WHAT IS THE GENDER OF SECURITY?

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Content

PREFACES

Gender and Security

This book is the second publication in the *Gender* Edition of Sarajevo Open Centre, in which we publish various titles concerning gender as a sociologically and culturally conditioned difference between persons of the male and female sex, resulting primarily from norms, practices, customs and traditions that vary through time, and especially concerning those phenomena and persons who negate, transcend, question and criticize this narrow binary division, as well as offering a cross section between gender and various social categories: security, politics, art...

Gender issues in our society are not just important for the principal recognition of equality before law and are not reducible to the question of equal representation in different areas of social life. We hope that this edition will prompt changes in the awarness of the B&H society and the assumptions that lie in its very foundations, particularly the all-pervading traditional-patriarchal discourse.

Book which opened this edition last year is a famous collection of feminist papers - Somebody said feminism, edited by Adriana Zaharijević which - besides the texts from Serbian authors - features three new texts by authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina and a historical overview of the dates important for the development of feminism in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We would like to give our thanks to the organisations and persons without whose help this publication would not have been possible – Aleksandra Miletić-Šantić, EUPM Gender and Human Rights Advisor, whose knowledge, experience and input have been irreplacable in this process, inspirational and industrious collaborators: Danijela Majstorović, Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the Philology Faculty in Banja Luka and Lejla Turčilo, Dean at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, who have invested their valuable time working with authors to improve their texts. We would also like to thank Damir Banović, Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Law and a member of Sarajevo Open Centre team

who – together with Aleksandra, Danijela and Lejla - really had a difficult task of choosing the texts that would make it into this publication.

We would like to thank the authors for the flexibility they have shown in the process and patience in anticipation of this publication.

We owe infinite gratitude to our partners EUPM for the financial support and to the duo who had envisioned this project: Tobias Flessenkemper and Damir Arsenijević.

Sarajevo Open Centre

Developing the Concept of Security Through Gender Disocurse

The book before the readers is a valuable publication by the Sarajevo Open Center, which takes a multidisciplinary approach in its attempts to shed light on the phenomenon of security connecting it with gender issue(s). In cooperation with the European Union Police Mission (EUPM), Sarajevo Open Center created an opportunity for young authors to provide a critical insight into gender aspects of exceptionally important security issues. This marked a significant step forward in taking a gender-based approach to the issue of security, which has long been the focus of interest of the academic research community and wider public in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, but has been dealt with from the aspect of equality and increasing participation of women in the security sector. With no intention of undermining such an approach, Sarajevo Open Center and EUPM published the Public Call for Papers inviting the researchers to provide their perspectives on "What is the Gender of Security?", with an intention of developing the context of exploring the phenomena and topics pertaining to gender-based violence, education in the security sector, gender identities and security, etc.

The call gathered a number of authors from the region, and what appears to be significantly important is the fact that their articles reflected significant issues and phenomena typical of their environment. The broad topic of "what is the gender of security" was approached from different perspectives; however, all authors used the same starting point: gender aspects are of great importance in considering security issues in general. Although the participation in the project required a research approach by the authors (theoretical, empirical, quantitative, qualitative…), their different educational and professional backgrounds shaped the extent of the methodological and research standards applied in individual texts.

Therefore, the authors of the selected papers participated in the workshop in which they received instructions on how to improve their articles. The workshop was an opportunity for the authors to meet and connect, and possibly create basis for future cooperation in the field. The focus of the workshop was to standardize the methodology and the approach to the selected topics, respecting the author's individual approach, attitude and interpretation. The book, thus, reflects the pluralism of thoughts and approaches to the issues of gender and security, as well as the versatile interpretations of the contemporary reality through the aforementioned discourse. That, however, should not be perceived as its shortcoming. On contrary, the book before the reader aims to initiate the debate and dialogue on topics discussed, and also to encourage other researchers to contribute to the search for the answer to the question "what is the gender of security", with their articles focusing on the aspects of intersection of gender and security which have not been dealt with in detail in the book. The boook *What is the gender of security* develops the concept of security through gender discourse, encouraging further research and thinking in this field. May it, then, be the first in a series of publications in local languages that will be found on the shelves of researchers, analysts, students, non-governmental and governmental sector members and other stakeholders dealing with this phenomenon.

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INTRODUCTION

What is the Gender of Security? – Towards Critical Analysis and Practice

This book brings together a collection of research essays mapping the intersection between gender and security in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. The idea for the book emerged through numerous discussions, both formal and less formal, that we as editors undertook over several years. These discussions addressed the extent to which security-type activities, related to gender, carried out by numerous organisations, have had an impact on and in communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We became concerned by a seemingly prevalent opinion in current literature on gender and security that gender still remains a poor relation in international security documents and policy. Thus, we wanted to create an opportunity for researchers and activists in Bosnia and Herzegovina to articulate ideas and concerns that would go beyond perceiving gender as a mere guideline, through focusing on the effects of gendered security as experienced in everyday life. Therefore, our guiding question in these discussions was and continues to be: what phenomena do researchers and activists feel to be relevant and pressing when it comes to the intersection between gender and security in Bosnia and Herzegovina today?

Our aim as editors was to open up the space for researchers throughout the country, enabling them to delineate the relevant and the pressing aspects of the extent to which gender is integral in thinking about the security and stability of communities. In doing so, we wanted to enrich the debate on gender in Bosnia and Herzegovina, each editor approaching the study from his own perspective: Dr Damir Arsenijević, a university professor and activist, working in the fields of gender and LGBTQ studies; Tobias Flessenkemper, a EUPM senior official, whose area of responsibility is the EU Common Security and Defence Policy and EU integration and who has a longstanding commitment to and engagement in civil society.

Our joint goal was to arrive at key insights as to whether, and if so, to what extent structural, gendered violence is prevalent in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society as a political 'norm', thus causing instability, promoting fear, and instilling injustice.

Hence, we have opted for the method of collecting the essays through a public call, as a way to catalyse new exploration and thinking about everyday aspects of structural violence: how this violence, experienced as natural and seemingly inescapable – gets exercised and reproduced daily. It is precisely in the mundane everydayness of the production of such violence that we get drawn into accepting the false premise that there is very little we can do to fight the sources and mechanisms of injustice. We thought that the wider we distributed the call, the broader would be the insight into extant analysis and approaches through which to critique how prevalent gendered violence, instability and insecurity are in Bosnian and Herzegovinan society.

Our approach follows similar initiatives carried out in the past that have been supported by international organisations and the EUPM, in which public space—as one of the basic elements for any genuinely participative contemplation of equality and justice in any society—has been activated for collective analyses of gender-based violence. Concretely, in 2010, a series of workshops was organized involving a cooperative of young intellectuals, artists and activists from Tuzla, called *Front Slobode*. This workshop focused on the impact and effects of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Focusing on the increased participation of women in decision-making processes in post-conflict situations, peace talks and peace operations, Resolution 1325 creates a normative framework for institutions to get involved with the gendered aspects of security. But how is this then visible on the level of society? What are the concrete material effects of institutional involvement in solving instances and patterns of gender-based violence?

Front slobode's publication of June 2011 brings the results of a

public discussion on gender-based violence and public workshops. Together, these explorations mapped out how stereotypes in everyday life are engendered though media, and how art and culture can help us collectively to exercise our political imagination, involving us in thinking about and acting on the idea of solidarity and equality. As a result of this public involvement, what is reinforced is the stance at which our book also arrives—the necessity to reclaim public space in order to break the cycle of the silencing and stigmatizing of those who have suffered violence. Collective discussions and actions in public spaces are crucial to show how violence operates to bring about the public silencing of the pain and anger caused by discrimination and physical violence. Most importantly, collective discussions and actions in public spaces may produce hopeful engagement with the pain and anger caused by violence and open up imaginative ways to bring about an end to the perpetuation of such violence. Politics can only emerge when people come together in a public space, but this basic democratic understanding is not as widely grasped as it once was. Creating conditions for public security is a basic principle and test of democratic policing in a country. Without security, democratic freedoms remain limited and cannot flourish. Public security agencies failing this elementary task or, for opportunistic motives, even undermining the freedom of assembly remain or become complicit in the circle of violence.

That is why we envisage this book as a contribution towards thinking and acting around the question: what are the basic requirements needed to bring an end to gender-based or gendered violence? Going back to such basics does not entail discarding everything that we have at our disposal from the past; it does not require some sort of an amnesiac 'clean slate'. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a rich tradition of feminist action and thought ranging from pre-WWII and antifascist feminist struggles to feminist actions and initiatives of the 1990s and 2000s. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina's security sector has often remained solely an instrument through which to project power and violence. The oppressive nature of policing has

only slowly and – alas – incompletely been transformed into a fully democratic police force. Thus, revisiting basic requirements means recognizing and drawing on those experiences and insights from the past as can help us make present sociality more human.

Our book project started with the idea of staging an encounter between the different critical approaches that were examining instances of structural violence and to open up a space for a wider debate as to how such instances can be dismantled through collective thinking and acting. The output of the idea that we are presenting here is a collection of essays that reflects the wider trend of how gender has been framed in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past fifteen years. In the selection of essays we have received from the panel of expert selectors, what is painfully apparent is the absence not only of any essay related to the everyday experiences and security of the LGBT population but also of those related to constitutional "Others", in particular Roma citizens.

This phenomenon is all the more striking given the prevalent attitudes that lead to the humiliation and discrimination of these communities at all societal levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most recent example of these attitudes at work was the physical and verbal attack on the students of Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo who wanted to donate blood in April 2012. The silence in popular discourse surrounding the LGBT population is also reflected in the body of essays received in response to the public call for this book. It was a difficult decision for us as editors not to intervene to address this silent 'gap' by adding appropriate essays that would address it. At this point of going to print, our decision is to express solidarity with the students of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo who silently protested on 23 April 2012 and repeat their gesture: a withdrawal, with our voices and bodies, from the space where the violence of power rules.

We are aware that this volume can only be the first initial step to stimulate thought and spur into collective action, growing the necessary awareness that hard-won freedoms constantly need to be

reclaimed and re-asserted. Another significant shared feature of the essays presented in this book is that, although their foci and subject matters evidence a wide range of subjects: a redefinition of security from feminist perspectives; the role of women in peace activism; women in security institutions; gendered aspects of missing persons; they are all concerned with the *institutional* aspects of the intersection between gender and security.

This we take to be symptomatic of the wider trend with regards to the framing of discussion of gender, which has, thus far, predominantly resulted from how the so-called international community has provided assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Whilst on one hand such a politically conditioned frame allows gender to appear as a reflection of one of a multitude of societal attitudes, it silences gender as an analytic category that is capable of shedding evidence-based light on existing societal inequalities. In this particular frame, gender *tolerates*; it does not transform. Constructed in this way, gender is a personal, individual experience within the social, rather than an analytic tool, shedding light on political questions of freedom, justice and equality. In this limited frame, gender is part of the problem, not a crucial element in its solution. A different politico-socio-cultural approach would require institutions to adopt something far riskier and open-minded—an approach that would be able to reflect on the nature and structure of *how* and *how much* institutions themselves participate in the tacit acceptance of structural violence and promulgate complacent behavior – both passively and actively.

This problem takes us back to the incomplete democratic transition of Bosnia and Herzegovina that not only perpetuates—but in political discourses almost cherishes—structural violence through discriminatory practice. Through the promotion of the UNSCR 1325, EUPM and partners lobbied for the inclusion of more female officers into the security sector. However, while such efforts must continue, they remain a surrogate activity, as numbers do not lead to equality, and more importantly, an *undemocratic* police force may

well be based numerically on sex-equality but, attitudinally and ideologically, still defend and/or perpetrate injustice. The institutional approach and the struggle for better, democratic and freedom-defending security practices will need jointly to be taken forward. The EU enlargement process may offer accompanying measures to support a further transformation. EU assistance, however, can sometimes provide an impetus but cannot replace a domestic call for change. Such a call will need to be come from various parts and orgnisations of B&H society: it will require institutional efforts but also crucial critical debate and action in academia and the input of activists. Most importantly, such a call will need to create a particular collectivity around critical *practice* that *materialises* solidarity and equality for all.

Damir Arsenijević and Tobias Flessenkemper

Senad Džanović

THE GENDER DIMENSION OF SECURITY

Abstract

The gender dimension of security represents a set of factors affecting the functioning of security systems around the world. Today, this dimension is losing its significance, as it becomes obvious that security as one of the most sought after resources of the world knows no colour, gender, race or nationality. What security does know, is peace, or the preservation of peace. The aim is to prove that in the realm of security, *she,* the woman, can play the most important, vital role, and can provide security to anyone at any time. In the past, this was inconciveable, while today it is a reality which faces negation and disregard of the involvement of women in the field of security.

By monitoring the attitudes of the society towards the gender dimension of security through media, seminars and lectures, a system of evidence has been derived, proving that gender is not exclusively the male gender. The analysis of data obtained from the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the entitty ministries as well, only confirms that the gender dimension is fading in the security complex, and that an ever increasing number of women is employed and performs all the tasks which men perfom as well.

Key words: Security, gender, woman, differences between sexes, armed forces, security systems, feminism, discrimination, struggle, equality, peace

Introduction

What should be immediately pointed out through a grammatical approach to the term *sigurnost* (security), is that the word is of a feminine gender, because it can be preceded only by *ta* (the feminine form of the demonstrative pronoun *that*), when saying, for example, *ta sigurnost predstavlja problem* (that security is a problem) or *ta sigurnost je važna* (that security is important) etc. However, if we exclude grammar and orient ourselves toward professions in the field of security, i.e. in state and private security sectors, security is in most cases (unfortunately) exclusively masculine. Or is this a thing of the past? In this respect, security is a male profession of a feminine gender. But, is this really true, and is it possible to build a security system, or any other social system, without the active participation of women?

Therefore, it is very important to indicate what gender itself signifies. Gender does not correspond only to biological identity, but is primarily a product of socialization, or the cultural, political and social structure of the masculinity and femininity as the identity of a social character. Gender may be also viewed as a way of structuring power relations, as in the family, for example, where it is well-known that the head of the family is the father, i.e. the man, or in religion, where only men can be ordained as high priests, i.e. heads of the community. Should such structuring be continued in the society or in security? What is the gender of security? How does gender determine security in the present day?

Gender relation in Security – the Historical Aspect

In defining the very term of security (Beridan, 2001: 348) as the level of protectedness of people from various forms of endangerment,

that is the protection of material and cultural goods possessed by an individual or a society, the protection of societies and their values, the overall protection of a state from all forms of endangerment or the level of protection on a planetary, i.e. comic level of life and humanity in general, it is important to look back on the past, where the monoply of men over women in terms of providing safety to others, is clearly shown.

As early as the time of the Hammurabi Code from 1780 B.C. women were given no rights, especially the right to hold a spear or a bow and arrow, which were considered to be military weapons at that time. From the first civilizations in Mesopotamia to ancient Greece, we find a similar case with women having limited rights only, and being exclusively restrained to house chores. At the same time, Herodotus used the myth of the Amazonian female warriors as his source. Roman law studied at law faculties today includes several postulates and legal institutes in which women are afforded certain civil or property rights, but there are still no facts relevant to this topic of this essay.

In 1429, we come across Joan of Arc, who was perhaps the first female warrior or general on the European continent, and who fought shoulder to shoulder with men in her time. Not until WWI and WWII do we see women becoming more involved in wars, i.e. being at the security center of events. Showing historical facts and the influence of the society on the gender dimension of security was made possible by Carole Pateman's book *The Sexual Contract* (1988) where she illustrates the connection between feminist explorations of gender relations with the earlier critcism of the liberal theory of the social contract. The author goes much further, giving the notion of patriarchy (the rule of men) a new meaning by stating that a free social order cannot be a contracted order. (Pateman, 1988) In this respect, gender relations direct the importance of the patriarchy which is deeply rooted in the contemporary society, regardless of the general right to vote and the liberal institutions enabling in principle equal rights for everyone. You could say that political

reforms enabled women equal opportunities, but that the patriarchy still exists. (Pateman, 1988: 221)

Sexual contract is a suppressed dimension of the contract theory. The social contract assumes a sexual contract, and civil liberties a patriarchal law. (Pateman, 1988: 11) In the modern civil society all men are considered good enough to be the rulers of women; civil liberty is dependant on the patriarchal law. Women must be free as women, and not be like men. (Pateman, 1988: 224).

