2011

# INDEPENDENT

# REPORT ON THE

# IMPLEMENTATION OF

# NAP 1325

# IN SERBIA

2012

# INDEPENDENT REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NAP 1325 IN SERBIA

**JANUARY 2011 – JULY 2012**

Belgrade Centre for Security Policy

# Content

# Abbreviations

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| **BCBP** | Belgrade Centre for Security Policy |
| **BFPE** | Belgrade Fund for Political Excellency |
| **BIA** | Security Information Agency |
| **COPO** | Basic Police Training Centre |
| **CMO** | Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of the Serbian Armed Forces |
| **KAIS** | Personnel Automated Information System |
| **MNO** | Multinational Operations |
| **MO** | Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia |
| **MUP** | Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia |
| **NAP 1325** | National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 |
| **SB** | Security Sector |
| **UN SC** | United Nations Security Council |
| **SPO MO** | Defence Policy Sector of the Ministry of Defence |
| **UN** | United Nations |
| **UC** | Customs Administration of the Republic of Serbia |
| **UIKS** | Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions |
| **VA** | Military Academy |
| **VBA** | Military Security Agency |
| **VOA** | Military Intelligence Agency |
| **VS** | Serbian Armed Forces |

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## Acknowledgements

# Introduction

You have before you the Independent Report on the Implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) on UN SC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia. This Report covers a twelve-month period – from the adoption of NAP in late December 2010 till the end of July 2012. In this Report we wish to present the greatest achievements in the NAP implementation process, point out the challenges encountered in this process, and propose measures for overcoming these and improving NAP implementation.

The NAP was adopted by decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia (*Official Gazette of RS No 102/10*). Thus, Serbia became the second Western Balkan country to adopt such a document. The first one was BiH, in July 2010. The development of the NAP was a process that lasted a year and a half. First, the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE), in cooperation with the Ministry of Defence (MO), launched a project for the development of guidelines for drafting the NAP, in May 2009[1]. Based on these guidelines, MO began to draft the NAP, in June 2010. This process lasted till mid-November 2010. It seems, however, that the NAP draft and proposals for the establishment of new bodies and mechanisms for the achievement of gender equality in the security sector omitted the analysis of the manner in which existing gender equality mechanisms (national, provincial and local) could contribute to the achievement of NAP goals.

The adoption of the NAP, in other words the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in security sector management, was announced as an important reform move that would propel Serbia to becoming a leader in this area in the Western Balkans[2]. However, the initial enthusiasm with respect to the importance of implementing NAP 1325 in Serbia soon waned. In fact, the bodies tasked with its implementation were not set up until ten months after the adoption of the NAP, which significantly delayed the implementation process and the achievement of the goals set out in this document. Furthermore, the institutions still have little or no funding available for implementing NAP activities. All of this indicates that the introduction of a gender equality policy in security sector management is still not being recognized as a priority that can greatly improve the operational efficiency of security sector institutions, enhance Serbia's international reputation and, above all, increase the security of all citizens.

## What does the Report address?

The NAP consists of seven thematic chapters: 1) establishment of institutional mechanisms for the implementation of NAP; 2) increasing the proportion of women in the security sector and their impact on issues related to peace and security; 3) increasing the participation of women in decision-making in defence and security; 4) increasing the participation of women in conflict and post-conflict resolution and a greater share of women in multinational operations; 5) using instruments for the legal protection of women; 6) education and professional development of security sector employees and 7) providing media support to NAP objectives.

The report that you have before you covers all of the listed topics. We focused in particular on institutional cooperation with civil society organizations (CSO) on the implementation of the NAP, considering that CSOs have been recognized as activity lead implementers in almost all of the NAP chapters[3]. The findings and recommendations presented in this Report were drawn up based on an analysis of publicly available documents and information on the activities of institutions tasked with implementing NAP

1325, on responses to the questionnaires that BCBP sent to competent institutions[4] (pursuant to the Law on Free Access to Information of Public Importance) and on interviews with representatives of state institutions and international organizations working to empower and improve the position of women in Serbia.

Modeled according to the NAP structure, in the first section, we review the process of establishing institutional mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP and the reasons for its delay.

In the second section we present the findings on trends in women's representation in the security sector, their participation in multinational operations and participation in the decision-making process.

In the third section of the report we present an analysis of the legal and institutional protection of women from discrimination in the security sector, pointing to the specific forms of discrimination in such a male dominated environment. This chapter analyzes in detail the various forms of discrimination present in the security sector, primarily concentrated in the army and police.

In the fourth section we analyze the activities of institutions in the field of education and training of security sector personnel on gender and security related topics.

In the fifth chapter we present the results of media monitoring of coverage of women in the security sector, conducted in June 2012. The objective of the monitoring exercise was to analyze how frequently and in what manner women in the security sector were portrayed by the media in that one month of the current year. Additionally, we wanted to determine the predominant way in which the media report on women in the security sector, with the aim of monitoring success in the implementation of the NAP, in the section that concerns the public information campaign covering all aspects of the gender equality issue in the security sector.

Finally, in chapter six we address the cooperation of security sector institutions with civil society organizations on implementing the NAP and analyze the main obstacles to forging a more effective cooperation.

At the end of each chapter we give recommendations for the improvement of the implementation of the NAP in the specific field.

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1    Four working groups were set up for the purpose of developing the guidelines that dealt with different aspects: the role of women in the decision-making process; the participation of women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and peace support operations; instruments for the legal protection of women; and sensitization of male and female security sector staff to gender issues. The outcomes of the work of these four groups were presented in the form of guidelines that served as a basis for the next step, i.e. the process of developing the document.
2    Minister of Defence Dragan Šutanovac: http://www.mod.gov.rs/novi_lat.php?action=fullnews&id=4276
3    The exception is chapter VI, concerning Education and Professional Development of Security Sector Employees.

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4    The questionnaires were sent to all institutions in charge of implementing the NAP: MO, MUP, BIA, Customs Administration (UC) and Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions (UIKS). We received a response from MO, BIA and Customs Administration, but MUP and UIKS failed to respond even a month after the questionnaires were sent. According to the Law on Free Access to Information of Public Importance (Art. 16), these two institutions were required to respond within 15 days from the date of receipt of the questionnaire or alternatively to inform us that they will need more time for sending their answers in. However, this did not happen.

## 19 months later: how far did we get and what are the challenges of implementing the NAP?

The NAP envisaged a complex structure of institutions and mechanisms to be established for its implementation. The majority of these institutions and mechanisms were set up, however, ten months passed from the adoption of the NAP to the establishment of the two key bodies for its implementation – the Political Council and the Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body (MSCB). Because of the delay in the formation of these bodies, the greatest part of 2011 was "lost", and consequently the majority of the activities planned for 2011 were postponed for 2012. Considering the complexity and the number of activities envisioned by the NAP (107 activities), this delay may impact the future success of NAP implementation to a great extent.

As regards the representation of women in security sector institutions, no significant progress was made in increasing their share in the total number of employees. On the contrary, a decrease of the number of women was registered both in the Ministry of Defence (MO) and the Serbian Armed Forces (VS) compared to 2010. The representation of women in security sector managing and command positions did not register an increase either, even though some positive developments were noted. Progress was evident primarily in the appointment of women to high positions in the security sector (state secretary, advisors to the minister) and in raising the awareness of the staff on the importance of the participation of women in making decisions on security and defence policies. As regards women in multinational operations, their share in the police and military contingents of the Republic of Serbia is still very modest.

Increasing the number of women in the security sector is a stage towards the achievement of gender equality but not a goal in itself. It is good to gradually increase the number of women who are qualified and capable professionals. It changes the culture of exclusive masculinity in the security sector and contributes to the acceptance and recognition of female contributions and values. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go to achieve their full contribution, and that requires protective anti-discriminatory measures and instruments, and perhaps first of all the willingness of the institutions themselves to change from within. However, the topic of discrimination against female security sector staff is still a taboo. Little is known about such discrimination, and even less is disclosed publicly. Examples of various forms of discrimination collected within this study in particular point to the issue of women's integration into typically "macho" sub-cultures, in which male domination determines every process – from education to employment to promotion. Although the NAP recognizes the need for introducing new and strengthening existing mechanisms for the protection of women from discrimination, so far it has only initiated the process of introducing "persons of trust" whose role would be to mediate, advise and take action to solve specific issues in the field of gender equality and discrimination. However, this mechanism has still not been established in all of the institutions.

Discriminatory practices in the process of admission of girls to the Military Academy (VA), Police Academy (KPA), and Basic Police Training Centre (COPO) have still not been abolished, although all forms of education, professional development, courses and training in security sector institutions in Serbia have been formally and legally made accessible to men and women alike. The reason is the "maximum" quota for the admission of girls to education in these institutions. Although these quotas were initially designed to encourage a greater admission of girls, in time they proved to be a limiting factor, considering that they now represent the upper limit, i.e. the maximum number of women that may enroll in education or training. The main progress in the education of security sector personnel is reflected first of all in increased awareness and level of education of VS, MO and MUP officials about the importance of gender equality in the security sector. Nevertheless, the priority in the forthcoming period should be training of managers, considering that educating middle and senior professionals in gender equality is necessary because of their ability to influence the organization's culture and attitudes within the institution, and to create conditions conducive to the implementation of gender equality policy.

As regards media coverage of women in the security sector, the media monitoring findings on coverage of women in the security sector in the print media indicates that there is hardly any, and that in cases when they are the focus of coverage, women are largely referred to in the masculine gender. The role of the media in the promotion of women employed in the security sector is crucial for the achievement of greater visibility of women in the security sector, of their equal status with men in the same profession, and for reducing discrimination and even violence in traditionally male professions such as the army and police. A fact that particularly draws attention is that women's attempts to excel in the security system in fact only contribute to strengthening stereotypes.

From the very start, the process of development of the NAP, and that of its implementation, has come under fire from a great number of CSOs, primarily women's organizations. The main reason for this is that the process is non-transparent to a great extent and that the security sector still lacks sufficient trust in the work of civil society organizations. The state still has a selective approach to CSOs, also reflected in the fact that only certain CSOs are invited to participate in public consultations on certain documents, i.e. those that the institutions see as "representative" in a certain field (based on unclear criteria). Thus, the obligation of organizing public consultations is fulfilled only formally, without genuine dialogue.

One of the main obstacles to the more active involvement of CSOs (in particular women's organizations) in the process of NAP implementation, and also in the independent oversight of its implementation, is the lack of transparency in the work of the stakeholder institutions. Information on institutional activities on implementation of NAP, and the ministries' plans and reports on NAP implementation are not in the public domain. An exception is the Ministry of Defence that has published an annual report on NAP implementation in the MO and the VS on its website for the period from September 2010 to September 2011[5] and a second six-month progress report on activities of the MO and VS analytical group for the December 2011–May 2012 period[6]. A content analysis of the websites of these institutions revealed no trace of issues related to the NAP or gender equality. Once again, the exceptions are the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces whose websites feature information and special sections concerning women in the defence system[7].

The success of NAP implementation in the forthcoming period will largely depend on how important, if at all, introduction of gender equality policy in the security sector will be considered by the newly appointed heads of ministries and institutions. Another important precondition is providing the funding in the budgets of competent institutions. Until the present, the amount of funding allocated has been very small (or inexistent), so the allocation of funding will depend to a great extent on how highly ranked NAP implementation is on the priority list of each institution. The third condition is the formulation and adoption of a list of qualitative and quantitative indicators for monitoring NAP implementation. This would improve the effectiveness of the NAP implementation process, as it would increase the comparability of data collected in the individual ministries and institutions, and consequently the efficiency of measuring progress in NAP implementation at the level of the whole security sector. While the initiative for the adoption of such a list was launched in June 2011, and an integrated list of 14 monitoring indicators for NAP implementation was established on the same occasion, none of the institutions have officially adopted that list.

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5    The report is available on:
http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/godisnji_izvestaj_o_sprovodjenju_nap.doc
6    The report is available on:
http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/Sestomesecni_izvestaj_o_radu_AG_MO_i_VS.doc
7    A page on the website of the Serbian Armed Forces Women in the Army

# I ESTABLISHING INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NAP 1325

Ten months went by from the adoption of the NAP before the bodies tasked with its implementation (and supervising implementation) were established. In fact, the decision on the establishment of the two main NAP implementing bodies – the Political Council and Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body (MSCB) – was not taken until mid-October 2011[8]. Due to the delay in the establishment of these bodies, the greatest part of 2011 was "lost", and numerous activities scheduled for 2011 had to be postponed for 2012. Considering the complexity and the number of activities envisaged by the NAP (107 activities), this delay could have a significant impact on the future outcomes of NAP implementation. The reason for the delay in the establishment of these bodies can be attributed, in part, to the fact that this Government (2008–2012), just like the previous ones, did not consider gender equality policy as one of its priorities,[9] which is why, for a long time, certain policy documents in the field of gender equality are (were) unsupported by real action.

The parliamentary elections in May 2012 were an additional problem in establishing the NAP implementing bodies and mechanisms (and subsequently in their work), resulting in a sort of a pre- and post-election institutional "blockade". The elections were officially called in March 2012[10], and the Government's mandate expired at the end of May, thus making it a government only "technically"[11]. However, certain political parties had already launched an unofficial campaign by end of 2011/beginning of 2012[12]. Considering that ministries in Serbia are "party loot", and that their unhindered functioning depends to a great extent on personnel solutions – ministers and other political appointees, this has direct adverse consequences on the creation, administration and implementation of public policies (Milenković, 2011:24). All this reflected on the dynamics of implementation of NAP in the first half of 2012 as well, in particular the protracted negotiations on the formation of a new Government that has not yet been formed at the time of writing this report (first half of July 2012). In addition, the process of setting up bodies and institutional mechanisms was not transparent, thus interested CSOs and individuals had difficulties in monitoring the process.

The establishment of institutional mechanisms and the implementation of other NAP activities so far has relied to a great extent on the commitment of individuals. This is a sign that the process has not been "mainstreamed" yet, in other words that with the election of a new Government and appointment of leading officials to ministries and institutions there is a danger that the NAP implementation process might grind to a halt.

