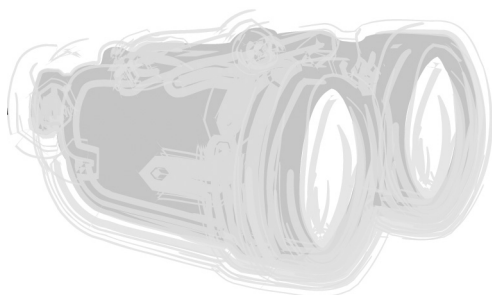


# WESTERN BALKANS SECURITY OBSERVER



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## GENDER AND SECURITY

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# Editor's Word



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The year 2010 was marked, both in Serbia and around the world, by numerous activities organised to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security. Being aware of the necessity of a continuous dialogue and exchange of information between the security community and the community dealing with gender-related issues, this issue of our magazine in 2011 serves as further encouragement to discussions on these topics.

The issue opens with the articles written by two authors who offer their perspective on the significance of gender mainstreaming in the security sector and the ways for reaching this goal. Zorana Antonijević discusses the importance of gender mainstreaming in the security sector in Serbia and offers the security institutions several strategies for operating in this direction. Elona Dhembo writes about lessons learned from gender mainstreaming in the Albanian Police Academy curricula.

Another topic discussed in this issue of the magazine is gender identity in security-related professions. The integration and the position of women in traditional security institutions, such as the police and the military, largely depend on several factors: cultural and value systems, the structure and characteristics of an organisation, or on social, economical and political characteristics of any given society. Of all these factors, the cultural and value system within a profession or organisation can greatly influence the acceptance, retention and advancement of women in it. Danijela Spasić analyses the influence of police culture on the integration of women in some European countries and America, and particularly in Ukraine, a country with a strong traditional and post-communist heritage. Supporting her claim by many examples, the author points out that women are often the victims of a macho-oriented police culture and that this has far-reaching consequences not only on their career, but sometimes on their lives as well. Instead of depicting women as victims or a “weaker“ sex, Lejla Hadžiahmić offers a completely different example of a role of women in the security sector. The author writes about the women who actively participated in the defense of Sarajevo during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last decade of the previous century. Describing their personal experience during this period, and offering the conclusions of her own research, the

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author specifically looks at the reasons why the role and contribution of these women were not acknowledged neither during the war nor in its aftermath. The last article dedicated to this topic deals with the use of gender-sensitive language in one security-related profession. To be more precise, Svenka Savic, a leading Serbian linguist, analyses the usage of gender (in)sensitive language in the Serbian Armed Forces. She particularly looks at terminology related to military ranks and offers solutions for their usage in the feminine gender. The author is convinced that the mainstreaming of gender-sensitive Serbian language in the security-related professions can change not only the language usage but the awareness of people regarding gender equality.

The third section of this issue contains two articles that analyse the position of women in security-related institutions from different perspectives. In the first article, Mentor Vrajolli, an author from Prishtina, tries to evaluate the progress of the security institutions in Kosovo, particularly the police and security forces, in including women in their work and regarding their treatment within the system. In the second article, Cristina Radoi analyses how the military staff, both men and women, view the position of women in the military institutions in Romania. By analysing the attitudes of men and women, the author identified the key problems that women are faced with and offered a solution for the improvement of their status within the Romanian defense system.

One of the most significant achievements in the area of gender and security in Serbia has been the adoption of the National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The adoption of this document on 23 December 2010 meant that the government institutions were bound to carry out numerous activities in the next five years which would provide the equality of women in terms of their participation, advancement and decision-making in the security sector. Given the importance of this topic, we included in this issue of the magazine a text written by Biljana Stojković, in which she describes the development of the National Action Plan and provides a list of indicators necessary for monitoring its implementation.

*Maja Bjeloš and Gorana Odanović*



# The Participation of Women in the Security Sector – The Feminist Concept

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Original scientific article

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## Abstract

*The author of this paper attempts, through the prism of different feminist approaches to security issues, to answer the question of whether gender equality is necessary in the security sector. The paper discusses a shift in the security paradigm from one focused on the security of the state towards one focused on the security of citizens, namely a feminist concept of security and its implications for the increased participation of women and their role in this sector. Moreover, the author tries to explain how important it is to introduce gender issues and gender perspectives into security sector reform and to propose different possibilities for strategic action.*

**Key words:** security, feminism, gender equality, militarism

\* \* \*

“It is not in giving life but in risking life that man is raised above the animal; that is why superiority has been accorded in humanity not to the sex that brings forth but to that which kills.”

Simone de Beauvoir<sup>2</sup>

“Women give life. Sustain life. Nurture life...If you want to make a combat unit ineffective, include women.”

Robert Barrow, Former U.S. General<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Simon de Bovoar *Drugi pol, citirano prema J. Ann Tickner, Gender in International Relations - Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security, Columbia University Press, 1992, str. 22;*

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from: J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations - Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security, Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 44.*

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**Key feminist concepts and security**

Today the issue of women's participation in the security sector, particularly in operational units rather than in clerical positions, is no longer taboo in Serbia. Even though uniformed women still account for a modest proportion of below 20 percent of the Army of Serbia and the police<sup>4</sup>, it can be said that there is a trend of incremental increase in participation by women, accompanied by suitable affirmative action measures (Jovanka Šaranović, 2010). In 2011 the first class of women officers will graduate from the Military Academy and the Basic Police Training Centre has been enrolling women since 2007. The participation of women in the operational staff of the security sector is only one indicator of gender equality (and usually an inadequate one). On the other hand, for many feminist theoreticians and activists, the participation of women in the uniformed military and police staff is a controversial issue and different feminist theories offer different answers and solutions to it. And, finally, within the security system per se, many still strongly oppose the penetration of women into the military and police in the belief that it lessens the defensive power of the state and the authority of these institutions.

Giving examples of the controversial opinions that exist in regard to women's participation in the security sector, I will try to explain in more detail the feminist outlook on security and the importance of introducing a gender perspective to the participation of women in the security sector, and to propose several possible strategic actions.

In the theory of international relations, security was a concept used in both theory and in practice to explain why and how conflicts between states arise and how to maintain world peace and the integrity of state, nation and territory. Issues of gender and gender regimes were omitted from the theory and practice of security and international studies. This can be interpreted as being a consequence of the patriarchal division of labour and gender relations with the public sphere belonging to men and the private sphere belonging to women. The sphere of international relations, security and national interests is the area of public life in which gender and different gender needs were neither visible nor recognised as critical for further development of this sector.

Since Simone de Beauvoir's famous book 'The Second Sex' (1949)<sup>5</sup>, the issue of gender has been perceived as a social construct receiving different interpretations in different historical contexts. The core of any traditional perception of gender and

<sup>4</sup> "...in March 2002, out of the total of number of employees (in the Ministry of Interior), 16.98 percent were women. In August 2005, women accounted for 19.68 percent, in November 2009 the figure was 20.64. (...) 15.81 percent of women had the status of armed officers in the Ministry of Interior in 2005 and at the end of last year (2009) this figure was 19.95. In 2005, the proportion of uniformed women was 6.6 percent, now risen to 7.49. Moreover, a step forward was made in decision-making positions; thus, at this time women account for 12.66 percent of all decision-makers in the MoI whilst in 2001 this category accounted for less than 2 percent. (...) (in the Army of Serbia) women account for 2.6 percent of uniformed officers, 19.4 percent of students at the Military Academy, and 15 percent of professional soldiers. <http://www.bezbednost.org/izvestaj-rod-i-reforma-sektora-bezbednosti-predstavljen-u-narodnoj-skupstini>

<sup>5</sup> 'The Second Sex' was translated into the Serbian language and published in 1982, by BIGZ Beograd, thirty years after its first edition.



gender relations, however, is a binary view of the world and of relations between people with the active, public, historical, cultural and aggressive being, as a rule, associated with the construction of manhood, and the passive, private, non-historical, natural and amicable being associated with the construction of womanhood. “It is not in giving life but in risking life that man is raised above the animal; that is why superiority has been accorded in humanity not to the sex that brings forth but to that which kills.” (Simone de Beauvoir, 1982). The ways in which these patterns subsist through history and transpire in the public and private spheres and in institutions are the subject matter of feminist theories’ criticism and deconstruction.

This binary perception of the world gave rise to a number of theories on the specific roles of women and men in it and the ways in which such roles are constructed. Some sciences and a number of scientific discoveries were founded on the mere assumption that, since there are biological differences between women and men, the same must be true for their gender identities, meaning that there is a need to treat men and women differently within the institutions of scientific knowledge, as well as in the private sphere. Gender identity (Sonya Andermahr, Terry Lovell, Carol Wolkowitz, 1997) is the acceptance and creation of the gender of a person, regardless of the biological gender given by birth.

In postmodern feminist theory, the binary concept of women and men is abandoned and the understanding of complex social and gender relations includes all identities that a person can have as personal characteristics such as race, class, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, religious and political convictions, etc.<sup>6</sup>. With this, modern feminist theory, as well as practice, shifted its aspiration from annulling the differences between the genders as advocated by liberal feminism through women’s fight for elementary human rights, to the concept of respecting the differences that affect the different positions of women and men, primarily in the areas of labour, education and political action, resulting in various equal opportunity policies and affirmative measures. Postmodern feminist orientations, however, do not re-evaluate only the difference issue but also the binary perception of the world and gender relations per se, as a construct and not as a given; as a result, this perception and these relations can be changed and deconstructed.

Nevertheless, the binary perception of the identity of manhood and womanhood is still present, both in scientific thought and within institutional practice and private life. Identification of

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<sup>6</sup> Theoretical concepts influenced feminist practice. Thus, we have different ‘feminisms’ such as Islamic feminism, lesbian feminism, womanism – Afroamerican women, a specific kind of feminist practice in Latin and North America and Western and Eastern Europe.



the female gender with the identity of femininity, namely with weakness, unreliability, dependence, emotionality and mildness, made women unsuitable as rulers,<sup>7</sup> statesmen, in the military and for all other tasks that are associated with the need to maintain state sovereignty and security in an unsafe world. On the other hand, the male gender was, through the identity of masculinity, associated with aggression, moral integrity, logical and rational judgement, autonomy of body and mind, and other characteristics which were often explained by biological and psychological predispositions and not only by cultural and social differences (R. W. Connell, 2002).

The differences between women and men were used to justify the maintenance of hierarchical relations of power, thus contributing to women having a subordinate position to men. Hierarchies and power relations produced different gender regimes influencing the individual lives of women and men and the exercise of their fundamental human rights. Both encouraging and a matter of concern is the fact that gender patterns may be changed - admittedly at a different pace and with different results, subject to social and historical context. "The gender regimes of institutions usually correspond to the overall gender order, but may depart from it. Change usually starts in one sector of society and takes time to seep through into others." (Raewyn Connell, 2009:73)

### **Change of the security paradigm and the feminist security concept**

The issue of power hierarchies, attitudes towards the other and the different, but also the binary perception of the world from the positions of inside and outside, foreign and domestic, order and anarchy, centre and periphery, were until the very end of the Cold War the focus of international policy as a discipline and, accordingly, of the perception of security issues (J. Ann Tickner, 1992). Namely, before the end of the Cold War, security was seen as an issue of the military security of a state, through ensuring territorial integrity and sovereignty and safe borders, but also technical developments allowing the capability of responding to the need for military dominance. According to this perception, wars could arise at any time and the only thing that contributed to maintaining peace between wars was the 'realistic policies' (J. Ann Tickner, 1992) of relying on one's own resources through military dominance, the military's size and equipment and good

<sup>7</sup> Even though there were always and there still are some ruleresses: queens and heiresses to royal thrones, the issue of women in these positions is not the issue of having equal opportunities and systemic changes but that of individual, one-off, occurrences when a royal family did not have a male heir.



military intelligence. In a word, the only thing that states need to do to ensure security is to prepare for war, and what they achieve in such social circumstances is not the welfare of their citizens, but maintenance of their own autonomy and self-sufficiency. The result of this perception of security was the 'balance of terror' (J. Ann Tickner, 1992), through the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, a feeling of general danger and the threat of all against all. In the context of internal policy, further consequences of such perceptions of security were that the state and its security apparatus appear more as an internal threat for its own citizens than as the guardians of those citizens' security. This concept of security encouraged a high level of social militarisation in which the man-warrior was the national ideal and the supreme proof of patriotism was to die for the state (nation), and not to contribute to the welfare of all its citizens regardless of their gender, race, ethnic or other origin. The role of citizens in this militarist perception led to a militarised outlook on others: sexual and ethnic minorities, women, non-patriotic men (conscientious objectors), were seen as a source of uncertainty and danger for the security of the state.

With the weakening of bipolar division of the world and decolonisation, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the enlargement of the European Union to some countries that formerly belonged to the so-called Eastern Bloc, the concept of security changed. Wars and security threats changed. Military conflicts are mostly seen in underdeveloped and developing countries, they mostly affect civilian populations and cause great disturbances in the affected population, not only in the state that is the arena of the conflict, but also those located far from the territory of the conflict (refugees, IDPs, new social categories such as widows, child warriors, victims of war violence, etc.).

The nature of military conflicts changed too. Wars are now fought less for territory and more and more a result of economic, ethnic, religious, or other ideological conflicts, the fight for national identity and freedom. In a globalised world becoming increasingly more connected and interdependent, security threats go beyond state borders and cannot be removed merely through the action of a single actor on the world stage. Environmental, economic-financial, terrorist and security threats within organised crime are no longer a threat and a danger that can be averted or removed through the action of a state or an alliance of several states. In the globalised world even the smallest and weakest of

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<sup>8</sup> This important and binding international document, even though it was written in generalised language, may be classified under four main areas: 1) increase the participation of women at all decision-making levels within the institutions involved in security and implementation of peace; 2) introduction of the gender perspective into all training and activities which contribute to peace-building; 3) protection of women's human rights, including protection against sexual and gender based violence, proper processing and punishment of such crimes, and respect for the specific problems and position of women refugees and internally displaced persons, victims of war, but also war veterans, both men and women, and their families; 4) introduction of the gender perspective into all peace building programmes and peace processes conducted by the United Nations (peace operations and development programmes for the development of a democratic society).

<sup>9</sup> 2008 Resolution 1820 "Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-conflict Situations," and 2009 Resolution 1888 ("Protection of women and girls from sexual violence in armed conflicts") which further elaborates on the mechanisms for the protection of women against sexual and gender based violence in armed conflicts.

actors plays an important role in the fight against new security challenges.

Even though feminist peace initiatives already had a long tradition of advocacy against military conflicts, in the changed theoretical and practical context, women theoreticians and activists began, internationally, to advocate a different concept of security. This new concept of security implied: a shift of the care for the security of state towards the security of citizens; a shift of responsibility and power of influence in security policy from the realm of high politics conducted by political and military elites to security in everyday life in which all actors living in the community concerned, regardless of their political power and influence, have a role in and responsibility for the security of the community; from the concept of removing security threats through military action to achieving stability and peace through systemic and reform-based solutions such as building democratic institutions and suppressing poverty and exclusion.

The first steps in this direction were made at the Women's International Peace Conference in Halifax, Canada, in 1985. That same year, the women's world conference in Nairobi reached a common, feminist definition of security that could no longer be built on the non-security of others: "Peace is not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities at the national and international levels but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice" (J. Ann Tickner, 1992). The final articulation of the aspirations and attitudes of feminists all over the world, the feminist concept of security, was adopted in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325<sup>8</sup> and other accompanying Resolutions.<sup>9</sup>

The feminist concept of security is based on several basic principles. First of all, security is seen from the perspective of the individual and/or collective experience of women; security is therefore 'measured' by the degree to which individual within a society and a state feels secure. The feeling of security within the community, the absence of violence, the feeling of trust in the state apparatus and policies and economic and environmental prosperity are the content of the feminist perspective of security. Moreover, the concept of justice (social, economic, legal security), rather than those of peace and order, is the core of this concept. The feminist concept of security re-evaluates the issues of hierarchies, power and responsibilities, and offers new perspectives and definitions for these notions. Since they are outside history, outside the public and political realm, the responsibility for the security of those who are on the margins of the society or at the bottom of the



social ladder is in the hands of those who are at the top of the pyramid of power and hold the levers of power in their hands. At the same time, feminist policies demand that those outside the centres of power be allowed to actively participate in the creation and implementation of security policies at all decision-making levels. Security seen in this way is more focused on the consequences than on the causes of conflict; states are therefore expected to actively punish all kinds of violence, in particular sexual violence against women both during war, and in post-conflict situations, and to consistently prosecute all war crimes, especially those perpetrated against civilian populations. Issues of reintegration, demilitarisation and peace building remain the focus of the feminist concept of security. Issues of structural violence in the economic sphere have the same weight for the feminist concept of security as problems arising from military conflicts. That is why issues of social justice, economic prosperity and security must continue to be central security issues for all societies and states.

### **Participation of Women in the Security Sector – The Feminist Response**

The feminist concept of security and the introduction of the gender perspective in the security sector gives rise to a fundamental review of several elemental postulates on which traditionally perceived security is based: the hierarchy of powers maintained by the institutions within the security sector (primarily the military and police, the secret police and the security structures), the distribution of social wealth and the financing of the repressive apparatuses of power, the issue of public supervision of the security sector and the strengthening of independent institutions, the responsibility of the state and the policies it implements at the expense of the security of its own citizens, namely a thorough review of state policy and its influence on the welfare of women and men. Security perceived in this way demands systemic and thoroughgoing changes, not only in the way in which the institutions operate, but also of the entire system of values on which they are founded. Feminist theoreticians (J. Ann Tickner 1992, Susan McKay 2004, Charlotte Bunch 2004) fundamentally review the systems of hierarchy and power that stand behind the traditional concept of security. The next question, therefore, is to what extent and in what way is the gender perspective important for the new concept of security. I will try to explain this through the example of the participation of women in this sector.

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One of the key issues in the introduction of the gender perspective into the security sector is the participation of women in this sector. Feminists' attitudes differ with regard to whether women should be more represented in the military or the police, and a special problem is presented by gender roles, identities and regimes that remain masculinised within the existing security structures, meaning that women who enter them suffer violence and discrimination (Lynne Segal, 2008; Cara E. Rabe-Hemp, 2009). The last issue relates to the way in which feminist theory and practice may influence the security sector through action external to the institution concerned, namely the question of the mechanisms for allowing civil society organisations, particularly those representing women, to take a more active part in the process of creating and resolving all current issues of security sector reform.

From the perspective of first-wave feminism, the issue of women's participation in the military and the police was a matter of exercising the right to equal participation in all spheres of social life. The entry of women into the public sphere, their taking on the military and police professions which were inaccessible to them until recently, means the implementation of equal opportunity policies and is one of the preconditions for gender equality.<sup>10</sup> Even though it remains at the level of exercising rights and justice, rather than changing the system, this demand of first wave feminism is still legitimate in all those areas of public life and decision-making positions in which women participate in insignificantly small numbers, with under 30% representation.

Some feminist orientations, primarily second-wave feminism, believe that the entry of women into the security sector, particularly in the military and armed forces, still serves the purpose of maintaining patriarchal, militarist hierarchies of power contrary to feminist efforts to change the paradigm and the security system as such. This viewpoint is realistic since the participation of a few women in the security sector is surely not going to change the security paradigm. Moreover, second-wave feminists believe that the mere participation of women in the uniformed military staff will not lead to the redistribution of financial resources in favour of other sectors or programmes (e.g., combating violence against women, programmes for promoting women's health, etc.) which they consider more necessary for the exercise of women's fundamental rights and freedoms in society (Women, Peace, Security, Women in Black, 2010)<sup>11</sup>. Besides, provision of suitable work conditions for women in the uniformed military and police staff

<sup>10</sup> "When the National Organization for Women decided to support the drafting of women in the United States of America, it argued its cause on the ground that, if women were barred from participation in the armed forces on equal footing with men, they would remain second-class citizens denied the unique political responsibility of risking one's life for the state.", J. Ann Tickner, 1992

<sup>11</sup> Arguments of this type are at the root of the criticism which Women in Black expressed with regard to the National Action Plan adopted on the basis of United National Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, in an article published to mark the ten year anniversary of the adoption of the Resolution. (Women, Peace, Security, Women in Black, 2010)



requires certain financial investments, which increases operating costs (special accommodation, amenities, and equipment for women in the course of training, education, and employment with military or police). This is at the same time the usual argument of those who oppose accepting women into the uniformed staff of the military or police.

