glasses, possessing magical and intriguing power of reflecting the man's figure in its doubled size ... without this magical power, our landscape would probably still remain marshland and jungle. All the glory of our wars would be unknown ... it is the mirrors that have played the essential role in all the great and heroic undertakings'¹⁰. The value of the award received by warriors from women, in the form of support and glorification of their achievements, has always been a rich source of the fighting morale and the morale of warriors in general. Considering this, we have to give credits to those who have claimed that the only way to make men stop waging war would be to stop women admiring them.

Since the woman has always provided strong moral support for the man, she has inevitably been a constant target of the enemy's assaults. Winning over the favour of the adversary's women was one of the methods of subduing one's opponents, and also a method that had a deeper meaning than their brutal obliteration. This strategy relied on gaining the favour and willful support of the woman, rather than on abducting her against her will. The sheer fear of the possibility of losing the favour of one's own women urged the contestants to strive for an overwhelming triumph over the opponent and as a rule drove the warriors to the limits of self-sacrifice. To illustrate this, it is perhaps best to quote the words of Genghis Khan who, when asked to define the most magnificent feeling, said that 'it is to see your opponents bathing in their own tears, while their women are being embraced by others'¹¹.

The mere realization of this dimension of the opponent's weakness on one side, combined with the appeal of the woman on the other side, promoted women into an object of desire, but also an object of sacrifice. This specific but unavoidable role of the sacrificial lamb, which women often played without even realizing it, could in modern terminology be described as the role of a 'collateral victim' or 'collateral award'. While in the past this role was openly promoted, today it is banned from official reports, since this would be socially unacceptable, compromising and disavouring for

⁹ Jovanka Šaranović, *Žena u odbrani - od tradicionalnog do savremenog*, VIZ, Belgrade, 2006.

¹⁰ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, New York Harcourt and Brace and Jovanovich, 1957, pp. 35-36.

¹¹ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

any party which perceives it as a collateral gain. However, this role is definitely present nowadays and is silently accepted, which is sadly proven by the war events during 1990s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Apart from providing moral support to soldiers, there is another vital role of women in the armed forces affairs, which has been her function of *providing healthy progeny* whom their motherly care and proper upbringing prepared to be ready to sacrifice themselves for soldier's ideals. As the bearer of the biological reproduction, a being giving birth to others, the woman-mother is the first teacher of life, the embodiment of generosity and ideal of love. This role is rooted in the most powerful of the woman instincts, the mother's instinct, programming the woman to be responsible for the 'human seed'. This instinct is at the base of all the highest virtues and qualities of the woman, passed on by her to the creature that she raises and brings up or, as Lykourgos rightly claimed, 'it is in the arms of healthy women that the power of a nation is hidden'¹². This function is crucially important for the psychological condition of soldiers in the battlefield. Fear of death is better controlled by soldiers when they feel assured that their life will be continued in the life of their progeny, safely taken care of by women. The dedication posed by this role is well-illustrated by the lines of the traditional epic poem, where the wife of a killed commander after the defeat of his armed forces is advised to 'raise the son for the army'.

Providing aid to the wounded and the weak, as one of the prioritized functions of women in the activities of defence, has also stemmed from the supposed but irrefutable elements of the woman's nature, enabling her to show more feelings, mercifulness and gentleness, to sympathize more deeply with those who are helpless, to feel compassion for those in need of help and to offer help more generously¹³. The function of providing first aid to the wounded at the battlefield and the civilians stricken by the adversities of warfare has found its particular form in the activities of the Red Cross organization, the foundation of which was inspired by the audacious scenes of suffering of thousands of people, soldiers and civilians alike, caught in the whirl of conflict. From this time on, there was a growing involvement of women (volunteers) in the armed forces medical institutions, where they worked as medical staff with a civilian status (doctors, nurses) or as volunteering nurses in war-time periods, recruited through Red Cross¹⁴.

¹² Maks Runge, *Žena i njen poziv*, Miloš Veliki, Štamparija Bojovića i Mičića, Belgrade, 1901, p.62.

¹³ According to Gallup's research conducted in 22 countries, Female sensitivity has been clasified as a common phenomenon, by a general consensus. Around 88% of the Americans, 79% of the French, 74 % of the Japanese, 72 % of the Chinese regard women as more emotional. (Helen Fišer, *Um žene*, Narodna knjiga – Alfa, 2005, p.155).

¹⁴ *Vojna enciklopedija*, book 10, Belgrade, 1975, p.744.

The role of women as sisters of mercy did not stop at the point of providing first aid to the wounded in the battlefield and healing the injuries to their bodies; it went beyond this and included, as an unwritten rule, care for those to whom the first aid arrived too late. The woman is believed to possess that magical power of *taking care of the souls of the deceased* who have passed away and are to be buried without a proper burial service by a priest. It was a woman who could work out a miracle so that, as the poet wrote, the young Andro was blessed to have died, because 'he was mourned by such a beautiful mouth, and such beautiful eyes shed tears over him'¹⁵.

Some other traditional functions performed by women for the military affairs may be of a different character, but are nonetheless equally important. One of these functions was *procurement for soldiers*. During the long periods spent far away from home, it was necessary that someone should procure, or prepare food supplies for soldiers, mend the clothes, carry certain equipment, and it was somehow natural that this duty would belong to the woman, as someone who was not chosen to partake in combat. In this way, women 'camp followers' became a kind of a *predecessor to the logistic support*, in the modern meaning of this term. The importance of their presence in the non-combatant segment is probably best proven by the fact that throughout the history, there were many commanders who, judging the absolute necessity of the presence of women, had found ways of keeping them in their vicinity and taking care of them, even officially appointing subordinates whose responsibility it was to take care of their accommodation, transport and meals. The warfare practice had posed a need to regulate this issue by introducing special regulations, which was done in the Prussia, Austria and Bavaria in 17th century, where spouses were officially allowed to reside in the military barracks in the peacetime periods, while in the wartime periods, they were allowed to accompany the armed forces as its official entourage.¹⁶ In 18th century, there was a similar method of engaging women in the English armed forces, the only difference being that the women there were often officially subordinated to a woman-commander who was responsible for them.¹⁷ This kind of status was also a clear indication of what actually is the role of women in modern armies, the difference being that the modern role of women is free from certain obligations that earlier existed as a result of their subordinate position and do not involve standard elements of gender equality. This form of the physical presence of

¹⁵ Petar Petrović Njegoš, *The Mountain Wreath*, Translator's note.

¹⁶ They had even defined percentages of the married soldiers who were allowed to bring along their wives. In the Prussian Army, it was one out of three married soldiers, and in the armies of Bavaria and Austria it was one in twenty.

¹⁷ This solution would be applied in the 20th century as a form of command in the female part of the British and American armed forces. That was practically the first unofficial type of the female formation within armed forces.

women in the armed forces, known as the 'camp followers' is perhaps the best illustration for the diversity of the functions performed by women in the various armed forces-related fields.

Apart from the duties stated in the above text, women had occasionally - and usually in extreme situations - *played the part of male comrades in arms* in the front line. Naturally, as soon as the critical situation that necessitated this had been overcome, the parties would return to the traditional practice of keeping the women away from the duties that were in conflict with the 'woman's nature'. Still, the contribution made by women in such situations is not only worth mentioning here, but it also deserves utmost respect.

When it comes to object lessons and experiences from the past concerning women involved in defence activities, it is worth mentioning the examples set by women who played the untypical 'male' roles. These examples provide proofs that despite the widespread attitude that women are not capable of performing certain duties 'reserved' for men, there is a constant tendency to put an end to any further assertions of this attitude, using a variety of corresponding arguments to counter-balance and dispute this attitude. Apart from the well-known mythological goddesses who had the attributes of the superior gender (goddesses Athens and Minerva) and the legendary women heroines disguised as men (Deborah Sampson, Loretta Velasquez, Milunka Savić, Milosava Perunović ...), there are, above all the examples of women who played the role of famous military leaders and rulers.

Women playing exclusive roles – women as armed forces leaders and rulers

Among the women who will be remembered for playing successfully and honourably the role of an armed forces leader, albeit for a short time and in contrast to the customs of the time they belonged to, there is one name that certainly stands out as one of the greatest: *Joan of Arc*. She is supposed to have been born in 1412, in Domremy, to a wealthy farming family. Until autumn 1428, Joan lived an ordinary life. Then, she was apparently moved by the hardships that befell France and especially the news of the city of Orleans, that was about to surrender to invaders after a six months' siege. Joan was inspired by a conviction that she was fulfilling a mission given by God, chosen to initiate a movement to free Orleans and France from the English. Dressed like a man, she went to the heir to the French throne, Charles, asking for an army to lead to her war mission. With the king's blessing, she led an army around 800 soldiers strong, to help Orleans and on 29th April 1429, managed to break through the siege and

into the invaded city.¹⁸ Then in only four days she succeeded in retrieving three fortresses from the Englishmen. Although wounded, on 7th May she captured the Turel fortress, and this deed enormously strengthened her reputation throughout France. With the army that were now several thousand strong, she managed to beat the English and liberate the valley of the Loara River. The Prince, guarded by her troupes, entered Rennes, where he was crowned as the King of France, Charles VII, on 17th July. Carried by her plain faith in the mission she was chosen to fulfill, Joan showed extraordinary warfare skills. She had physical strength, was of an outstanding health and had a voice that was 'mighty enough to be heard in the peak of battle'. Her self-possession, her ability to choose the right priorities and her eloquence, made her 'a natural-born leader'.

A legend was spun around her name, and volunteers from all parts of the country flocked under her flag. Joan of Arc had become a symbol of the free will of the people of France and its liberation from the English occupation. However, the national zeal that was started by Joan of Arc was not met with understanding by the court and the gentry. She was first left without basic resources, and then sold to the English for a huge sum. Charles VII, who had become king owing to her, did nothing to rescue her. This, unfortunately, was not the end of her martyrdom. In the trial organized by the church in Ruan, although she defended her dignity with outstanding bravery, she was sentenced to death based on charges for blasphemy and witchcraft, and she was burnt at stake.¹⁹

The destiny of Joan of Arc was shared by a host of other women who, against the odds and the customs of the time, played the role of a soldier. Women were never accepted as equal members of the armed forces, and this is true even of that tiny minority of them who actually participated in combat. On the other hand, in the societies where the political power was hereditary, it was possible for women to become military captains, provided they were close relatives of kings, feudal aristocracy or tribal chiefs or, in general rulers who were not elected and were supreme commanders by their birth right. Women-commanders could also be widows, daughters or sisters of deceased rulers, having ascended to this position through in-

¹⁸ *Vojna enciklopedija*, book 4, Belgrade, 1972, p. 75.

¹⁹ Whatever the source of her power, the essential importance of Joan of Arc according to Martin Van Creveld, was not that of a strategist or a fighter. From the moment she left her home until the moment she was caught by the enemy, her active career lasted only around 18 months. In the trial, she declared that she never really killed anyone. What she can be credited with beyond any doubt is the fact that she stirred the imagination of the French and called them to fight, where she herself was very successful and justly deserved an eternal fame. (Martin Van Creveld, op.cit. page 21). There were witnesses who praised her comprehension of warfare, claiming that it was equal to that of a captain with twenty or thirty years' experience (Julien Quichrat, ed. *Processus de condamnation et de Rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle*, Paris, Renuard, 1841-9, vol. 3, p 101).

trigues or civil wars, beating their male contestants who were not capable enough. It was not a rare occasion that women who managed to rise to commanding positions and power in this way were successful. Among these women in the ancient world, the names of the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, the British queen Boadicea and the queen Zenobia from Palmira remain perhaps best remembered.

Cleopatra VII led successful resistance to Roman invasion of Egypt (48 BC), until her armies started openly protesting against her as a woman-general.²⁰ After this, she changes her tactics and stops fighting Caesar. Instead of it, she becomes close to him and becomes a member of the Roman war council together with Marc Anthony, Caesar's first general and the successor to his position, whom Cleopatra would eventually marry. Cleopatra largely contributed to his rise to riches, and she would also share his downfall from the power.²¹

The British queen Boadicea is probably the best known women-commander of the ancient times. She led an uprising against the Roman rule in 60 AD, having a lot of success as a military commander. However, her uprising will remain best remembered for the cruelty that Boadicea showed towards her opponents. Seeking revenge for the humiliation that she and her two daughters had suffered from the Romans (she was whipped, and her daughters raped), she ordered – or at least allowed – her warriors to commit horrible atrocities over opponent's women.²²

Queen Zenobia of Palmira (in the Near East) had ascended to the throne by having her husband Odenatius and his eldest son, the heir to the throne, murdered. Like Boadicea, she despised the fact that her country was a Roman protectorate and in around 270 AD, she led an uprising against Rome. For a year or two, she and her commander Zabadas had waged wars in the Near East, before they shared the destiny of all the others who stood up against Rome. When she was captured, she pleaded for her life 'as an ordinary woman', and her sweet voice and her 'amazing sexuality' actually helped her to win the mercy of the emperor.²³

²⁰ C. Julius Ceasar, *De Bello Alehandrino*, London, Heinemann, Loeb Classical Library, 1955, 2.

²¹ Grace H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Women-Power of Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, pp 232-233.

²² According to the writings of the ancient historian Dio Cassius, 'the noblest of the women' were hanged, while their breasts were cut off and sewed to their mouths, as if they were trying to eat them. However, the triumph of Boadicea did not last long, because her armed forces were attacked and defeated by a Roman garrison. Although greatly outnumbered by the British, the Romans inflicted great losses to their enemies. (Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender*, Cambridge, University Press, 2001, pp 118-119; Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.* p. 71.)

²³ Realising that a cruel punishment of a woman would bring bad publicity, Emperor Aurelius blamed the uprising on Zenobia's chief advisor, philosopher Cassius Longinus, and

The Middle Ages saw a large number of women-rulers, owing to the fact that the political power was inherited in this period. It seems that women used every opportunity to get rid of the patronage of their male relatives and rule independently.²⁴ Mabil of Belem, wife of Roger II of Mont Gomery, formed her own armed forces around 1070 AD, and led it to combats and sieges. However, her cruelty and greed provoked hatred of the people around her, and she was eventually murdered by one of her subjects.

The tradition of queens and princesses as warriors who represented their male relatives was continued through the whole period of the late Middle Ages, as well as the Renaissance period. In this period, the most famous woman-commander was the English queen Elizabeth (1533–1603). A daughter of King Henry VIII, she came into power in 1558. She despised war, partly because the costs implied by war threatened to make her dependent on the will of the Parliament, and partly because – as a contemporary historian recorded – a war could always cause the shift of the control, ‘from the woman on the throne, to a man in the field’.²⁵ In order to calm down the subordinates, worried about her paradoxical position of a woman-ruler and commander-in-chief (as well as about her many years of refusing to get married and give birth to a successor to the throne), she portrayed herself as both a man and a woman, a king and a queen, a mother and the first-born son; in a word – as a hermaphrodite capable of acting both as a man and a woman, while at the same time paying a price of not being either of these two. Elizabeth was born a princess, and after the coronation, she duly acquired the title of the Queen. However, the longer her rule lasted, the more she liked the title of Prince, especially in critical situations. In accordance with this, she was often portrayed as a man – Saint George, David, Solomon or Alexander.²⁶ There were other queens – warriors, such as Tamara of Georgia living in the 12th century, or Isabel of Castile, who also called themselves kings. This is yet another indicator of how difficult it was for women to be accepted as soldiers and commanders. These examples seem to show that this was possible only if one denied one’s own gender.

had him executed. Zenobia herself joined in the march of triumph of her invader, and was pardoned. She ended her days as an important lady, married to a Roman senator, in a villa given to her by her former adversary. (Joshua S. Goldstein, p 120).

²⁴ Jacques Contamine, *War in the Ages*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984, pp 241–242.

²⁵ A. Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, pp. 176–177.

²⁶ There is an interesting description of her visit to Tilbery, that took place in 1588, where she came to watch an army parade, appearing ‘dressed like the Amazonian queen, in leather and feathers, with a gold sciptar, glove and collar, and with enough weaponry to show her refined and magnificent spirit’. In the speech delivered to the soldiers, she reassured them that, although she is well aware of her ‘fragile woman’s body’, she also possessed the ‘spirit of a king’ (Martin Van Creveld, p. 76).

It was in the eighteenth century that the positions of the head of the state and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces were de facto separated. No longer were women-rulers or their male counterparts expected to be role models of the military excellence and virtue. They stopped supervising any activities below a level that would in modern terms be phrased as the high strategic level, and they especially stopped commanding their forces in battles. Queen Elizabeth and Catherine the Great waged numerous wars against Turkey and Persia, while the latter expanded the territory of the Russian Empire to the coast of the Black Sea, for the first time in the history.²⁷ What made the historic precedence, was the fact that their armies involved in immediate front-line combat were led by their loyal generals, especially appointed for this mission.²⁸

Similarly to Maria Theresa in 18th century, women like Golda Meir in Israel, Indira Gandhi in India and Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain, all were in charge of their countries' affairs in war-time periods.²⁹ Benazir Buto in Pakistan and Akino Corason in the Philippines fought for the control over their armed forces in the late 1980s. Tanasü Çiller in Turkey cruelly suppressed the rebellion of the Kurds in the mid-1990s. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, President of Sri Lanka engaged in a war against the Tamil separatists, after the breakdown of the peace initiative.³⁰ Women holding

²⁷ Under her leadership, Russia increased its territory by 200,000 square miles, realizing its centuries-long dream of gaining access to the Bosphorus through the Black Sea, and the country also increased its wealth in the form of countless magnificent palaces, government buildings, even completely new cities. Catherine also managed to inspire a victorious atmosphere at the Russian court, thus attracting numerous great minds of Europe. She contributed to armed forces success of Russia both within the country's borders and outside them. She died unexpectedly, on 7th November 1796, aged sixty-seven (Shelly Klein, *Najveći zlotvori-žene u istoriji*, Narodna knjiga, Belgrade, 2004, p. 106).

²⁸ Due to her 'intellectual limitations', Queen Anne of England relied heavily on her War Secretary, Sidney Godolphin, while Maria Theresa also relied on the Field-Marshal Daun, during the war for the Austrian heritage (1740-1748) and the Seven-year War (1756-1763), while Catherine the Great had her general Suvorov as the important advisor.

²⁹ Margaret Thatcher, showing no pity or forethought, suppressed the mining protest using armed forces, and also ordered the armed forces intervention at the Falkland Islands, having the Destroyer 'Belgrano' sunk with her crew, when it violated the zone that was forbidden for Argentina vessels. In mid-1991, when she resigned after 11 years spent as Prime Minister of Great Britain, there was a number of countries headed by women: Edit Cresson in France, nicknamed 'the Iron Lady of Socialism', Mary Robinson in Ireland, Vignis Finbogodotir in Iceland, Gro Harlem Brundtland in Norway, Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua, Mari Evgenia in the Dominican Republic, Begum Khaleda Zia in Bangladesh, and Akino Corason in the Philippines (Nikola Grubišić, *Žene muške energije*, *Vojška* as of 2nd March 1995, p. 32).

³⁰ She was the first woman in the history who managed to win presidential elections, held in 1960, and was at the same time the first woman to become the Minister of Defence. This woman, whose name in her mother tongue means 'luck', was in the period before her active involvement in politics an activist in the area of women's problems in Sri Lanka, and one of the

these positions were responsible for making extremely important armed forces and political decisions, under enormous amount of pressure. At the same time, none of them had any kind of relevant or significant armed forces knowledge or experience. This is even true of Mrs Meir as the Prime Minister of one of the very few countries where women serve the compulsory military service. All of these ladies ruled with a strong arm, and most of them resorted to undesired armed forces action in order to resolve the existing conflicts. In a situation where it was not possible to act in accordance with Churchill's premise that it is 'better to talk than to fight', they cleverly delegated the military operations to professional male soldiers.

It can be concluded that, although certain authors with feminist views believe that a world ruled by women would be a peaceful place, the above examples of women military leaders and rulers show that, when it comes to aggressiveness, they were an equal match to their male counterparts. Aware of the fact that they had gained their status in a direct competition against their male rivals, they identified themselves with the opponents whom they had managed to defeat in a men's game. This could be the exact reason why none of them showed any sympathy for the members of their own gender.

Overall, an account of the role played by women in war and defence in general, shows that no radical changes took place during these periods, i.e. that even if certain changes did take place, they were nothing more than an illusion. Although women did occasionally occupy a central role, the predominant situation was the one in which the role of women was a marginal one. Very often the women who wanted to participate in combat had to disguise themselves or hide in some other way their female nature. In some other cases, their armed forces achievements were overshadowed by the effect of a pleasant surprise that they had on men because, as Balzac wrote 'it is the woman's destiny and her sole glory to make the man's heart beat faster'. In most cases, women did not get immediately involved in combat, but were active in various logistic roles. It was a woman who encouraged soldiers before they went to war, prayed for them during the war, waited for their return, embraced the victors, comforted the defeated, healed the wounded, mourned the dead, and even had the role of war trophies.

It could be said that, in general, the traditional role of women in armed forces was always complementary to that of men, never a substitution for it. In the very few, arguably undisputable cases when women did provide a substitution for the men's role, it was an exclusive case, recorded as a deviation from the dominant, prevailing condition. This role of complementing the male counterparts was in its nature a supporting role and - in various

founders of the Buddhist organisation called 'Lanka Mahila Samiti', aiming to contribute to the emancipation of women. (Ljubisav Milosavljević, Valeria Klem, *Žene koje su menjale svet*, MK Panonija & CIPRI, Novi Sad, 2005, p.97).

aspects – collaborative role, while from the point of view of the social status it was a side role, implying and allowing for indirect exposition only.

There can be no doubt that the Armed forces of Serbia have entered the twenty-first century bearing all the features of a work environment characterized by an apparent division into male and female roles, although this division is certainly less emphasized than its former, drastic discriminatory variant. It was therefore logical (if not mandatory), taking into consideration the standards of gender equity among other factors, to raise a question of the acceptability of this division in the modern conditions, and what conditions this division ought to and will be able to satisfy in the forthcoming period. To answer this question, it was – among other things – necessary to provide an insight into the results of numerous research projects, dealing in identifying the specific elements of the woman's nature, relevant for engagement in military duties.

STEP TWO

INSIGHT INTO RESULTS OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ABOUT SPECIFIC FEATURES OF GENDERS

*„The fact that the majority of people share certain ideas does not prove
the validity of those ideas“*

Erich Fromm



INSIGHT INTO RESULTS OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ABOUT SPECIFIC FEATURES OF GENDERS

In contemplating the issues of the competence of women in performing various social roles, i.e. work assignments, there are two basic theoretical platforms. The first one is the theory of similarity of the genders, whereas the second one is the theory of the specific uniqueness of the genders. Although these two theories stem from different types of inspiration and use different arguments, their authors are not irrevocably confronted, since the differences that exist between them are mostly related to the interpretation of the results obtained in observation, rather than the results that both these theories use in their argumentation. In that sense, these two theories can be contemplated as the asymptotically convergent premises, owing their respective and distinct recognition to glorification of what makes the genders equal or similar, but what inevitably makes one of the genders so specifically unique in relation to the other, an observation that, translated into the format of modern objective knowledge is largely undisputed.

Under the influence of the abovementioned theories, but also driven by the current social needs, the differences and the similarities between the genders have become object of numerous research projects, both in the country and abroad. On one side, in the period between 1970 and 1980, the aim of these projects was to prove that there are no major differences between men and women, with a result that the stereotype promoting the dominant and efficient man, as opposed to the reserved and submissive woman was seriously questioned. At the same time, certain results disputed the commonly accepted opinion promoting the duality of the genders from the point of view of their different systems of values and work capacities, i.e. the opinion that saw men as being more aggressive, better motivated, more efficient and committed to performing assigned duties, as well as being more able to maintain inter-personal relations, better leaders, and so on.

The research mentioned above shows an overall tendency of reducing the detected differences that exist between men and women, in their relation to the attitudes, values systems, character features, modes of behaviour,

capabilities and motivation – in a word, all those factors that influence the type of profession or career preferred by an individual. The tendency to deny the differences between the genders (the unisex concept)³¹ was in the stated period an influential stream of thought, in which certain authors tended to ignore the presence of authentic aspirations to apply scientific methods in testing the viability of the existing stereotypes, but rather saw it as a kind of a ‘fashionable trend, or a reflection of the so-called feminist movement’.³²

At the same time, the final decades of the past century saw the publication of numerous research projects, the results of which point out to certain specific bio-physical and psycho-social characteristics of men and women. These results must certainly be taken into consideration in any attempted evaluation of the needs and possibilities of an increased number of women in work places that used to be traditionally delegated to men. Otherwise, it would not be possible to talk about consistent compliance with the standards of gender equity.

Biological and physical differences between men and women

The obvious differences that exist between men and women from the aspect of their body constitution and physical strength, as well as their different reproduction functions, have probably been the root cause for the strict division of the roles, which primarily took place within the family unit, and then spread out to the roles in the general domain of human labour, starting from the periods of the so-called gatherers’ communities, to the period of industrialized economy. Apart from these obvious physical differences between the genders, the more recent findings have indicated that there are certain differences in the sphere of the physiological base of the two genders, enabling a more comprehensive view and interpretation of the more or less apparent differences in the behaviour modes of men and women that occur in various social and work-related situations.

Among the most relevant differences of this kind are typically those that are related to the functioning of the vital organs (the brain, heart and lungs), the levels of hormones influencing the affective and conative personality spheres, the immune system, the system of thermal regulation, and similar. Considering this, the literature mostly refers to the following major indicators of the bio-physiological specific features of the genders: men

³¹ That concept was first defined by Brener and Tomkijevich (1979), according to M. Majerle, M. Mićović (1982).

³² M. Mićović, P. Šipka, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-18.

have more grey brain matter, women have more white brain matter. Women make a more balanced use of the two hemispheres of the brain and can process more information at a single instance. Women have a more developed sense of smell. Men have a larger-capacity, slower-beating heart. Women's sexual hormone, estrogen, provides a better protection to the heart, due to the fact that it reduces the levels of fats and cholesterol in the blood. This hormone reduces the risk of arteriosclerosis and the adverse stress effects, due to its ability to maintain a more stable blood pressure. The capacity of men's lungs is up to 50% bigger. The average blood content in men's bodies is 4.5 liters, while for women it is 3.6 liters, which inevitably results in different physical and aerobic capabilities. Compared to men, women have more anti-bodies, and consequently a more superior immune system. This difference is in fact one of the main explanations for the comparative proneness of men to genetic diseases. Women have a longer average life expectancy, which could also be explained by the fact that men's basal metabolism is 15% faster. In other words, women are better survivors. The woman's body produces more relaxing hormone, having a positive impact on their better use of the smaller body mass.³³ This is reflected in the fact that women make relatively longer steps, stretch more when jumping over barriers or hurdles, and also make less contact with the ground while running, so that they can be seen as relatively faster than men, from the sports aspect.³⁴

Good knowledge of the physiological differences between the genders can be important in explaining, i.e. forecasting the performance of men and women, not only during their physical, but also their cognitive activities. As for the detected differences in the proportion of the grey brain matter, which serves to process information, and the white brain matter, which serves for the transfer of information between distant areas of the brain,³⁵ it can be reasonably concluded that 'women possess faster communication between the various spheres of the brain (sensory perception from more sensory analyzers and making conclusions based on diverse information related to the surrounding world) while men at the same time have a more potent capability of sensory procession, focusing, analyzing and making conclusions in any of the separate spheres'.³⁶ This kind of

³³ Joyner faster than Carl Lewis, "*M Magazine*, 1997, no. 1, pp. 12-13, according to: P. Kostić, Biological and psychological differences between men and women, *Psihologija danas*, 2003, no. 19, pp. 12-19.

³⁴ Although Florence Griffith-Joyner runs 100 metres in 10.49 seconds, and Carl Lewis in 9.92 seconds, she is relatively faster by 5.3%, provided that we could equalise their body mass and brought them to the same boxing category.

³⁵ Gur, Raket i Ruben, according to: M. Petković, Proportion of the white and the grey matter in the brain, *Psihološke novine*, 1999, no. 230, p. 14.

³⁶ P. Kostić, *op.cit.*, pp.12-19.

conclusion is generally in accordance with the experiences and perceived differences between the respective cognitive styles of men and women.³⁷

There can be no doubt that the most extensively researched area of the bio-physical differences that are relevant for determining the (non-)competence of women for certain individual defence duties, is the area of morphological differences between men and women, as well as the area of physical strength and stamina. The systematic research of this kind that was conducted in the final decades of 20th century in the US Armed forces, shows that the women recruits are on average 12cm shorter than men recruits, 14.3kg lighter, with 16.9% less muscle mass, and 2.6 fatty tissue more than the average male recruit. They also possess only 55% strength of the male upper-body force, and only 72% of the male lower-body force, when compared to average men. Since the percentage of the fatty tissue stands in a reverse proportion to the aerobic capabilities and the ability to withstand heat, women turn out to be in a less favourable position when it comes to aerobic activities such as marching under a heavy-weight load, or working in the heat. Apart from this, due to men's more expressed ability to increase muscle mass, the stated physical differences that exist between the genders are not likely to be eliminated through intense physical training – to the contrary, they rather tend to become more accentuated. Based on the obtained results, it can be concluded that women are morphologically less capable of performing military duties that are accompanied by a high level of injury risk.

This occurs as a consequence of women having a thinner skull-bone and weaker jaws, which makes them less resistant to physical shock. The larger breasts make their movement more difficult, and require additional protection.³⁸ Their shorter arms make it more difficult for them to draw weapons out of the cases, as well as making a charge at the adversary using a long knife (bayonet), or throwing a hand grenade. Women also have shorter legs, set at different angles, so that they are less adapted to sprinting or long-distance running.³⁹ The only relative physical advantage possessed by women in comparison to men seems to be their apparent lower sensitivity to the acrophobia.

³⁷ More recent research shows that the differences in certain spheres of the brain seem to be evident not only between men and women, but also between men having different sexual preferences. For example, biologist Simon Le Vay published his conclusions in 1991, announcing that the so-called pre-optical area of the hypothalamus that plays an important function in many aspects of sexual behaviour, is significantly bigger in heterosexual, than in homosexual men. (Le Vay, according to Goldstein, *War and Gender*, p 170).

³⁸ In 1999, in the British Armed forces, the issue was raised of designing brassieres that would be both appealing and comfortable for wearing.

³⁹ A check that was done at the ROTC (Reserve Officer Training Center) showed that even 78% of men and a mere 6% of women could run two miles in under 14 minutes. (Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p 153.)

Given the existing inferiority in the sphere of physical features, the researchers in this area have rightly concluded that it was not by accident that in the past women who had to carry weapons, in the few occasions when it was necessary, were equipped with weapons especially made to suit their capabilities (a record of this is found in Xenophon's writings, among other sources).⁴⁰ In other words, in the situations when it was demanded to respect equality in the rights and duties of defence, the manner in which this was implemented was actually a proof of the necessity to appreciate the differences between the genders.

It seems that, due to their physical inferiority, not all women can endure the same level of difficulty of training as men. Certain requirements of the training standards, such as obstacles of the 'Tarzan' type, also proved more dangerous for women who did not have an adequate level of strength in the upper body, and who were consequently released from such parts of the training. Women tend to lag behind during marches and group running marches, so that some of the partakers had to be released from these activities as well. In addition to this, women cannot overcome the series of obstacles used in physical training, so these had to be modified to suit their standard abilities. Another exercise that women could not perform was rope climbing, as well as throwing a hand grenade, which is a number one weapon for the combat of the future.⁴¹ The stated indicators of the physical inferiority of women are taken as the main cause for an increased number of injuries, especially fractured bones, among women subjected to armed forces training.⁴²

There are, however exceptions among women, such as the British Armed forces Captain Pip Tattersall, who was the first woman to undergo the eight-week intensive training, together with other 99 male colleagues, and deserved the right to wear the green beret of the Royal Marines.⁴³ However, despite the demonstrated ability, the governing standards regulating engagement of women in the British Armed forces, Tattersall was not given a chance to compete with male Royal Marines, since she was not allowed to perform any kind of combat duty. Instead of this, she was engaged as an instructor in one of the training colleges for the training of ground forces. In this way, despite successfully completing the armed forces training that is considered as one of the world's most demanding training

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 155.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 193-194.

⁴² During 1980s, at the West Point, there were 10 times more fractures recorded with women than with men. Women spend five times more time on sick leave than men, due to injuries. In the Air-Force Academy, women went to the medical checks four times more than men, and were nine times more subjected to immobilization of the lower part of the leg.

⁴³ Simon de Bruxelles and Gillian Harris, I am awestruck, says the first women green beret, *The Times*, June 1st, 2002, p 6.

courses, Ms Tattersall still cannot bear the title of the Royal Marine, and this is another proof of the fact that individual results, regardless of their exceptional level in comparison with the average performance, cannot be taken as sufficiently relevant reason for changing the established criteria, based on the dominant experiential knowledge and traditional clichés that define the understanding of the role of women in the armed forces organization.

The problems that women are faced with during the armed forces training, caused by the physical strains inappropriate to their physique, are a probable reason why – for example – in the Canadian Armed forces, out of the total number of women who successfully meet the requirements set at the entrance examination for infantry, only one percent makes it to the end of the training.⁴⁴ Another example are the experiences of the Australian Armed forces, whose statistics show that, even after the standards of the physical exercises have been significantly reduced, women get injured twice more often than men. It is therefore no surprise to see that there are quite a large percentage of them who give up during the training phase.

Research projects of a similar nature were conducted in other armies as well, and the ones that were undertaken in Great Britain stand out as especially comprehensive and methodologically correct. The results of the many years of systematic research in this area, and the experiential knowledge related to the engagement of women in the armed forces, gathered in all three sectors of the British Armed forces, have been compiled in the study titled *Women in the Armed Forces*.⁴⁵

Similarly to the results obtained in the sample of the American population, the British findings show that the women are inferior to men in many aspects of physical attainments. Their comparatively lower height and body weight, and the higher proportion of the fatty tissue in the body structure, have been identified as a cause of the obviously weaker achievements of women in the armed forces activities such as lifting and carrying weights, and marching under load. The research showed that the strength and stamina of women were around 30-60% lower than in men, which contributes to the fact that only one percent of women reach the level of attainment that is typical of men. Similarly to this, only one percent of women were found to be equal to men in the domain of aerobic capabilities. Due to their physical inferiority, women tend to demonstrate a slightly lower work capability, and have to invest an average 25-35% more effort in order to achieve the same level of performance as men.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

⁴⁵ *Women in the Armed Forces, A Report by the Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group*, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, May, 2002.

⁴⁶ Men and women subjected to the same training showed a similar progress in levels of

Since, generally speaking, women have to invest more effort when doing the same work as men, they are – as the findings of the American Armed forces research shows – exposed to a greater risk of injury caused by exhaustion. In relation to these undoubtedly reliable statistics, it is important to point out to one of the important findings of the British research, showing that men and women, who were at the same level of fitness, also had an equal injury rate. A conclusion that can be drawn is that, irrespective of the gender, it is possible to significantly reduce the injury risk with appropriate training, raising the overall fitness, which ultimately points to the importance of the physical education, as a segment of the armed forces training.

It is known fact that the physical requirements posed by certain armed-forces duties, especially in the infantry, armored forces and corps of engineers, are highly demanding and that the efficiency in performing these duties can mean the difference between life and death. This is at the same time the most typically stated reason why these duties in the British Armed forces are not available to women. The results of the research mentioned earlier mostly confirm that these arguments are justified. There are of course duties within other, so-called non-combatant branches of armed forces that also pose requirements that are above the physical capabilities of women. In the segment of the duties that involve handling weights (lifting, lowering, carrying, pushing or pulling weight), which are fairly frequent duties in the armed forces, there is only one percent of women who can reach the performance of an average male. In addition to this, it has been determined that women, when subjected to the same level of physical strain as men, have to invest between 50% and 80% more effort in order to achieve the same result, which means that these kinds of jobs pose a marked risk of injury with permanent consequences.⁴⁷ Marching under a load is one of the typical strenuous exercises for the members of the land forces. The levels of performance of women are 10-40% under the levels attained by men, and the discrepancy tends to grow with the increase of the load that is carried and the length of the march.

fitness, while the general capability remained better in men. As a possible explanation for this, the authors have suggested the fact that women possess a reduced ability to increase their body mass, due to the lower levels of the testosterone hormone.

⁴⁷ Although gender is often stated as a factor contributing to injury risk, a detailed overview of the data shows that, although women are more prone to injury than men, the cause of this does not necessarily have to be their fitness level in the first place, especially their aerobic fitness, since it has been proven that men and women having the same level of physical fitness, demonstrate an approximately same level of proneness to muscle-skeletal injury. In accordance with this, several methods are suggested as being suitable to reduce the risk of injury in women. Among other things, the suggested methods include the following: raising the fitness standards at the selection of candidates; reducing the overall strain during the training; securing adequate recovery in between the two stages of the training; reducing activities that are performed involving carrying a burden; increasing the volume of the strength exercises.

The fact that women invest more effort in performing these physically demanding tasks results in the raised heartbeat and the body temperature, increasing the risk of women being exposed to a higher psychological and temperature stress than men. Women are at a psychological disadvantage when it comes to coping with extreme heat or coldness. The smaller volume and the bigger surface of the body relative to the body weight, result in a weaker thermal tolerance. In the conditions where the exchange of heat between the body and the environment is limited, such as when protective clothing is worn, or in a warm and humid climate, women can have additional problems in performing their duties.

Wearing protective clothes is another specific strain for women engaged in armed-forces duties. The differences between the genders concerning the increased consumption of energy when protective clothing is worn have been detected only in the performance of those assignments that involve constant movement, such as carrying a certain load or performing a running assault, when the increase in the energy consumption is proportionally higher with women.

Regarding the impact of the menstrual period on the work performance, the available results do not allow an explicit conclusion to be made in this area – neither to define a potential level of health risk posed by an irregular menstrual cycle, nor to determine the actual impact on the performance (operational efficiency) made by painful menstruations. In any case, there is no doubt that with some women, their intellectual (theoretical) and physical activities tend to be significantly hindered by their menstrual and pre-menstrual symptoms. However, there are also indications that some women are actually more efficient in the premenstrual and menstrual period. What is indicative here, is that some women deliberately opt for artificial suppression of their menstrual cycle during the periods of exercise and assignments. Based on this, it can be indirectly concluded that menstrual period represents an unwelcome condition in such situations. What is more, this condition is in most cases experienced as – if not a factor that hinders the work efficiency, then certainly, a factor that causes a more intense feeling of awkwardness, or additional mental pressure.