In this respect, it is important to point out that the right of women to participate in social activities, and in the field of security, was denied and limited more than any other right. Why is that so? Mostly because men, as part of the stonger, but not always wiser, sex were not ready to state their equality to women, using the conclusions about the physical inequality as basis to buils pinciples according to which a woman can never become a soldier or a policewoman, becuase she is considered insufficiently strong, resistant and capable. Today, women are inedeqately represented in sectors of security (The Atlantic Initiative, 2011) due to a fear, still present among men who cannot accept taking orders from a woman or working for a woman. There are no evidence of this, nor are there any sources to confirm it. However, it is confirmed by the mindset of the people, i.e. the mentality that allows only men to make orders. Still, this cannot influence the fact that women could and should be equally represented as men in security systems, especially in those key bodies related to important decision-making. Through their hard work and efforts, women have proved in all fields and not just the field of security, to be efficient, capable, and ready to face all situations which their male colleagues face as well. This is confirmed by the devestating fact, that one of the contigents sent on the security mission ISAF[1] in Afganistan, contained only 1,32% of female participants of the Armed Forces (The Atlantic Initiative 2011). This shows a very low presence of women in that sector of security, but on the other hand, also shows that women can perform missions and tasks concerned with the military in

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1   ISAF - International Security Assistance Force.

Afganistan, which indicated further, that a woman is ready, capable, corageous, valiant and strong to fight in what is currently one of the fiercest battlefields in the world. This fact should be used to reduce all stereotypes to negligable parameters.

Women in the Police and Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The presence or role of women in the armed and police forces as main security factors in Bosnia and Herzegovina is presented through the Ministry of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which initiated the process of introducing the principles and attitudes of gender equality, as well as ensuring the practical application of gender equality principles within its own operations. The right to equal opportunities for women and men is upheld during employment, together with the application of equal criteria when selecting male and female candidates for a position. By 2015, the percentage of female members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina should amount to 10%. Out of the total number of employees at the Ministry of Defense, the percentage of women amounts to 41.5%, namely:

Female Deputy Defense Minister – 1	Female Expert Advisor – 18
Female Head of Department – 2	Female Senior Officer – 18
Female Head of Office – 1	Female Officer – 4
Female Advisor – 2	Female Employee – 57

Of the civilians employed within the Armed Forces, 28 % are women, whereas 5% of the total number of members of the Armed Forces are women. Female members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to rank are:

Brigadier 1 ili 1%	Chief Master Sergeant 9 ili 3%
Colonel 4 ili 2%	Master Sergeant 28 ili 3%
Major 11 ili 3%	First Sergeant 39 ili 4%
Captain 23 ili 4%	Second Sergeant 38 ili 7%
1st Lieutenant 6 ili 2%	Corporal 63 ili 2%
2nd Lieutenant 10 ili 5%	1st Class Soldier 44 ili 4%
Sergeant-Major 15 ili 5%	2nd Class Soldier 42 ili 5%

The Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina

70,00%
60,00%
50,00%
40,00%
30,00%   58,50%
20,00%   41,50%
10,00%
0,00%
        Men
-10,00%
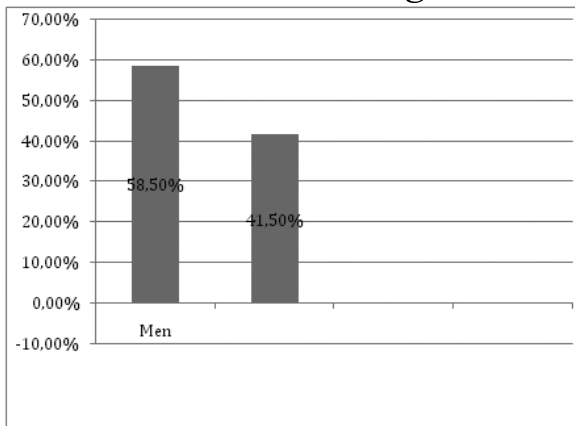
The Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Professional Soldiers)

100,00%
80,00%
60,00%
        95,00%
40,00%
20,00%
0,00%   5,00%
        Men
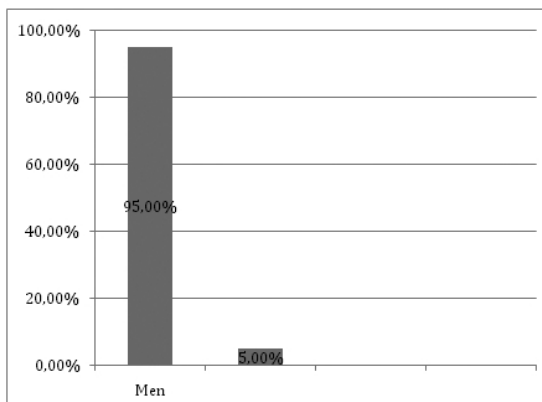
The Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Civilians)
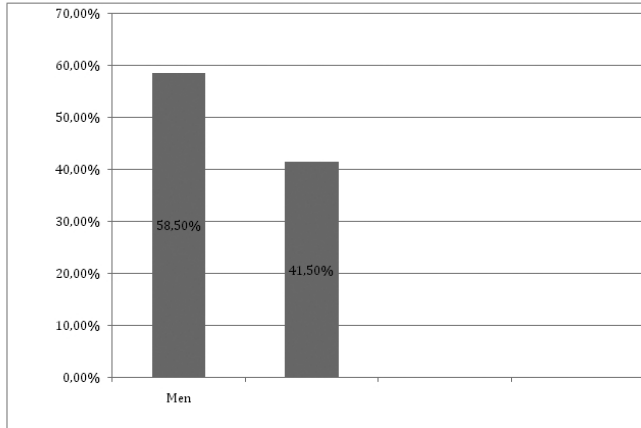
The tables above illustrate the percentage of women within the Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Regarding the percentage of women and their role in the police forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the state level (i.e. at the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina), 48.73% are women, while women in managerial positions constitute 26.47 %. At the State Agency for Investigations and Protection (SIPA), which is the police agency within the Ministry of Security, 14 % are women, while only 0.53% of women are in employed in managerial positions. At the Border Police of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 11 % of employees are women, and women in managerial positions constitute 0.19 %. Female employees at the Service for Foreigners' Affairs represent 34.83 % of the total staff, and women in managerial positions constitute 2.25 %.

Within the entity-level police forces, in the first case, the

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republika Srpska, data from 2009 shows that the total number of employees amounts to 7007. Out of this, 20.87 %, or 1463 individuals, are women. Women in managerial positions constitute 6.5 %. There are 95 women managing certain departments within the Ministry. In terms of rank, the distribution of women at the Ministry is as follows:

- Female Chief Inspector – 1
- Female Independent Inspector – 2
- Female Senior Inspector – 14
- Female Inspector – 55
- Female Junior inspector – 95
- Female Sergeant – 3
- Senior Policewoman – 61
- Policewoman – 105

In the second case, according to data from 2009 related to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina or the Federal Police Administration, there are a total of 507 employees. 40 individuals, or 7.89 %, are female police officers. Regarding the ranks within the Federal Police Administration, the distribution of women is as follows:

- Independent Inspector: out of a total of 23 inspectors, two, or 8.70 % are women;
- Senior Inspector: out of a total of 30 inspectors, one, or 3.33 % is a woman;
- Inspector: out of a total of 45 inspectors, nine, or 20 % are women;
- Junior Inspector: out of a total of 64 inspectors, one, or 1.56 % is a woman;
- Senior Sergeant: out of a total of 80 sergeants, one, or 1.25 % is a woman;
- Senior Policeman/-woman: out of a total of 160, 24, or 15 %

are women and
- Policeman/-woman: out of a total of nine, two or 22.22 % are women.[2]

Female Officers of the Armed Forces and Police Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Peace Missions

Peace missions primarily include members of the armed forces of a country, or soldiers sent as support to peace missions. Soldiers and other members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina have participated in peace missions, but it is important to mention that women, or female members of the Armed Forces, are also present in peace-support missions in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Iraq. Since 2000, female members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina have participated in the following UN peace missions:

- UN Unit – Ethiopia – Eritrea – 1
- The Unit for Destruction of Unexploded Ordnance – Iraq 292/4 1.35% women
- Security Unit – Iraq – 45/3, 6.25 % women

UN police forces in Liberia, Cyprus, Sudan, Haiti, and East Timor have included 101 police officers from Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2000. Out of this number, 13 were women (12.87 %). Currently, there are 19 police officers from Bosnia and

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2   Taken from the Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 *Women, Peace and Security* in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2011, by the Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Herzegovina, out of which 3 are women (15.79%). Female representation within the Armed Forces contingent in Liberia amounted to 0%, in Sudan to 33.33%, and in Cyprus to 50.00%.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, or its society, does not have an equal level of representation of women in the security sector, although there is an obvious need, and in more recent times an obligation to improve these standards. Bosnian and Herzegovinian society truly aspires to ensure equal opportunities for women, so they can participate in the security sector together with their male colleagues, but a stronger stimulus by the society is needed, as well as a clear insight that the participation of women in security is not only an obligation but also a necessity.

Morphology and Differences Between the Sexes

Where do we see the differences between women and men? Can these differences significantly affect their performing of tasks and duties? Obviuos differences cannot and must not affect the feeling of security that a man or a woman needs to provide. Considerable morphological differences give insight into obvious differences that can be crucial, and thus should not be avoided or neutralized, but rather better understood and respected. Significant differences among the sexes can be obtained by means of tests that aim to examine different cognitive abilities, such as perception, speed, arithmetic, mathematical thinking, visualization, determination of the location of objects in space, verbal fluency, rotation of objects in space, fine motor coordination, etc. The results of such tests point to the main differences between sexes in cognitive functioning, which become obvious through differences in individual intellectual abilities, but not through differences in intelligence in general. Therefore, it can be accurately asserted that a prediction of an individual's result in

any given test based solely on sex is unreliable. Kimura (2002) points out the following differences encompassing:

1. *Special (spatial) abilities – visual and special cognition*
2. *Mathematical abilities*
3. *Verbal abilities*
4. *Perception abilities*
5. *Motor abilities*

The more we analyze gender, the clearer it becomes that security is not predestined to be managed by women. As a result of their wisdom, audacity, courage, calmness, lack of aggression, and intelligence, a woman will think at least twice as much about something a man will not think about at all, but merely act regardless of the consequences. Women have successfully proven that they can deal with any obstacles and difficulties that men also encounter, and not just in the field of security, but also in the field of all other social activities.

Women in Military Uniforms

Identifying differences between men and women will lead to nothing else than the acceptance of these differences. This acceptance can lead to compromise where both sexes can agree; both men and women can provide a sense of security, that is, provide a sense of security in their own way. Negating and refusing to accept the importance of security on the basis of who is providing it, a man or a woman, confronts us with the problem of stereotypes that will inflict significant damage to both the society and the sector of security. How do we contribute, or how do we bring these attitudes closer to a compromise? It can easily be done.

As stated already, the problem is not admitting that men and women, that they can in no way be similar in a physiological sense. However, this fact should not be used to create prejudices. Recently, it has become ever more common for the military practice in the armed forces of a country to symbolize the status of the woman, who is almost equal to her male in all decision-making processes, devising strategies and battle tactics, operations, and other important processes. As such, gender should not be a criterion for the selection of individuals, their promotion to a higher rank or their dismissal (discrimination). Rather, the criteria used have to be characteristics (advantages, weaknesses, etc.). Why? Because individual differences exceed gender differences and the importance of female presence in the military is fully exceeded simply by its existence in it. External security, in which female participants of the armed forces and the military[3] operate, finding their place in the Organization of the NATO alliance consisting of the armed forces of the member states, of female soldiers, i.e. officers or non-commissioned officers successfully demonstrates the importance of the domain in which the female presences in the armed forces is prioritized.

The importance of this segment of security in relation to the NATO alliance led to the first NATO conference of senior women officers of the NATO Alliance forces held in Copenhagen in 1961. During the conference, problems related to the status, organization, career development and employment of women in the armed forces of this organization were emphasized. The Committee of Women in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Forces (CWINF) was established in 1976. Following this, the role of women in the armed forces became increasingly important, even in the political and military sectors, where the most important goal was presented as the promotion and development of the most effective engagement of women in military uniforms. What follows is an imperative according to which women in uniform have to be absolutely accepted, professionally recognized, supported through possibilities for

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3   *Vojska* (the military) is a feminine term, *ta vojska* (that military).

personal and professional growth, and protected by an equal treatment. As previously, the status and role of women are not only different in individual national armed forces, but also in different time periods. However that difference has decreased due to the fact that the number of women has been increasing in almost all of the world's armed forces (i.e. there is an increasing number of military positions to which women are deployed). As defenders of democracy, the US and Canadian armies are leaders in this area, while Israel has compulsory military service. It should also be emphasized that even in those countries with a long tradition of female inferiority in the society, such as Jordan, where women are martial arts instructors in the armed forces, the subordination of women is slowly disappearing.

Women in Police Uniforms

Today, there are numerous examples that demonstrate that the *male fortress* called the police has been torn down. Whenever this term, the police[4], is used everyone automatically thinks of a group of armed men in blue uniforms whose function is to protect and maintain peace and order. This perception has changed now that women are more present in this segment of security (i.e. in the internal security segment). A job well done knows no gender. What matters is the successful completion of the task. In this respect, it should be emphasized that women, despite certain harmful prejudices, have demonstrated an enviable level of agility, competence, knowledge, and skills in the resolution of all security problems, which are also faced by men.

In 1910, in Los Angeles, USA, Alice Stebbins Wells, who had been employed as a social worker, was appointed the first female police officer. After her appointment, she continued promoting the

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4   *Policija* (the police) is another feminine term, *ta policija* (that police).

inclusion of more women in the police. Six years later, women were employed in police units in thirty cities in the USA. This woman advocated the idea that women in the police are particularly good at prevention activities, working with minors, and working with women who have committed criminal offences. Another year of note is 1973. In that year, the Washington police began including women in patrol work, which represented an attempt to assess their efficiency. These trial runs established that patrol duties are equally well performed by women and men, and that equal results may be seen in the resolution and prevention of violence committed by citizens. The general public expressed equal respect for both sexes. Furthermore, there was evidence to suggest that the intervention of female police officers in cases of domestic quarrels was particularly effective, and they were found to be more pleasant and professional. Research conducted a decade later confirmed that women work as well as men in the police, and that a higher number of women results in a more professional police force.

Women in the Security sector –
the Social Aspect

When it comes to the society in which we live, regardless of residence in either entity or in the district, some women's rights are certainly limited, meaning to say they are not fully nor equally represented as their male colleagues employed in the security institutions of the state, entities, district, cantons, and municipalities. Let us begin from the fact that women constitute more than 50% of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This clearly demonstrates that there is not only a need, but also an obligation to introduce as many women into the police services as possible. Returning to

biological or physiological characteristics, we notice a marked capacity of women, i.e. their ability to process certain security information, defensive principles and their attitudes into a quality and stable decision, a capacity of significant importance due to its various advantages in a democratic society, which Bosnia and Herzegovina strives to be. These advantages (Jagić, 2008) have shown, or rather proved, that the increased presence and participation of women in the security sector, be it the police or the armed forces, guarantees a higher quality of work. Since the economy is an important segment of the society, here we will also outline the economic sustainability for the sake of which a greater engagement of women, both legal and social, and their inclusion in the police and armed forces, was put in motion.

Medical research demonstrates that women can perform multiple activities with the same efficiency as men who are concentrated on a single activity. (Kimura, 2002) It is equally important to note that women can bear a much higher level of physical pain, which explains why there is currently a greater demand for female bodyguards than nannies in Russia, etc.

