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Key words: security sector, gender perspective, women in the armed forces, security system

UNAPREĐENJE KVALITETA FUNKCIONISANJA SEKTORA
BEZBEDNOSTI UVOĐENJEM RODNE PERSPEKTIVE

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF FUNCTIONING OF THE SECURITY
SECTOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING

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Rezime: Žene u oružanim snagama sveta iako još uvek imaju neravnopravan status, iako profesionalno odvojene i kulturološki diskriminisane, više nisu periferne i nevidljive u vojnoj organizaciji, niti su samo pasivne posmatračice zbivanja u njoj. Veće opšte društveno prihvatanje žena kao vojnika povećava atraktivnost vojne službe, kako kod žena, tako i kod muškaraca. Tome takođe doprinose i pozitivni modeli uspešnih ženskih vojnih karijera, kao i sada već višedecenijsko prisustvo žena u savremenim oružanim snagama sveta. Ključni argument za unapređenje funkcionisanje sistema bezbednosti kroz diskurs svrsishodnijeg angažovanja ljudskih resursa je uvažavanje uloge i značaja žena, odnosno potpuno integrisanje rodnog aspekta u mirovne procese, u svakodnevnicu i samim tim delotvornije angažovanje u pravcu stvaranja bezbednog i sigurnog ambijenta kroz konsolidovani, rodno ravnopravni, sistem bezbednosti.

Ključne reči: sistem bezbednosti, rodna perspektiva, žene u oružanim snagama

Summary: Women in the armed forces of the world, still have unequal status, often are professionally separated and culturally discriminated, but however, they are neither peripheral in the military organization, nor only a passive observer of events in it. Better general social acceptance of women as soldiers increases the attractiveness of military service, both of women and men. Many positive and successful

models of women's military career also contribute, as well as currently decades-long presence of women in modern armed forces of the world. One of the key arguments for improving the functioning of the security system is more meaningful engagement of human resources, comprising acknowledgment of the role and importance of women. Necessary is also the full integration of gender aspects in peace processes, in everyday life and thus more effective engagement towards creating a safe and secure environment through a more consolidated gender-equitable system security.

Key words: security sector, gender perspective, women in the armed forces, security system

1. INTRODUCTION

In international world wars of the twentieth century systematic participation of women is evident. But these new roles of women in the armed forces during the world wars were only of limited duration.

Women of the world have started to be engaged as integrated members of the modern armed forces not before the seventies of the twentieth century, until then exclusively all-male military organization. Since women began to enter the army in full military, professional status, they began to receive the same or similar training as men, they were integrated in education system and achieved access to a growing number of professional military positions. Thus everywhere historically present pattern of masculine exclusivity of the armed forces, was challenged.¹

Increased representation of women in the armed forces happens more frequently in the countries with liberal ideology of their political leadership. There is also greater participation of women in the armed forces in the countries with the legitimate government led by civilians, than in those where the army controls the country life and has significant impact on the political process. When there is a higher degree of democratic civilian control of army, that army opens up to society. As the army is more dependent on civilian political environment, that more will be the external economic and political impacts and more suitable conditions supporting process of increasing military participation of women. But if there is so-called asymmetric normative regulation of gender relations in a society and

¹ Harrel, M. Miller, L. (1997) *New Opportunities for Military Women, Effects Upon Readiness, Cohesion, and Morale*. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation.

more traditional social concepts of gender differences, the acceptance and inclusion of women in the armed forces is more difficult. The economic factors also play significant role, e.g. during crisis times and unemployment number of women in army decreases, while during economically prosperous periods of economic expansion women increasingly join the army.

Resolution 1325 United Nations Security Council and the Platform "Women, Peace and Security", both are parts of the international commitment to integration of women in preventing and resolving conflicts. These documents also are instruments to achieve substantive equality between men and women in societies that have not been affected by the conflict, but also a during and after the conflict, ensuring that the different experiences of women considered in all processes and achieving of peace-building and reconstruction.

The Platform "Women, Peace and Security" has gained its very importance since the moment of adoption the first resolution in 2000, although its implementation was slow and incoherent. There still is a need for a better understanding of the process of integrating gender aspects in practical terms, better understanding that goes beyond simply establishing a numerical balance of men and women.