Summarized scores indicating the physical characteristics of the genders, show that there are significant differences between them, resulting in different respective work performances. The comparatively lower work performance of the average woman in relation to that of an average man, makes the woman inevitably less suitable, i.e. does not qualify her for physically demanding duties, such as most of the duties in the combatant corps (infantry, artillery, armored forces).⁴⁸ The experiential knowledge

⁴⁸ According to the results of the research stated above, most of the women who express an interest in serving in the armed forces or are currently engaged in the armed forces service, would not be able to perform most of the infantry duties, or duties in armoured forces. What is

also testifies of the unsuitability of women's physical features for physical efforts posed by war activities.⁴⁹ For example, the strains that pilots undergo during flying maneuvers (plunge, turn) cause blood leaks from ears, and women have been found to suffer more from this problem than men. This is why they make an average smaller number of flights per 24 hours than men.⁵⁰

The increased risk of injury and health deterioration that women are faced with, is present in most other professions, apart from the armed forces. The world's most recognized authorities in the area of women's health care are agreed that women are, generally speaking, more prone not only to orthopedic injuries, but also to amenorrhea which, if it should persist, can cause sterility and osteoporosis. Some other experts for women health have pointed out to the correlation that exists between women's participation on various competitive sports, and the nutrition-related disorders, such as anorexia and bulimia. At the top of the list of illnesses are infections of the urinary and reproductive tract, occurring as a consequence of the bad field-life conditions, while the rate of miscarriage for women-sailors during boarding increases up to 100 per cent.⁵¹

Concerning the requirements of the physical training, the modern armed forces have an unambiguous answer to the question whether women ought to undergo training sessions alongside men. The answer is that keeping in step with most men in all of the existing duties is too strenuous a demand for almost any woman. It would be simply unfair to force women to have a performance that would equal that of men, and use the same standards in measuring their performances. What is even worse, this would lead to a large loss of resources, a large number of women with long-lasting injuries, i.e. their absence from defence duties. On the other hand, training all of the corps in accordance with physical requirements made to suit most women would mean that men would be deprived of a suitable (decent) training, i.e. their potential would be under-used.

more, for those women who could achieve the set standards, the risk of injury would be higher than for their male colleagues, since most of these women would be investing maximum effort and the unused reserve of their capability would consequently be lower.

⁴⁹ This is illustrated by a woman-soldier of the Red Armed forces, who says in her memoirs: 'All of us women were sick ... and we are still sick ... a woman's body is not made for this kind of efforts ... not only did the war take away our youth, it deprived many of us of the ability to bear children, the greatest blessing for any woman' (Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 142).

⁵⁰ For example, one of the women-pilots says: 'Our whole organism had to adapt so violently, that during the war we stopped being women. None of us had the menstrual periods ... and after the war we were unable to bear children' (Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 145).

⁵¹ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

Psychological and social differences between men and women

A major source of data necessary for testing the suppositions related to the (non-)competence of women in performing certain 'men's jobs' in the sphere of defence, are undoubtedly the results of the numerous research into psycho-social differences among the genders.

The sensory and motor abilities play a significant role in the performance of various duties, and also represent an area of the personality where certain differences between men and women are present beyond any doubt. Speed, coordination and flexibility of movement have a decisive impact on one's ability to use certain types of weapons, and other instruments of war technology. The sensitivity of the senses is of a primary importance here, given the fact that it determines the reliability of the information based on which the corresponding mental processes initiate reactions in the form of motor actions.

The differences between the genders in this sphere are reflected in the following: men are more sensitive to a visual stimulus, while women prefer audio stimuli; women have a more sensitive hearing and show less variability than men;⁵² women possess a better hearing orientation than men, making a better judgment of the direction of an incoming sound, and they are also better at judging which ear first registers incoming sound⁵³, which makes them suitable for certain surveillance and scouting assignments.

Concerning the speed and the coordination of the body movements, men generally perform better than women. In all the experiments testing the reaction time, as an important requirement in responding to visual and auditory stimuli, men recorded a shorter and more concise reaction time, at all of the tested ages. On the other hand, the ability tests used in predicting success rate for duties requiring skilful hands, women consistently perform better, achieving higher averages against the norms for women, then those set for men.⁵⁴

The higher tactile sensitivity possessed by women can be another element that frequently contributes to their better-developed manual skills. This comparative advantage directs women from an early age towards activities that require this kind of ability such as, for example, sewing, working with dentures and similar. The results of certain research studies conducted in the area of industrial psychology show that, when it comes to manipulative jobs, women tend to be superior to men, except in some jobs

⁵² Burg, according to M. Majerle and M. Mićović, *op.cit.*, p. 20

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ O'Connor Finger Dexterity Test, O'Connor Tweezer Dexterity Test and Purdue Peg-board Anastasi, 1958, according to: *Ibid.*, p. 22.

that require specific mechanical abilities. This superiority makes women more suitable for working at the conveyor lines, and similar operations. There is another opinion, though, claiming that women tend to be superior to men in duties of this kind, owing to their better ability to withstand monotonous routines.

Given the fact that activities involved in the performance of any duty are based on the process of receiving, retaining and processing information, as a necessary requirement for taking adequate actions in a given situation, it is quite understandable that the difference between men and women concerning their intellectual capabilities, represents an unavoidable question in any discussion regarding the advantages or disadvantages of one or the other gender, when it comes to performing certain military duties.

Concerning the general intellectual ability, there is not enough consistent evidence which could support any significant differences between men and women. As opposed to this, certain significant differences have been detected concerning most of the separate dimensions of the intellectual abilities. To be more concrete, the research that was conducted on our population, in producing standardized batteries of intellectual ability tests, confirmed that there were statistically significant differences recorded at the test of calculation, comprehension of spatial relations, speed of perception, arithmetical reasoning, office skills and similar.⁵⁵

Regarding the differences in verbal skills, it has been established by numerous research studies that women possess a greater ease of speech, starting from early childhood.⁵⁶ 'The pleasure of talking is the insatiable passion of the woman', wrote in 18th century the French playwright Alain Rene Lesage.⁵⁷ Maccoby labels verbal skills as an unambiguously female characteristic.⁵⁸ There are many research findings, however, that are not fully consistent with his claims. To start with, verbal skills include several components that seem to be relatively independent of one another, and

⁵⁵ B. Stevanović, according to, M. Majerle and M. Mićović, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-31.

⁵⁶ E. Maccoby, *The development of sex differences*, Tavistock, London, 1966.

⁵⁷ His opinion, according to the international research conducted by Gallup organization in 1996, is still shared by men and women in 22 countries of Asia, Europe, North and South America. In Canada, Chile, Estonia, France, India, Honduras, Thailand, USA, and in eleven more countries which constitute 3.05 milliard people and 53.3 percent of the world population, the majority of men and women thought that women were more eloquent. Only Mexicans and Islanders regarded women and men being equally eloquent. (Helen Fišer, *Um žene*, p. 89)

⁵⁸ The girls utter their first word before boys, and in general they develop various forms of speech faster than the boys do. Their articulation is better. They use longer sentences, their verbal fluency is bigger. The girls learn to read faster than the boys. The boys often need additional help while reading. The girls are better at doing grammar, spelling and fluency tests while in elementary school.

most research findings agree about the fact that the women's superiority is consistent only in the factor of verbal fluency (the W-factor, according to Terston)⁵⁹.

Based on this research, it can be concluded that women are more successful in tasks that require verbal fluency and a superior use of language mechanisms, while men perform better in verbal understanding and reasoning, and also have a slightly richer vocabulary. It seems that the latter skills are more important for abstract and logical reasoning – areas in which men are consistently better than women. It seems also that these skills contribute to men being more successful in science and technology. There are certain opinions that advocate the theory according to which men tend to use 'silent speech', i.e. they tend to act subconsciously and use linguistic tools in solving problems in various practical, technical or mechanical areas, while at the same time women, with their superior verbal fluency, tend to express a higher sensitivity for people in various social situations, thus showing more emotional expressiveness.

Among the differences that exist between the genders and are related to specific dimensions of intellectual ability, many authors believe that the most expressed and the most consistent are the ones that are related to the spatial ability, or the ability to comprehend spatial relations. In this case, the difference is to the advantage of men, so that Maccoby argues that the spatial ability can be stated as an example of 'men's ability'.⁶⁰ It is generally thought that these differences are fully manifested after puberty, which is attributed to the effects produced by the testosterone hormone, which in this period reaches its ultimate levels.⁶¹ The superiority of men is reflected in their ability to use the so-called network thinking, as opposed to women, who demonstrate a more global approach in their perception of spatial relations. The network thinking used by men implies a linear approach to spatial relations, characterized by a step-by-step, or analytically-perceptive attitude, where the attention is focused on the perceptive stimuli, accompanied by a greater ability to separate these from their visual context. This partly explains men's greater ability to concentrate on the fulfillment of a certain task, regardless of the distracting factors. From this point of view, men have an advantage over women in getting assignments that require this kind of ability.

Among the identified differences in the sphere of intellectual abilities, there are the differences in the problem-solving ability. Men are better at solving spatial-orientation problems, they perform faster in completing a

⁵⁹ M. Majerle and M. Mičić, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁰ E. Maccoby, *The development of sex differences*, Tavistock, London, 1966.

⁶¹ Hampson and Kimura, according to: Goldstein, *War and Gender*, Cambridge, University Press, 2001, p 172.

model, and possess a higher level of aspiration in solving more complex problems. It can be said that men generally perform better in problem-solving situations – however, since it has also been established that men generally have a higher level of motivation, or can be concluded that this also leads to their stronger persistence in problem-solving. This quality of being able to persist is especially noticeable in stressful or frustrating situations. Women showing signs of marked anxiety are much worse at solving problems than any of the other groups, which means that they are best avoided as candidates for duties that are performed in stressful situations, and which also require a high level of intellectual strain.⁶²

It is an undisputed fact that there are differences between men and women in the area of the so-called manipulative-administrative skills. Women are capable of acting faster in situations that require careful selection of details, and they also perform better in observing details in tasks that require frequent changes in the level of attention, such as for example typing at the teleprinter, precise filling-in of lists, and other office assignments. Results obtained in some other tests of the same content (encoding) also show the superiority of women in this area. It seems that all of the mentioned assignments involve the factor of the speed of perception, where women are superior. Owing to this feature, combined with a higher verbal fluency and a superior speed of perception, women are undeniably more suitable than men for many secretarial duties that require a combination of verbal and office skills.

Consistent and undeniably biggest differences between the genders have been identified in the sphere of character features in the narrow sense of this term, such as motivation, interests, adaptability, aggressiveness, passivity, anxiety, and similar.

In the research that has been conducted in this area, special attention ought to be paid to the research projects dealing with the motives for attainment. A number of research projects in this area have produced results that indicate that men are characterized by a stronger need for attainment, self-confirmation and independence, while women show inclination towards obedience, dependence, family life and care for others.

While men primarily rely on their inner needs and standards of success, women see outer support as more important. It is normal for women that the motive for attainment is combined with affiliate reactions and approval received from others, so that they usually need more encouragement, praise and recognition from other people, in order to be successful in the educational and professional process. It is a characteristic of women that they tend to be driven more by outer motivation stimuli, social recognition

⁶² G.Yonge, Sex differences in cognitive functioning as a result of experimentally induced frustration, *Journal exp. educ.*, 32, 1964.

and prestige, than by their inner satisfaction arising from a well-performed assignment. Work efforts made by men are usually combined with competitive self-affirmation and expressions of aggressiveness, while women typically tend to seek popularity, acceptance and social acknowledgement. Due to high aspirations, there is a larger proportion of young men who opt for professional areas for which they do not possess an adequate level of intelligence, or adequate school record, while young women tend to follow a reverse trend; there is a large proportion of young women without proper aspirations for jobs that suit their level of skills.⁶³

One of the areas where men and women distinctly and undisputable differ is the area of personal interests.⁶⁴ Men are consistent in their demonstration of increased interest for assignments that involve: mechanical and scientific activities, physical efforts and activities that require courage (a display of a daring attitude), political and armed-forces duties, sales activities and similar. Distinctly different from men's interests, the interests of women are related to assignments that involve: musical and artistic activities, literal activities, activities directed towards a certain category of people – the sick, misfortunate, disabled, as well as activities that represent certain types of entertainment, office tasks, training, education, social activities, activities that involve arranging items, certain school activities and similar. Overall, men generally prefer duties that lead to influence, profit, independence, prestige, high salary and safety, while women tend to prefer duties that are interesting and lead to social recognition, involve interaction with people, social roles, comfortable working conditions and proper supervision.⁶⁵ These tendencies in the professional orientation of men and

⁶³ Walter and Marzolf tested 10 girls and 10 boys using the Roter device for testing the levels of aspiration. The girls showed significantly lower 'expected differences' (differences between the actual and expected attainment), i.e. the girls had lower estimates (Walter and Marzolf, based on: M. Mayerle and M. Mićović, *op.cit.*, p. 57).

⁶⁴ Strong, K., *Vocational interest of men and women*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1943.

⁶⁵ Many psychologists believe that these differences between men and women that are related to personal interests are developed in childhood, under the influence of the parents' attitudes, children's games, the different ways in which boys and girls get attached to their mothers, subconscious messages from the society, which direct girls towards seeking cooperation and relationship, while at the same time directing boys towards forming a hierarchy and being competitive. Men's inclination towards status and rank is mostly associated with the male hormone testosterone, while women's talent for – for example – harmony in relationships is usually associated with the female hormone estrogen. For girls and the games that they play, it essentially important to have peace, harmony, social stability and non-belligerent non-hierarchical relations. For them, winning is not an imperative; what they seek is applause and admiration, and their ultimate goal is to be loved. When boys play war, they get grouped in large hierarchical packs, competing for days to stay at the top position. They are result-focused, and stop their game when they win or lose, unlike girls who end their game when they get bored with it. (Helen Fišer, *Um žene*, p. 52-55).

women are in accordance with the traditionally symbolically rare presence of women in the armed-forces professions and other similar professions, given the fact that these types of jobs represent the exact category of jobs that is less preferred by women.

Concerning the interests of women in relation to armed-forces duties, it is important to mention the results of the research that was conducted using a sample of women who volunteered for the mandatory military service in the Yugoslav National Armed forces (JNA).⁶⁶ According to the findings of this research, it can be concluded that the most appealing duties for women were those that satisfied the cognitive and social-affiliate interests. Next on the list were the duties that required a higher level of responsibility, while the least attractive duties were certain specialist-type assignments and duties that involved physical efforts. Based on this, it can be concluded that women (even those women who volunteered for the military service in the armed forces) do not show signs of envying men on their 'privileged position' and the prioritized status bestowed on them when it comes to physically demanding jobs in the armed forces.

Men's stronger inclination towards domination and the more expressed aggressiveness are also features that make men more suitable for defence duties. It is true that there are findings that contradict the widely accepted stereotype of the aggressive man and submissive woman.⁶⁷ These findings show that aggressiveness is not untypical for women, the difference being that women more often use certain more subtle forms of aggression (gossip, rivalry, competition, passive aggression, deviation from standard sexual behaviour, taking a reserved position, tears, etc.) which generally helps them to leave an impression of submissiveness, even in those situations when this is not the case. In any case, there is enough evidence to draw a conclusion that this is a feature influenced by a number of factors, especially situational ones, and that without knowing the impact made by these factors, it is not possible to interpret different levels of aggressiveness in the sphere of manifested behaviour.⁶⁸

In analyzing the issue of anxiety, most of the authors believe that anxiety as a phenomenon is equally present among members of both genders, although certain differences have been detected between the male and female test participants in the intensity of the pathological reactions of various types.⁶⁹ Furthermore, it has been established that there is a certain correlation between the different ways in which individuals react to anxiety and their work achievements. This correlation can explain how the

⁶⁶ M. Mićović and P. Šipka, *op.cit.*, pp 14-18.

⁶⁷ Brener and Tomkiewicz, 1979, according to: M. Mićović and P.Šipka, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

⁶⁸ McBride, according to : Goldstein, *op.cit.*, p. 356.

⁶⁹ M. Majerle and M. Mičić, *op.cit.*, pp 69 and 70.

higher levels of anxiety in women and their stronger fear of both failure and success can actually produce a negative impact on the level of their achievements. In order to be able to achieve an outstanding performance, one seems to need persistence and aggressiveness, which are certainly character features that are contradictory to the established models of female behaviour. Due to this fact, successful girls and women are often called 'macho' and this can lead to conflict situations, where women tend to develop fear not only of a possible failure, but also fear of success. To illustrate this, it would be perhaps best to use an often-quoted statement, saying that 'in a culture that is based on patriarchal values, it is common practice that men get 'castrated' for their failure, and women for their success'.

Possible social and employment implications of employing women in the armed forces

There can be no doubt that the apparent inferiority of women from the aspect of their physical strength and stamina justifies the introduction of certain limitations regarding the engagement of women in the performance of certain armed-forces duties,⁷⁰ primarily the ones which involve high levels of physical effort. There are at least two reasons for the introduction of these limitations. The first one is the work efficiency which, during the performance of these assignments, undoubtedly depends on the physical capability, while the second reason is the risk of injury, where the risk exposure is much higher for individuals with less physical strength.

As for the differences that appear in certain psycho-social characteristics, it is not easy to produce an explicit opinion regarding whether a marked presence of one of these features actually recommends a candidate for a certain type of activity, i.e. makes a candidate clearly more or less suitable for it. It would be impossible to produce an unambiguous judgment regarding this, without retaining certain reservations, even in a situation where the issue is intellectual superiority. Although it is certain that there is enough evidence suggesting that people with outstanding intellectual ability ought not to be allocated to duties that are characterized by simple, monotonous work routine – not only because it would not be possible to utilize to the full the intellectual potential of the employee in this way, but also because persons of this type find it very difficult to cope with the monotony of repetitive, simple tasks. The complexity of the relations that exist between the psychological characteristics and the suitability for certain work engagement becomes even higher if we take into consideration the

⁷⁰ When contemplating a larger-scale involvement of women in the armed forces, it is primarily from the aspect of their engagement in the duties that used to be considered as traditionally men's jobs.

different impacts of certain individual character features, in relation to the features of the group within which the given individual is engaged. The importance of this question for the duties in the sphere of defence is quite evident, given the fact that in this sphere team work is a predominant category. It is therefore important for any evaluation of the possibilities of a larger involvement of women in armed-forces duties, based on their socio-psychological characteristics, to take into consideration the way in which these characteristics influence the group dynamics and consequently their work efficiency.

The primary conclusion that is drawn based on the insight into the research conducted on individual characteristics is that there is not enough evidence to support the supposed existence of any specific female feature that would have a significant impact on the performance of defence duties. However, this does not mean that every woman would be automatically suitable for inclusion in forces that perform group assignments in the given area, nor is this true of men, for that matter.

The information that concerns the social differences between the genders have lead to a conclusion that the impact of engaging women in combatant corps could vary considerably, depending to large degree on the method used to increase their participation in the given corps. Regarding this, it could be said that any plans and projects aimed at engaging women in combatant corps of the armed forces (infantry, armored corps, artillery) where the access for women is still rather limited, would have to be the responsibility of the given corps themselves, and the same is related to any possible adverse effects that this inclusion might produce on their combat efficiency,

According to this knowledge, the initial platform for the contemplation of the impact made by the individuals' gender features on the group achievement in team work as the dominant form of engagement in the armed-forces duties, could be formulated in a premise that it is not possible to automatically attribute any gender-related features to a group of people belonging to this particular gender, solely because of their gender. In other words, according to Kuzmin's illustration, in defining group profiles, it is not appropriate to apply the mathematical rule stating that 'one plus one equals two', but rather the rule that 'one plus one equals the function of two' ($1+1=\Phi_{(2)}$).⁷¹ For this reason, any evaluation of a success rate in the performance of a team assignment must be based on finding a correlation between the strengths and weaknesses (advantages and disadvantages) of individuals constituting the team, and the requirements of the assignment, as well as the correlation with the concrete social environment in which the

⁷¹ E. S. Kuzmin, *Rukovoditelji i kolektiv*, Leningrad, Izdateljstvo Leningradskovo Izdateljstvo univerziteta, 1974.

task is performed. It is therefore not possible to produce a valid judgment of the impact that separate characteristics of a gender may have on the performance of group assignments, without firstly defining the requirements of the assignment itself and the relevant characteristics of the group (team, crew, assistants) engaged in its completion.

The research shows that the manner in which the members of a group acknowledge and appreciate each other, can also determine the efficiency of the group. If the members of a group have no respect for each other, it is certain that they will not fully participate in the group activities, which will inevitably influence the success of its performance. Any change of status among the members of a group will, as a rule, change their attitude towards the assignment. It is therefore clear that a well-directed and clearly planned process of integrating women in predominantly single-gender (men's) duties, which represent a dominant type of jobs in the defence sector, will be hugely important for the engagement of women in the shared duties, and also for the group efficiency.

Concerning the impact that the gender of participants makes on the group dynamics and the group achievement, the relevant results show that it is easier to achieve and sustain the cohesion of a team (group) composed of members belonging to the same gender, and also that there is certain resistance against the inclusion of members who do not accept the norms of the group. There are also certain studies that illustrate the impact of the positive, i.e. negative attitudes towards genders existing within a group. Concerning this, the results have shown that the perception of a status and the dominant stereotypes can influence the group dynamics and the overall efficiency of the group, while at the same time it is vitally important to build up and maintain group cohesion, through intensive interaction of group members (one-to-one interaction), as well as to build up the team work skills.

Regarding the impact made by inclusion of women in men's groups, some of the determined negative consequences suffered by the women included in these groups were isolation and pressure to prove their ability to succeed. These negative consequences were not recorded in the cases involving inclusion of men into women's groups. There are also certain findings that support the view that presence of women in a traditionally male armed forces environment is a welcome trend, since it contributes to creating a civilian-like atmosphere.⁷² Although women mostly live up to the entrance requirements, they generally prefer technical and less demanding roles. In the conditions where physical requirements are not clearly defined, the experiential knowledge shows that the physical load is unevenly distributed, with men taking the most of it. This could be the

⁷² *Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women In the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, may, 2002.

reason for the protests against inclusion of women in teams that are engaged on this type of assignments.

Concerning this issue, it is worth mentioning the results of the research conducted into the attitudes of the members of the US ground forces, related to the issues of engaging women in the armed forces.⁷³ The obtained results indicate that men are less inclined to favour the idea of engaging women in all the existing duties in the ground forces, as opposed to women, who are more in favour of this idea. While 30% of men thought that women ought to be allowed to serve in all the sectors of the ground forces, 41% of women supported this opinion.

As for the opinions on combat efficiency, all of the tested groups are firmly in favour of the view that the ground forces must function at a maximum combat efficiency, even if this would mean exclusion of women from certain duties that they would want to perform. There is a significant proportion (47%) of the men who have completed the training who think that the combat efficiency is lower in mixed-gender teams, while an approximately equal proportion (51%) of the trained women think that no negative impact is made by the presence of women on the combat efficiency or the cohesion of armed forces units. Most of the trained women and women recruits think that mixed-gender units provide better conditions and allow more efficient adoption of skills, with women having a positive effect on the general efficiency of the units. Apart from this, most of the trained women disagree with the view that mixed-gender units have a weaker morale (88%), i.e. a weaker team achievement (82%), while men seem to be much less inclined to support these views (52% and 42% for the morale and team achievement, respectively).

It was also found out that one third of men believed that the service in the same teams with women could cause a lower level of discipline: at the same time, 40% of men-recruits and even 57% of the trained men thought that men could be more focused on protecting and supporting their female colleagues, rather than on performing their own assignments, within the limits of their capabilities. In general, men were prone to believe that they were given the assignments that were more physically demanding, even those that their female colleagues were capable of fulfilling. Most of the women disagreed with both these views.

There is a disagreement between the views expressed by men and women regarding the question whether women have a more relaxed treatment and whether they get away with breaking certain rules, for which men

⁷³ A research of this kind that was conducted in the British Army concerning the engagement of women in the land forces and their performance in mixed-gender units. Apart from the members of the armed forces (soldiers and cadets), the research also included spouses of military members. (*Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women In the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, May, 2002).

typically receive discipline punishment. Around 50% of men-recruits think that male instructors do not apply the same criteria in treating male and female soldiers. This view is supported by a mere 31% of the women in the armed forces.

Regarding the issue of the relations between the members of the two genders in the armed forces, more than 3/4 of the trained men and women believe that these relations in the mixed-gender units are mostly correct. As for the often-raised issue of sexual harassment, 50% of the trained men and 47% of the men-recruits believe that instructors tend not to apply the same discipline measures on women as they do on men, fearing that they might be accused of sexual harassment. This view is not supported by 57% of the trained female soldiers and 71% of female recruits. Neither the trained soldiers nor the recruits have a clearly defined opinion regarding whether making jokes about one's gender is appropriate for the armed forces environment and if it should be treated as acceptable.

As for men, trained soldiers and recruits have expressed different opinions regarding the risk of death and risk of injury, although they generally agree in their belief that women are typically more prone to injury than men. It ought to be mentioned here that this view is generally supported by the objective indicators in this area. Women, however, do not share this opinion. What is more, the majority of the female test participants expressed their explicit disagreement with the claim that units find it harder to cope with the loss of a female soldier than with a loss of a male soldier who get killed in combat. At the same time, most of the tested participants (both men and women) expressed a view that exposing women to the risk of death, rape or torture can have a negative impact and diminish the support of the public opinion.

In researching the possible social and work implications that may arise with the increased engagement of women in the armed forces, it is especially important to give proper consideration to the results of field research, examining the effect that a mixed-gender composition of a group can have on its cohesion and efficiency. In one of these research projects, the researchers compared the results of five mixed-gender groups, with the results achieved by one male group.⁷⁴ The groups were subjected to the basic training in the infantry skills which lasted for two weeks. After the completion of the training, the groups were tested for their cohesion and efficiency, for twelve more days. During this period, the tested groups had to perform seven standard infantry exercises.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women In the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defense of the United Kingdom, May, 2002.

⁷⁵ The cohesion of groups was assessed by the questionnaire in relation to five factors (dimensions): management skills, team work, attachment to the group, level of group's development and group's stability. The two methods of assessment were applied: subjective (as as-

The obtained results showed that the tested groups achieved different levels of performance. The groups that demonstrated a consistently higher level of cohesion, also produced a higher level of performance, while at the same time it is important to observe that the subjective evaluations of the group cohesion were not significantly different from the objective evaluations of the same elements. However, what seems to be especially important in the findings of this experiment, is the fact that the key factors that determined the observed differences in the groups' performance were the commanding techniques applied in the respective groups, as well as the attained level of team work, rather than the factor of the gender composition of the groups. As a basic conclusion of this research dealing with the impact that the mixed-gender composition may have on the cohesion and efficiency of a group, it could be said that everything points to the fact that the method of commanding a group is more important for the group's efficiency than its gender composition. Based on this, it can be argued that women are equally suitable for team work as men are, and that women, under certain circumstances, can be successfully engaged in performing some typically men's duties, which exist in large numbers in the armed forces sector of combatant forces, as well as in other mentally and physically highly demanding duties within the sector of defence.

This conclusion is supported by the results of the research that was conducted in the Yugoslav National Armed forces (JNA), during the period of the voluntary armed forces training of women. The research aimed to determine the extent to which women, with their specific mental and psychological features, can be successful in the living and working conditions existing in the armed forces, and also to find out whether there is any correlation between women's psychological characteristics and the success achieved in the armed-forces duties.⁷⁶

According to their commanders during the training, there were very few of the female soldiers who demonstrated a markedly non-adapted behaviour, and this kind of behaviour was especially rare in the situations directly related to the 'military aspects of life', so that a very small number of women was observed to actually tend to refuse to receive or fulfill the received orders, i.e. fulfill the assigned duties with negligence. A slightly higher proportion of non-adapted behaviour occurred in situations where less obvious violations of the armed forces order and discipline occur, so that the commanders estimated that there were around 3-4% of the women-soldiers who actually tried to evade certain obligations, commit minor discipline offences, find it hard to deal with the armed forces life, seek

sessed by group members) and objective (as assessed by superior officers).

⁷⁶ Z. Džamonja, and associates, *Psihološke karakteristike žena i njihov uticaj na obavljanje vojničkih dužnosti*, Belgrade, Vojnomedicinska akademija, 1984.

unjustified sick-leaves, demonstrate an improper attitude towards their fellow colleagues and are unwilling to cooperate. The highest proportion of the 'negative' marks (16-18 %) was given by the commanders evaluating the women's over-sensitivity to the remarks that they receive, or evaluating their extreme introvert and reticent behaviour. The sensitivity to remarks is one of the basic specific features of women-soldiers, when compared to their male counterparts. All of their commanders indicated as the main feature of working with women their sensitivity to remarks, which was much higher than with men, so that remarks directed to women must be phrased in a weaker form. The commanders also reported much higher levels of ambition, competitive spirit, jealousy and envy, than it was the case with the male armed forces formations. On the other hand, women also proved to be much more disciplined, more hard-working and more interested in achieving best possible results.⁷⁷ In any case, it can be concluded that the women-soldiers adapted quickly and successfully to the soldiers' way of life and working conditions in the Yugoslav National Armed forces, and that they also formed cohesive and efficient military units.

Apart from the capability to adapt to the life and work in the military environment, one of the major and most probably also one of the most valid indicators of women's competence to perform armed-forces duties is the success that they recorded in their training programme. By taking an overall view of the obtained results, it can be concluded that women had mastered their training at a very good rate of success.

As expected, the research confirmed that the psychological features of the research participants had had a major impact on the success rate in various types of training programmes. What is more, the psychological features were found to be in a higher correlation with the success recorded in the specialist-type military training and morale-and-political education, than it was the case with the success achieved in physical education. At the same time, it was determined that the success was primarily dependant on the level of intellectual ability, while other character features showed a significantly lower impact.

It was also determined that the psychological characteristics have a different impact on the success achieved in the training, depending on the type of the unit in which the training was conducted. In this way, the results of the research show that – among other things – the women who participated in the training programmes of infantry units were more likely to achieve outstanding results if they were – apart from being physically stronger and had a better stamina – less prone to overly anxious and aggressive reactions.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Z.Džamonja and associates, *op.cit.*, pp. 43–45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 32.

There is no doubt whatsoever that in interpreting the above-mentioned evidence, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that these results were obtained at a highly selective sample, comprising women with a high level of inner motivation in a successful completion of the training programmes. It is therefore expected – although without any supporting evidence – that a testing of a representative sample of women would yield a less favourable picture of women's competence to perform armed-forces duties, especially those in the so-called combatant forces. And anyway, it cannot be simply put down to chance that even in the countries with a much more developed procedures of engaging women in the armed-forces duties, there have been fierce discussion regarding whether women should be granted an unlimited access to all the formation positions in these forces.

The stated results provide enough evidence supporting the existence of certain psychological differences between the genders; it is, however, necessary to determine the modes in which these differences influence their social behaviour, and their educational and professional work achievements. There can be no doubt that the modes of behaviour and the effects of work of men and women can often be very different. However, an answer is yet to be found to the question what causes these differences: certain fundamental differences between the genders, the differences in their treatment or – most probably – a combination of these factors. It is the joint work of these two factors that determines the division of roles between the genders, and this division – although it certainly takes into consideration the apparent biological and physiological differences that exist between the genders – also reflects to a certain degree the stereotype posed by the cultural ambience, promoting the model of a firm, dominant and efficient man, as well as a reserved and submissive woman. Faced with these established models, individuals are spontaneously shaped to a certain degree, to their respective gender models. On the other hand, the accepted roles themselves generate the corresponding context within which the individuals become engaged in the socialization process. It is therefore a process that follows the principle of interaction, and this is what makes the traditional division of roles so firmly rooted.

As for the claims that women ought to be treated equally to men in all the spheres of defence activities, including combatant activities, it becomes more and more evident that most women are actually firmly against being treated in the same way as men. The research that was conducted in the early 1980s and late 1970s showed that only 3% of women were willing to participate in combat under these conditions. At the same time, 42% of women declared that they would do anything not to participate in combatant activities. For the sake of the fairness of the argument, neither did men express more willingness to participate in combat, but were nonetheless much more belligerent, since 11% of them were willing to take part in

combat regardless of the conditions, while 16% of them said that they would do anything to avoid this 'privilege'.⁷⁹

In the interpretation of the data of this kind, it is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that, when it comes to engaging women in defence activities, there are significant differences between the developed countries and other countries around the world. Women who live in the developed countries have lived in peace for more than half a century and, due to this, do not have a clear view of what it is like to have a war going on in their own country (at their homes). Unlike them, women who come from various developing countries are frequently exposed to war atrocities and -being very much familiar with them, they naturally prefer not get engaged on an equal basis with men. In accordance with this the authors, who know this matter very well, can positively claim that the more women get to know war, the more of them would opt to stay out of it, i.e. the majority of them would opt not to partake in the role of a soldier.⁸⁰ This certainly does not diminish in any way the importance of their engagement in combatant duties, nor can this claim be considered as a proof of their lack of patriotism.

⁷⁹ Martin Van Creveld , *op.cit.*, p. 212.

⁸⁰ Martin Van Creveld , *op.cit.*, p. 227.

STEP THREE

DETERMINING OWN POSITION IN RELATION TO THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND THE DOMINANT GLOBAL TRENDS

“The significant problems we face cannot be solved at the same level of thinking we were at when we created them”.

Albert Einstein



DETERMINING OWN POSITION IN RELATION TO THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND THE DOMINANT GLOBAL TRENDS

Every country establishes its own defence concept and organizes its defence in accordance with the actual and anticipated forms of threats to its interests, but also according to its own material and human potentials and the supposed forms and levels of joint actions undertaken with its allied countries or coalition partners. The different concepts of defence, determined by the different mechanisms of the stated factors, require different forms of engagement of human resources in the function of realization of set goals. These differences are reflected, among other things, in the various volume and modalities of engaging women in certain segments of defence, which is always conditioned not only by the current safety situation, but also by the given cultural ambience.

Women in armed forces of developed countries at the turn of the twenty-first century

The general emancipation of women and their concrete, formally-legal equalization with men in the work sphere, as well as in the sphere of the family and social and political life, have been expectedly accompanied by her growing participation in the affairs of the defence, including the duties that for a long time used to be an exclusive right of men. As a logical consequence of these developments, we today have what can be called a dominant situation in which the role of women is regulated by institutional mechanisms, in the two key forms of defence organization – the military and the civil defence, while there is also a growing number of countries in which women-soldiers are no longer a surprise. From this point of view, we were especially interested in the experiences of the countries that with a long tradition and rich practical achievements in engaging women in their armed forces (USA, Great Britain, Israel). Even though due to certain specific conditions the experiences of these countries may not always be taken

as a model to replicate, at least not in every possible aspect, they still provide a good illustration of the diversity of solutions in the sphere of the legal foundation and practical realization in managing human resources in the defence affairs, and they also represent a major indicator of the trends present in the objectification of gender equity in the armed forces of the developed world.

United States of America. The initial practices of engaging women as professional soldiers in the armed forces of the USA were characterized by considerable limitations regarding the choice of duties that were made available to them, as well as regarding the prospects of promotion in the career. For example, it was forbidden for women to take part in combatant activities and serve on naval ships. In addition to this, women were not allowed to pilot aircraft or be superiors to men. They were trained in separate armed forces centers, subordinate to female commanders and were mostly engaged in secretarial duties, telephone operators and ambulance staff. Since women were not supposed to take part in combat activities, they did not undergo any training in handling weapons, while physical exercise was limited to the extent necessary to achieve a solid level of overall fitness. As opposed to this, premium importance was placed on good manners appropriate for ladies, because – as Van Creveld observes – the last that the armed forces wanted was to have women dressed like men and behaving like men.⁸¹

It could be said that this early phase lasted until the early 1970s, i.e. until the abolition of the general mandatory military service, which happened after the end of the Vietnam War. It was in this period that the general lack of interest in the military affairs caused a reduction in the numbers of expert personnel needed by the armed forces, which in turn led to an increased urge to recruit women for duties that had become insufficiently lucrative for men. In this way, women gained access to positions that had earlier been reserved for men, and their participation in the armed forces grew from 1% to 9%.⁸²

The ensuing amendments to regulations in the area of military service were mostly in the form of abolition of the provisions that had earlier prevented women from performing certain duties. Owing to this, during 1980s, women were allowed access to 280 of the total 430 specialized duties in the ground forces, and were at the same time not allowed to perform only four duties (out of the total 230 types of duties) in the US Air Forces.⁸³

⁸¹ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

⁸² Robert Didni, *Žene u kopnenoj vojsci - kraj medenog meseca*, CVNDI, Informative translation bulletin, 4/1985, p. 387.

⁸³ I. Kosikov, *Žene u vojnoj službi u stranim armijama*, CVNDI, Informative translation bulletin, 4/1985, p. 382.

Special programmes were also designed for the training of women police officers, which put an end to the tradition of the military police as an exclusive men's duty.

The law on the service in the armed forces of the United States that was passed in 1978 was amended with new regulations that allowed the recruitment of women for the military service on board war ships. In the wake of these changes, in the period 1983-1984, more than 5,000 women were accepted to almost 50 war ships, and all of them were allowed, if the service should require it, to spend up to 180 days in a year on board a war ship. By the end of 1983, the corps of marine infantry and coastal defence had more than 8,000 women, 5,000 of whom were officers.⁸⁴

Until 1991, the number of women in the armed forces of the USA had grown to 12%, with the highest proportion of them being in the air forces (14%), then in the ground forces (11.5%) and the navy (10%), while the marines had the lowest proportion of women (5%), which was explained by reputation of these units as the corps involved in highly demanding assignments, but also by the fact that the marine corps were partly relying on the navy units for technical support.⁸⁵ In the early 1990s, women were allowed to pilot planes in combatant assignments – however, they were still not allowed to enter submarine crews in the navy.⁸⁶

A turning point in the policy of engaging women in military duties occurred with the decision (passed back in 1975) which allowed women to attend military academies. In this way, in the first year following the passing of this decision, the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs received 155 female cadets, out of the total of 1600 cadets enrolled in that year. The Ground forces Academy at West Point received 119 female cadets among the total 362 cadets enrolled in 1976, while the Navy Academy in Annapolis enrolled 81 women among its 1274 cadets. In the same year, the Academy of the Coast Guard in New London received 38 female cadets.⁸⁷

Owing to all these measures, the US Army had entered the twenty-first century with 14% women in its ranks.⁸⁸ At the same time, the number of duties that was still unavailable to women had reduced to only 16, all of them in the sphere of combatant activity. Apart from the duties that women had traditionally performed in the armed forces prior to this period, the proportion of women was now increased in the sector of the military

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

⁸⁵ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, pp. 199-200.

⁸⁶ In accordance with the decision that allowed women to pilot planes in combatant assignments, there was an initiative to design combatant planes to fit the needs of both men and women. The first plane that was designed according to that criteria was Hunter F-22.

⁸⁷ Natko Vrbanić, Vreme modernih Amazonki, *Combat Magazine*, June/July 1996, p. 51.

⁸⁸ NATO review, summer, 2001.

jurisdiction, military intelligence, logistics, radar corps and similar. The Pentagon plans further increase of the number of women in all the services and sectors of the armed forces.

Concerning this, it is worth noting that in the period of the First Gulf War in 1991, women constituted no more than 7% of the total armed forces. It is true that, similarly to their role in the previous period, women were mostly present in the units providing technical support, such as communications, transportation (performing duties of drivers), medical service and procurement. However, as opposed to the previous practice, they were now also engaged in the maintenance and replacement of vehicles, launching of projectiles and directing the 'Patriot' projectiles, as well as handling all types of sophisticated equipment, collecting, sorting and evaluating intelligence information. Some of them were on board ships, piloting various types of planes and helicopters, mostly above the territory of Saudi Arabia, but occasionally also above the territory of Iraq (in non-combatant roles).⁸⁹

However, despite the fact that most of the barriers that used to hinder the engagement of women in formation position in the US armed forces have now been eliminated, their engagement in expedition units is still rather problematic.⁹⁰ Among other things, pregnancy remains one of the limiting factors, since at any given moment, around one in ten women in service is pregnant.⁹¹ So for example, the score of the nine months' stay of 5,500 soldiers of both genders on the US aircraft carrier 'Abraham Lincoln' during the Gulf War was that 20 female crew-members were sent back home because of pregnancy. None of the measures that had been introduced to pre-empt this proved efficient enough (including, among other things, the captain's institution of the 'guardian of the morals', the fine of USD 1,000 or a threatened loss of the rank for those who get caught 'red handed'. The temptation of forbidden love was sometimes too strong even among those with the highest ranks, officers who were supposed to take care of the general obedience to the moral norms.⁹² Other limiting factors

⁸⁹ In the Gulf War, during 1991, 13 women in uniforms were killed and 5 more women were killed in combatant assignments. (Nikola Grubišić, *Vojska*, as of 2nd March 1995. p.47). Some of them were captivated, as it was the case with Mellissa Nelly. That incident opened numerous debates on whether women belong to the front line and who, if they were there, disobeyed regulations and pushed them into the zone of expected combats with protruding Iraqi units (Slobodan Pavlović, *Uzbuna zbog Melise*, *Borba* as of 6th February 1991).