The Ministry of Defence (MO), as the coordinator of the development of the final proposal of the document, implemented the greatest number of NAP implementation activities, while the Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions (UIKS) was the least active one. MO activities on NAP implementation in 2011 and 2012 are defined in two documents – *Plan of Activities for the Implementation of NAP in MO and VS,* adopted in May 2011, and in January 2012. A similar plan was adopted by the Customs Administration[13] and BIA in 2011. We are not aware if any of the remaining competent institutions adopted similar plans.

### *Who is in charge of NAP implementation?*

The implementation of NAP entails a complex structure of institutions and mechanisms to be set up for this very purpose. First and foremost, the **Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body** (**MSCB**). MSCB is an inter-ministerial Government body composed of representatives of ministries and institutions involved in NAP implementation[14]. This is an operational body that takes care of implementation and coordination of all activities and tasks envisaged by the NAP.

Expert and administrative-technical support to MSCB activity is provided by MUP, consequently a MUP representative heads this body[15]. From its inception to mid-July 2012, the MSCB held six meetings. Information on the activities of this body is not available on MUP's website or in the MUP Activity Information Bulletin, and there are no minutes or other records concerning MSCB meeting agendas either.

**The Political Council** is a political body composed by high political officials – state secretaries in ministries, chairmen of parliamentary committees and gender equality mechanism leaders[16]. Representatives of independent state agencies may also participate in the work of this body (Ombudsman, Commissioner for Protection of Equality and Commissioner for Information of Public Importance and Personal Data Protection). The Political Council provides guidance and recommendations for NAP implementation based on MSCB's six-month reports. The Ministry of Defence provides support for the functioning of this body, and thus it is headed by the ministry's state secretary[17]. So far, only the constitutional meeting was held, in November 2011. MO provided the necessary funding for the four meetings of this body held in 2012 but it is doubtful when this Council will meet again, considering the pace at which the new Government and ministerial appointments are taking place.

**The Supervisory Body** should democratically supervise NAP implementation. It is made up of representatives of competent parliamentary committees and national gender equality mechanisms. The Parliament's decision on the establishment of this body (*Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the National Action Plan on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, peace and security in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015)*) was adopted in late December 2011[18]. Although the Commission has not been established yet, this is expected to happen after the constitution of the new parliament.

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8 Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia of 13 October 2011, 05 No 02-7706/2011.
9 Despite the fact that in the government policy statement, Prime Minister Mirko Cvetković stated that: "Establishing gender equality is an important step towards achieving civilizational progress of our society. The Government will ensure institutional equality of women in the economic and political life of the country and it will sanction every form of discrimination against women.", the implementation of this policy was not sufficiently successful in practice. Although the Gender Equality Law was enacted in 2009, women in Serbia are still exposed to a high degree of violence, are in a worse economic position than men, occupy only a small number of public functions, etc.: http://www.emins.org/sr/aktivnosti/projekti/mentorke/110126_vesna_jaric.pdf
10 The elections were scheduled for 13 March 2012.
11 The Government becomes a "technical" one after constituting the new Parliament, which happened on 31 May 2012. A Government whose mandate has expired may only run day-to-day business; cannot propose or adopt laws or other acts; cannot appoint state officials to positions in government bodies, etc. (Law on Government, Official Gazette of RS No 55/2005, 71/2005 - rev., 101/2007 and 65/2008).
12 Pursuing a political campaign is only allowed after the elections are scheduled, although already in November 2011 the Anti-Corruption Agency launched an investigation on whether certain parties had violated the law, by starting with the campaign before the elections had been scheduled. Source: Večernje novosti (http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.289.html:353884-Kampanja-ne-moze-pre-raspisivanja-izbora)

13 The decision adopting a UC action plan on NAP implementation was taken on 21 December 2011.
14 The members of MSCB are: Assistant Minister for Kosovo and Metohija, Director of the Gender Equality Directorate of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Director of the Strategic Research Institute of the Ministry of Defence, Head of BIA Human Resources Department, Head of Department for the Protection and Achievement of Rights of Detainees of the Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions of the Justice Ministry, Head of Strategy and Development Department of the Ministry of Education and Science, Chief Advisor in the MUP Administration for Professional Training, Specialization and Science, a Military Academy professor, a representative of the Department for Social Indices, Judicial and Gender Statistcs of the Statistical Office of Serbia, an inspector for supervisory customs affairs of the Customs Administration of the Ministry of Finance, advisors in the Ministry of Foreign Affars, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, State Administration and Local Government, a psychologist in the Military Intelligence Agency.
15 Vesna Nikolić, Chief Police Advisor and Head of Department for General Legal Affairs in the MUP Secretariat was appointed to the position of MSCB Chairperson.
16 The Council has a Chairman (state secretary in the Ministry of Defence) and Deputy Chairman (Assistant Minister of Interior Affairs) and 8 members from seven state institutions, in particular: state secretaries in the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, State Administration and Local Government, and Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija. Also the assistants of the minister of foreign affairs, finance, justice education and science and the president of the Political Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
17 Until the parliamentary elections in May 2012, this was the state secretary for defence policy Tanja Miščević.
18 The decision was adopted at the sixth meeting of the Second Regular Session of the National Parliament of the Republic of Serbia in 2011:
http://www.parlament.rs/%C5%A0esta_sednica_Drugog_redovnog_zasedanja_Narodne_skup%C5%A1tine_Republike_Srbije_u_2011._godini_.14762.941.html

## Gender Equality Mechanisms

**Gender Equality Advisors to the Minister/Director** are tasked with advising the management in the process of shaping and implementing practical policies for the achievement of equal rights of men and women, both security sector employees and users of security sector institutional services. It is also envisaged that a gender equality advisor will be posted as part of our contingent in multinational operations (MNO).

Gender equality advisors were appointed in all of the institutions with the exception of the UIKS: in the MO in March 2012, in the MUP and the Customs Administration in December 2011, and in the BIA in June 2012. In the MO state secretary Tanja Miščević was appointed to the position of advisor, in the MUP Vesna Nikolić, Head of Department for General Legal Affairs in the MU Secretariat and MSCB Chairwoman, and in the UC the function of advisor was discharged by Inspector for Customs Investigations Supervisory Affairs Dragana Prokić. In the BIA the function of advisor was discharged by Snežana Radanović, head of the organizational unit also in charge of human resources management. The function of advisor was entrusted to her as an additional task; however, in the coming period the plan is to appoint a person to the position of Advisor to the BIA Director to deal exclusively with this task. Considering that changes will occur in the leadership of certain ministries and institutions after the elections, the appointment of an advisor in the Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions is expected to take place after the new Government has been constituted.

**Activities of the Gender Equality Advisor to the Customs Administration Director**

The Customs Administration appointed a gender equality advisor at the end of December 2011*. The advisor is actively working on NAP implementation, and in the first six months of office she implemented numerous activities, such as: informing the general public about the implementation of NAP 1325 on the UC's website; designing and implementing the project for setting up a forum on the UC business intranet on gender equality issues; designing the method for selection of "persons of trust"; designing the layout and content of gender sensitive databases needed by analytical groups for in-depth research; proposing the introduction of at least two school lessons on gender equality issues in the basic customs training curriculum and a proposal for the training of management staff; providing recommendations to the customs administration trade union for empowering their women's section, etc. The advisor is also the UC's representative in the Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body.

**Box 1:** *Activities of the Gender Equality Advisor to the Customs Administration Director*

**Analytical Groups (Research Teams)** are tasked with implementation, planning, statistical monitoring and drafting of biannual reports on NAP implementation to be submitted by the institutions to the MSCB. Analytical groups were formed in the Ministry of Defence (MO) in May 2011[19], in the MUP and Customs Administration at the end of December 2011[20] and in the BIA in June 2012. The MO Analytical Group has 19 members, divided into 5 sections: a) management; b) research coordination and data processing; c) reporting to state authorities; d) reporting to UN; e) reporting to NATO. In the Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions this task is performed by the existing analytical group.[21]

**Persons of trust** should mediate, advise and take measures for addressing specific issues in the area of gender equality and discrimination. This mechanism has so far only been set up in BIA (in December 2011) but to be able to work at full capacity the appointed persons should undergo training, scheduled in the fall of 2012. The MO will introduce this mechanism after the appointment of the gender equality advisor[22]. In the UC the briefing of managers on the procedures and terms for the appointment of persons of trust is underway. One of the reasons why this mechanism has not been set up in all of the institutions is that the terms of reference and job description have not been specified yet, to avoid overlapping with existing control mechanisms of the legality of work and the protection of rights of the staff within the system or with the support provided by psychologists.

**Gender responsive budgeting**

Gender responsive budgeting should contribute to the improvement of the gender equality policy and eradicate inequality and discrimination against women. The funds for the implementation of the NAP are to be provided by the Ministry of Finance, based on the annual plans and needs of the institutions. Considering the budget cycle* and the fact that the NAP was adopted in late December 2010, no special funds were envisaged for NAP implementation in the institutions' budgets, and the situation is similar with the budgets for 2012.

So far only the Ministry of Defence has begun introducing gender responsive budgeting. This process started in November 2011** even though the funds earmarked for this purpose were "minimal and insufficient for the implementation of activities envisaged for 2012".*** The question is, however, why all institutions did not start the process earlier, i.e. in February and March 2011 when ministries establish their funding priorities in the forthcoming budget year, and why they did not request more funding for NAP implementation. In 2011, the MO did not earmark any funds for NAP implementation, instead the activities were carried out as extraordinary and non-planned activities (MO answers to BCBP Questionnaire). Nevertheless, according to the action plan for the implementation of the NAP on 1325 in the MO and VS, the training on the role and importance of gender budgeting will be held in 2013.

A gender responsive budget analysis was not carried out by the Tax Administration (UC) either, although the UC action plan for NAP implementation in 2011 envisaged that the planned activities should be integrated into the annual budget plans, i.e. into the planning, programming and budgeting process in the UC (UC answers to BCBP Questionnaire, 2012).

**Box 2:** *Gender responsive budgeting*

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19   The analytical group was formed on 31 May 2011, by decision of the Minister of Defence. Stated in the Annual Report on NAP implementation 1325 of the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces, available at: http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/godisnji_izvestaj_o_sprovodjenju_nap.doc

20   More precisely, the analytical group was formed on 29 December 2011. Indicated in the UC answers to the BCBP Questionnaire on NAP implementation 1325 in UC, July 2012.

21   The information was presented at the *Training Seminar for Members of Analytical Groups in the Republic of Serbia*, held in February 2012 in Belgrade.

*   The advisor was appointed by decision of the director on the transfer of authorities of 29 December 2011 (UC answers to the BCBP Questionnaire, July 2012).

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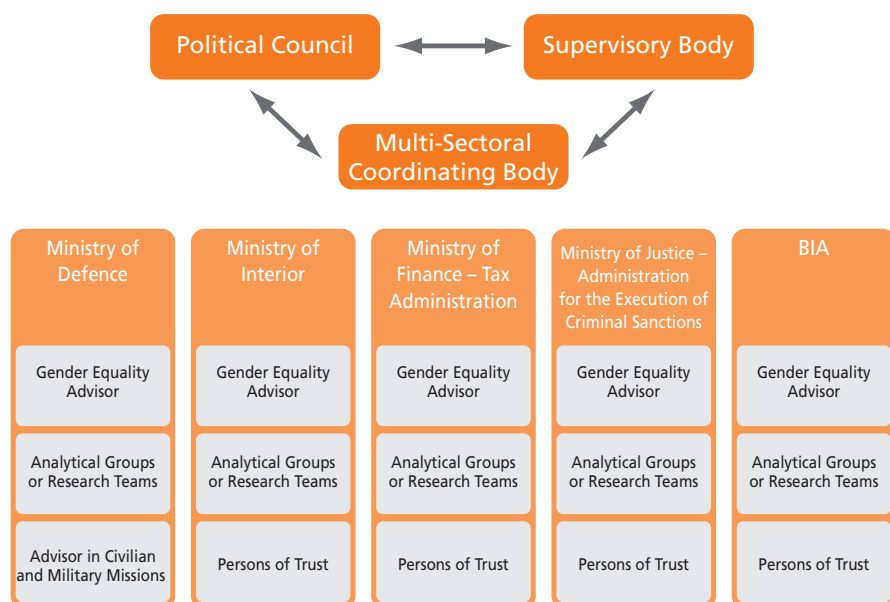
22   Idem, p. 3.

*   Source: Budget Cycle
**   Annual report on the implementation of NAP on 1325 by the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces.
***   Idem, p. 3.

**Graph 1:** *Institutional gender equality bodies and mechanisms envisaged by the NAP*

### Monitoring NAP implementation: no common indicators for all institutions

Common indicators for monitoring NAP implementation in all of the competent ministries and institutions are still non-existent, and they were not adopted at MSCB level either. Consequently, the ministries and institutions draw up their six-month reports to MSCB on the basis of their activity plans for the current year. The weakness of this reporting approach is that the real impact of NAP implementation cannot be assessed on the basis of a list of implemented activities, because there is no qualitative analysis thereof.

In June 2011, a seminar was organized by UNWOMEN and the Strategic Research Institute of the Ministry of Defence on indicators for the implementation of NAP on 1325 in Serbia. Representatives of all relevant institutions participated in the seminar and jointly established a list of 14 indicators for monitoring NAP implementation. Indicators were established for six NAP areas (all chapters with the exception of the one concerning establishment of institutional mechanisms), but none of the institutions have officially adopted these as yet. The adoption of a list of common indicators by all the institutions would increase the effectiveness of the NAP implementation process, because the data collected in the individual ministries and institutions would be more comparable consequently increasing the efficiency of the assessment of progress made in the implementation of NAP at the level of the entire security sector.

### Recommendations

1. All institutions in charge of NAP implementation and monitoring should make their annual NAP implementation action plans and progress reports publicly available on their websites. A single webpage can be set up for this purpose.

2. Improve reporting on NAP implementation by reporting based on indicators for the evaluation of NAP implementation outputs and not on the basis of completed activities.

3. The MSCB, in accordance with its mandate, should adopt a common list of indicators for monitoring and measuring NAP implementation outputs and a methodological evaluation framework by the end of 2012.

4. The UIKS should appoint a gender equality advisor by the end of 2012.

5. Establish clear terms of reference and job description of "persons of trust", to avoid overlaps with existing control mechanisms for controlling the legality of work and protection of rights of staff within the system or with the psychological support mechanisms that psychologists are in charge of.