2. ATTITUDES ABOUT GENDER

Engagement of all stakeholders in the process of women's inclusion in the armed forces is important for society as a whole, especially for further equalization of gender relations and the expansion of professional opportunities for women at all working domain.

After conflicts of transition countries in transition in the Western Balkans, Serbia is committed to adopt democratic values and standards as a part of its reform processes and efforts towards integration into the European Union. One of these efforts is elimination of discrimination and integration of a gender perspective at all levels. Gender equality is guaranteed by the Serbian Constitution, laws and public policies strategic documents, and Serbia has signed many international conventions and documents that guarantee equality of men and women. To improve the position of women in the security system, the Republic of Serbia adopted the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in 2010. The document specifies measures aimed at introducing a gender

perspective in security system². At the same time, Serbia is a signatory of documents that prohibit sexual and gender-based discrimination.

The fact is, however, that Serbia is seeking to adopt modern laws and strategies and to reduce discrimination much faster than the daily lives of women is able to be changed. Therefore, real rights and position of women in Serbia are often described mainly as just "additions to democracy".³

Armed forces are dominated by men. As previously was mentioned, in order to respect democratic standards, elimination of gender based discrimination and increasing efficiency of the armed forces, integration of gender perspective and diversity is required.

Many studies are based on the assumption that the armed forces are genderwise male dominated, all-male organization or "extreme gendered organizations,"⁴ characterized by the hegemonic male culture.⁵ As Carreiras pointed out, the army is generally seen as a testing ground for the promotion of manhood. When women are in the military, they are subjected to endless inspections, reviews and criticisms.

3. IMPACTS OF GENDER STEREOTYPES

In spite of the apparent positive developments, such as allowing women to be educated in the military education system, the right to join the armed forces and to participate in peacekeeping missions as professional soldiers, there are studies which have shown that women are still a minority. Still prevailing common view of army women is that they are less capable to performing military duties as men do. This results in systemic barriers, prejudices and discrediting the physical strength of women to work. But women still do not fully realized their role in peace-building and peacekeeping operations. In organizations with dominated culture of masculinity, including the Army of Serbia, women often are under scrutiny, "living under microscope"⁶. Any failure of women is always generalized, e.g. always explained as the wrongdeeds which are „typical for women",

² <http://www.mod.gov.rs/cir/4352/akcioni-planovi-4352>, page accessed 15. 5. 2017.

³ Human Rights in Serbia 2012 - populism: the collapse of democratic values, Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia.

⁴ Sa'ar A. Cachs D. Ahoroni S. (2011) Between a gender and a feminist analysis The case of security studies in Israel, *International Sociology*, Vol. 26(1): 50–73.

⁵ Charleswort, H. and Chinkin, C. (2000) *The boundaries of international law, a feminist analysis*, Juris Publishing, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

⁶ Herbert, S.M. isto.

while the failure of a man is always seen as an individual failure, not a failure of all men.

As women are seen as physically inferior, there were used different tests to assess their physical abilities at the admissions exams for the Military Gymnasium and the Military Academy. On the other hand, since the criteria for checking the physical abilities of men and women differ, and admission to professional military service for women is possible even if they have not completed the basic military service, women were perceived as privileged. The situation has changed this 2017 year, so that the criteria for men and women today are equal in terms of assessing the physical abilities in every situation.⁷

3.1. The impacts on women in the security sector

As Goldstein have mentioned⁸, conventional war studies are gender-blind, as well as the foreign policy establishment. According to him, although women fought in the wars, they are perceived as exceptions to the gender exclusivity of men as warriors. Moreover, when the wars were over, these women could not pursue professional career in the armed forces, according to witnesses of the events after the Second World War. Namely, while about 100,000 women participated in the War, after the War, these women are not given the opportunity for further training and any career development in the armed forces.⁹

Women also participated in the civil wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia, but all sides experiences shows that they were "invisible" soldiers whose contribution has never been publicly acknowledged.