⁹⁰ For the first time in the American history, during American aggression on Grenada in 1983 formation of 110 women participated in the combats. (Nikola Grubišić, *Žene muške energije*, *Vojska*, as of 2nd March 1995 p. 47).

⁹¹ Martin Van Creveld, p 203.

⁹² In the same manner, the commandant of the "Kitty Hawk" ship, the Rear Admiral Stephen Cangle was dismissed from the navy formation "Baby-boom on the ship" for having an affair with a female crew member, *Novosti* as of 19th April 2003.

that hinder the engagement of women in expedition corps include the fact that women are seven times more likely than men to play the role of a parent or a guardian, and that there is a much higher probability for women to be returned home from this kind of mission (missions conducted outside of domicile territory), due to illness or pregnancy.

There is some serious debate taking place in the US armed forces, regarding the inclusion of women in the combatant corps: the infantry, armored forces, short-range air defence, land artillery, the so-called combatant engineer corps of and the Special Forces. The engagement of women in these forces is still hindered by the problems of meeting the existing standards of physical ability, sexual harassment, thresholds of endearment and similar. The opponents of the total integration of the genders point out that women are not capable of fulfilling tasks that involve a high level of physical effort, i.e. that their inclusion in such assignments would endanger the combatant readiness, by weakening the cohesion of the units. However, certain estimates suggest that the term 'standards of physical fitness' actually conceals certain much more complex issues, and that these standards are not consistently applied.

Great Britain. Engagement of women in the British Army has a very long tradition. As opposed to other countries, Great Britain had fully institutionalized this practice in the period between the two world wars, by forming special women's formations within each of the three branches of the armed forces. During World War Two, the engagement of women in the British Army was especially significant in the Territorial Army, Royal Air Forces and Royal Navy. In the period preceding the War, in June 1939, the so-called Women's Assistant Service was formed within the Royal Air Forces, to assist with the air surveillance, signaling and navigation activities, as well as with the photography services. By the end of 1943, this service had admitted 182,000 female members, including officers, NCOs and soldiers. At the same time, the Women's Assistant Service was re-established within the Royal Navy, so that in July 1941 this service engaged around 16,000 women, performing various duties including those of administrative staff, drivers, encoders and other. Most of these women were engaged within the Assistant Territorial Service, which at the beginning of 1942 was deploying around 200,000 women, in its various corps and institutions, working as drivers, radio-mechanics, crew members of floodlight and anti-aircraft units.⁹³

Contrary to the traditional assumption that women do not support war because they are not capable of fulfilling the role of a soldier in wartime activities, the general evaluation of their performance in the assigned duties was very favourable, so that the Prime Minister Winston Churchill

⁹³ *Vojna enciklopedija*, book 10, Belgrade, 1975, p. 747.

expressed his admiration for their performance, on a number of public occasions. In one of his accounts related to the significance of the engagement of women in the armed forces, in duties that used to be an exclusive privilege of men, Churchill pointed out that 'without their participation in World War Two, the Battle for England would have been lost'. Even though this acknowledgment was made on a festive occasion, it certainly represents a fully official acknowledgment of the general opinion that the women engaged in the armed forces had justified the trust bestowed on them, and therefore rightly deserve to be part of this institution. Taking this into consideration, it is not surprising that in the period after the end of World War Two, until 1949, a large number of women had remained in service in the armed forces of Great Britain. In 1949, significant changes were introduced in the methods of engaging women in the military, The Women's Corps became an integral part of the regular ground forces, while the Women's Service within the Royal Navy became an independent service, with its own commanding staff and military rules. The Women's Royal Air Forces became fully incorporated in the Royal Air Forces of Great Britain.

It is interesting to observe that, following the introduction of these changes, there was a decline in the interest expressed by women for the military service, so that in the period between 1949 and 1957, their number declined from 8% to 2.1% of the total number of members of the armed forces. Then during 1970s, the number of women in the armed forces started to rise once again. In the period 1972 – 1987, the proportion of women engaged in military duties rose from 4% to 5.5%. This tendency of constant although quite slow growth in the percentage of women in the armed forces continued in the final decade of 20th century, in all the three branches of the Armed Forces, although with certain differences. The opportunities for women to get engaged in military duties are implicitly contained in the policy to recruit the best candidates for any given duty, regardless of their gender, marital status, racial or ethnic origin, religious beliefs, age, disability or any other factor that is not directly connected with the individual abilities that are relevant for the performance of the given duty.⁹⁴

A major step forward in rejecting certain policies that were restrictive towards women, in the sense that they had a limited access to certain professions, was made when it was allowed for women to become pilots and navigators in the Royal Air Forces.⁹⁵ In the period 1990–2000, the

⁹⁴ <http://www.mod.uk/careers/standards.htm>, 24. 5. 2004.

⁹⁵ That step was made on 1st January 2001 when three female pilots and 33 navigators finished their training (alongside with 18 of them who trained to become pilots and 33 for navigators) majority of whom had already served in operations. Persons who staff positions during war period reckon that this step did not have any negative effects on combatant operations.

participation of women in the Royal Air Forces rose from 7.2% to 9.6%. As opposed to other branches of the Armed Forces, the Royal Air Forces also increased the absolute number of women in their service in this period.⁹⁶ In parallel with the increase in the proportion of female military professionals, most of the numerous limitations regarding the number of duties available for women were also lifted, so that now even 94.6% of officers and other positions in the Royal Air Forces are available to women. It is understandable that most of the women engaged in the military duties are allocated within the ambulance service, but there are also women engaged in the duties that involve a high level of physical effort (duties related to firing projectiles or physical training and aircraft maintenance).

In the early 1990s, the Royal Navy of Great Britain allowed women to serve in surface vessels and also to perform all of the duties of aircraft crews, which further contributed to the tendency of a constant, although not very rapid growth in the participation of women in the military, during the final decades of 20th century. Namely, from April 1990 to April 2000, this proportion had grown from 5.6%, to 7.4%. The only duties that remain unavailable to women for health reasons are those involving submarines and mine-clearing squads.⁹⁷

In April 1998, the Ground Forces introduced changes to their recruitment policies, so that around 70% of the total number of duties existing in the Ground Forces was made available to women.⁹⁸ After this, women began taking positions that had previously been reserved exclusively for men, such as – for example – surveillance of the enemy artillery fire from protruding watchtowers, and also the duties within the pioneering corps of engineers. The statistics show however, that women often tend to opt for duties within the technical service, i.e. jobs that require less physical effort. In this way, it could be noticed that in the artillery for example there are more women among the drivers, as well as surveillance and commanding posts, rather than in the first line of fire. As for the technical support service, women are present in a larger proportion in the warehouse staff and among car mechanics. Overall, the total number of women engaged in the sector of Ground forces had grown in the last decade of 20th century, from

⁹⁶ *Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, May 2002.

⁹⁷ It is interesting to mention that despite this ban, British charity organization that deals with mine clearing – Mines Advisory Group (MAG), has formed the first female mine clearing team in the world which is located in Cambodia where, according to more or less true evaluations, around ten million mines have been buried. The team consists of 26 women, i.e. widows aged 20 to 35 whose husbands were killed by mines. For this dangerous, but well paid job, they receive from US Dollars 300 to 1000 (Ivan Mirković, *Žene u lavirintu smrti, Vojska*, 24th September 1998, p. 26).

⁹⁸ Vicki Nielson, "Women in uniform", *NATO Review*, No. 2, 2001.

4.5% to 6.7%⁹⁹, and the only area which they are still not allowed to enter is the immediate combatant duties. The reason for this limitation, apart from trying to protect women from injury and death, is the estimate that their presence in the units would reduce its combat efficiency¹⁰⁰.

Other countries – members of the NATO are largely in line with and generally follow the initiative of the leading countries of the alliance regarding the military service practices for women. Some of these countries, such as Canada, France, Belgium and Holland have followed the example of the 1970s USA reforms, and have consequently replaced the general mandatory military service with the voluntary military service, where they also encountered the problem of supplying enough men for the needs of the armed forces. In their reaction to this problem, these countries undertook measures aimed at a larger-scale inclusion of women in the armed forces, while at the same time conducting research in order to find out what duties can and what cannot be assigned to women. The result of the conducted measures and the estimates that were made in the process was, similarly to the situation in the United States of America, a larger influx of women to the armed forces and their engagement in the so-called ‘men’s jobs’, from technical and science-research ones (in France), to almost all kinds of duties on board of army ships (in Holland). Formally, all the existing work posts in the armed forces have been made available to women in both France and Holland. In the practice, however, the access to many specialized duties is limited for women, due to the high physical demands and combatant nature of these duties, or because of some practical requirements, such as with submarine crews.

Norway was the first NATO country to allow women to enter service on submarines, and also to allow their engagement in all other combatant duties, starting from 1985. Denmark has, similarly to Norway, allowed women to enter all of the existing duties, since 1988. Similarly to Norway, the only duties not performed by women in Denmark have been the duties of a jet fighter’s pilot and the duties of para-rangers and marine commandos.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, May 2002.

¹⁰⁰ In the last years of the 20th century numerous measures were taken to raise female interest to serve in the armed forces and therefore to provide better quality staff from that source of staffing. Those measures include: Allowing women to work on modern combatant systems, leveling their salaries with the salaries of men performing the same duties, enabling easier and faster advance in the armed forces and similar. All of that shows that women are welcome in the armed forces of Great Britain, if not for anything else, then for the fact that unlike the previous state of affairs men are no longer interested in keeping the armed forces work posts exclusively for themselves.

¹⁰¹ The goal of Norway is to, instead of present 3.2 percent, achieve 7 percent of women soldiers until 2005. (www.nato.int/docu/review/2001).

Women serving in the Belgium Armed Forces have been a military-life reality since 1975, and today constitute more than 7% of the total number of the members of the military. While their numbers continue to grow, more and more of them are also getting promoted to higher military ranks. Spain and Portugal began recruiting women in 1988 and 1992, respectively. At the beginning of 21st century, most of the duties in the Spanish Armed Forces became available to women – however, most women there work in the administration sector. In the same way, although Portuguese women can formally apply for any existing duty within the army, they have no practical access to the specialist duties in the navy and combatant units.¹⁰²

Based on this, it can be concluded that during the final decades of 20th century, there was a marked tendency of the increase in both the proportion of women and the scope of their engagement in the armed forces, in almost all of the countries within the North-Atlantic Alliance. To illustrate this, during the 1980s, women constituted 7.7% of the Canadian Armed Forces, 2.3% of the French Armed Forces, and only 1% of the Norwegian and Dutch armed forces. At that time, women were not present in the Armed Forces of West Germany, except the 50 women-doctors.¹⁰³ By the turn of the century, the percentage of women present in the armed forces of all the countries within the NATO had risen quite considerably, so that in some countries it had multiplied several times (Germany, France, Norway, Holland). The United States of America have retained their leading position, with 14% of women in their armed forces. Following in behind the USA are: Canada, with 11.4%, Hungary with 9.6%, France with 8.5%, Great Britain with 8.1%, while at the bottom of the list are the armed forces of Turkey and Italy, with only 0.1% women in their ranks.¹⁰⁴

The increase in the participation of women in the armed forces of the NATO countries was greatly, if not essentially, influenced by the fact that these armed forces have constantly increased the number of technical specialized duties, and have also shown a trend of increasing the volume of the corps that provide support to the front-line forces, while at the same time reducing the volume of military staff in the latter category. In this way, conditions have been created in the armed forces for a more prominent role of women, who tend to see themselves in this role as primarily professionals, junior and senior managers, but also as commanders, in certain circumstances. For example, women engaged in duties in IT-based commanding systems are equally successful in their operation as men, and the same is true of managing complex weapons systems (known as ‘smart weapons’).

¹⁰² Women in uniform, *NATO Review*, No. 2 summer 2001, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰³ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁰⁴ State of affairs according to Annual Review of Women in NATO's Armed Forces, summer 2001.

Israel. Israel is one of the few countries where the military service is mandatory for women,¹⁰⁵ which in itself is a proof of the large volume of their engagement in the armed forces. Israeli women had fought for their motherland since times immemorial. Women's guerrilla took an active part in the illegal movement named the 'Haganh' (defence) and in the Ha-Shomer (guard) units – the predecessors of the modern Israeli armed forces, originally formed as a means of protection for the Jewish settlements in Palestine. Women constituted one third of the Israeli secret elite forces 'Palmach' (Hebrew abbreviation for striking force)¹⁰⁶

During World War Two, around 4,000 Palestinian Jewish women had joined the British Ground Forces, and there were Jewish women who fought for the Soviet Army during the same period, and who proved as outstanding nurses, radio-telegraphers, snipers and pilots. Around 12,000 women participated in the Israeli – Arabian War in 1948, mostly as ambulance and administration staff, although there were many of them who took part in the combat, despite the previous official decision which forbade women to fight.¹⁰⁷

When the Israeli state was established on 27th May 1948, the reorganization of the armed forces provided a new role for women – that of soldiers and workers engaged in the reconstruction of the country. The military environment and the demographic inferiority of Israel in comparison with the Arab countries in the region, had always demanded a maximum deployment of the whole of the human resources of the country,¹⁰⁸ so that the Israeli superiority could only be affected by a total mobilization of the country's population – men and women alike. In this way, all of the girls aged fourteen become members of a semi-military 'Gadna' organization, where they gain their first military knowledge together with boys, before being drafted for the mandatory military service. The recruitment is conducted at the age of 17, when boys and girls undergo the same procedure, which is basically a set of tests and medical checks, aimed at determining

¹⁰⁵ In 1949, it was regulated by the law (National Service Law), for the first time in history, that military service was mandatory for women in the peaceful times. That kind of decision was made due to the great demographic disparity between Israel and its neighbours.

¹⁰⁶ In Palmach they had training in armament, along with men, and some of them were troop commanders.

¹⁰⁷ This decision corresponded with the date when UN announced their decision on forming the State of Israel (29th November 1947). The direct cause for the decision was an incident involving a mixed-gender patrol of Hagans, stationed in the Negev region. In an ambush staged by the Bedonirs, all of the patrol members were killed and the only woman among them was taken aside, raped and crippled. The next day the Hagans' headquarters issued a decision that excluded women from combatant units. No explanation was issued and there was no need for one.

¹⁰⁸ Karen McKay, *Služba žena – vojnika u OS Izraela (CHEN)*, CVNDI, *Informative translation bulletin*, 12/1979, p. 1118.

one's ability for the military service, as well as determining the sector and the forces for the service. Women are called up for the military service when they turn 18. Exemptions from this obligation are allowed to married women, women with children, religious Jewish women and the women whose moral values are in disagreement with military service. Women can volunteer for combatant corps, for a three-year long service. It is regulated by rules that any female recruit who opts to serve in the combatant corps are not allowed to change this decision and ask to be transferred to a unit where duties are less demanding and less risky, for the whole duration of the service.¹⁰⁹

According to the Law that regulates the engagement of women in the armed forces, which was passed in July 2002, the mandatory military service for women was extended from 21 months to 24 months (mandatory service for men lasts three years), and they remain military conscripts until the age of 24 (men remain conscripts until 51). Since the regular army represents only a small proportion of the defence forces, the reserve conscripts are regularly called up for military exercises, which can last up to 45 days a year.¹¹⁰ The Law is explicit about the fact that mothers with children are not exempt from the duty to serve in the reserve forces. Until recently, women served mostly in the background support corps, signal units, and also as drivers, computer operators, ambulance and technical staff, including the duties of airplane mechanics, and also including various administration

¹⁰⁹ Earlier, women in the armed forces constituted a special corpus, known as Chen (Women soldiers), and they were trained in special bases. That idea was abandoned and nowadays women are positioned in regular units, even though there are some units with majority of women, such as "Chiba", "Zachas" and "Nahal". "Chiba" is accessory police that are active in Jerusalem and the West coast, and members of this organisation guard state institutions. "Zachas" is female military organization that deals with solving social problems and working in hospitals. "Nahal" is an organization of agricultural experts that build settlements, defence fortifications and make sure that the soil of occupied Arab territory is cultivable. All members of "Nahala" are former soldiers with vast experience, mostly parachutists, and 50 % of the organization are women. 90 % of women pass basic military training that is characterised by the lack of firearms training (the lowest level of training, or the so-called level 00). Women who pass infantry training of the level 02, according to the new regulations, are allowed to perform guard duty, to be more precise - duties of guards, lance corporals and second guard commanders. They may perform their duties in military bases as well as in so-called "green belt". However, in Palestinian territory, this duty implies numerous limitations (women cannot make more than 50 percent of the guard formation; they cannot perform duties of armed surveillance of transport (except those who passed the level 03 training, and 4 percent of women did so) and similar.

¹¹⁰ One of the types of training is via courses, as for example "deadly bite" course where women are trained to prevent a suicide bomber from activating bomb and killing many others, i.e. they are trained to find suicide bomber's carotid and to rip it off with their teeth and then just to wait for the blood to flow out of the body completely. (Veljko Lalić, "Smrtonosni ugriz", *Vojska* as of 6th March 2003, pp. 20-21)

duties in military headquarters and institutions – however, over the past few years there has been an increase in the number of women engaged in other duties as well: instructors for tank crews, members of engineer corps, instructors for snipers, divers and pilots, ambulance staff in airborne missions, specializing in evacuation of the wounded and the injured, parachuting instructors, members of artillery crews engaged in preparation of firing projectiles, radar operators in artillery responsible for detecting enemy's fire-line positions, as well as correction and control of own fire, operators for controlling the state borders, and similar.

According to the information of the Women Research – Education Institute,¹¹¹ the availability of duties for women in Israel is as follows: in the Ground Forces: 91% professional and 70% formation positions; in the Navy: 96% professional and 91% formation positions; in the Marine Corps: 93% professional and 62% formation positions. As for the Air Forces, women officers are still not allowed to execute command in combatant operations, and there are also certain limitations for women engaged in the special operations units, although certain improvements in these branches have also been made over the past few years.¹¹² Taking all of this in consideration, there can be no doubt that the numerous limitations that used to exist in the process of recruiting women for certain duties have been lifted.

Over the past few years, in the atmosphere of intensified hostility in the border zones and the occupied territories, the Israeli Army is facing a growing problem of the increasing number of reserve conscripts who refuse to fulfill their duties, at a cost of being imprisoned. In a situation like this, decisions have been made to compensate for the deficit of men in the reserve units, by an increased recruitment of women conscripts, as well as professional women-soldiers.¹¹³ There is no doubt that Israeli women have proved their readiness to risk their lives for the defence of their country. In spite of this, one cannot underestimate the fact that, in the period 1994-1999, the number of women who opted for exemption from the mandatory military service due to religious reasons, had grown from 20% to over 26%.¹¹⁴ It can be assumed that, apart from the religious reasons, this trend

¹¹¹ Michael Brower, "A Case for Women Warfighters", *Military Review*, Nov.- Dec, 2002.

¹¹² In 1996, Air Forces of Israel employed women pilots, in 1997 women were positioned in the Air Defence units, in 1998 the first women pilot got her flying badge. At the same time, women were trained for duties of flight controll, i.e. duties that became less interesting to men. Finally, on 3rd January 2000 Parliament of Israel decided to allow women soldiers to perform military occupational specialty code.

¹¹³ Even though the Israeli armed forces have never published the number of women in their ranks, according to calculations of certain experts on this subject, they probably constitute 7.5 percent of the armed forces.

¹¹⁴ Martin Van Creveld, *op.cit.*, pp. 185-188.

was also caused by the treatment that women received in the course of their military service.¹¹⁵

In any case, it can be argued that the story of the woman-soldier in Israel has its less appealing side. The myth of the Israeli woman as the heroine has been carefully propagated by the Armed Forces of Israel, partly because of the fact that the Israeli emigrants have welcomed it without reservations and contributed to its glamour. However, the reality does not fit into this picture at all. To the contrary, the Israeli experience resembles that of the other countries, and the proportion of women in the armed forces is still much smaller than that of men, with a number of official limitations posed on the choice of the duties they are allowed to perform, and many hindrances to their promotional prospects.¹¹⁶ In comparison with the women from other countries, it can be concluded that there are only two important differences in the position of Israeli women after 1945: firstly, for them the military service was mandatory – although in practice it is always much easier for women to get exempted from military service than for men – and, secondly, given the fact that military service was mandatory for the Israeli women, it is natural that they responded to this duty in greater numbers than in any other country.

Austria. During 1980s, there were intense activities in Austria regarding the inclusion of women in the armed forces, encouraged by three main reasons. The first reason was the ‘implosion’ of the population, which increasingly threatened to reduce the number of the people so that it could have been expected that by 1990, the country would be faced with insufficient numbers of potential recruits for certain formation corps of the Austrian Armed Forces. The second reason was the initiative for emancipation by Austrian women and, last but not least, there were the positive examples of other countries in this area. Although Austrian Constitutional Law did not exclude the obligation of women in the mandatory military service, it did not specifically impose such an obligation either, meaning that the inclusion of women in the armed forces was conditioned

¹¹⁵ Jerusalem daily “*Haaerecy*” often criticizes the unequal position of women in armed forces: “Armed forces are the peak of male chauvinism in the Jewish state. Most of the young women serve their country simply as servants to men in the army, like housekeepers. Even though they have the same level of skills and talent they serve as telephone operators or they make coffee, in the best case they are amateur psychologists, and in the worst case they are the mattresses to the men in armed forces”.

¹¹⁶ Until 2000, there have been only two women colonels who reached the position of general in the Israeli army. However, the data that show that there have been certain alleviation of the limitations of women’s progress to the highest positions are that one of those two women, Rachel Dolev, was appointed to the post of military censor which was previously exclusively reserved for men. Duties of the military censor imply surveillance of the Law on Emergency Measures that has been valid since the foundation of the Israeli state more than 50 years ago and control of all information related to safety of the country (*Ekspres politika*, 25th January 2000).

by additional amendments to a part of the Federal Constitutional Law, i.e. the Law on Military Service.¹¹⁷

In the final years of 20th century, women were allowed to enter the military service as volunteers. Their voluntary conscription has comprised a twelve-month training course, following which they can choose to enter any of the branches of the armed forces. The Minister of Defence and the Minister for Women's Rights were given the task to monitor the performance of the women in the armed forces for 12 months, and to report their observations to the Federal Government. The Council of Ministers approved the received report and recommended that the voluntary conscription of women in the military must be regulated by the Constitutional Law and other regulations. The essence of this recommendation is to secure an absolute compliance with the legal requirement of voluntary conscription. This means that women who do not wish to serve in the army cannot be made to do so and also that those who accept this obligation can terminate their service on any excuse, and at any given moment.¹¹⁸ As for the other conditions, women undergo the same military training as men, and the entrance requirements are only slightly different in the area of physical requirements.¹¹⁹ All the while, the number of women who are accepted is carefully controlled and is limited in proportion to the number of the vacancies in the formation duties that ought to be filled following the completion of the training. Women are first accepted to the military service on the basis of temporary employment contracts, and after that they can sign permanent employment contracts. Women soldiers working on the full-time basis may participate in the military operations abroad, but not during the training period.

For the first six months of the military training, women are given the same rights and obligations as men. From the beginning of the seventh month, the same rules and regulations are applied as for the regular corps. As for the salaries, according to the law from 1992, the salary for the first six months is EUR 215 per month, plus the free social security benefits, family allowance and costs of accommodation, while for the next six months the salary is set at EUR 750, with all the benefits provided, including the social security benefits. Cases of pregnancy are specifically defined,

¹¹⁷ The valid military law, quoted in Military law from 1978, standardised military service of Austrian male citizens. Austrian female citizens are not mentioned in Military law from 1978 (Alfred Bender, *da li žene mogu biti vojnici u Bundesferu?* CVNDI, *Informative translation bulletin*, 12/1987, p. 1002).

¹¹⁸ Karl Satzinger, "Frauen als Soldaten im Bundesheer", *Truppendienst*, 2/1998, pp. 112-113.

¹¹⁹ Among other components, the entrance examination contains a German language test, maths test, load test, night march of 16 km in full combat gear; running for 2400 m under 13,30 minutes, 12 push-ups and the jump in water from one meter height and swimming for 15 minutes.

so that pregnant conscripts can leave the training, and can also return if they want to, within three years following the delivery, and rejoin the forces.

Women who had already occupied certain work positions under the Ministry of Defence, were allowed to become active members of the regular military, by applying to the preferred positions by the end of 1998. They were to undergo the corresponding re-training lasting between 6 and 18 months, depending on their position and the rank of the position they applied for, i.e. on their level of education and qualifications. In this way, women became soldiers, for the first time in Austria. This was a novelty that opened the door to an absolute equal position of men and women, but also to the expectations that this turnaround decision will be fully justified in practice, in the years to come.

The tradition of engaging women in the Army of *Finland* goes back longer than in many other countries, and the first military engagement of Finish women was by organizations that resembled military formations. For example, in the so-called Winter War (1939–1940) as well as in the Second World War, there were tens of thousands of women serving in the organizations named *Lotta Svärd* and *Sotilaskoti*. The latter, *Sotilaskoti* organization was in charge of supplying the soldiers with their everyday needs, such as additional food supplies, coffee, tobacco, refreshing drinks and similar. Considering the nature of its activities, there can be no doubt that this organization had an important impact on sustaining the fighting morale of the corps. The *Lotta Svärd* organization was involved in the support of the combatant activities in an even more immediate way, since it secured logistic support, ambulance backup, and also performed activities such as surveillance of the air space and similar, both at the front line and in the background. In this way, by freeing men from assistant duties, this organization made it possible to virtually double the available combatant force. Around 100 women were killed on duty, either in combat, ambush set by the Russian forces, or during air raids. Owing to this engagement, the Finish women gained a high reputation in performing important supporting assignments in war conditions, and enough credits to be given a chance to participate in the present-day military activities, engaged in more demanding tasks. These opportunities have been further expanded by allowing women to apply for the military service on the voluntary basis.¹²⁰

Concerning the military service, the rules that govern the engagement of women differ from those valid for men in a single detail: namely, women

¹²⁰ The information about engagement women in Finland Armed Forces were collected by exchange of information between Institute of War Skill of former Armed Forces of Serbia and Monte Negro and adequate institutions of Finland Armed Forces within regular interarmy co-operation..

are allowed to opt out of the military service after a short period of 'adaptation' (of a few weeks), if they decide that they do not want to proceed. Men are not given this opportunity. The women in the military service are provided with adequate accommodation facilities – however, the training requirements remain the same for men and women. Both men and women 'fight' in the same trenches, sleep in the same tents or bunkers, perform the same shooting trainings, crawl, run and take part in the same drills of assault and defence. Neither do women enjoy any privileges when it comes to combat requirements, so that it comes as no surprise to see that the women who volunteer for the army service are highly motivated and in excellent form, all of which make it possible for them to achieve excellent results in the military training. Following the successful completion of the military service, women are also offered an opportunity to join the armed forces as soldiers in the combatant units. There are no legal limitations of any kind in engaging women as trained soldiers, since the governing logic argues that anyone who successfully completes the corresponding military training – such as infantry training for example – can also perform these duties in war conditions.

In the territorial army units, women are engaged in the artillery, infantry, air defence, engineer corps, as well as commanders of squads, tank crews and similar. Their engagement also includes combatant assignments such as assault, defence, ambush, command over immediate and special cases of firing – target practice, command over combatant units at the level of a brigade or company (there are 25 women in the active service who have completed a training course for officers or NCOs (non-commissioned officer)), participation in military police assignments, as well as activities related to securing persons or buildings. In delegating duties to staff, the principle that is applied is the principle of choosing the best candidate, so that 'men's jobs' are not strictly a prerogative of men, and the other way round: 'women's jobs' are not reserved exclusively for women.

Finland's women-soldiers participated in peace missions as early as from the beginning of the 1990s, when Elisabeth Rehn took over as the Minister of Defence.¹²¹ Their first missions of this kind were in Lebanon, where they were engaged in assistant duties; however, the introduction of

¹²¹ Ministry of Defence composed a report in 1982 about whether women should participate in peace-keeping missions and the government suggested in 1983 that the word "man" should be replaced by word "person" within the Law about participating of defence forces in peace-keeping operations. The Parliament agreed with this suggestion next year but no further steps were taken in this direction until the arrival of Mrs. Rehn. Her suggestions aroused elation in public. Finally, 600 women applied for admission in peace-keeping forces, of which 34 were accepted. That was one of the main reasons for debate about possibility of voluntary military service for women. However there were 3000 women employed in Finland Armed Forces as experts of various profiles but without any chances of promotion. (Jovanka Šaranović, Žena ministar odbrane, *Vojska*, 7th September 1995).

the rule of voluntary military service meant that they started to appear in virtually all kinds of duties, such as the ones that they performed in Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija. In these missions they were engaged in security operations, patrols, and also in the junior commanding duties. Their record of performance does not contain any negative remarks regarding the professional level of their attainment, and this fact certainly confirms the validity of the principle of 'equality in every aspect' in the process of selecting personnel for certain duties.

Russia. The Soviet Union was one of the countries where in the Second World War a large number of women was engaged in the armed forces, many of whom took part in the immediate combat. Similarly to many other countries, after the war ended in 1945, the majority of the women-soldiers left the Army.¹²² It could be said that the armed forces of the USSR were not in favour of recruiting women on a large scale.¹²³ The primary goal was to engage women applicants with a high level of professional education, who could stay in the army service until the age of 50, when they could legally retire as old-age pensioners. Women were generally assigned special tasks that require expert knowledge (work in research centers, communications units, medical institutions, administration duties in the headquarters and command centers). They also had a chance to rise in the hierarchy of military ranks, to the rank of senior officers. However, since they were not allowed to study at military academies and schools, their chances of promotion were reduced and their choice of duties was limited.

Concerning the engagement of women in the armed forces of the Russian Federation, the available information leads to a conclusion that the present-day situation is significantly different from the one that prevailed in the USSR era. First of all, in the period 1989–1999, the proportion of women in the army had increased from around 0.2% to 12%. One of the reasons for this increase is probably the fact that the low salaries paid by the army could not attract enough men-soldiers.¹²⁴ There can be no doubt, however, that the increase in the number of women (expressed in percentages) was also caused by the overall reduction of the total number of the members of the armed forces, but there are some indications that there have been significant changes to the policy regulating the recruitment of women in the armed forces. So, for example, the statement made by the former Defence Minister, Pavel Gračov, shows beyond any doubt that

¹²² Decades after this their number in armed forces was never bigger than 10000, which is stated in percentages was considerably less than number of women in USA in the same period.

¹²³ It is well known that source of fulfilling of Soviet Union Armed Forces was general military service which during peace times could not be applied for women but this possibility was kept in the case of war. According to the Law about general military service women were allowed, under certain circumstances, to be accepted for military service.

¹²⁴ Matrin Van Creveld, op.cit., p. 207.

women occupy some important positions in the armed forces. In April 1993, Minister Gračov announced that 11 positions of the army general in the army region of Sankt Petersburg would be taken by women who would be the commanders of the military commissariats of Sankt Petersburg, Murmansk, Arhangelsk, Vologda and also in the military headquarters of certain areas. By appointing women to important military positions can also be explained by the fact that after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, there was a considerable reduction in the number of officers in the army.¹²⁵

So what is it that, based on the information presented so far, can be recognized as a common denominator regarding the scope and the modalities of engaging women in the modern armies and why, after all, it was necessary to gain an insight into the experience of the others?

When talking about the experiences of the others, we are primarily concerned with the countries with the richest practice of engaging women in the armed forces. The importance of their experience stems from the fact that these countries have actually been in a position to practically verify the feasibility of certain solutions which would otherwise be impossible to determine in an indirect manner. In addition to this, the countries that have considerable experience in engaging women as military professionals are, as a rule, countries whose armed forces were engaged in assignments that until recently were beyond the scope of the opportunities of our armed forces but which may, in the near future, become a challenge to live up to, such as – for example – engagement in the peace-keeping operations under the patronage of the United Nations or within the Partnership for Peace or similar safety integrations undertakings.

What are the concrete conclusions to be made based on the analysis of the solutions applied in other countries?

It is evident that the tendency of increasing the participation of women in the armed forces is typical of most of the countries analyzed here. In this respect, there are certain apparent differences among these countries, caused by the different conditions of development of their respective armed forces, and the different roles they had played in history. Although it would be difficult to single out *the most decisive* factor in this process, there are certainly several of them that were more important than others. These factors include: the deficit in male personnel (caused either by mass engagement in the times of large-scale war conflicts, a loss of appeal of the military profession, or a low birth-rate), the increase in the rate of unemployment among women and the ensuing increased interest of women for 'men's jobs, the general emancipation of women that had also led to the abolition of the taboo advocating the inappropriateness of the military vocation for the

¹²⁵ Nikola Grubišić, *Žena muške energije*, *Vojska* as of 2nd March 1995, p. 33.

woman's nature and dignity, as well as the changed physiognomy of the war itself, followed by the appearance of new (non-combatant) military-administrative specialist-type duties, which beyond any doubt can successfully be performed by women.

It can also be stated that most of these countries have introduced corresponding legal mechanisms allowing for a wide presence of women in the armed forces. Each of them has, however, produced its own specific solution to this challenge, in accordance with its political system, traditions, needs and financial resources, as well as in accordance with the role played by their respective armed forces and the probability of their engagement in combatant operations, and also taking into consideration the general level of the emancipation of women in the society, which to a large extent reflects the given cultural ambience. It is also evident that in most of the modern armies, apart from the increased participation of women in their ranks, there is also a tendency of increasing the number of formation positions to which women have an unlimited access. At the same time, it can be concluded that in this particular aspect, there is still room for improvement, since even in the armies that demonstrate the largest scales of women engagement, their participation in the total number of army personnel expressed in percentages is still rather low. In these circumstances, it could be expected for our Armed Forces to lag behind the standards of the leading countries, although there may be certain objective reasons for this, they ought not to be taken as an excuse for not trying to change the inherited situation.

State of affairs in our Armed Forces, as compared to foreign armed forces

The legal regulations that were in force at the time when this analysis was made (the beginning of the first decade of 21st century) allowed women to be present in all kinds of positions available for persons employed by the armed forces (Armed forces of Yugoslavia, later Armed forces of Serbia and Montenegro), both as professional soldiers and civilians working for the armed forces.¹²⁶ However, in the same period, there was a strict rule that required the candidates for the professional military service to have completed the regular military service, either through regular training 'or in another way accepted as an equivalent to the regular military service'. Taking into consideration that the military service was not mandatory for women, it was logical that most of the women who worked for the Armed

¹²⁶ According to Article 7 of the Army Law, the professional soldiers included: the professional officers, professional NCOs and officers engaged on temporary contracts, as well as NCOs and soldiers engaged on temporary contracts.

Forces had a civilian status and in practice this was the basic model of professional service among the women in the Armed Forces, especially knowing that their presence in the categories of professional soldiers was almost only symbolic (Table 1).

Table 1. *Presence of women in various categories of Armed Forces personnel, expressed in percentages*

GENDER	CATEGORY OF PERSONNEL								TOTAL	
	Officers		NCOs		Military staff working on temporary contracts		Civilians			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Female	17	0,20	31	0,28	165	2.83	6 705	49.66	6 918	17,81
TOTAL	8 466		11 058		5 822		13 502		38 848	

As it can be seen in the table, women constituted almost a half of the civilians working for the Armed Forces, so that it can be concluded that in this respect they enjoyed an equal status to men. In the category of professional soldiers, the majority of women had the status of soldiers engaged on temporary contracts, and altogether they represented slightly under three percent of the total number of soldiers in this category. Among officers and NCOs, there were much fewer women, only 0.20% of the total number of officers and 0.28% of NCOs. The extremely low – almost insignificant – proportion of women among the commanding staff can be primarily explained by the lack of opportunity for women to attend military schools. The women officers who were present in the formation of the Armed Forces in this period had qualified for their positions based on their graduation at the Faculty of National Defence (Now the Faculty of Safety) and some other forms of formal education that existed in the SFR Yugoslavia (school for reserve officers of certain branches and services, as well as school for medical officers, doctors and pharmacists). It is interesting to observe that among female officers and female NCOs were those who did not have any formal military education and whose educational profile missed an important component – a prerequisite for the status of a professional soldier of their rank. This perhaps proves that there were cases when the existing legal and other requirements that regulated the promotion to the rank of officer or NCO were not fully complied with.

Taking this into consideration, it is not surprising that less than one half of the women officers in this period were actually in the commanding positions, mostly performing duties in certain organizational units within the administrative and commanding sector. The fact that there were practically no women performing commanding duties in this period is not a proof in itself of a discriminatory policies, but rather a consequence of the established practice wherein most women were never given a chance during their education to acquire a relevant volume of the expert military knowledge, necessary for a successful engagement in the commanding positions, and it was logical that they were engaged only in certain exceptional cases.

There were other similar factors that had contributed to the fact that a large number of formation positions were practically unavailable for women, although no formal limitations that hindered this process, at least not direct ones, ever existed. To be more precise, it is important to note that the legal provisions that regulated the appointment of professional Armed Forces personnel to perform formation duties did not contain any limitations to the engagement of women in any of the sectors or areas of the armed forces, provided that they had corresponding levels of qualifications, i.e. that they were in possession of the corresponding specialist military skills and expertise. However, given the known fact that women were not drafted for the mandatory military service, they were not practically trained to perform typical military duties, with the exception of the few of them who had volunteered for the military service in the former Yugoslav Armed Forces, and those who graduated from the Faculty of National Defence (now, the Faculty of Safety). In a situation like this, it is hardly surprising that women-professionals working for the Armed Forces, were primarily engaged in duties that fell within the category of non-combatant or supporting areas. These were mostly duties that in peace-time periods were performed by civilians employed by the Armed Forces, apart from professional military staff. To be exact, out of 206 women – professional military staff engaged in the military service in the Armed Forces, there were only 15 of them who were delegated to perform formation duties of shooter, 19 military police staff, 8 scouts and one sniper, machine gun and mine-hole drilling assistant (Table 2).

Women were engaged in around thirty more, mostly assistant and background duties. However, their number here was significantly lower, mostly symbolic (one or two). If we take into consideration that the actual total number of the formation positions in the Armed Forces was quite imposing and amounted to several hundred, then it becomes absolutely obvious that women covered only a tiny proportion of these duties. All together, this leads to a conclusion that the volume of engagement of women in the Armed Forces, expressed both as a percentage within the

total number of military staff in the Armed Forces and as a number of the formation position occupied by them, was significantly under the number that is present in most of the armies of developed countries.