6. The Political Council should review the MSCB report on past NAP implementation results at its first following meeting, and based on conclusions develop guidelines for future MSCB NAP implementation activities.

7. Institutions should start implementing the gender budget analysis process and planning the budget for activities on NAP implementation as soon as possible.

## II WOMEN IN THE SECURITY SECTOR

### Representation of women

No significant progress was made in terms of increasing the proportion of women in the total number of security sector employees in the period from the adoption of NAP until July 2012.

The Annual Report on NAP Implementation in the MO and VS indicates that in September 2011 the number of women in the **Ministry of Defence** (MO) and **Serbian Armed Forces** (VS) decreased compared to the previous year. The drop in the number of women in these services was attributed firstly to the fact that a number of MO and VS women staff had retired, and that a greater number of younger women were not hired to replace them. Secondly, some women changed job for economic reasons. The negative trend of declining representation of women bottomed out because the representation of women in 2012 remained unchanged.

| Personnel category | September 2010 | September 2011 | July 2012 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | % women | % women | % women |
| Officer | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.2% |
| Non-commissioned officer | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Civilian | 17.3% | 16.0% | 16.0% |
| Professional soldier | 2.0% | 2.8% | 2.9% |
| **Total** | **19.5%** | **19.1%** | **19.1%** |

**Table 1:** *Share of women in total number of MO and VS staff, by staff category*

The greatest number of women, i.e. 75 percent of the total number of employees, is employed in the MO's Budget and Finance Sector, and the smallest number in the General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces (8.5%). This fact confirms that the largest proportion of women are working within the organizational units that require a civilian professional educational background, and the smallest within the operating forces of the Serbian Armed Forces that require a military education degree. The condition for increasing the percentage of women in the operating forces is to train them at the Military Academy. Considering that the first generation of women cadets graduated from the Academy in 2011, an increase in the share of women officers in the armed forces can only be expected after a few years.

As regards women professional soldiers, their share increased by 0.8% from September 2010 to September 2012 (MO and VS AG Second biannual Report, July 2012). If we observe the professional soldiers' category, the proportion of women amounts to 9.13% but in relation to the total number of employees it amounts to 2.9%. Following the abolition of mandatory military service, 230 women applied for voluntary service from March 2011 to March 2012, i.e. 13.6% of the total number of recruits (ibid).

Records from 2012 indicate that women account for a third of the total staff of the **Security Information Agency**, i.e. 30.62%. The observed period saw an increase of women's representation in operational jobs from 29.51% (2010) to 57.74% but also in logistics jobs where 42.25 percent women are currently employed. This is a 5 percent increase relative to the last available figure from 2010 when the share of women employed in logistics amounted to 37.13 percent. The situation remains almost unchanged in management positions.

**Non-standardized gender records and gender-based statistics in the MO**

Records and statistics disaggregated by sex and gender are kept by the MO Human Resources Sector Personnel Administration, and have been up and running ever since the introduction of the Personnel Automated Information System (hereinafter: KAIS). In addition, the SPO MO Strategic Planning Administration, the VS General Staff Human Resources Directorate, VS General Staff Joint Operational Command Peacekeeping Operations Center, MO and VS Public Relations Directorate, SPO MO International Military Cooperation Administration all have gender-specific statistics in place.

While there are various records on the representation of women in the MO and VS defence system, no separate records are kept at the KAIS on the number of women in civilian and military high, middle and low ranking positions. For the foregoing reason, the data collected and published in the annual and biannual reports on NAP implementation differs substantially on the same parameters. Furthermore, the manner of reporting on the representation of women in the security sector is frequently confusing, (for instance the share of women professional soldiers). For these reasons records kept on the gender breakdown of staff should be improved and a standard methodology for collecting, processing and presenting data should be developed.

**Box 3:** *Non-standardized gender records and gender-based statistics in MO*

**Women in the MO and VS are paid less than men by a third\***

The average wage of men and women in the MO and VS in 2011 indicates that women are paid less than men on average, and this trend has continued into 2012 as well. Part of the reason for this is that the majority of women employed in the MO and VS have secondary educational attainment (9.2 % of the total number of women). At the same time, the highest proportion of women are registered in those organizational units that require a professional and civilian educational profile, and the lowest in the VS operating forces that require military education.

**Box 4:** *Women in MO and VS are paid less than men by a third*

The only available data on representation of women in the **Ministry of Interior** dates back to September 2010. For this reason it is not possible to register any changes that have taken place in the MUP. Statistical data shows that women account for 20.96 percent of the total number of employees. Out of this amount, 7.76 percent of female employees are uniformed officers, and 21.5 percent non-uniformed officials (operational staff).

In the **Customs Administration**, 41.7 percent, or 1,030 of the 2,470 permanent staff members are women. Based on statistics from the previous and current period, we can conclude that no increase in representation was registered in the observed period.

As a "rule", women constitute the majority of staff in the judiciary. There are twice as many women as men in the judiciary but more men than women in the Prosecutor's Office. This trend is still present. The **Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions (UIKS)** within the Ministry of Justice published relevant statistics on the representation of the sexes in this sectors' employment on its official website. This Administration is also the only one that reports on its staff gender breakdown in its Information Bulletin. According to the UIKS report, there are 1,064 female staff members, i.e. in percentages women make up 26.31%. Relative to the number of women permanent staff members (897 women, i.e. 23.14 percent of total staff), the number of temporary staff members is smaller and amounts to 395, of which 167 are women (44.56%). Since the UIKS failed to provide data on the staff number and gender

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\*   The data are taken from the AG MO and VS Second Six-Month Report on the implementation of NAP 1325. The report is available on: http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/Sestomesecni_izvestaj_o_radu_AG_MO_i_VS.doc

breakdown in its baseline analysis at the time of drafting the NAP, it is now difficult to establish whether there has been an increase in the number of women in relation to the baseline measure.

### *Participation of women in security-related decision-making*

No substantial increase of the representation of women in management and command positions in the security sector was registered in the observed period; nevertheless, some positive developments were witnessed. Progress was evident primarily in the appointment of women to high ranking positions in the security sector (state secretary, advisors to the minister) and in raising the awareness of the staff on the importance of women's participation in making decisions on security policies.

In relation to the baseline from 2010, when the average representation of women in management amounted to approximately 10 percent in the **MO** and **VS**, a year and a half later, a slight increase in the number of women in these positions of around 1 percent was registered. In September 2011, 0.9 percent of management-command positions within the VS were held by women. This trend is a result of the fact that the percentage of women cadets is gradually growing, considering that the first generation of cadets who enrolled at the Military Academy in 2007 graduated in 2011. Taking into account the current percentage of female cadets undergoing training at the VA (around 20 percent) and VMA (around 53 percent) a more significant change in the representation of women in command positions within the Serbian Armed Forces can only realistically be expected several years after the completion of training and appointment to office within the VS.

| | Departments | Percentage of women in total employment | Percentage of women in management (as a percentage of the total number of women in the said departments) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ministry of Defence (MO and VS) | 19.25 | 8.95 |
| 2. | Civilians in the defence sector (MO and VS) | 49.53 | 10.07 |
| 3. | Military Intelligence Agency (VOA) | 17.2 | 2.27 |
| 4. | Military Security Agency (VBA) | 11.11 | 4.65 |
| 5. | Military Medical Academy (VMA) | 65.54 | 13.86 |

**Table 2:** *Percentage of women in management in MO and VS*

According to the MO and VS AG second biannual activity progress report, there are no legal impediments to the equal treatment of men and women in the MO and VS, but there are differences in career guidance of professional military personnel (average retention in the same rank, average retention on the same post in the service, average grade in the last two years, percentage of women posted to MO and VS command positions after graduating from VA, percentage of women posted to administrative duties in the MO and VS after graduating from the VA etc.) and in the advancement of military and civilian professionals, regardless of gender differences.

A positive shift was made with the appointment of a woman to the position of state secretary in charge of defence policy in the Ministry of Defence. This is also the highest ranking position that any woman has held in the security sector so far. However, as this is a position held by political appointees, the parliamentary elections and the formation of the new Government will result in the replacement of state secretaries in this institution. There are still no women in specific jobs within the defence sector. For instance, among the highest military ranks, defence counselors and envoys in the MO and VS.

As expected[23], the **MUP** Activity Information Bulletin[24] indicates that management positions in the Ministry are still held predominantly by men. Men occupy top management levels (minister, state secretary, chief of police and deputy chief-of-cabinet, ministry secretary, head of Criminal Police Directorate). Of a total of 32 senior positions, there are only four women heads of departments (12.5%), these are: Head of Administrative Affairs Directorate, Head of Personnel Affairs Directorate, Head of Food and Accommodation Directorate and Head of Internal Auditing Service. In 2010, there were nine women at this level.

Available data on the percentage of women in management positions in the **BIA** indicate that there has been an increase in the number of women in middle management, by almost 4 percent, and a decrease, by the same percentage, in lower management positions (BIA's answers to BCBP Questionnaire, July 2012). The representation at strategic management level positions remains unchanged. Expressed in percentages relative to the management level, women occupy 9.48 percent of lower management positions, 11.64 percent of middle management positions, and 4.11 percent of strategic management positions.

According to the **Customs Administration's** Activity Information Bulletin[25] and its responses to the BCBP questionnaire, the number of women in management positions is significantly smaller than that of men in the same positions. There are 106 women in management positions in the Customs Administration, specifically: 3 women (37.5 percent of senior management staff) were appointed to senior management positions (director and assistant directors); 17 women (42.5 percent of middle management staff) were appointed to middle management positions (head of customs post, head of department, bureau chief), and 86 women (i.e. 40 percent of total number of lower management staff members) were appointed to lower level management positions (head of customs outpost, head of customs reporting, chief of department, group leader, chief of reporting, chief of customs checkpoint). To this list of positions, we should also add the appointment of the gender equality advisor to the Administration's Director. Taking into account the total number of women staff members, they account for 10.3 percent of management positions.

Since no agreement on a coalition majority government had yet been reached at the date of writing this text, the data used in this report concerns the previous government. In 2011, women in Parliament accounted for 22.4% of the total number of MPs, while this year their number is expected to exceed 30%. As regards the representation of women in the **National Parliament of Serbia**, there is an issue with regulations establishing quotas only for the ballot list candidates, requiring a minimum of 30 percent women. In fact, the law does not require the same percentage of women to be retained subsequently in the distribution of national and local mandates, i.e. there are quotas for the ballot lists only and not for the mandates, which, at this point of time, does not contribute to the greater participation of women in Parliament. In the new Parliament there will be two security committees – a committee for defence and internal affairs and a committee for the control of security services, however, the composition of these committees and whether women will be participating in them is still not known.

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23   Even in countries where women have been present in the police for many years, not many of them are in management, and especially not in top management. Source: "Establishing the Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network: Research Findings", Southeast Europe Police Chief Association (SEPCA), 2010.

24   MUP Activity Information Bulletin last updated on 12 June 2012; accessed in July 2012.

25   Customs Administration Activity Information Bulletin last updated on 5 June 2012.

## Recommendations

1. Public services' activity information bulletins should be standardized to include a list of staff members by representation of sexes, as only a few public institutions have posted integrated databases on their official websites showing staff-related gender sensitive data.

2. Improve gender responsive record-keeping practices and gender disaggregated statistics.

3. In order to see some progress with respect to increasing the representation of women in decision-making positions, conditions should be created for the professional development of women.

## Women in Serbian peacekeeping missions

The Republic of Serbia is currently participating in five multinational operations under the auspices of the UN[26], with members of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces participating in missions in Liberia (UNMIL), Ivory Coast (UNOCI), DR Congo (MONUSCO), Cyprus (UNFICYP) and Lebanon (UNIFIL), and MUP police officers in Liberia, Haiti and Cyprus. In all of these missions, the share of women in the police and military contingents of the Republic of Serbia is very modest.

From 2002, the year that marked the beginning of MO and VS international involvement with their participation in a mission in Eastern Timor, until today, a total of 296 members of these forces were engaged in multinational operations. Women accounted for 13 percent of this number, i.e. 23 members of the MO and VS, 1 physician and 22 nurses in 29 mandates. Four members of the MO and VS were engaged for two mandates, at their own request, and one MO member even three. Aside from medical work, women were not engaged in military observer missions as VS officers. Unlike the MO and VS, the Ministry of Interior sent its officers for the first time to a mission in Liberia in 2004. Considering that their period of engagement in missions is shorter and that they have participated in a smaller number of operations than the armed forces, the share of women in the police contingent of the Republic of Serbia is half the size. In fact, so far 10 women police officers participated in the MNO. They were engaged in consulting and in supervising the work and training of police officers in these countries. One MUP member headed the police contingent of the Republic of Serbia in Haiti, and currently Serbia's only representative in the police mission in Cyprus is a woman.

In order to improve the current situation and increase the representation of women in multinational operations, the NAP proposes to increase the share of women in the resolution of conflicts, post-conflict situations, and in multinational operations through the achievement of 3 goals, and a set of individual tasks and activities (15). An analysis of the activities carried out shows that some of the activities were successfully implemented and accomplished while some were postponed. There is also a real possibility that reaching some of the targets will not be possible in the given timeframe: for instance, the likelihood that women's share in negotiating teams and multinational operations will reach 30% by 2015 is small.

The NAP implementation analysis in the armed forces and police in this field indicates that despite the progress made in training personnel before their deployment in a mission, structural barriers or challenges faced by women wishing to participate in the MNO have not yet been eliminated.

Progress in training security sector staff members is primarily reflected in raising the awareness and education level of VS, MO and MUP personnel concerning the importance of gender equality in multinational operations. The previous period saw the introduction of educational programs on gender aspects of conflicts. The MO and VS, as well as MUP members attended a series of seminars and roundtables on this

topic[27]. Also, trainings were carried out for MNO participants on women's human rights, gender equality and the special needs of women in post-conflict situations.

However, it seems that the most important aspect of the process of increasing the number of women in The MNO was left out: motivating women to apply for missions, providing institutional support to those who decide to join a peacekeeping mission, and the elimination of certain structural obstacles that hamper and/or delay a greater involvement of women in this type of work.