Some feminist theoreticians (Judith Stiehm, J. Ann Tickner, 1995:40) believe that the entry of a larger number of women, and other marginalised groups such as ethnic, as well as sexual, minorities, causes a shift in militarist paradigms and concepts from the “identity of sacrifice to responsibility” for the lives and security of others. (J. Ann Tickner, 1995:40). For instance, the concept of introducing the gender perspective into multinational peace support operations, although fraught with obstacles and challenges, proved to be exceptionally effective and valuable, not only for members of multinational operations, but also for local populations, primarily women (Women in an Insecure World, 2005:247-251)<sup>12</sup>. The argument that women have specific qualities and characteristics attributed to the identity of femininity, such as better communication skills, leniency and amiability, is often used to confirm that women introduce new ways of operating, new qualities and contribute to the increase of the security system’s effectiveness.<sup>13</sup> For many women in the police, however, the identification with these ‘female’ qualities within the uniformed police staff, for example, is a career restricting factor, and thus women mostly find themselves in units involved in dealing with violence against women or juvenile crime, namely those crime areas traditionally seen as less valuable within the police service (Cara E. Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Danijela Milić, 2010). “When women enter the army, their position is ambiguous; men do not want women fighting alongside them, and the public sees the role of wife and mother as less compatible with being a soldier than that of husband and father. While modern technology blurs the distinction between combat and noncombat roles, women are still barred from combat roles in all militaries, and the functions that women perform are less rewarding than those of the fighting forces.” (J. Ann Tickner, 1992:43)

The change in the perception of the security system as being less repressive only because women are in it and because of the specific quality of communication they bring is also important due to the increasingly greater weight given to the security sector at a local level. With the change of the concept of security and the shift of focus from the state and its security to the security of cit-

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<sup>12</sup> “The presence of women (in peace support operations) improves access and support to local women; this makes the male part of the team think more and be more responsible, and increases the range of skills and styles accessible to the mission, most often with the effect of reducing conflicts and confrontations. The introduction of the gender perspective is not only just, but also useful.” Women in an Insecure World, DCAF, Geneva, 2005, 247

TV news about the appointment of Dragica Jevtović as head of the police department in Užice was accompanied with the following text: “Several years after the women in Serbia were given access to uniforms, a woman has for the first time been appointed as a head of a police department. Dragica Jevtović, the new head of Užice Police Department, announced greater transparency of operations, better cooperation with citizens, as well as a fiercer fight against all who are on the other side of the law.” [http://www.b92.net/\\_video/video.php?nav\\_category=905&nav\\_id=403622](http://www.b92.net/_video/video.php?nav_category=905&nav_id=403622)

<sup>13</sup> “The Minister stressed that the issue of women in the police is not only a human rights issue, but also one of increasing the operationality of the police considering that women bring a new quality into the police service, and both the male part of the police and citizens are well aware of this fact. “It is not by chance that the new police force is seen as less repressive service in the eyes of citizens since there are more women in police patrols”, said D’čić, adding that conflict resolution using non-violent means and communication skills are also among the characteristics attributed to women.” <http://www.bezbednost.org/izvestaj-rod-i-reforma-sektora-bezbednosti-predstavljen-u-narodnoj-skupstini>

izens, it is very important that the security system per se gains the trust of local population and functions as a service for citizens rather than as an enforcement system. To this end, the need for the security sector to open up towards civil society and ‘demilitarise’ itself is equally important for women’s NGOs and for a safer everyday life for citizens in a local community. Bringing women’s organisations involved in supporting the victims of sexual and gender based violence closer to the police, and encouraging them to exchange information, experience and knowledge proved to be an example of good practice all over the world and in Serbia too.<sup>14</sup>

It is obvious that, at least in Serbia, the presence of women in the operational military and police staff, at the level of state policies and decision-making, is still not accompanied with corresponding changes at the top level of the political and military leadership. In 2011 we still do not have a single woman general and only one state secretary of the ministry in Serbia<sup>15</sup>, we have never had a woman at the head of the Ministry of Defence or the Ministry of Interior, never had a woman as director of the police or head of the General Staff of the Army of Serbia, and had only one woman at the head of the city police department, in the city of Užice. In the Serbian Parliament, in the Committee for Defence and Security, out of 17 members only one is a woman.<sup>16</sup> It is obvious that the presence of women in managerial positions and in the places where security policies are being decided is still negligible and that their influence cannot be large or significant enough to change the values and principles on which the entire system rests.

### A look into the future

The issue of gender and security is a complex issue that must be contextualised. It is therefore of great importance for the security sector, civil organisations, and the general public to be informed, in the most open and transparent manner possible, about this sector’s functioning mechanisms, so as to be able to influence it. Moreover, it is important to increase the number of women in the uniformed military or police staff, so that they can, through their increased presence, bring about a change in the system’s concept. In addition, it is necessary that the military, as well as the police, build trust with citizens and become services that are genuinely used to serve them. The Army of Serbia should improve its strategy of communication with the general public and the

<sup>14</sup> See the website of the Autonomous Women’s Centre – Good Practice Development Programme <http://www.womenngo.org.rs/content/blogcategory/44/39/>

<sup>15</sup> The function of the state secretary for defence policy is currently discharged by Prof. Tanja Mišćević, PhD;

<sup>16</sup> The website of the National Assembly reports that the Committee for Defence and Security is composed of 24 members with 3 women among them; 7 members of this Board, however, are deputies replacing regular members [http://www.parlament.rs/content/lat/sastav/odbori\\_detalji.asp?id=43](http://www.parlament.rs/content/lat/sastav/odbori_detalji.asp?id=43)



presence of women beyond civilian staff in peace keeping missions. For the military and police, gender equality is not only a matter of improving the functioning of the system; rather, gender analysis uncovers all the system's shortcomings and contributes to their timely removal. The application of the feminist concept of security within the reform of this sector may be a way to improve security for all citizens, but also a possible way to build a genuinely egalitarian and free society.

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# Gender mainstreaming in the security sector through education: the case of the Albanian Police Academy Curriculum

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Review article

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## Abstract

*International commitments together with local developments have made gender issues rise up the Albanian development agenda, and the security sector is expected to follow this trend. Mainstreaming gender through education is one approach that could be used in this sector as well as in other spheres. Assessing the case of the Albanian police academy curriculum, this paper provides evidence of the extent to which gender is mainstreamed in security sector education programmes in Albania. Looking at the content of and the language used in the police curriculum, this paper provides evidence that although steps have been taken to mainstream gender in security sector education programmes, gender issues remain peripheral, often isolated and the language used often reinforces gender stereotypes. The paper concludes by suggesting that more efforts be dedicated not only to making gender issues part of these programmes but also to mainstreaming them in the content and language used in order to produce a greater impact in the promotion of gender equality in the security sector.*

**Key words:** gender mainstreaming, security sector, education programmes

## Introduction

Gender issues and gender equality are currently part of the Albanian development agenda as much as its legal framework. Albania has signed most international documents guaranteeing

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gender equality (including CEDAW, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women). Gender equality is one of the eight Millennium Development Goals set by the United Nations at its New York summit in 2000. To meet this goal, no effort should be spared by any member state (including Albania) in any area, inclusive of education (UN Declaration, 2000). Gender equality principles are part of Albania's most important legal provisions including its constitution, national strategies, and also specific laws aimed at achieving gender equality in society and minimizing gender-based and domestic violence<sup>2</sup>. In this context, mainstreaming gender and striving for gender equality are goals expected to be met in the security sector as well as in many other social, economic and political sectors in Albania.

On the other hand, it is widely agreed that education is the main instrument through which society promotes and achieves change and development (UNDP, 2005). The value of college education for effective work performance is accepted among many human resource practitioners. Although little explored, education is also claimed to be of incredible importance when discussing the professional preparation of security sector employees (Huisman et.al. 2006; Benette, 1998). As Benette (1998) explores in her study "College education and police job performance: a ten-year study" education is also crucial for law enforcement and security related jobs. It is through education that values are transmitted and reinforced. All this is also valid when discussing mainstreaming gender, educating new generations about gender issues and promoting gender equality.

In this context, it is necessary for gender sensitivity to be mainstreamed in any curriculum, including those of the security sector. Gender issues need to be covered in curriculum development and revision, but also as part of continuous education in the security sector as well as in other sectors. As with other educational curricula (see for example Gender Sensitivity Assessment, Tool for FP/RH Curricula Prime II, 2003) the security sector curriculum should identify, develop and use approaches, tools and best practices in enhancing gender sensitivity and responding to community needs - women's and men's needs accordingly. All the above not only transmits values and offers services that address community diversity but also implements and reinforces the respective legal framework.

<sup>2</sup> A specific law on "Gender Equality in Society" has been in force in Albania since 2004, although it was revised in 2008. It stipulates equal opportunities for both men and women in education, employment, decision-making processes and politics, and the media. Additionally, in 2006, Albania passed a specific law on domestic violence specifying the duties and responsibilities of various actors, including the police. Last but not least, in February 2010 Albania adopted Law no. 10 221, "For protection from discrimination".



Nonetheless, the main tool with which education meets these ends is the content of programmes and the language used. Among many other things, language is used to establish and maintain a gender order, gender categorization and gender discourse (Shitemi, 2009). It is language which, by interpreting the use of linguistic resources, accomplishes social ends (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2005 p.79).

Gender mainstreaming in the education sector is a new trend in Albania. The first analysis of this area dates from no earlier than 2005, with an analysis of elementary school textbooks (Dhamo et al, 2005). The pressure to mainstream gender in education, coming from national and international actors, has also influenced the security sector. The Albanian police academy has quite a long history; however, it is since 2005 that a new approach has been implemented, that of community policing. Engendering the curricula is expected to be an integral part of these new developments. UNDP, ICITAP and PAMECA missions in Albania have continuously supported the process. Looking at the case of the Albanian police academy curriculum, this paper attempts to depict the degree to which gender is currently mainstreamed in the language and content of the security sector curricula.

### Methodology

To explore the topic of this paper, I propose a case study; that of the Albanian police academy curriculum for the 2009-2010 academic year. To this end, I utilize those components that Susan Shaffer and Linda Shevitz identify as important in assessing any school curricula from a gender perspective (in Rousso and Wehmeyer, 2001). They include:

- Exclusion / invisibility – The omission or underrepresentation of one gender and the contributions it makes, even if relevant to the context;
- Stereotyping – the assigning of traditional or rigid roles to girls and women and/or boys and men.
- Imbalance / selectivity – the presentation of only one interpretation of an issue, event or situation.
- Unreality – the unrealistic portrayal of history and life experience, often with an avoidance of controversial topics.

- Fragmentation/isolation – the separation of issues or contributions related to women from the main body of the text; the portrayal of women in isolation from other groups.
- Linguistic bias – the use of language in a non-inclusive way or in a way that reinforces stereotypes.

The content of the basic programme<sup>3</sup> of the school serves as the data set for this assessment.

## Findings and Analysis

The following section presents findings from the assessment of the police curriculum for each of the elements described in Shaffer and Shevitz’s methodological approach.

### 1. Exclusion/invisibility

Progressive steps have been made to address the problem of exclusion and invisibility of women and gender issues in the police curriculum. 10% of the program content addresses such issues in an exclusive manner. The remainder of the topics within the police curriculum belong more to the category of a gender-blind approach. Gender issues, although expected to be cross-cutting, are sporadically linked to other topics as the following case illustrates:

*“One of the principles discussed in the lecture Policing in Democracy (PP06<sup>4</sup>) was that of representative democracy. The same is valid for gender equality...” (in PP 11 on Gender Issues)*

Another indicator for this element would be the reference to the contribution of women and men in this area. In this respect, women are totally absent. This might be also due to the lack of a tradition and history of women’s involvement and participation in this specific area. In addition, few references are provided which would indicate whether female and male authors are given an equal role in shaping the programme.

### 2. Stereotyping

There is clear evidence of the efforts made to minimize the influence of prejudice and stereotyping on the police curriculum. One specific topic attempts to address prejudice and

<sup>3</sup> For more information on the programme visit [http://www.asp.gov.al/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=249&Itemid=223&lang=sq](http://www.asp.gov.al/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=249&Itemid=223&lang=sq).

<sup>4</sup> The code refers to the lecture from which the citation is taken.



stereotypes and raise students' sensitivity towards these issues. Stereotypes are addressed as part of diversity issues. Still, although gender is a core identity component shared by all – other elements such as race, age, cultural background etc. are built on gender identity – it does not receive the specific attention it deserves. The main diversity criteria treated individually are race, culture and values (in PP 10 on Awareness of Diversity). The only specific element dedicated to gender stereotypes is the following example intended to illustrate stereotypes:

*“Stereotypes: Stereotypes are set ideas, (clichés), about a category of people or a specific issue, which are not based on reality e.g. females cannot work as police officers; all males are aggressive”.*

Another striking element, not only in these topics, but also in others such as those on human rights, is the fact that women are mainly referred to as ‘females’ rather than women/girls. The problem in referring to women/girls as females is related to the perception of these individuals as mainly sexual beings (if not objects). Deborah Tannen (2006, p. 126), states: *“We're hearing woman as an adjective more often now. Female connotes a biological category. I think many feminists avoid it for the same reason they prefer gender to sex. ... I avoid female in my own writing because it feels disrespectful, as if I'm treating the people I'm referring to as mammals but not humans.”* In this respect there is a lot of room for improvement throughout the current police curriculum in Albania.

### *3. Imbalance/ selectivity*

In addition to what is described as stereotyping, women are portrayed narrowly, mainly as victims. Women are evident in topics related to domestic violence and human trafficking. Even though it is fairly normal to expect that such topics stress the overrepresentation of women as victims of domestic violence or/and human trafficking, in order not to reinforce stereotypes a better balance should be achieved by introducing women also as contributors in addressing these problems. Furthermore, even when referring to issues such as domestic violence, international literature suggests that the term ‘sur-

vivor' be used rather than 'victim' when the person has managed to survive the aggression and seek help, whether from police, doctors, social workers etc. (for a summary see Dhembo and Kallfa, 2007).

#### 4. *Unreality*

One of the main issues to be addressed here relates to the rather incomplete reality of gender issues in the current police curriculum. The curriculum so far addresses evident concerns and direct gender discrimination. However, there is little if no explanation or examples of indirect discrimination. Gender discrimination, prejudice and stereotypes are mainly viewed from the point of view of domestic violence or human trafficking. There are many other situations related to gender discrimination and examples that need to be part of the curriculum so that future police officers can identify and address not only direct, but also indirect discrimination. To illustrate this we might refer to partial reality offered in terms of gender-based violence. Prospective officers are informed and trained to deal with domestic violence but not gender-based violence which is much more widespread than domestic violence.

Besides a linguistic problem which will be explained later, the generic 'he' and 'instructor' (in Albanian 'instruktori' stands for male instructors) reflects also the lack of a realistic portrayal of women's contribution in the police<sup>5</sup>. It would be not only correct but also appropriate to refer not only to instructors but also to students with both genders (for instance for instructor – intruktori/ja, and students – kursanti/ja). This would not only more accurately reflect reality and the positive trends of women's increased participation in the police but would also provide an overall picture of police as an area where both women and men can be instructors, students and beneficiaries of the service.

In the attempt to describe reality the content of the curriculum should not fail due to information which reinforces stereotypes or provides space for their creation. For instance, when dealing with human trafficking issues police academy students are taught that "*The victims mainly originate from rural areas and have not left home prior to this experience*" (PP 45). Without doubting the importance of describing victims' profiles, attention should be paid to not reinforcing stereotypes. An informative table of annual figures might be

<sup>5</sup> According to data gathered in interviews with key staff members at the Police Academy in Tirana, the corps of lectures/instructors currently has 20-30% women.



a better way to meet not only the objective of acquainting future police officers with the profile of trafficking victims but also that of making them aware on the broad range of possible manifestations of this phenomenon, as well as the fact that it varies across time and space. This will make police officers informed about the past and alert for future changes.

### 5. *Fragmentation/isolation*

Integration of the gender perspective in different education curricula goes beyond consideration of the specific topics of gender issues or/women's rights. It is about mainstreaming gender as a perspective throughout the programme and its specific courses (Phillips, 1998). Gender issues and women need to be considered and analysed as part of a whole and not as isolated parts. Hence, stating that X% of the curricula is dedicated to them sometimes might be nothing more than evidence of the isolation of gender and/or women's issues from the rest of the issues and target-groups addressed throughout the programme. As mentioned when exclusion-invisibility was discussed, there is little evidence of gender issues cross-cutting. For instance, apart from issues of domestic violence and trafficking, other problems and issues such as the legal framework, ethics, incidents and accidents and so on provide little or no information from a gender view point.

This fragmentation and isolation of gender and/or women's issues is also evident in topics where such issues are more relevant than ever, such as diversity. Diversity is portrayed as mainly cultural, racial or ethnic, and so, as previously stated, is the description of stereotypes. The isolation and fragmentation of these issues might also lead to the setting of unrealistic objectives for those topics dedicated to them. For instance, in the lecture PP 41 "Domestic Violence: exercises" it is expected that prospective police officers are capable of addressing domestic violence after completing just one exercise. This is too ambitious, as addressing domestic violence requires far more information, awareness and skills than one or two isolated topics. Future police officers should first be able to differentiate and understand basic concepts and then, step by step, move on to understanding and addressing issues based on gender difference and gender discrimination<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Students are taught and required to define gender equality but not basic concepts such as gender and sex, opportunities, access and control etc.



## 6. *Linguistic bias*

Linguistic gender bias is a general problem that Albanian language users face when trying to be gender inclusive in their discourses. Besides difficulties in the language itself, (as the ‘generic terms’ considered above are also masculine terms) lack of gender awareness and sensitivity makes the use of gender inclusive language even less likely in Albanian textbooks and speeches. This is also the case with the police curriculum. The generic ‘he’ and male forms of professions, beneficiaries, etc. is overwhelming throughout the programme. Terms such as instructor, colleague, student, and so on are used only in the male version, probably intended to be generic. However, the Albanian language provides the opportunity to be inclusive of both men and women through the use of just an additional suffix.

In addition, although not intentionally, the language used might reinforce stereotypes. This might be the case with the use of specific terms for women and men. Women are made part of the curriculum as victims of domestic violence or human trafficking. In addition, women are described with adjectives such as fragile, rural, uninformed etc. This is further reinforced with the way women are referred to in discussing issues such as human trafficking. Throughout the lecture women are referred to redundantly as females, reducing their identities to just sexual ones. Likewise, inappropriate terminology is used even when referring to already institutionalized terminology such as women’s rights. Women’s rights are turned into ‘female rights’. Similar terminological problems characterize lectures on domestic violence which is often mistakenly referred to as “familiar” violence.

Confusion surfaces also when dealing with the problem of human trafficking when terms such as victims of trafficking and prostitutes are used interchangeably. For instance, it is recommended that the class on human trafficking begin with questions such as “Are prostitutes of Albanian nationality?” “Is a prostitute to be considered a victim or not?” etc. There is room for plenty of improvement in this respect, especially in regard to gender sensitive language and clarification and good and appropriate use of terminology.



### *Conclusion*

Given the widely accepted importance of education in transmitting values and catalysing the transition process and changes, important steps forward have been taken in the Albanian police academy to make the police curriculum gender-sensitive. However, the findings of this assessment suggest that more efforts should be dedicated to not only including these issues as an isolated part of the curriculum but also to mainstreaming them in the content and language used throughout the programme.

Summarising the findings of this paper, one could highlight that gender issues are still mainly dealt with in an isolated manner, and sometimes as issues and concerns purely for women. The language used throughout the programme is not yet sensitive to gender differences and is often inclusive or exclusive of one gender based on traditional gender stereotypes and roles. The current situation requires further steps to improve such curricula so as to mainstream gender and make them gender sensitive.