Table 2. *Duties performed by women – professional military staff serving our armed forces at the begging of 21st century*

DUTY	CATEGORY OF PROFESSIONAL MILITARY STAFF			TOTAL
	Officers	NCOs	Military staff working on temporary contract	
Not delegated	2	1	2	5
Airplane-radio-radar technician		1		1
Barber			2	2
Medical orderly			14	14
Shift leader – operator			2	2
Driver			4	4
Military Police			19	19
Decontamination operator			1	1
Supervisor – operator		2		2
Dispatcher			7	7
Scout			8	8
Commander	1	1	7	9
Tailor			4	4
Cook			20	20
Courier			6	6
Laboratory operator			1	1
Doctor	1			1
General operator			4	4
Medical technician			9	9
Meteorological technician			1	1
Meteorological technician		1		1
Aircraft equipment mechanic		1		1
Supervisor	6			6
Shoemaker			1	1
Operator			1	1

DUTY	CATEGORY OF PROFESSIONAL MILITARY STAFF			TOTAL
	Officers	NCOs	Military staff working on temporary contract	
System operator		1		1
Meteorological observation operator			1	1
General assistant			1	1
Assistant mine-whole driller			1	1
Assistant sapper			1	1
Assistant telephonist - radiophonist			1	1
Sales assistant			1	1
Counter-terrorism commando		1		1
Light machine-gunner		1		1
Radar technician		2		2
Radio-telegraph operator			7	7
Radio-teleprinter operator		1	1	2
Radio-telephonist			2	2
Projectile technician		1		1
Administrator	5	5		10
Administrator for personnel and call-up			1	1
Administrator for general duties		1	1	2
Operator		1		1
Head of parachuting club		1		1
Independent administrator	1			1
Military traffic police			3	3
Sniper			1	1
Carpenter			2	2
Shooter			15	15
Encoder – teleprinter operator		2		2
Aircraft equipment technician		6		6
IT technician		1		1
Pharmaceutical technician			1	1
Operator at air-surveillance screen			5	5
TOTAL	16	30	160	206

The situation as it is clearly poses the necessity to amend the current state of affairs, introducing changes that will reflect the spirit of the modern standards of gender equity, while at the same time respecting the principles of rational management of human resources in the defence affairs. In order to be able to perform this task in a proper manner, without any rash movements (by simple and non-critical copying of the models developed by others, non-critical adoption of prevailing fashions and trends, or based on superficial evaluations), it was logical to make this issue the object of a special research project. The realization of this project provided a next significant contribution to the creation of the pre-conditions for revitalization of the promoted standards of gender equity.

STEP FOUR

IDENTIFYING DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES AS PRIORITISED WORK PLACES FOR WOMEN

*“If a woman is sufficiently ambitious, determined and gifted – there is
practically nothing she can’t do.”*

Helen Lawrenson



IDENTIFYING DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES AS PRIORITISED WORK PLACES FOR WOMEN

In order to enable the services responsible for the management of human resources in the defence sector to take a relatively uniform stance in defining the duties in the Armed Forces that would be delegated to women on a priority base, it was among other things necessary to provide answers to these three questions, acting in accordance with the general criteria of productive employment: 1) which are the military duties that women can perform as successfully as men; 2) which duties in the armed forces do women perceive as their preferred options, and 3) do women express their preferences in accordance with their capabilities?

Where could the answers be found?

Taking into consideration the fact that it was not possible to perform any direct measuring of the work performance of women performing various duties in the armed forces, due to the low number of duties performed by them, it was necessary to measure this variable in an indirect manner – by producing a forecast based on the generalized experiential knowledge. Acting in accordance with this principle, we chose as estimators persons with expertise of the nature of duties in the armed forces, i.e. with a knowledge of the requirements they pose to military staff. Regarding the second question, *which armed-forces duties do women perceive as their preferred options*, it was logical to consult women who have at least some knowledge of the conditions governing the military life and work. Based on the reasons stated above, the sample of interviewees was composed of: a) officers – students of the Army Command and General Staff College (250 interviewees) and b) women – members of professional military staff and women psychologists engaged in the service in the Armed Forces (200 interviewees).

The research was conducted using an evaluation scale comprising 75 items. The items marked various types of duties in the armed forces. The test participants were given options to choose one of the five levels of success in performance of women in these duties. These grades were as follows:

1) women cannot perform this kind of duty under any circumstances; 2) only exceptionally capable women can perform this kind of duty; 3) women can perform this kind of duty, but not as successfully as men; 4) women can perform this kind of duty equally successfully to men; 5) women can perform this kind of duty more successfully than men. The offered options were assigned their respective numerical values, on a scale 1 to 5. Based on the frequency of the obtained replies, the arithmetical average was calculated, as the mean value of the estimated (expected) success of performance of women in a given duty. The evaluation included a total of 75 types of duties. The ranking lists of the duties, composed based on the mean values obtained in this manner are given in Table 3 (opinions expressed by the male test participants) and in Table 4 (opinions expressed by the female test participants).¹²⁷

What has been revealed by the results of this research?

Armed forces duties which women could fulfill as successfully as men

In analyzing the results of the estimated levels of competence of women in performing certain duties in the armed forces a special attention ought to be dedicated to the duties that top the ranking list, as well as those that are at the bottom of this list. These are the duties that can be recommended for women with the largest degree of certainty, i.e. which can be put aside as duties not recommended to women. In doing this, it is also important to take into consideration the value of the standard deviation for each of the arithmetical mean values, since this deviation indicates the borderlines within which individual estimates may fluctuate in relation to the mean value, based on which the ranking was originally established.

Opinions expressed by men in the survey on competence of women in performing various duties in armed forces

If we observe the top ten and the bottom ten assertions – descriptions of duties in the composed ranking list (Table 3), we will notice that, overall, standard deviations are very low (their value ranges between 0.764 and 0.854 for the first ten duties, i.e. 0.890 to 1.151 for the last ten duties). Given the fact that this is a five-grade evaluation scale, this range of standard deviation indicates that there is a relatively high level of synchronization of opinion among the test participants as to whether the duties in

¹²⁷ Types of duties are listed in the Table in the order of the evaluation scale.

question ought to (or ought not to, in the case of the bottom ten) be available to women.

The first group of duties, for which the interviewees expressed the highest level of synchronization in their answers, could be categorized as the so-called civilian-type duties, which also exist outside the military sphere, and which are currently performed by female civilians in the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence. These duties include: pharmaceutical duties (4.464); duties of medical orderly in stationary medical centers (4.444); duties of doctors in stationary medical centers (4.732) and dentist's duties (4.296).¹²⁸ This kind of answer could have been expected, given the fact that it has been scientifically proven that women are more sensitive and gentler, therefore better suited for this kind of duties. A noticeable common feature of the above duties is that they do not require physical strength and that they are mostly performed indoors – in a word, these are the duties that comply with the 'typical women's interests' and involve providing care and assistance to others, as well as inter-personal relationships.

Other duties that are included in the group of highly ranked duties are also office and administration duties, as well as duties that require a higher level of manual skills and skills of handling objects, such as: general service duties (4.608); duties of making and mending clothes and footwear (4.404); duties of preparing and distributing food (4.396); library duties (4.460); and also book-keeping and accounting duties (4.216). In performing these duties, women are probably helped by their scientifically proven higher resistance to monotony. Finally, this group of duties has also included certain jobs for which women, according to the recent findings in this area, have shown greater interest. These jobs include: organizing cultural and entertainment activities (4.244), translators' duties (4.244), duties of preparing texts for publication (4.132) and duties dealing with information and propaganda (4.120).

As opposed to this group, the duties that are the least suitable for women – according to the opinions of the female interviewees – are those involving commanding combatant formations of various levels and in various types of combat ambiances, specifically commanding combatant units at the level of a battalion (1.620); commanding combatant air forces – squadrons (1.752); commanding combatant air force formations – pair and group (1.896); commanding combatant units at the level of a squad or company (2.004); commanding smaller navy formations (2.108).

¹²⁸ The figure within the brackets states arithmetic mean value of assessment of adequacy of engagement women in performing the given duty. The theoretically possible arithmetic mean values are from 1 to 5, while mark 5 states the opinion that women can perform a certain duty as successfully as or even more successfully than men. Mark 1 expresses the opinion that under no circumstances are women capable of performing this kind of duty.

Table 3. *Expected success rate of women in performing specific duties in the*

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
1	Commanding a smaller combatant unit (crew)
2	Commanding a unit at the level of squad or company
3	Commanding a unit at the level of battalion
4	Commanding airborne combat groups-pair and air group
5	Commanding combat airborne units-squadron
6	Commanding smaller flotilla units
7	Commanding non-combat unit (maintenance etc.)
8	Drafting operational and combat documents
9	Parachute activities
10	Surveillance and commando activities on land
11	Underwater surveillance and commando activities
12	Camouflage activities
13	Intelligence and security activities
14	Operators of infantry devices
15	Operators of artillery weapons and rocket launchers
16	Operators of Air Defence artil. weap.-rocket launchers
17	Operators for mines and explosives (demolition)
18	Piloting combat aircraft and combat helicopter
19	Piloting non-combat aircraft
20	Aircraft operators (signalmen ...)
21	Captain of combat vessels
22	Captain of non-combat vessels
23	Operator for weapons on board vessels
24	Technical operator at vessels (signalmen...)
25	Operator at engineer corps pontoon structures
26	Operator at radar and IT systems

armed forces (men's estimation)

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies) ¹²⁸					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	28,8	31,6	16,4	22,8	0,4	2,344	1,134	62-63
	41,2	30,0	16,8	11,2	0,8	2,004	1,050	71
	63,2	20,4	8,8	6,4	1,2	1,620	0,971	75
	46,8	30,8	9,2	12,4	0,8	1,896	1,059	72
	54,4	26,0	11,2	6,8	1,6	1,752	1,007	74
	41,2	26,0	14,4	17,6	0,8	2,108	1,151	68
	13,6	20,0	20,8	38,4	7,2	3,056	1,191	43
	11,6	18,8	20,0	41,6	8,0	3,156	1,170	41
	23,2	2,4	18,0	14,0	2,4	2,300	1,049	64
	32,0	44,8	13,6	0,8	0,8	2,016	0,939	70
	40,4	44,4	8,4	5,6	1,2	1,828	0,890	73
	10,0	22,0	18,8	39,2	10,0	3,172	1,178	39
	6,4	22,0	15,6	40,8	15,2	3,364	1,168	36
	23,2	32,8	28,0	15,6	0,4	2,372	1,018	59-60
	35,2	33,6	20,4	9,6	1,2	2,080	1,022	69
	26,4	30,4	26,4	16,0	0,8	2,344	1,061	62-63
	21,6	40,8	17,6	18,8	1,2	2,372	1,057	59-60
	24,0	41,2	10,8	22,8	1,2	2,360	1,115	61
	11,6	37,2	16,8	33,2	1,2	2,752	1,076	50
	7,2	18,8	22,4	44,4	7,2	3,256	1,071	38
	26,4	38,0	21,2	14,0	0,4	2,240	1,009	66
	17,6	32,0	24,8	25,0	-	2,584	1,054	53
	20,8	29,6	28,8	18,8	2,0	2,516	1,080	56
	11,2	16,8	26,0	41,6	4,4	3,112	1,095	42
	32,0	31,2	25,6	10,8	0,4	2,164	1,010	67
	6,0	18,4	14,4	52,8	8,4	3,392	1,067	35

¹²⁸ Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in the bottom of the table relate to given answers within the evaluation scale, as used by participants to assess women's capabilities to perform certain duties, the exact formulations being as follows: 1 – „not capable of performing, under any circumstances“; 2 – „can be performed by only exceptionally skilled women“; 3 – „not as successfully as men“; 4– „equally successfully to men“ and 5 – „more successfully than men“.

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
27	Operator at stationary communications centre
28	Operator at movable communications centers
29	Meteorological surveillance activities
30	Radio interception and position – finding
31	Acoustic intelligence
32	Handling fuel and lubricants
33	Operator at spare parts warehouse
34	Technical maintenance – regular maintenance
35	Technical maint. – periodic maintenance and overhaul
36	Technical supplies – delivery of supplies to users
37	Road traffic control
38	Airport flight control
39	River and sea traffic control
40	Driving combat motor vehicles
41	Driving non-combat motor vehicles
42	Operator at warehouse of general supplies
43	Preparation and distribution of food
44	Making and mending clothes and footwear
45	Services (hairdressing, hygiene)
46	Doctor's duties at stationary medical facilities
47	Doctor's duties in field conditions
48	Medical orderly at stationary medical facilities
49	Medical orderly in field conditions
50	Pharmaceutical duties
51	Dentist's duties
52	Veterinary duties
53	Military psychologist duties
54	Psychiatric and therapeutic duties
55	Controlling entrance and exit in military areas
56	Guard duties
57	Duties of teacher in military school

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies)					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	2,0	11,2	15,2	50,0	21,6	3,780	0,975	20
	8,4	23,6	28,8	33,6	5,6	3,044	1,065	44
	2,8	8,0	17,2	56,0	16,0	3,744	0,917	22
	2,8	11,6	12,0	55,2	18,4	3,748	0,979	21
	3,2	12,8	15,6	56,0	12,4	3,616	0,967	29
	11,2	16,8	33,2	35,6	3,2	3,028	1,050	45
	8,0	15,2	32,0	41,6	3,2	3,168	0,995	40
	18,8	26,4	34,4	19,6	0,8	2,572	1,032	54
	21,6	30,0	30,8	16,8	0,8	2,452	1,033	58
	13,2	28,0	31,2	26,0	1,6	2,748	1,035	51
	3,6	12,8	22,0	55,2	16,4	3,480	0,923	30
	3,2	11,2	14,0	57,6	14,0	3,680	0,957	28
	5,2	11,2	23,6	53,2	6,8	3,452	0,960	31-32
	29,2	31,6	24,8	13,6	0,8	2,252	1,047	65
	11,6	25,6	27,6	32,4	2,8	2,892	1,071	48
	5,2	9,2	14,4	50,4	20,8	3,724	1,056	24-25
	0,8	4,4	6,4	31,2	57,2	4,396	0,854	6
	-	4,0	7,2	33,2	55,6	4,404	0,792	5
	0,4	3,6	4,0	18,8	73,2	4,608	0,764	1
	0,8	2,8	6,8	37,6	52,0	4,372	0,797	7
	2,8	11,6	18,8	43,6	23,2	3,728	1,032	23
	0,8	3,6	4,8	32,0	58,8	4,444	0,810	4
	2,8	10,4	22,4	42,8	21,6	3,700	1,010	27
	0,8	3,2	5,6	29,6	60,8	4,464	0,807	2
	0,8	4,4	4,8	44,4	45,6	4,296	0,816	8
	1,2	9,2	15,6	51,2	22,8	3,852	0,917	19
	2,0	6,4	13,6	40,4	37,6	4,052	0,974	15
	1,2	7,6	9,2	47,2	34,8	4,068	0,922	14
	6,0	12,4	23,2	48,8	9,6	3,436	1,024	34
	19,6	31,2	28,8	17,6	2,8	2,528	1,079	55
	4,0	16,0	19,2	52,4	8,4	3,452	0,989	31-32

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
58	Duties of instructors in training centers
59	Work in scientific, research and develop. institutions
60	Book-keeping and accounting duties
61	Personnel administration
62	Organization of cultural and entertainment events
63	Duties of librarian
64	Duties related to information and propaganda
65	Translator's duties
66	Editor's duties
67	Preparation of text for print (proof-reading)
68	Duties related to graphic design and printing
69	Fire protection duties
70	Courier duties
71	Duties related to decontamination
72	NCBD (nuclear chemical biological defence) surveillance
73	Construction of water-supply facilities
74	Water and food supplies Quality Control
75	Topographic and geodetic duties

Within this group, there are also the duties of commanding and managing combatant resources and equipment: managing combatant vessels (2.240); driving combatant vehicles (2.252); duties within the scope of special forces – duties of underwater scouts and commandos (1.828) and the scout – commando duties on dry land (2.016). The test participants' evaluations reveal that due attention ought to be dedicated to the duties dealing with support and supply provided to the combatant corps of various forces, such as assistants at artillery weapons and land-attack missile artillery (2.080), as well as procuring for engineer corps – pontoon or floating structures (2.164).

In contrast to the duties that the commanding staff consider to be undoubtedly suitable for women, and therefore suitable to be performed by female military staff without any limitations, there is another group of duties that are generally considered as unsuitable for women. The common feature of the other group of duties is that they practically do not exist outside the military sphere, i.e. outside the armed forces. Concerning this, it

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies)					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	7,6	26,8	31,2	31,6	2,8	2,952	1,001	47
	1,6	9,6	16,8	60,8	11,2	3,704	0,850	26
	0,4	4,0	9,6	45,6	40,4	4,216	0,807	11
	1,2	8,0	13,6	48,8	28,4	3,952	0,921	17
	0,4	4,0	18,4	45,2	42,0	4,244	0,801	9-10
	1,2	2,4	5,2	31,6	59,6	4,460	0,801	3
	0,8	2,8	8,4	59,6	28,4	4,120	0,734	13
	-	3,2	8,4	49,2	39,2	4,244	0,739	9-10
	0,4	4,8	10,4	65,6	18,8	3,976	0,722	16
	5,2	6,8	57,6	30,4	-	4,132	0,751	12
	0,4	5,2	16,8	62,0	15,6	3,872	0,744	18
	4,8	25,2	38,0	27,6	4,4	3,016	0,948	46
	7,2	16,4	20,8	46,4	9,2	3,340	1,083	37
	11,6	28,4	26,4	30,4	3,2	2,852	1,078	49
	15,2	32,8	26,8	23,2	2,0	2,640	1,059	52
	19,2	30,8	32,8	15,2	2,0	2,500	1,030	57
	2,4	9,2	15,6	59,2	13,6	3,724	0,896	24-25
	3,2	12,8	25,6	53,6	4,8	3,440	0,890	33

can be said that the opinions expressed in the poll were at least partly influenced by the traditional division into 'military' and 'non-military' type of duties, i.e. based on the traditional division of the general concept of labour between the two genders, which propagates the belief that military duties are reserved for men. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the duties listed at the bottom of the ranking list require a high level of physical effort, good spatial orientation, determination and courage, in order to be performed in all kinds of weather conditions. It is also probable that the relatively strict opinions expressed by the officers engaged in the poll and regarding the suitability of women to perform these duties, were significantly influenced by their experience and the knowledge that they have of these duties, from the aspect of their complexity and demands. At the same, however, it can be questioned whether these attitudes may represent another attempt made by men to protect their sovereignty over a number of jobs that have always provided a chance to prove men's superiority, as kind of compensation for the specific biological inferiority (inability to give birth).

Apart from the duties suggested above, listed either at the top or the bottom of the ranking list based on their respective arithmetical mean values, it is interesting to observe the percentage of the pole participants who estimated that there were certain types of duties that *women could perform as well as men, or even better than men*. For example, based on the results shown in Table 3, around 70% of the poll participants expressed an opinion that this group of duties can include: meteorological surveillance, duties of radio-interception and position-finding and acoustic intelligence duties. A similar proportion of the interviewees believes that this group also includes duties such as: road traffic control, airport flight control duties, waterways and sea-traffic control, as well as duties of controlling the quality of water and food supplies. A high percentage of the poll participants (60-70%) also believe that women can perform teaching duties in the military schools, and be employed in scientific and research-and-development institutions. By no means should we neglect the fact that around 50% of the tested men believe that women can be equally or even more successful in the production of operational and combatant documentation, as well as in intelligence and safety assignments and camouflage assignments.

At the same time, around 80% of the female poll participants believe that certain duties in the armed forces *cannot be performed by women under any circumstances, or can be assigned only to exceptionally capable women*. This group of duties includes: duties of the underwater scouts and commandos (84.8%); commanding combatant units at the level of a battalion (83.6%); commanding air-force combatant units (80.4 %); scouting and commando assignments performed on dry land (76.8 %).

Opinions expressed by women in the survey on competence of women in performing various duties in armed forces

Judging by the arithmetical mean values which female research participants (professional military staff or corps psychologists) awarded to the items in the poll, to evaluate the suitability of women for various military duties (Table 4), the following duties were identified as being most suitable as potential work positions for women in the military: service staff (4.665), librarians (4.655), organization of cultural and entertainment activities (4.605), preparation and distribution of food (4.520), making and mending clothes and footwear (4.485), pharmaceutical duties (4.470), technical medical duties in stationary conditions (4.460), duties of information and propaganda (4.450), book-keeping and accounting (4.435) and translators' duties (4.390).¹³⁰

¹³⁰ The figure within the brackets states arithmetic mean value of assessment of adequacy

As opposed to the duties listed above, the women – military professionals and military-based psychologists who took part in the poll, believe that the following duties are the ones least suitable for women: commanding combatant air-force formations – squadrons (2.250), providing support to artillery weapons and land-strike artillery missiles (2.335), duties of underwater scouts and commandos (2.365), duties of technical maintenance – from medium-level maintenance to overhaul (2.380), commanding combatant air-force – the pair and the group (2.395), procuring for air-defence artillery projectiles (2.410), commanding combatant units at the level of a battalion (2.430), providing assistance to corps of engineers and pontoon structures (2.555), piloting combatant planes and helicopters (2.580) and the duties of technical maintenance – the basic maintenance of equipment and machinery (2.600). If there are any duties within armed forces that women are not interested in and would especially not want to take over from men, then these are the very duties they would rather avoid.

If we take a closer look at the top ten and the bottom ten duties in the ranking list, taking into consideration that their classification has been made using the five-grade evaluation scale, we can notice that the standard deviations are, overall, relatively small (their value for the top ten duties ranges within 0.477 and 0.664, while for the bottom ten duties it falls within a range of 1.003 and 1.144). This means that there is a relatively high concordance among the female participants in the poll with regard to their opinions whether these ought (or ought not) to be assigned to women. In observing this, it is also evident that the female participants in the poll have expressed a more leveled opinion regarding the duties that ought to be performed by women in the military, than regarding the duties that ought not to be performed by them. The reason for this probably lies in the nature of these duties themselves, i.e. in the fact that the group of the leading preferred duties includes such jobs in which women generally get engaged and are as such known to them. As opposed to this, the group of the least preferred duties is mainly composed of typically ‘men’s jobs’ in the armed forces, whose nature and requirements posed on the staff who perform them – women in general and therefore women engaged in the Army service as well, are not sufficiently known, or at least are not sufficiently known to all of the female participants in the poll, due to the fact that they – having been involved in different types of duties could observe these ‘men’s jobs’ from a different perspective and in somewhat different light. We cannot completely rule out the possibility that for some of them the very name and the containing description of some duties were rather unclear.

of engagement women in performing the given duty. The theoretically possible arithmetic mean values are from 1 to 5, while mark 5 states the opinion that women can perform a certain duty as successfully as or even more successfully than men. Mark 1 expresses the opinion that under no circumstances are women capable of performing this kind of duty.

Table 4. *Expected success rate of women in performing specific duties in the*

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
1	Commanding a smaller combatant unit (crew)
2	Commanding a unit at the level of squad or company
3	Commanding a unit at the level of battalion
4	Commanding airborne combat. groups-pair and air group
5	Commanding combat. airborne units-squadron
6	Commanding smaller flotilla units
7	Commanding non-combat. Unit (maintenance etc.)
8	Drafting operational and combat documents
9	Parachute activities
10	Surveillance and commando activities on land
11	Underwater surveillance and commando activities
12	Camouflage activities
13	Intelligence and security activities
14	Operators of infantry devices
15	Operators of artillery weapons and rocket launchers
16	Operators of Air Defence artil.weap.-rocket launchers
17	Operators for mines and explosives (demolition)
18	Piloting combat aircrafts and combat helicopters
19	Piloting non-combat. aircraft
20	Aircraft operators (signalmen ...)
21	Captain of combat. Vessels
22	Captain of non-combat. Vessels
23	Operator for weapons on board vessels
24	Technical operator at vessels (signalmen...)
25	Operator at engineer corps pontoon structures

military (women's estimation)

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies) ¹³¹					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	7,0	26,0	11,5	46,5	9,0	3,245	1,145	46
	12,0	28,5	21,0	36,0	2,5	2,885	1,104	57
	19,5	36,5	26,0	17,5	0,5	2,430	1,010	69
	19,5	41,0	20,5	18,5	0,5	2,395	1,017	71
	25,5	39,5	20,5	13,5	1,0	2,250	1,016	75
	11,0	29,0	22,0	34,5	3,5	2,905	1,101	55-56
	2,5	19,0	13,0	53,0	21,5	3,810	0,969	32
	2,5	16,0	15,0	51,5	15,0	3,605	1,007	41
	4,5	43,0	14,5	36,5	1,5	2,875	1,012	58
	11,5	43,0	20,0	22,5	3,0	2,625	1,049	64
	17,0	48,0	19,5	12,5	3,0	2,365	1,003	73
	5,0	17,0	13,0	41,0	24,0	3,620	1,167	39
	3,5	12,0	8,0	45,0	31,5	3,890	1,088	29
	15,0	28,0	26,0	29,0	2,0	2,750	1,092	61
	28,0	27,5	27,5	17,0	-	2,335	1,062	74
	29,5	22,5	26,5	20,5	1,0	2,410	1,144	70
	19,5	32,0	17,5	29,0	2,0	2,620	1,154	65
	14,0	46,5	9,0	28,5	2,0	2,580	1,104	67
	3,0	40,5	11,0	43,0	2,5	3,015	1,030	52
	1,5	22,0	9,5	60,5	6,5	3,485	0,956	43
	16,0	32,5	19,5	30,5	1,5	2,690	1,114	62-63
	7,0	32,0	19,5	40,5	1,0	2,965	1,024	53
	17,5	24,5	30,5	26,5	1,0	2,690	1,077	62-63
	6,0	24,0	23,5	44,5	2,0	3,125	0,997	48
	22,5	21,5	34,0	22,0	-	2,555	1,069	68

¹³¹ The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 in the bottom of the table relate to given answers within the evaluation scale, by which the participants assessed women possibilities to perform certain duties, to be more precise 1 – „under no circumstances are they in condition“; 2 – „only exceptionally skillful women“; 3 – „not as successful as men“; 4 – „equally successful as men“ и 5 – „more successful than men“.

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
26	Operator at radar and IT systems
27	Operator at stationary communications centre
28	Operator at movable communications centers
29	Meteorological surveillance activities
30	Radio interception and position – finding
31	Acoustic intelligence
32	Handling fuel and lubricants
33	Operator at spare parts warehouse
34	Technical maintenance – regular maintenance
35	Technical maint. – periodic maintenance and overhaul
36	Technical supplies – delivery of supplies to users
37	Road traffic control
38	Airport flight control
39	River and sea traffic control
40	Driving combat motor vehicles
41	Driving non-combat motor vehicles
42	Operator at warehouse of general supplies
43	Preparation and distribution of food
44	Making and mending clothes and footwear
45	Services (hairdressing, hygiene)
46	Doctor's duties at stationary medical facilities
47	Doctor's duties in field conditions
48	Medical orderly at stationary medical facilities
49	Medical orderly in field conditions
50	Pharmaceutical duties
51	Dentist's duties
52	Veterinary duties
53	Military psychologist duties
54	Psychiatric and therapeutic duties
55	Controlling entrance and exit in military areas

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies)					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	4,0	11,0	15,5	59,0	10,5	3,610	0,955	40
	1,0	6,5	12,0	60,0	20,5	3,925	0,820	25-26
	6,5	10,0	32,0	45,5	6,0	3,345	0,970	44
	0,5	8,5	13,5	64,0	13,5	3,815	0,790	31
	1,5	7,0	9,5	62,0	20,0	3,920	0,841	27
	3,5	5,5	15,0	63,5	12,5	3,760	0,870	33-34
	15,5	13,5	35,0	32,5	3,5	2,950	1,106	54
	15,0	16,0	36,0	29,5	3,5	2,905	1,092	55-56
	18,5	24,5	35,5	21,5	-	2,600	1,022	66
	24,5	28,5	31,5	15,5	-	2,380	1,020	72
	12,0	18,0	23,5	44,0	2,5	3,070	1,096	50
	2,5	10,0	11,5	66,0	10,0	3,710	0,872	36-37
	1,0	5,5	9,0	67,5	17,0	3,940	0,754	24
	2,5	9,0	11,5	64,0	13,0	3,760	0,881	33-34
	13,0	30,5	22,5	31,5	2,5	2,800	1,098	59
	3,5	13,0	16,0	60,0	7,5	3,550	0,934	42
	1,5	5,5	12,5	55,5	25,0	3,970	0,856	22
	-	2,5	2,0	36,5	59,0	4,520	0,664	4
	-	2,0	2,0	41,5	54,5	4,485	0,642	5
	-	1,5	0,5	28,0	70,0	4,665	0,570	1
	-	2,0	0,5	54,5	43,0	4,385	0,607	11
	-	4,5	13,5	61,5	20,5	3,980	0,723	21
	-	1,0	1,5	48,0	49,5	4,460	0,583	7
	1,0	5,0	14,5	65,6	14,0	3,865	0,748	30
	-	0,5	-	55,5	48,0	4,470	0,530	6
	-	-	1,5	68,5	30,0	4,285	0,585	16
	0,5	1,5	10,5	73,5	14,0	3,990	0,593	20
	0,5	1,5	1,5	59,0	37,5	4,315	0,631	13
	0,5	1,0	2,0	61,0	35,5	4,300	0,610	14
	0,5	3,5	11,0	69,0	16,0	3,965	0,675	23

No.	TYPES OF DUTIES IN THE ARMED FORCES
56	Guard duties
57	Duties of teacher in military school
58	Duties of instructors in training centers
59	Work in scientific, research and develop. institutions
60	Book-keeping and accounting duties
61	Personnel administration
62	Organization of cultural and entertainment events
63	Duties of librarian
64	Duties related to information and propaganda
65	Translator's duties
66	Editor's duties
67	Preparation of text for print (proof-reading)
68	Duties related to graphic design and printing
69	Fire protection duties
70	Courier duties
71	Duties related to decontamination
72	NCBD (nuclear chemical biological defence) surveillance
73	Construction of water-supply facilities
74	Water and food supplies Quality Control
75	Topographic and geodetic duties

Apart from the arithmetic mean of responses provided by the research participants that were used as a base for the above ranking of military duties, there is another significant indicator that can be used in assessing the justification of engaging women in certain military professions. This indicator is the percentage of the female participants in the poll who stated that women can perform certain duties *as successfully as or more successfully than men*. The top 10 jobs that lead the ranking list are actually among those duties that even more than 90% of women see as duties that can be performed by women as equally to or better than by men (Table 4). If the same criterion is applied, we see that there are other duties that fall into this group, including: doctors' duties performed in stationary medical facilities (97.3), dentists' duties (98.5), duties of military psychologist (96.5), psychiatric and therapeutic duties (96.5), teaching duties in military schools

	Expected level of success of women in performing these duties (percentages of supplied replies)					Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Ranking
	1	2	3	4	5			
	10,0	16,0	32,0	34,5	7,5	3,135	1,092	47
	1,5	8,5	4,5	67,0	18,5	3,925	0,838	25-26
	-	13,5	12,0	64,5	10,0	3,710	0,824	36-37
	0,5	3,5	1,5	72,5	22,0	4,120	0,638	18
	-	0,5	0,5	54,0	45,0	4,435	0,536	9
	-	1,5	1,5	55,0	42,0	4,375	0,597	12
	-	0,5	0,5	37,0	62,0	4,605	0,530	3
	-	-	-	34,5	65,5	4,655	0,477	2
	-	0,5	3,5	46,5	49,5	4,450	0,591	8
	-	-	0,5	60,0	39,5	4,390	0,499	10
	-	2,5	0,5	62,5	34,5	4,290	0,606	15
	-	2,0	3,0	67,5	27,5	4,205	0,587	17
	1,0	1,0	14,0	74,5	9,5	3,905	0,598	28
	6,0	11,0	34,0	43,0	6,0	3,320	0,960	45
	3,0	4,5	19,5	61,5	11,5	3,740	0,834	35
	7,0	22,5	28,0	40,0	2,5	3,085	1,001	49
	7,0	24,0	30,0	36,5	2,5	3,035	0,994	51
	15,0	25,0	29,0	29,0	2,0	2,780	1,085	60
	0,5	3,5	5,5	70,5	20,0	4,060	0,662	19
	1,5	8,5	21,0	59,5	9,5	3,670	0,821	38

(95.5), engagement in scientific and research-and-development institutions (94.5), personnel duties (97.0), editor's duties (97.0), proof reading (95.0) and duties dealing with the control of water quality and quality of food supplies (90.5).¹³² This high percentage of the female participants in the poll supporting the opinion that women are unreservedly competent to perform the listed duties is not surprising, though, taking into consideration the fact that these duties are generally available to women, so that they could witness the competence of women in performing these duties in practice.

Based on the results shown in table 4, it is possible to identify another, quite sizeable group of duties that most of the female participants in the

¹³² The figure within the brackets states the percentage of participants who think that women can perform certain duty equally successful as men or even more successfully than men.

poll (more than two thirds of them) consider to be duties where women would not perform worse than men. These duties include: drawing up operational and combatant documentation (66.5), commanding non-combatant units (74.5), intelligence and security assignments (76.5), providing support to communication units in aircraft formations (67.0), providing support to radar and computer systems (69.5), providing support to communication units in stationary communication centers (80.5), duties of meteorological surveillance (77.5), duties of radio-interception and position-finding (82.0), duties involving acoustic intelligence (76.0), road traffic control (76.0), duties of flight control at airports (84.5), duties of river and sea traffic control (74.0), driving non-combatant motor vehicles (67.5), tasks involving handling inventory in the warehouses of general supplies (80.5), doctors' duties in field conditions (81.0), technical medical duties in field conditions (79.5), veterinary duties (87.5), duties related to controlling entrance and exit in military areas (85.0), duties of instructors in training centers (74.5), graphic design and printing duties (84.0), courier duties (73.0) and topographic – geodetic duties (69.0).

It is interesting to note here that the duties listed here also include such jobs which, according to the traditional division of jobs in the military, would be considered as purely men's jobs, such as commanding non-combatant units, intelligence and security assignments, providing support to radar and computer systems and similar. The fact that more than two thirds of the female participants in the poll believe that women are fully capable of performing these duties represents a significant and convincing contribution to disputing the traditional understanding of the role played by women in the military, even more so if we take into consideration the fact that in most modern armies women have been performing these duties for quite a long time now. It is among these duties that we ought to look for the opportunities to engage women with enough justification to do so, provided that they have not already taken their positions there. This view is additionally supported by the fact that only a very small proportion of female participants in the poll (under 5%) estimated that women would not be capable of performing these duties under any circumstances.

It is also worth noticing that, concerning the remaining duties that were the object of this estimation (all of which are practically duties that at the time when this research was conducted, were almost exclusively performed by men) the opinions expressed about them indicate a sharp decline in the number of female interviewees who think that women could perform these duties equally successfully to men, while at the same time only a tiny proportion of them believes that women would actually out-perform men in these duties. This decline in the number of female interviewees who support the engagement of women in these duties is accompanied with a significant increase in the number of poll participants who believe that only

exceptionally capable women could successfully perform these duties. In the group of these 'men's jobs', it may be important to pay special attention to those duties that have provoked a markedly different stance of the female poll participants, concerning the question whether these ought to be made available to women applicants. These duties include commanding of smaller combatant units (crews), piloting non-combatant planes, commanding non-combatant vessels, duties dealing with providing technical support to vessels, providing support to movable communication equipment and facilities, duties dealing with technical supplies (supplying material and technical resources to the users), duties of organizing guards, fire protection duties and decontamination duties.

The percentage of the female interviewees who believe that women could perform these duties equally successfully to men, or even better than men, ranges between 40 and 50%, which indicates that at least one half of the poll participants have certain reservations regarding the engagement of women in these duties. These reservations are in most cases expressed by the attitude that women could not perform these duties equally successfully to men, i.e. that these duties could be entrusted only to certain exceptionally capable women. This arrangement of the estimates suggests that it is necessary to analyze this matter in more depth, applying the criteria of the suitability of the social and psychological profile of the woman in relation to the requirements posed by these duties. Without these additional findings, it would be impossible to make a responsible judgment and decisions regarding a potential engagement of women in these duties. Concerning the remaining duties, it can be said that the predominant opinion expressed by women is that in most cases they would not be able to perform them as successfully as men, which also means that they neither see them engaged in these duties, nor do they recommend themselves for them.

To what degree are the stated opinions of the male and female participants in the poll identical, or opposing?

Although it probably comes as an unexpected development, it is obvious that there is a relatively high correlation between the opinions expressed by the male and female interviewees, respectively, regarding the duties that are mainly believed to be suitable for women, i.e. which they could perform equally successfully to men, and also regarding the duties that under no circumstance ought to be entrusted to women (the duties that appear on top, i.e. at the bottom of the ranking lists given in Tables 3 and 4). Namely, the female interviewees responded in a manner almost identical to that of the male interviewees, estimating that the most suitable duties for them would be those that generally fall into the category of the so-called civilian duties in the armed forces, or duties that also exist outside the military professions, and are therefore equally available to male and female military professionals. These are duties that do not require physical strength, and

are mostly performed indoors. They are also characterized by a series of elements that reflect 'typical women's interests', similarly to the duties marked by male interviewees as being suited to the woman's nature, and consequently falling within a general category of duties that involve providing help and assistance to others, with inter-personal relations being an important integral part.

There does not seem to be much difference between the 'top ten' duties chosen by the female poll participants, and the choices made by male poll participants: in fact, apart from the slightly different arrangement of the top-ten duties, the only other difference is that the female participants in the poll did not include dentists' duties and duties of doctors in stationary medical centers in their top 10 duties, which are ranked as numbers eight and seven in the men's ranking list. The same duties are ranked as numbers sixteen and eleven, respectively, in the list produced by female pole participants. On the other hand, the male interviewees had failed to include among the top ten 'most feminine' duties such jobs as the information and propaganda assignments and book-keeping and accounting duties; instead, they were ranked as numbers thirteen and eleven, respectively. However, taking into consideration the extremely small difference in the arithmetic mean values of the best-ranked duties, which is recognized in the estimates produced by the male and female poll participants alike, the omission of the two categories from the top ten duties as given in the respective ranking lists produced by the male and female interviewees, is by no means an indicator of the differences in the estimations made by the two sub-groups of the interviewees, and the same can be applied to the certain differences that are found in the ranking of the bottom ten duties, in the respective lists produced by the men and women participating in the poll.

Considering the facts stated here, it can be reasonably concluded that the officers included in the sample of interviewees – male commanders in the Armed Forces, as well as women – professional military staff and psychologists working for the Armed Forces, demonstrated a high correlation of opinions concerning the type of duties which can be beyond any doubt successfully performed by women. Since the arithmetic mean of the estimated justification of engaging women in all of the contemplated duties is larger than 4.0, and also taking into consideration the existing formulation of items – grades contained in the evaluation scale that was applied in making the estimation, it can be concluded that the interviewees agree in their estimate that women could perform these duties 'as successfully as men', i.e. 'more successfully than men'.