As we have previously stated several times, in the field of security, both internal and external, women have proved themselves equal, if not superior in problem-solving than men. Therefore, one can deduce that a higher percentage of women in the police significantly increases the institution's overall professionalism and efficiency, and that the citizens or the general public, are significantly more satisfied with the cooperation and the communication with the police, when it is represented by a female officer.

One of the primary tasks of the police is gathering data, and the characteristics possessed by a female officer, such as calmness, patience and understanding, serve to confirm that communication is easier and more open in those places and situations where there is an increased presence of women, resulting in greater public trust in female officers, and consequently a higher willingness to disclose information. This fact demonstrates the purely logical and rational

need for an equal participation of women in the police, to the same extent to which they are represented in the society.

Feminist Security Studies

Feminism as a movement, or a set of ideologies denoting the fight for women's rights or the fight for equating the rights of women to the rights of men, has a distinctly *loud*, and above all, clear attitude when it comes to the notion of the gender of security. Important determinants of feminist structures relevant for providing answers to the question posed in the very introduction, mostly overlap with the attitude already elaborated in the previous sections of the essay, namely, that women, although unequally represented, can certainly resolve the same problems encountered by their male colleagues in the same, or at least a similar, way in any field.

According to feminist attitudes, women hold a different system of values, act in a more considerate manner, and are always willing to cooperate and favor a holistic approach to epistemological criticism, meaning to say that they are more interested in identifying an alternative security system than exploring, controlling or using weapons. In short, women are more peaceful than men.

How can such an approach be used in security? Women are more likely to use the cognitive approach, or they think more about their actions prior to acting than men do. The concept of masculinity defines the man as the protector, the head of the patriarchal family, the brave one, the hero. The opposite of this is the woman, who is a *wonderful and peaceful soul*, who is there only to provide emotional support to the brave warrior – the man. In this way, according to feminism, gender is not seen as a biological, but rather a social identity. In this sense, it becomes clear that the state is there to provide and guarantee security for all its citizens, but gender differences

create a problem because the question arises whether women can be the ones who will provide security together with their male colleagues. Global policy has contributed to placing great value on gender dimensions in security, and much emphasis has been placed on this. When one asks in what way gender determines security, primarily international security, and other forms as well, the fact that gender does not determine security is emphasized, because security is already determined or guaranteed. Security does not ask for gender, color, or race. Rather, the question that is posed is whether security is achievable at its highest possible level, since it is generally known that there is no absolute security or absolute safety.

In the absence of security, during wartime, the bad side of such a conflict can easily bring out the worst in women as well, who in times of war perform the roles of soldiers, cooks, housewives, nurses, and sometimes all of these simultaneously. In wars, both women and men may be victims, but also active participants. Women, as well as well men, can commit war crimes, even against other women. Historically, they have been depicted as skilled spies and secret agents. In this context, it is possible to recognize that if women can act in the same way as men during wars, i.e. cause insecurity, participate in wars, then they can also freely provide security and be equally represented in the security sector.

Indicators of the Inclusion of Women in the Security Sector

Up to December 2009, a research study had been conducted by the Southeast Europe Police Chiefs Association at eight ministries of internal affairs in countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the

Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. The research presents the current situation and the position of female police officers in police organizations throughout the region, during that time. The fields for cooperation were defined, and 16 recommendations for the improvement of the position of women in the police were made. Researchers interviewed just under 4000 respondents, including both men and women, in managerial and non-managerial positions. Furthermore, the research was carried out through polls, or through 4 questionnaires mutually comparable in form. Results demonstrate that the respondents believe that women are very efficient in tasks involving communication skills, analytical skills, pedantry, and empathy, while men are more successful in performing tasks and duties requiring physical strength, coercion, securing public gatherings of high risk, and the arrest of perpetrators of criminal offences who are resisting arrest. Women cited excitement and the dynamic nature of the job, altruism, i.e. the desire to help others, and stable employment as the main reasons for joining the police force. The research also shows one clear advantage of women: more than 54% of women in non-managerial positions hold university degrees, which is higher than the rate of men reaching just above 49%. This proves that the presence of women in the police or the military is not just an issue of basic human rights, but also of a new quality which the inclusion of women brings into the police and the armed forces. The study is also credible because it reflects the attitudes and policies of eight ministries of internal affairs of countries in Southeast Europe. The study was signed by the eight chiefs of police of the said countries. It is also important to point to the results of a study about American war veterans from Afghanistan and Iraq, which showed that female soldiers deal with stress as well as their male colleagues. According to Dawne Vogt (taken from: http://metro-portal.hr/zene-u-vojsci-jednako-se-dobro-nose-sa-stresom-kao-i-muskarci/59934, last viewed: 26.3.2012.), it has been proven that women sent to war react to war trauma in the same way as men, and that preventing

women from participating in land battles makes no sense, considering the unpredictability of guerilla tactics.

Women in Police – the Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

A report entitled *Women in Police – Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina* was presented by the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM) in cooperation with the Agency for Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The report shows that the overall percentage of female police officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina is only 6.3%. It further emphasizes that women are underrepresented, and that there are few women with high-ranking status. This data is further supported by the fact that none of the seven Chief Inspectors, or the 14 Inspector Generals, are women. For Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is truly devastating that out of 105 Inspector Generals, only one is a woman, out of 310 Independent Inspectors, only six are women, out of 742 Senior Inspectors, only 41 are women, and going further down the chain of command, out of 911 inspectors, only 104 are women and out of 1556 Junior Inspectors, 186 are women.

When it comes to gender relations in the security sector, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and gender equality in sectors of security, the report of the EUPM clearly shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina is making little progress in terms of the inclusion of women in police forces. Unfortunately, these are facts, and even though they are devastating, it does not mean that the fight is over. The low number of percentage-wise or any other type of women's presence in the domain of security, or the police should serve as a motivation

to increase that number for the sake of both gender equality and a higher level of professionalism at the workplace. However, if we were to go back to the very beginning, and assert that women make up 52% of the population, the comparison of that number to these devastating and humaliating data clearly shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina is progressing very slowly or even stagnating when it comes to the inclusion of women in the police forces. This problem is currently being addressed by the Agency for Gender Equality, the entity and state institutions responsible for this matter, and the police academies. All of these institutions are working to increase the number of women in the police. The head of EUPM, Commissioner Stefan Feller, has stated that more women should be present in the police, pointing out the truly devastating data showing only 6.3% of police officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina to be women. *(taken from http://ceppei.ba/bos/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3479&Itemid=72 last viewed; 27.3.2012).*

Should it serve as comfort that across Europe, and within EUPM itself, only an average of 15% of police officers are female? Should Bosnia and Herzegovina be a bright example, if not in Europe, then at least in the region, by having a larger number of women in its police forces? In this case Bosnia and Herzegovina should be a true example and a real indicator that the gender dimension of security does not play such an important role as in the rest of the region, and that women can participate in the construction of a security system in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Gender and Security Today

Gender and security are terms whose meanings cause endless political and social controversies, and bringing them into connection unavoidably intensifies their meaning. Security is understood in

many different ways, which can be seen within the framework of the gender dimension. But this dimension is also susceptible to change. Historical facts show that ensuring national security was and still is part of the male domain, and that the preservation of state security is considered an exclusively male task. Women were allowed only passive participation in the security sector and were thus viewed caretakers and educators of children and youth. The example of the *Steel Lady*, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher, challenged this perception. Thatcher imitated male behavioral patterns in order to fit her political role. Other powerful examples include the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, and the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton. These examples show that women have succeeded in their intention of rising to positions where they can make the most important and the hardest of decisions, and have proved their capability of performing *male* tasks, instead of those tasks being entrusted to men exclusively, as was previously the practice.

The difference between *wonderful souls*, the women, and *fair warriors*, the men, is at the center of most theories about the individual roles men and women play in both war and the society. (Elashtain, 1995 : 5) The participation of women in spy missions, as special agents, and as members of special intelligence units have traditionally been considered appropriate, while military service is seen as wrong. However, equality for women can be achieved foremost by creating equal opportunities in the military. The concept of feminism propagates the termination of the exclusion of women from the public domain, and the achievement of equal representation in the highest positions of the state, as well as in battles and war operations (Elashtain, 1995). There is a preference towards achieving a change in the dynamics of the state apparatus in terms of security. Here, the male value system would be rejected and a certain feminization of institutions and conflicts would be implemented.

This would place a much stronger focus on peace as the final goal of institutional change. Although today, women are integrated in most state institutions, the military and the participation in battles,

as well as some other security segments, remain in the male domain. (Enloe, 1990) This issue can be resolved. As requests for the inclusion of women in the military grow, leading to the fight for the right to participate in battles, the feminist movement will continue to insist on female participation. Participation in battles should improve the position of women in general. The best example in this respect is The National Organization for Women, established in 1966 in the US in order to continue the promotion of the participation of women in the public domain. One of the goals of this organization was also the representation of the right to battle, or the participation of women in war. The connection between men, state, and war may be severed only by allowing women to participate in military service, or by demonstrating the success and discipline requested both from women and men. When this happens, women, who have always been considered the *weaker* or the *more beautiful sex*, will stop being second-class citizens who depend on men as their protectors. Biology is also crucial for state security. In this respect, women have a different relation toward state politics. Giving birth for the state (the Soviet example[5]) shows the importance of women for security, as well as for the state in general. This is because men would have no one to protect if women stopped giving birth and there was no population to defend. In this respect, women are perhaps the most important segment of security, because they *create the material to be protected*.

In short, women promote life, the female biology denounces male militarism. The accentuated pacifism of women expresses commitment to peace camps which do not push the world to the brink of war, as the compiling of arms and the arms race do. Traditional literature, including works on security, considers women as the defenders of peace and has improved their participation in a series of powerful national and international movements promoting peace and disarmament.

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5   During WWII, the Soviet Union suffered the most civilian casualties, so the Soviet authorities propagated reproduction, even in extramarital communities, as a way of making up for the lost population

Conclusion

Traditional literature has had an overly strong impact on the gender and gender dimensions of security. Even more so, the issue of gender has been ignored. Women have been categorically ignored and considered unfit for the military, inadequate for leadership positions, and sometimes not even allowed their civil rights. Men have been recognized as warriors and celebrated as heroes. Women, however, have been forgotten and described as passive participants in security. However, newer literature argues that gender represents a module for disclosing security problems, which enables us to view gender as a social construct (i.e. the manner in which men and women react may be a result of sex differences, but also a result of circumstances).

Gender, in all its models, forms, and complexities, has an impact on numerous issues besides security. Security depends on many issues and factors, but it definitely does not depend on gender. However, without recognizing the role of one term, both terms are weakened. This essay has argued that women must be given the possibility to prove themselves as equal partners in ensuring security, together with their male colleagues. Women can truly provide security as one if the most desired resources in the world, to the same extent as men.

Traditional, conservative attitudes present in literature are becoming increasingly weak as it becomes clear that security does not recognize gender as a determinant. In fact, security does not know the gender dimension. On the contrary, security requires equal provision to all and can be provided by anyone, regardless of his or her gender. The differences between women and men in terms of security, and in relation to gender, are obvious for masculinity is determined by aggression, physical strength, superiority, power, the arms race, and war, while femininity is characterized by peacefulness, cognitive or well-though out acts, calmness and steadiness, and aspirations towards peace. In this context, it is possible and even correct to say

that security is feminine. As opposed to the masculine, which prefers war, violence, and aggression as the basis for security, the feminine gender in the security dimension prefers peace as its basis, and thus women through their peacefulness conquer not just the realm of security, but all other segments of society as well.

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Vesna Jarić

WHAT IS THE GENDER OF SECURITY? - A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE ISSUE OF SECURITY

Abstract

This paper examines the intellectual contribution of feminist theories to international security studies as a sub-discipline of international relations, and provides an overview of the origin and development of this theoretical approach. The aim of this review is to present the assumptions and basic characteristics of feminist theory on the basis of a theoretical frame which constitutes a body of knowledge of feminist theorists of international relations, who specifically dealt with issues of international security. The literature of academic circles in the region of the West Balkans has only marginally dealt with the feminist approach to international security, and the purpose of this paper is to systematically present the feminist approach to security, thus indicating the existence of a theoretically well-round feminist thought on the issue of security.

The paper also highlights the specifics and characteristics of feminist theory, introduces its ontological and epistemological foundations, and reveals its relation to theories of international relations dominating the twentieth century. The paper specifically addresses the concept of gender as an analytical tool for viewing the issues of security. Finally, the paper deals with the issue of the current stage of development of the feminist study of security, whether this specific approach to security opens up a new field of thought and how readily it enters into dialogue with other theories, as well as tackling the question of whether feminist theory carries the transformative potential when it comes to the existing structure of the international system made up of depersonalized state entities.

Key words: feminism, theories, security, gender

An important task of feminist theory is to make strange what has previously appeared familiar, or to challenge us to question what has hitherto appeared as' natural'. – Sandra Harding (1991:123)

From a traditional to a feminist concept of security – paths of (non-) dialogue between feminism and international relations

Expanding and deepening the concept of security

The traditional understanding of security places the State as the focal point of its interest in the issue of security. This means that the main security issues are related to the preservation of territory, borders and territorial integrity, regarding the weapons and military power at the State's disposal, and the comparison of raw power with other State players in the arena of international relations. The proverbial bow is faced towards a potential external threat which puts us in the realm of foreign policy action, as well as the preservation of national interest which may be variedly defined. Ever since the inception of the discipline of international relations, one of the topics that has dominated the field was the topic of international security. Debates on international-security issues developed through various theoretical approaches, creating, as Buzan and Hansen (2009) believe, the framework of a coherent, complete unit which became a sub-discipline of international relations – the international security studies. During the intellectual history of international security studies, national security has been at the center of security issues, making the State a reference object and subject of security interests. In the political-historical context of the second half of the twentieth century, from the end of World War II until the end of the Cold War, the theories that dealt with the macro systems of a

bipolar world and which emphasized the 4S approach to security: *state, strategy, science and status quo*, were the most successful in predicting the development of events and in explaining security issues, risks and threats through the prism of the collective-structural concept of security. The end of the Cold War and the disintegration of a bipolar world caused tectonic changes and a re-examination of the traditional view on security based on such an image of the world. The end of the 80s saw a boom of critical voices of the so-called t*hird debate* (Eschle & Maiguashca 2007). The newest stream of ideas of post-Marxism, feminism, peace studies and postmodernism enter critical theories, the so called third *broad church.* (Simić, 2002:55) In mid-80s of the 20th century, critical studies on security question almost all premises, not just of the *traditional* school but also of the liberally-institutional study of security. (Simić, 2002:55). Feminism plays an important role in that process. The focal point of interest gradually expands and deepens. Besides the state as the object of reference, the new approaches focus on groups and individuals. The changed relations of power of a multi-polar world bring new kinds of challenges and threats. Security risks are no longer seen as coming from the external surroundings outside state borders, but the focus of attention is directed towards those risks coming from internal factors. This necessarily leads to the expansion of the sector of security interest outside the traditional sector of force in the domain of military power. Ever since the 80s, the feminist approach to security has significantly contributed to a changed view of security.

Historical and conceptual coordinates for understanding feminism

In order to understand the premises upon which feminist understanding of international relations and security rests, we look back on the historical development of feminism as an idea, a movement, and a theoretical thought. Taking into consideration the specific development of feminism through different dimensions of

its existence, we inevitably conclude that it is almost inappropriate to speak of a single feminism. The beginnings of feminism can be traced back all the way to the eighteenth century[6] when the request to change the existing power relations between women and men in a society was first formulated. Feminism has retained through all stages of its development the characteristics of a political project with the aim of emancipating the largest marginalized group which demanded, in an organized fashion, a change of its own position within the dominant power relations, i.e. women, who make up 50% of the world's population, but also demanding a change in theoretical thought developing in numerous scientific disciplines.[72]

(Non-)Dialogue between feminism and international relations

In the twentieth century, feminism became a movement of global dimensions. At the same time, feminist theory developed, observing from the perspective of various disciplines the roots of the unequal position of women and men in the society. The feminist thought, consistently, in all dimensions of its existence, highlighted the view of the world from the perspective of women, traditionally omitted in the spheres of knowledge from which women were excluded for centuries. Such an intellectual-political-activist history of feminism determines its specific quality, which is important to keep in mind when talking about the articulation of the feminist understanding

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6   Olympe de Gouges, French writer and feminist, author of *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen* (Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne) from 1791, and Mary Wollstonecraft, author of the book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* from 1792.