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**Cultural and institutional challenges to women's participation in Serbian peacekeeping missions**

Despite the fact that the presence of women in multinational operations is particularly important for the overall result of a peacekeeping mission, in reality their number is constantly low. Why is this?

There are two types of challenges when it comes to women's participation in Serbia's peacekeeping missions: **cultural** and institutional, usually overlapping. One of the reasons why women do not choose to participate in missions is long-term absence from home and separation from the family. Considering that care for family members in our society lies primarily with women, joining a peacekeeping mission for six months or a year presents a significant problem. At the same time, lack of institutional support for families of participants in multinational operations may be the reason for their reluctance to make such a choice. The adoption of support mechanisms for families, such as shortening working hours or granting leave of absence from work to the other parent for caring for the family would be a solution for this problem. Cultural obstacles also include predominant prejudices in society, as well as in the security and defense sector, about women's lack of competence for efficiently discharging police and military duties, primarily because of their alleged lack of physical abilities. Such arguments also include the social role of women as housewives and mothers, in other words they are seen as the traditional caretakers of the Serbian family. Consequently, the image of a female officer participating in a peacekeeping mission hardly fits these stereotypes. This type of situation also causes some concern among women about the lack of understanding of their environment for their international involvement or their lack of motivation to participate in multinational operations.

The other type of challenges are **institutional** ones. One of the reasons for the lack of participation of women in the operating forces of multinational operations (military and police units) is the fact that women account only for a small share of the operating forces of the police (7.5%) and military (8%), which in turn limits their number in the operating forces of multinational operations. The increase of the share of women military observers, staff officers and non-commissioned officers will only be possible if the number of women officers and non-commissioned officers in the operating forces of the Serbian Armed Forces significantly increases. In 2011, when the first generation of male and female cadets graduated from the Military Academy, 19 women officers joined the VS. An adverse circumstance for their deployment in a mission at this moment is that they are required to have a minimum of 6 years of service and the rank of captain to be eligible for a mission. There is a possibility of increasing the number of women in medical teams since women are considerably more numerous in military medical institutions than in the operating forces. Also, through the integration of the Republic of Serbia into the civilian missions of the European Union, the number of potential participants from the MO and VS on various duties within MNO would increase considerably thus creating the opportunity for a greater participation of women in MNO.

**Box 5:** *Cultural and institutional challenges to women's participation in Serbian peacekeeping missions*

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26 Out of approximately 125,000 peacekeepers, women members of UN troops worldwide currently account for about three percent of military personnel and ten percent of police personnel. Please refer to: http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/womeninpk.shtml

27 To prepare VS candidates for participation in multinational operations in the GŠVS Centre for Peacekeeping Operations, men and women are trained in gender sensitive issues according to the UN Standard Generic Training Module for Multinational Operations, and the topics are: *"Prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse"*, *"Gender Equality in Multinational Operations"* and *"Gender Issues"*. There are topics related to the responsibility towards the civilian population, in particular women and children, to mechanisms for the prevention of violence against women and full liability in case of improper conduct of members of UN peacekeeping contingents and staff.

Aside from participation in MNO, activities related to other aspects of the participation of women in conflict resolution have not been implemented. According to the MO's first report on NAP implementation, the integration of women from the MO and VS in addressing issues related to post-conflict society recovery was not implemented due to luck of funds. The appointment and deployment of advisors to commanders of national contingents in multinational operations also did not take place in the reporting period. Although their appointment to these positions did not take place, the Peacekeeping Operations Centre held a training session for gender equality advisors to commanders of national contingents in peacekeeping operations. The objective of the course was to train the course participants to serve as advisors to commanders of national contingents in multinational operations, in accordance with UN, EU and NATO standards. 15 MO and VS participants and 15 MUP participants completed the training.

### Recommendations

Mechanisms to encourage and promote a greater participation of women in missions should be developed:

1.  Conditions should be created for a more active participation of women from the VS in MNO, by more intensive training programs and courses for VS women officers and non-commissioned officers to compensate for the lack of 6 years of professional service experience.

2.  Affirmative action should be taken in selecting male and female candidates for participation in the missions, giving precedence to women with the same qualifications.

3.  Institutional support should be provided for parents leaving for peacekeeping missions, specifically by granting them special benefits, such as more frequent leaves and paid stay with the family upon returning from the mission.

4.  Research should be conducted in the MO/VS and the MUP to examine the reasons why women (do not) opt to go on peacekeeping missions.

5.  In the forthcoming period, members of the MO, VS and MUP should be appointed to and trained for the position of gender advisors to commanders of national contingents in the MNO.

## III   DISCRIMINATION AND MECHANISMS FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN THE SECURITY SECTOR

*Prof. dr. Zorica Mršević*[28]

### Gender-based discrimination in the security sector

The Law on Gender Equality defines gender-based discrimination as *any unwarranted distinction or unequal treatment, including omission (exclusion, restriction or preferential treatment), which has the effect or purpose of impairing, jeopardizing, hampering an individual or group of persons, or of denying them recognition, enjoyment and exercise of human rights and freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil, family sphere or any other field*. The unwarranted less favorable treatment of one person over another person, solely or mainly because that person has sought or intends to seek legal protection from discrimination or has offered or intends to offer evidence on discriminatory practices is also considered to be discrimination. In the meaning of this law, a distinction, exclusion, restriction, action or any other measure taken will in particular be considered unwarranted, if: such a measure is not justified by a licit or legitimate goal; if such a measure is disproportional with the goal to be achieved through this measure. The Law on Prohibition of Discrimination recognizes the existence of discrimination in cases of violation of the principle of equality of the sexes, the principle of equal rights and freedoms of men and women in the political, economic, cultural and other aspects of public, professional, private and family life.

A specific trait of the security sector is its culture. It is, in fact, a closed system in which many things are regularly kept under a veil of secrecy, where access to information is restricted and cases of discrimination are not visible outside the system. Thus, for instance, in response to the BCBP's direct survey question, the institutions stated that no cases of discrimination have, as yet, been registered, i.e. reported[29]. Gender-based discrimination also revolves within this frame and manifests itself in the security sector in a specific manner.

The exclusive[30] presence of men in some public activity spheres, such as the police and military, as a typical example, has long been considered a gender neutral phenomenon or a result of the "natural" division of roles rather than privileging men and discriminating against women. Today it is clear that there is no such thing as neutrality or "naturality" and that those who are absent are really discriminated against, excluded, ignored and marginalized and that regardless of declarative claims of professionalism, universality and impartiality, working results always favor only those who were present. Clearly, "neutrality" in reality denotes a situation ridden with unfounded assumptions entrenched in prejudices favoring existing inequity and inequality in gender relations. The strategy for the integration of both sexes, oriented towards the active suppression of such practices and the promotion of more equitable relations between men and women, still faces visible barriers, and many more invisible ones at first glance, but no less effective in hindering the integration of women in the work and professional environment of the Serbian police forces. In fact, this is still a male-dominated environment where most men at times show hostility towards women, which manifests itself as inhospitality, withholding information, sabotage, mobbing, sexual harassment, etc. A slightly less extreme rejection is expressed through various forms of labeling women as outsiders including relationships full of sexual innuendos, paternalistic attitudes and other forms of degrading relations (scorn, distrust, mockery, etc.). Masculinity will not allow promotion of women, because it labels women as less capable and less valuable. In a male dominated environment men tend to interact with women through a prism of disguised sexual innuendos, verbal, either implicit or explicit blackmail at the cost of acknowledgment or promotion. Such an environment amplifies the

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28    The author is a researcher at the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade.

29    In August 2011, BCBP sent a Questionnaire to the Republic of Serbia MUP on protection mechanisms and reported cases of discrimination in MUP.

30    At the end of this chapter is a part of an unpublished text by Mršević, Spasić,  "Rod u radu policije, policajke u Srbiji".

feelings of social isolation, the burden of the risks of the job, the specific powers and responsibilities, the necessity of mutual solidarity in joint actions, the frequent contacts with asocial behavior and certain type of people, the internal training system and the professional knowledge acquired in practice, the nature of information used on the job and similar. The perpetuation of these beliefs is also underpinned by predominant stereotypes that men are rational and women emotional, that men are better at dealing with crisis situations than women, that they are more capable of performing difficult and dangerous tasks, that women are satisfied with simple repetitive tasks, that men are active and their superiority demands respect, while women are passive and cannot be in command.

Masculine male culture is flanked by an informal sphere of functioning that does not have the legal or moral obligation to act in a nondiscriminatory manner. This informal structure constitutes the basis for creating a concentration of power. These small groups with informal power and informal ways of making decisions are traditionally single-sex groups, i.e. all-male. The problem is that these informal groups are not obliged to report to any of the hierarchical instances of the institution or to the society. Power has not been transparently granted to them through any kind of procedure and can therefore not be taken away from them either. They have not been elected so they cannot be criticized or replaced. Many women are excluded from participation in decision-making because institutional participation entails the previous participation in and initiation to these small groups and those who are not capable of breaking into them sufficiently, because these groups are not open to women, find themselves in an unfavorable situation and are excluded. In fact, just as in any society, profession or organization, the police force too has its informal circles, networks, groups of like-minded people, "closed clubs" or "brotherhoods". This type of cohesive mentality is of the male type of affiliation or "old boys clubs" and has so far efficiently prevented mainly women but also many men from accessing the sources of power and social recognition. These informal circles of power are amplified in particular when women penetrate traditionally male professions, including the highest decision-making positions, through legally guaranteed affirmative gender equality mechanisms, such as quotas, or simply owing to their own qualities underpinned by the legitimate power of legal procedure. The identification of the existence and effects of the process of masking power or transferring power from formally structured institutions to the gray zone outside the institutions where affirmative action, constitutional and statutory guarantees of gender equality and even basic rules of decency cease to exist, requires an analysis of the relations on the main scene of formally structured institutions and procedures. The problem is that the privileges or powers that an individual or a circle of people have held for a long time, either formally or informally, start being perceived as personal property and as the "natural" property of one sex, and they will not be easily yielded, nor can they be controlled by the institution. All of these findings, primarily concerning the police, can be applied to the military, because of the presence of restricted professional environments in this sector as well, as in all traditionally exclusively male collectives. This is why the analysis of gender relations in the police really indicates that the problem is widespread, i.e. that these phenomena occur in all similar organizations.

### *Examples of various forms of discrimination against women in the security sector*

The following are examples of various forms of discrimination present in the security sector, primarily taken from the army and police because we did not have studies or publicly available data concerning other security sector institutions (BIA, Customs Administration, UIKS). The examples presented herein in particular indicate that there is a problem with integration of women in the police collective, as a typically "macho" subculture where male domination determines every process. Based on unfounded assumptions (prejudices) formal obstacles are set for the admission of women into the police or they are bullied at a later stage when they join the service. Formal obstacles are defined through selection standards, i.e. through requirements with respect to height, weight and physical aptitude for male and female candidates based on stereotypes of physical strength as one of the key requirements for police work, although it has been confirmed that between 80% and 90% of police interventions are completed without the use of physical forces. In the course of the service, policewomen are faced with real pro-

blems. Among these, dominate: lack of recognition of their working capability (70%), sexual proposals by superiors or colleagues (76%), verbal denial of personal skills by male colleagues or their coarse jokes (55%). Women police officers in the Serbian police forces show the highest level of tolerance for the problems they are exposed to, which can be interpreted as their tacit acceptance of the unequal status of women in a patriarchal culture, which entails a certain level of passivity (Tomić, Spasić, 2010). Stereotypical remarks that concern the alleged lack of courage of policewomen, their reliability as partners in dangerous situations and frequent injuries in action, mainly derived from an essentialist interpretation of gender, i.e. the reduction of women's "shortcomings" to their physical (biological) constitution and conditioning. (Kesić, 2011).

In November 2009, women accounted for 12.7 percent of the management and 8.6 percent of middle management positions in the Serbian Ministry of Interior. In the Serbian police, women are mainly assigned to administrative jobs, and occupy the lower hierarchical positions, while the tasks that they cover mainly pertain to the field of female criminality, juvenile delinquency, work in women's detention centres, liaison centres, forensic laboratories, public relations and internal communications, planning units and similar. Their entry into the area of patrol activities, traffic and special tasks, investigation department and in particular the managing-governing structures is still ridden with problems, unplanned and disorganized.

To illustrate the types of discrimination, we quote the statements of women police staff under fictitious names[31]:

> *Ivana (detective): At the beginning of my studies my male peers treated me as an equal. However, in the course of the studies, particularly in situations when I achieved better results than some colleagues (target shooting or in class) they often commented that we (girls) watched too many TV crime series and that we have no clue what real police work is all about.*

> *Slavica (employee): I was bothered by the remarks made by the male colleagues who constantly claimed that the only police work fit for us girls was administrative work, secretary and typist. There were remarks like that during the studies.*

> *Dragana (police inspector): During my studies and training at the police academy the professors and lecturers were absolutely fair. In their actions they never so much as hinted that they see us any differently than our male counterparts. We were treated equally. Unlike them, senior colleagues that already work for the police always scorned us, telling us that we are not aware what lies ahead of us once we start working.*

In the respondents' experience, employment was the key point of "entry in the system". Aware of the fact that only a small number of women are hired in operational jobs or in the uniformed police force, they all hoped that the attitude towards women in the police would change and that they would be offered more opportunities. However, in the professional context, they realized that having "friendly connections" and knowing important people is often more important than qualifications, knowledge and quality, when it comes to entering the police system. Some found out that their physical attributes were "inadequate" for dangerous police work. Some women realized that their sex and/or gender identity ("being a woman") will *a priori* hamper their employment, career and promotion.

> *Gordana (police inspector): When I applied for the job, I said I wished to work in the juvenile delinquency department. This was my great ambition ever since I enrolled into studies. When I submitted my application, they told me that there were no available vacancies and no need for additional staff. I accepted the explanation and came to terms with the fact that I would be doing other work (anti-narcotics, property-related crimes and similar). However, I experienced a terrible disappointment when I found out from a former college colleague that she had started working*

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31    The statements were collected as part of a survey for the text by authors Mršević, Spasić,  "Rod u radu policije, policajke u Srbiji", which has not yet been published.