Again, it is not surprising that the poll participants of both genders are agreed in their estimates regarding the justification of engaging women in these duties, since these are the duties that have already been performed by women for some time, and for which there are neither legal limitations, nor

any objections arising from the practice that would support thesis that women are in any way inferior to men in performing these duties. It would be much more significant to compare the opinions expressed by the two categories of the poll participants regarding the other duties, especially those which so far have not involved women, or have involved them on a sporadic basis. Regarding this, it is worth noticing here that, apart from the top ten 'civilian duties' mentioned above that are part of regular military duties, where the opinions expressed by the poll participants of both genders reflect a high level of correlation, supporting admission of female military staff to these positions, there are 27 other duties for which the majority of the poll participants of both genders (more than 50% of them) believe that they could be performed by women equally successfully, or more successfully than men. This group includes duties such as: intelligence and security assignments, duties of the aircraft crew assistants, providing support to radar and computer systems, providing support to movable communication facilities, duties of meteorological surveillance, radio interception and position-finding, duties dealing with acoustic intelligence, road traffic control, flight control at airports, river and sea traffic control, duties in warehouses of general army supplies involving handling various types of goods, doctors' duties in stationary medical facilities, technical medical duties performed in field conditions, dentists' duties, veterinary duties, duties of military psychologist, psychiatric and therapeutic duties, duties involving control of entrance to and exit from military areas, duties of teachers in military schools, engagement in scientific and research and development institutions, personnel administration, editing and proof-reading of texts, graphic design and printing assignments, courier duties, duties dealing with water quality and food supplies control and topographic and geodetic duties.

Another proof of the conclusion that there is a high level of correlation between the opinions expressed by the two genders is found in the fact that within the group of 75 different descriptions of armed-forces duties, there are only two of them (design of operative and combatant documentation and camouflage assignments) for which the majority of women (65.5%, i.e. 65.0%) believe that these can be performed by women equally to or more successfully than men, while at the same the majority of men do not support this belief. What is more, men's views regarding the justification of engaging women in these duties are markedly divided. A little under one half of the male poll participants (49.6%, i.e. 49.2%) believe that women could perform these duties at the same rate of success as men, or even more successfully than them, while the remaining part of the male interviewees mostly believe these duties could be assigned only to exceptionally capable women, i.e. that women could be engaged in them, but with less success in their performance when compared to men. Concerning all the other duties,

most men and women that took part in the poll have expressed highly correlated opinions that women could not perform these as successfully as men. This is certainly a finding that leads us to a conclusion that without an express need, it would be better not to insist on placing women in formation posts which include the duties listed here, unless the women in question are exceptionally capable and particularly motivated to perform that particular duty.

All the while, it is important to take into consideration the fact that both the male and the female participants in the poll belong to that part of their respective wider populations which possess expert knowledge regarding the nature of the estimated duties and the conditions that accompany their performance, so that the high level of correlation between their respective opinions is particularly important and deserves to be treated as sufficiently relevant in making decisions that will influence the priorities in engaging women in certain military duties.

A global view of the results obtained in the described research, leads us to a conclusion that – based on the estimated success rate of women in performing these armed-forces duties, they can be divided into three groups. The first group comprises the duties for which there is a general consensus expressed by the female and male participants in the poll alike, where it is generally agreed that these cannot be successfully performed by women. Based on this, it can be concluded that women ought not to be delegated these duties which are typically characterized by significant mental and physical strain, as well as a high level of injury risk. The second group of duties are those duties for which there is a high level of correlation between the two categories of the poll participants and a general agreement that these could be performed by women, but with not as much success as when they are performed by men. This ought to mean that when these formation posts are staffed with new personnel, an advantage ought to be given to men, while at the same time it ought to be allowed for an alternative engagement of women to these duties. These duties include, first of all, the duties of technical maintenance and procurement, traffic control duties, duties of securing buildings and resources, as well as assignments of providing support and supplies for sophisticated technical resources, especially in certain specific working environments such as aircraft and vessels. The third group of duties are those duties that are considered by the majority of the poll participants as duties that could be performed by women equally successfully to or even more successfully than men. The duties that fall within the third group are at the same time duties that have so far been performed by women. This finding leads us to a conclusion that, when filling these posts with new personnel, priority ought to be given to women, because this is also the area that is most suitable for the establishment of gender equity, in the sense that the available work places are made equally

accessible to the members of both genders, while at the same time it is also important to take into consideration whether and how much women are interested in 'winning over' these duties.

Armed forces duties that women perceive as their preferred option

Similarly to any other profession, military duties can be performed at a high rate of utilizing the professional expert potential of the staff, only if these are properly motivated to achieve a good result in the concrete assignment. At the same time, the motivation to perform well is usually positively correlated to the level of job satisfaction, i.e. with everything that the successful performance of the job in question can imply. Any sort of dissatisfaction with the job (regardless of the reasons that may be at its root) leads to a reduced operational efficiency and, in certain extreme cases, giving up the job in question, i.e. loss of interest to accept the job in question, even in a situation when it is promoted as 'a good opportunity'. This can be applied, beyond any doubt, to certain armed-forces duties. For all these reasons, it is hardly surprising when women who are given an opportunity to accept certain work places from the category of the so-called 'men's jobs', behave in a rather consistently disinterested manner and opt not to take the given chance, despite the fact that these same duties were sometimes the object of a fierce campaign in which the agile members of feminist movements have fought and managed to win the right to these duties, for and in the name of women (although very often women who may be interested in them were not asked for an opinion whether they really wanted these jobs). As an illustration of this, there are constantly advertised openings for certain jobs in some modern armies, where women can apply without any limitations – however, they do not do this in numbers that may be expected, given the considerable unemployment rate, especially among women. Apart from this, there is a large number of the women who, after choosing to take these jobs, give up before the agreed period, supporting their decision with reasons that cannot be characterized as objective.¹³³

It can therefore be concluded that individual preferences regarding certain jobs or duties will to a large extent influence not only the decision to accept the given duty, but also the persistence in performing the duty in question and the level of performance. Another important consideration

¹³³ On average, the number of contracts that female professionals renew with the British Armed Forces in all three sectors is smaller than the number of contracts renewed by male military professionals. As a consequence, a bigger percentage of women leaves Ground forces, Navy and Airforce units while being at the junior rank, and this is true of both officers and types of duties in the armed forces.

when evaluating the relevance of the existing preferences related to a certain duty, is the factor of injury risk that can be attributed to the given duty. This factor represents a major indicator of the degree to which the given duty is (dis)favoured by the person executing it. According to the information from the Ground Forces of the United States, the number of women injured during the training phase is 10-15%, while the number of men with the same kind of injury (mostly fractured bones) ranges from 1-3%. It has been established that the rate of injury decreases if the requirements of the particular duty are synchronized with the capabilities of the soldiers who participate in their execution.

One of the generally accepted presumptions of the labour psychology which in the present-day conditions is often taken axiomatically, is that the work efficiency occurs as a product of the work capacities in the widest sense of this term, in combination with the work conditions, and the job satisfaction of the worker, arising from the job that is performed. Taking this into consideration in contemplating the problem of rationalizing the engagement of women in the area of defence, and in addition to determining the objective work capabilities and the mental and physical constitution of women, as an important factor in the performance of the assigned duties, it is essentially important to find out to what extent women favour or prefer certain types of duties. The very nature of these preferences will to a large extent determine the job satisfaction, and also the level of work efficiency, as the ultimate reason for or purpose of the work engagement.

It is fully understandable that job satisfaction, preferences regarding certain duties and the expertise and competence in their fulfillment, represent inter-connected variables, so that any significant change to any of these factors (especially if this change is an extreme one) will inevitably lead to changes in other variables. For this reason, we cannot rule out the possibility that an individual who has a pre-formed attitude towards a certain type of duty (which can be either overly favourable or disfavourable, usually due to a lack of knowledge about the duty in question), will form their final and stable judgment of to what extent this particular duty is suitable for them, only after facing the real requirements of the work place in question. This 'final judgment', or the final preference, is that particular variable that almost always stands in a high correlation with the level of job satisfaction, as an indicator of the individual's self-realization in the sphere of work engagement. Regardless of these possible fluctuations in preferences in relation to the initial situation, there is a high probability that, all things taken into consideration and under the same objective conditions, people who show preferences for certain types of jobs, will eventually achieve a higher level of work efficiency and satisfaction with their achievements, than those who start off with a negative attitude towards these duties.

From this point of view, it is important to consider another finding that may have a major impact on contemplating the justification of engaging women in certain duties in the sphere of defence. This finding is represented by the results obtained in researching the preferences regarding various types of duties, conducted on a sample of female population, and using the Manhard's Preferences Questionnaire (Table 5). Based on the arithmetic mean values of the marks that indicate the degree of interest showed by women in performing the described duties, it is possible to observe that among the specified duties, there are comparatively very few characterized by predominantly negative marks, i.e. perceived by the interviewees in a bad light. To be exact, out of the total number of 23 different duties, there were only six duties that received a mark under 3.00. These least wanted jobs were: duties that involve use of chemicals (1.935), physically highly demanding duties (2.110); duties performed on board of vessels (2.460); driving a motor vehicle (2.820); duties involving the use of complex apparatuses (2.900) and duties where the work assignments are determined by others (2.960).

Despite the preferences presented here, this indicator taken alone would not provide enough justification to claim that women tend to avoid all of these duties. To the contrary, among the six duties with the lowest ranking (receiving a mark under 3.00), there are only three duties that most of the interviewees marked as 'not wanting to engage in them' or 'not wanting to engage in them under any circumstances'. These three unwanted duties are: duties that involve use of chemicals (76.5% of the interviewees); physically highly demanding duties (73.5% of the interviewees); duties performed on board of vessels (58% of the interviewees);

On the other hand, the duties that women would like to perform the most, are the duties in which they would have good collaborators, interesting work, work that would enable them to express their capabilities, work that involves helping others, in which they would be able to learn a lot, which would be useful for their future life, enabling them to meet a lot of new people, work that is creative, work in which they would be independent and self-contained, work that is beneficial to the society, work that entails high social status. Another indicator of the high level of preferences regarding these types of duties can be found in the fact that a large majority of the female poll participants declared that they 'would like to' or 'would very much like to' be engaged in these duties. The percentage of the participants in the poll, who have opted for these two answers in their evaluation of the specified duties, ranges between 70% and 99.5%. At the same time, there is a very low proportion of the poll participants who have declared that they 'would not like' or 'would not like at all' to perform these duties, which in itself is a clear and stable indicator of the preferences related to these duties.

Table 5. *Interest of women in performing various types of duties*

No.	TYPE OF DUTY
1.	Duty involving managing other people's engagement
2.	Duty where it is possible to learn a lot
3.	Duty in which your assignments are delegated by others
4.	Interesting work
5.	Duty involving good collaborators
6.	Duty where you meet a lot of new people
7.	Duty where your capabilities can be expressed
8.	Duty useful for later life
9.	Duty involving helping others
10.	Duty entailing high social status
11.	Easy and comfortable duty
12.	Duty in which you would be independent and self-contained
13.	Creative work
14.	Duty involving training others
15.	Duty of special social significance
16.	Duty that is highly physically demanding
17.	Duty that involves working in the countryside
18.	Duty that is performed on board of vessels
19.	Office duties
20.	Driving motor vehicles
21.	Duties that involve using complex devices
22.	Duty that involves use of chemicals
23.	Duty for which you already have civilian qualifications

	Occurrence of offered answers (%)					Arithmetic mean *	Standard deviations	RANKING
	1*	2	3	4	5			
	6,5	22,0	28,5	36,0	7,0	3,150	1,050	17
	0,5	0,5	1,5	31,0	66,5	4,625	0,597	5
	2,5	20,5	55,5	21,5	-	2,960	0,722	18
	0,5	-	-	16,5	83,0	4,815	0,460	2
	0,5	-	1,0	11,5	87,0	4,845	0,460	1
	-	0,5	19,0	32,0	48,5	4,285	0,785	7
	0,5	-	1,0	29,5	69,0	4,665	0,552	3
	-	-	7,0	26,0	67,0	4,600	0,618	6
	-	0,5	2,5	30,5	66,5	4,630	0,561	4
	-	2,0	28,0	42,0	28,0	3,960	0,801	11
	1,5	7,0	33,0	39,0	19,5	3,680	0,918	14
	0,5	2,5	15,0	48,0	34,0	4,125	0,789	9
	0,5	2,0	13,5	42,5	41,5	4,225	0,792	8
	1,0	10,5	24,5	44,0	20,0	3,715	0,937	13
	-	2,5	17,0	55,0	25,5	4,035	0,726	10
	25,0	48,5	20,0	3,5	3,0	2,110	0,923	22
	4,5	24,5	34,0	22,5	14,5	3,180	1,097	16
	22,0	36,0	20,5	17,0	4,5	2,460	1,142	21
	5,5	13,0	29,5	36,0	16,0	3,440	1,078	15
	13,0	31,5	27,0	17,5	11,0	2,820	1,194	20
	9,0	26,5	33,0	28,5	3,0	2,900	1,012	19
	40,5	36,0	14,5	7,5	1,5	1,935	0,993	23
	7,5	7,5	16,5	27,5	41,5	3,875	1,244	12

* The values used in the calculation of the arithmetic mean are given in the range 1-5.

Concerning the results specified here, it is interesting to observe the extent to which they resemble the results obtained 20 years ago, using the same instrument applied on a sample of female volunteer-soldiers serving the regular military service.¹³⁴ If the obtained results are measured for their correlation and/or their mismatch, based on the ranking of the duties established using the arithmetic mean, we can notice that there is a total of six cases with an absolute match among the preferences. To be exact, the duties that are identically preferential for the women – participants in these two polls are: a duty where they would manage other persons' engagements (ranked as the seventeenth option), a duty where they would assign work tasks (ranked as the eighteenth option), an interesting duty (ranked as the second option),¹³⁵ a duty entailing a high social status (ranked as the eleventh option), a physically demanding duty (ranked as the twenty-second option), a duty that involves the use of chemical substances (ranked as the twenty-third option). Apart from these, there are six more duties that the women in both polls have recognized as similar from the aspect of preferences (the difference in ranking is maximum 2 places), and these are: a duty where one can learn a lot, a duty where one meets a lot of new people, a duty that is useful for the later life, a duty that is creative, a duty that bears special significance for the society, and a duty the involves the use of complex apparatus. As for the preferences related to other duties, the differences that appear in their ranking range from 3 to 7 places, and the largest difference recorded here is for the duties of driving a motor vehicle. The women who were volunteering in the military service ranked this duty as their 13th best option, giving it an average mark of 3.57 – which means that most of them would have liked to have been in a position to drive a motor vehicle as their regular duty, while the women who were professional military staff ranked this duty as their 20th best option, giving it an average mark of 2.82, with almost half of them (44.5%) declaring that they 'would not like' or 'would not like at all' to perform this duty. There were several other duties with slightly smaller, albeit significant differences in ranking that were recorded (the ranking positions differed by 5 places),

¹³⁴ P. Šipka, M. Mićović, *Međupolne razlike u preferencijama vojničkih dužnosti, Čovek i zanimanje*, 1/1988.

¹³⁵ It is interesting to mention that in foreign armies women do not see the 'interesting aspects of the job' as a strong enough reason to become military professionals, while the reasons that ranked higher than the interesting side of the job were the salary and the expected working atmosphere. For example, the main reason why Dutch women choose to opt for a profession in the military is the salary (in 80 % of all cases), then working atmosphere (61 %), with the interesting sides of the job being in the third place, with only 48 % of all cases. (Frits Jansen, lecture on: The management of human resources in Holland Armed Forces, at the course named Serbian-Montenegrin Armed Forces Course - SMAFC-4, which was held from 8th to 29th June 2005 and was organized by Holland's College of Defence.

such as: easy and comfortable duty (in the 1982 poll, ranked as the nineteenth option, in 2003, ranked as the fourteenth), a duty where they would be independent and self-contained (the fourteenth and the ninth place in the respective rankings), a duty that is performed on board the vessels (the sixteenth and the twenty-first place in the respective rankings), and office duty (the twentieth and the fifteenth place, in the respective rankings).

Based on this comparative survey of the results, it can be concluded that: 1) there is a high level of correlation regarding the most and the least desirable duties; 2) the detected biggest differences in preferences actually show that the sample composed of women who were volunteering for the military service was more inclined to accept duties performed in field conditions, while at the same time this sample perceived factors such as ease and comfort, or independence in performing a duty as less important, i.e. less appealing than it was the case with the women who are currently engaged as professional military staff in the Armed Forces. This is an understandable difference, which can be largely explained by specific profile of the women who had opted to volunteer for the classical military service, without any financial, social or other need or urge, and for whom performance of military duties represented, above all, a challenge, which is reflected in their different attitude while expressing their preferences.

Additional findings related to the nature of the duties within the sector of Defence that are either suitable or unsuitable for women, are contained in the results obtained through the factor analysis, performed on the data from the Mannhardt's Questionnaire. This analysis, based on the implementation of Catell's "Screen" test, identified six factors (Table 6). The identification of these factors indicates a possibility for all of the duties included in Mannhardt's Questionnaire to be classified into six categories, based on the degree of interest shown for them by the women interviewees.

Factor one, or the first group of categories involves the following duties: a duty which would involve good collaborators (0.767); an interesting duty (0.738); a duty where one can learn a lot (0.728); a duty where one's own capabilities are fully expressed (0.710); a duty that is useful for the later life (0.696); a duty where one can meet a lot of new people (0.629); a duty where one could help others (0.573); a creative duty (0.549). This group of duties can be named *duties characterized by good collaborative relations and providing good conditions for personal promotion and self-realization*. The description of the specified duties leads to a conclusion that in this case the collaborative relations would imply the existence of a pleasant social ambience, which is at the same time viewed as a pre-condition for realizing a high level of self-actualization, in the broadest sense of this word.

Factor two is primarily composed of the following duties: an easy and comfortable duty (0.710); an office duty (0.670); a duty entailing a high social status (0.327); a duty useful for the later life (0.314); a duty where

somebody else assigns work tasks (0.308); as well as a group of duties with an opposite prefix, such as: a duty that is physically highly demanding (–0.467); a job where one manages other person’s work (– 0.337). It is evident that we are here dealing with a bi-polar factor that could be labeled as *easy (not demanding duties), without commanding responsibilities, as opposed to physically demanding duties and the duties that involve responsibility for other persons’ work.*

Factor three is dominantly defined by two duties: a duty that involves the use of complex apparatus (0.767) and a duty that involves the use of chemical substances (0.764). Apart from this, another relevant determinant of this factor is found in the form of a duty where one manages the work of other persons – however, the role played by this duty in the determination of this factor is significantly lower (0.422). Based on this, the group of duties represented by the factor that is determined by these duties can be labeled as *specialized duties and duties with a high level of responsibility.*

Table 6. *Structure of factors involved in duties, according to preferences of women*

No.	TYPE OF DUTIES
1.	Duty involving managing other people’s engagement
2.	Duty where it is possible to learn a lot
3.	Duty in which your assignments are delegated by others
4.	Interesting work
5.	Duty involving good collaborators
6.	Duty where you meet a lot of new people
7.	Duty where your capabilities can be expressed
8.	Duty useful for later life
9.	Duty involving helping others
10.	Duty entailing high social status
11.	Easy and comfortable duty
12.	Duty in which you would be independent and self-contained
13.	Creative work
14.	Duty involving training others
15.	Duty of special social significance
16.	Duty that is highly physically demanding
17.	Duty that involves working in the countryside
18.	Duty that is performed on board of vessels
19.	Office duties
20.	Driving motor vehicles
21.	Duties that involve using complex devices
22.	Duty that involves use of chemicals
23.	Duty for which you already have civilian qualifications

Factor four is primarily defined by the following variables: a duty involving teaching others (0.690), a duty entailing special social merits (0.679); a duty entailing a high social status (0.657). It is obvious that this factor brings together *duties that entail social merits and social status (prestige)*.

Factor five includes the following duties: a duty that is performed on board a vessel (0.724); a duty that is performed in the countryside ((0.708); driving motor vehicles (0.614); a duty that is physically highly demanding (0.537). Given the fact that in these duties are performed in the conditions of direct exposure to adverse weather and other environmental conditions, including the unavoidable (significant) physical strain, the group of duties determined by this factor possesses a recognizable common feature, which is the *considerable amount of strain* involved in their performance.

Factor six includes the following types of duties: a duty for which one gets trained as a civilian (-0.692); a duty in which one would be independent and self-contained (-0.605); a duty in which the work assignments are determined by others (0.413); a duty where one manages the work of others (0.391); a creative duty (0.348). It is obvious that this group of duties is

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
	0,174	-0,337	0,422	0,195	-0,308	0,391
	0,728	-0,211	0,039	0,162	0,004	-0,006
	0,051	0,308	0,302	-0,040	0,252	0,413
	0,738	-0,031	0,070	0,073	0,202	-0,086
	0,767	0,086	0,096	-0,229	0,016	-0,045
	0,629	0,099	0,013	0,173	0,099	0,165
	0,710	0,007	0,014	0,308	-0,152	-0,078
	0,696	0,314	-0,061	0,038	0,001	-0,057
	0,573	0,027	-0,169	0,365	0,241	0,041
	0,293	0,327	-0,113	0,657	-0,008	0,184
	0,022	0,710	0,086	0,115	-0,104	-0,048
	0,260	0,060	-0,114	0,283	-0,058	-0,605
	0,549	0,010	0,105	0,348	0,017	0,348
	0,015	-0,132	0,301	0,690	0,129	-0,139
	0,281	0,060	-0,079	0,679	-0,016	0,026
	-0,135	-0,467	0,110	0,317	0,537	0,232
	0,039	-0,119	0,168	0,129	0,708	-0,190
	0,124	-0,180	-0,064	-0,026	0,724	0,109
	0,053	0,670	0,007	0,025	-0,090	0,089
	0,131	0,123	0,306	-0,065	0,614	0,115
	0,134	0,192	0,767	0,062	0,247	-0,022
	-0,076	-0,046	0,764	-0,027	0,077	0,155
	-0,029	-0,022	-0,035	-0,174	-0,001	-0,692

determined by a bi-polar factor, and considering the variables that constitute the polarities, this factor can be defined as *duties dominated by the independency of the performer, as opposed to duties where the results are dependent on the performance of others*. Considering the concept of independence at work, as a determinant of the first pole of this factor, it is necessary to take into consideration that the independence is derived from the perception of undisputable competence, which in itself stems out from the socially verified personal professional expertise. On the other hand, the dependence of one's own results on the performance of others, together with the characteristics of the duties that constitute the opposite polarity of this factor, is based on subordination as a specific type of social relations in the general sphere of work.

What recommendations can be made based on the results of the research described above, concerning the engagement of women in the military duties, with an aim to achieve a higher level of gender equity, while at the same time appreciating the requests for productive employment, as a pre-condition for rational management of the human resources in the defence affairs?

Possibilities of additional productive engagement of women in the armed forces

A guarantee of productive engagement is achieved through a specific synchronization of one's educational and employment profile (the expert competence and motivation of the employees on one side, and the requirements of the work place, on the other). This synchronization is probably best described by the well-known slogan 'the right man / woman in the right place'. In an ideal situation, this implies a situation where employees are engaged in duties they are able to perform, i.e. where employees are capable of doing what they wish to do.

What are the overall conclusions to be reached based on the research described above?

First, men have a generally positive attitude towards a larger-scale engagement of women in the military duties, although they believe that it is not realistic for women to be allowed access to all of the existing duties. *Second*, women were not convinced that they would be able to replace men in all of the duties that exist in the army, and they do not expect to be fully equal to men in this respect.

It was also concluded that, considering the overall situation, there were no major differences between the male and female participants in the poll, concerning the estimated competence of women in performing various military duties. The few differences that did appear, were generally an

indication of the fact that men were more inclined than women to express their reservations towards the assertion that men and women are equally predisposed for all the types of duties in the Armed Forces. However, it is obvious that these differences do not dispute in any way the conclusion that there is a high level of correlation in the estimates made by the whole sample of participants in the poll.¹³⁶

Considering the elements that can be taken as a common denominator of the estimations made by the poll participants of both genders, we can conclude that – apart from the military duties already performed by women (employed by the Armed Forces primarily in the status of civilians) where their competence has been already confirmed on countless occasions, there is a number of other duties where women could successfully replace men, although at present women are either not present at all in these duties, or are present in very small numbers. It is also important to notice here that a large proportion of these duties belong to the category of duties that women are highly interested in. There can be no doubt that this is an important argument that supports the view that women's ambitions concerning their engagement in the armed forces are realistic and in general not contradictory to the attitudes that men have concerning the same issue.

If we accept as valid the criterion or concept of productive, i.e. rational engagement of women in the Army, formulated as 'the rights of women in the right place' and expressing a practical imperative that it ought to be estimated what women can do successfully and what they would like to do, then the prioritized area of their engagement is defined as follows: *technical maintenance and procurement, traffic control (air traffic, road traffic, river traffic), providing support to sophisticated technical resources and duties of securing buildings and resources*. The fact that women are practically regularly engaged in this type of duties in many foreign armies, provides an additional argument in the support of the conclusion that the results of our research deserve to be taken as one of the basic starting points in making decisions concerning the formation positions in our Armed Forces that can be staffed with women, respecting the base presumption that they will satisfy the requirements of work efficiency for the duties in question. It ought to be mentioned here that the formation duties that fall in the group of providing support to sophisticated technical resources are particularly important here, since the general development of the military technology follows the trend of the increased implementation of resources that are assisted with a minimum utilization of physical effort, which is the most commonly

¹³⁶ The highest degree of correlation in the estimates made by men and women is related to the duties that the poll participants marked as fully suited to the woman's nature (duties which could be performed by women 'equally successfully to men'), and also duties that ought not to be assigned to women (duties which 'under no circumstances could be performed by women equally successfully to men').

stated reason for not engaging women in most of the military duties in the Armed Forces. On the other hand, certain analyses of the work efficiency in the duties that involve the use of high-tech devices, lead to a conclusion that a larger-scale engagement of women in these positions could contribute to a better financial efficiency of investments in this area.¹³⁷

In the view of the knowledge acquired in this way, it seems reasonably justifiable to recommend that the Armed Forces should increase the recruitment of women into all kinds of duties where the main scope of activities is related to providing assistance and support to sophisticated technical military resources, provided that the working environment does not pose additional requirements that are contradictory to the specific nature and features of the female gender, i.e. provided that the working conditions do not jeopardize some of their primary functions, such as maternity.¹³⁸ Based on the inventory of the duties that are considered as military specialties existing in the Armed Forces, it becomes evident that these types of duties are mostly present in the services (air-force and technical, navy and technical, medical, transport) and the so-called non-combatant branches such as: Signal Corps, NBC Defence, electronic reconnaissance and counter-electronic activities (ER and CAE), aerial reconnaissance, monitoring and guidance (ARMG).¹³⁹

A large number of the military specialties that exist within these services and branches fall within the specified category. Spread across the different branches and sectors, these duties include, in the ER and PED branch: radio-intelligence, optical and electrical intelligence, radio-relay obstructing; in the Signal Corps: encoding and teleprinter operation, radio-relay, teleprinter and radio-teleprinter; in the ARMG sector: IT and radar systems; in the technical service: optical and electronic, electrical-chemical, telecommunications, etc. The number of the military specialties which,

¹³⁷ J. Michael Brower, "A case for Women Warfighters," *Military Review*, November–December 2002.

¹³⁸ Concern for women's health and prevailing working conditions are the reasons for certain limitations, such as, for example, is the one posed by the British Armed Forces, where women are not allowed to serve on submarines. Unlike the Navy of Canada, Australia, Sweden or Norway, where these duties are available to women, British submarines are driven by nuclear power and stay for a long time under the surface, thus exposing the crew to increased doses of radiation and health risk, because of which women are not allowed to serve on submarines. As opposed to British submarines, submarines of the given countries are powered by diesel electrical fuel and they have to emerge often to have their batteries recharged, which also enables the micro atmosphere of the submarines to be refreshed. Owing to this, the service on these submarines is easier and poses less health risk for the crew (Women in the Armed Forces, unpublished materials of the British Embassy in Belgrade as of 8th July 2002).

¹³⁹ *The decree on specifying the types, branches and specialties of armies and services of Yugoslav Armed Forces*, (The examination of VES soldiers, NCOs and officers of YA), Administration for organization, mobilization and fulfilment of SAF GS, 1992.

considering all the relevant criteria, qualify for the area of the possible engagement of women in the Armed Forces, is many times larger than the number of the formation duties in the Armed Forces currently occupied by the women having the status of a military professional. This in itself is a proof of the current under-use of the existing potentials of engaging women in the services and the 'non-combatant' branches, and this is true even if assumed that the most strict criteria is applied in choosing the candidates, as it is the case with most modern armies.

There can be no doubt, however, that the diverse duties that exist within these broad areas significantly differ among themselves, both from the aspect of their nature and the conditions under which they are performed, which also makes them different from the aspect of suitability for women. It is because of these facts that the question: '*Which duties in the Armed Forces would be a preferred choice for women?*', could not be fully answered without finding an answer to the accompanying (underlying) question: '*Which duties in the Armed Forces would be a least preferred choice for women?*'. There are two basic assumptions underlying the second question: it may be either that it is estimated that women cannot fully meet the requirements of the given duties, or it could happen that they are simply not interested in doing them. Considering this and also judging by the results of the aforementioned research, no big dilemmas seem to exist here. But is it really so? The interviewees supplied the following average answer, without expressing any big difference of opinion: *a) duties that require a high level of physical strain; b) duties that are performed in all kinds of weather and field conditions; c) duties that pose a health risk, and d) duties that involve a high level of personal and commanding responsibility.*

Based on these findings, there are two general recommendations that have emerged concerning the potential increase in the number of women engaged in the duties within the Armed Forces, in accordance with the contemporary trends of the gender equity policy. These recommendations are as follows:

First, it is absolutely unnecessary to pose any kind of formal and legal requirements especially regulating the acceptance of women in the Armed Forces, which would in any way legally discriminate women in relation to men. *Second*, it is absolutely unnecessary to pose any sorts of limitations to engaging women in the duties within the so-called non-combatant branches of the Armed Forces. *Third*, the engagement of women in the combatant branches of the Armed Forces ought to be directed – for a certain initial period of time and not exclusively – to the performance of administrative duties and the duties within the area of the logistic support. This specifically means that women ought not to be placed in a position to compete with men in the duties that pose a challenge to their physique, even more so considering the fact that women obviously recognize these duties as

problematic and tend therefore not to choose them as their preferred areas of interest. The findings of the research actually confirm the commonly expressed attitude that these duties are an attractive offer of 'sour grapes' which women, despite their alleged inborn curiosity, are disinclined to taste.

This cautious sensibility or moderation expressed by women ought to be fully appreciated, i.e. it ought to be protected against any ephemeral, ambition-driven initiatives. Women who were actually in a situation to have a first-hand experience of military duties, or at least to personally witness other people's engagement in these duties - like the women in our sample of test participants were - are disinclined to support any proposals that would be overly ambitious. We certainly see no reason for disagreeing with them, although accepting their point of view should by no means mean that other opinions should not be taken into consideration. It remains to be defined in some new research project what sort of opinions and whose opinions to seek to this purpose. This was only the first step taken in this direction, and the people who have made it believe that it was not taken in vain. A proof of this statement can be found in the next step on the road to the objectification of the gender equity, which can be considered to have been, at least partly, initiated by the aforementioned knowledge and recommendations.

STEP FIVE

INTENSIFYING ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO PROFESSIONAL ARMED FORCES SERVICE

“All rising to great place is by a winding stair.”

Sir Francis Bacon



INTENSIFYING ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO PROFESSIONAL MILITARY SERVICE

The measures that have been taken over the recent years by the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces, with an aim of eliminating the barriers that hinder the admission of women to professional military service, have also resulted in certain apparent changes, manifested as two major indicators of gender equity. These indicators are: 1) a constant increase in the proportion of women in the overall staff of the Armed Forces, and 2) expansion of the scope of professional engagement of women in the Armed Forces, i.e. increase in the number of duties that are equally available to men and women, under the same conditions.

Increasing the percentage of women in the total composition of the Armed Forces and Ministry of Defence

In order to be accepted for the professional military training, and thus qualify to perform certain duties in the Serbian Armed Forces as military professionals, women ought to fulfill the general conditions of the admission contest; to be of a satisfactory health condition, to receive a passing grade in the psychological selection tests and to 'pass' the corresponding safety check. This means that women, unlike men, do not have an obligation to complete the mandatory military service before entering the training for military professionals. This concession has been made to women, owing to the fact that they were exempt from the mandatory military service: in the given circumstances, any insistence on this pre-condition (which otherwise is fully justifiable from the aspect of a rational and economic organization of training) would result in a sustained inequality of genders when it comes to the employment opportunities in the Armed Forces.

The lifting of this traditional barrier to the entrance of women into the military ranks, has proved as the right move, not only as a means of eliminating a type of discrimination against women, but also from the point of

view of rationality in the management of human resources in the defence affairs. This conclusion is supported by the statistics on the number of women who have satisfied the requirements of the entrance criteria for qualifying for professional military training, and also by the results that they achieved in the programme of the basic and specialist military training. Out of the total number of candidates who were admitted for the training in 2009, there were 367 (or 19%) women (see Table 7).¹⁴⁰ Special attention ought to be paid to the fact that the percentage of trainees who have successfully completed the training is actually slightly higher among women than among men (99% and 95% respectively). This kind of edge in the successful completion of the training was sustained by women in the following stages of the training. To be exact, in the first half of 2010, the four cycles of training for professional soldiers were attended by 2,305 candidates, 353 (or 15%) of whom were women. Their success rate at the training course was exceptionally high again this time (98%), and again slightly higher (by 1%) than the success rate of men. According to the statistics of the training, the women had an average better performance than men in acquiring theoretical knowledge, as well as in the tests of physical fitness (according to the criteria applied for women), in the elements of expert and specialist-type training (especially in the training of craftsmanship specialities) and mastering skills that require precision and concentration. On the other hand, the women recorded a weaker performance than men in mastering the elements of tactical target practice in using fire arms and close-order drill.

Table 7. *Success rate of women and men in training for military professionals*

Period of training	Number of candidates admitted to training		Percentage of candidates who completed the training	
	men	women	Men	Women
2009	1552	367	95%	99%
2010*	1952	353	97%	98%

** The data refers to the first four cycles of training in 2010*

The listed indicators of the success of women in the training, which can also be taken as viable parameters in forecasting the success rate in the

¹⁴⁰ Data given by Staff administration of the HR Department of the Ministry of Defence within the National action plan for implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325.

professional performance of military duties, are in accordance with the recommendations that were made earlier, defined based on the results of conducted research, concerning the duties that ought to be short-listed as the preferred options for engagement of women, i.e. the duties that ought to be set as their professional orientation objectives. This certainly does not question their right to make independent decisions, in accordance with their preferences and estimates, as to what positions in the Armed Forces they will be contesting alongside and on an equal-opportunities basis with men. Another argument that supports the inviolability of this right is the conclusion derived from the analysis of the training, where women experienced no special or different problems compared to those experienced by men, while at the same time the main reason why some of the women did not complete the training for professional soldiers was not their underachievement in the training itself. In most of the cases, the training was abolished based on a personal request (due to a lack of motivation to acquire the status of a professional soldier) or due to a failure to fulfill the conditions for certification, caused by a long absence from the training due to a serious illness. The latter reason can be indirectly related to the chiefly undisputed experiential knowledge that there is a higher risk of injury during the training among women.

Regarding the work efficiency of women in the formation positions of professional soldiers, the feedback information received from the units reveal that women demonstrate a high level of professionalism in the fulfillment of their tasks, and even a higher level of determination and persistence in performing their duties than men, and that they even tend to be more successful than men in the formation positions in the area of craftsmanship specialities. All of these, as well as other observations that have been made, certainly recommend women as candidates who ought to be given an advantage in staffing the positions of this kind.

In any case, it can be concluded that, owing to the fact that they have been given equal opportunities in applying to any and all vacancies in the Armed Forces of Serbia, which was followed by the spread of a positive atmosphere within the military structures, not only do we now have a better turnout of women – applicants for the military training, but we can see that the majority of women successfully complete this training and that the total proportion of women within the professional military staff of the Serbian Armed Forces has also significantly increased over the past five years. For the sake of comparison, in the middle of the first decade of this century, there was a total of only 206 women employed by the then Armed Forces of Serbia and Montenegro, working as military professionals in all the different categories: officers, NCOs and professional soldiers. By September 2010, this number had increased by a little over three times, simultaneously increasing the percentage of their participation from the almost

negligible 0.82% to 2.83% (Table 8)¹⁴¹. There are realistic prospects that by the end of this year the number of women employed in the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence will have significantly grown, judging by the current progress in accordance with the plan of professional restructuring of the Armed Forces and the relatively high turnout of women as candidates for professional military service.

Table 8. *Proportion of women employed by the defence system in the period 2005-2010. (in %)*

Year	CATEGORY OF PERSONNEL								Total Personnel (2+4+8)		TOTAL	
	Officers		NCOs		Civilians		Military staff on temporary contract					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2005	16	0,19	30	0,28	8.321	44,72	160	2,66	206	0,82	8.527	19,55
2006	15	0,22	30	0,35	7.060	44,78	116	2,57	161	0,81	7.221	20,32
2007	15	0,23	29	0,36	6.414	45,14	114	2,72	158	0,84	6.572	19,89
2008	18	0,28	29	0,37	6.261	45,15	152	3,23	199	1,05	6.460	19,64
2009	27	0,42	29	0,38	5.840	46,03	368	5,72	424	2,06	6.264	18,83
2010	28	0,44	29	0,38	5.703	46,57	569	7,02	626	2,83	6.329	18,43

The following data support the forecasted increase in the proportion of female military professionals in the total composition of the Armed Forces. The proportion of women among the professional soldiers who were taken on as employees of the Armed Forces during 2009 was 11.39% of the total personnel, while during 2010 (conclusive with August) this percentage was increased to 13.96%. In the various contests for admittance to professional military service during 2010, the proportion of women among the received applications was 20.54%, the majority of whom (90%) fulfilled the requirements for the basic military training. This ratio of potential female candidates (two candidates per vacancy) and the expected rate of success in the basic military training (in 2009 and 2010, the rate of successful completion for female trainees was around 98%), will most probably result in the increased proportion of women among the total number of professional military staff in the Armed Forces. At the same time, when the first generation of female students graduates from the Military Academy in 2011, there

¹⁴¹ Data supplied by Staff administration of the HR Department of the Ministry of Defence within the National action plan for implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325.

will be a constant trend of significant increase in the number of professional female armed-forces officers, as a true step forward in the field of gender equity in the Armed Forces and Ministry of Defence of Serbia.

Expanding the range of service options – winning over the “men’s jobs”

Owing to the new approach in admitting women to the professional military service, free from limitations of formalities and obstacles that used to arise from the once-so-important rigid stereotypes and prejudices related to ‘the moody female nature’ and the alleged inferiority of the woman in comparison to the man, together with the evident increase of the influx of women in the military ranks, there is a growing practice of admitting women to posts that used to be virtually banned for them, even though no formal ban of this kind existed. Even though this quite apparent trend of expanding the scope and area of employment opportunities for women has not abolished the traditionally stronger presence of men in the positions that require a lot of physical effort, as well as in the formation duties that involve direct exposure to enemy fire in combat circumstances, the engagement of women in such duties is no longer an exclusive and rare phenomenon, a cause for wonder or ridicule as it once was.

It is beyond any doubt that the scope and area of employment opportunities for women entering professional military service are growing. This can be seen by comparing the list of formation duties currently occupied by female military professionals, with the list of formation duties that women occupied five years ago (Table 9). Measured by the total number of formation places that have become – not only formally but also practically – available to women in this period, this expansion can be seen as a ‘doubling of the territory gain’ in a certain way, and it has also led to a practical and significant increase in the number of employment options, in accordance with personal affinities and the capabilities of women who are interested in the military service.