7   This is supported by the existence of different forms and currents that developed during the twentieth century, starting with the three major currents: Marxist, radical, and liberal feminism, through anarchist, African-American and many other forms of feminism, as well as by the different dimensions of feminism, from personal commitment, through social movement and political project, to theoretical thought.

of international relations and security, which saw its pioneering endeavors in the 1980s. The same premises also indicate the reasons underlying the communication barriers between the two bodies of knowledge in question: that of feminism and the international relations, and consequently the international security studies. Namely, the theory of international relations is based on the ontology of inter-state relations, seeing the states as independent rational entities acting in an antisocial international environment. Feminist theory, on the other hand, relies on the ontology of social relations, with a special emphasis on gender relations, taking as its starting point the individual who exists within the framework of a social hierarchy, of political and economic structures (Tickner 2004: 44). In contrast to international relations, feminism is explicitly normative and emancipatory. Ken Booth sees security and emancipation as two sides of the same coin. (1991: 319). Security, on the one hand, represents an absence of threats, while emancipation, on the other hand, is the liberation of people from restrictions on their right to choose. Those restrictions include war, but also poverty, the unavailability of education, political pressure etc. Viewing security through the idea of emancipation, allows for the integration of traditionally polarized dimensions in international relations and security studies: the domestic and the foreign policies, the domestic order and the international anarchy, the utopian and the realistic outlook on reality, the high-level and the low-level politics, the peace and the strategic studies. (1991: 322) This type of approach has the capacity of uniting the view on security from the perspective of national security (*top-down*) and the view of an all-encompassing perspective of security dealing with issues of underdevelopment and oppression (*bottom-up*). (Thomas, 1991)

Feminist theory finds its epistemological foundation in practical knowledge, emphasizing narratives as a source of knowledge, and highlighting a predominantly male pattern of what is presented as universal objective knowledge, from which the voice of women was completely omitted. In this sense, and contrary to the positivist

view, feminism believes that knowledge is a social construct and questions the claim of neutrality of facts. Feminism is rooted in a foundation from which it extracts practical knowledge for the purpose of building a political practice, emphasizing the *bottom-up* approach, directly contradicting the generally accepted understanding of the discipline of international relations as dealing with macro systems (*top-down*).

Different epistemological assumptions and disagreement regarding the main subject of theoretical interest are the backbone of (non-)dialogue between feminism and international relations, which opens an interesting arena for re-evaluating the postulates of knowledge. Keohane (1998: 197) argues that the feminist theory potentially introduces new variables in explaining international relations, such as the level of influence of socially constructed gender hierarchies on the manner in which the states enter into mutual relations.

From feminism's body of knowledge, feminist theory of international relations borrows a few key concepts for understanding the environment, from the private sphere, through the public domain, to the international dimension. Gender is a key feminist concept for understanding reality. Unlike sex, which is a biological category defined by the primary and secondary sexual characteristics, gender is a social construct of 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. The theoretical shift in the differentiation of sex and gender, within gender theory, has a long history of development. The basis of the theoretical concept was offered as early as 1935 by Margaret Mead in her book *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. She defined sex as a biological category, and gender as a social construct. In the early 1970's, Kate Millet (1969) and Shulamith Firestone (1970) developed and radicalized this theoretical concept in accordance with the requirements of the second wave of feminism, inspired by the renewal of utopian energies within growing social movements— particularly feminism. Feminist theory of the twentieth century, as Marysia Zalewski (2010) claims, saw an analytic explosion of works

illustrating how to learn, transmit and reproduce what is known as gender reality or gender regime. In addition to raising awareness of the roots of the gender regime in the incorporated forms of gender identity, there also arises the issue of changing the existing patterns once the possibility of choice becomes apparent (Connell 2002:34). The concept of gender, as well as its pervasive and implied understanding as the agent of social change on an individual, and even institutional level, found a relatively comfortable placement within the lexicon of political and social sciences on the one hand, and the framework of the institutional international processes of policy planning on the other (Zalewski 2010:12). Gender mainstreaming of policies is a trend in international institutions, and this term should be taken into account when analyzing the feminist contribution to understanding international relations and international security. Patriarchy operates on different levels and through various organizations: sexuality, physical strength, controlling reproduction, the church, state, international institutions—thus establishing male control over the system. The theoretical elaboration of patriarchy or systematic dominance was the foundation of the radical feminist critique of the conventional understanding of politics (Marsh & Stalker 2005:116). The marginalization of women, the trade in goods and women, and wars all contributed to the strengthening of the patriarchal organization of the human community. The main feature of this organization is a strictly defined hierarchy, which ensures the dominance of men over women. The basis of such relations is the ratio of power in favor of the person possessing greater force. Feminists of the sixties and seventies broadened the definition of patriarchy to include the system of social relations and structures that allow men as a social group to establish dominance over women, to subjugate and exploit them. Patriarchal relations are maintained within different social systems, pervading class, racial, ethnic, and other social stratifications. Male power over women, and the resulting antagonistic, in its nature essentialist, binary division, is interpreted by the feminists as the source of all later divisions,

giving birth to slavery, racism, capitalism, colonialism, the exploitation of nature, and so on. Misogyny is hatred towards women and contempt of all that is female, a denial of the woman and her values. It is ubiquitous, culturally pervasive and conditioned. At the same time, misogyny is ideologized, serving as a justification for the exclusion, hierarchization and exploitation of women. In that sense, misogyny is an ideology, a practice and a discourse, and a cultural institution, but also the interrelation between people based on power relations. It is, at its core, essentialist, as it is applied to *all women*. In times of crises and wars, misogyny becomes one of the tools used to manipulate public opinion. According to Zakaria (2004), it is also systemic. Globalization in the contemporary world creates dual flows of the reduction and growth of misogyny. On the one hand, the general discourse on human rights insists on the expansion and institutionalization of gender equality as the primary goal of balancing the power relations between the two largest groups of people, men and women. On the other hand, the removal of borders, as well as the removal of the trade barriers and barriers to information technology, creates a fertile ground for co-operation of criminal groups, which results in a flourishing practice of trafficking in women with the purpose of exploiting their bodies. This phenomenon can be labeled as a transnational misogynistic practice, which confronts countries with a serious security challenge. From the three aforementioned theoretical concepts of feminist thought, it is possible to identify the manner in which the personal pervades the international in all spheres. Ingrained misogyny can be observed both at the level of discourse and the level of practice in international relations which remain a predominantly male sphere, as well as in the security domain, reproducing patriarchal patterns of distribution of power rooted in the established gender regime.

It can be concluded that feminist theory identifies certain regularities within the structure, such as gender, patriarchy and misogyny. On the other hand, as gender and misogyny and patriarchy are all social constructs, they vary in terms of time, place, and

certain cultural contexts. They can therefore not be regarded as universal and given. Another aspect of these terms indicates that they are imbued with thoughts of power, power relations, and distribution of power in society. Understanding power is crucial for any theory that has the intention of assuming a relevant position within the discipline of international relations and the sub-discipline of international security. For this reason, no theory can avoid its self- determination in relation to realism, the theory that, in its various forms and expressions, dominated the field for more than half a century.

Feminist theory as compared to theory of international relations dominating the 20th century

During the 20th century, realism had the status of an intellectual hegemon in the traditional understanding of security, characterized by three elements: emphasizing military threats and the need for strong opposites; orientation towards status quo, i.e. aspiring to the immutability of power relations; and focusing on the state. (Booth, 1991:318).

The starting points for the observation of power from the perspective of feminism and realism are radically different, if not opposite. The major feminist criticism of realism is that it does not recognize the individual as an entity, instead looking at power relations on the international level through depersonalized, objectified state entities. States are, from the standpoint of realism, homogeneous unities, billiard balls with a compact structure, appearing as such on the international stage and engaging in international relations. The international environment is the arena of action for the sovereign state entities, essentially striving to increase their power, fame, or idea. The primary focus is on the realization of national/state interests, two inseparable categories from the standpoint of realism. From the standpoint of feminism, the realist views leaves no room for the voices of individuals, groups, and especially for the presence

of a women's perspective, as the main discourse of power remains defined by patriarchy, remains centralized, male, focused on achieving the interests of the state by all possible means, including war as a legitimate instrument of foreign policy actions. Feminism, on the other hand, observes the individuals, the manner in which power is manifested in the relations within the private sphere, and, consequently, in the public sphere. Feminist theory examines the ways in which the state as a system includes or excludes individuals, male and female citizens, and how this affects the internal politics that are then translated into foreign and security policies of the state, and it does so through the prism of gender.

Liberal theory shares the realist idea of an anarchic image of a constant struggle for power, and in that sense does not stray from the concept of how international relations function. On the other hand, liberal institutionalists offer an alternative vision of the instruments by which states vie for power in international relations. Those are instruments for the fight for consensus through instruments of cooperation, free market, education, civil liberties, and international institutions. The basic feminist critique of liberalism assumes that these instruments remain predominantly male and do not pay enough attention to how they disproportionately affect the lives of men and women. For example, existing economic inequalities are increased through the actions of a self-regulating free market, while macroeconomic indicators such as gross national product (GDP) ignores and fails to evaluate the contribution of women in the area of invisible and unpaid work (Tickner 2004) such as domestic work, care for the elderly and the children, or work as the supporting members of the household, which represents a reproduction of patriarchal patterns. Nevertheless, feminism shares a common language with liberalism, especially with regard to the centrality of the individual, as well as the role of international institutions in which liberalism sees the most important form of interstate cooperation and multilateral diplomacy, while liberal feminism sees in them the basis for the institutionalization

of feminist ideas. Namely, the most important steps in obtaining women's human rights were made through the institutionalization of feminist ideas in an international environment, which indicates that liberal feminism had the greatest practical achievements. One of the most important achievements of feminism, and its step away from liberalism, is the breaking of barriers between the public and private, most succinctly expressed in the slogan *the personal is political*. Through the erosion of a clean separation between these two dimensions of human existence, feminism has opened up a space for the participation of women in the public sphere. The experiential is given dignity to be spoken about, to step out from behind the curtain of patriarchy in which the dominion was structurally set up. Feminist authors in the area of international relations and security go one step further. Problematizing the political, i.e. its view from a feminist perspective, also means problematizing the international. If the personal is political, then it is also international. Cynthia Enloe, who extensively searched for a feminist meaning in international relations and international security, examines how the private sphere, which is reserved for women, is related to the political sphere (1989). Following the radical feminist thought that *personal = political*, she deduces that *personal = international*. She illustrates this attitude with UN parameters, which measure the position of women in UN member countries and rank them according to the HDI (Human Development Indicators[83]), as well as according to GEM (Gender Economic Empowerment[94]). While comparing the data, it is not difficult to notice that the most economically developed countries are among the first on the list of countries with developed gender development indicators. Zakaria (2004) explains the *regression* of Arab countries from the 70s to the present day through the process of re-traditionalization of their societies and

8   Human development indicators. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/

9   Gender Economic Empowerment. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/

the oppression of women. The author mentions the example of Iran where women had an active social role until the Islamic Revolution, speaks of the impossibility of real progress in Kuwait until women are given voting rights, talks about Saudi Arabia, where drivers are *imported* from the Philippines and Indonesia because women do not have the right to drive, and so on. For Zakaria, these examples are illustrative, seeing that the countries that oppose progress (in the way he defines progress toward democratization and the model of constitutional liberalism as a guarantee of rights and freedoms) are countries where retrogression is most reflected in ingrained, institutionalized misogyny. Zakaria concludes that where there are no rights and freedoms, there is no meritocracy either; as such there is no development and prosperity, and security issues are potentially multiplied.

Feminist theory of security

A view on feminist theory of security through some of the possible questions

Starting from different theoretical perspectives of observing the structure of the international system, theorists of international relations and international security searched for a paradigm that would provide answers to fundamental security issues of today, the threats and challenges we face in a global world, who the referent object of security is, and where do the key security risks and threats come from. In the first intellectual history of international security (Buzan & Hensen 2009), which also represents an attempt of systematization of the various theories within this sub-discipline of international relations, the authors systematize the theories based on the type of answers they provide to four key questions: Is the state the only object of reference? In addition to the external

threats, coming from the international level, should the internal, domestic threats also be added to the list of security threats? Does security interfere with other spheres, outside the military sector and the prism of power? Is security inextricably linked to the dynamics related to threats, danger and urgency? Systematization carried out through a set of four questions points to the theoretical and political issues that underlie various theoretical frameworks for the study of security. It also indicates that different paradigms share a single field of communication, which enables exchange and open theoretical debate in the framework of this sub-discipline of international relations. In this section of the essay, we explore how feminism is defined in relation to these questions.

Although many feminist authors dealt with security issues in international relations starting in the 1980's, the first comprehensive conceptual shaping of the feminist theory of security can be found in the work of Ann J. Tickner, *Gender in international relations* (Tickner 1992). Tickner highlights the necessity of relocating the object of reference from the state to the individual, taking into account the implications of gender. The use of the category of gender for the analysis of security issues became the assumption upon which rest the works of leading theorists of feminist security theory. Gender itself is a concept, the interpretation of which is significantly conditioned by the context which is the subject of the analysis, making it a complex term to understand. In the feminist theory of security, gender is used as an analytical concept in various ways. Gender may represent a causal variable that encourages states to act in order to achieve security, but it may also be used for the analysis of the effects of state action on its citizens (Caprioli & Boyer 2001, Carpenter 2005). Gender is also a constitutive category that defines the understanding of security of international entities. Since the principal feature of gender is that it is a socially constructed category, you could say that the way in which international entities understand and define security in turn defines the framework of gender. Some authors observe gender as a

set of discourses representing, constructing, altering, and affirming meaning (Connell 1995, Gibson-Graham 1994). Bearing in mind that gender is a socially constructed category, there is a necessity for observing security threats through the prism of gendered glasses (Peterson & Runyan 1999), i.e. determining how security issues affect the lives of women and men, and what constitutes a threat from that perspective. Seeing that in the current structure, countries provide their citizens with protection against security threats, feminists question the boundaries established by the state in defining the areas of protection as well as in defining security risks and threats. While violence in the public domain is recognized and sanctioned both by individual countries and by international institutions, violence occurring within the family and disproportionately affecting women more than men, is still neither legally sanctioned nor socially condemned in many countries. Also, practices detrimental to bodily integrity and security of women, such as female genital mutilation, honor killings, crimes related to dowry etc. still persist in a large part of our world. These are practices in which the misogynist weft is woven, and which represent threats from internal factors, clearly indicating the structurally disadvantaged position of women in the country itself, failing to protect all of its citizens in an appropriate and equal manner. In considering armed conflict, feminists are more focused on the consequences of the war, unlike the mainstream theorists of international security who focus on its causes. Feminists point out that women make up the largest percentage of civilian victims of war[10], and that they are disproportionally affected by wartime rape (Farwell 2004). This form of sexual violence has only recently been recognized as an instrument of war and a crime against humanity (UNSCR 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889). Enloe

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10 This fact is confirmed by the data from the *UN Human Development Report*, which indicates that in conflicts from the 1980s until today, the percentage of civilian victims of the armed conflict increased from 10% to 90%. Since women make up about 2% of the armed forces, it is assumed that they are make up a greater percentage of civilian victims, compared to men. (Tickner 1997:625).