*in the same juvenile delinquency department where I wanted to work approximately at the same time when I had applied. She explained that she was lucky, because "her dad has been good friends with the head of that department for many years."*

*Nada (secretary): I enrolled into the police academy because ever since I was a girl playing with boys, I wanted to be a cop, wear a uniform, carry a gun, catch criminals and be brave. On my first job interview after I graduated an older gentleman, highly ranked in the police, looked at me and said: "Girl, you are not fit for a uniform and gun. You're kind of skinny, thin, you seem frail. You are better suited for some "gentler" jobs. You might even be in the wrong profession. You should have been a model or maybe an actress."*

*Ljiljana (police officer): During my first job interview, I was perplexed with the "unusual" and unexpected questions. In addition to the mandatory question related to age, the chairman of the commission asked me if I had a boyfriend and if I was planning to get married any time soon. I answered that we plan to marry as soon as I start working. Then he asked: "Are you planning to have children? I need to know if you intend to go on maternity leave immediately and what am I going to do then? I will need to find a replacement and this entails new employment and double the costs."*

*Marija (police advisor): After I graduated, I had several job interviews in different police administrations and stations and I heard many different excuses when they wanted to turn me down "decently and politely". However, To this day I still remember the statement of a senior police official of the unit in which I had applied for a job: "Women in the police? Nonsense! If you ask me, no woman should ever wear a uniform and carry a gun, ever!"*

In the course of their past career, the respondents identified certain "regularities" concerning the jobs and tasks that are most frequently assigned to women in the police administration, departments and stations. The majority (25) stated that women rarely occupy command positions in police units. A total of 10 respondents noticed that women rarely take part in dangerous field operations/missions and are rarely entrusted tasks that are "challenging". In the work environment of 5 of the respondents, women rarely took part in patrolling activities. Fifteen respondents noticed that women staff members in their administrations were rarely assigned to traffic security regulation tasks. All of the respondents stated that typist and/or secretaries were always women in their working environment. In all of the administrations and departments, women accounted for the greatest percentage of administrative staff. At the same time, the greatest percentage of women in (senior and middle) management was also mainly found in administrative departments.

The following situations were described by the respondents as the characteristics of their working environment that constrained the development of their personal and professional potential: They are not given the opportunity to demonstrate the impact of practice and experience in their actions. They have no influence in deciding the methods of performing typical "police work". They are often victims of attacks and threats by various parties and/or criminals, often involving sexual harassment. In the working environment itself, women are subject to verbal harassment by colleagues and are frequently directly or indirectly exposed to underestimation of their physical abilities.

A hostile working environment includes a wide range of verbal and non-verbal behaviors that favor offensive, hostile and degrading attitudes towards women. They manifest themselves through the inappropriate jokes of colleagues, isolation, physical attacks and non-acknowledgment of performed working tasks, i.e. so called women's jobs. Various forms of verbal and/or sexual harassment include situations when sexual favors or other forms of sexual activity are requested in exchange for getting and/or keeping a job or certain terms of employment. Women employed in the police in Serbia also recognized these forms of activity as characteristic, and in this respect their situation is not very different from that of women police officers in other parts of the world: insinuations or offensive jokes; attempts to involve women in discussions about their private lives or sexual matters; offensive remarks about their

appearance, body or sexual activities; unwanted sexual attention; display, use or distribution of sexist or suggestive materials (photos, stories or pornographic content).

An illustrative case is one that took place in the army and had its epilogue before the Commissioner for Protection of Equality. Although unprecedented, B.I.'s complaint against P. J. for discrimination through sexual harassment in the workplace[32], is illustrative of the presence of a certain type of discriminatory situation in the army. In fact, during the conversation that took place between 2nd Lieutenant B.I. and Lieutenant Colonel P. J., ... Department of ..., on 8 December 2010 in the offices of the ... Department of the Military Academy, regarding possible perspectives for the further work of 2nd Lieutenant B.I. at the Military Academy, P. J. behaved in a disturbing and humiliating manner towards B. I., as he would not have behaved if a male staff member had come to the interview with the same purpose, whereby he committed a discriminatory act – the act of harassment and degrading treatment on the basis of sex, set forth in Article 12 of the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, with regard to Article 20, paragraph 1 of the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination[33]. The Commissioner issued a RECOMMENDATION according to which: 1. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of the opinion with recommendation, Lieutenant Colonel P. J. shall apologize to 2nd Lieutenant B. I. for the discriminatory behavior that he exhibited towards her in the interview that took place on 8 December 2010. 2. Lieutenant Colonel P. J. shall in the future refrain from acts of harassment and degradation violating the dignity of women. 3. Within 30 days from the date of receipt of this opinion and recommendation, Lieutenant Colonel P. J. shall inform the Commissioner for Protection of Equality of the actions taken.

It has to be noted that most of the women respondents believe that occurrences of verbal and sexual harassment and abuse of office could be averted and prevented more efficiently if perpetrators were punished more rigorously within the police organization itself (by prescribing stricter disciplinary measures and sanctions or by establishing a special commission that would investigate and process complaints filed with regard to such occurrences). It is a fact that women working in the police in Serbia are reluctant to speak about this publicly, and that many forms of discrimination are either not recognized (i.e. accepted as normal relations among male/female colleagues) or not disclosed for fear of loss of employment or change in employment status. This attitude is not only a consequence of the absence of gender perspective and of the impact of traditional police culture within the police organization. It is a part of the general cultural and social context in Serbia, in which the police operates. As equal rights of the unequal do not bring an end to inequalities and even perpetuate and amplify the latter, it has become evident that various affirmative action measures are required, as well as a policy of equal opportunities, in other words favoring those who are traditionally discriminated against and excluded from public life.

Women police in Serbia remain in this type of working environment from 2 to 23 years. In other words, this means that there is a direct correlation between the working environment and the length of service of certain woman police staff members (in the survey sample, the length of service was between 2 and 23 years), in other words, some women were unable to successfully cope with prejudices over 20 years. During this time, the position and role of women is defined as an "outsider" position within the police culture. This is supported by the fact, confirmed by numerous studies worldwide, that the vast majority of police officers (sometimes even in the range of 95%), state that they personally would never have approved employment of women in the police, had there been no political, i.e. external pressure to do so. To prove their point, many of them stated that they had frequently found themselves in a situation where they had to help out their female colleagues in the patrol service and get them out of "dangerous situations" because they were not capable of protecting themselves.

Aside from opposition from male colleagues and cases of sexual harassment and blackmail, women police staff in Serbia also face a "glass ceiling" when it comes to promotion and advancement. This takes the form of discrimination and the practical impossibility to advance, despite the theoretical possibility

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32   Reg.No 548/2011 of 6 May 2011 - Zbornik mišljenja, preporuka i upozorenja Poverenika za zaštitu ravnopravnosti, 1 July 2010–30 November 2011. Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Belgrade 2011, 107-112
33   Official Gazette or RS No 22/2009

envisaged by the regulations, along with disrespect of their professional capabilities, qualities and achievements. This is corroborated by the fact that the representation of women in management positions at strategic level amounts to 12.7 percent. This deficiency directly causes new obstacles for young women police officers and can trigger their feeling of isolation within the police organization. Even women who have achieved personal recognition in their career, show little or no interest in achieving a better status within the police organization, having been thoroughly discouraged. Common reasons for this are: family commitments and child care, intentionally avoiding the "glass ceiling", i.e. coping with invisible obstacles and negative experience in previous attempts to get a promotion.

The possibility for the promotion of women police staff in Serbia is, according to their personal opinion, directly correlated to various aspects of discrimination reflected in nightshift work requiring a change of lifestyle or fear, i.e. risk of isolation and harassment. There is also a negative correlation between promotion of women and family commitments and child care. However, there is a greater potential for the promotion and advancement of women in urban police stations and outposts where a greater number of women police officers and women in management positions are already employed. At the same time, this entails fewer opportunities and more obstacles for women employed in rural police outposts. Such a "working climate" and professional environment also result in greater levels of stress, depressive behavior and other psychosomatic disorders. Faced with this situation, many women voluntarily "waive" all opportunities for promotion or advancement, curbing their own enthusiasm.

Obstacles and constraints to promotion and advancement are rooted in perceptions of their stereotypical role. They believe that their physical abilities are underestimated and that as a result less challenging or less responsible positions are assigned to them. However, they have huge problems in other areas as well, in particular promotion, and they believe that the recruitment and selection procedures and criteria tend to favor men. They identified three organizational characteristics of the working environment conducive to toleration of various forms of harassment or underestimation: 1) the refusal of women to file a complaint, although the law allows them to do so; 2) the risk and consequences ("retaliation" of superiors) for women as victims; 3) the lack of significant and efficient sanctions for perpetrators. Numerous police management surveys have confirmed that there is a greater likelihood that men will verbally and sexually harass women where the management is more tolerant or approving of such conduct. In fact, when verbal and sexual harassment is left unpunished, the employees start perceiving such behavior as morally and socially acceptable.

According to the women in this survey, even in discharging specifically "female jobs" of an administrative kind, women are exposed to various forms of abuse in the workplace (mobbing) by their managers, the majority of whom are – women. This mainly refers to departments/sections for administrative-legal affairs (identity cards, passports, driving licenses and similar). I assume that the causes of abuse in these workplaces do not particularly differ from mobbing in other organizations and that they are related to the personality of the manager rather than the police organization as such.

Women police in Serbia have accepted work segregation, i.e. the division of work into typically male and specifically "female jobs", as reality. The vast majority of them are assigned to jobs related to children and women victims or to administrative jobs or jobs that degrade their status. This equally applies to women with college or university degrees as to those with basic police training whose educational or professional qualities are not competitive. At the same time, the selection and recruitment standards for typical police jobs impose the need for hiring women who exhibit "macho traits", such as endurance, courage, emotional indifference and aggressiveness. For this reason, many policewomen in Serbia are dissatisfied with the work they do because, on the one hand it is imposed on them and on the other hand such circumstances do not allow them the opportunity to demonstrate their skills and professional abilities.

## Achievements and weaknesses of legal and institutional protection from discrimination

*Legislative and strategic framework achievements.* Constitutional gender equality guarantees have been improved, laws regulating elections at all levels have an inbuilt quota electoral system, and gender equality and anti-discrimination laws have been enacted. Gender equality has been promoted institutionally for over a decade in Serbia, resulting in the establishment of gender equality mechanisms at all levels, more women than men acquire university degrees, the presence of women in decision-making positions in the representative, legislative, executive and judicial branches of government has doubled, women have been enabled to professionally engage in traditionally male professions.

One of the most important achievements is the adoption of the National Action Plan for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – women, peace and security in the Republic of Serbia (2010—2015).[34]

*Educational achievements.* With the intensification of the process for creating conditions conducive to a more significant participation of women in the professional Armed Forces, the decision to open access for women to study at the Military Academy was the key step forward. This act paved the way for women to almost all levels and forms of professional military training, which will enable them, in time, to compete for almost any job in the Army, including the highest levels of command,[35] thus eliminating the main (though not all) obstacles standing in the way of genuine gender equality in the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces.

*Employment achievements.* One of the key achievements is what could generally be defined as expanding the area of professional work: the conquering of "male jobs" in the security sector, both in the army and in the police. Support mechanisms for protection against discrimination in these environments were recognized as essential in the NAP. Firstly, the so called "person of trust", and the gender equality advisor to the minister/director as a mechanism for mainstreaming the gender perspective in the policies and programs of the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance – Customs Administration and Security Information Agency. A person of trust is being introduced in the MUP, MO, BIA, UC (MF) and UIKS (MP). It is envisaged that this person will mediate, advise and act to address specific issues in the field of gender equality and discrimination. It should be the first instance that the staff addresses, and will undoubtedly contribute to institutional capacity-building for the efficient and effective enforcement of laws and regulations and other measures for improving the protection of the employed.

*Introduction of gender sensitive language.* In late 2011 the use of gender sensitive language was introduced into the Defense Ministry and Serbian Armed Forces upon recommendation of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality. The new Rules of VS service envisage, inter alia, that female members of the Serbian Armed Forces should be addressed as "*gospođo*" (Mrs.) with abolition of the term "*gospođica*" (Miss.). This is in line with contemporary trends in the area of gender equality and non-discrimination. Superiors too are now required to address subordinates as "*gospodine*" (Mr.) or "*gospođo*" (Mrs.) followed by their military rank. For example: "*gospodine poručniče*" (Mr. Lieutenant) or "*gospođo vodniče*" (Mrs. Sergeant), while previously they addressed subordinates using only their military rank ("Lieutenant", "Sergeant"). The ranks have remained in the masculine gender so that the correct form of address for a woman with the rank of captain is "*gospođo kapetane*" (Mrs. Captain).[36]

34   National action plan for the implementation of United Nationa Security Council Resolution 1325 – women, peace and security in the Republic of Serbia (2010—2015), Ministry of Defence, OSCE Mission in Serbia, 2010.
35   Šaranović J., Doprinos VS afirmaciji rodne ravnopravnosti u sektoru bezbednosti, http://www.scribd.com/doc/75363442/2/Jovanka-Šaranović
36   http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Vojska-bez-gospodjica.sr.html

*Achievements related to networking.* Establishing the Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network[37] was assessed positively ever since its inception by the members of the expert group. Their breakthrough in the police profession is fraught with great challenges, and very few police forces in the world have a comprehensive strategy for addressing gender issues. One of the "self-help" methods that women use is the reliable and efficient networking model – establishing associations, networks for mutual support, sharing experiences and creating conditions conducive to professional development.

*Weaknesses.* Gender equality and anti-discrimination laws were only adopted recently, in 2009[38], along with most of the policy documents detailing the practical implementation of gender equality laws. Consequently their effects are still not visible in the security sector as in other areas of society.

Despite visible progress made and achievements with respect to gender equality in the society overall, there are still whole areas in which gender equality policy may be considered irrelevant, as something that needs no particular emphasis, as if gender aspects are implicit or automatically integrated through existing equality regulations[39]. This might be the reason why laws and policy documents regulating the security sector are still inadequate with respect to the integration of various aspects of gender equality, non-discrimination and protection from discrimination, along with the acknowledgment of women's specific role and potential contributions. The existing legislative framework is inadequate to protect from discrimination, both outside and inside the security sector. An improved, more consistent formulation of gender equality in key laws and policy documents regulating the security sector is still lacking, and would be of great help.