Considering the large number of duties (Military Specialities) performed by military professionals in the Serbian Armed Forces, the number of duties currently performed by women (which is a total of 64) is not all that impressive in itself; however, when compared to the situation of five years ago (when this figure was 35), there can be no doubt that this is another illustration of the current trend of abolishing the traditional practice that propagated the absolute favouring of men when it came to staffing military professionals, based on the stereotyped prejudice of men’s superiority over women as the ‘weaker gender’ and justified by the centuries-long, allegedly natural division of duties into ‘men’s jobs’ and ‘women’s jobs’.

Another consideration to be taken into account is the essential significance of the evidence supporting the increase of engagement of women in the Armed Forces, as one of the undoubtedly major indicators of the progress made in the broad area of gender equity. So, rather than just stating that an increase of female military staff has occurred, it is much more important to analyze the type of the duties that have recently been staffed by an increased number of female military professionals and to assess the character of the expanded area of employment opportunities, in order to find out whether this change has only been quantitative, or also a qualitative one.

What conclusions can be drawn from Table 9, in an attempt to answer this question?

If we look at the first part of the ranking list of the formation positions in the Armed Forces, ranked according to the number of female military professionals occupying these positions, i.e. the duties with the highest proportion of women (10 and more), it can be seen that among these duties there are seven 'newly taken' positions, at least four of which belong to the group of duties that until recently used to be considered, albeit unofficially, 'typically male' duties. These duties are: mortar assistant (31), landline telephonist (29) pioneer (17) and guard (14)¹⁴². Engagement in these duties implies a relatively high level of life and health risk, combined with handling of fire arms or mines and explosives, as well as an increased level of physical strain. Considering this and based on the existing rules and the standards of industrial psychology – these duties are generally not recommendable to persons with a weaker mental and physical composition.

Table 9. *Formation positions of professional soldiers occupied by women*

No.	Name of formation position	Number of women delegated to the given formation position		
		2005	2010	Change
1.	Marksman	15	92	+77
2.	Radio-relay operator	-	31	+31
3.	Mortar operator	-	30	+30
4.	Landline telephonist	-	29	+29
5.	Cook	20	27	+7
6.	Radio-telegraph operator	7	27	+20

¹⁴² Figures in the brackets show the number of women performing the stated duties in the Serbian Armed Forces.

No.	Name of formation position	Number of women delegated to the given formation position		
		2005	2010	Change
7.	Nurse – Paramedic	14	26	+12
8.	Military Police Officer	19	23	+4
9.	Scout	8	20	+12
10.	General operator	4	20	+16
11.	Radio-teleprinter operator	1	18	+17
12.	Pioneer	-	17	+17
13.	Guard	-	14	+14
14.	Paramedic	9	13	+4
15.	Teleprinter and encoding operator	-	13	+13
16.	Fire prevention operator	-	10	+10
17.	Barber	2	8	+6
18.	Light machine-gun shooter	-	8	+8
19.	Driver	4	7	+3
20.	Decontamination operator	1	5	+4
21.	Assistant laboratory operator	-	5	+5
22.	Administrator for calculations	-	5	+5
23.	Courier	6	4	-2
24.	Tug-boat assistant	-	4	+4
25.	Topographer	-	4	+4
26.	Airplane dispatcher	-	3	+3
27.	Shift leader	-	3	+3
28.	Camouflage specialist	-	3	+3
29.	Marksman at armored personnel carrier	-	3	+3
30.	Operator	1	3	+2
31.	Assistant operator	-	3	+3
32.	Assistant at amphibian personnel carrier	-	3	+3
33.	Outboard motor assistant	-	3	+3
34.	Radio-telephonist	2	3	+1
35.	Tailor	4	2	- 2
36.	Lookout	1	2	+1

No.	Name of formation position	Number of women delegated to the given formation position		
		2005	2010	Change
37.	Laundry and ironing service operator	-	2	+2
38.	Counter – terrorism commando	-	2	+2
39.	Military traffic police	3	2	-1
40.	Parachute packer	-	2	+2
41.	Teleprinter operator	-	2	+2
42.	Veterinary technician	-	1	+1
43.	Driver of amphibian personnel carrier	-	1	+1
44.	Dispatcher	7	1	- 6
45.	Instructor	-	1	+1
46.	Commander of amphibian personnel carrier	-	1	+1
47.	Laboratory operator	1	1	0
48.	Operator for measuring	-	1	+1
49.	Mechanic for ammunition and explosives	-	1	+1
50.	Shoemaker	1	1	0
51.	Traffic police	-	1	+1
52.	Operator at compressor	-	1	+1
53.	Bridge operator	-	1	+1
54.	Operator of motor drill	1	1	0
55.	Operator at surveillance radar	-	1	+1
56.	Pontoon bridge operator	-	1	+1
57.	Operator at radar – meteorological device	-	1	+1
58.	Radio – teleprinter operator – encoder	-	1	+1
59.	Radio-phonist	1	1	0
60.	General administrator	-	1	+1
61.	Announcer	-	1	+1
62.	Dentist's technician	-	1	+1
63.	Operator at air surveillance screen	5	1	-4
64.	Other formation posts	19	-	-19
Total		156	555	

Other important statistical evidence concerning the duties where the presence of women is apparent, is that over the past five years women who have joined professional military staff have most frequently opted for the formation position of marksman; with the 77 newcomers, the number of female marksmen has grown more than six times (from 15 to 92). Since the duty of a marksman involves execution of assignments using fire arms, typically from the most protruding positions in the combat arrangement of a unit, it is a foregone conclusion that this is a highly demanding duty from the aspect of specialist military knowledge, as well as mental and physical preparation. In addition to this, we ought to note here that, after successfully completing the general and the specialist training, there were as many as 30 women who were admitted to the Armed Forces in the duty of a mortar assistant, 31 who were engaged as landline telephonists and eight as light machine-gunners (there had been no women assigned to this duty in the previous period), which all clearly dismisses any comments that can sometimes be heard – though not officially – that women enter the service in the Serbian Armed Forces only to collect the title of professional soldiers, i.e. to receive the salary of a professional soldier, while actually performing duties of civilians and ‘not coming anywhere near’ the real army.

The abundant inventory of the military duties where women are present in only symbolic proportions – with only one or two of them (and never more than four) performing these duties, is yet another proof of the statement that the current changes in employing women in the Armed Forces are truly qualitative and genuinely contribute to the expansion of the area of their engagement. So, even though the actual number of women working in these exclusive posts is small, they are worth mentioning here because – measured by all the classical standards, they represent the exact category of the duties which – being inappropriate for the women’s nature, should be avoided by women for ‘their own good’, either because they are too dangerous or too strenuous. Whatever the situation, this was something that until recently was widely accepted as a reason why women should not be allowed to ever wear a uniform. Examples of such engagements of women in formation duties include: a tug-boat assistant (4), marksman in the armored personnel carrier (3), assistant in the amphibian personnel carrier (3), counter-terrorism commando (2) driver of amphibian personnel carrier (1), commander of amphibian personnel carrier (1), mechanic for ammunition and explosives (1) and assistant at pontoon bridge (1).¹⁴³ Apart from these, among the women included in the current training cycle are also those who will be delegated to the formation positions that so far used to be staffed exclusively by men, such as parachutist, assistant at mis-

¹⁴³ Figures given in brackets indicate the number of women engaged in the performance of these duties in the Serbian Armed Forces.

sile systems, marksman at artillery weapons, marksman in tank, mechanic for missile systems and airplane armourer.¹⁴⁴

The information presented here can be taken as a definite proof of the current trend of increasing the proportion of women in the total numbers of professional soldiers, as well as of the constant expansion of the area of their professional engagement, especially gaining ground in the duties that until recently have been 'reserved' primarily (and even exclusively) for men. It can therefore be concluded that Serbian practices in the area of employing women as military professionals is definitely changing, following a road that guarantees continual progress in the spirit of the proclaimed principles of gender equity. A major contribution to the attainment of this goal has been made with the implementation of the regulations that have made it possible for the Armed Forces to start solving the problem of a markedly low proportion of female officers, so that a growth in this segment could adequately support the growing number of female military professionals. It was owing to these changes that the next – *decisive step* on the road of objectification of gender equity was made possible.

¹⁴⁴ This by no means completes the list of duties in the Serbian Armed Forces that ought to be accessible by female military professionals. For example, in 2010 Serbian Armed Forces advertised for vacancies in the following positions: driver of tug-train, assistant to bull-dozer and loader, commando, light-weight diver, mechanic for wheeled caterpillar vehicles, and stoker at steam engines, but no female applicants showed interest in working in these posts (Information obtained from Human Resources administration) .

STEP SIX

BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATION OF FEMALE CADETS AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY

“The main hope of a nation lies in the proper education of its youth”.

Desiderius Erasmus



BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATION OF FEMALE CADETS AT THE MILITARY ACADEMY

With the intensification of the process that was leading to the creation of the conditions that would enable a more significant level of integration of women in the structure of the military professionals employed by the Serbian Armed Forces, the most important step was made in the form of the decision that officially opened the door of the Military Academy for female cadets who wanted to study there. This formal act meant an open access for women to all the various levels and types of specialist military training and education, enabling them to compete in the future alongside men for all the existing duties in Serbian Armed Forces, including the top commanding positions. In this way, the final serious obstacle has been eliminated on the road leading to the essential gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces.

The Ministerial Instructions issued in 2006 specified that 'it is necessary to secure adequate conditions for the admission of female students at military schools for certain specialities', and also that their education ought to commence in the following academic year.¹⁴⁵ Taking into consideration that education at the Military Academy was an exclusive privilege of men, the wording 'securing adequate conditions' actually meant collecting certain information regarding the potential candidates, based on which it would be possible to take further timely measures in order to make a proper selection of the candidates, as well as to motivate them for the career of a military professional and enable their successful integration in the military surrounding. To be exact, in order to know how to prepare for the process of education and how to start it, it was necessary to know where to start from.

In the first half of 2007, the Department of Defence Studies of the Strategic Research Institute conducted a research on the topic 'Attitudes of

¹⁴⁵ Ministerial Instruction for 2006, Ministry of Defence, Department of defence politics, 2006.

high-school teenagers towards studying at the Military Academy'. The sample of test participants was composed of students of final years at high schools in Serbia, while the research included 67 schools in 61 cities, located in 25 different regions of Serbia. The total number of the tested students was 2527, among whom there were 1407 girls. *The objectives of the research* were to determine: 1) to what degree and in how (from what sources) were the final-year students informed about the studying and living conditions at the Military Academy, and whether there were any differences between boys and girls in this respect; 2) how much were the students of the final year of high schools, especially female students, interested in studying at the Military Academy, and 3) what kind of correlation could be established among the socio-economic and educational background of the students and their interest to continue their education at the Military Academy.

Level of information conveyed to high-school students regarding the contents and requirements for studying at the Military Academy

The results obtained in the abovementioned research have shown that, overall, students of high schools possessed insufficient knowledge about the contents and the requirements posed by studying at the Military Academy (Table 10). Namely, in their answer to the question 'to what extent are you informed about the Military Academy?', a little more than one half of the poll participants stated that they had a little knowledge of the subject, while almost two-fifths (38.27%) of them stated that they were not informed about the subject, and only 11.28% believed that they had sufficient knowledge of the Military Academy.

Table 10. *Level of information conveyed to high-school students regarding the Military Academy*

Question	Answers		
	level of information	Number	%
To what extent are you informed about the Military Academy?	Enough	285	11,28
	A little	1275	50,46
	Not informed	967	38,27
Total		2527	100,00

It is interesting to observe here that the main source of information for high-school students about the Military Academy were television programmes dealing with military topics (27.11%). Compared to television programmes, all the other sources of information had proved far less significant. This finding is even more striking considering the fact that the television programmes dealing with the Armed Forces of Serbia are typically broadcast at watching times that are not popular among teenagers who are about to graduate from high-school. For example, one of the most popular and at the same time the only regular television programme that deals with the topic of military life, including some aspects of military education, is broadcast on Sundays at nine in the morning. It is known for certain that at this time of the day and the week there are very few teenagers watching Channel 1 of the National Television.

Special attention should be given to the fact that there was a very small, almost negligible number (1.62%) of the research participants who actually stated that they received information about the Military Academy through their own school. This means that high schools in Serbia are insufficiently involved in informing their final-year students about where and under what conditions they can continue their education, although provision of such information is a mandatory part of the regular activities of professional orientation guidance given to the students. Given the fact that the poll among the final-year students of high schools was conducted at the time when the competition for admittance to the Military Academy was open, it becomes obvious that the offices and departments in charge in the two respective Ministries – Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Education – were not collaborating at an adequate level.¹⁴⁶

The picture that one gets of the level of information conveyed to the high school students becomes even more unfavourable when we look at the assessments made by the research participants regarding their knowledge of certain individual aspects of education for military professionals. First of all, a large majority of the research participants (74.9%) are not familiar with the curriculum of the Military Academy, while 22.28% of them have a partial knowledge of the curriculum. There were only 3.13% of the research participants who had a sufficient knowledge on the subject. The situation is slightly better with the level of knowledge and information concerning the studying and living conditions of the Military Academy students, although

¹⁴⁶ It was noticed by the research assistants that no advertising posters were posted in various schools where the poll was conducted, as a means of informing the prospective students about the conditions of the contest for the Military Academy. This was one of the most frequent remarks made by school principals who, in their talks with the poll assistants, urged the services responsible for the distribution of the enrolment publicity material for the Military Academy, to supply the materials to the places where the prospective candidates are most likely to see them – i.e., the high schools.

far from being truly satisfactory, with only 6.93% of the poll participants actually stating that they are familiar with the conditions of life and work of the Military Academy students. The poor level of information is additionally confirmed by the fact that most of the high-school students (60.11%) taking part in the research were not familiar with the fact that studying at the Military Academy was free of charge, which is undoubtedly a major factor in deciding to opt for a career in the military service. There was a similar situation regarding the level of information on other aspects of life and work of the students of the Military Academy, so that nearly one half of the poll participants (45.67%) did not know where the students live during their studies, 40.40 of them did not know how the catering service for the students was organized, and more than one half (54.73%) was not familiar with the predominant conditions of the lectures and tuition.

As it could be expected, there were more boys than girls (15.36% and 8.03%, respectively) among the high-school students who were sufficiently informed about the Academy (Table 11). This probably occurs as a result of a specific instruction-guided interest of men for this area, which they traditionally perceive as their sphere of interest. However, it is also possible that this difference occurred as a result of somewhat stricter criteria applied by the girls, who were asked to evaluate their knowledge of affairs that they never had access to, so that these affairs probably seemed more mysterious to them than they really were. In any case, it can be concluded beyond any doubt that the level of knowledge that high-school students possess about the military profession in general, and the Military Academy in particular, is not sufficiently high to enable them to choose a career in the military service without actually running a high risk of opting for a career that is not in accordance with their capabilities. When it comes to the research results that are related to the forecasted response by candidate to the contest to enter the Military Academy, they ought to be contemplated within the same context.

Table 11. *Differences between girls and boys regarding their knowledge – level of information they possessed about the MA*

Level of information on Military Academy	Gender of research participants				Total	
	male		Female			
	number	%	number	%	number	%
sufficient	172	15,36	113	8,03	285	11,28
low	570	50,89	705	50,11	1275	50,46
none	378	33,75	589	41,86	967	38,27
total	1120	100,00	1407	100,00	2527	100,00

Girls' response to enrolling in the Military Academy

In the group of 2456 final-year students of high schools, there were 248 (10.09%) who gave an affirmative answer to the question 'would you like to study at the Military Academy?'. Together with the significant number of those who abstained from answering this question (21.5%), the total number of research participants who fall within this category is such that it can be reasonably concluded that the interest for military education is growing. There is some indirect evidence in favour of this conclusion, i.e. the statistics showing a slightly lower interest for studying at the Police Academy (8.26%), while in the previous ten or so years the trend was reversed, since the Military Academy used to have a significantly lower turnout of candidates than the Police Academy. The information presented here points to the fact that this particular trend is becoming more favourable for the Military Academy. So, even though the detected differences may not have a major statistical significance, they are still worth noting as an indication of the growing reputation of the military profession, which had obviously been very low in the previous period. This is even more important if we take into consideration the previously presented fact regarding the absence of any serious campaign and distribution of publicity material, promoting the enrolment at the Academy and popularizing the military profession.

It is interesting to notice that the percentage of the poll participants who expressed a wish to study at the Military Academy is approximately the same in the male and the female sub-categories (Table 12). While 10.7% of the girls (128 out of the total 1407) would like to pursue a career in the military profession, there were 9.1% of the boys (120 out of 1120) with the same disposition. It must be admitted that these findings are somewhat surprising, given the fact that the military profession has always been and still is traditionally perceived as a male occupation. On the other hand, this could also provide an explanation for the interest that the girls have shown in the Military Academy, since the absence of this opportunity in the previous period could have triggered the 'appeal of novelty', a sense that is typically very strong in persons who love the challenge posed by a new situation. This type of personality is present among men and women alike, and there can be no doubt that for women the military profession represents a typical example of this situation, as an area where they did not have a chance to prove their abilities in the previous period. At the same time, women have been mostly isolated from the negative 'halo effect' of this profession, since they have neither been exposed to all of the down-sides of this profession to any significant level, nor are they warned about its disadvantages by their surrounding (because they are not typically perceived as future military professionals).

Table 12 . Interest among high-school students for studying at the MA

Question	Answers	Gender of research participants			
		Boys		Girls	
		number	%	number	%
<i>Would you like to study at the MA?</i>	I would like to	120	10,7	128	9,1
	I cannot make up my mind	294	26,2	322	22,8
	I would not like to	706	63,0	957	68,1
Total		1120	100,0	1407	100,0

This is additionally asserted by the fact that less than one-fifth (17.9%) of the girls who would like to study at the Military Academy actually believe that they have been sufficiently informed about this school (Table 13). Although the percentage of boys who think they have sufficient knowledge of what they can expect at the Military Academy is slightly larger (20%), statistical parameters (the value of the Hi square and the contingency coefficient) indicate that this comparative advantage is not a significant one, i.e. that boys and girls do not significantly differ in this particular aspect, as opposed to the results obtained based on the overall research sample. There is another finding that deserves to be noticed here, which is that among both boys and girls who wish to study at the Military Academy, there are more of those who are not informed about the school they are choosing, than those who are sufficiently informed about it. This is an indicator of the established practice to choose a future profession by taking ‘a wild guess’ at it (based on other people’s opinions or experiences), instead of following proper professional career guidance which, most of all, implies being well-informed about the choice that one is making.

Table 13. Level of information possessed by high-school students interested in studying at the Military Academy

Level of information on Military Academy	Gender of research participants				Total	
	boys		girls			
	number	%	number	%	number	%
sufficient	22	17,19	24	20,00	46	18,5
low	77	60,16	69	57,50	146	58,87
none	29	22,66	27	22,50	56	22,58
Total	128	100,00	120	100,00	248	100,00

It would be in any case difficult to estimate the impact which a higher level of information on the Military Academy and the military profession in general would produce on the response of girls in choosing the military profession, i.e. whether their interest in this case would be higher or lower. The literature in the domain of professional orientation suggests that in events of insufficient knowledge, the choices that are made are primarily based on preconceptions dominated by elements that convey a picture that is more positive than the reality. Taking this into consideration, it could be concluded that, having more information about the downside of the military profession could also result in a reduced interest in applying for the Military Academy. On the other hand, considering the fact that the survey revealed an extremely low level of knowledge (with most of the research participants not knowing that the studies were free of charge, for example), we cannot rule out the possibility that an objective picture comprising all of the various aspects of the military profession and training would actually contribute to an increased level of interest for the Military Academy among girls. In any case, a better level of information will reduce the risk of a wrong choice of profession and it is extremely important to continue making progress in this direction.

The female high-school students who are interested in continuing their studies at the Military Academy would primarily like to get trained for duties in the Air Force (Table 14). The appeal of this branch is much higher than the appeal of the other branches, for at least two reasons. The first reason can be found in the fact that girls tend to see themselves as members of the Air Force exclusively as pilots, which is also the most desired duty among the military professionals. The second reason is the fact that the commercial flying courses are extremely expensive, so that for a vast majority of the would-be pilots the free education offered by the Military Academy represents practically the only way to fulfill this ambition. The other courses of study (leading to professions in the Army, Logistics and the River Flotilla) are almost equally interesting for girls, although it can be noticed that, compared to boys, girls do tend to show less interest in the Army, than in Logistics. This is an expected tendency, given the fact that the stereotype classification of occupations into 'men's versus women's jobs' labels the duties of officers in the Army as 'typically men's' duties. Apart from this, the duties of officers in the Army are indisputably more physically demanding than in the other branches, which is probably reflected in the choices made by the girls regarding the courses of study at the Military Academy. At the same time, their increased interest for the Department of Logistics probably points to the fact that, apart from choosing a duty within the Armed Forces, the girls are also cautious to secure proper qualifications and skill that they can also use in their employment outside

the Armed Forces, in the event of having to leave the military occupation before the actual expiry of their full end of their working years. It is beyond any doubt that a degree obtained at the Department of Logistics of the Military Academy will secure wider employment opportunities than a degree from the Department of the Army.

Table 14. *Departments of the Military Academy preferred by male and female prospective students*

Question	Answer		
	Departments at MA	boys	Girls
<i>What is your preferred Department of the Military Academy?</i>	Logistics	15	26
	River Flotilla	17	20
	Air Force	41	55
	Army (Ground forces)	47	27
Total		120	128

Concerning the demonstrated interest in studying at the Military Academy and the choice of the course of study, it is worth noticing the opinions of the research participants regarding what they consider to be the most important factor contributing to a successful completion of their education. Among the six offered options (defining preconditions for successful studying), they chose ‘persistence’ as their preferred answer, while the least important in their opinion was ‘the knowledge gained in high school’. The obtained results point to the fact that high-school students tend to somehow underestimate the complexity and/or the level of tuition requirements of the curriculum at the Military Academy. This is probably the case of the stereotype attitude that a military school can be completed by anyone with enough motivation to do so. The fact that the poll participants estimated that ‘having good connections’ is more useful for successful completion of studies than the knowledge that they bring with them indicates that they are convinced that the wide-spread practices of corruption have also penetrated the tissue of the Military Academy.

Circumstances influencing girls’ interest in studying at the Military Academy

By using a chi-square test, it was established that there is a significant correlation among certain characteristics of the research participants and their interest in studying at the Military Academy. This is primarily true of

the geographic location of the school (the region, district), the type of place (village, city, town), type of school (grammar school, technical school, agricultural school, school of economics), the success at school and the financial welfare of the family.

Location of high school and place of residence as factors influencing girls’ interest in studying at the Military Academy

Comparing the total number of female research participants from the various military regions (Belgrade, Niš and Novi Sad) with the number of girls from the same regions that actually expressed a wish to study at the Military Academy, we come to a conclusion that the strongest response by girls to the competition to enter the Military Academy can be expected in the regions that are located in the south of Serbia (Table 15). To be exact, in the schools that belong to the military region of Niš, there were 11.25% of girls who stated that they would like to study at the Military Academy, which is a response that is by around 50% stronger than the response of the girls in the other two regions. The region of Belgrade is in the second place, with 8.06%, while the region of Novi Sad is at the bottom of the list, with 7.33% of girls interested in becoming officers. The obtained value of the chi square has a statistical importance (the level of significance or goodness of fit is 0.01) that indicates that the detected correlation between the discrepancies in answers and the geographical location was not incidental.

Table 15. *Location of high school (by region) and the interest in studying at the MA.*

Military Region	Interest in studying at the MA						Total	
	Would like to		Cannot make up their mind		Would not like to			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Belgrade	32	8,06	105	26,45	260	65,49	397	100
Novi Sad	33	7,33	81	18,00	336	74,67	450	100
Niš	63	11,25	136	24,29	361	64,46	560	100
total	128		322		957		1407	100

$\chi^2=16,57$ (the chi-square is statistically important at the level of 0.01)

The geographical spread of the answers provided by the research participants, in connection with their place of living (type of place) (Table 16)

indicates that the girls who live in the country are more interested in studying at the Military Academy, than the girls who live in cities and towns. To be exact, the largest percentage of the girls who would like to study at the MA is among the girls coming from the country (12.05%), then among those who live in cities (8.64%), while the smallest proportion of them come from towns (6.17%). This is another case of statistically significant differences, reaching the index of 0.01. At the same time, this is also another segment where no discrepancies between boys and girls were recorded. Furthermore, the obtained results are in accordance with the standard response of high-school students to the contest for entry to the Military Academy, in the period when this was available only to boys, when there was a significant proportion of country boys among the candidates (compared to the total number of high-school students coming from the country). Based on this, it can be concluded that the country environment as a socio-economic and cultural ambience is one of the factors that generally enhance the enrolment in military studies, and this is also true of the female population living in the country. The tradition of the Serbian military organization with the country as the principal base for recruiting soldiers, has obviously left deep traces in the collective consciousness of the Serbian people, which still persist in the youngest generations, mature enough for a military occupation.

Table 16. *Place of living and interest in studying at the MA*

Place of living	Interest in studying at the MA						Total	
	Would like to		Cannot make up their mind		Would like to			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
city	81	8,64	195	20,79	662	70,58	938	100
village	37	12,05	89	28,99	181	58,96	307	100
town	10	6,17	38	23,46	114	70,37	162	100
total	128		322		957		1407	100

$\chi^2=16,25$ (the chi-square is statistically important at the level of 0.01)

Type of school as a factor influencing girls' interest in studying at the Military Academy

The school that can be expected to yield the smallest number of the female applicants to the Military Academy are the classical high schools,

better known as the grammar school. More than two-thirds of the students in these schools (70%) have stated that they do not want to study at the Military Academy (Table 17). Only 8.29% of them are interested in a military career, which is under the average positive response established for the complete sample, which is 9.1%. Given the fact that the female students attending the classical grammar school-type high schools represented 86% of the total number of the female research participants (1217 out of the total number of 1407), it is obvious that their attitudes have been decisive for the overall summary results. As opposed to the classical high schools, where only every *nineteenth* female student would choose to study at the Military Academy, every *ninth* female student of a school of economics would choose this option, while the same is true of every *sixth* female student of a technical school. Since the total number of female students from agricultural high schools in the research sample was too small, it would be incorrect to draw conclusions based on their answers.

Table 17. *Students’ interest in the MA, compared to the type of high school*

Type of high school	Interest in studying at the MA						Total	
	Would like to		Cannot make up their mind		Would not like to			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Grammar school	101	8,29	263	21,61	853	70,09	1217	100
Technical school	17	16,19	34	32,38	54	51,42	105	100
School of economics	7	10,77	21	32,31	37	56,92	65	100
Agricultural school	3	15,00	4	20,00	13	65,00	20	100
total	128		322		957		1407	100

$\chi^2=21,41$ (the chi-square is statistically important at the level of 0.01)

The significantly lower interest that the classical high school female students have shown in becoming military officers, when compared to the interest shown by female students from other types of schools is quite understandable. The pupils of the final year in the elementary school enrolling in the classical high school, do this with an ultimate ambition to continue their post-high-school studies at a faculty or a college-equivalent school, with many of them already having made their choices years ahead. Knowing this, we can conclude that there is a smaller proportion of high-school students who postpone the decision regarding the continuation of their studies to the final year. The girls constituting the sample of this research

had enrolled in the classical high school four years earlier, when there had been no indications of the possibilities for girls to continue their education at the Military Academy, which automatically ruled out the Military Academy as an option. So, what is common for all the girls constituting the sample all of this research was the fact that, when thinking about the options for their further education they could have considered virtually any other option (any other faculty) apart from the Military Academy. Taking this into consideration, even the small proportion of the female students of the classical high schools that expressed their wish to study at the Military Academy is a clear indication of the growing reputation of the military profession in Serbia, as was mentioned earlier.

The higher level of interest for the enrolment in the Military Academy that was expressed by the female students of schools of economics and technical schools can be caused by the issue of acute low employment rate of people with a high-school degree. This can certainly be applied to female students of classical high schools (and perhaps to an even more acute extent). However, unlike the female students of classical high schools, for whom a continuation of their studies is a primary concern (at least for the majority of them) and job-seeking represents an alternative, the female students qualifying for positions of technicians (high-school-degree equivalent) in the field of economics, mechanical or electrical engineering, typically do not have a pre-formed firm opinion regarding a higher school or faculty they would choose in the event of not being able to find employment, or not being able to enter studies within their own professional area. For all these reasons, the girls coming from vocational schools (such as the schools of economics and technical schools for example) may see the Military Academy as a good reserve solution, chosen by many of them as the 'last-minute choice', before leaving high school.

Success at high school as a factor influencing the level of interest for studying at the Military Academy

Among the female students who stated that they would like to study at the Military Academy, the predominant category are the girls with a very good success at school (53 out of the total number of 128), then those with an excellent success (40), followed by girls with a good success (30) and a satisfactory success achieved in the preceding year (Table 18). This leads to a conclusion that the Military Academy can count on a sufficient number of female candidates with a good level of initial academic knowledge, which is also a guarantee that the ones that are selected will be the best candidates, capable of meeting the requirements of the demanding tuition programme. At the same time, this refutes the claims of those who suspect that the

competition for the entry to the Academy will be dominated by candidates who have failed to enroll in some of the more attractive faculties. On the other hand, it would be incorrect to conclude, based on the obtained results, that better-student girls are more likely to opt for a career of military professionals. It could be said that the actual tendency is a reverse one, since the 40 excellent students who would like to study at the Military Academy represent a mere 6.79% of all the excellent female students who were included in the sample during the research, which is the lowest proportion of all. Among the very good students, the percentage of those who would like to study at the Military Academy is 9.15%, then 13.69% among the good students, while the highest percentage was recorded among the satisfactory students – 31.25%. In other words, the Military Academy is a preferred option for further studies for every third girl with a satisfactory success at school, every seventh girl with a good success, every eleventh with a very good success and only every fifteenth with an excellent success at high school. It could therefore be concluded that the readiness to study at the Military Academy stands in a reverse proportion to the success of female high school students. The value of the chi-square test is statistically relevant at the level of 0.01, so that in any case the collected information lead to a conclusion that the military profession is not a favourite choice for the best girls students, although the competition for the Military Academy will receive a sufficient number of entries by girls with a very good and excellent high-school success (in relation to the number of vacancies).

Table 18. *Success in previous school year and its correlation with the interest in studying at the MA*

Success in Previous academic year	Interest in studying at the MA						Total	
	Would like to		Cannot make up their mind		Would not like to			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Repeated year	-	0,00	-	0,00	4	100	4	100
Satisfactory	5	31,25	2	12,50	9	56,25	16	100
Good	30	13,70	70	31,96	119	54,34	219	100
Very good	53	9,15	139	24,01	387	66,84	579	100
Excellent	40	6,79	111	18,85	438	74,36	589	100
total	128		322		957		1407	100

$\chi^2=38,56$ (the chi-square is statistically important at the level of 0.01)

Financial welfare of the family as a factor influencing the interest of girls for studying at the Military Academy

As it could have been expected, the competition to enter the Military Academy will mostly attract girls who come from families with lower income bracket (Table 19). This tendency has always been known as an important factor determining the interest of boys for the military profession and now, judging by the results of this research, it may prove even more decisive among the girls opting for this kind of career. Among the total of 128 girls who stated that they would like to study at the Military Academy, there is almost one half coming from families with a monthly income under RSD 20,000. It is obvious that the children from such families find it extremely hard to provide financial resources for studying at any higher-education institution outside their own place of residence, so that for them the free education offered by the Military Academy represents the only possible solution for the continuation of their schooling.

Table 19. *Financial welfare of the family and the interest for studying at the MA*

Family income bracket	Interest in studying at the MA						Total	
	Would like to		Cannot make up their mind		Would not like to			
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Up to RSD 20,000	56	13,02	129	30,00	245	56,98	430	100
RSD 20,000 to 50,000	48	7,99	132	21,96	421	70,05	601	100
Over RSD 50, 000	22	6,34	55	15,85	270	77,80	347	100
Not stated	2	6,89	6	20,68	21	72,41	29	100
total	128		322		957		1407	100

$\chi^2=41,41$ (the chi-square is statistically important at the level of 0.01)

This trend can have both good and bad sides to it. As a rule, any individual who is using a unique opportunity to gain a higher education is also highly persistent in completing the studies. On the other hand, any solutions without an alternative can also have a bitter taste of compulsive necessity, which in the long run inevitably produces negative consequences. The complied evidence unambiguously points to the fact that a low family income is probably one of the major factors contributing to the girls' decisions to study at the Military Academy: among the 430 girls coming from the families within the low income bracket, every *eighth* girl opted for a

military career, while every *twelfth* girl from the middle income bracket (RSD 20,000-50,000 per month) chose this option. As for the girls from the families where the monthly family income exceeds RSD 50,000, only every *sixteenth* girl would opt for studying at the Military Academy. The value of the chi-square ($\chi^2=41.41$) in this case is statistically significant at the level of 0.001, which supports the conclusion that the financial welfare of the family is an important factor in the motivation of girls for studying at the Military Academy.

Girls' response to public invitation for prospective students of the Military Academy

The publication of the official public invitation for girls wishing to enroll as students of the Military Academy marked the end of the preparation phase in the implementation of the decision to secure equal opportunities for men and women opting for a career in the military service. At the same time, this marked the beginning of the process of verification when it comes to the motivation of girls to enter the military profession, i.e. the practical test of their supposed readiness and capability to fulfill the requirements of the educational and training process at the Academy, in the existing conditions that govern the daily life (residential accommodation) and studying, equal for all the cadets (both male and female cadets).

There were 30 places reserved for girls in the generation of students-cadets enrolled in the courses of the Military Academy in 2007. In this year, there were 56 female applicants, or 1.8 candidates per vacancy (Table 20). Considering the number of the applicants compared to the number of available vacancies, as well as the proportion of the female high-school students who, during the above-mentioned research in the first half of the same year, stated their interest in studying at the Military Academy, this level of response cannot be taken as sufficiently high. If we refer back to Table 12, we can see that among the interviewed sample there were 128 girls who stated that they would like to study at the Military Academy, and 322 of them who could not make up their mind about it. This should mean that in the total population of high-school graduates there ought to be many more potential candidates for studying at the Military Academy, than the actual number of applicants.

This kind of discrepancy between the interest expressed in the studies and the actual response in the form of submitted applications can probably be explained by the insufficient level of information possessed by the high-school students regarding the conditions of living and studying at the Military Academy. The results of the aforementioned research clearly support these conclusions.

Table 20. *Response by girls to the competition for the Military Academy students*

Indicators of response	Academic year				Trend
	2007/8	2008/9	2009/10	2010/11	
No. of vacancies for female students	30	32	49	57	Increase
No. of applicants per vacancy	1,8	3,3	4,9	5,66	Increase
Average grade from high school (all applicants)	4,76	4,64	4,38	4,34	Decrease

For example, a large number of the research participants did not know that there was a possibility for girls to study at the Military Academy. In addition to this, it is quite certain that one part of the potential candidates did not submit their formal application for admission to studies believing (probably wrongly, due to a lack of information) that they would be either unable to pass the entrance tests or successfully complete the studies. This conclusion is additionally supported by the fact that in the first generation of the applicants – prospective female cadets, their overall average success at high school was exceptionally high – 4.76. It is obvious that it was mostly the excellent students who had the courage to apply for the enrolment procedure.

In the second generation, during the academic 2008/9, there was a much bigger turnout of the female applicants than in the first year of enrolment. Although the number of vacancies was almost the same (31 instead of 30), the turnout of girls was almost twice bigger (a total of 106, or 3.3 per vacancy). At the same time, the overall average grade from high school for all the applicants was only slightly lower (4.64). The higher number of the same quality candidates came as a result of an adequate promotion that shed light on the process of the military education for girls, as well as the feedback on the successful start of the first-generation female cadets, which resulted in an overall higher level of information conveyed to high school students and their parents and at the same time provided incentive for the potential candidates to enter the competition.¹⁴⁷

An even more significant increase in the turnout of the girls competing for the vacancies at the Military Academy occurred during the following academic year (2009/10) when the total of 49 vacancies received almost two and a half more entries (a total of 243 applicants, or 4.9 per vacancy). It is also quite understandable that such an increase in the number of applicants

¹⁴⁷ As part of the promotional activities aimed at popularising the studies at the Military Academy among girls, two monographs were published in 2007 dealing with this issue (*Education of Girls at Military Academy* and *Final-year High-school Students on Profession of Officer*, published by the Strategic Research Institute of the Ministry of Defence).

was accompanied by a reduction in their overall average success achieved in high school. It is common knowledge that when an increased number of vacancies is advertised in a competition for enrolment of students, this usually results in a general perception among potential students that the entry requirements are not so high, which attracts the candidates of a more moderate profile who otherwise would not have applied, fearing a failure. However, judging by the average high-school success of the applicants that was slightly (0.38) lower than in the preceding year, it can be concluded that the major cause of the increased turnout was the increased popularity of the military profession and the ensuing higher level of motivation for studying at the Military Academy, rather than an assumption that a massive enrolment meant lower enrolment criteria.

The turnout at the competition in 2010 provided a definite confirmation of the previously recorded trend: while the average number of applicants per vacancy continued to grow, the quality of the candidates' profile remained comparatively high. In this year, the total of 57 vacancies attracted 323 female applicants, raising the average number of applicants per vacancy to 5.66. Considering the fact that the average high-school success recorded by the prospective female cadets (4.34) was only a negligible 0.04 lower than in the year before, it can be rightly concluded that the response of girls to the studying at the Military Academy had maintained its upward trend for a fourth consecutive year, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This specifically means that concerning the success achieved in high school as one of the relevant prerequisites for success in education at subsequent levels, provided that the current trend continues in the future, the Military Academy will definitely continue to be a reliable source for staffing the Armed Forces with high-quality female officers. Needless to say, this premise is primarily based on a pre-condition that a number of other requirements will have to be met as well, such as making sure that the high grades previously achieved in high school are a result of the student's knowledge, competence and commitment, as well as taking care that adequate procedure of psychological profiling is performed in order to select the candidates with the right personality profile, but also creating the right conditions for a full integration of female cadets in the military environment. The picture that reflects the fulfillment of these conditions is composed of a number of pieces, among which those that portray the adaptation of girls to the working and living conditions at the Academy have a significant informative and suggestive value, especially if these pieces have been recorded from two different angles, using two different lenses – a self-perceptive technique or observation from the outside. Many of the 'shots' have been taken during the education of the first three generations of female cadets; there are other shots that are being taken right now. What is it that all of them reveal, and what is the picture that they suggest?

Adaptability of female cadets to the living conditions and requirements of the educational process at the Military Academy

The adaptation of the female cadets is, beyond any doubt, a multi-dimensional variable, so that an assessment of it can be made only based on a large number of indicators that are perceptible to a varying degree. Some of these indicators are easily detected and assigned corresponding quantitative and qualitative attributes, including such issues as compliance with certain clearly defined rules of conduct - be it strict compliance, gross negligence or violation of such rules, apparent neglect of student's duties, or obvious (dis)accord between the forecasted and realized academic success. In a nutshell, these indicators do not escape observation and the corresponding quantification that leave an impression of objective measuring of an observed phenomenon.