(1993) described the social structures established in the vicinity of military bases, where women are kidnapped for sexual exploitation and with the purpose of selling their bodies to military personnel at the bases. Also known are the recent examples of mass rapes in conflict, in plain view of the United Nations peacekeeping forces[116], underscoring the need for gender mainstreaming of peacekeeping missions in order to provide adequate protection to the local population. Since the State should normatively provide security for all citizens, feminist authors ask whether security seen through the prism of military force, with a focus on the preservation of national security, has the capacity to identify and respond to the security needs of the population within its own borders. Since the state normatively needs to assure security for all its citizens, feminist authors pose the question of whether security, seen through the prism of military power with the focus of securing national safety, has the capacity of recognizing and meeting the security needs of its population within its borders. The request to place the individual and the community as the focal point of security interest was formed not only through the feminist prism of observation, but also through other theoretical approaches, and parallel to recognizing a change in the nature of security threats. Namely, in the last few decades, the nature of conflict and security threats has changed significantly. The risk of armed interstate, cross-border conflicts has progressively decreased, while at the same time the risk of other threats, internal or external, increased. Armed conflicts are often localized and manifested in the form of inter-ethnic conflict within the borders of a specific country, and have a high number of civilian casualties. Local internal conflicts carry a greater risk of exposure to structural violence, environmental destruction and destruction of ecological habitats. On the other hand, the dynamic expansion of information communication technologies also increases the exposure to

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11 Jeffrey Gettleman, *Mass Rapes in Congo Reveals U.N. Weakness*, 3.October 2010, New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/04/world/africa/04congo.html_r=1&pagewanted=all

cyber crime. This form of crime, associated with transnational organized criminal groups engaged in trafficking for sexual and/or labour exploitation, the movement of which is increasingly difficult to restrict in the world of open borders, particularly exposes to risk women who are in most cases the objects of pornography and sexual exploitation. Tickner points out that, in addition to the above, security risks and threats to which women are far more exposed, can also be found in the sphere of social and economic deprivation, as well as a greater exposure to ecological disasters. The data of international organizations (World Bank, UN Women, UNDP) empirically confirm this statement, showing the trend of feminization of poverty.[12] Thus defined security risks and threats indicate the necessity for an expansion of the concept of security so that it incorporates other sectors, such as the political, economic, social, and ecological. These are the domains which traditional approaches to security have dealt with only marginally, and only to the extent to which they affect the overall possibilities of strengthening the military forces of a country. Therefore, by displacing security threats from the exclusive domain of military force, feminist authors share the view of theorists of the critical approach to security on the need to expand the definition of security so that it includes the well-being of the individual and communities, the environment, and the possibility of structural intervention on multiple levels and in multiple dimensions. Multidimensionality and the observation of security risks through multiple levels imply a continuous intervention in altering the structurally unfavorable position of women, and reducing all forms of violence.

As such, feminist theory of security provides a significant contribution to the depth and breadth of the debate on security issues. In terms of adding to the depth of the debate, with regards to the reference object of security, feminist theory of security goes a step further than human security, which focuses on the individual,

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12   Feminization of poverty. Available at: http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/ femofpov.pdf

stating that the individual must be viewed through a closer defini-
tion, i.e., through the prism of gender. The main criticism of the fe-
minist approach in terms of this definition is that half of humanity
cannot make up a compact and homogeneous whole, or a category
for analysis. Such a simplification of reality would bring signifi-
cant limitations in terms of various characteristics of certain groups
of women, eliminating their other identities and affiliations. The
widening of the debate relates to sectors other than the military,
as well as to the internal and transnational threats. Feminist the-
ory, like critical studies, considers it necessary to observe security
issues beyond the military sector. It highlights the ecological, the
economic, the political, the social, and any combination of these
sectors when it comes to the structurally disadvantageous position
of women.

Prominent themes in feminist reflections on security

Various authors have attempted to systematize the feminist the-
oretical thought based on the issues and topics which it within the
scope of international security studies. Blanchard (2003: 1290) ar-
gues that feminist theory has enriched and expanded the concept
of security in at least four ways. First of all, feminist theorists of
international relations have revealed the absence of women in this
discipline, as well as in the study of international security. Second
of all, feminist theorists of international security have opened the
question of the extent to which the state takes responsibility to
protect women in times of peace and armed conflict. Third of all,
they posed the question regarding the relations between women
and peace, which was covered in an extensive theoretical debate.
Fourth, they introduced reviewing the concept of masculinity, or
manhood, as the underlying concept of gender security practices.
A somewhat different classification was offered by Smith (Smith
2012), who believes that there are four main pervasive threads in
the feminist study of security. In the first group of female authors

he places Cohn, Cooke, and Woollacott and their works on exposing the masculinized nature of the language used in the strategic discourses. In the second group, engaged in a critique of gender constructs of conventional profiles of men and women within the security discourse, depicting men as j*ust warriors* and women as *gentle souls*, Smith includes Elshtain and Hartsock. He places Enloe in the third category, which deals with the presence and absence of women in the international security. Finally, in the fourth group he places works dealing with the internal connections between education, peace studies and feminism.

Undoubtedly a significant breakthrough into security studies by feminist theorists was madeby asking the illustrative question, "Where are the women?" (Enloe 1889), which initiated a whole series of empirically based works based on the presence and absence of women in decision-making positions, and the ways in which decisions, made without the presence of women, have an impact on the lives of women. Nearly all feminist authors have dealt with this issue, pointing to the existence of power relations based on a gender model that traditionally keeps women away from the *high* spheres of science and politics. The objectivity and universality of the measures, decisions, and knowledge produced in areas where there is no representation of both sexes are problematized. The works of these theorists have focused on uncovering the experiences of women and their narratives in order to escape the position of *invisibility* in the field of issues of international significance. Narratives as a source of knowledge imply departure from the base, bottom-up. Tickner, renowned for the epistemology of experiential narratives, directed her research efforts at highlighting the importance of women's experiences in reflections on international security (Tickner 2005). She argues that such an approach demands the use of an *ethnographic style of individually oriented story-telling typical of anthropology* (Tickner 1997: 615), or the use of *hermeneutic or interpretive methodology* which opens the space for subjects to document their experiences at their own discretion (Tickner 2005: 19). In domestic

literature, the most common are essays that indicate the presence and absence of women in positions of power, as well as in traditional security structures, the army and the police (Šaranović 2010).

The debate on the nature of the connection between women and peace has occupied considerable space ever since women began to seek their own place within security studies. Namely, the feminist theorists' indication that the absence of women in the areas of foreign political activity, as well as in theoretical debates about international relations and security, inevitably creates a void because of the lack of women's perspective on these issues was interpreted in various ways. Fukuyama (1998) states that the biological differences between men and women also imply differences in the psychological structure of gender. If these differences were only social constructs, surpassing them would be much easier. From this premise, the author offers a number of conclusions regarding the differences in actions of men and women in positions of power, implying that the countries run by women tend to weaken, become complacent and therefore less prepared to stand up to belligerent, aggressive leaders like Mobutu, Milošević or Saddam (Fukuyama 1998:36). Feminist authors, such as Ehrenreich & Pollitt (1999), suggest that the basis of such views is an essentialist view of women and men through dichotomies such as rational-emotional, aggressor-victim, active-passive, hard power-soft power, stern-suggestive, and so on, where the first term is always associated with the ideal type of *masculinity* and the second with the ideal of *femininity*. Harding (1986: 17-8) explains that gender mainstreamed social life is created through three separate processes: gender symbolism, gender structure and individual gender. In other words, gender mainstreamed social life is built by assigning dual gender metaphors for various dichotomies, after which we refer to thus constructed dualisms when building social activities, inevitably leading us to the division of social activities among different groups of people based on gender. Through discourse analysis, Elshtain (1987) recognizes the archetypal roles associated with women and men in matters of war and peace. The

role of the *just warrior* is awarded to men, while the role of the *gentle soul* is intended for women. This division of roles is based on gender stereotypes and desirable models of masculinity and femininity. Women are therefore directly connected with peace, while war is a product of male power- games. Tickner (1999:4) argues that such a view of the relations between women and peace is not only harmful to women, because it leaves them outside the domain of raw power, but it also harms the very concept of peace, which *remains a 'soft' topic, utopian and unrealistic as long as it is associated with femininity and passivity.*

Conclusion

Linear or spiral: does feminism have a future?

From the perspective of institutional achievements with regards to introducing the gender approach, it can be argued that *feminists are walking the halls of power*[13]. The greatest advances in the institutionalization of feminist ideas have been achieved in establishing institutional mechanisms for gender equality and in terms of integrating the gender perspective into international legal instruments[14]. For nearly six decades, the United Nations have been promoting the establishment and institutionalization of mechanisms for gender equality. As early as 1962, the UN Commission on the Status of Women had identified the values for the appointment of national commissions on the status of women who would be, as stipulated

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13   Hally in *Split decision* 'in Zalewski (2010).

14   Thus gender equality became an unavoidable issue on the agenda of international organisations, such as the World Bank, the UN, and especially the UNPD under the auspices of which UNIFEM was created (becomes UN Women as a result of the changed gender structure of the UN), but also on the agenda of development agencies of some countries (CIDA, SIDA, GTZ, etc.)

by the UN, *one or more bodies organized in a system that functions within the various state bodies recognized by the government as an institution dealing with the improvement of the status of women*.[15] At the UN international conference in Mexico City in 1975, the idea of *national mechanisms* (a term widely used to designate bodies for the advancement of the status of women) was conceptualized and, by 1998, implemented in more than 100 countries throughout the world (True & Mintrom 2001). Gender-aware policy (gender mainstreaming) became an indispensable part of the policy planning process in international organizations, from the United Nations, to the Council of Europe, to the European Union, all of which impose international obligations on their member states through their international legal and political frameworks. Since the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, through multiple resolutions, declarations, recommendations, and EU directives, we can reasonably claim that gender equality has become a priority on the political agenda of international institutions, and that the dimension of the personal gained a confirmation for the dignity of the international. There was also significant progress in integrating gender perspectives in the field of security, as illustrated by the UN Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, as well as DEVAW[16]. These documents offer a view of security issues different from the realist vision of the state as the primary entity at the center of security challenges. These legal acts place the focus on individuals, especially women, as a category targeted by strategic war maneuvers (1820 recognizes rape as a war crime, while 1325 emphasizes the role of women in peacekeeping and diplomatic missions). DEVAW recognizes that violence against women has three important levels which must be acted upon to be prevented and suppressed: the personal/partner relationship, the

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15 Institutional mechanisms for achievement of gender equality, OSCE, Belgrade, 2005

16 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women - DEVAW) - UN General Assembly Resolution 48/104, adopted 20th December 1993.

level of the community which reproduces traditional practices unfavorable to women (e.g., genital mutilation and the like), and level of the state as the system which can reproduce the patriarchal models.

Vivien Jabri defines three dimensions of the modern international: 1.) the modern state and the modern concept of sovereignty; 2.) the neo-liberal international political economy, and 3.) modern subjectivity, formed through modern institutions and power relations. Analyzing the role of feminist ideas in the three dimensions of the modern international, she recognizes feminism as a discourse and an institutional practice that is inherent in the institutions of modernity that act as an agent of transformation and the introduction of hegemonic practices stemming from international institutions.[17] Therefore, far from being on the margin, feminism becomes a mainstream current through the institutions of modernity; from exposing hegemonic practices unfavorable for women, feminism itself becomes a hegemonic practice established through the action of international institutions.

In the case of international politics, feminism imposes its two complementary dimensions of being: as a political project, action, or movement for shifting the boundaries in achieving women's rights, and as a theoretical thought, and one of the possible paradigms. The question of the primary nature of feminism—action or thought—is inextricably connected with the question of its further development. If feminism is essentially an emancipatory project then, as such, it has its natural course of life and strives toward an end, i.e. towards achieving its emancipatory function and its completion. Therefore, the question of the development of feminism can be phrased in the following way: does feminism imply a linear development towards an end, or is there a possibility of perceiving it as spiral continuity? Jaqui True (2003) concludes that gender as a mainstreaming project has an open character and transformative potential, and that it depends on what the scientists, activists and policy makers will make of it. In a historical perspective, we can

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17   Vivienne Jabri in Zalewski *et al* 2008:167.

recognize the transformative potential in the challenges that feminism has put before itself, facing the possibility of self-destruction. As an illustration, we can take the view of African-American feminism on the *Western woman's* feminism. In this sense, feminism has demonstrated the ability of self-criticism, insight and reflection into its own limitations, as well as the potential for identifying new boundaries of equality. The question of whether feminism, through its development thus far, had created sufficiently inclusive tools that can be applied to recognize the positions and needs of the new Others, or whether its basic ideas collapse when faced with the challenge of new differences, remains to be answered.

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THE FORGOTTEN DIMENSION
OF BH WAR – WOMEN SOLDIERS

Abstract

The war period caused various forms of violence against women, and in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina the re-examination of the role and status of women from the perspective of gender equality has been greatly emphasized. It is quite obvious that topics discussed nowadays on the issue of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina completely omit a category of women who unselfishly contributed in many ways during wartime.

This paper is dedicated to women who contributed in times of war, and showed immense courage during that period. These are the heroines who voluntarily joined the army for the defence of their families, towns, cities and their country. Nowadays, the contribution of these women is rarely talked about in the public. Little is said of the role that women had to play in defending the country, and of their importance in the renewal of a post-war society. In the media, one rarely hears information about women who became independent, strong and combative during those times. Little attention is given to women who undertook action as independent participants. This paper will present a completely different perspective that women had in the period of 1992-1995, and elaborate on ways in which women of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially female soldiers, contributed to the preservation of security in wartime and in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus we will show that the notion of security and the notion of the soldier do not belong to *men exclusively*.

Key words: war, armed forces, female soldiers, gender and security, heroines, peace activism

Gender and security

The notion of a soldier is traditionally tied to men going off to war to protect their countries, their families and their wives. In times of war, women are usually perceived exclusively as victims, individuals who need protection and for whom the men go out to fight. Men and women occupy different positions, and thus participate differently in armies and wars. It is important to emphasize this aspect tied to warfare, because of the common understanding of men as warriors and women as victims in all spheres of the society. Viewing women exclusively as victims can have negative consequences for women themselves, as well as for their engagement in wars, after wars, and during the rebuilding of their countries. *The image depicting women as victims has serious consequences on the public awareness of war. This prevents the acknowledgement of unique solutions that could be proposed by women.* (Simić, 2010) Therefore, we can say that gender roles change during times of war, and that conflicts encourage women to engage in various types of activities. When examining the link between gender and security, most theoreticians agree that the entry of women into security services is a precondition for achieving equal citizenship rights.

Women's Peace Activism

Throughout the former Yugoslavia, a large number of women and women's organizations were active in the fight against war and the flaring up of nationalism. Various women's organizations and female peace activists from all the republics acted together, and openly defied the wave of violence and nationalism that swept through the area in the beginning of the 1990's. The first peace initiatives, at the beginning of 1991, were initiated by women. The organization

Women in Black from Serbia, and the women's group *Silence Kills, Speak for Peace* from Ljubljana, organized candle-lighting ceremonies each evening in many Slovenian cities, in one of the main squares in Ljubljana, and even in Belgrade. This was one form of public protest against the war. *Women in Black* publicly stepped forward and spoke about their responsibility for the war as part of Serbia's collective responsibility. They also organized collective centres for women and children coming from war-affected territories. In Croatia, women's organizations organized an *Anti-War Campaign* in 1991. The first anti-war activities were organized in the Ban Jelačić Square and on Tkalčićeva Street in Zagreb. In May 1992, the *Centre for Peace, Non-Violence, and Human Rights* opened in Osijek. In 1992, when refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina began arriving in Croatia, women's organizations came together on a voluntary basis in order to provide aid to war victims. Some of these organizations included *Sunflower, Centre for Women Victims of War and B.a.B.e. – Women's Human Rights Group. ZaMir* – an electronic network in Zagreb, Pakrac, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Priština, through which women activists cooperated, was founded in 1993. At the beginning of the war, there was no organized engagement of women's groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, at the peace demonstrations held in Sarajevo on April 5th, 1992, the first victims of war were women. One of these women was a student at the Faculty of Medicine, Suada Dilberović, while the other was Olga Sučić. This goes to show that, in the worst of moments, women were truly determined to defy any type of hatred and violence. One of the first women's organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the women's therapy centre *Medica-centar* in Zenica, which was founded in 1993 in order to provide aid to women and children who were victims of rape and war. This organization is one of many examples of the joint effort of women regardless of their nationality, employing Bosniak, Croat, and Serb women. During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women had a significant role in maintaining cultural life. It is also worth noting that women's groups from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia initiated the first

women's peace exchanges and talks in Zagreb and Geneva in 1993. During that period, extremist circles treated such activities as traitorous because an association of countries of the former Yugoslavia did not suit the nationalistic ideology of the time, and what especially bothered them was that these women knew no national barriers, and fought only for peace and against war and violence. The basic aim of these women was to stop the war and violence, and to establish peace and good neighbourly relations. The activities of these women were directed towards defying war and nationalism, and their breaking of national barriers was especially significant. They would not allow anyone to manipulate their lives.