To improve such components assessment studies should be carried out and followed up with other steps. Research and evidence is critical to changing attitudes. Hence, there is a need to strengthen the evidence base on gender differences and gender-based inequities in security. All of this should then become part of the content of the police curriculum in a continuous process of updating in tandem with a process of engendering the language used. Sharing best practice with other countries (other NATO member states for instance) and the expertise and experience of international organisations in the area (such as DCAF) might facilitate the process.

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# Police Culture and Gender Identity<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

*Gender issues in policing, within the structures of the police, its human resources, and within police culture have only recently become the subject of detailed academic research. The number of cross-cultural studies looking into the role of women police officers, their prospects and the obstacles to their full integration is still very low. The available research mostly makes comparisons with the situation in Great Britain and the United States of America. This paper is an attempt to contribute to the analysis of the position of women in policing in some European countries, primarily in countries with a strong traditional and post-communist legacy, such as Ukraine. The present paper interprets certain data relevant to the position of women in police services in other East European countries, continental Europe, and the United Kingdom and the USA. The central subject of analysis is related to equal opportunity policies, issues of discrimination and harassment cases. The hypothesis starts from conceptual principles of the notion of police culture and the related subjective and objective obstacles to the full integration of women in policing.*

*The analysed results are presented as illustrated trends, and not as definite findings.*

**Key words:** *police culture, gender identity, equal opportunities, discrimination*

## Police and police culture

The need to consider issues of access to police services, chances for promotion and retention of women in police services results from certain specific features of police systems, organisations and functions, but also from recognition of the professional culture characteristic of and specific to police services, which significant-

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ly contributes to the preservation and retention of the traditionally negative attitude to recruitment and integration of women in police services.

The police as a complex system is a dynamic entity which is in permanent interaction with its environment (Milosavljević, 1997: 17). In organisational terms, the police is a system of professional nature which includes on the one hand bodies and institutions performing different policing tasks in the form of public services, and on the other hand persons performing police functions as a profession. The function of the police is expressed as the preservation of public law and order, being the authority resulting from the law, with one of its key characteristics being the use of coercion, or the possibility of using means of coercion (Milosavljević, *ibidem*). Having these characteristics in mind, the police could be defined as a *complex professional system organised in order to preserve public law and order in a society, for this purpose equipped with legal authority and the necessary resources, including means of coercion* (Milosavljević, *ibidem*).

From the organisational and functional specific features of police systems results the *police culture*, which determines the conduct of police officers in performing their tasks in and outside of their work. It is a *specific system of values, attitudes and beliefs that police officers adopt with respect to their job, management, certain categories of citizens, courts, the law, and different social phenomena which may influence their work* (Milosavljević, *ibidem*). According to B. Milosavljević, the creation of a police culture is under the strong influence of the feeling of social isolation, job-related risks, special authorities and responsibilities, the need for solidarity between officers in joint operations, frequent contacts with antisocial behaviour and certain types of people, the system of internal training and professional knowledge which is acquired through practical work, the nature of the information used in work and other factors. It is a fact, however, that one of the factors in the development of police culture<sup>3</sup> is the so-called *badge – the position* of police in relation to the general public. According to a US sociologist, the “badges” are persons representing less than 15% of an organisation, who are not perceived by others as individuals but rather as representatives of certain groups (Hazenberg, 1996, quoted according to: Novović, 2002). It is the position of women in the police that R. M. Kanter recognises as the *badge-position*.

It is necessary to note here that on the basis of analysing relevant studies of police culture and on the basis of his own research,

<sup>3</sup> Especially strong among members of “uniformed” police.



R. Reiner (quoted according to: Milosavljević, 1997: 558) listed eight key and most frequently mentioned features of police culture relevant to understanding the degree to which the police is open to the entry of women to all levels of its organisation and relevant to the possibility of their adaptation to and integration in the police system in general: commitment to mission, cynicism, doubt, social isolation and solidarity, conservatism, machoism, racial prejudice, and pragmatism.

### The history of integration of women and the status of women in the police

The structure of the police as an organisational and personnel system which in the performance of its function may use means of coercion on the one hand, and the key features of the centuries-old male macho police culture on the other, created objective obstacles for the entry of women into the uniformed ranks of police services, which traditionally were open only to men. There are also numerous assumptions that have not been subject to study which support beliefs about the roles, abilities and values of the genders. These beliefs have been preserved due also to existing stereotypes about dominant gender characteristics according to which men are rational while women are emotional; men cope better than women with crises; they are more capable of performing more difficult or risky tasks, while women are satisfied with simpler repetitive tasks; men are active and their supremacy deserves respect, while women are passive and cannot give orders – all of these beliefs being learnt and passed from one generation to another.

"Within civilized societies women are defined, accepted and recognised only to the extent to which their existence and behaviour is consistent with their naturally determined sexual and biological function. Thus, women become convinced of the natural necessity of their position." (Milić, 1994, quoted according to: Petrović, 2007: 330). Such social attitudes resulted in the struggle (which continues today) of women against prejudice, conservative thinking and patriarchal stereotypes, obstacles to women's integration into certain professions, especially the police.<sup>4</sup>

Historically, in 1900 Canada recruited the first women into the police service, to work on supervision tasks in detention institutions and in the prevention of juvenile crime. Their tasks were to "care for social order and peace, or the care of morals, abandoned children, female youth and prostitutes" (Janković, 1926:

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<sup>4</sup> Note, in this respect, that it was only during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the doors of universities and faculties became open to women for education, and that it was only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that it became possible for women to undertake social-political engagement. And as a response to the economic freedom gained through work and income outside the family, there resulted discrimination and segregation (women were paid less than men for the same job).

498). In the USA around the year 1845, the first woman was recruited into the police service to perform supervision tasks in a women's penitentiary, and half a century later the first woman was recruited into the police service to patrol in Chicago with the task of monitoring public peace and order and controlling prostitutes, "easy women" and petty street offences, begging and criminality performed by children, while in 1910 in Los Angeles the first policewoman wore a uniform tailored for men (Brown et al., 2000: 149-155). In European countries, England was the first, around 1905, to recruit women into the police to fight prostitution and crime by juveniles and women. Sweden, Norway and Denmark did so by 1914, while Russia followed suit after the October revolution (Novović, 2006: 30). According to research conducted by the League of Nations in 1927, twenty countries in the world had women in their police services, Poland from 1926 and Hungary from 1935. Shanghai in China recruited the first woman police officer in 1929, and the example of China was followed by Singapore, India, and Turkey which recruited the first women into the traffic police in 1932.<sup>5</sup> According to a news report, in 1937 there were a total of more than 5,000 women in the uniformed police, of which about 2,500 were in the Americas (Canada and the USA) (Novović, 2006: 32).

In Europe, in 1946 Hungary recruited 18 women who completed the police training course, but they were engaged to do administrative tasks, as clerks (Novović, *ibidem*). During the 1950s women were recruited into the police in greater numbers. Italy established its Women's Police Corps in 1959, and during the 1970s the number of women in the police increased also in Great Britain, Japan and West Germany (Milosavljević, 1997: 498). Although significant progress was made in the USA during the 1970's in terms of the recruitment of women into the police, especially after the adoption of the *Law on equality, non-discrimination on the basis of race and against the practice of illegal employment*, there still remained in practice strong resistance to such recruitment within the police service itself (Pagon & Lobnikar, 1996). According to the same source, the first women were recruited into the police service in Slovenia in 1973, and in 1975 training was initiated for women which by the early 1980s had been completed by 176 women (*ibidem*). During the 1920s in Ireland, for instance, there were 3.9% women in the police service, while this percentage in Finland was 5%, in Norway 7.5%, Hungary 8%, Italy 8.5%, Sweden 11.1% and the Netherlands 12.2%.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Magazine „Policija - Beleške i vesti“, 1920 – 1930.

<sup>6</sup> See Sárközi, I. *Žene u poslovnom svijetu muškaraca - žene u policiji* (translated from Hungarian), journal *Perjanik*, no. 3, vol. 1.



## Gender mainstreaming of contemporary police systems

Gender mainstreaming of police organisations in the world at the beginning of the new millennium is marked most strongly by data indicating that women police officers make up about 15% of the total police force (Brown, 1997, 1998; Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000; Garcia, 2003; Martin and Jurik, 1996). At the same time, certain issues persist in the functioning of the police in all parts of the world and at all times: concerns about equal opportunities, discrimination and sexual harassment (Brown, 2000; Brown and Campbell, 1991; Walkate, 1995). Although police systems and organisations change in terms of their structure, organisation and human resources, with the exception of the USA and Great Britain there is very little research on the topic of the experience of women in police systems (Metcalf and Dick, 2002). Reports indicate that women police officers, compared to their male colleagues, are more exposed to sexual harassment and violent and threatening situations at work, as well as to domestic violence (Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000).

Brown and Fielding (1993), for example, in studying the differences in the degree of stress faced by uniformed police officers and inspectors in exercising operative tasks have shown that men demonstrate a higher degree of stress when arresting violent persons and in situations of extremely disturbed public peace and order, while women experience stress when working with victims of violence and sexual offences, in situations of discrimination or prejudice and also when performing repetitive tasks. Men also reported higher degrees of stress when performing tasks in isolation and due to the inability to plan vacations. Women reported stress at each arrest of violent persons, when notifying relatives of persons killed, and when working with victims of violence. Buchanan *et al.* (2001) have identified gender differences in terms of what newly recruited policewomen and policemen experience during their first year at work. Of the ten most traumatic experiences during that year, men experience a greater proportion of physical attacks, while women experience various forms of sexual harassment. Pancheri *et al.* (2002) confirmed that women in the traffic police experience the highest degree of anxiety, depression and aggression.

In studies regarding the gender and ethical aspects of the social interactions of police officers (Morris (1996), women have reported more negative interactions, especially with respect to verbal harassment, sexual harassment and gossip. Women also



reported greater participation in social networks, especially with members of similar organisations. However, they also reported a lower percentage of close friendships with persons working in the police service. Finally, women reported greater support from family members for the job that they perform. Studies regarding suicide among police officers over 19 years, in the period 1977-1996, Marzuk *et al.* (2002), identified that out of a total of 80 suicides among police officers, men account for a larger share than women (73 to 7, respectively). With respect to the share of white men in the total population, the share of white male police officers committing suicide was lower (16.8 per 100,000), the rate of suicide of non-white male police officers was about the same (12 per 100,000). However, the rate of suicide committed by female police officers was almost four times higher (13.1 per 100,000 relative to 3.4 per 100,000) in comparison to the general population. Thus, there was higher likelihood for women police officers to commit suicide than for women in the general population.

### The case of women police officers in Ukraine

The police, more specifically “militia”, in Ukraine has retained some elements of the continental, colonial and communist legacy (Shelley, 1999), one of these features being the *dominant role of men in the service*. The police, as a state law enforcement authority, is also controlled by men. Although it has been more than 100 years since first women were recruited into the police, and many of the original obstacles to full engagement of women in the police have been removed, research in many countries, including Ukraine, continues to demonstrate that women have not yet been fully integrated, and that their presence in the police is seen as unusual (Walker, 1993; Niland, 1996).

Although 54 percent of the Ukrainian population consists of women (Ukrainian State Committee for Statistics, 2000), and although women represent 52 percent of the economically active population (Lavrynenko, 1999), they at the same time account for only 8 percent of the Ukrainian militia (Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior, 2000). This compares to 14.3 percent of women police officers in the USA or 13 percent in Great Britain (Cox, 1996; Brown, 1998). Also, in comparison to their male colleagues, Ukrainian women police officers mostly occupy lower ranking posts, often performing office work in support roles and, like women police officers in many other countries, are excluded from certain tasks (Brown, et al, 1999.). For instance, 65 percent



of all police officers in charge of issuing passports, visas and registrations are women, 43 percent of all investigators are women, and 41 percent of all staff in human resources departments. Most women have the ranks of junior police officers, only 7 percent reach the position of lieutenant colonel, 1 percent the rank of colonel, and none, at the beginning of this millennium had the rank of general (Ukrainian Ministry of the Interior, 2000).

In terms of research of status of gender identity in police systems around the world, US research indicates that the greatest source of work-related stress reported by women police officers was the conduct of their male colleagues (Cox, 1996). Women police officers face resistance to their own role, especially from male colleagues. History shows that the entry of women into police services caused resistance from within and their role was challenging because it was thought for many years that the police is "inadequate work for women", and they were limited to tasks which were based on stereotypes relating to gender. Law enforcement is traditionally perceived as a male profession within the police culture, while the entry of women into the police service is seen as a threat to the solidarity of this culture (Heidensohn, 1996). Like their colleagues in the West, women police officers in Ukraine face the same kind of challenges. They joined a male-dominated quasi-military establishment, a formation of police agencies in which they remain a minority in the performing of specialised tasks. Under such circumstances, women police officers are more exposed to the humiliating impact of an authoritarian management style compared to their male colleagues (Beck, et al., 2003).

The reform of the Ukrainian police is recognised as a significant part of the more comprehensive process of democratisation of Ukraine. The goal of the reform process is to achieve a change from an organisation whose primary purpose is to serve and protect the interests of the ruling elite into an organisation focused on meeting the needs of the citizens of Ukraine. Like many Western police organisations, the Ukrainian militia is also dominated by the male value system: competition, hierarchy and strict police discipline, although experts agree that quite a different set of values is needed for the police's work in the future (Niland, 1996). These other values include: respect for human dignity and differences between people, trust, integrity, cooperative team work, initiative, cooperation and participatory decision-making, openness to learning. Taken together, these values are important in shaping our integrated, cross-functional police services designed to meet

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the needs of the new post-Soviet state. However, research so far shows that the existing organisational culture within the Ukrainian police plays a key role in preventing the promotion of women and their role in implementing change. It is obvious that women's career development is additionally difficult due to this kind of organisational conduct, but that it is also combined with the broader social-cultural structure of the domestic role of women in Ukrainian society (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). However, as all gender stereotypes are social constructs, they can also be changed (Lavrynenko, 1999). Promoting gender equality in all areas of Ukrainian society is a purpose for and an integral part of sustainable human development in this post-communist country.

Different strategies to deal with the lack of gender balance in the police have been proposed by Western scholars and practitioners, both at national and international level (Heidensohn, 1996). One of the proposed models consists of three levels of change with respect to gender identity: changes at the micro level, at the medium level and at the macro level. At the micro level, the development of an anti-discriminatory and gender sensitive policy implies a change in individual attitudes of police officers of both genders. In women police officers these needs are related to both raising awareness on gender issues and to the need for their promotion. The medium level implies changes in the Ministry of the Interior and in police structures and refers to developing specific action plans for the recruitment of women and their empowerment to apply for positions in which they are not adequately represented. At the macro level, the changes refer to altering the legislative framework within which the police operates and the objective conditions characterised by low salaries, poor economic indicators, a high level of corruption, unresolved issues of maternity leave and child care (Razumkov *et al.*, 1996; Foglesong and Solomon, 2001), due to which the majority of police officers actually leave the police (Beck and Chistyakova, 2001).

### Conclusion

Although women have managed to gain entry into the police services, as the „untouchable male profession“, women even today continue to face numerous forms of resistance to their promotion or retention in the police. In all systems and organisations where such resistance is dominant, traditional male police culture



encourages the dominance of men and their inherent belief that this profession is not suited to women.

Data from comparative research highlights certain points which reflect the above described status of women in police services in different countries. Facts indicate that they are less exposed to discrimination and harassment in the countries of Eastern Europe than in continental Europe, or in the UK or the USA. There are a number of explanations for this. The role and the status of women in former communist regimes resulted in greater levels of equality which, on the other hand were “won” through processes of political lobbying or legislative change. This resulted in different rates in the incidence of discrimination and harassment.

An alternative explanation could be that the rates are constant and that the differences could be ascribed to a higher tolerance threshold and a higher level of awareness of women on the one hand, but also to anti-discriminatory measures on the other. Thus, in the West, especially in the US, the engagement of the feminist movement contributed to raising awareness of what is considered to represent discriminatory conduct. Implementing equal opportunity policies has secured greater power for women across Europe and America.

However, the introduction of equal opportunity legislation may resurrect resistance to women police officers and could result in renewed efforts by policemen to exclude women colleagues from a whole series of tasks and issues relevant to compensations.

The development of equal opportunities policies in Eastern Europe could have at least two consequences. Women may change their tolerance thresholds to limited potential for employment and men could probably become more resistant to the more widespread presence of women across the whole police structure. Lessons learned in the West indicate both that there must be resistance to discrimination and harassment and also that reforms are a must.

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# Women-combatants in defense of Sarajevo: Agents or Victims<sup>1</sup>

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*MSc. of Gender Studies*

Review article

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## Abstract

*Women-combatants are invisible soldiers of the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their experiences have not been taken as socially relevant as of yet. Drawing attention to the prevalent gender stereotypes about a woman-victim and a man-warrior that uphold the war-discourse in/about Bosnia, this text reveals experiences of women who fought on the frontlines of besieged Sarajevo. Research findings showed that although ARBiH military elites allowed the entry of women into the military they were not integrated into the ranks, even though their combat-agency was a voluntary act of resistance to the escalating violence. The article argues that women were not solely victims of the war and calls for more research that would reveal a whole range of women's war-time experiences, and offer important implications for the study of war and gender.*

*Key words: Sarajevo, women-combatants, agency, war, gender*

## Why Women-Combatants?

War discourse is dominant in discussion of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and as such exerts influence over the construction of people's identities there. Emblematic of the war's events are constructs of men who stood up to fight and protect and of women who withdrew from danger, as they were those who required protection. Such representations of the war have been built up from a variety of angles. Domestic politicians, with extensive media coverage, have, alongside international specialists, humanitarian workers, curious researchers and academics often focused on the image of a victimized, bereaved, helpless and/or raped woman refugee to substantiate their respective argu-

<sup>1</sup> This text is based on the Master's Dissertation entitled: *Women-combatants in defense of Sarajevo: Agents or Victims*. The dissertation was defended in November 2010 as the final requirement of the Master's Programme in Gender Studies at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies (CIPS) at the University of Sarajevo.

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ments about the war in BiH. Now, fifteen years after the end of the war in Bosnia, one might wonder why it would be important to relate yet another account of the people who took up arms and introduce a story about women who chose to fight in the war, and particularly in a country which has not yet succeeded in moving beyond its war stories.

Women-combatants are still not seen as socially relevant in any of the fields of politics, media, or academic fields mentioned above. At best, their stories have appeared in passing in relation to the *real* issues that had to be dealt in the war, and the *real* issues have always been taken care of by men. Thus the politics of war, the experience of fighting and post-war stories have become firmly engendered as a male-only endeavour. The story about women-combatants interrupts this essentialist paradigm of representations of men from Bosnia as warriors and women as victims, and points towards the importance of discussing a variety of other roles, choices and relevant experiences that women (and men likewise) had in the 1992-1995 war.

As every war is brought about by a conflict of interest I wondered what particular interests led some Sarajevan women to join men on the frontlines in defence of their city and why their actions were not acknowledged in the aftermath of the war, during which their stories were relegated to obscurity. In order to answer these questions I looked into the period from the start of the war in 1992 to 2008. Women's accounts of their war experiences on the one hand, and media representations of them on the other, revealed (dis)continuities in the acknowledgement of women's wartime agency. One of my objectives in this paper was to tail away these notions of active men and victimized women in an effort to reveal other roles and experiences that women had in the war and to challenge the prevalent representation of women as victims.

### Women, Militaries, and Stereotypes

Sufficient acknowledgement of women as combatants in their own right rests on recognition of their agency. Generally speaking, when women appear in the roles of war-time combatants, this visibility does not necessarily mean that the others around them accept them as fully fledged soldier-agents. Militaries are traditionally suspicious of their capacities, and feminists are very much divided in their opinions about women in the military. In contrast to liberal feminists, who in seeking equality are in favour



of extending to women the usually exclusively male right to combat, (Smith 2006), pacifist and anti-militaristic feminists see women-combatants' actions as anti-feminine and the result of androcentric deception. Association of the identity of the woman with vulnerability, frailty, peacefulness and domesticity is difficult to reconcile with the conventionally gendered role of the soldier (Hampf, 2004; Žarkov, 2007; Sjoberg and Gentry, 2008). Such stereotypical views of women define them as more peaceful people and opponents of violence. Therefore, women's choice to be part of military activity sets them against the grain of gender norms. Their readiness to abide by the belligerent codes of conduct in the military challenges the stereotype of a frail individual. In challenging this stereotype, women in the military need to reconcile their femininity with the experience of soldiering.