The second group of indicators is related to the latent state of non-adaptation (factors that underlie its manifested layer, but which do not necessarily translate to manifested forms themselves). This concealed part of the non-adaptation certainly has its own signals which, however, are usually and consistently disguised in a variety of ways, using enforced forms of behaviour, so that they remain partly hidden from the public eye, as a part of an intimate experience and therefore available only to the introspective observation. The indicators of this type 'inhabit' the sphere of the intimate experience of one's own status and are never openly stated. They may include, for example, a conviction that the conditions for studying are not of the standard that was originally presented, a doubt in the perspective of the chosen vocation, an impression that the teaching staff is of a dubious competence, a feeling that there is a lack of genuine efforts to change the situation for the better, a feeling of being deceived, a belief that the goals can be attained without investing much effort, based on a good strategy of avoidance of obligations and 'fooling' the main 'bores', i.e. the demanding officers or teachers, and similar.

This kind of perception of one's own position, even when or – better to say – while it is not openly manifested (when it takes, for example, the form of a silent boycott or an open opposition to legitimate requests), is in its essence a mode of non-adapted behaviour, which is inevitably followed by a transformation into subsequent, visible modes. Because of this, even when the manifested layer of behaviour conveys a picture of a satisfactorily suitable level of adaptation, it is recommended that this picture be complemented by an observation of the latent condition.

Guided by these principles, the Military Academy and the Strategic Research Institute conducted a research project in 2010, entitled 'Adaptation of students at Military Academy to education and training conditions'.

One of the tasks of this research was to conduct polls among the cadets of both genders, in order to identify the problems encountered by female cadets and the specific aspects of their adaptation to the conditions of living and working at the Military Academy, with an ultimate objective of suggesting measures that would eventually contribute to the creation of more favourable conditions, enabling full integration of women in the military environment, as a major prerequisite in developing the full potential of future officers (both women and men) in their commanding of mixed-gender formations (units). The information obtained directly from the cadets, however, did not diminish in any way the significance of the objective indicators in the observed trends, such as the 'leakage' of cadets during the studying, i.e. the discrepancy between the forecasted and the actual academic success.

It is the *rate of 'leakage'* of the cadets during the studying that probably best reflects the summary impact of a number of objective and subjective factors that determine the process of adaptation of cadets to the conditions of living at the Academy, as well as the requirements of the tuition process. The number of the male and female cadets who opt out of regular studies is always a relevant indicator of their adaptation, regardless of the fact whether they give up their studies following their own request, or are dismissed from the Academy. In both cases, the interruption of education is a sign that they either did not possess sufficient capability to meet all of the requirements, or that for some reason one part of their capability had remained passive, meaning that in either situation there is a case of discrepancy or lack of adaptation of certain factors. The ensuing conclusion is that either a mistake was made in the process of candidates' selection, or the requirements that were posed on the cadets were not in accordance with the selection criteria that were applied. If there are frequent cases of disrupted education in a certain period, caused by any of these two reasons, measures must be taken to implement necessary corrections. The same is applied to the second objective indicator of non-adaptation – the discrepancy between the forecasted and actual academic success. In fact, an interruption of education due to a failure to fulfill one's academic duties, essentially represents a radical discrepancy between a forecasted success (based on which it was originally decided to accept the candidate in question) and the dissatisfactory actual level of academic success.

Analyzing the rate of 'leakage' during the studies, as a general indicator of their non-adaptation to the living conditions and the educational process at the Military Academy, it can be concluded that the overall level of adaptation of the first generation of the female cadets was, to say the least, problematic, but also that the condition has been steadily improving from year to year. To illustrate this, among the total 30 girls who were admitted as students in 2007, there were 11 (36.7%) who did not continue their

studies with their generation in the following academic year. One of the girls was forced to leave the studies due to illness, while as many as 10 female cadets (33%) failed to pass their examinations within the required time period, which prevented them from enrolling in the second year of their studies. After passing the first-year examination in the subsequent general examination sessions, nine of them continued their studies with the next generation of students.

According to the same indicator, the situation in the generation of the female cadets who were admitted for studies at the Academy in 2008 and 2009 is considerably more favourable. Among the 32 girls who started their studies in 2009, only two left the Academy: one due to illness, and the other due to insufficient success. In the generation of female cadets enrolled in 2010, among the 49 of the total number of admitted girls, there were only two of them who left the Academy: again one was forced to leave due to illness, while the other was released based on her request. It can be supposed that such a significant reduction in the number of students who interrupt their studies has been influenced by a considerably better turnout of the girls enrolling the Military Academy, which has resulted in the better opportunities to select the more suitable candidates.

A similar conclusion concerning the level of adaptation can be drawn based on the correlation between the forecasted and the actual academic success. Based on the information available so far, it can be concluded that this correlation is a positive one, which also serves as a proof of the validity of the selection, as one of the significant prerequisites in securing the right balance between the conditions that govern the process of education and the adaptive capacity of the enrolled candidates. It is however still early to draw any final conclusions regarding the adaptation of the girls to the studying conditions, based on the success they have achieved so far, since the remaining obstacles on their way to the final completion of the studies will provide the final elements that will define the picture of their overall attainment. It is for this very reason that the necessity arises to monitor the remaining indicators adaptation, including the ones that are not evidently manifested, but can be rather evaluated based on the introspective insight – based on the statements made by the female cadets themselves, concerning the aspects of their life at the Academy that pose the biggest difficulties, what the factors are that are the most deterring – i.e. what helps them to adapt and what hinders their adaptation to the living conditions and the requirements of the educational process. In doing this, it is always interesting to compare the answers given by female students, to those of the male students of the same generation.

Table 21 contains the conditions, obligations and limitations that the girls find most difficult and problematic, meaning that these are the factors that are the hardest for girls to get used to. At the top of the list of these

unpopular features of the residential, pedagogic and working environment are the restrictions on going out, i.e. the inability to leave the campus of the Military Academy outside the periods reserved in advance and on one's own will (without a permission of their immediate superior). This limitation was chosen by more than three quarters of the girls (77.5%) as being problematic to a certain extent, and as many as 40% of the girls perceive it as a 'major difficulty'. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of male cadets who see this same limitation as problematic is rather smaller (51%). The difference between the girls and the boys in the perception of this limitation as one of the downsides of the cadet's life is even bigger when the responses of the two genders are compared within the category of those who see it as a 'major difficulty'. The percentage of the girls in this category is up to two-and-a-half times bigger (40%) than the percentage of boys within the same category 16.18%).

In the list composed of the most acute problems encountered by the girls studying at the Military Academy, the second place belongs to the 'separation from the company of civilians', which they seem to take much harder than boys. Almost two-thirds of the girls (65%) have difficulties accepting this, and for every fourth girl (25%) this is one of the major difficulties. The problems of this kind seem to bother almost twice fewer of the men in the same generation (35.29% and 11.76%, respectively).

It is indicative to observe that 'unappealing, enforced cultural contents' represent a burden for most of the girls (57.50%), as well as for men (52.94%). Judging by the results of this research, this standard aspect of the living and working environment of the Military Academy seems to have been recognized by men as more problematic than any of the other aspects, the only other serious problem being the limitation posed on going out and leaving the campus of the Academy. This finding ought to be analyzed with due consideration, especially knowing that corresponding cultural and entertainment contents represent a major factor in the process of adaptation to the living and working conditions in isolated or semi-isolated social environments such as this one. It is obvious that both the male and female cadets of the Military Academy have certain significant or specific expectations in this respect, which have not been met in a satisfactory way.

Contrary to what was expected, the three typical features of the military campus life – food, morning exercise and getting up early seem to be less problematic for girls, than for boys. While getting used to the food at the campus is a problem for slightly more than one third of the girls, almost every second men (47.06%) perceives this as a problem. At the same time, the problems that arise in connection with getting up early and the morning exercise, seem to be equally present among both boys and girls, although in any case indicative.

Table 21. *Conditions, obligations and limitations that pose the greatest difficulties to female cadets*

Conditions, obligations and limitations	Percentage of research participants for whom the stated conditions, obligations and limitations represent a 'difficulty' or a 'major difficulty'	
	Females %	Males %
<i>Limitations on going out (of the campus)</i>	77,50	51,47
<i>Separation from civilian company</i>	65,00	35,29
<i>Unappealing, enforced cultural contents</i>	57,50	52,94
<i>Food at campus</i>	37,50	47,06
<i>Morning keep-fit exercises</i>	37,00	41,18
<i>Getting up early</i>	35,00	36,76
<i>Separation from family</i>	30,74	13,23
<i>Maintaining personal hygiene</i>	25,00	10,29
<i>Tidying and keeping of rooms and campus</i>	25,00	44,12
<i>Accommodation conditions</i>	20,00	10,29
<i>Sharing sleeping rooms</i>	20,00	4,41
<i>Monitor's duties</i>	15,00	42,64

Among the duties that male cadets find more difficult to cope with than the girls are the *tidying up of the rooms and keeping of the campus yard*, as well as *performing the duty of the monitor*. These duties are perceived as problematic by every fourth or every fifth girl, while as many as 44% or 43% of male cadets think that they are problematic. Such a big difference in the perception of these duties is probably caused by the recognizable traditional division of duties into 'men's' and 'women's' jobs, so that the male cadets in performing these duties tend to see themselves as rather incompetent. Apart from the undisputed unpleasantness or dullness of these chores, this is obviously the main secondary reason why men are disinclined to accept the duties of a cleaner and monitor.

As it could have been supposed, the general accommodation conditions at the Military Academy, characterized – among other things – by sharing a common sleeping room, as well as certain limitations that exist in the conditions for maintaining personal hygiene, did not rank very high at the list of problems that girls encounter in their adaptation to the life at the

Academy. The fact that these factors were recognized as problematic by every fifth or even fourth girl is due to the measures that were taken during the preparation phase for studying at the Military Academy, when corresponding accommodation conditions were created to suit the specific needs of women. However, taking into consideration the fact that men who use the same or sometimes lower level of accommodation facilities, do not perceive them as a specific difficulty component of their cadets' life (at least not as often as women do, since only every 20th or every 10th male cadet recognized this as a difficulty), then it becomes obvious that this particular aspect of adaptation will need certain adjustments. These adjustments ought to follow two basic directions, moving towards an objective improvement of the accommodation conditions in accordance with the specific needs of women, and also towards correcting any devious and unrealistic expectations regarding this issue, especially knowing that any concessions in this direction would generate new problems.

Investment of physical effort in training is often quoted as one of the reasons for a reserved attitude when it comes to engaging women in the military duties. The results of the research, however, show that for most of the female cadets (67.50%) this was not a particular difficulty, with the additional 20% of them who could not make up their minds as to whether to qualify this effort as a problematic one or not. The close-order drill, exercise with arms, as well as wearing the uniform seem all to be even less perceived as difficult or problematic duties, with only 5% of the female cadets (and an almost the same proportion of male cadets) actually seeing them as problematic.

Considering the results analyzed above, it can be concluded that girls are generally more successful at adapting to the living conditions and the requirements of the education process at the Military Academy. At the same time, it is evident that there are apparent differences between girls and boys in certain aspects of this process, probably caused not only by the differences that exist between the two genders, but also by the specific characteristics of the situation in which the first generation of the female cadets started their studies at the Military Academy. There can be no doubt that, while the exclusivity of this situation must have proved alleviating, it also brought with it additional strain. The contradictory nature of this situation has also resulted in an increased uncertainty regarding the outcome of the overall process of adaptation, and this is something that must be taken into serious consideration.

An important question that can be raised here is: what are the elements that make it easier for the female cadets to get adapted to the new environment and the specific obligations of the military educational process?

In the group made of all of the evaluated factors, the first place in the category of those that 'significantly enhance adaptation' belonged to the

formulation reading ‘*the possibility to take up sport activities*’, chosen by 72.50 of the female poll participants. The second place, with 55% of the ‘votes’, belonged to ‘*comradeship in the collective*’, while the third one was taken by the ‘*cultural and entertainment activities*’ (Table 22).¹⁴⁸ These same factors were equally ranked as the first and second most important by the male poll participants. This leads to a conclusion that not only are these findings an additional confirmation of the significance of the role that these factors play in a successful adaptation to the conditions governing the process of studying at the Military Academy, but also suggests that these dimensions of the pedagogic environment ought to be given special attention, especially in the initial stages of studying, which often prove as crucially important. There can be no doubt either that the obtained results lead to a logical question: why have other factors failed to produce a positive impact?

Table 22. *Factors enhancing the process of adaptation of female cadets to the living conditions and educational requirements of the Military Academy*

Evaluated factors	Percentage of research participants who find that the stated factor ‘ <i>considerably assists the adaptation</i> ’	
	women	men
Sport activities	72,50	82,35
Comradeship in the unit	55,00	75,00
Cultural and entertainment activates	35,00	25,00

Apart from the information given above, there is another specific representative indicator of the level of adaptation of girls to the living conditions and educational process at the Military Academy – their confidence that they have made the right choice when opting for a military career. How can the level of this confidence be verified? Who can be said to have confidence in the correctness of their action, when making a choice of this kind? The shortest answer to this question could be: someone who would repeat the same choice, after gaining all the knowledge of the characteristics of the chosen option. Table 23 contains answers to a hypothetical question of this kind.

What is it that these answers suggest?

¹⁴⁸ Less than 25 percent of poll participants of both gender ascribed to the other factors that they “in the great measure ease the process of adaption”.

Table 23. *Confidence that studying at the Military Academy has been the right choice*

Question	Answers	Women	Men
‘Would you still have enrolled in the Military Academy, knowing what you have learnt about it until now?’	Yes	51,28 %	70,59 %
	I am not sure	20,51 %	23,53 %
	No	28,21 %	5,88 %
Total		100,00 %	100 ,00%

The collected information reveals that only a little more than one half of the female cadets (51.28%) would repeat the previous choice, possessing the new knowledge and the impressions of the Military Academy and the military profession in general, while further 20% of them are not certain about what choices they would make if they were again in a situation to make a decision regarding their further education after high school. These statistics definitely confirm the previously stated suggestion that there are certain hindrances present in the process of adaptation of the girls to the conditions that govern the education for the military profession. These hindrances are most probably the main reason why the female cadets tend to regret their original decision to opt for the Military Academy, much more often than their fellow male cadets. The fact that as many as 28% of the female poll participants estimate that they would not be likely to repeat the same choice, when compared to a mere 6% of the male cadets making the same statement, is an indication of the fact that the expectations they had regarding the Military Academy were much different from what they were met with in reality. A key question that can be asked based on these assumptions is: what should be done in order to bring the differences in the response made by the girls within sensible limits? Who needs to make a concession and what concessions are to be made? If the apparently necessary adjustments between the expected and the actual should fail to be performed, then a mere further increase in the turnout of candidates for the enrolment in the Military Academy will certainly provide good indications that gender equity is fulfilled at the level of formalities – however, this will by no means guarantee a qualitative change of the state of affairs, which would also serve the function of an improved final result of the educational process, rather than to cause further damage to it. A key role in this process ought to be given to the good selection and objective information of the potential candidates, concerning the various aspects of the military profession and the complete process of education and training for the duties of officers, where the conveyance of information ought to be prioritized over any advertising and propaganda campaigns, presenting only the upsides of the process.

STEP SEVEN

**INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND
SERBIAN ARMED FORCES IN PRODUCING A
NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION
OF UN SC RESOLUTION 1325**

“Be the change you want to see in the world”.

Mahatma Gandhi



INVOLVEMENT OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND SERBIAN ARMED FORCES IN PRODUCING A NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SC RESOLUTION 1325

The Resolution of the United Nations Security Council (UN SC) Number 1325 '*Women, peace, safety*' (appendix 1), adopted on 31st October 2000, sends out an unambiguous message that at the turn of the 21st century, there is still the burning issue of women being deprived of their rights in all parts of the world, but especially in the regions stricken by armed conflicts, as well as in the so-called post-conflict societies, so much so that – in order to be able to find an adequate solution to this problem, it is necessary to treat it as a high-priority safety issue. Most of all, the Resolution emphasizes the need to increase participation of women in all the different levels of decision-making, including the national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms aimed at prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. It also highlights the importance of a full-scale and equal participation of women, as well as their presence in all the activities directed towards preservation and advancement of peace and safety. In all these undertakings, the role of women is seen as particularly important in the following areas: prevention of conflict, conflicts, post-conflict period, safety and peace-building and preservation of peace¹⁴⁹.

There can be no doubt that the evaluations and messages sent out from the highest forum of the international community have initiated or additionally encouraged many women and men around the globe to speak up in a different manner about violence suffered by women in periods of war and peace, and to recognize it in situations and forms that may have not been recognized as such in the past, or were not given enough attention because they were seen as 'not so drastic'. At the same time this Resolution and the three subsequently adopted resolutions (UN SC Resolution 1820,

¹⁴⁹ This UN Resolution is considered as one of the most important in the affairs of peace, safety and politics, even more so because it is legally binding for all the countries – members of the UN, and does not require any additional ratification as such. In the report by the UN Secretary-General of October 2004, all of the member states were invited to prepare their national action plans, as a means of more determined implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325.

Resolution 1888, Resolution 1889)¹⁵⁰ initiated a global-scale debate on the position and the role of women in the society in general, and in particular on the role played by women in establishing a new safety paradigm, adding importance to the issue of gender equity in the sector of safety, as well as significantly expanding the context within which this issue ought to be reviewed.

Based on the principles postulated by Resolution 1325, the UN Security Council issued a recommendation in 2002 to the member-states, the institutions of the civil society and other relevant stakeholders, to develop strategies and action plans with clear and realistic objectives, as well as time frameworks, set to enable integration of gender equity perspective in peace-keeping operations and programmes of revitalization and reconstruction. To the purpose of intensifying and implementing Resolution 1325, the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this regular report of October 2004, invited the member-states to prepare corresponding action plans (National Action Plan – NAP) – documents that comprise guidelines for the practical implementation of the Resolution. These guidelines are primarily aimed at establishing standards for the protection of women during and after periods of conflict, and they also define the principles of equality in participation, asserting the possibilities of strengthening the role of women in decision-making functions. Implementation of an action plan implies an active involvement of women in decision-making process concerning safety issues, as well as promotion of women into active, equal stakeholders in the reform of this system, with all the safety structures

¹⁵⁰ *UN SC Resolution 1820 (2008)*, was the first resolution passed by the SC that pointed to the problem of sexual violence in war as a widespread practice and a kind of 'war tactics'. This Resolution forbids amnesty for sexual violence committed during war-time, orders the protection of civilians from sexual violence in refugee camps for internally displaced persons and also emphasises the need to specify the command responsibility in case of sexual violence; besides this, it orders that those who commit acts of misuse of human rights ought to be excluded from demobilised armed forces, that programmes of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration ought to deal in issues of sexual violence, as well as recommends the so-called zero-tolerance for any violence committed by members of the UN peace-keeping forces ...; *UN SC Resolution 1888 (2009)* refers to the appointment of Special representative of the general council for sexual violence in war (Margot Wallström was appointed in February 2010); formation of legal experts teams as to accelerate prosecution of those who committed sexual violence in war; proclamation of male or female councillors for protection of women in key missions. *UN SC Resolution 1889 (2009)*, widens the focus of the Security Council to the participation of women in implementing peace and it emphasizes the need of their involvement in decision making about politics and economics. Among the rest, it calls other countries that are members of international regional organization to take additional measures for promotion of women participation in all of the phases of peace processes, especially in resolving conflicts, post conflict period, financing and creating programmes for implementing activities to widen the range of duties that women perform, specific strategies in enforcing laws and in legal system, which are going to fulfil the needs and the priorities of women, young women and girls.

adopting a gender-sensitive approach. In a word, action plans ought to lead to a new situation in which the position of women in the overall safety sector is synchronized with the standards of gender equity that are prescribed by the provisions of the supreme legal act of the state.

Main pillars and milestones of the National Action Plan of the Republic of Serbia

It is understandable that the existence of a NAP represents an issue of special significance for governments of countries that have emerged from a period of conflict, which is the situation of the whole region of West Balkans, including Serbia, as a post-conflict transition country. These special circumstances, i.e. the bitter experiences from the armed conflicts in the territory of the former SFR Yugoslavia are one of the reasons explaining why the women from the newly-formed Balkan states were among the first in Europe to recognize the need to create national instruments that will enable the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325, and were practically the most agile promoters of this Resolution. As a result of this initiative, a number of regional meetings were held dealing with this issue. The female delegates from Serbia who took an active part in these meetings, acted both directly and through the institutions that delegated them, urging the various political and vocational structures to open a public debate on these issues, as well as a comprehensive specialist discussion, dealing with the position of the woman in our safety sector, within a wider context of the current safety trends, such as: reduction of post-conflict tensions, recovery of transition shocks, alleviation of social stress, participation in peace-keeping operations and similar.

The Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces recognized their role of stakeholders in this debate, expected to make additional efforts towards further promotion of gender equity in the spirit of UN SC Resolution 1325, especially considering the fact that the recommendations made by this Resolution are fully compatible with Articles 15, 21, 53 and 60 of the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Serbia.¹⁵¹ This was one of the reasons

¹⁵¹ Article 15 of the Constitutional Law of Serbia specifies that the state guarantees for the equality of men and women and develops the policy of equal opportunities. Article 21 guarantees the equality of women and men, forbidding any form of direct or indirect discrimination, especially based on race, gender, nation, social background, family background, religion, political or other beliefs, financial status, culture, language, mental or physical disability. Article 53 guarantees the citizens' rights to enter civil service and public functions on an equal basis. Article 60 guarantees to all citizens the right to work and freedom of choice of profession, as well as that all the work places are available to everyone under same conditions. This article guarantees

contributing to the initiative taken by the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, in collaboration with the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE), aimed at producing *Recommendations for designing a NAP enabling implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia*¹⁵². A special working group was formed for the realization of this project, including representatives of the Parliament, the state administration (Ministry of Defence, Home Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Economy and Regional Development and Ministry of Defence was based on the fact that most of the contents of UN SC Resolution 1325 deals with the role of women in the safety system, especially in the system of defence, and also the female civilians who suffer the effects caused by deployment of safety forces in periods of war and peace.

The first meeting of the Government Working Group¹⁵³ and the Working Team of the Ministry of Defence in charge of providing expert, administrative and technical support to the Government Working Group was held on 23rd August 2010. On this occasion, a dynamic plan of activities was adopted, based on which the representatives of the ministries and the organs that had appointed the members to the Working Group of the Serbian Government, undertook the obligation of collaborating with the Working Team of the Ministry of Defence¹⁵⁴, while at the same time it was decided

the right to use all the other work rights – most of all the right of women, adolescents and disabled persons to enjoy special protection at work. (Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 98).

¹⁵² The Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence had embarked on the issues of gender equity in the sector of public safety during the initial project 'Role of women in building a new safety paradigm in Serbia', which was dedicated to presenting the role played by women in the area of safety, within the context of the UN SC Resolution 1325, addressing a wider circle of women politicians, NGOs activists, and women working in the public administration. The project was implemented in 2007, with the support of the Canadian Fund. Guided by this experience and learning from the practice of certain UN member-states, the BFPE continued this project by drawing up guidelines to be used in the design of National Action Plan for the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325. These guidelines were supported by the Ministry of Defence, both in the initial stages and later, where this Ministry appears as the carrier of the final activities in the completion of the NAP.

¹⁵³ The working group of the Government was composed of the representatives of the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance (Office of Customs), Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Ministry for State Administration and Local Government, Ministry of Human Rights and Minorities Rights, Ministry of Education, Security Information Agency and the Administration for Gender Equity.

¹⁵⁴ The working group of the Ministry of Defence was composed of the representatives of the Sector for Defence Policy (Strategic Planning Department and Strategic Research Institute), Human Resources Department of the Ministry of Defence (Military Academy), Secretariat of the Ministry of Defence (Operational and Planning Department), Department of Military Health (Military Medical Academy), Public Relations Department of the Ministry of Defence, General Staff of Serbian Armed Forces (Centre for peace-keeping missions of the Serbian

to include 11 persons from other relevant Ministries as members of the Working Team of the Ministry of Defence, so that the Team of the Ministry of Defence operated in an expanded composition until the completion of the assignment, including a total of 26 members (15 from the Ministry of Defence and 11 from other Ministries).¹⁵⁵

The initial Ministry of Justice), activists of NGOs (Centre for Civil-Military Relations), European Movement in Serbia, Atlantic Council in Serbia), as well as representatives of the academic institutions (Faculty of Political Sciences, Institute for International Politics and Economy) and the media (Serbian National Radio and Television, the Politika daily newspaper)¹⁵⁶.

General Staff). The head of the Strategic Planning Department was appointed as the coordinator of the working team of the Ministry of Defence, while the director of the Strategic Research Institute was appointed as the assistant coordinator.

¹⁵⁵ The working team of the Ministry of Defence was expanded by one representative from each of the following bodies: the Council for Gender Equity of the Government of Serbia, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Ministry of State Administration and Local Government, Ministry of Human Rights and Minority Rights, Ministry of Finance (Office of Customs), Ministry of Education, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Security Information Agency, Ministry of Justice (Office for implementation of criminal sanctions), the Statistical Office of Serbia.

¹⁵⁶ The work on the Recommendations had progressed through a number of seminars, meetings of the working groups and public debates: 1) from 22nd to 24th May 2009, there was a two-day seminar organised in Kovačica, where the initial condition and the position of women in the safety sector in Serbia were defined, and the participants were familiarised with the basic international legal instruments regulating this area, as well as with the basic principles of UN SC Resolution 1325. Four working groups were formed in this seminar, dealing with different aspects of the implementation of this Resolution in Serbia. (1) Working Group dealing with the role of women in the decision-making process; (2) Working Group dealing with the participation of women in conflict resolution; (3) Working Group dealing with instruments of and peace-supporting measures; (3) Working Group for instruments of legal protection for women; and (4) Working Group on sensitising male and female participants of the security sector, in the issues of gender equity; 2) Two meetings of the working groups were held in Belgrade, one on 22nd June 2009, in the Army Club of the Armed Forces of Serbia, and one on 12th October 2009, in the premises of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence; 3) At the Divčibare, in the period 5th-7th November 2009, there was a two-day gathering of the working groups, dedicated to the defining the structure for *Recommendations for the design of the National Action Plan and finalisation of the texts produced by the working groups*; 4) The Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Serbian Parliament helped to organise a round table on 4th December 2009, which was held in the National Assembly Building, with an aim to familiarise the Members of Parliament with this Resolution and the process of producing the NAP. 5) The Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, in collaboration with the Gender Equity Committee of the Government of the Republic of Serbia organised a public debate on the design of the NAP, which lasted from 25th February until 15th March 2009, where all of the interested parties were invited to take part in the discussions and also supply their comments in the form of email, until 15th March 2009. During the public discussion, it was confirmed that the NAP will represent another mechanism of the newly-passed Law on Gender Equity, and that it will also help to consolidate firm procedures and rules that will channel the process of the inclusion of institutions that deal in the issues of

The ‘*Recommendations for the design of the National Action Plan (NAP)*’ contain a thorough analysis of the state of affairs, performed using a unified methodology, within which the achievements made in the previous period have been established, key problems in the sphere of gender equity defined, supported with an elaboration of the general and the specific objectives, as well as the activities that are to be pursued in order to reach the set objectives, including the parties responsible for their implementation and the relevant performance indicators. Four general objectives were defined: 1) increase the participation and impact of women in decision-making related to defence and safety issues; 2) secure equal participation of women in the process of establishing and developing peace, as well as in peace-supporting operations; 3) secure a satisfactory level of human safety and effective protection of women and girls from all the different kinds of discrimination, violation of human rights and gender-based violence, and 4) improve the conditions that will enable an increase in the number of female employees and their promotion in the safety sector, especially in the operational corps.

After adopting the *Recommendations*, a multi-sector *Government working group* was formed based on the Decision of the Serbian Government as of 24th June 2010. This working group was responsible for the design of the National Action Plan of the Republic of Serbia, aimed at implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 ‘Women, Peace, Safety’. The same decision also appoints the Ministry of Defence as a party responsible for providing expert and administrative-technical support to the working group of the Government in its design of the NAP. The delegation of this duty to the assignment of the Working Team of the Ministry of Defence was to produce a record of the existing state of affairs, based on recommendation made by the United Nations and the European Union concerning the indicators to be used in the design and implementation of national action plans aimed at enabling the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325. This record of the existing state of affairs was at the same time the first step that was taken in the process of producing the Draft Version of the NAP. The Draft Version of the NAP was produced using a unified methodology defined in advance, which stipulated that the following areas be specifically addressed: (1) description of the real conditions and the problems in the specific area; (2) determining general and specific objectives for every specific area, and (3) determining the activities, parties responsible for their implementation, as well as collaborators and deadlines for completion of the assigned tasks¹⁵⁷.

introducing gender perspective in the regular consultative process, during the production of normative and strategic documents and regular policies.

¹⁵⁷ The scope and complexity of this undertaking is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that

Together with the activities that were conducted in the design of the Draft Version which had been adopted by the Government Working Group, prior to its submission to the governmental committee in charge (1st October 2010), numerous activities were undertaken with an aim of promoting the recommendations of the UN SC Resolution 1325 and also to the purpose of informing the expert and academic community about the results of the activities undertaken by the Government Working Group and the Working Team of the Ministry of Defence within the design of the NAP. One of these activities was the international conference held to address the theme of 'Women in the sector of safety, UN Security Council Resolution 1325', held on 14th and 15th October 2010 in Belgrade, organized by the Strategic Research Institute and the Defence Policy Sector of the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, with the financial support of the Ministry of Defence of the Kingdom of Norway¹⁵⁸.

The aim of the conference was to exchange regional and international experiences in the domain of implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Safety, and to share information about the activities of international organizations (UN, Council of Europe, EU, NATO, OEBS) taken with an aim of additional affirmation of the gender equity criteria in the safety sector. During the Conference, the participants discussed the possibilities and methods of improving the level of regional collaboration in this area, as well as the achievements and the limitations that have arisen in relation with the implementation of the UN SC Resolution

a total of 7 general and 17 specific objectives, as well as 96 activities were identified. The general objectives include: 1) securing institutional mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP, within the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia; 2) Creating conditions for an effective realization of the policy of gender equity in the security sector, a greater proportional engagement of women and their greater influence on the issues that are related to the position of women, peace and security; 3) Increased participation and impact of women on the decision-making process in the sphere of defence and security; 4) Securing equal participation of women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and multi-national operations; 5) Securing a satisfactory level of effective protection of women and girls from all the different forms of discrimination, as well as from the violation of feminine human rights and gender-based violence; 6) Education of women and men employed in the security sector, as well as the members of their families, about the importance of a higher participation of women in the resolution of issues that are related to peace, gender equity and security; 7) Media support ought to be provided for the various activities and achievement of objectives of the NAP in the Republic of Serbia.

158 Apart from the representatives of the Ministry of Defence, Serbian Armed Forces, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies in the Serbian Government, University of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, as well as a number of NGOs from the Republic of Serbia, the Conference was attended by the representatives of the safety sectors of Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Sweden and Norway, as well as representatives of international organizations and NGOs (UN; UNDP, UNIFEM, EU, OEBS, Council of Europe, NATO, ISIS, DCAF, IRSEM).

1325, the approaches taken by the different countries in the region, in the implementation of the Resolution, and the role played by women in the armed conflicts and peace-keeping operations.

One of the conclusions reached at the Conference was that the implementation of the UN SC Resolution has progressed at a rather slow rate, and the participants agreed about the need that the various policies, programmes, action plans and online data bases related to the area of Women, Peace and Safety, ought to be adjusted to the Resolution. Apart from this, the participants in the panel pointed to the fact that there is still a lot of room for improvement in the promotion of the women professionally employed in the sector of safety. The speakers in the Conference emphasized that the experiences from the field, gained during the peace-keeping missions and peace-supporting missions had pointed to the fact that it was necessary to develop corresponding branch training programmes that will suit the needs of these specific situations and that deployment of mixed-gender teams in peace-keeping operations has an extreme practical significance. It was also concluded that there was a marked need for defining a set of statistical indicators that will be used in monitoring the implementation of the Resolution, taking into full consideration the specific regional characteristics during the deployment of action plans that ultimately serve as a means of implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325. It was also pointed out by the participants in the Conference that it was necessary to dedicate more attention to the position and the role of women in the assignments performed by the Serbian Armed Forces within the scope of their third mission, which is 'Support given to civil authorities in defying safety threats'.¹⁵⁹

Owing to the presence of representatives coming from a large number of countries and organizations with different experiences in the domain of the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325, the Conference provided an excellent opportunity to gain and expand the knowledge that is relevant in evaluating the validity and value of the work that was done in the design of the NAP, as well as in forecasting the subsequent steps that will lead to the finalization of this undertaking. This knowledge was expressed in the form of final conclusions of the Conference, and was also correspondingly integrated in the final Draft Version of the NAP for the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325, which was practically immediately submitted for

¹⁵⁹ Within the discussion concerning the possibilities of advancing the regional collaboration in the area of security and gender equity, which dominated a larger part of the Conference, it was suggested to establish a regional initiative (forum) within which ideas and experiences would be exchanged regarding the realization of the National Action Plans aimed at implementing UN SC Resolution 1325. All of the submitted and supplied statements, discussions and conclusions adopted during the Conference, will be published in a separate Collection of Papers.

a public debate, which took place in the period 27th October – 16th November 2010, organized by the Ministry of Defence¹⁶⁰.

One of the final activities specified by the Programme of the public debate was the Round Table organized by the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia in collaboration with the OEBS Mission in Serbia, held at the Serbian General Assembly on 16th November 2010. An invitation to participate in this debate was sent to representatives of the state administration organs that were involved in the issues contained in the NAP by the nature of their scope of jurisdiction and engagement, as well as to non-governmental organizations engaged in the issues of gender equity, representatives of the academic community, educational and scientific-and-research institutions and the media. Prominent public figures from the Serbian Parliament, Ministry of Defence, BFPI and the OEBS Mission in Serbia, made their speeches regarding the importance of designing, adopting and implementing the NAP aimed at enabling the UN SC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia. The contents of the document itself was presented by those who had been directly involved in its design. The affirmative evaluations that were made by the undoubtedly competent participants of the discussion, provided additional argumentation and supported the conclusion that the document was awarded a very high passing grade in this public debate. Finally, with the final minor amendments made in accordance with the received proposals and suggestions, it was generally assessed as fully suitable to be submission to the Government committee in charge for the final approval. Following its final approval by the Government of Serbia, on 23rd December 2010, the National Action Plan for the implementation of the SC UN Resolution 1325 became a binding informative-instructive document for any actions that are taken to fulfill the general and specific objectives, within the frameworks set by the planned activities and defined performance indicators.

Acting in accordance with Article 43, Item 3 of the Law on Government (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 55/05, 71/05- correction, 101/07 and 65/08), and following a proposal made by the Ministry of Defence, Serbian Government made a conclusive decision to approve the

¹⁶⁰ The public debate was practically opened with the publication of the text of the Draft Version, at the website of this Ministry. Apart from the website of the Ministry of Defence, according to the adopted programme of the public debate, the Draft Version of the NAP was distributed in the form of official correspondence to the organs of the state administration, which are stakeholders in the corresponding areas addressed by the document. Following this criterion, the Draft Version was communicated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of State Administration and Local Government, Ministry of Human Rights and Minority Rights, Office for Gender Equity within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Customs Office within the Ministry of Finance, Security Information Agency, Committee for Gender Equity of the Serbian Parliament, the Envoy for the Protection of Equality, Officer for Citizens' Rights, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia.

National Action Plan for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325, issued by the Security Council of the United Nations – ‘Women, Peace and Safety in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015).

Importance of the National Action Plan in advancing the gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces

The destiny of any planning document, - the dynamics and the rate of its implementation will depend to a large degree on the conditions of its emergence, i.e. on the fact who masterminded it, as well as who were the parties supporting its development, and who were the oppositions parties, how valid were the arguments in favour and/ or against its creation. The National Action Plan of Serbia, as it is, enjoys a pretty comfortable status in this respect. It was originally initiated by the stakeholders who are also among the sides with the greatest responsibility for its implementation; it was shaped based on the consensus of a wide circle of representatives of the governmental and non-governmental sectors and the academic community; it was adopted according to the procedure that vouchsafes its full legitimacy. As a unique combination of incentives, encouragements and a collection of guidelines aimed at the practical implementation of the UN SC Resolution, our NAP is actually paving the way for a continuation of the process that has already been developed in Serbia for a number of years, in accordance with the corresponding constitutional provisions and strategic routes.¹⁶¹ In fact, all of the undertakings so far in the area of promoting the contemporary standards of gender equity and their practical implementation, have been in perfect compliance with the recommendations of the Resolution 1325. The adopted Action Programme actually represents an aid in setting the priorities more correctly, so that the carriers of certain activities can recognize their collaborative role in the realization of these objectives, in the period for which the NAP is adopted (2010-2015). It

¹⁶¹ *Constitutional Law of the Republic of Serbia (2006); National Millennium Development Goals in the Republic of Serbia; National strategy for the improvement of the position of women and advancement of gender equity in the period 2009-2015 (2009); National programme for the integration of the Republic of Serbia in the European Union (2008); Law on Prohibition of Discrimination; Law on Equity of Genders; Law on Prevention of Maltreatment at Work (2010); Criminal Code; Law on Collaboration with International Criminal Court; In the area of defence and security: Law on Defence, Law on the Serbian Armed Forces, Law on Police, Law on Civil Service, Law on Bases of Organisation of Security Service, Law on Security Information Agency, Law on Military Security Agency and Military Intelligence Agency, Law on Deployment of the Serbian Armed Forces and Other Defence Forces in Multinational Operations outside the Borders of the Republic of Serbia, the Law on Military, Labour and Material Obligations.*

should also enable them to master the methods, techniques and instruments used in determining the changes in the practice, as well as provide them with an overview of the financial pre-conditions for the realization of the planned objectives.

One of the prioritized objectives defined by the NAP is, for example, the education of the members of the security sector and members of their families, regarding the importance of a more considerable participation of women in resolving the issues concerning peace, gender equity and security. Phrased like this, the stated objective could easily sound as something fashionable and exclusive. However, it is really about emphasizing a need that has long since been recognized as a sensible practical orientation, picturesquely illustrated by the often-quoted statement made by Marshall Ferdinand Foch that 'a man can do and apply what he knows in a simple way' and that consequently 'in order to be able to do even very little, a man must know a lot, and must know it very well'. This is exactly the situation with the education of the members of the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces of Serbia, in the sphere of gender equity issues. In order to be able to make small, but stable and sensible steps, predestined for long-lasting effects, it is necessary for the start to create educational mechanisms that will help create an adequate environment for the objectification of gender equity in this quite specific social and working ambience. The education in the sphere of gender equity in this particular case will mean the affirmation of the attitudes contained in the NAP; it also means securing enough persuasive evidence to support the justification of these attitudes, as well as developing an awareness and strengthening the belief in the necessity of the long-term profitability resulting from the compliance with these recommendations. The ultimate target effect of this process is building a positive understanding of the changed state of affairs and the attitudes inherited from the past. A positive contribution in this case means the acceptance of the attitude that the traditional division of duties between men and women in the area of defence has nowadays become obsolete, unacceptable and insensible from the point of view of a rational management of the human resources. Apart from providing support to the establishment of a new system of values, based on a rationally perceived platform, the development of an attitude of this kind among the members of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia is also significant as a counter-balance to the still-existing respectable resistance to the changes, which draws its vitality from the proven self-appreciation of all the long-persisting solutions, disguised in the robes of 'loyalty to traditions' and the 'everlasting values' of everything that still survives the tide of changes.