Furthermore, a large number of women have been active since the war, which is indicative of the efforts of women to solve postwar problems, such as aiding women war victims, the processing of war criminals, providing aid to refugees and displaced persons, and inviting the belligerent sides to engage in dialogue. Women's nongovernmental organizations put great efforts into rebuilding postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they achieved significant results. Of these results, it is highly notable that they managed to have crimes of sexual abuse treated as war crimes by putting pressure on the International Crime Tribunal in The Hague. These examples indicate that, at the beginning of the 1990's, and also after the war, women were truly active in preserving peace and security. Aside from these examples, it is necessary to emphasize the example of women who actively participated in the defence of their country in the period of 1992-1995.

Unknown heroines

By way of comparative analysis, we will present the experience of women who were engaged in the military during wartime in the

capital of Sarajevo. For the purpose of this research the method of the interview was used. Two target groups were interrogated by this method: the female soldiers who were demobilized after the war, and those who continued their professional engagement in the military. When it comes to the interviewing of demobilized female soldiers, due to the extent and the complexity of the issue, the scope of research was narrowed, and the case study focused exclusively on Sarajevo. Interviews with women who continued their professional involvement with the military were done exclusively with members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The method of the interview with the soldiers was used to approach the target group individually in order to obtain detailed information on the participation of women in the armed forces during the war, and on their contribution. The examples given by these female soldiers, indicate the extent of their participation and contribution during the war, but also of their involvement in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. The interviews conducted with female soldiers employed at the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina are anonymous, as per the Ministry's request. In order to protect their identities, pseudonyms are used for all individuals who were interviewed. Interviews conducted with demobilized female soldiers who provided their consent are not anonymous. Questions asked during the interviews relate to the experiences and contributions of female soldiers during the war. All of the female soldiers interviewed reacted positively to this research. One of the respondents, who currently holds the rank of Major, said she *is glad that someone thought of the women in the army*. The interviewees emphasized a great need to affirm themselves in our society because they generally believe to have been neglected in the public opinion. The narratives of female soldiers during the war and their motivation to join the armed forces demonstrate that women, during the war, managed to enter a sphere reserved exclusively for men, and played an active role in their country's defence. Sabaheta Ćutuk, who was 28 when war broke out and employed as a graduate engineer in agriculture, said:

First of all, I did not believe that the war was going to happen. However, following the events in Pofalići, we simply, as a family, decided that we were all going to have to make our contribution to the defence, as much as we could. That was the reason why I decided to join the army.

Most of the women interviewed noted the need to make a contribution during the war, in one way or the other, as their main motivation to join the army. These women refused to accept a passive role and decided to actively participate in the defence. They believed that their character and expertise could make a significant contribution. In relation to this, Azra, who was 23 at the beginning of the war, and a third year student at the Faculty of Traffic and Communication says:

At the time when the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina began, like most girls, I was lost. I did not know what was going on. When I saw that I was helpless as an individual and was not part of something greater, I decided to join the Armed Forces. At that moment, I wanted to provide any form of contribution I could. I simply wanted to feel useful. I believed that I was obliged to help in any way, even if it was only by preparing food.

Many interviewees also noted that patriotism and love for their homeland were reasons why they joined the army. Alma Hadžić, who was only 16 at the beginning of the war, said:

What drove me to join the army was the love for my homeland and the defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One of the interviewees explained how she felt as a mother who was leaving her children behind to go to the battlefront:

There are times that traumatize you, and there are times when

you have to deal with the trauma. We all have certain theories applicable to certain ideal times. Now, if someone told me, in ideal circumstances that I would have to leave my three and a half year old child behind and go to war, I would have said that was out of the question. However, when you are faced with a situation in which you have to defend you existence, when you are primarily defending your life, then there is no dilemma. It was difficult, especially because my husband was also in the army at the time. I left my child with my parents, which meant that my child grew-up with their grandparents and I only showed up from time to time. This probably also had consequences on my child's development. However, when I realized that I was just one of 200,000 individuals leaving their children like that, then I believed that I had no right to consider my problems as any more important than the problems of other people.

Their experiences shed light on the various roles of women during the war. They fought for the survival of their families. Most of the women were engaged as volunteers in order to serve their communities. During the war, they were required to be the keepers of *normal* life, i.e. to try and preserve a normal ways of life, to the extent to which this was possible. They provided strength, faith, and hope for survival. All of these examples demonstrate that, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women actively participated in the defence of the country. Moreover, this was a process they were engaged in from the beginning of the aggression. However, in research and reports published by both foreign and domestic researchers and journalists, we mostly get to read about women as victims, while women as soldiers are rarely mentioned. Female soldiers are not treated as a socially significant research topic. All the heroic stories concerning the defence of the country are tied mostly to *men's stories.*

The role of female soldiers in the war

This research presents examples of brave women who joined the armed forces and the defence of their country at the outbreak of war, and who have been completely neglected in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. All of the respondents confirmed that women who participated in the war have been completely disregarded by the state, the society and the media. Naida confirms this assertion:

This is not only about female soldiers. Why doesn't anyone mention female medical workers, who bore such a heavy burden during the war? No one mentions the women, mothers, and wives who stood in lines for bread and water, and died trying to help their families survive. I believe that there is a lot of room for improvement. I may be wrong, but I have not seen one book written about women heroines, and there were certainly many of them in the three and a half years of aggression. So much has been written about men, but there is nothing about these women. It's like they never existed. This is a shame.

This confirms that the stories of female soldiers who fought for this country are still left untold, even 17 years after the war. According to the records of the Patriotic League of B&H, at the end of 1995 there were 5,360 female soldiers in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women played a very important role in the defence of the city and the country:

I can freely say that tasks were awarded to them with great confidence, and that they performed them responsibly, sometimes even more responsibly than men. Proof of this is not only visible in the many rewards, but also in the lives they gave to defend this country. (Ajnadžić, 2010)

From the interviews, we can see that female soldiers' main

motivation was to defend their neighbourhoods and families and to preserve security. As they point out, they wanted to provide a contribution to restoring peace and normal life of the pre-war period. They felt rebellious and had a need to take part in the defence of the city. They fought for peace and the restoration of a multi-cultural environment which Sarajevo represented prior to the war. The immense life changes brought upon by the war motivated many women to act in various dangerous situations in order to protect their lives, the lives of their families, and the city's survival. One interviewee, Naida, had this to say about the contribution of women during the war:

Women bore the greatest burden during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women who stayed home with their children were obligated to find food and water. In besieged Sarajevo, it was not easy to find wood to heat an apartment or a house. There were also women who waited for their husbands to return from the battlefield. These women had to make sure they had water for bathing, and sufficient food. They carried the burden of taking care of their families alone. The men were under a unique type of stress, given that they were on the front line and exposed to constant peril. However, their exposure was not any less perilous than that of ordinary civilians fighting for the survival of their family. Women soldiers had a double burden. They left their children at home and went to the front line, while at the same time thinking about the existential needs of their families. There were women who were soldiers, women who continued to work at various companies, women medical workers…I don't know whether I, as a woman soldier, would be able to differentiate between myself and a woman doctor, or a nurse, who performed very difficult tasks.

These statements confirm that women made incredibly valuable contributions during the war. They played a variety of roles, without

which the fight for survival would not have been possible. During the war they proved to be strong and fierce, and ready to take action as independent participants. The many roles they played – housekeepers, mothers, wives, and soldiers – demonstrate the willingness and ability of women to adapt to various situations. One of the interviewees said that the participation of women in the army during the war also had a moral dimension:

> *Something changes in the psyche of men, they become more careful and braver. They view the women as a form of support. On the other hand, they also want to prove that they are not weak, or that they are brave and strong. When men see a young girl among them who is not afraid, and who displays extraordinary courage, they themselves become more courageous. They would not want to appear weak compared to a girl.*

Demobilization of female soldiers

Despite all the contributions women made and the challenges they faced during the war, their contributions were neither recognized nor acknowledged by the post-war society. The media report daily about the difficult position of demobilized war veterans, but they are always men. One cannot help but wonder what has happened to demobilized female veterans. The interviews presented in this paper demonstrate that stories about war heroes are not exclusively linked to men, and that a significant number of women also participated in the defence of the country. If such examples had greater publicity, women in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina would certainly hold a more significant role in public life than the one they hold today. The post-war period has led to the homogenization of ethnic groups and a return to traditional patriarchal models of life, both of

which have impaired the position of women. Although women were actively involved in their country's defence, their war efforts are not even mentioned. Women were excluded from the peace negotiations that ended the war, and this situation has remained unchanged during the rebuilding of our post-war society: During the war, women were generally celebrated as *the keepers of the house and family* as the *victims and heroines.* However, after the war, the old theories of women belonging in the house resurfaced. When the war ended, and the *heads of the house* returned, women were pushed back into the family sphere. Their previous contributions were entirely marginalized and neglected. Female soldiers were forced to return to their traditional roles, often against their will. This sent out a clear message to women that they were no longer needed in the military profession and should seek their place elsewhere. The interviewed female soldiers who were demobilized, suffered a great injustice. No one thought of their needs and they were given no help with their social and economic reintegration into society. One interviewee, Azra, thinks that demobilization is a very complicated issue:

> *Personally, I am not satisfied. Many women were let go in the post-war period. I am sorry that so many had to leave the service. Only a few of us managed to remain in the army after the war. Now, out of approximately 10,000 soldiers in the Armed Forced of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 508 women are in the army. This means that women account for 5.7%, while they were represented at a much higher level during the war.*

The example which best demonstrates the extent to which gender was completely neglected both during and after the war, is the fact that women were first to be discharged in the demobilization process. Had the importance of a female presence been acknowledged in that period, it would have resulted in a larger percentage of women remaining in the army. Today, we would have a larger number of professionally active women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia

and Herzegovina. Gender was treated as a critical aspect only after the defence reform. Sabaheta Ćutuk offered her thoughts about the demobilization process:

> *I can tell you that my women war colleagues were left to take care of themselves after demobilization. One or two of them remained soldiers because it was simply something they loved. However, most of them basically continued with their lives where they had stopped in 1992. I don't think that any of them had the support of society in order to continue with their lives as a result of their enrolment in the army. They were simply left to take care of themselves, like most demobilized war veterans who defended and succeeded in defending the city and this country. They tried, as best as they could, to manage and to make a fair living from their work.*

Naida believes that the demobilization process represents something very negative for this country:

> *Look, you have three and a half years of active duty in the armed forces, no matter their name and then the demobilization process and inclusion into civil life comes. The very first demobilized persons were women. That was, I would not only say painful, because it was certainly painful, but also, in a way, very impolite. During the war, men and women bore a burden in the army equally. No one made any distinctions based on gender. But when it came to female soldiers after the war, they were approached in a very impolite manner. The army said 'thank you very much, now we need to keep the male soldiers.' I find this very wrong.*

Naida, who remained active in the military following the war, confirms that the issue of gender equality gained importance in the army only after the defence reform.

At that moment, when we began the demobilization of women, no one bothered with statistics, or gender equality, or the fact that a significant segment of the female soldiers, according to their qualifications and courage displayed during the war, should be kept in the military. They had justified their presence in this institution during the three and a half years of war. Many things were decided too quickly. That was representative of a traditional mentality, which is no different in the United States of America, China, Japan, or the Balkans. Men have an undisputed right to work, while women are placed on a lower level. That is essentially what happened. In short, during the demobilization process, all the men with any qualities meriting their stay in the military were kept, while only a very small number of women survived.

These quotes confirm that no thought was given to the percentage of women in the armed forces in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, for if it had been, today there would be 10%, if not more, female soldiers in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, given their representation during the war. Unfortunately, after wars, women often lose the status achieved during violent conflict, and are rarely present at peace negotiations and in the rebuilding of war-torn societies. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina shows that women were not given a seat at the table when the end of the war was negotiated.

During the thousands of hours spent at the tables discussing and, at least we thought, deciding the fate of Bosnia, Bosnian women were systematically and consistently absent – whether the meetings were organized by Balkan officials or leaders of the "international community." (Hunt, 2001:Prolog XIX)

Considering the various experiences of women during the war, women should surely have had an important place in the drafting of proposals and solutions that led to peace. However, practice shows

that women are mainly excluded from the reconstruction of post-war societies, and that peace negotiations are led exclusively by men.

If men in power continue to look at women primarily as victims, war widows, or mothers of heroes, there is little room for post-conflict social changes. (Simić, 2010)

After the war, women did not participate in the rebuilding of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the vital role women could have played in the stabilization of society was neglected. If women managed to preserve their families and communities during the harsh days of war, why would they not be able to reconstruct their communities in times of peace? The fact that the role of women as soldiers during the war is not emphasized could be related to the traditional image of women. The image of a woman soldier is contradictory to the traditional image of a woman from this part of the world. During the war, women participate in new activities and take on new roles, often also taking on greater responsibilities. Despite such changes, women are often marginalized during the establishment of peace after conflicts. The peace process in our country took place without the participation of women, and women are still marginalized and fighting for their basic rights. The history of armed conflicts is not only characterized by the horrors of war, but also by the stories of women and their courage and endurance. During and after the war, given that the male population is greatly diminished, women become the main feeders of their torn families. They are the individuals who continue to sustain families and societies.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, adopted in 2000, acknowledged the enormous role of women in peace processes following wars. By engaging women in peace negotiations, peace operations, and the reconstruction and efforts towards reconciliation after conflicts, we can work towards resolving women's priorities and needs. Despite proposals to include women in peace processes and the rebuilding

of post-conflict societies, in practice, the situation is nowhere near the desired expectations. Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not included in the peace negotiations that ended the war in our country, and their exclusion continues in post-war society.

The Dayton Peace Negotiation was the dialogue of men, often with the use of militaristic rhetoric. No woman was present at the negotiation table. (Lithander, 2000: 20)

This confirms the thesis of the absence of female subjectivity in the reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The political subjectivity of women was never realistically defined, although there was and is a need for it. The consequence of inadequate engagement of women in *state matters* is a result of patriarchal ideology. Furthermore, wars in which women are represented only as victims, and not as bearers of the great burden of war, or keepers of security, exclude their participation and the solutions that could be proposed by women in the creation of a post-conflict society. We said that the Resolution 1325 is the first resolution addressing issues of peace and security with a focus on the experiences of women and connecting their war experiences with the reconstruction of post-conflict societies. Through the adoption of this Resolution, the UN Security Council confirmed the important role of women in creating and sustaining peace and security in the world. A large number of intrastate conflicts where civilians, women, and children were the main targets, placed the focus on issues concerning gender roles in the resolution of conflicts and the preservation of peace. All the signatories of this Resolution take upon themselves the obligation to integrate gender perspectives at all levels of state that are important for the resolution of conflicts and building of peace. Various women's organizations played a significant role in the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have demonstrated that a large number of women and women's organizations acted in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the struggle

against the war and the increase of nationalist-based violence. Also, using the examples of notable NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, this paper has illustrated the efforts of women in resolving post-war problems, such as aiding women victims of the war, the processing of war criminals, aiding refugees and displaced persons, and inviting the belligerent sides to engage in dialogue. Women's NGOs have invested great efforts in the rebuilding of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they have achieved significant results. One of the most significant results was success in pressing for crimes of sexual abuse to be treated as crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague.