Thus, the identity of a woman-combatant is riddled with ambivalence, which comes from dualist gender underpinnings, conjoined in one identity. Or simply, when a woman is to perform in an identity that is traditionally reserved for men only, she is compelled to either shed the mantle of her feminine qualities or that of masculinized capability, both of which might be of equal importance for a woman-combatant. Thus, the claim of women-combatants' agency is always controversial, because the gender difference creates friction in efforts at determining the values of soldiering.

### Contextualizing agency

As my research focused on the experiences of women-combatants from Sarajevo, it is important to situate their experiences in those particular physical and social spaces within which they chose their combat agency. The siege of Sarajevo reminds us that in contemporary world, there are not only people (represented as men only) who go to war, but that there are cities and locations to which war comes. The extent of civilians' victimization in such locations produces various forms of resistance and agency to these extreme conditions.<sup>3</sup> The civilian population becomes initially engaged in the war at such locations in order to defend their houses and families.

As violence was unleashed in Sarajevo, the situation utterly changed for many. Home owners from the outskirts had to abandon their homes and move into the city. Homes became frontlines and gardens were dug into trenches. Some central areas were constant targets. In several suburban locations in Sarajevo, civilians

<sup>3</sup> Carolyn Nordstorm (2000) noted that this pattern of resourceful resistance to the violent conditions of war appeared across the global war-stricken locations in which civilian populations suffered the most, and found that people endured the hardships better when they recreated core societal institutions and mended immediate damage (p. 29). The author argues for the broadening of our understanding of the extent of the civilian's victimization and, importantly, draws attention to the fact that in these spaces of victimization various forms of resistance/agency appear that have not received due attention in research about the war.



were subjected to traumatic forms of violence. In these locations, such as Grbavica and peripheral areas of Dobrinja expulsions, imprisonment and executions occurred. From one Sarajevo neighbourhood to another there were women who were prompted to act in whatever way they could to support the defence of the city.

Apart from one 2006 study by Carol Mann on women's coping strategies during the war in the Sarajevo suburb of Dobrinja, there has been no systematic academic effort, as of yet, to look into women's war-time agency. While this has been nominally recognized, and lip service was paid to women's engagement in maintenance of life under siege, there has been no substantial recognition of this effort. This indicates that the war discourse is gendered. Studies of women's war-time experiences and agency would allow us to problematize current constructions of women's victim identity. Such findings would counter traditional theorizing about war and challenge conventional representations about the war in BiH. By looking into the motivations of women to join in combat we can reveal particular aspects of their changing realities that prompted them to act, and reveal the notion of this agency that remains hidden not only in the dominant discourse about the war, but also in current feminist knowledge about women's experiences in the war in BiH. Stories about women-combatants introduce the potential to pluralize the former, and enhance the latter understanding about women and war.

### Can the experiences of women-combatants from Sarajevo provide new insights about the war?

“Neither you nor anyone around you may want it, but the war is there and you have to make your choices.”

(woman-combatant from Sarajevo)

Dubravka Žarkov (2007), in her research on media construction of gender and ethnic identities in the wars in former Yugoslavia, has been critical of the concept of free-willed agency that in liberal feminism often signals women's empowerment. Žarkov showed that in spaces of extreme victimization, agency appears in the form of resistance to acts of violence, where the experiences of victimization and agency become productive of one another. Under the violent conditions that were developing in Sarajevo, women who joined in the combat had made that choice

as a reaction to immediate circumstances and an impulse to survive. To be clear, in this context in which victimization and resistance have an effect upon each other, not many women decided to grab a rifle. Those women who decided to do so had to make sacrifices in their own lives to carry out this action, which is conventionally seen as that of a man. Yet a feminist interrogation of their stories ought not to subsume their choices under the complex of women that are deceived by male ideals (Helms, 2003; Žarkov, 2000). These women's choices simply amounted to a *fight or flight response*, from which they chose to fight.

Experiences of fighting differed greatly from one place to another. While some women I interviewed joined the military out of a particular personal motivation based on their perceived injustices of the war, in other cases whole families joined the military, particularly if their homes became frontlines. Among my interviewees there was another subgroup of women who understood soldiering as an extension of their familial communal roles as they, together with their neighbours and friends, joined the Army of the Republic of BiH (ARBiH). For example, in Sokolović Kolonija, a suburb of Sarajevo close to the city airport, 21 women joined in a saboteur unit through this sense of communal belonging that was extended to their actions in joining the fighting. In such cases, women felt a part of the military effort through familiar dynamics and relations. The desire to take back their lives and property, to regain freedom and continue with one's life was, nevertheless, a common story for all.

One of the primary values that militaries foster is comradeship and reliance upon one another. Cooperation and bonding is of paramount importance for survival on the frontlines, and women, like any other soldiers, relied on these safety nets. Many a woman I interviewed reported that their comrades felt safer when they were on duty, for they acted responsibly and were accountable to their colleagues and superiors alike. Undoubtedly, as the war went on, more women joined the ARBiH to serve mainly in support roles. These women might have done so out of their patriotic convictions, but also for reasons of economic rationality under the conditions of extreme deprivation in the city. However, my research target group were only those women who joined the military in the early days of the conflict and fought on the Sarajevo frontlines.

Analysis of the interviews I conducted with this group of women-combatants<sup>4</sup> shows that their soldiering came as a response to immediate violence and that the motivation for such

<sup>4</sup> Neither ARBiH records nor those of the veterans' organizations were systematized to provide gender-segregated data. Thus, my search for women-combatants was largely based on the word of mouth method. In the end, either through veterans' organizations or my informal contacts, I found 10 women who had fought on the frontlines in Sarajevo. During 2008/2009 I maintained contacts with these women during which I employed the methodology of semi-structured interviews and participant observation. All the interviews were done in Sarajevo during this period.



action was to stop the war, regain freedom, and return to normality. Thus, their combat-agency was chosen as a defensive action that was framed around the protection of their city's life and traditions, and free of self-interest, as was that of many a man in Sarajevo in those early months of the war. However, generally speaking, any defensive action annuls the potential for immediate empowerment. The women-combatants whom I interviewed did not go to war for any other reason except a desire to 'contribute in whichever way they could' to the resolution of the siege.

Importantly, though, the women who joined ARBiH and went to its frontlines did so voluntarily and out of a conviction that in these efforts they were not different from their men. Analysis of the interviews showed that the women's self-conception was drawn from the socialist model of womanhood that proclaimed gender equality during the fifty years of its reign in former Yugoslavia.<sup>5</sup> Thus, many of these women were compelled to act by their own internalized ideas about their womanhood. Yet, if these women perceived themselves as equal to men, were their actions recognized and equally valued as men's?

### Women in ARBiH: contested integration

At the end of the war in 1995, the ARBiH had 5,360 women registered in a variety of military roles across the territories under its control.<sup>6</sup> At the time when the war's end was still not in sight, several women-combatants from different military units within the First Corps of the ARBiH had the idea of establishing an Association of Women-Combatants from the Sarajevo Area (hereinafter the Association). The Association was officially established in October 1994 with some thirty military women from Sarajevo and Zenica. For women who had gathered there, be it as combatants, medics, or logisticians, the first issue of importance was to seek affirmation of their presence in the military. The gathering of women of the ARBiH into the Association in 1994 indicated that women did recognize themselves as socially relevant actors, who wanted to bring together all women in the ARBiH and represent themselves as a group with particular interests. The military women identified their priorities within the Association with the intention of voicing their opinion in the military. They affirmed that their primary concerns were to: conduct a review of military women's social needs; develop programmes for education; provide accommodation for those who had joined the ARBiH as refugees and displaced persons; and to ensure that

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<sup>5</sup> The Yugoslav socialist state proclaimed women's equality. While Yugoslav socialists organized emancipation and integration of women in all walks of life, they did not address traditional views of women's family roles. Thus, women's emancipation was an ostensible issue, as women had to manage their education and job opportunities alongside traditional/patriarchal family obligations. See Lydia Sklevicky (1996).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.plbih.info> (Accessed on 15 May 2010).

systems were in place to protect and assist wounded, disabled, and/or pregnant women.

To lay claim to their requests and assert efforts in representing themselves, military women had to be recognized by male officers and within institutional structures as a group with legitimate claims. If the Association's representatives were to act on behalf of all the ARBiH military women as a group and do so in public, i.e. in the military institutional system in this case, then their agency would be recognized only if their group identity was recognized and already established. Or, in Daša Duhaček's words (1995): "If a woman is ... to have agency, if she is to be an agent, she must be a strong subject, she must have an identity"<sup>7</sup>. Have women been given recognition for their military conduct? In other words was it possible to craft a space in the ARBiH within which all military women could claim their war-time agency alongside recognition of their particular requirements as women?

Recognition comes with integration into the ranks, and I will look at a couple of instances which show that although women were included in the military because their contribution was needed at the time, ultimately they were neither integrated as equals nor recognized for their war-time contributions. One of the Association's founders recalled their early efforts to establish the Association and get support from the ARBiH military hierarchy:

We went to see so many of the top people in the ARBiH. Once we even had a meeting with General Delić<sup>8</sup>. All three of us went there to talk to them and present our program to them. I remember he summoned another general, who was known to be against the idea of having women in the military. It was as if he needed some help from him there. Of course, we did not get their support.... But, I have to say that they were not all the same. There were other generals who did respect women and thought highly of them. There were those who had women working for them and respected them for their competence... but they could not do much for us.

Failure to express support for the work of the Association's founders, or even to provide minimal resources, implied that the military leadership had not acknowledged the relevance of women in the military, nor their requirements, as presented by the Association's founders at this meeting. In addition, the military leadership did not recognize the distinctiveness of military women, implying that the interests and contributions of 5,360 of their servicewomen were not appreciated. While this illustration shows that the leadership of the ARBiH did not craft its military

<sup>7</sup> <http://zenskestudie.edu.yu>  
(Accessed on 05 January 2010).

<sup>8</sup> The late General Rasim Delić was Commander-in-Chief of the ARBiH from 1993 until the war's end.



force with an inclusive character, this exclusionary policy was still riddled with ambivalence, for as women themselves reported there were other generals and lower ranking officers who respected women for their competence.

Around the same time, in 1994, however, the ARBiH made a public call for women to join the military and advertised openings for military posts within the logistics, communications, and administrative units.<sup>9</sup> This instance actually showed that entry of women into the ARBiH was in effect expanding. My research findings from both interviews and media monitoring show that while the ARBiH military elites allowed the entry of women into the military as volunteers early on in the war, as well as through public calls to women to join the military towards the war's end, they were not disposed to fully integrate women into military ranks. This indicated that the military leadership did not recognize women in the military as relevant actors, and did not acknowledge women's efforts at representing themselves through the Association. The military women's Association, numbering 5360, could thus potentially act to challenge male elites in the military, who believed that the only recognized actors of the war could be men.

Without the support of the ARBiH top leadership, the Association did not manage to get access to resources. From then on and in the war's immediate aftermath, the Association functioned on the basis of a solidarity network that depended on occasional donor support. The Association's activities and successes rested solely on the individual efforts of its founders, solely focused on the social needs of its membership. However, as the war ended and in the years of its aftermath they found that they became redundant in the story of the war and the defence of Sarajevo. After a while they became disenchanted with the lack of recognition and perceived (ir)relevance that they encountered in their efforts to represent themselves and more importantly to give voice to their requirements. The Association ceased to exist in 1998 with some 200 members registered.

### By way of Conclusion

The ARBiH military and political elites affirmed themselves as protectors of the extensively victimized population. The image of the male soldier and the woman-victim became symbolic of this representation. While the ARBiH did not promote the identity of the woman-combatant, thus foreclosing the space for women

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<sup>9</sup> Reported in a newspaper article in Sarajevo daily *Večernje Novine* No. 8872, p.8-9, 13/10/1994

within which to attain the visibility and recognition that comes with it, at the same time women themselves did not manage to assert the kind of agency that was required for action in public life and self-representation. When the war ended in 1995, the process of demobilization went on in phases. With no institutional support within the military to protect women's interests, women often found themselves at the top of the list of the redundancies.

The return to peace posed a multitude of challenges within the context of wider social transformations. With combatant roles affirmed as the dominion of men only, women-combatants returned from the frontlines to their families. As their experiences showed that top ARBiH decision-makers treated them as peripheral to the military, women faced the challenge of reintegration into post-war life in Sarajevo and elsewhere. In the context of post-war BiH women came to realize that they had to rely on themselves and their families solely, for the institutional systems had to be rebuilt after the war, and they did not include the socialist-type of support that women in pre-war BiH were accustomed to. In most cases, women found themselves in dire situations and their post-war stories remain largely obscured. To this day, women ex-combatants remain completely marginalized. The fact that the institutions which were built after the end of the war to promote gender equality in BiH have not identified the needs of women ex-combatants as of yet, attests to their invisibility.

As long as women-combatants remain unpopular subjects not only for the military, but more so for feminists, we will lose the sight of a woman-as-agent who could tell us a different story about the war and the post-war realities in BiH. We need more research about the women who joined the war effort and did so on all sides in the conflict in BiH. Only such research could give us insight into the ways people's identities, and women's in particular, are constructed in times of war and their individual choices potentially contested.

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# Suggestions for Using Gender Sensitive Language in the Armed Forces: Women and Military Ranks

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## Abstract

*The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the present situation regarding gender-sensitive Serbian language, which has not been standardised yet, and to offer elements for future dialogue about the language standardisation process. In this paper, I – I. present the characteristics of two theories: structuralism and the theory of language performance; II. give rules for practical usage within the framework of the theory of language performance and look at dilemmas that may arise regarding this issue; III. offer a model of research on the use of feminine gender forms for military ranks in the Serbian language in order to encourage future continued study of language norms in the Serbian armed forces.*

*In conclusion, I emphasise the necessity for comprehensive research on current practice in the armed forces regarding various forms of standard language usage: in administrative work (business correspondence, regulations, rules of procedure, etc.); in education (at military schools and colleges: in textbooks, reference books, etc.); in the media (job advertisements and other forms of public announcements); in everyday spoken communication.*

***Key words:** Serbian language, gender-sensitive language, theory of language performance, language usage.*

## Introduction

In recent years the number of women holding positions at various levels of the social hierarchy in our country, including in the Armed Forces, has considerably increased. As this social change has not been followed by an adequate change in the use of the language relative to women, we can often hear or read (in the media) masculine gender forms in reference to women holding

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military or police ranks. This is a form of discrimination against women by means of language which is proscribed by the Declaration of Human Rights as well as other documents adopted in our country to this day (The Law on Gender Equality or The Law against All Forms of Discrimination). This situation is partly due to the fact that, a few individual efforts aside, there are no teams of Serbian language experts actively involved in researching this problem area. In addition, the contributions of native-speakers of Serbian are not taken into consideration either.

### Goal

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the present situation regarding gender-sensitive Serbian language, as yet not standardised, and to offer elements for future dialogue about the language standardisation process.

Explanation: in order to overcome the current situation, not only Serbian language experts, but also other actors who can contribute to the change should be included in the discussion, in terms of offering solutions for the norming of gender-sensitive language in the armed forces, monitoring their implementation, identifying problem areas, offering new solutions and re-examining proposed norms. This is necessary, as standard language is normed and used by the educated elite, whereas the process of terminology norming is continual and does not end with one solution only. If this is accomplished, language use will fit a reality in which a growing number of women hold high-ranking positions in the military hierarchy (as well as in other hierarchically structured institutions).

### Theoretical background

One theoretical approach current in modern Serbian linguistics draws upon the principles of early 20th century *structuralism*, in terms of describing and analysing language phenomena on the basis of language *structure*. The other approach draws upon late 20th century interdisciplinary achievements of linguistics in combination with other academic fields and discusses language on the basis of its *usage*.

#### I.

The basic characteristics of the two approaches are given in Table 1.

**Table 1. Basic characteristics of the theory of structuralism and the theory of language performance**

Language is a <i>system</i> of signs used for communication in a society.	Language is <i>performance</i> – it is used to accomplish something in society.
Language is the responsibility of language experts.	All native speakers are responsible for the language.
Linguistics is the science of language. Its task is to describe and explain the <i>system and structure</i> of language.	Linguistics is one of many cognitive disciplines. Its task is to describe the usage and <i>performance</i> of language (language production).
The role of linguists is to describe and explain language structure.	The role of linguists is to link social reality to language reality and show where the supremacy over language lies.
The units of analysis are: word, syntagm, sentence. They are analysed out of context.	The units of analysis are bigger than a sentence given in a context – language units do not exist without the context.
Language develops according to its own laws. (on its own).	Language develops through its <i>usage</i> by its speakers – language does not exist without its speakers and without the influence of political power.
Language functions according to the principle of <i>binary</i> oppositions.	Language functions on the principle of <i>choice</i> of one out of many possibilities in a given context.
<b>Gender is an immanent characteristic of Serbian language.</b>	<b>Gender is an immanent characteristic of Serbian language.</b>
This is why there is a general, unmarked (masculine) language form and the marked, (feminine) form derived from it.	This makes possible the choice of <i>many forms</i> depending on context. They are not hierarchical by nature.
Standard language is the normed language.	Standard language is normed and used by the <i>educated elite</i> .
<b>Language norming is always a political issue.</b>	<b>Language norming is always a political issue.</b>
<b>In the process of language norming, the rules of sentence formation in a given language are taken into account: the subject and the predicate must agree in person, gender and number.</b>	<b>In the process of language norming, the rules of sentence formation in a given language are taken into account: the subject and the predicate must agree in person, gender and number.</b>
When the titles and professions of women are the subject in a Serbian sentence, masculine nouns can be used to refer to women.	When the titles and professions of women are the subject in a Serbian sentence, the basic rule of sentence formation and the agreement between the subject and the predicate must be applied.
International and national documents on gender equality and against discrimination are not binding for the creators of language policies in Serbia.	International and national documents on gender equality and against discrimination <i>are binding</i> for the creators of language policies in Serbia.

Language theory 1: **structuralism**  
(early 20th century)

Language theory 2 : **Theory of language performance** (late 20th century)

When considering proposals related to the norming of various phenomena in language practice, it is important to know on which theoretical approach the proposal is based. Given the fact



that there is currently a lack of theoretical knowledge about language in general, and gender-sensitive language in particular, the first step in solving practical issues should be to increase the general theoretical knowledge about language.

The solutions offered in the remainder of this essay are based on the theory of performance which implies that by using language we perform/do something. This includes the possibility of changing the consciousness of our interlocutors. (Savić 1993).

It is important to remember that this problem area is analysed from the perspective of two different theoretical approaches: the structuralist, which advocates a hierarchical relationship between men and women (feminine gender forms of professions and titles *are derived from* masculine gender forms) and the other approach which deconstructs the power points in society and language respectively and offers the fundamental principle of equality as the solution.

## II

If language use is to reflect the growing tendency in society towards greater democratisation of the relationship between the sexes, a set of rules must be put in place and here they are presented as one possible solution (Savić et al 2009). These are recommendations for the development and norming of the feminine gender forms to be used when referring to the professions and titles of women.

*Rule 1:* The grammatical rule for building sentences in the Serbian language must be observed (subject and predicate must agree in person, gender and number).

*Rule 2:* The feminine form of professions and titles of women should be used consistently, wherever possible.

*Rule 3:* The habits of language use should be changed (the way we use language is a habit that can be unlearned and changed).

*Rule 4:* Use gender-neutral words when talking or writing about persons of either sex.

*Rule 5:* Use parallel forms if the recommendation refers to both men and women.

*Rule 6:* Various forms of gender-sensitive language should be used creatively in text formation.

*Rule 7:* Titles and professions should be written in full form, while abbreviations for the titles and professions of women should be avoided.