The fact that not all levels of education are open to girls should not be disregarded, nor should the fact that VA has introduced quotas limiting entry for girls and that girls cannot access education for all professions. Furthermore, although it is still early for conclusions, data on a certain degree of disappointment among women in military education should not be disregarded. The fact that only slightly more than half the women cadets (51.28 percent) would make the same choice again, after having gained new insights and impressions on the Military Academy and the military vocation in general, and the fact that 20 percent are not sure what they would do if they were in the position to make a choice on their post-secondary education again, confirms the belief that there are specific difficulties in the process of the girls' adjustment to the educational conditions and a military vocation. This is the reason why they, by all accounts, come to reproach themselves for their decision to study at the Military Academy. The fact that 28 percent of the surveyed cadets believed that they would not repeat their previous choice, relative to only 6 percent of men respondents, means that their expectations from the Military Academy significantly differed with respect to what they found "in the field".[40]

One weakness in the achievements so far is that they boil down to an increase in the number of women in the security sector. Increasing the number of women is a phase in achieving gender equality, but not a final goal in itself. It is good, gradually to increase the number of capable women professionals, it changes the culture of exclusive masculinity in the security sector and contributes to the acceptance and recognition of women's contributions and values. However, there is still a long way to go in order to reach their full contribution which requires protective, non-discriminatory measures and instruments, perhaps above all the willingness of the institutions themselves to change from within. Setting the goal of consistently building a non-discriminatory security sector still lies ahead. A potential risk identified in areas outside the security sector that could soon become a reality in this sector as well, is the breakthrough and rise of unqualified and incompetent women. This phenomenon has so far not been

documented but it is not inconceivable. With rising demands for the participation of women in politics in recent years, women are no longer considered, "only" influential wives or administrative personnel, background figures and perhaps holders of informal power. However, unfortunately, when it became possible for women to step into political functions, as a result of the struggle of the women's movement it was not the women experts and activists who occupied the newly open positions. In fact, in the new situation of women's rising demands for the redistribution of power and privileges men soon discovered how to retain or even increase their own power, indirectly but equally efficiently through a form of patronage. This marked the rise of the former office managers (or advisors, spokeswomen), supported by their patrons, to the positions of state officials, vice-presidents of influential political parties, assistants to ministers and members of parliament who overtook many more qualified and experienced women, above all, those who had paved the way for women's breakthrough into professional, public life through years of activism. Thus, despite all the success and evident progress, it is as if the fastest, easiest, most efficient, and perhaps the only possible way for women to access decision-making positions is through "their" men rather than directly, on the basis of personal abilities. Clearly, women in general and their specific interests have not been empowered by increasing the number of "women office managers" in decision-making roles. Powerful men just became more powerful, this time acting from the shadows, without the formal accountability, which falls exclusively to the women in this new casting of roles. Such (lack of) professional acknowledgment of women is a phenomenon known as the "glass ceiling" in sociology. It is a good thing that everywhere in modern society the "glass ceiling" is being dismantled. Although stereotypes on gender roles have remained very strong, gender stereotypes on the division of labor in society are no longer sustainable. This process has begun and its final outcome will be a new model of relations in which gender roles will not be predetermined but freely distributed according to individual aptitudes and abilities.[41]

### *Existing anti-discrimination mechanisms*

Available mechanisms for protection from discrimination in the security sector, such as filing a complaint to the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and the Ombudsman, as well as the traditional mechanisms from the past, such as addressing the labor inspection and instigating a labor dispute, were introduced relatively recently. All of the aforementioned mechanisms are outside the security and defence sector. So far, employees in these institutions have not availed themselves of the possibility to use these mechanisms, except for the one case of sexual harassment mentioned above. The internal control of the Ministry of Interior, as the instance to which any irregularities or violations in the work of the police are reported, and not just possible cases of discrimination, has so far proved to be the best one.

1. Complaints to the Commissioner for Protection of Equality[42] may be filed by: any natural person or legal entity or group of persons who deem that they were discriminated against, human rights organizations and any other person on behalf of and with the consent of the person who claims to have suffered discrimination, and in case of discrimination against a group of persons, the human rights organization can file a complaint on its own behalf, without the consent of the persons who have allegedly been subjected to discrimination. The complaint is filed in writing. It can be filed by telefax, by e-mail with the scanned submission signed by the claimant, by e-mail with the electronic signature of the claimant, and orally on the record, without payment of fees or other charges. The complaint should contain information on: the victim of discrimination, the perpetrator of discrimination, description of the act of discrimination, evidence pertaining to the act of discrimination (documents, eye-witnesses and other). The complaint must be signed.

2. A complaint may be filed to the Ombudsman only after a failed attempt to exercise the rights or protection through an adequate legal procedure[43]. It can either be drawn up in writing or taken on the record with the help of the staff of the Ombudsman's office. As a rule, the Ombudsman will not

37    Southeast Europe Police Chief Association (SEPCA), Establishing the Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network, Research Findings, September 2010.

38    In line with international standards and commitments of the Republic of Serba foreseen by the: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women – CEDAW, at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw Resolution 1325 (2000) Of the UN Security Council, at:  http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

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

40    Doprinos VS afirmaciji rodne ravnopravnosti u sektoru bezbednosti http://www.scribd.com/doc/75363442/2/Jovanka-Šaranović

41    Petrušić Nevena, „Stakleni plafon", Blic, 09- 07- 2012, http://www.blic.rs/Komentar/Politika/332209/Stakleni-plafon

42    http://www.ravnopravnost.gov.rs/lat/podnosenjePrituzbe.php

43    http://www.ombudsman.rs/index.php/lang-sr/prituzba

review anonymous complaints. The complaint should be clearly, simply and concisely written and should contain: the name of the authority whose actions have given rise to the complaint, description of the violation of rights and facts in support of the reason for filing the complaint, documented evidence of legal remedies previously undertaken and exhausted, first name and surname, address and telephone (if possible) of the complainant.

3. The Law on State Administration and the Labor Law regulate the authorities and responsibilities of the labor inspection[44]. In accordance with these, in carrying out inspection supervision, inspectors have the power to, inter alia: initiate the procedure for suspension of enforcement with the appropriate authorities; hear and take statements from responsible and interested parties; process complaints by citizens', requests made by employees and other natural persons and legal entities; order the enforcement of measures for remedying violations of the law; report criminal acts to the competent authority or submit requests for the instigation of criminal proceedings; inform other authorities when there is cause to take measures within the jurisdiction of these authorities and similar. Women file complaints with the labor inspection when they are required to work longer hours than the working hours prescribed by law, when they fail to get a job that matches their level of education, and are consequently paid lower wages, when they are excluded from the education process. There has been a lot of discussion on sexual harassment and blackmail of women in the workplace. It is difficult for women to talk about this, and even harder for them to decide to instigate proceedings.

4. A labor dispute can be instigated before the court of jurisdiction pursuant to the Labor Law and the Law on Prevention of Mobbing at Work.

## *Recommendations*

1. **Building the normative and strategic system further.** Aspects of gender equality, prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sex or any other personal traits must be explicitly integrated in the laws and policy documents regulating the security sector, women's participation and contribution has to be granted recognition and must be envisaged in accordance with international standards[45] and the obligations of the Republic of Serbia[46]

2. **Produce a rulebook for the development and promotion of equal opportunities**[47]. Ideally, an equal opportunities policy should be formulated and drawn up in writing, e.g. in the form of a rulebook for development or achievement of equal opportunities in the workplace. Such rules should include several things: a statement that the organization agrees to implement an equal opportunities policy; a definition of direct and indirect discrimination based on sex; a definition of sexual harassment and all other manifestations of discrimination based on sex defined in the national law; rules of conduct that clearly define discriminatory behavior (if we know what non-discriminatory behavior is, we can easily identify discriminatory behavior); examples of inappropriate conduct; particulars on policy implementation modalities.

3. **Education**. Discrimination is present and is presumed to be widespread but cases of discrimination are not reported and consequently not addressed in the security sector. A broad education is required to understand the forms, functioning modalities and consequences of discrimination and it is a good thing that the security sector is ready to tackle this.

4. **Research** needs to be carried out, similar to the one already conducted in the army and in particular the police to identify discriminatory elements, behaviors and situations in the working environment.

5. **Introduction of gender sensitive language in official communication.** Gender sensitive language is the language of gender equality. In contrast, the exclusive use of grammatical masculine gender, attributing universality and neutrality to it, is discriminating. Titles of professions, vocations, functions, ranks and similar should be used in the grammatical feminine gender when referring to women, thus acknowledging, recognizing and increasing the visibility of their presence and professional contribution.

6. Increasing the number of **women mentors** who could assume a role in training younger colleagues with a view to creating the conditions for their adequate professional identification, while the support (in particular expert) that women police staff already provide to younger female colleagues could and should be raised to a higher level. It is a good method for increasing the number of women professionals and for their advancement in the hierarchy (the share of women in the security sector, in the Ministry of Interior, the presence of women in strategic management positions amounts to about 13%, and only about 9% in middle management positions). [48]

7. **Women associations must be established within all security sector institutions**, as with women police officers,[49] as a means for them to share information, organize joint seminars, regional networking and periodical joint conferences, and formulate joint initiatives and actions.

44    Perišić Pavlović Nataša, Diskriminacija žena na radnom mestu, Priručnik za potrebe inspekcije rada (Discrimination of women in the workplace, Labor Inspetion Manual), Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Gender Equality Directorate, Belgrade, 2009.

45    Decision no. 7/09: Women's participation in political and public life, Ministerial council OSCE, at: http://www.osce.org/mc/40710
Decision no. 14/05: Women in conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, Ministerial council OSCE, at: http://www.osce.org/mc/17450

46    Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women – CEDAW, at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw
UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), at: http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

47    Perišić Pavlović Nataša, Diskriminacija žena na radnom mestu, (Discrimination of women in the workplace, Labor Inspection Manual), Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Gender Equality Directorate, Belgrade, 2009. p. 58.

48    Republic of Serbia, Statistical Office of Serbia, Women and Men in the Republic of Serbia Belgrade, 2011, pp. 71-77.

49    Southeast Europe Police Chief Association (SEPCA), Establishing a Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network: Research Findings, September 2010.

## IV    EDUCATION OF SECURITY SECTOR EMPLOYEES

### *"Maximum" quotas for admission of women to education and training in the MUP and MO*

All other forms of education, professional development, formation and training in security sector institutions in Serbia have been made formally and legally equally accessible to men and women. The exception is the Military Grammar School which still lacks adequate material conditions to educate girls (MO answers to BCBP Questionnaire, July 2012). Although the same criteria apply for the admission of boys and girls to education in the Military Academy (VA), the Police Academy (KPA), and Basic Police Training Centre (COPO) (save for somewhat different requirements with respect to physical fitness), the problem is with the "maximum" quotas for the admission of girls to education in these institutions. Thus, the upper limit for the admission of girls to education in KPA and COPO is 25% of the total number of candidates and for the enrolment in VA the upper limit is set at 20%. Although these quotas were initially designed to encourage a greater admission of girls, in time they proved to be a limiting factor, considering that they now represent the upper limit, i.e. the maximum number of women that may enrol in education or training. As an explanation for the existence of maximum quotas people from the security sector institutions state the "needs of the system", i.e. the assessment of the needs for filling vacancies (Bjeloš, 2012:6). This practice is discriminatory because the selection criteria for admission to education and employment should be based on a job analysis carried out in line with the requirements and conditions for the performance of specific work duties and tasks and not based on the candidate's gender (ibid). On the positive side, however, there are no restrictions foreseen for the admission of women to professional soldier training although one of the criteria for their admission also states the "need of the units"[50], which leaves room for different interpretations.

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**Sharper competition for the admission and education of women cadets at the Military Academy**

The first generation of female cadets at VA (19 out of the total of 127 cadets) graduated in 2011. Their cumulative grade point average (GPA) during the course of studies was 8.21, while the cumulative GPA for the entire class was 7.87.

The number of female cadets (but also that of male cadets) applying for enrolment at VA has been on the rise ever since 2007 when the VA opened its doors to girls for the first time. That first year (2007) 56 girls applied for 30 places (1.8 candidates per place) however only 19 of them were admitted in the end.

In the 2011/12 academic year, 326 girls applied for enrolment at the VA to fill 34 places  (9.6 female candidates for each place) in addition to 995 boys* for 136 places (7.3 male candidates per place). Given the fact that the first-ranked candidate on the list of candidates admitted for enrolment was a female cadet who scored a total of 98.31 points and that there were five girls on the top ten list**, it would appear that the quality of the female candidates is higher and the competition they are faced with for admission is tougher than that foreseen for their male counterparts.

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**Box 6:** *Sharper competition for the admission and education of women cadets at the Military Academy*

The existence of the maximum quotas, however, is not expressly identified in the NAP as a form of discrimination towards women - instead, there is only a "shy" assumption that "the application of the quotas poses a *possible* risk of discrimination" (NAP 1325, 2010:62). Still, NAP, in one part (*Part II Increase the*

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*proportion of women in the security sector*) stipulates that the institutions should conduct an analysis of the existing state and requirements for admission of women to education and professional development. This, however, still remains to be done.

### *Training on topics in the field of gender equality*

The institutions had started training their employees on topics in the field of gender equality even before the adoption of the NAP[51] , but these activities were intensified in 2011 and 2012. However, the number and scope of the training courses were relatively small – only 18 employees from both the MO and VS attended such training in 2011 but the plans for 2012 foresee inclusion of around 140 employees of these institutions in such training (MO answers to BCBP Questionnaire).

In 2011, training on topics in the field of gender equality were foreseen for management staff and employees of both the MO and VS but the courses were never delivered due to a shortage of funds. The training of the management staff (on the introduction of gender perspective in the defence policy) should be delivered by the end of 2012 at the latest in the organization of the Gender Equality Advisor to the Minister of Defence, the University of Defence and the Institute for Strategic Research. The plans for 2013 foresee the implementation of education and training for the management, cadets and employees on the role and importance of gender analysis and gender budgeting.