Developing awareness among the members of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces concerning the significance of the participation of women in the process of decision-making and commanding as one

of the tasks that arises from the objectives set within the National Plan, is a process that relies heavily on providing relevant evidence to support the justification of the claim that male and female commanders do not significantly differ in their motivations, abilities or work efficiency in performing this role, reassuring them that the fact that women do not occupy commanding positions as often as men is not due to their being different from or inferior to men, or their having different mental and physical features, but that such a state of affairs is rather due to certain social factors. From this point of view, a special role in advancing the gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia is played by the provisions of the National Action Plan specifying that certain mandatory educational areas for the members of this sector of security (managers and all the staff) are the topics that cover the issues of the so-called equal opportunities, i.e. the issues of being able to plan one's career, which – among other things – will require the lifting of the obstacles posted along the career ladder of women, all the way to the highest ranks in the military hierarchy.

The importance of the National Action Plan in the advancement of gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia is also reflected in emphasizing the necessity of an adequate preparation of the employees for the work in mixed-gender teams, where the recommended styles of team work are the ones that place premium emphasis on the complementary nature of the genders, rather than their rivalry or competition for the sake of proving the alleged superiority or inferiority of either of the genders. Despite the efforts to secure formally declared gender equity, this moderate approach has not abandoned sensible efforts to continue searching for the answer to the eternal question of how to find the right balance between a woman's career and her personal and family life, how to bring together her professional aspirations and the often contradictory expectations of her family members? How should priorities be assigned in a situation like this? The experiences indicate that these two spheres cannot be synchronized, unless a woman lowers her ambitions, or unless the other side corrects their expectations – unless a compromise solution is reached, there is an inevitable 'breakdown of the system'. Among other things, the recently adopted National Action Plan of the Republic of Serbia for the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 provides for initiating and channeling systematic preventive actions, aimed at reducing the risk of such undesired by-products of the process of advancement of gender equity.

The implementation of the National Action Plan of the Ministry of Defence is one of the priority activities of this Ministry in 2011. The aim of these activities is to 'install' and set to motion the institutional mechanisms of gender equity provided by the NAP (a person of confidence, a male/female advisor for gender equity in military missions, independent monitoring and gender-responsible budgeting). Provisions have been made for

corresponding personnel and organizational solutions, supported by adequate financial funds, aimed at securing efficient functioning of these mechanisms.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the adoption of the National Action Plan has opened new opportunities for the gender equity in the Serbian society, as well as in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces, as an integral part of the society. The degree, to which these opportunities will be actually used, will mostly depend on the stakeholders who will be implementing it, as well as on the circumstances in which they will be working. Some of the conditions will be pre-determined as more or less favourable or unfavourable, without a possibility to be changed to any significant extent. While such conditions will require adaptation, there will be other ones that will be created in the process, and controlled as they develop, so as to be made more favourable for the realization of the goals defined within the National Action Plan. These are the aspects that ought to model the subsequent steps on the road to the objectification of gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces of Serbia.

SUBSEQUENT STEPS

“If we are facing in the right direction, all we have to do is keep on walking”.

Buddhist proverb



SUBSEQUENT STEPS

There is a long way to travel from adopting a general programme document such as the National Action Plan, to the realization of the goals defined by it. The speed of the progress along this path will obviously depend on the objective obstacles to be overcome, but also on the vigor of the enthusiasm of the stakeholders. Enthusiasm, as it happens, is a changeable quality, it is gained and lost in the process, it keeps ebbing and flowing with the changes in the perception of the significance and feasibility of set objectives. What can be done in the future in order to reduce the number of obstacles on the path towards attaining higher standards of gender equity in the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces, and also to strengthen the determination of reaching these standards?

First of all, it is necessary to perform an evaluation of the assessments, attitudes, recommendations and findings contained in the National Action Plan, and also to make sure that these are presented and interpreted in a way that will contribute to building a positive attitude towards this programme document, making it generally acceptable as a starting platform for concrete actions within the function of advancing the state of affairs in one's own immediate surrounding. From this perspective, the recent adoption and promotion of this document represents a significant moment in the process of creating an adequate ambience conducive for the objectification of gender equity in the Armed Forces. What makes this document suited to the purpose it is serving, is not only its contents and the authority of the institution behind it, but also the wide circle of competent experts, representatives of the governmental and non-governmental sectors, all of whom have taken an either direct or indirect part in its creation. In this way, all of the partakers have taken an unofficial obligation to promote the values of this document, as a binding programme framework for actions taken within the function of realizing the national goals that have arisen from the recommendations made by the supreme authority of the world's organization. A special role in this process is played by the Ministry of

Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia. Their role is based on the dual function of these institutions – one of the active participants in the creation of the National Action Plan, and the other, as the institutions directly involved in a significant part of the projected objectives and activities.

In any case, promotion of the NAP represents a good opportunity to focus on the issue of gender equity in a way that will provide this cause with additional impetus. To this purpose, it is necessary to insist on the essence of the contents of the document, and raise awareness of the obligation to respect the recommendations contained in it, as something that serves the interests of the Armed Forces, rather than a product of a whim, exhibitionism or a trendy endorsement of a hype ‘in this world we are living in’. Probably the worst-case scenario in promoting the NAP would occur if it were to be accepted as something that has been imposed from the outside, a manifestation of enforced servility, therefore something that can ‘by right’ be treated in a careless manner and with disregard of the obligations it entails. In order to avoid this risk, it is important that premium emphasis in the affirmation of the NAP should be placed on the fact that it did not come into being in a single step, nor was it copied or uncritically borrowed from others, although it did not ignore the achievements made by others in this area either, so that it represents an expression of appreciation of the results of the relevant research projects, as well as the own experiences in this area and – finally – that this document also represents a product of synchronized attitudes and evaluations of all the relevant institutions in the society, including the representatives of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence of Serbia, who have all had a say in shaping its final form, making it acceptable and feasible in the actual conditions.

The second obligation posed directly on the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces of Serbia in the domain of further activities undertaken within the function of advancing gender equity, is to use the contents of the NAP as a platform for defining precise objectives and dynamics of their realization, taking into consideration all of the contemporary standards in this area, to an extent that will also be in accordance with the objective possibilities. This process will imply not only the avoidance of any ambitions to make a single megalomaniacal stride with which to make up for the many decades of lagging behind the armies with a highly developed gender-equity awareness, but also avoidance of any superficial ‘make up’ changes, creating an image of a qualitative change on the surface, but actually serving as a disguise for an endless delay of the real change.

If the objectives are set too high and are overly ambitious, a subconscious message is sent out that their creators and followers must be ‘out of the touch with reality’, lacking either competence or responsibility – in any case not capable of fulfilling the role they have been assigned. Unrealistic objectives represent in themselves an excuse for prolonging deadlines and

a reprieve from insufficient engagement and unfulfilled responsibilities. On the other hand, if the objectives are overly modest, they are likely to be perceived as pure formality, which will result in their careless treatment and undue delays, i.e. performing the requested actions at the level of their superficial form, which additionally degrades the already modest expectations. Finding the middle way in this approach, or the 'golden mean' in between these two extreme approaches is an important pre-condition for a gradual and consistent progress towards the higher levels of gender equity. This kind of progress, unimpressive though it may seem, will be steady and motivating from within. The manner (precision in grading) of this initial preliminary step in the implementation of the NAP in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces will to a high degree determine the attitude towards the Programme in general and the concrete measures that will be undertaken in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia, in accordance with the promoted standards of gender equity.

The third challenge that the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces will encounter on their road to objectification of gender equity is the process of upgrading the normative decisions that will determine the pace of progress along the desired path. It is true that the existing system laws (The Law on Armed Forces and Law on Defence) that regulate the status and relations in the service, contain provisions that formally guarantee full equity among the genders. These laws do not include a single discriminatory provision that used to be part of the previous laws, which deprived women of a possibility to get educated and trained for the military service in the Armed Forces under the same conditions as men, which practically meant limiting their right to work, as one of the principal human rights. However, it is yet to be seen how fast this legally guaranteed equity will become factual reality, creating true equal opportunities for both genders, and how long it will take before the apparent consequences of the former discriminatory normative and legal solutions can be removed. The speed of this process will largely depend on the validity of the legislation that exists at the more general level of comprehensiveness, on the extent of elaboration of legal regulations, i.e. on the extent of their concrete presence in the corresponding by-laws, or the degree at which the by-laws reflect the spirit of the law and correspond to the prevailing conditions of a given environment. If the by-laws and the regulations contained in them are designed in a way that meets these basic requirements for their validity, it can be expected that such by-laws will inevitably have a shorter life than the laws which they rely on and/or have been derived from. Because of this, in any considerations of the possible upgrading of certain normative and legal solutions, to the purpose of advancing gender equity in the Serbian Armed Forces, the primary objective is to draw up and amend (making additions to and amendments of) by-laws, i.e. regulations

that lie on a more general level of comprehensiveness (decisions, manuals, instructions ...).

Amendments of and additions to legislation at the level of by-laws also represent an opportunity to act in due time and within shorter lead times, correcting the existing practices and managing essential progress in the sphere of gender equity, demonstrating an authentic compliance with the form and the essence of the general legal norms which, in any case, regulate this matter in a decently diligent manner. It is worth noticing here that any enforced progress in this area towards the desired state of affairs – by, for example, providing certain exclusive benefits for women, entails certain risk of unwanted by-products. What is more, in a situation like this, a question will be raised regarding the legitimacy of the normative acts that have enabled such negative side effects, even when it cannot be denied that these were based on good intentions.

A good example of risky strategies can be found in setting the so-called minimum quotas for women in the Armed Forces, which are used as a means of securing a certain guaranteed number of places for female cadets or female military professionals, or – following this line of reasoning – setting certain lead times for the attainment of certain proportions of female military staff in certain branches of the Armed Forces or the Armed Forces in general, as well as other similar initiatives. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is a good side to using various quota systems, since they can enable visible and recognizable changes in a relatively short time span, which makes them very useful as an efficient mechanism, at least in measuring a certain progress by the means of quantitative indicators.

The same level of risk is involved in any attempts directed towards an enforced expansion of the area and scope of the professional engagement of women, by taking over the exclusive, typically 'male' duties. It is important to understand that, if we want to send out a clear message that the Serbian Armed Forces have abolished the stereotype division of duties into the 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs' and that it is now free of any gender discrimination of this kind, then it is logical and justified to promote a more prominent participation of women in duties within all of the branches and services of the Armed Forces, and this also means that women ought to be given the opportunity to get educated and trained for the duties they choose in accordance with their preferences. This was the reason that, for example, it was decided to respond to the considerable interest expressed by girls in the air force department of the Military Academy, which resulted in an exceptionally high proportion of female cadets at this department, much higher than the average number of female cadets at some other departments, where staff is trained for certain other duties, which are in much bigger demand than air-force pilots. In this way, education of female cadets as a progressive novelty has become even more

popular. The Armed Forces have now been presented in a different light, as an institution that keeps in step with other parts of the society when it comes to offering women opportunities of entering professional engagement in the most complex and the most lucrative professions. What is more, the positive effects of these trends have given legitimacy to this kind of exclusivity.

However, it is still necessary to provide answers to the questions related to the justification of a system in which, as a means of guaranteeing gender equity and based on set quotas for enrolment or admission to service, a certain number of vacancies is always reserved for women, even in the situations when – due to a large number of applicants and a limited number of vacancies – this means that better-quality male contestants will fail to be admitted. Could it be that by guaranteeing this kind of exclusive rights to women based on a proclaimed war against discrimination, we are actually promoting its new form, this time directed against men? Could it be that these initiatives have actually perverted the true principles of gender equity? Which criterion is more acceptable from the point of view of the principles of gender equity and equal opportunities for men and women: the unified or the differentiated selection criterion? What are the border values for the different criteria applied in assessing the physical fitness? Is it better and – if so, when is it better to opt for unified or separate ranking lists of candidates in the admission of candidates for certain formation duties that are either highly attractive or highly demanding, and how to approach the issue of climbing up the career ladder in the military hierarchy? To what extent can either of these two solutions be seen as supporting the principles of rational use of human resources in the defence sector, as well as the generally accepted imperative of open opportunities of promotion within a chosen career? Do high standards of gender equity necessarily imply special or literally identical accommodation conditions, both in the barracks and during the field activities? Do these standards, apart from providing specific garments – parts of the standard uniform that are to be worn only by women, also mean special designs for parts of the equipment, to suit the specific anthropomorphic features of women? What is the best way to organize the regular activities at the formation duties ‘covered’ by women, during their prolonged absences from duty, due to a maternity leave, and without reducing neither their chances of promotion on one side, nor the levels of the operational readiness of the unit, on the other side, including the workload of the other staff and their attitudes towards the given solution? What compensation can be offered to the ‘damage’ suffered by the marriage and the family whose female member has opted for a military career under the same conditions as men, therefore likely to be summoned for duty out of the regular working hours and also absent from home for certain prolonged periods of time?

The designers of the by-laws and the professionals involved in the creation of their amendments and additions will have to look for balanced solutions to similar problems, in order to prevent any radical fluctuations in the practice. The experience teaches us that this will not be an easy task.

In order to be able to respond to the challenges, as well as to identify them in time, interpret correctly and present objectively, the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces will have to undertake steps to enrich their information and education activities, expand them with new elements and forms and, which is especially important, to base them on the knowledge gained in the process of continual and systematic observations of the experiences of other armies, as well as corresponding empiric research conducted in their own environment, as well as the immediate social surroundings.

The significance of the process of information is reflected primarily in the fact that it represents one of the instruments that ought to be used in forming attitudes towards gender equity as a general concept in one's system of values, as well as towards certain forms of manifestation that it takes in practice, thus having a direct or indirect influence (stimulating or discouraging) on the behaviour of the sides that participate in its realization. Given the fact that every attitude has its cognitive component, there can be no doubt that the process of developing a positive attitude towards gender equity will be greatly assisted by providing argumentative evidence of its significance, as a civilization achievement and a major prerequisite for rational managing of human resources. It can therefore be concluded that an important share of responsibility, as well as credits for the advancement of gender equity in the armed forces is placed on the function of information, and those in charge of this function, since they will be the factors determining the amount of the positive energy that will be directed towards the measures that are undertaken in order to upgrade the existing state of affairs, i.e. how much conclusive evidence will be supplied, supporting the viability of investment into developing an ambience of equal opportunities for members of both genders.

Providing adequate information implies channeling this process to all the relevant target groups: members of the military, their families, places where decisions are made regulating the relations and status in the service. There can be no doubt that each individual target group will require a content and format of information that will be different to a certain degree, depending on the established or supposed information deficit. The significance of advancing gender equity in the security sector, and especially in the armed forces, as the segment that is the least accessible for women, is currently treated with directly opposed attitudes of some parties, which is an indicator in itself of the fact that the level of information is insufficient

and inadequate. On one side, recognizable efforts are made to include this issue among the prioritized tasks in the system reform, while on the other its importance is being dismissed as a fruitless job done by 'idlers'. Although neither of these two extreme positions can be close to absolute truth, it is the first one that would be likelier to gain decent support. The analysis of the contents of the several daily papers and weeklies with the largest circulation shows that the media still do not give enough attention to gender equity, and the little attention that is channeled in this direction is not in accordance with the real nature of the issue.¹⁶² What are the factors leading to this conclusion?

In the period from 1st January to 21st July 2010, the analyzed 19 media published a total of 8682 articles on the current issues in the system of defence. Women were mentioned in no more than 77 of these articles, which only 0.9 percent. In addition to this, only 20 of these articles featured the word 'woman' in their headings.¹⁶³ Most of the texts (a little more than two thirds) dealing with women in the military are actually official communiqués issued by the Ministry of Defence (27 articles) and the statements made by the Ministry of Defence (18 articles), while statements made by members of the Armed Forces of Serbia are mentioned in only eight articles. It is interesting to observe here that, while only one third of all these texts (a total of 25) convey an explicitly positive attitude towards an increased engagement of women in the system of defence, none of them express any negative attitudes, so that the majority are neutral, without a clearly stated opinion 'for' or 'against' this tendency. Apart from the headings of the articles such as 'Armed Forces Opened to Admission of Women', 'More Places for Women', 'Significant Participation of Women in Security Sector' and similar, a positive attitude is mainly conveyed through the quotations of the statements made by female cadets and female military professionals, which emphasize the fact that the conditions in which they

¹⁶² The analysis included the following printed media: Politika, Večernje novosti, Danas, Blic, Pres, Kurir, Pravda, Alo, Dnevnik, Narodne novine Niš, Nacionalni građanski 24 sata, NIN, Vreme, Svedok, Nedeljni telegraf, Pečat, Akter, Arena 92. The analysis also covered the editions published in the period from 1st January to 21st July 2010, and it was performed by the Office for Public Information of the Ministry of Defence, following a request by the Strategic Research Institute, to supply the needed statistics for the international conference 'Women in the Security Sector – UN SC Resolution 1325', held in Belgrade from 13th to 15th October 2010.

¹⁶³ The direct cause for the publication of the largest number of articles mentioning women in the defence system were the competitions for prospective students of the Military Academy and Military Medical Academy, organised by the Ministry of Defence (there were 32 articles of this kind), and the competitions for the admission of professional soldiers (27 articles). Quite understandably, the interviews and statements made by the Minister of Defence made on various occasions had received significant publicity, especially the interview made at the Press Conference dedicated to the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325, regarding the increased involvement of women in the Security Sector.

live and work are good, that being part of the Armed Forces of Serbia is a challenge for them, and that they enjoy the support of their male colleagues.¹⁶⁴

An overall conclusion made based on the number, type and contents of the analyzed articles is that the media correctly recorded the positive trends in the advancement of gender equity in the Armed Forces of Serbia, with some noticeable efforts that were made to show the military profession in a light that will make it appealing for women.¹⁶⁵ However, guided by good intentions, the media have failed to include the information of the difficulties of the military profession, and in doing so, have sent out a wrong message to the future members of the military, misguiding them into belief that what they can expect will be a relatively comfortable service. This mistake is understandable in the given context, given the nature of the occasions that the articles were commemorating (military celebrations marking the promotion of cadets into the rank of officers, public invitations for enrolment in the Military Academy, exclusive situations in which female soldiers found themselves, and similar).

Regardless of this, in presenting any information that serves the function of affirming gender equity, care must be taken to inform prospective and future members of the military about the different disadvantages and/or complexity of the problems that are encountered in the service. Unless this is consistently done, the information on women in the military that is not fully objective (although suited to the aimed purpose) can lead the general and military public to a wrong picture of the woman-soldier, serving mostly as an ornament (a 'flower arrangement') with which to decorate the grey of the uniformed military environment. This kind of picture is to a certain extent degrading for women themselves and can also be irritating for the military environment, since – instead of equality in rights and obligations – it promotes exclusivity of privileges for women, therefore a new kind of discrimination.

Even though it may be accepted that this practice was perhaps acceptable to a certain extent in the initial phase of making the official decision that was to allow admission of women to the Military Academy, it would now be totally unjustified to persist on it, and it could even lead to certain

¹⁶⁴ The fact that among the photographs which accompany articles in which women are mentioned (total of 47 articles) the half of them portray women in uniforms indirectly implies how much a woman in defence is the subject of interest to media.

¹⁶⁵ For example, from 77 reports that mention women in defence only eight of them are about women in Serbian Armed Forces units. The rest of them are about women soldiers in some other contexts, mainly in situations that are more relaxing than stressful, more promising than alarming. So, for example, a female cadet – future pilot – has more chances of being mentioned in a report on life and work conditions at Military Academy and thus perpetuated via photography than to be mentioned as a future commander of infantry.

adverse effects. Instead of promoting this kind of approach any further, priorities ought to be given to pictures illustrating the everyday life of the members of the Armed Forces, as well as bulletins that present results of research made into the competence of women in performing duties in the Armed Forces, as the most reliable platform for creating an atmosphere of mutual acceptance and respect shared by men and women engaged in the Armed Forces of Serbia. At the same time, this provides the most effective argumentation in support of the demands to apply the criterion of equal opportunities, i.e. secure equal conditions, based on an objective evaluation of work performance, with which women would be allowed access to the most prominent positions in the Armed Forces of Serbia, as a key indicator of a high level of gender equity.

For this objective to be attained, it is necessary to use the current level of progress and the knowledge of certain rules that govern the process of advancing gender equity as a platform for further steps in this area. A key role in this process will be played by the education process in the widest sense of this term, including formal, informal, institutional and non-institutional education and upbringing, given an concrete form of either diffuse or focused dissemination of certain knowledge, performing the function of building up competence of the relevant partakers in this process and aimed at the implementation of the adopted strategies and creating a positive attitude towards the objectives that they themselves set. To this end, adequate education implies the realization of all of its basic functions – the informative, explanatory, exploratory and motivation function, directed towards concrete target groups.

It is quite natural that the primary target groups are the members of the armed forces (both men and women) and the members of their families, and also the current and prospective candidates for the admission to the service in the Armed Forces, as well as for studies at the Military Academy, while other target groups will include representatives of institutions involved in the creation of the standards of gender equity and the creation of the ambience conducive for a practical attainment of the set objectives. In this way, the educational contents must be markedly differentiated, with the forms of engagement being highly flexible, suited to adjustments 'as you go'. In order to find the right balance for these components, it is necessary to establish a true educational deficit which is typical of each respective target group, and also to recognize the possibilities and general readiness to consume the contents that would be designated as appropriate from this aspect and in the given moment.

There are different opinions regarding this particular issue. Some of these argue that it would be necessary to expand the curricula of both the regular studies for future officers and the post-graduate studies at the Military Academy, with a separate course that would deal with various aspects

of gender equity, as well as to include these topics and areas in some of the existing courses (sociology, military psychology, military andragogy management in defence...), organize ad-hoc seminars and lectures (based on an estimated need and possibilities) in this area and, finally, to leave individuals to complete this task, 'playing it by the ear', but also following their own needs, using any of the available forms of self-education.

There are many indicators that point to the fact that the current educational deficit and the general ambience in the Armed Forces and the society, would be best addressed by the second variant at the first instance, while it would be later possible to use the third variant as well. In both of these scenarios, the educational contents ought to be designed based on the actual needs, which means that they can also be reduced in the process. This, however, must not be done based on any irresponsible estimates, but rather based on factual knowledge gained from trusted sources. It would be ideal if these sources would primarily include results of conducted research projects. By realizing several research projects in the sphere that comprises the role of women in the System of Defence, and also by organizing scientific gatherings dedicated to the exchange of experiences in this area, accompanied by the publications of corresponding works, the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Serbia have clearly shown that this is their preferred approach to the issue. It would be worth mentioning some of these projects here: „*Obim i modalitet angažovanja žena u savremenim armijama*“ (2005); „*Žena u odbrani – od tradicionalnog do savremenog*“ (2006); „*Zainteresovanost srednjoškolske omladine za školovanje na Vojnoj akademiji*“ (2007); „*Školovanje devojaka na Vojnoj akademiji*“ (2007); „*Maturanti o profesiji oficir*“ (2008); two international conferences: „*Žene u vojsci*“ (2006); „*Žene u sektoru bezbednosti-Rezolucija UN SC 1325*“ (2010). There is no reason to act differently in the following period, giving the fact that the feedback information about the effects of this practice undoubtedly positive and as such sufficiently motivating for new research enterprises.

REFERENCES

- Banjac, Z., Slabiji pol na jakim pozicijama, *Naša borba*, 28th-29th September 1996.
- Bebel, A., *Žena i socijalizam*, Rad, Belgrade, 1956.
- Becker, S.G., *Human capital*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1993.
- Bela knjiga odbrane Državne zajednice Srbija i Crna Gora*, Ministry of Defense of Serbia and Montenegro, Belgrade, 2005.
- Beneder, A., Whether women could be soldiers in Bundessphere, CVNDI, *Informative translation bulletin*, 12/1987.
- Blečić, M., The Woman on Men's Planet, *Ana – enciklopedija za žene*, Belgrade, 15th March, 1990.
- Bok, G., *Žena u istoriji Evrope*, Clio, Belgrade, 2005.
- Brower, M., A Case for Women Warfighters, *Military Review*, Nov-Dec., 2002.
- Čajkanović, V., O ženi u Grka i Rimljana, *Srpski književni glasnik*, no. 251. (XXVII), Nova štamparija "Davidović", Belgrade.
- Cesar. C.J., *De Bello Alehandrino*, London, Heinemann, Loeb Classical Library, 1955.
- Collection of Papers* from International conference „Women in Armed Forces“, Strategic Research Institute and OSCE Mission in the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 2006.
- Contamine, J., *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984.
- Coppola, N., and company, The Female Infantryman. A Possiblility? *Military Review*, Nov. Dec.. 2002.
- Cowper, L.I., *The Kings Own, the Story of a Regiment*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939.
- D.D., Prva žena vojni cenzor, *Ekspres politika*, *Daily newspaper*, 25th January 2000.
- Dadni, R., Žene u kopненоj vojsci – kraj medenog meseca, CVNDI, *Information Translation Bulletin*, 4/1985.
- De Bovoar, S., *Drugi pol, i činjenice i mitovi*, the Belgrade publishing and graphic Institute, Belgrade, 1982.
- Đorđević, Ž., *Srpska narodna vojska*, Narodna knjiga, Belgrade, 1984.

- Đorđević, B., Kovač M, Šaranović J., *Srpski vojni pomenik*, VIZ, Belgrade, 2003.
- Duganova, V., Žena revolucionar i aktivan činilac odbrane, *Informator*, no 3, 1976.
- Đurić, A., *Žene-Solunci govore*, NIRO "Književne novine", Belgrade, 1982.
- Džamonja, Z. and associates, *Psihološke karakteristike žena i njihov uticaj na obavljanje vojničkih dužnosti* (studija), Vojnomedicinska akademija, Odeljenje za vojnu psihologiju, ZPM, Belgrade, 1984.
- Džamonja, Z., *Uticaj psiholoških, socioloških i fizičkih karakteristika na uspešnost obuke i vaspitanja vojnika u JNA*, Strategic Research Institute, Belgrade, 1988.
- Economist*, "For better for worse: A survey of women and work", 18 July.
- Ehlstain, J.B., *Women and War*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995.
- Emelijanov, E., Civilna odbrana Francuske, *Information Translation Bulletin*, 2/1992.
- Engels, F., *Poreklo porodice, privatne svojine i države*, Prosveta, Belgrade, 1979.
- Fišer, H., *Um žene*, Narodna knjiga – Alfa, 2005.
- Fraser, A., *The Warrior Queens*, Vintage Books, New York, 1994.
- From, E., *Anatomija ljudske destruktivnosti*, book 1, Naprijed – Zagreb, Nolit – Belgrade, 1986.
- Gender Equity – Concept and Tools for Development*, The Centre for Development and Population activities (CEDPA), Washington, 1996.
- Gilbert, M.S., *Soldiers Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War*. Higonnet et al. (eds):197–226, 1987.
- Glas*, 3rd December 2002.
- Goldstein, S.J., *War and Gender*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Graves, R., *Grčki mitovi*, Nolit, Belgrade, 1974.
- Grubišić, N., Žene muške energije, *Vojska*, 2. 3. 1995.
- Guzzo, A. R., Dickson, W. M., Teams in Organizations: Recent Research on Performance and Effectiveness, *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 147, 1966.
- Heinrich, J., *Gesetze fuer die K.u.K.Armee in Auszug*, Vienna, 1785.
- Hirschfeld, M., *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*, Leipzig, Schreibner, 1930.
- Holm, J., *Women in the Military*, Ballantine Books, New York, 1993.
- Hošek, A., Momirović, K., Jovanović, S., *Prilog analizi seksualnog dimorfizma u konativnom prostoru*, Belgrade 2001.

Hošek, A., Momirović, K., *Razlike kognitivnih i ponašajnih karakteristika žena i muškaraca starih od 15 do 25 godina*, Belgrade 2001.

<http://www.beoelkerungsschutz.ch/e/personaltraining/personal.html>, 24.5.2004.

<http://www.mod.uk/careers/standards.htm>, 24. 5. 2004.

<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2001>.

Iveković, R., *Studija o ženi i ženski pokret*, Marksizam u svetu, NIRO "Komunist", no 8-9, 1981.

Jansen, F., *Menadžment ljudskih resursa u oružanim snagama Holandije*, lecture in the course named Serbian-Montenegrin Armed Forces Course – SMA-FC-4, held from 8th to 29th June 2005, organised by Holland's College of Defence.

Jovanović, B., *Karakterologija Srba*, Naučna knjiga, Belgrade, 1992.

Katz D. and Robert L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations*, New York: John Wiley, 1966.

Kilibarda, Z., Poslovi u vojsci na kojima bi žene trebalo prvenstveno da se angažuju, Zbornik radova sa međunarodne konferencije „Žene u vojsci“, 2006.

Kilibarda, Z., Šaranović, J., Obrazovni i socijalno-ekonomski korelati motivisanosti devojaka za vojni poziv, Zbornik radova fakulteta bezbednosti, Belgrade, 2007.

Klajn, Š., *Najveći zlotvori – žene u istoriji*, Politika, Narodna knjiga, Belgrade, 2004.

Kont, F., *Sloveni – Nastanak i razvoj slovenskih civilizacija u Evropi VI-XIII vek*, first volume, Zavod za izdavačku delatnost "Filip Višnjić", Belgrade, 1989.

Kosikov, I., Žene u vojnoj službi u stranim armijama, CVNDI, *Information Translation Bulletin*, 4/1985.

Kostić, P., Biološke i psihološke razlike između žena i muškaraca, *Psihologija danas*, No. 19, 2003.

Kroning, A., *Ivana Orleanska (pastirica s mačem)*, Alfa, Zagreb, 1986.

Kuzmin, E. C., *Rukovoditelj i kolektiv*, Izdateljstvo Leningradskovo univerziteta, Leningrad, 1974.

Lalić, V., Smrtonosni ugriz, *Vojška*, 6. 3. 2003.

Law on Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, "Official Gazette of SRY", No. 67, 29th October 1993 and "Official Military Gazette", No. 31, 4th November 1993.

Law on Defence, "Official Gazette of SRY", No. 67, 29th October 1993.

- Law on Structure of Armed Forces*, "Official Military Gazette", No. 43-44, 12th November 1986.
- Leavitt, W. Leslie, *Great Men and Women*, Longman, London, lecture 1958.
- Maccoby, E., *The development of sex differences*, Tavistock, London, 1964.
- Machiavelli, N., *The Prince*, Narmondsworth, Penguin, 1965.
- Macurdy, H.G., *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaio Egypt*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1932.
- Majerle, M. and Mićović, M., *Psihološke razlike među polovima* – The study of VMA, Belgrade, 1982.
- Mala enciklopedija*, Prosveta, third edition, book 1, Belgrade, 1978.
- Marček, J., *Profil oficira i interpersonalni odnosi*, Uprava za školstvo i obuku, Vojna akademija, Belgrade, 2003.
- Marinković, N., *Žena u stvarnosti i literaturi*, *Žena*, no 3/74.
- Marković, I., *Žene u lavirintu smrti*, *Vojska*, 24th September 1998.
- McLaughlin, M., *The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe*, *Women's Studies*, 1990.
- Mek Kej, K., *Služba žena-vojnika u OS Izraela (CHEN)*, CVNDI, *Information Translation Bulletin*, 12/1979.
- Mićović, M. And Šipka, P., *Međupolne razlike u preferencijama vojničkih dužnosti*, *Čovek i zanimanje*, no 1, 1988.
- Milosavljević, Lj., Klem, V., *Žene koje su menjale svet*, MK Panonija & CIPRI, Novi Sad, 2005.
- Ministarsko uputstvo za 2006. godinu*, Ministry of Defence, Sector for defence policy, 2006.
- Murphy, R., *Managing Strategic Change – Executive Overview of Management* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US. Army War College, 2001).
- Najljepši klasični mitovi*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1968.
- Naredba o određivanju vrsta, grana i specijalnosti u rodovima i službama Vojske Jugoslavije (Pregled VES vojnika, podoficira i oficira VJ)*, Uprava za organizaciju, mobilizaciju i popunu GŠ VJ, 1992.
- NATO Review*, summer, 2001.
- Nielson, V., *Women in uniform*, *NATO Review*, No. 2, 2001.
- Njegoš, P. Petrović, *The Mountain Wreath*, translated and edited by Vasa D. Mihalovich, Vajat, Beograd, 1989.

- Obradović, T., Lapčević, A., Stefanov, G., Kostić, A., Mitrović, V., Gašić, T., *Uticaj pola ispitanika na korišćenje mehanizma odbrane*, the résumé book of Council of Serbian psychologists, Subotica, 2001.
- Obrenović, M., *Zločini optužuju*, radnički univerzitet „Radivoje Ćirpanov“, Novi Sad, 1973.
- Oliver, D., *Katarina Velika (carica i ljubavnica)*, Alfa, Zagreb, 1986.
- Omstein and L. Isabella, Age Versus Stage of Career Attitudes of Women: A Partial Replication and Extension, *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, vol 136, 1990.
- Owen, D. R. D., *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Legend*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1993.
- Pavlović, S., Uzbuna zbog Melise, *Borba*, 6th February 1991.
- Quicherat, J., ed. *Process de condamnation et de Rehabilitatio de Jeanne d'Arc, ditte la Pucelle*, Renouard, Paris, 1841–9.
- Rivista Militare*, No. 6, 11–12, 2001.
- Riznica mudrosti: Misli velikih umova čovečanstva*, IP LIB d.o.o. Novi Sad, Novi Sad, 2003.
- Rod i reforma sektora bezbednosti*, Belgrade Center for Security Policy, 2010.
- Runge, M., *Žena i njen poziv*, Miloš Veliki, Štamparija Bojovića i Mičića, Belgrade, 1901.
- Ruso, Ž., Rasprava o političkoj ekonomiji, *Politička misao*, no 1, Zagreb, 1979.
- Samolovčev, B., *Teorijske osnove vojnog vaspitanja i obrazovanja*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 1976.
- Šaranović J., Kilibarda Z., *Školovanje devojaka na vojnoj akademiji*, Ministry of Defense, HR Department, Administration for schools, Military Academy, Belgrade, 2007.
- Šaranović J., *Žena u odbrani – od tradicionalnog do savremenog*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 2006.
- Šaranović, J. Kilibarda, Z., *Angažovanje žena u funkciji poboljšanja kvaliteta popune jedinica civilne zaštite*, Defendologija, br. 19-20/, Banja Luka, 2007.
- Šaranović, J. Kilibarda, Z., *Za i protiv školovanja žena za oficirske dužnosti u Vojsci Srbije*, Vojno delo, no. 1/2007.
- Šaranović, J., Doprinos Vojske Srbije afirmaciji rodne ravnopravnosti u sektoru bezbednosti, *Revija za bezbednost*, 4/10.
- Šaranović, J., *Istorijska i naučno teorijska ishodišta savremenog oblikovanja uloge žene u odbrani*, Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne konferencije „Žene u vojsci“, 2006.

- Šaranović, J., Kilibarda, Z., *U susret školovanju žena na Vojnoj akademiji, Školovanje i obuka u sistemu odbrane - evroatlanski aspekt*, Naučno-stručna konferencija sa međunarodnim učešćem, 29. i 30. novembar 2006.
- Šaranović, J., Marček, J., Kilibarda, Z. *Uticao obrazovnog profila i radnog iskustva oficira na njihove procene mogućnosti angažovanja žena u vojsci*, Vojno delo, no. 4/2005.
- Šaranović, J., Milenković, S., Đorđević, A., Višacki, T., *Maturanti o profesiji oficir*, Strategic Research Institute, Belgrade, 2008.
- Šaranović, J., Rodna ravnopravnost u Vojsci Srbije-između diktata prošlosti i izazova budućnosti, Vojno delo, br 1/2011.
- Satzinger, K., Frauen als Soldaten in Bundesheer, *Truppendienst*, 2/1998.
- Schein, V., Sex role stereotyping, Ability and performance, *Personal psychology*, 1978.
- Šipka, P. i Mićović M., Međupolne razlike u preferencijama vojničkih dužnosti, *Čovek i zanimanje*, no. 1/1988.
- Smiljanić, V., *Pol na testovima inteligencije*, Psychology Institute, Belgrade, 1980.
- Smrt jedne velike žene, *Politika*, 14th April 1929.
- Sommerville, M., *Women in the First Capitalist Society Experiences in Seventeenth Century England*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Strategija odbrane Državne zajednice Srbija i Crna Gora*, Ministry of Defence of Serbia and Montenegro, Belgrade, 2005.
- Strong, K., *Vocational Interest of Men and Women*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1943.
- Swanwick, H., *I Have Been Young*, London, Gollanez, 1935.
- Swiss Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports, 2000.
- Taylor, S., *Vietnam's Women at War: Fighting for Ho Chi Minh and Revolution*, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1999.
- Teman, L. and Tyler, L., *Psychological sex differences*, J. Wiley and Sons, New York, 1954.
- The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life, http://www.ccre.org/docs/charte_eqlite_en.pdf
- The suggestions for compiling of National action plan for applying UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia, Belgrade fund for political excellence, Ministry of Defense of Serbia, Belgrade, 2010.

- Toader C., *Women and Ethnic Minorities in Romanian Armed Forces*, International Conference, Globalization of Civil-Military Relations: Democratization, Reform and Security, Encyclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002.
- Tuckman, W.B., Developmental Sequence in Small Groups, *Psychological Bulletin*, 1965.
- U.S. Army Field Manual 22-100, Army Leadership: Be, Know, Do, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO), 31 August 1999.
- U.S. Army Regulation 600-20, Personnel-General Army Command Policy, Washington, DC: GPO, 15th July 1999.
- Uputstvo o organizovanju priprema za izradu plana odbrane zemlje, Federal Ministry of Defense, Belgrade, 1995.
- Uredba o kriterijumima za raspoređivanje građana i normativima materijalnih sredstava za potrebe popune Vojske Jugoslavije i druge potrebe odbrane zemlje, Službeni vojni list, no 19, 14th July 1994.
- Ustav Republike Srbije, "Sl. Glasnik RS", no 98/2006.
- Ustav Savezne republike Jugoslavije, VINC, Belgrade, 1993.
- Van Creveld, M., *Men, Women and War*, Cassel & Co, London, 2001.
- Vojna enciklopedija, Editorial Military Encyclopedia edition, book 2, book 4, book 10, Belgrade, 1971; 1972; 1975.
- Vrbanić, N., *Combat Magazine*, June/July 1996.
- Wallhausen, J., *Kriegskunst zu Fuess*, Oppenheim, de Bry, 1615.
- Wolfgang, J., Frauen in das Bundesheer? *Truppendienst*, 5th October 1984.
- Women in the Armed Forces*, A Report by the Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group, Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom, May 2002.
- Woolf, V., *A Room of One's Own*, New York Harcourt and Brace and Jovanovich, 1957.
- Woollacott, A., Khaki Fever and its control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality in the British Home front in the First World War, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1994.
- Yonge, G., Sex differences in cognitive functioning as a result of experimentally induced frustration, *Journal exp. educ.*, 1964.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Resolution of the United Nations Security Council No. 1325

United Nations
Security Council

RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31
October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

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), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact that this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* 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,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women

and girls, *Recognizing* the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8th March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those

undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19th November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19th April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Media Center „Defence“
Belgrade, Brace Jugovic street

Library „Vojna knjiga“ (*Military book*)
Book number 1677

Design & prepress
Zoran Zivkovic

Photo
Darimir Banda
Photo Center MC „Defence“

Translation
Ljubomir Vasojevic, prof.

Proofreading and correcting
Ana Karovic, prof.
Snezana Milutinovic, prof.

Print
Vojna štamparija
Belgrade