*Rule 8:* When referring to a married couple, full identification should be given for each person respectively.

*Rule 9:* The proposed rules should be applied in translations from foreign languages. *Rule 10:* Women should not be identified according to their marital status ('Miss' should be avoided).

As people who want to apply these rules in practice usually need additional clarification, I provide some answers in this paper to foster individual choice and the creative use of language forms in the initial phase of language norming and when the linguistic intuition of Serbian language users should be taken into account in the process of norming. This particularly applies to military staff directly involved in the use of standard linguistic forms: in administrative departments, education and training and public relations.

Question 1: What if two suffixes can be used in Serbian for the same title or profession?

Examples: *vodnica/vodnikinja* (sergeant) or if the form is being used for the first time *generalica/generalka* (general)

Recommendation: Choose the suffix that sounds appropriate according to your language intuition.

Explanation: The distribution of suffixes varies across Serbia. For example: the two most common suffixes used to refer to titles and professions of women are *-ica* and *-ka*.

Question 2: What do we do in the cases where the masculine form of a title or profession cannot be turned into feminine form?

Example: *pisac* (writer).

Answer: Choose alternative feminine forms: *spisateljica*, *književnica*, *autorka književnog teksta*....

Explanation: We are counting on native speakers' intuition: use the form that will make women more visible in the public and social domain. Do that by using your own creativity, as this usage has not yet been normed in the Serbian language.

Question 3: What if that creative form already has a 'reserved' meaning in the language community?

Example: *razvodnica* (military rank: private; the word also means 'usher' in Serbian).



Answer: Words rarely have only one meaning. Therefore, feminine forms can be used because the meaning will be clear from the context.

Recommendation: Do not give up on the original intention of making women more visible in the use of language, follow your intuition when deciding on the most suitable language form.

Question 4: What do we do when suffixes determine belonging to somebody or something, which is a common language practice?

Example: *Savička and Savićeva*.

Answer: Egon Fekete, a Serbian language expert, suggests that such suffixed forms **should be avoided** when identifying a woman.

Explanation: Suffixed forms have been inherited from previous social relationships in which women were not visible in public life but depended socially on their fathers and/or husbands.

Recommendation: Identify a female person by her first and last name both in public and in official spoken and written language.

Example: *Jelena Jocić ponovo pred peharom* [*Jelena Jocić to Win a Trophy Again*] (instead of: *Jocićeva ponovo pred peharom* [*Jocićeva to Win Another Trophy*]).

Question 5: What if the feminine form of a profession or title has a negative connotation?

Example: *Sponzoršuša*. [English: Gold-digger. A woman whose primary interest in a relationship is material benefit.]

Recommendation: Choose another word that does not have a negative connotation (instead of *prostitutka* [prostitute], use *seksualna radnica* [provider of sexual services]).

Question 6: What if the feminine form of a title or profession is difficult to pronounce?

Example: *otorinolaringološkinja, pedijatrica*. [otorinolaringologist, pediatrician]

Recommendation: In accordance with the topic of the text, choose other linguistic options: *žena pedijatar; dečji lekar; osoba koja leči decu*. [woman pediatrician, doctor for children, etc.]

Answer: There are various acceptable options, including the masculine form: *pedijatar Jelena Jovanović*.

Question 7: What if a title or profession is a multi-part syntagm?

Example: *Ana Beker, starija vodnica 1. klase* [Ana Beker, Senior Sergeant 1st Class]

Recommendation: Put everything in the feminine form.

Question 8: Does a different syntactic position in a sentence: Subject (S), Object (O), Predicate (P) or Apposition (A) determine the choice of a feminine or masculine form for titles and professions when these refer to women?

Examples: *Premijerka* Islanda govori poslanicima; *Nataša Micic je predsednica*. Brazil dobio *predsednicu*.

Recommendation: use the feminine form in all three syntactic positions whenever this is possible.

### III

For the suggested rules to be confirmed in practice, extensive research on different genres of spoken and written language is necessary. First of all, this implies a description of the current practice of standard language usage, which is virtually non-existent in current studies of the Serbian language. Drawing upon the theory of language performance (Svenka Savić, 1993), we are convinced that language can be used not only to change language practice, but also to change people's awareness regarding gender equality by introducing gender-sensitive usage of the Serbian language. Language is a powerful tool for changing the attitudes, opinions and behaviour of language users of both sexes.

In the remainder of this text we offer a possible method for collecting data regarding gender-sensitive language in the Serbian Armed Forces with a focus on terms for military ranks for women. The method includes a simple questionnaire to be filled in with data pertaining to current practice in various genres of military language usage (official correspondence, documents, such as rules of procedures, regulations, etc., as well as in everyday spoken communication).

The list of military ranks was first compiled and then offered to a group of six women linguists involved in research on the Serbian language. They were instructed to put their preferred feminine form next to each rank on the list. The list was then given to a group of women who are not linguists by profession. Table 2 shows the results of this pilot research.



Table 2. Military Ranks

Masculine gender	Feminine gender	Responses of women linguists						Responses of other female persons					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Military ranks</b>													
razvodnik (Private 1st class)	razvodnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
desetar (Corporal)	desetarka	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mladi vodnik (Sergeant)	a. mlađa vodnica	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. mlađa vodnikinja	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Non-commissioned officer ranks (NCOs)</b>													
vodnik (Sergeant)	a. vodnica	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. vodnikinja	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
vodnik 1. klase (Sergeant 1st Class)	a. vodnica 1. klase	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. vodnikinja 1. klase	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
stariji vodnik (Senior Sergeant)	a. starija vodnica	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. starija vodnikinja	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
stariji vodnik 1. klase (Senior Sergeant 1st class)	a. starija vodnica 1. klase	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. starija vodnikinja 1. klase	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
zastavnik (Warrant Officer)	zastavnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
zastavnik 1. klase (Warrant Officer 1st class)	zastavnica 1. klase	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<b>Officer ranks</b>													
potporučnik (Second Lieutenant)	potporučnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
poručnik (Lieutenant)	poručnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
kapetan (Captain)	kapetanica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
major (Major)	a. majorica	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	a. majorka	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
potpukovnik (Lieutenant Colonel)	potpukovnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
pukovnik (Colonel)	pukovnica	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
brigadni general (Brigadier General)	a. brigadna generalica	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. brigadna generalka	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
general major (Major General)	a. general-majorica	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	b. general-majorka	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
general potpukovnik (Lieutenant General)	general-potpukovnica	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
general (General)	a. generalica	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	b. generalka	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+

The results indicate that different Serbian language users do not have the same intuition when it comes to the names of military ranks: there is unanimity with regard to certain mili-



tary ranks, dilemma regarding others, while some forms were rejected altogether. On the basis of this small-scale research, recommendations can be made regarding current standard language practice, which would also serve as an invitation for future codification of the language.

I compared the data obtained from the women, Serbian native speakers, with the data in the Dictionary of the Serbian Language (2007). For some military ranks the Dictionary offers a different meaning from the one that we obtained in our questionnaire. The Dictionary preserves 'old-fashioned' meanings that mark a woman as a part of her husband (*oficirka* is the wife of an officer) but not the current usage in the Serbian language. Another important fact is that the dictionary does not contain all the ranks which currently exist in Serbian Armed Forces (which will be increasingly the case with the introduction of new ranks, such as *kadetkinje*, *vojnikinje*, etc.).

With regard to the standardisation of gender-sensitive military terminology in our country one question remains unanswered: where is the proof of everyday practice? It is obvious that current dictionaries of the Serbian language and the media do not take the current spoken language used by native speakers into consideration. Therefore, we provide two recommendations: future dictionaries should include the practice and terminology currently used in the military as well as in other areas where the standard Serbian language is used, including the media where current language practice in the military is reflected. Journalists will then no longer write about 'ladies in the armed forces', but about 'vojnikinje'.

### Conclusion

At a time when women, both in this country and worldwide, are increasingly present at all levels of the social hierarchy, including military and police structures as well as other hierarchically structured institutions, language use should be adapted to these processes. Unfortunately, as Serbian language studies cannot boast substantial research on this social process, the first step to be taken is to increase knowledge of linguistic theories in general and in the military in particular.



For this reason, only two widespread linguistic theories have been presented in this paper, to present differences in the suggestions linguists and philologists offer for the standardisation of terminology and gender-sensitive language in the armed forces. One practical model has also been offered as an invitation for a discussion among all relevant actors in the field of language standardisation and language policy in the country.

Our conclusion is that, before any definite decision can be made about normative usage, more in-depth research is needed on current practices in different domains of standard language use in the armed forces: in administrative work (business correspondence, legislation, regulations and rules of procedure), in the media (job advertisements, tenders and other forms of public announcements), in education (the language of textbooks and reference books used at military schools and academies), as well as in everyday spoken communication in different military contexts.

### **Recommendation**

A permanent body should be formed within the present military organisational structure. This body would analyse current language practice, direct it towards a policy of gender equality, i.e., adapt it to meet the requirements set in international documents which our country has ratified (in the first place, with the Declaration on Human Rights) and the requirements set in the laws adopted in Serbia (the Law Against Any Form of Discrimination and the Law on Gender Equality).

### *Notes*

The recommendation refers mostly to official use of language in advertisements and public tenders. According to the research findings, the exclusive use of masculine gender in these cases may suggest that only male persons are invited to apply for a position.

The recommendation also applies to writing orders, forms and announcements.

Example: *Kad dođe pukovnik/pukovnica vežba može da počne.*

Suggestion A: *Kad dođe pukovnik ili pukovnica vežba može da počne.*

Suggestion B: *Kad dođe pukovnik-ca vežba može da počne.*

The legislation allows for a neutral gender form to be used:

**Lice** [individual] (*Lica koja ne ispunjavaju konkursne uslove neće biti odabrana [Individuals who do not meet the criteria will not be taken into consideration]*); **osoba** [person, personnel, staff] (*Nastavno osoblje škola neće primiti platu na vreme [The teaching staff will not receive their salaries on time]*); **dete** [child] (*Dete bez roditeljskog staranja ostaje u domu [A child without parental care will remain in the centre]*); **žrtva** [victim] (*Žrtve nasilja uputiti na miliciju [The victims of violence should be referred to the police]*). The recommendation is to use the noun *osoba* as a neutral form in descriptive cases. For example, instead of *telekomunikatorka* (a position in a bank), we could say: *osoba zadužena za poslove telekomunikacije* [person in charge of telecommunications]. The same principle can be applied in the plural forms: people, parents.

### Appendix 1. Serbian Armed Forces ranks in Dictionary of Serbian Language (Матица српска 2007: PCJ)

#### *Military ranks:*

1. *razvodnik - razvodnica* is in PCJ(2007) 1. woman private 1st class (1a); *razvodnik* in the meaning 1.a. a person who shows the seats in the cinema, theatre 1 b. A person in charge of the guard. The feminine equivalent does not contain the second meaning 1.b.
2. *desetar - desetarka* is not listed in PCJ(2007)
3. *mladi vodnik - vodnikinja* is not listed in PCJ(2007)

#### *NCO ranks:*

1. *vodnik - vodnikinja* not listed in PCJ(2007)
2. *vodnik 1. klase vodnikinja*
3. *stariji vodnik vodnikinja*
4. *stariji vodnik 1.klase*
5. *zastavnik - zastavnica* not listed in PCJ(2007)
6. *zastavnik 1. klase*

#### *Officer ranks:*

1. *potporučnik - potporučnica* not listed in PCJ(2007)
2. *poručnik - poručnica* not listed in PCJ(2007), there is only *poručnikovnica*, meaning 'the wife of a lieutenant'.



3. kapetan - kapetnica in PCJ only in the meaning 'captain's wife'
4. major – majorica, \*majorka in PCJ majorica and majorovica both meaning 'major's wife'
5. potpukovnik - potpukovnica in PCJ (2007) 1. lieutenant-colonel's wife 2. woman lieutenant colonel.
6. pukovnik - pukovnica not listed in PCJ (2007); there is *pukovnikovica* 'colonel's wife'
7. brigadni general - generalica in PCJ (2007) only meaning 'general's wife'
8. general major – general majorica, \*majorka
9. general potpukovnik – general potpukovnica
10. general - generalica

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# Gender representation in the Kosovo Security Sector

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Original scientific article

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## Abstract

*The purpose of this paper is to critically evaluate the representation of women in the security sector in Kosovo. Indeed democratization of the security sector requires significant inclusion of women. However, it is of crucial importance to evaluate progress in order for the reader to gain understanding of this matter. This paper aims to assess the quality of women's involvement in the security sector from the following perspective: the quality of the legal framework; the trend of inclusion of women in the security sector; the treatment of women in the security sector; and in the end to draw conclusions about indicators highlighting the position of women in this sector.*

*Key words: Representation, Women, Gender Equality, Security Sector, Kosovo Police, Kosovo Security Force, Awareness Campaign*

## Introduction

The representation of women in the Kosovo security sector has evolved and developed in different circumstances compared to the other countries of the region. In other words, unlike most countries, where the process of introduction of an adequate representation of women in the security sector started through SSR processes, in Kosovo attempts to achieve representation of women took place in parallel with the development of security sector institutions.

In this regard, only after 1999 when new local security institutions such as the Kosovo Police and the former Kosovo

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Protection Corps (KPC) began to be established did the inclusion of women in the security sector become a key issue. The newly established institutions, supported by the international community, started to promote the role of women as key security actors and to raise awareness of the possibility of increased involvement in an area traditionally considered to be the responsibility of men.

This approach by local and international security actors is clearly highlighted in the legal framework adopted prior to and following Kosovo's declaration of independence. Currently, women are represented in all security sector institutions in Kosovo. The level of representation depends on the institution concerned, but sometimes it also varies according to the type of position, i.e. whether it is managerial, operational or one involving extra physical demands.

To provide a clear overview of the key themes related to the representation of women in the Kosovo security sector, this article aims to analyse recruitment processes and career development opportunities in the security sector from the legal perspective. Also elaborated will be implementation of the legal framework and the level of the involvement of women in the security sector decision making process. The capacities of Kosovo institutions to support the inclusion of women in the security sector will also be highlighted. Overall, the findings of the article are based on the results and methodology of the regional project "Civil Society Capacity Building to Map and Monitor SSR in the Western Balkans" where the KCSS covers the Kosovo case. It is based on several face to face interviews as well as a review of the legal framework and related documents.

### **The legal position of women in Kosovo Security Sector**

According to current legislation, the position of women in the security sector is equal to that of men. In essence, all legislation regulating the non-discriminatory position of women in Kosovan society is also applicable to the security sector. Formally, this has equipped activists to use all means to advocate their position within Kosovo's security institutions. Even women activists have admitted that from the legislative point

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of view, women's rights are guaranteed with respect to access to jobs and career development (KGCS 2007).

Starting from the constitution, equal access to job opportunities and career development opportunities in the public sector is considered as a key human right guaranteed to every citizen of Kosovo. The constitution specifically states that "the right to work is guaranteed" and that "every person is free to choose his/her profession and occupation" without any limitation to any particular group or individuals (Constitution, 2008: Art. 49).

Other laws such as the Anti-Discrimination Law (ADL) and the Law on Gender Equality (LGE) have regulated gender equality issues in more detail when it comes to access to job opportunities and career development in the public sector in general. The ADL represents a key legal act which guarantees equal treatment and non-discriminatory measures in the case of access to employment for all minority groups and women (ADL 2004: Art. 2. b.). Likewise, the LGE calls for the implementation of legal and affirmative measures with the aim of establishing equal participation of both females and males in legislative, executive and judicial bodies at all levels as well as in public institutions, so that representation of both genders in these institutions could be brought to a more equal level in the general population of Kosovo (LGE 2004: Art.3.1). This law even specifies that equal gender participation of both females and males is achieved only in cases where the participation of the particular gender in the institutions, bodies or at the level of authorities is 40%. It also assures equal representation in the highest public institutions, such as: the Assembly of Kosovo; the government and its ministries, local government bodies and other public institutions. To ensure the implementation of its dispositions this law required that the government establish an Office for Gender Equality as a separate governmental institution, in order to monitor implementation of governmental policies aimed at improving gender representation (Art. 5.1, Art. 5.2).<sup>2</sup> The law foresees the establishment of the Gender Equality Attorney as an institution nominated by government and elected by the Assembly of Kosovo – AoK (Ibid: Article Art.6).

Although there were initially suggestions that employed women would be provided with only 12 weeks maternity leave, due to the pressure from women rights activists and

<sup>2</sup> In 2005 the Office for Gender Equality was transformed into Agency for Gender Equality.



labour unions this provision has been increased to 12 months (Law on Labour 2010: Art. 24). For the first 6 months of this period the employer will recompense the employee at a rate of 70% of the basic salary, the Kosovo government will pay 3 more months at a rate of 50% of the average salary in Kosovo and the final 3 months will be unpaid.

The Law on the Kosovo Police (KP) clearly states that the police shall be dedicated to “fair and equal treatment of all persons” and that the KP should also show commitment to merit-based, non-discriminatory hiring, promotion and assignment, which is inclusive, reflecting the multi-ethnic character of Kosovo and recognizing the principles of gender equality and human rights incorporated into the Constitution (Law on the Police 2008: Art 2.1). However, in contrast with the LGE, the Law on the KP did not envisage quotas for the level of representation of women in this institution. Indeed, according to the provisions of the Law on Police, the procedures for the selection and testing of candidates for employment as police officers are based on skills and attributes (Ibid: Art 52). Also, the Law on Service in the Kosovo Security Force ensures fair and equal treatment irrespective of gender or ethnicity (Law on Service in the KSF 2008: Art 3). It further states that members of the KSF are required to, “on and off duty, treat members of the KSF and all others in accordance with the law and without discrimination or harassment, direct or indirect, on the basis of race, gender, language, religion, etc.,” (Ibid Art.4).<sup>3</sup>

### **Trends for the inclusion of women in the Kosovo Security Sector**

Although it seems quite easy to evaluate legislation regarding gender representation in the security sector, implementation of these laws is sometimes quite confusing. So far, the police is the security sector institution with the highest level of representation of women in its general structures. This is because the Kosovo Police is the oldest domestic security mechanism in Kosovo. In 2006, the representation of women in the KP was around 14%, which, compared to other security sector institutions is considered to be quite high (KGCS 2007). According to official statistics for August 2010, the

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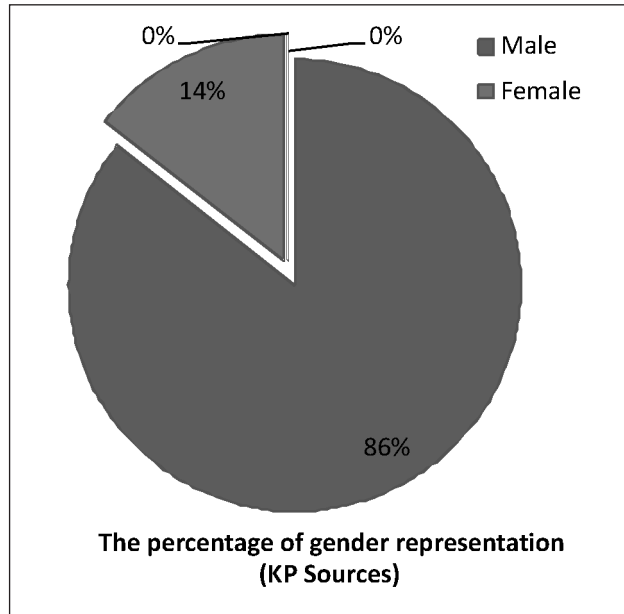
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<sup>3</sup>Among the tasks given to this institution are monitoring and supervision of the implementation of current legislation. It shall report once a year to the Kosovo Assembly and more frequently should it be required.



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current level of women’s representation in the Kosovo Police is approximately 15%, reflecting substantial representation of women. However, some sources suggest that there is a decreasing trend in the number of women working in the Kosovo police (KIPRED 2010: p. 9). This may be a result of the lack of awareness campaigns undertaken recently by the KP or the MoIA to highlight the importance of the involvement of additional women in the police. In this regard there are fears that a small number of women employed in the police may have left this institution for better job-opportunities without being immediately replaced by additional recruitment of women. Despite these concerns, women in the KP are often promoted and also hold ranks in the management structure.