Topics from the field of gender equality have been integrated into educational plans and the curricula of military-educational institutions at all levels (Military Grammar School, Military Academy, Command-Staff and General-Staff professional development). Thus, the protection of girls from all forms of violence in armed conflict and emergency situations is one of the lecture topics within the scope of the International Humanitarian Law course taught in the first year of the Military Academy (VA). In addition, in the 2011/2012 academic year, one module on gender equality is introduced in each of the Sociology, Ethics and Human Resources Management courses.

The topics referring to the application of international humanitarian law from the aspect of the protection of women and girls from violence in conflict and post-conflict situations are an integral part of the training delivered to the members of the MO and Serbian Armed Forces (VS) as part of the preparation for participation in UN multinational operations. In addition to this, at the training courses for participation in multinational operations delivered at the Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of the Serbian Armed Forces (CMO), gender sensitive issues are the subject of additional studies  in accordance with the UN Standardized Generic Training Module for multinational operations. The topics studied are: "Prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse", "Gender equality in the MNO" and "Gender issues". As part of the immediate preparations for a concrete mission, the CMO delivers training on "Gender issues" of two lecturing classes of 45 minutes each, as well as training in "Rules of conduct and relations in the MNO multinational environment" of one lecturing hour.

No training for management staff on some of the topics in the field of gender equality has been organized yet at the **Customs Administration (UC)** although the gender equality advisor to the Director of Customs Administration and members of the analytical group regularly visit training organized by other ministries and participate in professional advisory meetings, training and discussions. Negotiations are underway with the OSCE Mission to Serbia concerning the manner and the time for organizing training for the UC management staff, gender equality advisors and analytical groups. The training should be on the function and significance of gender analysis as well as on the function and significance of gender budgeting. Also, the gender equality advisor to the UC Director suggested the inclusion of at least two school hours dedicated to the topic of gender equality in basic customs training but management

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50    The criteria for the admission of women to training for professional soldiers are: the needs of the units and eligibility criteria.

*    <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/gallery/konkurs_2011/selekcija-muskarci.pdf>
**    <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/gallery/konkurs_2011/primljeni_kandidati.pdf>

51    In 2010, BCBP and BFPE, with the support of OSCE Mission to Serbia, organized a series of three seminars on the topic of introduction of gender perspective in security sector reform. The seminars were held with the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Defence (including representatives of VBA and VOA), Serbian Armed Forces, MUP, BIA, Administration for the Execution of Penitentiary Sanctions, Customs, Anti-Corruption Agency, National Assembly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ombudsman's Office.

consent is still pending (UC answers to BCBP Questionnaire, 2012). Still, despite the shortage of funds for the implementation of NAP in the UC, a text is currently in preparation for the magazine *Carinik* (The Customs Official) to present the NAP and explain the institutes of gender equality to the staff, as well as a forum on the intranet where employees will be able to post queries in connection with the implementation of the NAP and discuss gender equality issues informally (anonymously). The forum will also be used to conduct surveys among customs officers on NAP related topics (UC answers to BCBP Questionnaire, 2012).

In the **BIA**, too, no training on topics in the field of gender equality for management staff and employees have yet commenced. The content of the NAP has been introduced to BIA employees through the *Plan of activities of the Security Information Agency on implementation of NAP 1325* (in the form of a brochure) that was handed out to all managers who were thereby assigned the responsibility of informing their subordinates about the content of this document [52]. However, just how the managers carried out that task and to what extent the employees were really informed about the NAP and the significance of the gender equality policy in the security sector is not known.

According to BIA representatives, in the coming period, the educational-research centre operating within the scope of the BIA shall conduct surveys and prepare various educational-informative materials for the employees. Although no special funds were allocated for this purpose in the BIA's budget, the existing funds assigned for training and education of employees will be used for these activities as well[53].

Although modest, these are the first shifts towards the introduction of the gender perspective into educational and training activities in the security sector. Nevertheless, in the future, priority should be given to the training of managers, considering that work on gender equality with the middle and higher professional personnel is necessary because of their ability to exert influence on the organizational culture and behavior within the institution (Odanović, 2011:3), i.e. to create preconditions for the implementation of gender equality policy. In addition, it would be necessary to include as many employees as possible into the training on topics such as gender equality, discrimination and gender-based violence. Also, the persons tasked with reporting on the implementation of the NAP in the institutions who conduct analyses on the position of women in the system, and similar, should undergo additional training on the methods of data collection, reporting, creation of qualitative and quantitative indicators and performance evaluation to ensure successful implementation of the NAP.

**Training of analytical groups**

The first joint training for members of all analytical teams was held in February, 2012, under the auspices UNWOMEN and the Institute for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Defence. The purpose of the seminar was to build the capacity of the analytical groups for better and more effective planning and implementation of NAP goals.

On that occasion, male and female members of the analytical groups talked about successes and challenges in their previous work, and they were also given the opportunity to learn more about topics such as gender analysis, data collection methods, etc. As the major challenges in their work, members of the analytical groups singled out lack of understanding for gender equality related topics among the managers of the institutions; inadequate technical equipment and the fact that engagement on the tasks aimed at the implementation of NAP often requires considerable additional commitment which is inadequately rewarded.

**Box 7:** *Training of analytical groups*

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52   The data was disclosed by representatives of BIA during an interview held on 17 July 2012.
53   Ibid.

Given the fact that the shortage of funds for the implementation of training is a problem shared by a majority of the institutions, the training can be delivered with the assistance and cooperation of international organizations, such as UNWOMEN, the OSCE Mission to Serbia 3nd SEESAC, and also in cooperation with civil society organizations that have years of experience in dealing with topics such as gender equality, security, protection of women's rights, protection from gender-based violence and discrimination, etc.

## Recommendations

1.   Abolish the maximum quotas for admission of women to education and training at the Military Academy, Police Academy and Basic Police Training Centre.

2.   Create conditions for education of girls at the Military Grammar School.

3.   Design a model for the training of middle and senior management in the security sector on topics in the field of gender equality taking into account the responsibility and scope of tasks they perform.

4.   Continue and intensify training for female and male members of analytical groups within the institutions on topics such as: gender responsive budgeting, gender analysis, discrimination, gender based violence, use of gender sensitive language, etc.

5.   Organize joint training sessions for persons working as gender equality advisors of the Ministers/Directors.

6.   Design a training program for "persons of trust" selected by BIA as well as for future "persons of trust" in other institutions.

## V   MEDIA COVERAGE OF WOMEN IN THE SECURITY SECTOR

**Findings of media monitoring of coverage of women in the security sector, June 2012**

*Selena Tasić*[54]

### Methodology

Monitoring of print media for coverage of women in the security sector was conducted in June 2012. The sample consisted of 6 issues of daily and 2 issues of weekly papers, as well as of the issues of the official publication of the Ministry of Interior, *Policajac*, and the issues of *Odbrana*, the official publication of the Ministry of Defence. The monitoring sample included the weekly magazines *Vreme* and *NIN*, and daily papers: *Kurir, Blic, Politika, Danas, Press* and *Novosti*. The sampling of the daily papers and online media included all issues published/posted daily between 18th June 2010 and 30th June 2010. Given the specific nature of the topic and the monitoring objectives, the survey sample was made up of articles and items the main topic of which was the security sector, with special focus on the quantity of coverage of women in the security sector. The repor also covers the immediate pre-monitoring period in the form of a critical overview of the situation in 2011 and 2012, and the data used in the report was taken from various surveys mentioned in the text.

**The monitoring objective** was to identify to what extent and in what ways women in the security sector were portrayed by the media, over a period of one month this year, and the prevailing manner in which media report on women in the security sector (SB), for the purpose of assessing how successful the implementation of Serbia's National Action Plan (NAP) on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is. Analysis was also conducted as part of the monitoring to explore how media (do not) contribute to the deconstruction of stereotypes and prejudices against women in the security sector.

The material was coded based on a predefined codebook that included the following categories:

1. *Media outlet*

2. *Topic*, indicating the specific events carried by media on women in the security sector and in the context in which these topics and events are placed.

3. *Subject*, in order to identify the social stakeholders who most frequently address this topic in the media and to establish how much media space is devoted to the members of the under-represented group, i.e. how visible they are in the media relative to their male counterparts.

4. *Reporting occasion*, which is of particular significance, since it indicates how this topic is positioned in the social, political and media agenda, but also how much initiative there is among journalists to report on these topics.

5. *Prejudices and stereotypes* – identification of prejudices and stereotypes either exhibited by a participant in the event or by the author of an article, with special focus on monitoring statements made about personal traits that are a collective characteristic irrelevant for the topic itself.

6. *Journalist's attitude towards the topic* if any personal values and attitudes are visible.

7. *Whether the article triggers prejudices and stereotypes* or whether it deconstructs them in any way.

8. *Whether the topic is raised in the context of gender equality protection,* in other words whether it is emphasized as such or only latently present in the given content.

9. *Whether it is stated that a certain group is discriminated against,* i.e. whether discrimination is discussed in the article.

After the selection of material, the survey sample consisted of a total of 102 newspaper articles. There are differences among the media when it comes to the number of articles - the majority of the articles appeared in the daily *Politika*– 20, and the fewest were published in the weekly *Vreme*– 4.  The number of articles in the survey sample for each media outlet individually, and for the entire survey sample is shown in Table 3.

| MEDIA OUTLET | Number of texts |
|---|---|
| Danas | 16 |
| Večernje novosti | 17 |
| Kurir | 18 |
| Politika | 20 |
| Blic | 14 |
| Vreme | 4 |
| Press | 10 |
| NIN | 7 |
| Total | 102 |

**Table 3:** *Number of media articles in the survey sample*

Several topics prevailed in the media in the observed period; primarily the formation of the government, followed by the tragic events during the military exercise at Pasuljanske livade, sentencing of former state security members, disclosure of new evidence in the case of Ratko Mladić. The second topic directly referred to the security sector, more precisely to the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces.

Interestingly, although topics and contents normally vary from media outlet to media outlet, in the observed period all daily papers and weekly magazines followed the same topics and featured them on the front pages and in certain daily papers, headlines referring to the topics in the field of the security sector where almost identical (Press: "I survived Vukovar only to die at a training polygon";  Blic: "I did not die in Vukovar but I died at Pasuljanske livade"; Press: "DB members get 22 years in prison"; Novosti: "22 years in prison for former DB members"). Of special interest is the fact that most of the texts on the tragedy at Pasuljanske livade emphasize the key feminine traits of the deceased female cadet (statements given by members of her family and friends: "an angel", "a ballerina", "gentle", etc.) while pointing out her great ambition to become a woman officer as a way to defeat the stereotypes about women in the army. (Headline in Kurir: "You were a ballerina in boots").

> It should be taken into account that the increased media coverage of women in the security sector is largely the effect of activities such as graduation of new female and male 2nd lieutenants at the Military Academy, and admissions to the Military Academy and the VMA Medical School, the professional military service, the Police Academy and the Basic Police Training Centre.

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54   The author is a journalist and advisor for project preparation with the Office for Cooperation with Civil Society.

## Monitoring Findings

Of the 102 analyzed articles published in the print media, only some 2% directly reported on women in the security sector, although all of the texts pertained to the work and activity of the MO and VS: the case of Second Lieutenant Sandra Radovanović who succeeded in preventing a tragedy after a bird was sucked into a Super Galeb aircraft and the case of the women cadet who lost her life during a military drill at Pasuljanske livade. As regards media coverage of the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Customs Administration and BIA, women were not the central topic of any related news articles. On the issue of personalization of women as the main topic of news, the print media use gender sensitive language inconsistently. The daily paper *Danas* is the most consistent in its use of gender sensitive language closely followed by weekly magazines *NIN* and *Vreme*.

Of the total of 102 news articles, 34 referred to the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces and were mostly about the tragedy at Pasuljanske livade with only two articles dedicated to other topics. As regards the judiciary and prosecution, 46 news articles pertained to these fields, the most frequently discussed topics being the sentencing of the former members of the state security, new evidence in the case of Ratko Mladić, the judgment passed on Požarev, judgment for the crime in Lovas, the necessity of a better justice reform and other judgments and trials. When it comes to the topics referring to the MUP, there were fewer of them, i.e. only 8 altogether related to the situation in penitentiary correctional institutions, the Gendarmerie's new oath and Serbian police officers combing the beaches of Montenegro. Returnees were the topic of 6 news items while the rest covered other topics.

Women as the central topic could be found in only 8 news items, 6 of which were dedicated to the deceased woman cadet and the other two to the woman lieutenant who prevented a tragedy during an air drill. In other news, women appeared either as interviewees or as side topics.

### Prejudices and stereotypes are present in a small number of articles

Stereotypical opinions were, more often than not, expressed by the journalists themselves. Specifically, in most of the articles, the gravity of the tragedy at Pasuljanske livade was pushed to the background in favor of the personal description of the deceased woman cadet with statements regarding the traits of the actors in the event that are irrelevant to the topic, and consequently stereotypical, possibly contributing to the preservation or development of prejudices (the beauty of a girl).

Two headlines were published that directly provoke or deconstruct existing stereotypes and prejudices or that make these constructions problematic. That said, the stereotypes are more frequently expressed by journalists than by the persons whose activity is the subject of the media coverage. In some cases, the mere conveyance of information provokes stereotypes, as is the case with the headlines: "Mina wanted to be an honorable Serbian officer", "Mina wanted to be a soldier", "You were a ballerina in boots". In addition to the lack of use of gender sensitive language, the headlines give a straight stereotypical portrayal of the deceased female cadet when compared to her male counterpart, pointing out that she wished to become an officer, as opposed to the headlines dedicated to the deceased male cadet that did not emphasize his desire to become a soldier as one of his virtues, simply because it goes without saying.