Conclusion

This paper has indicated the invaluable contributions of women made during the war in the preservation of their families and security. However, it is a devastating fact that in our society no one has undertaken comprehensive research about female heroines who participated in the defence of our country, although the need for such a research is obvious. This would be one way of documenting the important role that women played during the war in our country. The modern status of memory and history is an issue of the general public policy. The role of the media is very important in the creation of a memorial culture. Bosnian and Herzegovinian society did not acknowledge the memories of war experiences of women soldiers in a way they deserved. Their stories have been neglected or, we could say, even deleted, which is ethically and socially disturbing and unacceptable. Society should work towards breaking the silence about the unknown women who gave their contribution for the defence of the country, otherwise historical records about this segment will vanish. This would be one of the ways to acknowledge the war

contributions of women, and a possible starting point for greater inclusion of female subjectivity in the reconstruction of post-war societies. The specific memories of women, and their perceptions of war, can provide constructive opinions in peace-building efforts. The research conducted for this paper demonstrates and proves the ability of women to undertake various activities at the beginning of the war, during the war, and in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the examples of women's activities, which include women's anti-war movements prior to the war, their involvement in the armed forces during the war, and the participation of women in the reconstruction of a post-war society, it is clear that women were, and still are, a part of the public sphere. They have acted in this domain in the past, and continue to do so in a highly constructive manner. This goes to show that issues of security are inseparable from female subjectivity. Conflicts force women to take on a more active role in the society, but after the war women return, often against their will, to their traditional roles. The interviews conducted for this paper demonstrate that women have independently engaged in the defence of their security and the security of their surroundings. This implies a strong link between gender and security. This paper clearly shows examples of women who have, in various ways, taken on an active role during the war, in the reconstruction of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the preservation of security. The experiences of female soldiers during the war show that aspects of gender were not adequately considered and that such practices continued after the war, including the defence reform which was successfully carried out in 2008. This error is one of the main reasons why there is currently such a small percentage of professionally active women in the army, whilst this percentage was much higher during the war. This is also an illustrative example of how the participation of women in the reconstruction of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina was ignored. Our society needs to acknowledge the ability of women to act in important times. Their experiences from the war, as well as their work in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina,

can benefit the reconstruction of the country's post-war society, and lead to their affirmation. The vital role that women can have in the stabilization of the society needs to be noticed. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 confirms the significant role women can play in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. Thus, the importance and the role of women in matters of state is affirmed, and also in the armed forces where matters of security are at stake. It is important to acknowledge the important role of women in the creation of post-conflict societies. In practice, the creation of post-conflict societies yields positive results if women actively participate in the process. The reconstruction of post-war societies certainly yields better results if gender perspectives are taken into account during the first phase of the peace process, since it ensures a fuller participation of women after the conflict, and a larger contribution in the resolution of conflicts.

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Women's Peace Activism and Its Impact on Peace and Security

Abstract

The discussion on gender, peace, and security begins from the inclusion of women in violent, male defined structures (such as the police and the military). The paper discusses masculine and feminine ways of thinking about the said issue and women's peace activism, which contributes to creating a fairer, non-violent society. The aim of this paper is also to show the necessity of approaching this discussion from another point of view – that of non-violent action which takes place within the civil society, the view of prevention of any form of violence, rather than the suppression of violence in its escalation by equally violent methods. In this respect, we believe it is necessary to include the institutions of civil society in the dialogue about peace, gender, and security, and in the very process of decision-making.

Key words: gender, peace, security, peace activism, feminism

Viewing Peace and Security
Through a Masculine Lens

Peace studies were verified as a scientific discipline in the 1950s, though the history of the field itself runs much farther back in time. During that time various centres, institutes, and magazines were established aiming to answer the questions that had arisen from the Cold War. While the Cold War eventually ended, peace studies did not. It continued to grow as an interdisciplinary field of research, constantly expanding to encompass international problems. However, the very core of this scientific discipline is based on typically masculine canons which are, at their roots, deeply patriarchal, essentialist-based, politically exclusive, and viewed as a product of male geniuses, where male is considered to be synonymous with what is objective and scientific. In her description of the essence of canons, Dubravka Đurić (2003) states the following:

> *Historically, there has never existed only one canon. From the perspective of history of art and literature, there are competing canons. Canon, as a structure, presupposes the conviction that there is a naturally found, universally valuable, and individual achievement, which justifies selective and privileged membership in the canon. However, the canon does not recognize the existence of any selectivity. In culture, the canon is described as a spontaneous recording of autonomous, unique geniuses. (p. 43).*

Feminist critiques of the orthodox system of knowledge question the procedural canonical knowledge by showing that its very claim of neutral and objective value is in fact, gendered. In the name of the imperative of scientific objectivity, the subjective voice is ignored, and subjective experience has not been found worthy of rational discussions in academic circles. By switching the focus on the subjective voice, and subjective experience, intellectual

interests become humanized. In considering the issue of feminist epistemology, Helen Longino (2004) raises a fundamental question:

> *Are there conceptions of knowledge, which prevent sexist moves? Are there notions of justification, which show why the representations of gender in natural, social, and behavioural sciences seemed right, and yet they were not? How did knowledge assume gender, and can it be freed from it? How must we rethink the concepts of truth, intelligence, objectivity, certainty, etc. in order to free them from the stain of masculinity? It is a very sensitive task. (409).*

With this concept in mind, it is appropriate to ask if we are able to free peace studies from a masculine lens and establish a new, gender-sensitive (or even a feminist) peace and security studies paradigm. It seems that this break from masculine orthodoxy has already happened as feminist theory has impacted the development and refinement of peace studies and the problems it seeks to analyze. Traditional debates on security focused on the differences between war and peace, and regularly started from reviewing states' military power. This view of security was based on three basic presumptions: 1) belief that the state is responsible for security; 2) security policy was turned toward the preservation of existing condition; 3) military threats demanded a more efficient military defence, which was the primary interest (Bilandžić i Mikulić, 2007. p. 28).

The issue of peace has been a focal point in numerous fields of research since the earliest times. However, it was not until the founding of the UN that the modern concept of peace was established as a theoretical and a political term. The UN Charter identified preservation of peace and international security among the main tasks of the organization. Although the Charter does not define peace concretely, it is still clearly acknowledged as one of the highest values we should aspire to preserve. (Article 1, paragraph 1). Striving to preserve peace and security may also be interpreted as maintaining

the *status quo*. For the purpose of preserving these imperative valu-es, the use of force is allowed, i.e. preventive or coercive measures. (The Charter of the United Nations, Articles 39–50).

Within the traditional concept of peace, the UN missions were initially limited to peacekeeping, and over time gradually expanded to establishing peace (*peacemaking*), peace-building, making peace (*peacemaking*), and developing peace within a society after the occu-rrence of violence (*post conflict building*). The decade of the 1990s demonstrated the need to redefine the concept of security in a way that would reflect a certain level of symbiosis with developmental and humanitarian interests. When defining a new, broader concept of security, great attention was paid to *humanitarian, social, econo-mic, and ecological dimensions of security, with an emphasis on the im-portance of protection of human rights, and the promotion of democracy.* (Matić i Mikac, 2010, p. 55). According to most authors, the new definition of security emerged together with the concept of a new UN peace policy, designed by Boutros Ghali in 1992, in a report entitled *An Agenda for Peace*. This report emphasized the *social and economic determinants of violence, and included in the security agen-da the problems of economic collapse, and poverty, political repression, devastation of natural resources, overpopulation, ethnic and religious conflicts, forced migrations, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism.* (2010, p. 55). Therefore the new concept of security no longer focused exclusively on the state and the preservation of its sovereignty, but turned to issues of human rights and freedoms, thus shifting the focus from the state to the individual. The concept of threats to security also expanded, and in the 1994 Report on Human Development these threats were grouped into seven spe-cific areas: economic security, food security, health security, envi-ronmental security, personal security, community security, and po-litical security.

In the expanded definition of security, a special place belongs to the protection of people – their life, health, economic and social welfare, and their basic human rights, and freedoms. Gradually, the

idea of human security supplanted the traditional understanding of national and global security, and shifted the emphasis from territorial security to security through human development. The foundations of that paradigm contain the understanding that a key reference of security should be an individual, not the state, which in the last two decades, led to a significant change in thinking about the relationship between the state sovereignty, and human rights. (2010, p. 55 – 56).

However, the new approach to security caused certain confusion, as it was expanded to several areas. Attempts to narrow and concretize the new definition emerged at the beginning of the new millennium, two of them, the *Brahimi Report*, and *The Responsibility to Protect Report* receiving special attention from the academic and the political community. The 2000 *Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operation* (better known as the *Brahimi Report*), emphasized the need for coordination of humanitarian and military-political responses to crises, as the need of expanding traditional mandates of peace operations which are limited to a role of symbolic and unthreatening presence, into mandates which would enable the forces on the ground to defend themselves and other components of the mission, as well as civilians whose security is threatened by actions from one of the parties involved in the conflict. (2010, p. 57).

The *International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* was officially formed in September 2000, and more than a year later, in December 2001 it published the report, *Responsibility to Protect*. The doctrine developed in the *Responsibility to Protect* document was *to protect human beings, whose physical existence is threatened in a situation when the state is unable, or unwilling to provide security for them, therefore the mechanisms for implementing multilateral operations are developed in order to protect human safety anywhere in the world.* (Lipovac i Glušac, 2011, p. 68). In this document, military interventions are not presented as the only response to security threats, but they are prioritized. There were frequent attempts to

justify this kind of approach as the result of aspiring to create a better world, and in theoretical discussions these military interventions are often described by the uncouth and contradictory term of *humanitarian warfare.*

Within the standard definitions of peace and security highlighted above, it is possible to point out the differences between female and male approaches to these problems. Defining male and female approaches to peace and security can be criticized for following the essentialist inclusion in the list of binary oppositions (male/female, culture/nature, rational/emotional...). This paper certainly acknowledges the approach of post-structuralist theories, which, among other things, rejects any pre-given categories within which a person's identity is formed. This paper does not want to postulate the debate on female and male models as biologically predetermined. Yet the fact remains that in traditionally patriarchal societies they become social givens. Differences between male and female models of thinking develop through: a) gender socialization, and b) different experiences of men and women in patriarchal societies. As such, these differences become social facts, and while fully accepting the post-structuralist thinking, we must acknowledge that they have become social facts and socially imposed categories. The more liberal the society is, the less significant the differences between the two models become. Therefore, while such differences are not natural, the influence of various social factors of the patriarchal environment causes the formation of different models of male and female approaches to different problems. Those different approaches are also established when thinking about peace and security. And while the male approach considers humanitarian war as a way of establishing peace, and arming as a preventive prerequisite of peace, the female approach poses questions about the human and social consequences of the arms race.

Female View on Peace and Security

The characteristics of female and male views on peace and security can be analyzed through two ethical models: the model of care ethics, and the model of justice ethics. These two models were developed by psychologist Carol Gilligan who research began as a test of results given by Kohlberg. Kohlberg's longitudinal study (lasting for about twenty years, with researches using stories and interviews to track every three years the development of a group of children from early adolescence to early adulthood) established three stages of moral development (with two sub-stages per each of them): pre-conventional stage (pre-responsibility), conventional stage, and post-conventional stage. (Suzić, 2004; Pernar i Franjčišković, 2008.). Through his research, Kohlberg found that females do not go through this kind of development. Psychologist Carol Gillian (2003) reviews Kolhberg's scale of moral development and concludes that the girls in the study had a different approach to moral dilemmas posed in the questionnaire than the boys. However, Kolhberg's scale did not have a developed system in which the data regarding the individual's concern for others could be analyzed and assigned a value. Gilligan applied Kolhberg's scale. She tested boys and girls and their way of judging in the so-called Heinz dilemma[18], which relates to the conflict between the value of property and the value of life. A boy named Jake solved the dilemma with the logical prioritizing of life, and used that logic to justify his choice (2003, p. 25–26). His argument was the following:

> *Human life is more valuable than money; if a pharmacist earns only $1000 he will still live, but if Heinz does not steal the medicine, his wife will die. (Why is it that life is more valuable than money? – the examiner asks.) The pharmacist can later collect*

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18   This dilemma consists of the following: Will a man named Heinz steal a medicine because he has no money to buy it, and he desperately needs it to save his wife's life? (Gilligan, 2003: 25).

$1000 from rich people who have cancer, but Heinz cannot have his wife back. (Why?) Because all people are different, unique. (2003, p. 26).

The boy does not consider Heinz's breaking of the rules defined by law as a decisive factor: laws were created by people, which is why they can change and be erroneous. (2003, p. 26). His entire argument rests on the assumption of fundamental, moral values with which laws, in some specific situations, may not be complementary. By approaching the problem from the point of view of ethics and logic, Jake, independent of the power of any authority, comes at the most rational and the most proper solution. (2003, p. 27).

A girl named Amy reacts differently to the same question. She responds with uncertainty when asked whether Heinz should steal the medicine:

Well, I think he should not. Maybe there are other ways to find money, for example, to borrow money, instead of stealing it. (2003, p. 28). Asked why Heinz should not steal the money, Amy does not refer to observing the law, but to potential consequences of such an act for Heinz's further care of his wife: If he steals the money, he may save his wife. But, if he steals the money, he could go to jail, and then his wife can get sick again, and she will again need money for medicines. It will not be good. Therefore, he should find a different way to get the medicine. (2003, p. 28).

She wanted to examine all of Heinz's options, because she reviewed the full consequences of Heinz's act, including not only what they would be for Heinz, but for his wife too, and his care of her. Kohlberg's scale foresaw only logical and rational answers, and failed to observe certain principles, which would match the answers. His scale was not ready to measure a possibility in which the girl does not pose the question of (non-)behaviour in compliance with the law or the question of justified theft. Her dilemma refers to the

concern for all subjects in this story, i.e. she did not understand this dilemma as a mathematical problem, but as the full history of the subjects' relations, which are long term (and counts on the wife's further need for her husband, i.e. further husband's care of his wife, and further need of both of them to maintain good relations with the pharmacist) (2003, p. 28). She saw the value of the wife's life in the context of relationships and did not see the problem in preserving the pharmacist's rights, though in the absence of his human reaction to specific situation: *If someone has something that can save somebody else's life at a certain moment, then it is not right not to give it to them.(2003, p. 28).*

Carol Gilligan discovered that female moral development tends to unfold in three phases: the selfish, the caring, and the universally caring phase. In each of these phases, the circle of care expands, while selfishness is reduced. In the beginning, a young girl cares mostly for herself, in the second phase, she is capable of caring for others (family and friends), and finally in the third phase, she is capable of caring for the welfare of humanity as a whole. Men also experience three phases of moral development; however they are more inclined to emphasize rights and righteousness, while women emphasize caring and interpersonal relationships. Gilligan (2003) believes that after the third phase both sexes may experience a coming together of these different male and female positions so that in this final, universal-integral phase both men and women follow the same values of care and righteousness. With her studies, Carol Gilligan has shown that men and women do not have the same approach to ethical problems. But these differences in approaching ethical problems should not be understood as biologically predetermined, but instead should be viewed in the context of different experiences and different socialization processes experienced by men and women in patriarchal societies. Gilligan's finding on the ethics of care should not be understood as an argument for closing off women to live and work exclusively in the private sphere and perceiving them primarily as mothers and wives. The ethics of care

is a model of ethical reasoning. It is possible and necessary to apply this model and all it implies to the academic and the legal-political approach to problems within the public sphere.