In the KSF and the MKSF, the representation of women is much lower, and according to the former Minister for the MKSF the number of women in the KSF numbered 8% of personnel and there were around 32 other women working in the Ministry in civilian roles (Mujota 2010). Based on our sources we could not find evidence of any detailed plan or awareness campaign which could encourage women to join the KSF or the MKSF and be part of the policy making process of this institution (KIPRED, 2010: p.9). Also when it comes to career



development opportunities, the number of women ranked in the KSF seems to be very low although this institution is in the early stages of development and an objective assessment could be done only in the upcoming years.

Despite the fact that the new Government established at the end of February 2011 may have learned the lessons from the makeup of the previous government as regards the representation of women, until this year it has been shown in practice that women were almost completely uninvolved in security sector decision-making. This research has revealed that despite the imposed quota of 30% representation of women in the Kosovo Assembly there was a lack of sufficient representation of women in parliamentary committees related to security and also the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MoIA). In particular the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and the Kosovo Security Council lacked any representation of women in their senior structures.<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning that the problem of representation of women in Kosovo's public sector is not directly related to lack of sufficient institutional mechanisms for gender equality. So far, some very important institutional mechanisms have been established which could significantly improve the position of women in public institutions. Such mechanisms are the Agency for Gender Equality and the Attorney for Gender Equality, as well as other special offices or departments established in each central and municipal level institution. However despite the existence of these mechanisms there is no evidence trail when it comes to their involvement in practice. In this regard, the bigger concern for women is hesitancy and the lack of serious governmental policies which could stimulate them into joining security sector structures. Therefore sometimes the problem of women's representation in the security sector in practice goes beyond problems of employment. So far, there is a lack of political will in Kosovo when it comes to the involvement of women in the policy making process at the highest level. Nevertheless, although the security sector in Kosovo was planned during the process of negotiating Kosovo's status, which took place from 2006-2008, this entire process was conducted without women representatives, showing the lack of prominence of female gender groups.

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<sup>4</sup> There are no women among the permanent members of KSC nor are there any advisors. Also, the research found no evidence of women working in the Secretariat of KSC.

## Challenges for women in the Kosovo Security Sector

In general the incentive for inclusion of women in the security sector did not come spontaneously but was pushed by the fact that security institutions in Kosovo were established from scratch. Above all, these institutions were established in accordance with democratic principles requiring representation of different components in all structures of the security sector, including representation of women. By having an opportunity to be involved in areas traditionally considered to be men's work, such as the security sector, women found the perfect environment to improve their status within Kosovo society. This may be attributed to the fact that, starting from 1999, Kosovo's security sector has never been subject to any form of discriminatory procedures in the security sector which could prevent women or any other actor from becoming part of the security institutions or from developing their career opportunities.

In these regards the problems related to gender issues in Kosovo were always more closely connected to socio-economic issues. One of the main problems which could be drawn here is that the process of developing women in Kosovo was much slower compared to the male component. There is a notable discrepancy between men and women when it comes to academic and professional capacities, which is particularly noticed in the security sector. Furthermore, sometimes this discrepancy has to be drawn even further because of prejudice and stereotypes, which exist in some sectors of Kosovan society (DEMOLLI, 2010).

To prevent these gender imbalances immediately after 1999 the main local and international actors organized awareness campaigns highlighting the importance of women's involvement in all public spheres which initially produced significant results. These campaigns played a significant role in attracting women's interest to being involved in the security sector as well. However the trends for organizing awareness campaigns are not so consistent. Recently there have been very few activities or campaigns organized to attract women to joining security sector structures. As a result there is a decrease in women's interest in being engaged and promoted in this sector which could be considered as one of the main obstacles to additional improvement in this matter.



Aside from these problems related to social imbalances and lack of awareness, the situation within security institutions in regard to the representation of women is rather positive. In general recruiting and promoting women in the security sector is exclusively based on individual skill. An example of this can be taken from the main mechanisms for training security sector personnel in Kosovo, the “Kosovo Centre for Public Security, Education and Development (KCPSED)”. This centre is responsible for providing technical, administrative and educational support to all public security agencies including the KP, the Department for Management of Emergencies, the Kosovo Correctional Service etc., without any preference for or discrimination against men or women, a situation which is in line with security sector legislation. The situation in the KSF is similar, as all members of this body have equal rights to participate in training and promotion based on individual skill without any gender discrimination.

### Conclusion

Positive steps for the inclusion of women have been taken at every stage in the development process of this sector. However this does not suggest that the position of women in the security sector is at a desirable level. To draw a brief conclusion, the current position of women in the Kosovo security sector is characterized by the following indicators:

- The legal regulation of the position of women in general is well-defined (starting from the constitution, the Anti-Discrimination Law, the Law on Gender Equality, the Law on Labour, etc.);
- By imposing quotas for gender inclusion in the public sector and the decision making process, the Law on Gender Equality guaranteed the active involvement of women in policy making, thus making women key actors;
- The equal and merit-based treatment of all employees, guaranteed by security sector legislation, has ensured that women are perceived as men’s equals and earn the trust of citizens for their professionalism while serving in the security sector;

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- Compared to other security institutions, the Kosovo Police has a satisfactory level of gender representation varying from 14% to 15%;
- The KSF has a lower level of representation of women, at approximately 8%;
- The representation of women is much higher in civil service positions compared to those in managerial, decision making or political positions;
- Mechanisms have been established to monitor the implementation of gender representation in Kosovo, however they do not have a particularly active role;
- The low percentage of women's representation in decision making positions signifies a lack of awareness raising campaigns promoting women's democratic right to be involved in the policymaking process.
- Women are guaranteed equal access to job and career development opportunities in the security sector;
- Kosovo's level of social and economic development may be considered one of the main constraints affecting women's inclusion in the security sector and other public spheres in general;
- Due to past social and economic underdevelopment, women in Kosovo in general faced many more difficulties in attaining higher education compared to men.
- There is a lack of awareness campaigns organized to continuously promote women's involvement in the security sector.
- The inclusion of women in the security sector has improved the position of women in Kosovan society
- Additional involvement of women in this sector would further improve the position of women in society

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IN SECURITY VOCATIONS

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# Women's role in reconstructing peace and security

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Original scientific article

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## Abstract

*This paper aims to explore the role of Romanian military women in reconstructing the discourse of peace and security. Although international officials claim that women's role is very important in preventing conflicts, in reconstructing peace and rebuilding society in post conflict zones, in reality women only have a formal role, both when they are part of the army as well as when they are civilians in conflict zones. International laws and the Romanian army both see women as victims, not as equal and important actors in achieving these goals.*

*Key words: women's access to Romanian military institutions, gender equality, military institutions, militarisation, human security approach.*

## The effects of militarisation on our lives/on women's lives

Since the events of 9/11, the defence policy of most states has focused mainly on the military dimension. Once Bush's doctrine of pre-emptive war was adopted, the militarization of societies throughout the world increased. Thus, "the logic of military institutions permeated language, popular culture, economic priorities, education systems, government policies, and national values and identities." (Enloe, 2000 cited in Sutton and Nokvov, 2008, 4)

Feminist literature examining militarization and war characteristics has shown that manhood has been built by devaluing femininity. (Enloe, 1989; Steans, 1998; Tickner 2001) Militarism legitimized masculinised men as the protectors, while feminized persons have been labelled as weak, emotional and incapable.

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(Enloe, 2004, 154) In order to build manhood in war, soldiers have been taught to repress all their feminine characteristics.

As we can see, the debated stereotypes of “just warriors and beautiful souls” or the myth of “*protector/protected*” (Elshtain, 1995; Tickner 2001) still prevail in our society, embodied in the image of the salvation of Arabian women holding their children from their enemies. This image has been a good justification, used to manipulate public opinion regarding the necessity and the importance of this “just cause”. (Sjoberg, 2008, 4) In promoting democratic principles, Western states use the necessity of protecting women and children as a justification for fighting men’s war on terror. The way *a father protects his family*<sup>2</sup> and the way Western states are protecting the whole world are similar. Western states are the impersonation of the patriarchal father, thus justifying their warrant to ensure security. (Scott, 2008, 112)

The effects of war are disproportionate and no conflict is gender neutral. Effects like economic deprivation, displacement, poverty or gender based violence affect women and children to a greater extent. (Schirch and Sewak, 2005, 97)

As pointed out above, achieving security is seen as being a synonym of achieving military security. States have a monopoly over violence and can legitimately use it in case of emergency. (Chenoy, 2005:168) The citizen’s security is perceived as being state security. (Steans, 1998, 104-107)

### Human security as a feminist approach to security

If the traditional perspective on security is the expression of a masculinised privileged point of view which breeds only “patriarchal structures”, the human security perspective expresses a wider agenda of people’s concerns in the area. For that reason, it is labelled as being a “feminized” approach, and therefore does not measure up to the imposed standard. (Hoogensen and Stuvřy, 2006, 210) As human security is a perspective which focuses on “the everyday security of persons” (Sutton and Novkok, 2008, 20), and since feminism is concerned with the everyday experiences of women, there could be a solid partnership between these two approaches.

The United Nations (UN) proposed the human security approach particularly when referring to post-conflict societies (Groves Gabrielle Eva Carol *et al*, 2009, 190). Within this approach there are two directions of thought, the distinction being made in correlation with the type of threat defined.

<sup>2</sup> I stand by this emphasis. The “father” represents the embodiment of patriarchy in a family through the social construct of the head of the household image.



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Therefore, the first direction focuses on violence as the source of insecurity, “freedom from fear”, while the second adopts a wider agenda which includes hunger, disease and natural disasters (Sutton and Novkok, 2008, 20). The UN approach, “freedom from want”, focuses on a broader agenda, which includes: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. (UN, 1994, 24-25)

The methods of human security focus on preventive diplomacy, conflict management and post conflict peace building, on developing economic and state capacity, and on human empowerment. (Sutton and Novkik, 2008, 20)

Even if this perspective does address problems which threaten a person’s security, feminists have argued that the agenda must be expanded so as to include violence against women, gender inequality, women’s human rights and so that women and men are seen as actors not as victims. (Woroniuk, 1999 cited in Groves, Gabrielle Eva Carol *et al*, 2009, 191)

A step further in addressing women’s security was the adoption of UN resolutions. Thus, UN 1325 and UN 1820 recognised women’s role in achieving security and in maintaining peace, and have also highlighted the importance of eradicating sexual violence during a conflict. Feminists criticised these resolutions, considering that there is a tendency to support women’s role in the security process on the basis of a type of essentialism which associates women with peace, and also defines them as the prevalent victims of war and, thus, in need of protection. (Charlsworth, 2008, 351) These feminists believe it is necessary for women to overcome the status of victims or pacifists in order to be truly empowered in the process of achieving gender equality, both in the army and also in society in general. (Tickner, 2001; Caprioli, 2001)

The resolutions do express the need for including a significant number of women who could then impose their perspective on the process of achieving peace and security. Feminists support the idea of “citizen defenders”, which have access to the spheres of political and military decisions, but they also stress that it is not enough for women to represent a certain percentage of military staff and end up by imitating the established masculine behaviour model. (Tickner, 2001) Consequently, feminists consider that women must improve their status in order to have an important role in shaping the defence concept according to their own values.



Furthermore these resolutions refer to gender in correlation only with women, not with men too. (Charlsworth, 2008, 351) Gender represents a social construct which defines power relations. The dynamics of power relations between identities is loosened when gender is equated only with the feminine. Gender is a concept which supposes the existence of structural relations, meaning that norms and hierarchies are institutionalized relations of dominance and non-dominance. (Hoogensen and Stuvřy, 2006, 216; Groves, Gabrielle Eva Carol *et al*, 2009, 2009, 193-194) A feminist redefinition of security will determine a partnership between women and men and therefore both will benefit. (Hudson, 2005, 156)

Considering that the human security perspective is proposed by top officials from international organisations or national governments, which may not address properly the experiences and the problems of persons “below”, the gender analysis could enrich this security approach. Thus, “gender approaches deliver more credence and substance to a wider security concept, but also enable a theoretical conceptualization more reflective of security concerns that emanate from the ‘bottom up’”. (Hoogensen and Stuvřy, 2006, 209) The feminist perspective on human security could propose a non-dominant framework for the security field.

The gender neutral term “human”, which in principle presents the perspective of men as well as women, “is often the expression of the masculine”. Thus, a gender analysis could make the voice of women heard. Considering gender as a universalism is also a trap, because there are different groups of women, with their own specific traits and, therefore, different types of feminism. (Hudson, 2005, 157) Furthermore, a human security perspective cannot be valid and have credence if it is constructed only by “dominant state players” and imposed on those in a more disadvantaged position. (Hoogensen and Stuvřy, 2006, 219)

Summarising, human security refers to respect for human rights, sustaining the establishment of legitimate political authority, having a multilateral definition, constructing a bottom up approach and focuses on conflict prevention. (Kaldor Mary *et al*, 2007, 282-286) “Integrating gender into the concept of human security rather than applying human security to gender” will ensure that the concept offers a better understanding of the perspective on security of the people, women and men, who can achieve their objective in a safe and positive environment. (Hoogensen and Stuvřy, 2006, 219)

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## Field analysis

In this section the results of qualitative research will be reported. The aim of the research is to explore the perception of military and civilian persons, both men and women, concerning the condition of women in military institutions, using semi-structured interviews<sup>3</sup>.

Due to external pressure from NATO and the EU to attain gender equality in that field also, in 2001, the Romanian Ministry of Defence started a recruitment program for women. Thus, because of the large number of women attending military education institutions from the start of the program, an admission quota for all military institutions was imposed. From 2001 to 2005 women's access to these institutions had not been restricted and they represented 70% of accepted candidates. Starting in 2005 a top quota of 20% was imposed. "The seats reserved for female candidates in all educational institutions were 100% filled therefore proving the increasing interest of women for the military career". (Romanian National Report for 2008, 2009, 3)

Even though a top quota was imposed, military officials did not impose a minimum quota for women's access to military institutions. Otherwise military staff did not propose a plan which could result in greater inclusion of women into their institutions, Therefore, even though there was external pressure to admit women into the military, the official military staff justified their decision concerning women's status by their lack of adequate attributes to perform in the army and also by Romanian military institutions' lack of logistical preparation.

In order to highlight perceptions concerning the influence women in the military had on the construction of defence policy, I developed a case study with 10 women and 10 men, graduates of various military educational institutions. The military respondents were young people because the goal of the research was to investigate opinions regarding women produced by military education.<sup>4</sup>

In order to illustrate the perceptions among civilians regarding the role of women in building defence policy and the significant problems identified by women in Romania I used 20 interviews with middle aged women from the research entitled "Everyday life experience"<sup>5</sup>, conducted in 2009 in Hunedoara County, Romania.

All the respondents agreed that, in theory, women in the army have the same rights as men and that they deserved to be in the

<sup>3</sup> The research I conducted was not representative at national level, but was constructed as a case study for the assessment of prejudice faced by women in the army.

<sup>4</sup> The research was conducted in 2007, for the thesis „Equal opportunities in Romanian military institutions”.

<sup>5</sup> „The Everyday Experience of Women's Emancipation in the U.S. and Romania in the Twentieth Century and Beyond: A Transnational Study” is research conducted by Indiana University in collaboration with the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration - <http://www.nceeer.org/Projects/projects.php>; [http://doctorat.snsps.ro/sites/default/files/doctorat/Brosura\\_doctorat\\_englez\\_a.pdf](http://doctorat.snsps.ro/sites/default/files/doctorat/Brosura_doctorat_englez_a.pdf), accessed on 06.05.2011.



army. However, when I asked if women had the qualities needed to work in the military, I discovered that men complain about their physical abilities and even about their psychological ones, claiming that, even though they are welcome in the army and they „give grace to the system”, they don't have the ability to command soldiers. The women interviewed, on the other hand, highlighted the prejudicial attitudes men hold toward them, and rejected the opinions stated, arguing that they do have all the abilities required to work in the military: physical and psychological abilities, ambition, professionalism and integrity. Furthermore, women claimed that in their activities they had demonstrated that „they can successfully complete the same tasks, even better than their male colleagues”. One male respondent, in a decision making position, claimed that there is no discrimination or prejudice in his institution, even though he admitted that the men have misogynist attitudes towards women and that they tend to mock them at the beginning, but end up accepting them after a while. He also claimed that women's status was the same as the men's: „women's status is men's status, it is a universal one, nothing is special for women just as nothing is special for men”.

Men claimed that the qualities needed to work in the military are intelligence, good physical condition, ambition, toughness and good control of emotions. In light of these qualities, men stated that women's role must be restricted to office duties. Moreover, they believed that a professional army with dynamic personnel requires limited access for women and restricting their field of action to desk positions due to their abilities, their attention to detail and their womanly experiences.

In spite of the fact that military women did formally occupy platoon commander positions after completing professional education, their real activity consisted of desk tasks. As the respondents said, “women are deprived of adequate training and face unfair sanctions concerning their activity” only because of their gender and not in relation to the results of their work. They are also sexually harassed in many cases. Therefore, in light of all these arguments, they do not get promoted and thus they cannot improve their status, or determine institutional change. Women in the Romanian military think that incremental changes, like those in the bureaucratic system, would result in time in a real professionalization of the army.

Men support the standard defence perspective and believe that women could not change it, while women believe that defence policy should include diplomatic measures and mechanisms for

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sustainable peace that use compromise and cooperation. One respondent agreed with the quotas imposed because “the army could not be composed only of women, women could not fight this type of war, they would fight a war of principles, but not a killing war”. The general opinion was that women were not very welcome in the army, a feeling often experienced due to various circumstances, such as the fact that men disregard orders received from women. As a woman respondent said, the feeling is also caused by the perception that “the patriarchy and the communist view [that] still persists and [because] the system is not yet prepared to accept women and to create the proper conditions for us [them]”. Women in the military are not very optimistic in regard to their chances of determining institutional change, because they perceive the fact that they are not seen as equals: “what institutional change could I make if I cannot occupy the job for which I trained?”

In 2003 there were 3.99% women in the army, in 2004 there were 5.18% and in 2008 the proportion decreased to only 3.16%.<sup>6</sup> The evolution of the proportion of women in the military is directly correlated with the restricted access imposed on them. Thus, from 2005-2006, the quota imposed for Army Academy and Navy Academy was 25%, except for the navy engines and electrical equipment speciality where no seats for female candidates were planned. Also the quota was 30% for the Air Force Academy. The imposed quota decreased in 2010 to 9.79% in the Army Academy, 16.39% in the Air Force Academy and 10.25% in the Navy Academy<sup>7</sup>. In the military high schools 20% of the total number of seats were allotted to female candidates from 2005. (Romanian National Report for 2007, 2008, 3) Even though the Romanian National Reports to NATO did not present a statistical analysis showing the percentage of women who finished military education and actually work in military institutions, these women mainly perform desk jobs in departments where women are more present. The Romanian National Reports present a gender analysis concerning its personnel but unfortunately not distinguishing between women who finished military academy and women who were recruited before the implementation of the women’s accession programme, however they were recruited as civilian personnel.

The departments in which women are active in the army are: human resources, staff and logistics positions, finance, the medical service, information management and technology, military law and military engineering, project and resource management,

<sup>6</sup> According to the Romania National Report (2004) and the Romanian National Report for 2009.

<sup>7</sup> According to Ministry of Defence website.



administration, public relations and military education. (Romania - National Report, 2004, 1) Notice that women's occupational field is similar to the career field for which women are trained. (Miroiu, 2004, 10). It is interesting to notice that concerning superior officers' distribution by gender there are only 2.63% women generals, 4.55% senior officers and 5.29% lieutenant colonels. (Romanian National Report for 2007, 2008, 2) The inferior number of women at the higher decision making level is the reason why women cannot bring about institutional change and impose a different perspective on defence. Although the Defence Ministry argues that all positions are open to women and that it is women who refuse to occupy certain high level positions (Romanian National Report for 2008, 4), it has been proved that by using mechanisms such as rank restriction or maximum ceilings, their promotion is restricted. (Carreiras, 2007, 102)

Concerning civilians' perspective on the inclusion of women in military institutions and their role in developing defence policies, the interviews showed that there are two categories of perceptions. In one category there are women who generally admire women who choose a military career, but consider that this is a difficult job for a woman because of her family obligations. The other category consists of women who, mainly because of their specific experiences as women, hold the view that women should not choose this type of career because war is in contradiction with women's experiences of childbearing and care giving.