*HOW DID EACH OF THE MEDIA REPORT?*

### Danas

*Sixteen articles of diverse content in connection with the security sector were selected from the daily Danas. The general impression is that the information on the civil sector and its participation in the activities associated with the security sector are more frequently found here than in other print media. Genre-wise, prevailing are the news on current events and three opinion editorials. One was about the nuclear safety of the countries from the point of view of the Director of the Agency for Protection against Ionizing Radiation and Nuclear Safety, one about the demonstrations in front of a court house with the participation of the Women in Black CSO and finally there was a report from a roundtable of the Judges' Association of Serbia with the headline "Serious situation in the judiciary".*

*As already noted, the articles are thematically diverse. One of them tells the story of the inmates of the penitentiary institutions while most of them are part of a series of news about the tragedy at Pasuljanske livade. Most of the persons interviewed are representatives of various authorities, legal experts, professors and interlocutors whose identity is not specified.*

*Stereotypes on women are least present in this newspaper as gender sensitive language is used in almost every news item (the female forms of lawyer, director, cadet and chairwoman of the Judges' Association of Serbia).*

*None of the articles feature women in the security sector as the main topic and the journalists' attitude towards women can be described as neutral. Gender equality is not the subject of any of the articles. Also, there are no articles on discrimination against women in the security sector.*

### Večernje novosti

*In connection with women in the security sector, this newspaper too dedicated much of its space to the tragic accident at Pasuljanske livade, in a total of 5 articles.*

*One article was dedicated to another issue related to the Serbian Armed Forces reporting about the human experience of the Army ground forces during military survival training in the mountains. Nothing in the text indicated whether there were women among the participants in the exercise. Six other articles were dedicated to events that occurred as a consequence of some previous happenings dealing with the epilogues and results of certain processes and activities, more often than not in a broader context of court trials and social backgrounds of certain problems discussed in the texts.*

*Prejudices and stereotypes are not found in the texts save for inconsistent use of gender sensitive language. In the text with the headline "Toying with a grenade proved fatal" not a single form of feminine gender was used to describe the female cadet.*

### Kurir

*Kurir published 17 articles about the security sector half of which actually featuring events in that sector as the central topic – either through the speech of one of the key actors or through the comments and activities of other actors. Of the 17 articles featured in the observed period, 12 belong to the series of news about the tragedy at Pasuljanske livade, all of them taking a very negative attitude towards the competent institutions. Two news items directly reported on the deceased woman cadet, one of which bearing a headline emphasizing the traits of the key actor of the event, irrelevant for the topic ("You were a ballerina in boots"). Another text was directly dedicated to the woman lieutenant who prevented an airplane accident but the title per se excluded the use of gender sensitive language. (Pilot Sandra saved three seagulls from a stork). In the text, Sandra was*

addressed as lieutenant in the female form, which is an example of good practice. Of the above 12 texts, one is a journalist's personal commentary titled "Something is rotten in the Army of Serbia".

**Politika**

As many 20 articles were selected from Politika, the highest number singled out from any individual media outlet in this survey, with a high percentage – 59% of editorials which indicates that journalist themselves chose to follow those topics. Save for the Pasuljanske livade tragedy, none of the articles were focused primarily on women. A considerable percentage of those articles were interviews and columns expressing personal opinions and views of journalists, various social actors, and all of the interviews are related to current events in the judiciary, police, prosecutor's office activities, etc.

Two articles tackle the issue of refugees and one of them is a journalist's personal commentary. Save for disregard for the use gender sensitive language ("Velimirovićeva" adding the feminine suffix "-eva" on the family name that stands for "daughter of" or "wife of", and using the masculine job title in "Deputy Commissioner for Refugees Svetlana Velimirović"), the journalist's opinion is neutral. Four news articles refer to the tragic death of one male and one female cadet at Pasuljanske livade expressing a very negative attitude towards the competent institutions calling them to account ("How did the defective grenade explode?", "More on the accountability for the tragic death soon"). Two texts refer to activities of the public prosecution office and one follows current political developments in the process of government formation, emphasizing the importance of BIA. There is also a serial story dealing with historical material that positively treats a female soldier, Milunka, who went down in the history of Serbia as a battlefield heroine.

The Politika daily records the highest percentage of media initiative – 13 out of 19 articles are the result of the journalists' initiative. The journalists' attitude towards their topics is for the most part neutral but it turns negative when covering political party turmoil, failure to establish the accountability of competent authorities for the tragedy and the overall poor situation in the judiciary.

**Blic**

More than half of the texts provide information on daily political events without emphasizing women in the security sector as the main topic or context of significance to any of the events. As a daily paper, Blic devotes a great deal of attention to activities of the state authorities and those topics that prevail in the media agenda, dedicating more than 50% of the articles to the outcomes of trials, new information in connection with the case of Ratko Mladić and judicial reform. Fewer articles, 4 in total, refer to the tragic accident at Pasuljanske livade, one of them in complete disaccord with the rules on the use of gender sensitive language ("Mina wanted to be an honorable Serbian officer") and using descriptive terms irrelevant to the topic such as "mezimica" (favorite female child).

**Vreme**

Of the 4 editorials published in the weekly Vreme dealing primarily with the security sector, none referred directly to women in the sector; however, when quoting or referring to female interviewees or experts, gender sensitive language was used consistently.

**Press**

Ten articles published in Press were reviewed as part of the survey sample. Most of them are editorials on current events. Four of the ten articles dealt with the tragic event at Pasuljanske livade, one of them titled, "Mina wanted to be a soldier" (using the term "vojnik", i.e. the masculine form for "soldier") in direct violation of gender sensitive language rules. The article pays very little attention to women in the army as the central topic and instead dwells upon the female cadet's personal

traits that are irrelevant for the event itself. An article with the headline "Miloš helped his beloved sister" was written using gender sensitive language and feminine forms such as "kadetkinja" (woman cadet) and "oficirka" (female officer). This is an example of good practice. Other selected texts mostly cover regular police activities, trials, and other events in the security sector, without wasting much effort on critical overviews.

For the most part, journalists used a neutral voice, except when writing about the tragedy at the training grounds in which case the tone was exceptionally negative. The news article on Ratko Mladić's trial referred to former ICTY spokesperson Florence Hartmann as "Artmanova", (adding the feminine suffix "-ova" on her family name that stands for "daughter of" or "wife of") while two news items on the Požarev case refer to Ljubica Veselinović as "tužilac" (masculine form of prosecutor) and a woman human rights activist only as "aktivista" (masculine form of activist.

**NIN**

NIN published 7 texts in connection with the security sector, all of them referring to current events in that sector. With the exception of one, all of them are the result of journalists' initiative, i.e. journalists' choice to tackle the issue and include their personal views therein. One of the authors' articles with the headline "Playing with Life" expresses a very negative, critical attitude toward the security sector institutions, however without any special references to women.

## Concluding remarks

The monitoring shows that in this particular period women were not the central topic of any coverage, except in case of the deceased female cadet and the woman lieutenant who prevented an airplane accident. The media play an important role in educating the general public when it comes to improving the visibility of women in the security sector but seemingly this trend is still not established in the media, not even when it comes to the use of gender sensitive language set by the rules. Women occupying more prominent positions in the security sector are still referred to in masculine gender with the exception of the daily Danas and the weeklies *Vreme* and *NIN* that are the most consistent in using gender sensitive language.

The role of the media in promoting women working in the security sector is crucial for increasing the visibility of women in the security sector, for ensuring their position of equality with men of the same profession and reducing discrimination, even violence in traditionally male professions, such as the police and armed forces. Of particular consideration is the fact that it is precisely the attempt to accentuate women in the security system that makes stereotypical views even stronger. For instance, the heroic act of a woman and that of a man in the air force received entirely unequal treatment in the media. In the case of the woman pilot who prevented a tragedy, the main focus was on the fact that the act was done by a woman and not on the act itself. Had it been a man, his gender and young age would have been completely irrelevant and the emphasis would have been placed on the act of prevention of the accident itself. The situation is slightly better in the judiciary but even there, women are not equated with men and one gets the impression that women's achievements are more readily treated as feats than those achieved by their male colleagues, as if it is harder for women than it is for men to advance in the judiciary and that if they nevertheless succeed they must receive special recognition for that. This, too, does not help in deconstructing prejudices and stereotypes.

Some of the recommendations for the Serbian media could be reduced to several simple, regularly used practices:

1. Use gender sensitive language consistently, in all articles and headlines.

2. Stick to the topic and do not allow female traits irrelevant for the event itself to be put in the forefront.

3. Accentuate the role and activity of women in the security sector, produce editorials on the activities of women in SB not only when there is a current event associated with them but also as part of regular reporting.

4. Increase the number of interviews with female members of the security sector.

5. Educate the public on equal treatment of men and women in the security sector and do not single out women's feats as more special and praiseworthy.

## VI   COOPERATION WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

The participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in the development and subsequently the implementation of NAP 1325 in Serbia has been criticized from the very beginning by numerous CSOs, primarily by women's organizations. The main reasons is that, for the most part, the process was non-transparent and that the security sector still places insufficient  trusts in the work of the majority of Civil Society Organizations to fully include them in the phases of creation and implementation of security policies. This is a consequence of the media campaign conducted in the last decade of the previous century against Civil Society Organizations that opposed the war, violence and militarization (Atansović 2009: 360). Some of the most active organizations at the time were women's groups such as Women in Black and AŽC and still today, security sector institutions do not sufficiently trust the activities of women's organizations and their mutual cooperation is very limited. (Stojanović, Quesada 2010: 59).

The government still follows a selective approach to Civil Society Organizations and the security sector institutions are currently among those least willing to work closely with the Civil Society Organizations engaged in human rights protection and the fight against corruption (so called "watch-dog" organizations). The selective approach towards CSOs is reflected in the fact that only certain CSOs are invited to participate in public consultation on specific policy documents, those deemed to be "representative" in a certain field (based on unclear criteria). In this way, the obligation of organizing public consultations is only formally fulfilled without actually enabling a genuine dialogue.

One of the hurdles on the road to better cooperation between security sector institutions and civil society organizations is the lack of knowledge the security sector has about CSOs, i.e. about the scope of issues CSOs work on and in what ways these organizations can contribute to the work of particular institutions. Also, representatives of security sector institutions possess insufficient knowledge about the manners and models of organizing consultations and other forms of cooperation with CSOs.

The cooperation between the security sector and civil society in Serbia unfolds without any clearly established rules or criteria with respect to providing information, consulting and holding dialogues with CSOs. No sustainable mechanisms for a more significant inclusion of CSOs in security policy have been created so far, whether centrally or locally. In only a few cases has cooperation been formalized through the signing of a memorandum of understanding and other formal documents. Although CSOs were invited in the past when it was necessary to organize training for employees in the security sector, their opinion is seldom sought when it comes to the creation or implementation of practical policies.

Establishment of cooperation between CSOs active in protection and promotion of women's human rights and minority rights with security sector institutions is impaired by additional challenges as well. These originate from the fact that the security institutions form a closed system dominated by a masculine culture which promotes the reproduction of numerous stereotypes about the roles of men and women and their competences and virtues. For the foregoing reasons, various attempts on the part of CSOs to integrate the gender perspective into the creation and implementation of practical policies in the field of security are often doomed to failure. This is partly the reason why autonomous women's groups were not included in the development of the NAP.

## Lack of transparency in the implementation of the NAP

One of the main barriers preventing the more active inclusion of CSOs (particularly that of women's organizations) in the process of the implementation of the NAP but also in conducting independent monitoring over its implementation, is the lack of transparency in the work of these institutions. Information on the activities of the institutions on the implementation of the NAP is not publicly available. The exception is the Ministry of Defence which posted on its website the annual report on implementation of NAP in the MO and VS for the period from September 2010 to September 2011[55] and the second six-month activity report of the analytical group of MO and VS for the period December 2011–May 2012[56]. Analysis of the contents of institutions' websites shows that topics related to the NAP or gender equality are not addressed there. This, again, with the exception of the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces whose websites contain information, even special sections concerning women in the system of defence[57].

## First steps have been made towards establishing cooperation between CSOs and institutions on the implementation of NAP

A step forward on the road towards establishing regular channels of communication between CSOs and security institutions on topics from the field of gender and security was made in June and July 2012. In this period, BCBP organized two rounds of consultations with eleven CSOs[58], to tackle the problems in cooperation between CSOs (primarily women's organizations) and security sector institutions and the lack of transparency in the implementation of the NAP. This occasion was used to reach an agreement on the minimum requirements of CSOs the government institutions need to fulfil in the coming period in order to create conditions for the inclusion of CSOs in the process of monitoring the implementation of the NAP:

1. All institutions in charge of implementation and monitoring of the NAP should make their annual plans and reports on realization of NAP activities publicly available on their websites, and the creation of a unified web page dedicated to implementation of the NAP in all institutions is suggested.

2. The Multi-Sectoral body or the Political council for the implementation of the NAP should organize a meeting with representatives of CSOs at least once a year to discuss the implementation of the NAP.

The demands were presented to the MSCB in June 2012[59], whereupon the MSCB formed a work group in charge of organizing a conference on cooperation with civil society. The conference should be held in the fall of 2012. The work group will coordinate the preparation of the conference in cooperation with the BCBP which actually provided the initiative for this conference. The conference should be the first step towards creating a platform for communication and cooperation with CSOs in the implementation of the NAP. The topics to be discussed at the meeting include improving transparency of the process of implementation of the NAP and conducting independent monitoring, defining guidelines for the organization of consultations with CSOs, the place of the NAP 1325 in fighting violence against women and multiple discrimination of marginalized groups.

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55   The Report is available at: http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/godisnji_izvestaj_o_sprovodjenju_nap.doc
56   The Report is available at: http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/Sestomesecni_izvestaj_o_radu_AG_MO_i_VS.doc
57   Web page on the website of Serbian Armed Forces Žene u Vojsci
58   The consultations were held with the participation of female representatives of the following organizations: Women in Black, Autonomous Women's Center (AŽS), Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, BIBIJA, Roma Association of Novi Bečej, NGO Oasis of Safety from Kragujevac, YUCOM (Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, Public Policy Research Center, European Movement in Serbia, , Roma Women's Association "Osvit", Niš, Center for Gender Studies and NGO Women's Studies and Research, University of Novi Sad.
59   At MSKT's 5th session held on 15 June 2012

## Recommendations

1. The Multi-Sectoral body or the Political Council for the implementation of the NAP should organize a meeting with representatives of CSOs at least once a year to discuss NAP implementation.

2. CSOs and the general public should be included more extensively in the process of implementation of the NAP. For that purpose, it would be desirable to create a mechanism through which the public could access information on the process of NAP implementation.

3. Security sector institutions need to establish closer cooperation with the CSOs working on security issues and the CSOs working on gender equality and protection of women's rights issues.

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