Since the democratic changes in 2000 due to efforts to integrate into the European Union, Serbia has launched a series of reforms in the armed forces, including organizational and legal changes, as well as establishment of democratic control, unites reduction, suspension of compulsory military service¹⁰, and many others. One of the reforms that were supposed to bring Serbia closer to the modern armed forces of Western countries includes

⁷ Instructions for physical training in the Army of Serbia. (2011 and amended 2017)

⁸Goldstein J. (2001) War end gender: Causes, Construction and Critique, London: *Cambridge University press*, pages 523.

⁹ As soon as the war ended, were adopted two laws on demobilization, which contain special provisions on the demobilization of women. Then in 1945, only 10,230 women remained in the army.

¹⁰ Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 95/2010 from 17.12.2010.

integration of a gender perspective and recognition of gender diversity as a democratic imperative. In 2007, women in Serbia were granted for first time, the right to military education when the admissions' rules enabled admissions of women who passed the entering exams for the Military Academy.¹¹

In 2014, for the first time in Serbian history women were granted the opportunity to be educated at the Military Gymnasium. In accordance with the reforms and efforts to meet the standards of modern armies, the Republic of Serbia has decided to suspend compulsory military service in 2010 and to introduce the civilian service. After recruitment system was abolished not only in Serbia but also in other countries of the region, the number of women voluntary joined military service has increased. Since the professionalized army forces were unable to engage a sufficient number of men from the labor market, the possibilities for engagement of women were wider.¹²

The main reason for the increasing number of women in voluntary military service in Serbia is economic, as it is a chance for getting a job in the army. The economic factor was one of the main reasons why young women competed for admissions at the Military Academy.¹³ Although women were granted the right to military education and voluntary military service, the research of the UNDP / SEESAC Program (UNDP) in 2013, in cooperation with the Ministries of Defense of the Western Balkans have shown that women hardly make up between 5.69% and 8.97% of the armed forces in the region and as such they are a minority in these institutions.¹⁴

3.2. The impacts on the functioning of the security sector

The extent to which women would serve in the armed forces, and what kind of army tasks they will be given, as Carreiras pointed out¹⁵, depends, not only of social and cultural factors, but also on the type of attitude that will prevail due to recent changes in the military organization.

¹¹ After the first round of applying for admission to a professional service in 2008, 220 women were enrolled in 2009.

¹² For example, from March 2011 to March 2012, from 1684 to recruit voluntary military service, 230 women (13.6%).

¹³ Šaranović J. i Kilibarda Z. (2011) *In step with time - Ministry of Defense and the Army of Serbia in the way of objectification of gender equality*, Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Studies, p.144.

¹⁴ UNDP / SEESAC (2013) Study: *The position of women in the armed forces of the countries of the Western Balkans*. Belgrade: UNDP / SEESAC.

¹⁵ Carreiras, H. also cited.

One of the most significant organizational changes within the armed forces is the transformation of defense forces to peacekeeping forces. This organizational change can be seen as a gender kind of change as well as the gender kind of process, especially after the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325, which recognized the key role of women in peace building and in the conflicts prevention and resolution. Numerous studies have shown that the presence and participation of women in peacekeeping operations truly increase the efficiency of any such mission. The increase in women's participation is crucial to the empowerment of women in the host community, interviews with victims of gender-based violence, mentoring female cadets in police and military academies, as well as reducing the level of bad management and illegal conduct of peacekeeping forces.

Ten years after the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) Serbia adopted two National Action Plans for its implementation (2010 and 2017). Both plans are mandatory, inter alia, in increasing the number of women in peacekeeping operations. Today, women represent 10% out of the total number of Serbian Army members who participated in peacekeeping operations.

4. CONCLUSION

Full integration of a gender perspective and achieving diversity in the structure of the security sector institutions means more than just fulfilling a quota. That means that the integration of women and elimination of discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, should be seen as the human rights issues, but not as something externally imposed as contractual obligations during the international integration processes of the security sector. It is necessary to understand that gender equality can only be achieved in a non-discriminatory context in which there is an equal opportunities for all to pursue and to improve their careers. In order to achieve such equality, traditional patriarchal beliefs must be changed as well as the social context in which equality is understood and must be accepted as created as the real democratic imperative. Bearing in mind that the change of opinions and beliefs are always the slowest aspect of any reform process, one can with certainty argue that this is only a matter of time when full gender equality and diversity will be achieved in the Serbian Army, as well as in other security sector institutions.

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