Even if they admire women who choose that type of career, women believe that it is a difficult job, which imposes a choice between career and family. One of the respondents declared that having a job like that would be an impediment to raising her children, "if you are working in a civil institution and your children have a problem at school, you can take a break so you can go and solve the problem, but if you work in a military institution you cannot leave whenever you want, they are stricter than us". In accordance with the above answer, another respondent declared that leaving on a mission may affect a woman's personal life, because women are the ones who have to take care of the household. However, parallel to this, one respondent said she believes that "women are capable of having any career because inside their households they are the brain and the men have the physical power; there is a saying that women are the neck which directs a man's head". These types of answer reveal that even nowadays

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there are patriarchal values in Romanian households and that we cannot speak of a true partnership.

The other category includes answers in which the prevailing opinion does not support women's access to the military. The reasons for these opinions are either traditionalist perceptions regarding labour division, or arguments which betray a socially constructed essentialism, the association of women with peace. Some respondents believe that gender differences are an important factor which intermediates women's decision concerning the career they choose. Other respondents argued that, for women, working in the military, besides the toughness of the job, is also contrary to their pacifist beliefs. There is a strong correlation between traditionalist points of view which consider that the household is a woman's duty and the rejection of women's access in the army or to defining a different policy perspective.

Although the respondents believed that, being mothers, women are pacifists and more inclined to diplomacy, they also believed that women should have the same rights as men do. Women consider that their working in military institutions is a good opportunity, both for them, due to the benefits they can get, and also for the system, because in this manner some institutional changes may be made, since in the past this institution was not open to them. They also believe that the main qualities for a successful career in the army are toughness and honesty, a perspective that could be interpreted in two ways. On one hand, it would imply that the acceptance of military women is determined by their imitation of a masculine model. On the other, the implication may be that, even if the respondents believe that society defines these qualities as masculine, they also strongly believe that women can have them, and consider that they should not be ascribed only to men. Therefore, there were respondents which considered that if a woman wanted a career in military she ought to be very determined and patient, as working with men used to dominating this field can't be easy. They trust women in the military based on the fact that the role of mistress of the household causes women to be more human, better at knowing how to communicate with others, and also more prudent in managing tasks, or responsible about the effects of their actions.

Concerning the necessity of constructing a different defence policy, I have also found two types of answers. On one hand there are women who do not believe in or are not aware of the idea that they could have a different perspective. On the other hand, there are women who believe their qualities as mothers or good citizens



could lead them to have a different perspective which would imply more diplomacy and negotiation. Regarding this point, a respondent said: “women have a complex way of thinking, so they would not choose immediately to go to war”.

Respondents regard the real problems of Romanian society to be those relating to the economic situation of citizens, the lack of justice at institutional level, the corrupt political class which fails to improve conditions for citizens, the growing phenomenon of street violence, the lack of political and institutional willingness to resolve problems in the health and education systems which affect the youngest and the oldest citizens of Romania. All problems identified by the respondents concern the everyday security of citizens.

Romanian society is still a very patriarchal society where gender stereotypes or gender discrimination prevail even now. Therefore, even though women are beginning to discover and demonstrate their professional and personal abilities, the process of empowerment still has a long way to go.

### Conclusion

According to the results of this research, women did not identify themselves as victims. They believe indeed that they possess values and abilities inclined to peace and choosing the diplomatic alternative to war, but at the same time they believe that they must have the same rights as men regarding access to military institutions or the construction of defence policy. In a society where gender equality is low, where women's interests are not promoted and their participation is not stimulated, there is a lack of real power to determine institutional change. For this reason, it is important that women are seen as real actors in achieving security, women's access to the military not being sufficient for achieving gender equality and sustainable peace. In order for women to be real “defender citizens” and to promote their values and interests in defence policy, it is necessary to also promote policies which will change the perception of gender roles, help promote women to decision-making positions and create strong institutions to prevent and sanction prejudiced attitudes and discrimination.

I argue that women's access to the military should not be restricted, but that it is not enough to ensure only that there is a specific number of women in these institutions. In order to improve their status and to propose their own perspective on



security, women have to achieve real power. The condition of Romanian military women would be improved if women were promoted to decision making positions, in which they could implement more diplomatic programmes, hence their values and interests would start to be represented. Romanian women continue to have only a formal role in the army, limited to office tasks, which prevents the transposition of their own values and interests into defence policy.

I have based my conclusion regarding the merely formal role of the women in the army on the fact that the army is still a patriarchal institution governed by masculine values such as violence and aggression, in which women's role is limited to administrative jobs. Given the fact that women are birth and care givers and that they have been socialized differently from men, they are seen as vulnerable, peaceful and in need of protection. Thus, the patriarchal military institutions have chosen to protect them by condemning them to desk jobs. The patriarchal society and institutions, which have imposed gender differentiated roles, are responsible for preventing women's access to top level jobs in the army, thus denying their right to contribute to the construction of a gender balanced defence policy.

Starting from the results of my research, I argue that a feminist approach to human security is the type of approach which best emphasizes the security concerns of women. Romanian women consider that achieving economic security, health security, political security, environmental security or community security is a necessity and that the maintenance of a decent standard of living would improve their condition and help build a sustainable peace.

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# Indicators for the identification of women's status in the security sector of the Republic of Serbia

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Expert's article

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## Abstract

*In this paper the author contemplates the process of developing the National Action Plan for Implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace, and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015), particularly taking into account indicators of the present status of the security sector pertaining to this document. Elaboration of the indicators for assessment of women's status in the security sector is an integral part of research conducted within the Strategic Planning Department of the Ministry of Defence. The findings of this research contribute to identification of the possibilities and ways to improve the current situation through the concept of the action plan and through further elaboration of the objectives, measures, activities, implementing parties and their partners, deadlines provided, resources required, etc. The implementation of the above research and, in particular, elaboration of the indicators and development of the National Action Plan for Implementing UN SC Resolution 1325, further enhance the process of security sector reform already in progress in the Republic of Serbia through having international standards and, primarily, the standards of the United Nations, the European Union, NATO, and the OSCE incorporated in the national legislation, strategic and planning documents.*

**Key words:** *women, peace, security, sector, defence, customs, ministries, directorates and departments, resolution, UN, EU, region, the Balkans, indicators, analyses, statistics, plan*

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<sup>2</sup>National Action Plan for Implementing the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace, and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015), Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No 102/10, Belgrade, 2010.

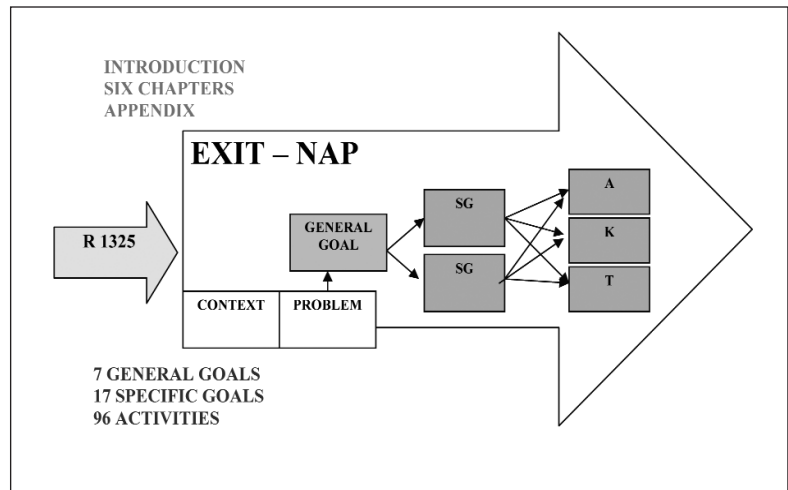
<sup>3</sup>The MoD extended Working Party comprised, in addition to 15 representatives of the Ministry of Defence's organizational units, a representative of each of the following: the Gender Equality Council of the Government, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Finance – Customs Administration, the Ministry of Justice – Administration for the Enforcement of Penal Sanctions, the Security Information Agency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry for Public Administration and Local Self-Government, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, the Ministry of Education, the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. Besides this, excellent cooperation was established with the representatives of other ministries, in particular with the Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija, the Ministry of Culture, the Secretariat for Legislation of the Republic of Serbia, Committee for Gender Equality of the National Assembly of Serbia, as well as with the initiators of the development of NAP from the non-governmental sector, primarily with the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE), and with the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP), the OSCE Mission to Serbia, and UNIFEM.

<sup>4</sup> Concurrently with the processes of research and NAP development, over a period of six months members of the Working Party of the Strategic Planning Department, in accordance with the requirements of the Government Working Party for the development of the NAP, implemented 320 activities, drew up and processed 178 documents related to UN SC Resolution 1325, produced 20 reports of different degrees of generality, and established a network of 124 persons directly involved in NAP research, development, harmonisation, public debate and adoption processes.

## Introduction

In an ambitiously short period of time of only six months, and with the professional and administrative-technical assistance of the Working Party of the Ministry of Defence (MoD WP), after a public debate and alignment with the ministries responsible, the Working Party (the WP of the Government) succeeded in developing the Republic of Serbia's National Action Plan (NAP) for implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 - Women, Peace, and Security (2010-2015), adopted by the Government of the Republic of Serbia on 24<sup>th</sup> December 2010.<sup>2</sup> The extended Working Party for the development of this document was composed, in addition to members of the MoD WP, of

*Graphic 1: The method of the development of the NAP for implementing the UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia*



representatives of the responsible ministries, NGOs, academia and international organisations.<sup>3</sup> The pace and method of developing this document were defined at a joint meeting between the Government WP and the MoD WP that was held on 8<sup>th</sup> August 2010 (Graphic 1), whilst the development of the document as such took place within the Strategic Planning Department in the Defence Policy Sector of the Ministry of Defence which was, at the same time, the hub of the operative team responsible for drawing up the NAP. It conducted research which was concluded on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2010 and included a definition of the indicators which will be further discussed below.<sup>4</sup>



## Research on the status of women in the security sector

In order to create a picture of the situation in the security sector of the Republic of Serbia, research was conducted on *the Position of Women in the Security Sector* with the goal of generating appropriate and measurable data on the current status of implementation of the NAP and as a result establish a control mechanism to measure progress in the practical implementation of the above document. Without going here into every detail of this project, we will note that the subject matter of the research was operatively designated, a hypothetical framework was defined, research goals and tasks were identified and research methods and indicators were selected. The above research was implemented in three phases, on two types of samples, using analysis methodology (analysis of the document's qualitative content<sup>5</sup> and gender analysis<sup>6</sup>), and classification and generalisation of the data obtained. Based on the statistical and descriptive indicators collected and processed, the descriptive segments of the NAP were developed, as well as the tabular overviews pertaining to:

- The representation of women in the security sector;
- The participation and role of women in decision-making, particularly with regard to issues relating to peace, security, and gender equality;
- The participation of women in crisis resolution, post-conflict situations, peace operations and international actions;
- The legal protection of women against all forms of discrimination and violence;
- The viewpoint of the media on the role of women in the security sector.

### Identification of indicators and definition of criteria for their selection

The identification, selection, and definition of gender sensitive indicators<sup>7</sup> in the Republic of Serbia's security sector were therefore first made as part of the gender analysis conducted as a requirement for development of the NAP. In this specific case, gender analysis included a study of differences in the requirements, needs, and representation of women and men in the security sector, and equality in the allocation and control of funding resources, distribution of power and decision making. The problems in its implementation, however, stem from objective limita-

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<sup>5</sup> Based on the classification of data sources, it can be said that 123 units from primary data sources and 83 units from secondary data sources were used in the research.

<sup>6</sup> Gender analysis was conducted following the model of the Swedish Checklist for Planning and Organising Development Work – METS, generated with the help of the Jam Stud Method, which, originally, include: Jam KART, Jam KAS Bas, 4R Method, Jam KAS Plus, Jam UR, Process Mapping. C.f.: *Priručnik za uvođenje principa rodne ravnopravnosti u javne politike (Manual for Introducing the Principles of Gender Equality into Public Policy*, Provincial Secretariat for Labour, Employment and Gender Equality, Biblioteka Matice srpske, Novi Sad, 2009, p. 10, and p. 27-32.

<sup>7</sup> For the purposes of this paper, an indicator is deemed to be such an indicator which can describe a phenomenon or a condition using a measurement unit for size, a number, a fact, a viewpoint, or a perception suggesting a particular condition or situation, and which measures the change in such condition or situation over time. In other words, indicators provide a clear picture of the outcomes of initiatives and activities. This is why they are the key instruments in monitoring and evaluating the National Action Plan for Implementing UN SC Resolution 1325.

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<sup>8</sup> The Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia was the first in this country to develop gender sensitive indicators, but use of the usual economic and social indicators continued. See more detail in: *Zene i muškarci u Srbiji (Women and Men in Serbia)*, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> *Agenda item 55: Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit* General Assembly United Nations A/59/565, 04-60231 (E) 301104, New York, 2 December 2004.

<sup>10</sup> *A Comprehensive approach to the EU implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security*, Council of the European Union, Brussels 1, December 2008, 15671/1/08 REV.

<sup>11</sup> *Rezolucija 1325 Saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija u Srbiji - o ženama, miru i bezbednosti (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security)* – Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 18-23.

<sup>12</sup> In the first place: 2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality, OSCE – Ministerial Council Decision No. 14/04, Sofia, 2004; Action Plan for Improvement of the Status of Women and Promotion of Gender Equality for the Period 2010 - 2015, *Official Gazette of RS*, No 67/10, Belgrade, 2010; NATO and PIP Bi-SC Directive 40-1: Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Gender Perspectives in the NATO Command Structure including Measures for Protection during Armed Conflicts, Bi-SC Directive 40-1, NATO, September 2009; Progress Report on the Implementation of Millennium Development Goals in the Republic of Serbia, the Government of the Republic of Serbia and the United Nations, UNDP Serbia, Belgrade, 2009, etc.

tions, namely from the fact that it was a novelty not only for those employed with the Ministry of Defence but also for other segments of the security system that are covered, as well as from the fact that the deadline for its implementation was extremely short, being only two months. Moreover, most researchers and scientific workers employed in the security sector used only the economic indicators and so-called social indicators taught at their respective universities, in practice, those related to health, education, employment, and population<sup>8</sup>, whilst gender sensitive indicators were unknown for the most part. For the above reasons, the major focus of this research was on establishing a methodology for precise identification of indicators of and qualitative and quantitative assessment (measuring) of the present status of gender equality in the sector under observation. In this regard, our focus was on consideration of gender analysis indicators as recommended by the Secretary-General of the UN<sup>9</sup>, the Indicators of the Council of Europe<sup>10</sup>, and the indicator set proposals from the BFPE brochure,<sup>11</sup> as well as the indicators contained in other action plans and directives<sup>12</sup>. The selection of the above indicators and their adaptation to the Republic of Serbia's security sector led to the creation of a single list of indicators for the entire security system, its coordinated distribution into the security system, and data processing using the indicators of current status in the MoD Strategic Planning Department. Besides, the above Department created a specification of particular indicators for the organisational segments of the MoD with the aim of ensuring further concretisation of the above problems and the establishment of the measurability system with the same parameters and, consequently, the precise controllability of the progress made in the implementation of the objectives of the NAP in the Ministry of Defence.

It is well-known that the role of gender sensitive indicators is to indicate qualitative and quantitative gender related social changes and, in the case of the Republic of Serbia and the implementation of Resolution 1325, these changes concern changes in the security system in the period of NAP application, 2010 - 2015. It is useful to define these indicators since they can identify changes in the status and role of women and men in the course of the period under observation and can therefore be used to assess whether gender equality is in place or not. Considering that the use of indicators and other relevant evaluation techniques result in better understanding of gender equality, the use of gender sensitive indicators will, in all likelihood, be of interest when new



strategic and planning documents are developed in the security sector since gender analysis of existing documents shows that they are, predominantly, non-sensitive in terms of language and gender.

Gender sensitive indicators were selected recognising the future role of women as key actors in the development of society, including the security sphere. Besides analysis of global trends, information was already available on the already developed indicators for implementing the Women in Development policy, information which is adequate if the Republic of Serbia's level of development is taken into account; however, due to the declared foreign-trade goal and the clearly manifested intention of the Republic of Serbia to join the EU, we opted for those gender sensitive indicators defined by the EU.

The dilemma over whether to choose qualitative<sup>13</sup> or quantitative<sup>14</sup> gender sensitive indicators or a combination of the two was resolved in favour of the latter, i.e. of the combined solution. We based our choice on the knowledge that the two main types of indicators actually complement each other and have equal weight in ensuring effective monitoring and evaluation of NAP goals. Qualitative and quantitative indicators do not merely supplement one another but better demonstrate different aspects of the same problem. No matter which indicator is chosen, it must be double checked, i.e. it should pass both the 'reliability' check and the 'validity' check. Reliability in this case means that the indicator used should be accurate and constant. A gender sensitive indicator is reliable if multiple uses of the same instruments generate identical or similar results. Validity means that the information provided by the indicator need to be related to the reality which it measures. Ways to make sure that an indicator is valid include: 1) using logic, 2) using combinations and permutations, and 3) using comparative analysis. In general, the validity of indicators may be increased by a three-fold or many-fold source of information or data. Regardless of whether the indicators of choice are quantitative or qualitative, they must be checked in the above ways to be usable. It is in the above context that we are talking about a valuable combination of quantitative and qualitative indicators.

Besides the two above requirements, the criteria for selection of indicators were the following:

- Indicators must be clearly defined so as to be comprehensible for all employees of the security sector and the civil sector;

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<sup>13</sup> **Qualitative** indicators may be defined as a prevailing opinion about an issue, e.g. that the female body is not conducive for a career in military aviation and vice versa. As a rule, qualitative indicators derive from sources such as public debates, opinion polls, participatory rural appraisals, participant observation, and sociological and anthropological field studies.

<sup>14</sup> **Quantitative** indicators may be defined as a measure of quantity, e.g. the number of women employed in the security sector. Quantitative indicators are usually drawn from censuses, counting, and administrative records.



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- Indicators should be easy to use and process;
- Indicators should be reliable and valid;
- All indicators should be classified according to gender;
- General indicators at the level of the Republic of Serbia security sector should be integrated and developed in a participatory manner, including all relevant actors in the process of NAP development but leaving room for the development and concretisation of specific indicators at the level of specific systems that constitute this sector;
- , qualitative and quantitative indicators, namely a combination of both, must be used;
- Indicators should measure trends over time;
- The focus should be on indicators of outcome.

### Selection of gender sensitive indicators

The foundations for generating gender sensitive indicators were based on the 2004 Report of the UN Secretary-General containing the UN recommendation on indicators for development of national action plans for implementing Resolution 1325. The above UN document contains a total of 26 indicators classified in four sets: 1. Prevention; 2. Participation; 3. Protection, and 4. Relief and Recovery. In the analysis that followed, indicators 1 to 4 and indicator 7 were omitted from the first set of indicators since they primarily relate to the scope of activities of the Gender Equality Directorate of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, as well as Indicators 5 and 6 which relate exclusively to the competence of individual UN bodies in peace operations, whilst indicator 4 was partially taken into consideration – the percentage of reported cases of sexual exploitation and abuse allegedly perpetrated by uniformed and civilian peacekeepers and humanitarian workers that are referred, investigated and acted upon – as an indicator relevant to participants in peace operations, primarily members of the MoD and MoI, and other governmental authorities of the Republic of Serbia.

From the second set of indicators, those pertaining to the participation, indicators 9, 10, and 13, and partly indicator 8, were not considered as their determination is within the competence of UN bodies; but primarily acceptable for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and partly relevant for the MoD and MoI are those indicators pertaining to international cooperation, specifically: indicator 8 – the number and share of peace agreements containing specific provisions aimed at improving the security and status of



women and girls; indicator 11 (a) – the level of participation of women in formal peace negotiations; indicator 11 (b) – the presence of women in a formal observer or consultative capacity at the beginning and end of peace negotiations; indicator 12 – the level of women's political participation in conflict-affected countries.

From the third set of indicators pertaining to protection, indicators 14, 15, and 18 were left out since they relate to the scope of activities of the Gender Equality Directorate of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, whilst indicator 19 pertains in part to the competence of the MoI and in part to that of the Ministry of Justice while indicator 20 is in the competence of the Ministry of Justice. For the purposes of defining national indicators, the following were taken into consideration: indicator 16 – the level of women's participation in the justice and security sector in conflict-affected countries; and indicator 17 – the existence of national mechanisms for control of small arms and light weapons.

From the fourth set of indicators pertaining to relief and recovery, the following indicators were left out of consideration: indicator 21 (a) which is in the competence of the Ministry of Health and indicator 21 (b), as well as indicator 23, both pertaining to finance of non-governmental sector organisations, and also indicator 25 (b) pertaining to the scope of activities of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. From this set of indicators, the following were taken into serious consideration: indicator 22 – the extent to which strategic planning frameworks in conflict-affected countries incorporate gender analysis, targets, indicators and budgets; indicator 23 – the proportion of allocated and disbursed funding to civil society organizations, including women's groups, that is spent on gender issues in conflict affected countries; indicator 24 – the actual allocated and disbursed funding in support of programmes that address gender sensitive relief, recovery, peace and security programmes in conflict affected countries; indicator 25 (a) – the number and percentage of transitional justice mechanisms called for by peace processes that include provisions to address the rights and participation of women and girls in their mandates; and indicator 26 – the number and percentage of female ex-combatants, women and girls associated with armed forces or groups that receive benefits from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.

The following document, the indicators of which originate from the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, pertains to the implementation of UN Security Council

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Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace, and Security. The introduction of this document highlights that it is a list of EU Indicators, adopted on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2010, for “EU Comprehensive Approach for the Implementation of UN SC Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace, and Security”, i.e. an operative addendum to the political document adopted on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2008. The goals of adopting this document on indicators included, inter alia, further strengthening of EU responsibility for women, peace, and security; achieving progress; identification of omissions in implementation; motivation of staff; facilitating clear communication; and increasing the visibility of women in the EU. This document also discusses the same four thematic areas as the previous one: 1. Prevention, 2. Participation, 3. Protection, and 4. Relief and recovery, but it underlines that all four thematic areas pertain to women in conflict situations and contains seventeen concrete indicators.

The structure of this document pertains to those indicators which refer to: activities at state and regional level; integration of women in EU priority sectors; participation of women in the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP); international protection of women; and reporting on gender issues. When studying and analysing the list of gender sensitive EU indicators we realised that most of these indicators pertain to the regional level of the Union as such (e.g., indicators 1 – 5 and 8 - 11), but also that, in the foreseeable future, based on the indicators defined in the gender equality area, the EU will assess the political maturity of our country to move towards European integration. For example, these include: indicator 5 – the number of projects in specific sectors – primarily human rights, civil society, health care and education, humanitarian aid – implemented in unstable and conflict-prone countries, which significantly contribute to gender equality and promotion of the status of women; the total amount of funds for these projects and its percentage compared with cooperative programmes in the country concerned; 6 – the number of national action plans and other strategic documents at national level, or reporting procedures in EU member states; 7 – the number and type of common initiatives and programmes at the global, regional, and national level, with the UN or other international organisations and financial institutions, concerning women, peace, and security. The subject matter of detailed analysis in this document was Chapter ‘G’ pertaining to the participation of women in peace initiatives and operations, namely to the following indicators: indicator 8 – the number and percentage of



women intermediaries and negotiators and women civilian groups in formal and informal peace negotiations, supported by the EU; 9 - EU activities supporting women's participation in peace negotiations; 10 – the number and type of meetings of EU delegations, embassies of the EU member states, and CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policy) missions with women's groups and/or non-governmental organisations pertaining to the issues of women, peace, and security; 11 – the ratio of women to men among the heads of diplomatic missions, UN staff in peace operations and CSDP missions at all levels, including military and police staff. This set of indicators was contemplated as a potential possibility for further development of gender sensitive indicators in the Republic of Serbia in the foreseeable future, due to the Republic of Serbia's involvement and inclusion as a partner in existing EU programmes and projects. The same approach to the issue was maintained in the contemplation of following indicators: indicator 12 – the ratio between women and men who are specifically trained in the gender equality area among diplomatic staff, civilian and military staff employed by the EU member states, and among civilian and military staff participating in UN peace operations and CSDP missions; 13 – the number and percentage of CSDP missions and operations with mandates and planning documents including clear references to the issue of women, peace, and security, and actually reporting on it; 14 – the number and percentage of CSDP missions and operations with gender advisors; 15 – the number of sexual abuse cases perpetrated by CSDP staff which were investigated and acted upon; 16 – the percentage of reports on the activities of special emissaries of the EU that include information on the issue of women, peace, and security, etc.

The last document to be considered was the recommendations of the non-governmental sector in the Republic of Serbia, contained in a brochure by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE).<sup>15</sup> As it turned out, the gender sensitive indicators suggested in this document have had a major influence on composing the final list of indicators in the security sector since they were already adjusted to national requirements. Or, more precisely, in the chapter devoted to the “Structure of the Process of Drawing Up the National Action Plan and its Content” a group of experts offered a list of 55 qualitative and quantitative indicators pertaining to seven thematic areas: 1. Representation of women; 2. Measures; 3. Money; 4. Reports; 5. Media; 6. Statistics; 7. Research.

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<sup>15</sup> Same as in footnote 12.

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After each of the proposed indicators from the above thematic areas were duly considered and compared with UN and the EU indicators, and after they were verified based on the consideration of gender sensitive indicators, if any, contained in the national plans of (mostly) European countries, such as Norway,<sup>16</sup> Sweden<sup>17</sup>, Great Britain<sup>18</sup>, Spain<sup>19</sup>, Austria<sup>20</sup>, the Netherlands<sup>21</sup>, and Finland<sup>22</sup>, the final list of indicators in the Republic of Serbia security sector was drawn up.

### Indicators for the determination of the present situation in the Republic of Serbia with regard to implementation of the NAP for the application of UN SC Resolution 1325

Based on all the above, an integrated list of gender sensitive indicators in the security sector pertains to seven thematic areas and features a total of 67 identified indicators. These indicators are the following:

#### 1. Representation of women

- Number of women in security structures (compare the baseline data with the data for each individual year of NAP implementation);
- Number of women in managerial positions in the security sector (compare the baseline data with the data for each individual year of NAP implementation);
- Number of women, their participation and positions they took in different delegations, international and regional bodies and institutions responsible for security issues; in negotiating missions, in diplomatic and consular missions, peace missions, military missions (compare the baseline data with the data for each individual year of NAP implementation);
- Established and regularly updated database on the representation of women in managerial positions in the security system (military, police, customs, diplomatic and other missions);
- Degree to which the minimum 30% quota of women participating in peace delegations and in negotiations has been attained;
- Percentage increase in the number of women in peace operations;

<sup>16</sup> *The Norwegian Government's Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), on Women, Peace and Security*, Published by Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, E-799 E, Printed by: Grafia Kommunikasjon as – 05/2006.

<sup>17</sup> *The Swedish Government's action plan to implement Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security*, HDIM.DEL/92/06,4 October 2006.

<sup>18</sup> *The UK National Action Plan to implement UNSCR 1325*, DIFID, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Defence, UK, London, 2007.

<sup>19</sup> *The Government of Spain's Action Plan for the application of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security*, Spain, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> *Austrian Action Plan on Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)*, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, Vienna, August 2007.

<sup>21</sup> *Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325 - Taking a stand for women, peace and security Policy Department* DSI/SB BZDR6628/E Printing OBT bv, The Hague, December 2007.

<sup>22</sup> *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security" Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011*, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki, Finland, 19 September 2008.



- Established mechanism to support greater participation of women in peace and humanitarian missions (minimum 30% quota, support to families, enrolment system, and other).

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## *2. Measures and activities*

- Number, type, content, and effects of political documents, strategies, and regulations initiated, proposed or adopted;
- Number, type, content, and effects of specific measures focused on the creation of equal opportunities for the participation of women and men in decision making on security issues, either initiated proposed, or adopted;
- Number of civilian and military peace missions and other activities in the security area with the participation of women;
- Number, type, content and effects of concrete efforts to create procedural assumptions for equal participation of women and men in decision making about security issues either proposed or undertaken and implemented;
- Setting up of bodies for women's issues in governmental authorities;
- Systemised work posts of the advisor to the minister for gender equality;
- Systematised work posts of the advisor in peace and other missions for gender equality;
- Number of women's sections set up within trade unions that are active in the security sector;
- Introduce a 'trusted person' to assist women involved in the security sector;
- Implement a programme to support family members of women involved in the security sector;
- Teaching contents pertaining to gender issues integrated in all types and at all levels of training in the security sector;
- Introduce specific courses and teaching programmes at all levels of the education system promoting and encouraging tolerance and conflict prevention;
- Adopt and implement a training plan focused on increasing the gender sensitivity of members of the security sector and other governmental authorities participating in peacekeeping operations;

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- Develop mechanisms for early warning in cooperation with local women's initiatives;
- At least three different programmes for reintegration of men and women who took part in armed conflicts supported and implemented;
- At least three different programmes to deal with the past and war crimes supported and implemented;
- At least three different programmes related to the specific needs of women refugees and internally displaced persons supported and implemented;
- The status of refugees and internally displaced persons made equal;
- Established continual mandatory training for participants in peace and humanitarian missions in the area of women's human rights and gender equality;
- Established permanent cooperation with all relevant international organisations dealing with issues of increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping activities;
- Number and percentage of women intermediaries and negotiators, and women's civilian groups in formal and informal peace negotiations, supported by the EU;
- Ratio of women to men among diplomatic staff, civilian and military staff employed by member states and civilian and military staff participating in UN peacekeeping operations and CSDP missions;
- Number and percentage of the participation of the representatives of the Republic of Serbia in CSDP missions and operations with gender advisors;
- Number of cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by CSDP staff that were investigated and acted upon;
- Number and percentage of cases of sexual violence against women and girls that were referred, investigated and adjudicated;
- Degree to which UN peacekeeping and special political missions include information about the infringement of human rights of women and girls in their periodical reports;
- Percentage of referred cases of sexual exploitation and abuse allegedly perpetrated by uniformed and civilian peacekeepers and humanitarian workers that are investigated and acted upon;



- Number and percentage of military manuals, national security policy frameworks, codes of conduct and standard operating procedures/ protocols of national security forces that include measures to protect women's and girls' human rights;
- Level of political participation of women in conflict-affected areas;
- Degree to which national legislation protecting human rights of women and girls comply with international standards.

### *3. Financing*

- Financial resources from the gender sensitive budget that are allocated and used for the implementation of NAP activities;
- Create, in the institutions within the security system, specific budget items for the implementation of the NAP;
- Create a compensation fund for victims of gender-based violence and make it operational;
- Share of allocated and paid funds for civil society organisations, including women's groups, that is used for gender equality related issues at local level;
- Number and percentage of women ex-combatants, women and girls associated with armed forces or groups who receive benefits from programmes for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

### *4. Reporting*

- Number of reports by the Government, relevant ministries, governmental authorities, and judiciary and other institutions directly involved in the implementation of the National Plan for Implementing UN SC Resolution 1325 in Serbia;
- EU financial resources (meetings, reports, formal support, etc.) pertaining to the issue of women, peace and security;
- Number of reports by the body supervising the implementation of the NAP for implementing Resolution 1325 in Serbia;
- Number of reports for taking part in activities of fora gathering together women from the security sector;

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- Number of reports on the scope and type of cooperation among the security services, at the national, regional, and international level;
- Number of reports by civil society organisations involved in the implementation of the NAP for Implementing Resolution 1325 in Serbia;

## 5. Media

- Number, type, content, and effects of informative and planned or implemented media campaigns;
- Number and content of media items devoted to violence or discrimination against women, threats against and infringement of women's human rights, and items presenting good practice;
- Number and content of media items devoted to the life and experience of women refugees, internally displaced women, women returnees, asylum-seekers, or victims of human trafficking, with presentation of good practice;
- Number and content of media items about the contribution of women to peace building;
- Number and content of media items about the experience of women human rights defenders;
- At least three different media items dealing with the past and war crimes that are supported and implemented.

## 6. Statistics

- Statistical indicators of the number and outcome of cases of violence against women that are judicially processed;
- Statistical indicators of the number and outcome of judicial processes meant to protect women against discrimination or to protect women's human rights;
- Statistical indicators of the number of women who have been provided free legal aid to help them protect and exercise their rights.
- Statistical indicators of the number of women employed in the security system (ministries and directorates);
- Statistical indicators of the number of women in decision-making roles in the security system;
- Statistical indicators of the number of women at all education levels in the security system;



- Statistical indicators of the number of women in further education programmes and courses related to the security system, in the country and abroad;
- Statistical indicators of the number of women participating in peacekeeping and civil missions within the security system;
- Statistical indicators of the number of women participating in international activities as members of state delegations.

### 7. *Research*

- Number and percentage of research projects stemming from NAP that have been implemented;
- Number of men who have taken sick leave to take care of their sick children;
- Number of complaints about gender discrimination that are made by women employed in the security system, and the outcomes of such complaints;
- Number and percentage of research projects implemented with regard to the impact of post-conflict situations on the position of women, particularly on violence against women.

### Summary

Many countries of the Western Balkans, apart from the Republic of Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, are yet to invest serious efforts in developing action plans for implementing UN SC Resolution 1325 and accordingly are yet to tackle the hardest part of the job – selecting and deciding on specific indicators which will facilitate the precise determination and measurement of the progress they are making in the practical implementation of that document. The international conference devoted to the status of women in armed forces, held in 2010 in Belgrade, demonstrated that the position of women is very similar throughout the region. Accordingly, the experience of the Republic of Serbia may be valuable for other countries going through security sector transition and a reform process that necessarily implies the incorporation of a gender perspective into policies, plans, and budgets, as well as a general change in the social perception of this issue.

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# Imagining the Turk

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Ježernik, Božidar (editor), *Imagining the Turk*, Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek: Knjižara Krug, 2010.

## Book review

*Imagining the Turk* is a compilation of works by different authors offering their insights on what the “Turk” once represented and what he represents now. Besides the long known thesis of the Slavic territories of Austria-Hungary being the *Antemurale Christianitatis*, in this book the editor Božidar Ježernik presents different nuances of the experience of the Ottoman threat over several centuries, while also uncovering a certain admiration on the side of the West for the Orient, represented by Turkey. *Imagining the Turk*, thus, does not deal with historical facts but primarily with the subjective, intangible and anthropological: what has over many years and through storytelling become an understanding not only of the “magnificent Turk” (p. 13), but also of the Turk as the “doom of Christianity” (p. 89). This book is concerned with uncovering the ways in which stereotypes are created and how they have evolved up to the present day, graphically illustrated in particular by Aleksandra Niewiara’s presentation of teenagers’ experience of the Turk. This essay is a by-product of sociological research in which secondary school pupils in Poland were asked to briefly sketch what a Turk meant to them. According to the old adage that a picture is worth a thousand words, these simple yet very illustrative and telling drawings can be described as the pick of the collection. While reading this book the reader wanders through five centuries of the evolution of the Ottoman Empire’s image and is finally faced with his own predominantly negative opinion of a nation which is geographically close to him while seemingly being very remote in civilizational terms.

If we were to put the collection *Imagining the Turk* in the present day context and keep it in the “waiting-room” of Europe

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## BOOK REVIEW

since 1987, the animosity of certain European nations – and possibly it is true to say here *doubtlessly* European nations – towards Turkey and its citizens in the context of Euro-integrations, would become more evident. The author of the chapter “Creation of the Image of ‘the Turk’ in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean”, Özlem Kumrular, introduces us to three Europeans taken captive in Turkey whose experiences shaped the image of the Turk of that time, and asks: “*What do these three people have in common?*”. In order to portray the difficulties of his five-year captivity, one of the three people mentioned included numerous anti-Turkish statements in his master work, known around the world and read even today. The writer is no less than Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, and the work is *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*. Even more, the general feeling of the approaching Turkish threat also had an impact on the architecture of Mediterranean countries, with churches whose windows were constructed to be increasingly smaller in order to allow the structure to be more easily defended against attack (p.48).

An undeniable strength of the book Božidar Jezernik has edited lies not only in how topical to the present moment it is but also in the universal meaning of the theses of all the texts contained in it. *Fumare come un Turco / Bestemmiare come un Turco* (to smoke / curse like a Turk), idioms from sixteenth century Italy, since then translated into probably all European languages, are but one evidence of the earlier statement. The so-called “Turkish inclination” (i.e. homosexuality); to do something “before the Turks come”, which is to say hastily; terms in musicology such as *alla turca* and *alla franca* as opposites – these have all been retained as terms whose history is mostly not considered by those who use them.

The next highlight in this collection is certainly the text “*The Others in the Early Turkish Novels*” by Nazan Aksoy. The novel appeared in Turkey 150 years after its emergence in Europe and under significantly different circumstances, and the author presents the difficulties of Turkish novelists at that time. Just some of the specific features of the Turkish novel compared to the classical European novel which Aksoy’s essay mentions are the inclusion of female characters; reducing the role of the physical in favour of the spiritual; stories of forbidden love and passion in a culture which looks upon this unfavourably to say the least; and the obligation of the novelist to give the story a socially desirable ending, fitting into the framework of rigid moral norms. Because the collection presents both sides: both the general Western posi-

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tion (e.g. in *Who are 'the Turks' of Panurge?* by Miha Pintarič and *The Creation of the Image of 'the Turk'* by Özlem Kumrular) and the Turkish one, unknown to the wider audience, the whole collection can be described as a long awaited synthesis of the Eastern and Western perception of “the other”.

Since *Imagining the Turk* resulted from an attempt by the editor to deal with stereotypical perceptions of the Turkish nation, a possible disadvantage would be that it is not ‘complete’ in the sense of providing the opinions of individual authors or of the editor himself about the implications of these stereotypes for contemporary international relations. Also absent is a discussion of to what degree these stereotypes impact on the course of relations between the EU and Turkey, and how much this course is under the influence of economic, social and other factors. In the introduction, B. Jezernik quotes Mustafa Sojikut who says: “from the very beginnings of interactions between the Muslims and Christians, Turks represented for the Europeans the ‘other’ *par excellence*.” Although it can be confirmed based on experience that the “otherness” is still present, it would be useful to consider to what extent and with what impact, and to think about ways to overcome and mitigate the differences.

To close, the collection of works *Imagining the Turk* is a book of undeniable value for a broad range of experts and groups interested in the fields of political sciences, sociology, history, anthropology, musicology, ethnology, and in the “area studies” increasingly popular across universities in Europe. The works are written in simple language and in a dynamic style with adequate illustrations, so the book should easily find its way to general readers, but also to experts with an interest in the topic. The book has an eclectic nature: on the one hand each work adds a new dimension to the perception of the issue of stereotypes while the editor intervenes to build a whole which is much more than its individual parts, while on the other hand there is a richness of profiles and *backgrounds* of authors as a guarantee against bias and as an attraction for readers of different profiles.



# Instructions for the authors

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE AUTHORS

Western Balkans Security Observer is a journal established by the academic community of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy. The papers that we publish in this magazine deal with regional security issues, but they also focus on national and global security problems. The editors especially encourage papers which question the security transformations from an interdisciplinary perspective and which combine different theoretical starting points. A special column is dedicated to reviews of the newest sources from the fields of security studies, political sciences, international relations and other related scientific disciplines.

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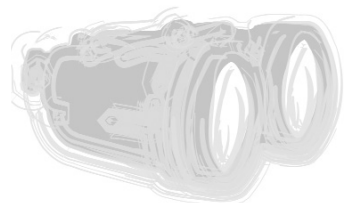
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