Gilligan has shown that *femal*e characteristics, like caring, are creative forces useful for resolving problems. The concepts of inter-dependency, connectedness, responsibility, and caring for other people are central for the development of women. It is for this reason that female and male peace policies differ. Contradictory concepts of the humanitarian war/humanitarian military intervention/just war are central to the male peace policy. Since this policy is very much present in the public sphere, it has been embedded in the international law as well. It finds its moral justification in the ethics of justice as a mathematical, logical, and a rational deliberation. It draws its power from its legality, and it is implemented with an aim to protect the fundamental principles of humaneness, when these are being violated. It represents the implementation of morals with other means, it disregards vital national interests when it is under-taken, and it is used only when all other previous measures for a peaceful settlement of disputes are exhausted. (S. Savić, 2007; M. Savić, 2009). Female peace policy is primarily anti-military, and it finds its argument in the model of care ethics. This policy draws its rationale from the belief that every war is a crime in itself, from the idea of solidarity that transcends all social divisions, from the belief that war is always patriarchal, and the consistent opposition to mi-litary regimes. (Perković, 2008.) However, the female peace policy is not heard enough: Because, by being born as a woman, I am wit-hout doubt peaceful – says our society – and it recognizes that pea-cefulness of mine, but only as long as I keep it as a decoration of the description of the Woman, which is safe both for the society, and the system. However, the need for my *natural*, *feminine peacefulness* ceases at the moment when I translate it into a clear value stance and a decisive political act, by which I cut into the compact body of capitalistic patriarchy. (Perković, 2008: 307)

Inclusion of Women's Voice in Peace Policy

Peace policy has been hitherto marked by the absence of the voice of women. Women's peace activism, which will be discussed in the next chapter, was not absent, but its reflection in the public and political discourse was missing. A possible way of overcoming this problem and including women's peace policy in public discourse may be found in the UN resolutions: a) Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace, and Security (*2000.), b) Resolution 1888 *Protection of Women and Girls from Sexual Violence in Armed Conflicts* (2009.), and Resolution 1889 *Protection of Women and Girls in Post-Conflict Situations* (2009.). These resolutions address numerous significant topics, but they are mentioned here because for the first time they open concrete questions related to including women in peace policy.

Resolution 1325 was passed on the 4213th session of the Security Council on October 31, 2000. The introduction of this resolution points to the importance of women's role in preventing and resolving conflicts, and in constructing, maintaining, and promoting peace and security. Also, the preamble recognizes an urgent need to equate the perspectives of the sexes in peace operations and, in that sense, emphasize the importance of Windhoek Declaration and Namibian Action Plan for inclusion of the perspective of sexes in multidimensional operations of peace support (S/2000/693). In this context, the Resolution provides an increased presence of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions, as well as mechanisms for prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts and women's participation in different peace processes. Resolution 1325 seeks to expand the role of women in the UN operations, especially among military observers, civilian police, and personnel engaged in human rights, and humanitarian work. Resolution 1888 once again *invites the secretary general, member states, and leaders of regional organizations to undertake measures to increase the representation of women in the processes of mediation, and decision making related to conflict resolution*. Resolution 1889

expresses concern because of *persistent obstacles to full participation of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts, and participation in public life after conflicts*. This Resolution *invites member states, international, and regional organizations to undertake additional measures to improve the participation of women in all phases of peace processes, especially in resolving conflict, post–conflict planning, and building peace, including their engagement in making political and economic decisions in the early phases of the process of reconstruction, and, among other things, promoting women's leadership, and capacity to engage in managing programs of assistance, and planning, support to women's organizations, and suppression of negative attitudes in the society about women's ability for equal participation.*

The aim of the aforementioned UN resolutions is the inclusion of women in different peace processes. They have also helped to promote women's leadership in peace processes. However, women's capacity for peace activism has not been fully harnessed by these resolutions. It boils down to building gender-neutral options for the possibility of inclusion in the appropriate positions. However, what is often forgotten is that gender inequalities are deeply rooted in the very definition of these positions. It seems that the UN policy does not start from the assumption of differentiating *female* and *male* approaches to peace. On the contrary, the male approach is declared as gender-neutral, allowing women to enter into masculine (very often violent) power structures, and as such cannot yield positive results. In this context, the same objections can be made to the Action Plan for Implementation of Resolution 1325 in B&H. The Action Plan emphasizes the need to increase the rate of women's participation in decision-making positions, to increase the participation of women in military and police forces, and in peace missions. Thus, the Action Plan places emphasis on foreign policy and the improving of statistical data concerned with the inclusion of women in various peace processes. However, the UN policy and the Action Plan for Implementation of Resolution 1325 in B&H have opened a space for internal deconstruction of the masculine

definition of peace and security. Namely, the Action Plan foresees that the B&H Gender Equality Agency *will continue the process of organizing courses, and informing the civil servants, and other officials on the importance, and content of UNSCR 1325*. The Action Plan also emphasizes the importance of partnering with competent international and non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the Action Plan for Implementation of 1325 in B&H. The importance of developing a dialogue with the institutions of civil society, i.e. non-governmental organizations engaged in women's peace activism[19] should be particularly emphasized here. Ideas and positions that develop within the framework of women's peace activism should be understood by international and governmental organizations as a lesson in the ways of thinking about gender and security. For this reason, it is necessary to offer insight into some of the explanations of the motives of women's peace association which originated in the feminist theory, as well as basic aspects of the work of women's NGOs in the fields of peace-making, anti-militarism, and the spreading of the culture of non-violence. Not only do women's peace-making organizations have the nature of non-institutional associations, but also frequently oppose the positions

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19 The Action Plan highlights the non-governmental organizations which contributed to the implementation of the said Resolution: „Žene ženama" *(Women to Women)* Sarajevo; „Udružene Žene" *(United Women)* Banja Luka, „Centar za žene Žar" *(Center for Women Zar)* Sarajevo, „Žena BiH" *(BiH Woman)* Mostar, Helsinški parlament građana"*(Helsinki Citizens' Assembly)* Banja Luka „Viktorija 99", Jajce, „Forum žena"*(Women's Forum)* Bratunac, „Horizonti" *(Horizons)* Tuzla, „Most" *(Bridge)* Višegrad, „Budućnost" *(Future)* Modriča, „Lara", Bijeljina, „Duvanjke„ *(Duvno Women)* Tomislavgrad, „Orhideja" *(Orchid)* Stolac, „Fondacija lokalne demokratije" *(Local Democracy Foundation)* Sarajevo, „Centar za pravnu pomoć"*(Centre for Legal Assistance)* Zenica, „Anima N", Goražde, „Nova budućnost"*(New Future)* Sarajevo, „Aurora", Sokolac, „Zora" and „Milićanin" Milići, „Maja" Kravica. However, this is certainly not a complete list of all the organizations, which are engaged in peace activism. For example, Centre for Non-Violent Action Sarajevo/ Belgrade is not on this list, which is unfortunate, especially if we take into account that since 1997 the Centre has been working actively on dealing with the past, and building peace in former Yugoslavia.

of formal institutions, and do not achieve the necessary impact because of the existence of a patriarchal matrix, a circumstance which must be changed.

Women's Peace Activism

Women's joint opposition to war and militarization has a significant and rich history. Ancient literature provides a well-known example of Lysistrata, a comedy by Aristophanes, in which women of Athens, Sparta, and Corinth declare that there will be no intimate relationships until men stop waging wars. The comic plot is built around the motif of strike, but the intention, i.e. *suspension of war* clearly indicates the different priorities in this context. Margarita Papandreou's (1997) historical observation is also interesting:

> *The ancient matriarchies, at least according to the existing evidence, were peaceful. The Minoan culture in Crete, exclusively matriarchal, was peaceful (...) South Pacific islands where women held ruling positions, were peaceful. Those are the signs that give hope. (p. 38)*

Of course, she is not referring to the old prejudice of those less acquainted with matriarchy that it was a society in which women controlled the resources and oppressed and abused men. It refers instead to a modern definition of matriarchal societies, which originated from anthropological and archaeological cross-cultural studies of old matriarchies as well as some that still exist in some cultures. These are, in simple terms, matrilineal, matrilocal, gender-egalitarian (even completely egalitarian) societies, which are not structured by the principle of domination but complementation, and where resources and the community are managed on the basis

of consensus. (Goettner-Abendroth, 2008)

What is it that drives women to peace activism and assigns them with the label of the *peaceful sex*, and can we really speak of a peaceful sex, or a peaceful gender, or can we speak of neither? The essentialist approach according to which women are inherently peaceful and free from the *aggressive gene* is most frequently based on their biological ability to give birth and raise children as the primary female task. The connection between motherhood and anti-militarism is clearly formulated: *Motherhood begins with birth, and the promise of life; militaristic opinion justifies organized, deliberate deaths.* (Ruddick 1989, str. 81) In the domain of women peace activism, motherhood appears as a link. Examples from our own recent past, such as organized movements of mothers demanding the return of their sons from the battlefield in Slovenia and the demobilization from the Yugoslav People's Army in the early 1990's before the breakup of Yugoslavia, are very illustrative. The movements of mothers were organized with an anti-war mission, but were manipulated by military-political elites, which used the demands of these movements to justify the withdrawal of YPA from Slovenia[20] (Licht i Drakulić, 1997). Since 1967 an organization called *Another Mother for Peace* exists in the United States, established by women who strongly resisted the war in Vietnam; their very name and their activities speak of the perception of motherhood as an impulse, as well as the essence of women's peace associations. For example, in 1969 at their first assembly on Mother's Day, they passed the *Pax materna* which, among other things reads: *No mother is an enemy of another mother.*[21] Widely known is the Argentinean movement, *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, of mothers who have demonstrated for years in front of the President's Palace insisting on the information about their children kidnapped during the military dictatorship.

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20 Opposite to what mothers were promised, their sons were not returned home, but were re-deployed to battlefields in B&H and Croatia.

21 More about this on the web site of the organization Another Mothers for Peace: http://www.anothermother.org/about

In feminist theory there is a heated debate about gender essentialisms generally and in this specific context as well. An essentialist position of *the women as the peaceful sex* is not universally accepted and a significant number of feminists reject it, seeing it as a militaristic construct. Just as in the previous debate about ethics of care and ethics of justice, these feminists start from patriarchally established gender roles as explanations for numerous other societal phenomena and various forms of organization in conflict situations. For example, Yuval-Davis (2004) states:

> *The specific position of women in peace movements may be explained as the result of a variety of reasons, and not of the biological, and social construction of women as mothers. (p. 143) She further elaborates these reasons: a) almost nowhere are women obliged to serve in the military, nor do they have to fight the wars they disapprove of b) organization of women in anti-militaristic and anti-war movements may be a part of their broader feminist beliefs c) they see participation in these movements as a fight against the patriarchal system in general (2004, 143).*

The organization of the army as a system, in which the participation of women, in most cases, does not imply mandatory military service, membership in reserve forces, a possibility to fight on the front line, etc. tentatively speaking, opens a *safe space* for women's anti-war action. Lepa Mlađenović, one of the activists of the women's anti-war movement from Serbia named *Žene u crnom (Women in Black)* has a similar, non-essentialist position. She explains the participation of women in anti-war movements through a) experience with performing unpaid jobs, b) predominant engagement in non-competitive activities, and c) women are not recruited or forced to serve in the army, therefore it is safer for them to act against the regime (2003, p. 43–44). It is clear from both examples that explications are based on socially constructed gender roles in all spheres of society. It is not the women's peaceful gene which

drives them to anti-war action, but their work in non-competitive activities and the experience of *women's unpaid labour*, which primarily refers to household activities and is generally seen *as female*, as well as the fact that they do not have to serve in the army. Of course, this does not mean it is always possible to equate anti-war with feminist actions; we may conclude from mothers' movements at least, that fighting against war does not simultaneously mean reviewing gender roles and demanding the change of women's position in society. Licht and Drakulić (1997) also offer an interesting point of view when they address the women's peace movements that appeared before the breakup of Yugoslavia. Bearing in mind the socially conditioned orientation of women primarily toward the family sphere, the authors speak about the fear of the disintegration of the state due to its identification with the disintegration of the family and marriage, as 13% of all new marriages in Yugoslavia were ethnically mixed in the period 1977–1981 (1997).

Apart from the aforementioned experience, the results of war show that women are affected by it in various ways. Independent experts Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, in their assessment conducted for UNIFEM, expressed shock with the their findings of universally devastating consequences of war for women, despite the fact that they had visited numerous battlefields throughout the world and were exposed to frightening information even prior to their research for the study. Women experience rape, forced pregnancy, destruction of uterus by weapons, deliberate infection with HIV/AIDs, mutilation, torture and in addition to all of this, along with their children they make up 80% of the 40 million of the world's population of refugees or displaced persons (2002). The consequences of destroyed infrastructure, resources, healthcare, and other systems, in addition to psychological and physical torture, represent additional challenges which women must face in order to survive and enable the functioning of their families and communities. This becomes their task. Therefore, all responsible persons oppose war because of irreparable damage and the atrocious

consequences it has, and in conclusion, it can be said that:

> *(…) Essentialising the role of women to those of mother, wife, and caretaker discourages their inclusion in the role of active decision-makers in the political arena (...) We should recognize that women and men are differently affected by war, rather than perceive war as male torture of women. (El-Bushra, 2007:1)*

Performing unpaid jobs, work in non-competitive activities, non-participation in military service, orientation toward the survival of the family, broader feminist beliefs, and facing the atrocities of war are only some of the non-biologically motivated reasons that drive women to organize themselves in anti-war movements within civil society primarily through founding non-governmental organizations and associations. These organizations act locally, regionally, and internationally, and their activism is mostly twofold. On the one hand, they are motivated by events from within the local context but at the same time, they are concerned with the global agenda for peace-building. Peace-building, as a process, is turned toward building a more just, non-violent society, and frequently begins immediately after a conflict ends, though sometimes even earlier, so as to offer options for ending the conflict itself. Women's non-governmental organizations, similar to other organizations during and just after the war, operate by providing humanitarian, medical, and psychosocial assistance. In this sense, literature points specifically to two Bosnian-Herzegovinian organizations: *Medica Zenica* and *Žene ženama (Women to Women)* (Simić 2009, p. 5; Mulalić, 2011, p. 43). Peace-building is a part of their broader activities but not the primary, i.e. only focus. *Medica Zenica* plays a significant role in educating, empowering and providing psychosocial support to women who were victims of war rape. *Žene ženama*, on the other hand, has educational projects about peace in which it conducts research and compiling various reports, most notably *Rod i reforma sektora sigurnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini (Gender*

and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Both organizations were founded immediately after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had ended and therefore have significant experience in the fields of gender and post-conflict peace-building. The third organization focused on the issues of gender equality and the *establishment of the ethics of partnership, and responsibility in family, society, and B&H political life* is the *Transcultural Psychosocial Educational Foundation* (TPO). TPO's research projects of particular relevance include: *Mirotvorke svijeta: Provedba Rezolucije 1325 kroz primjere mirotvorki (World Women-Peacemakers: Implementation of Resolution 1325 through Examples of Women-Peacemakers)* and *Žene, mirotvorstvo i pomirenje u BiH (Women, Peacemaking, and Reconciliation in BiH).* Among the networks operating regionally in the Balkans it is important to mention *Regionalni ženski lobi za mir, sigurnost i pravednost u jugoistočnoj Europi (Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security, and Justice in Southeast Europe).* At the international level, one of the most respected and oldest women peace organizations is the *Women International League for Peace and Freedom.* Although it is not called a women's NGO, it is necessary to mention *Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd (Center for Non-Violent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade)* due to its decades-long important work on dealing with the past, building peace, and promoting the culture of non-violence, and non-discrimination in the majority of the former Yugoslav republics. The Centre organizes training sessions and forums, works on publications and production of documentaries, and targets the especially important group of war veterans.

Of course, there are more civil society organizations[22] involved in peace activism, but the intention of this paper is not to list them all. It is more critical to analyze potential differences between organizational platforms and programs of their action. How do civil organizations view the position of women in the formal security sector, are they involved primarily in increasing participation and

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22   More data can be found on the web site of Mreža za izgradnju mira *(Network for Peacebuilding)* http://mreža-mira.net

the issues of quotas, which would enable the discussion on women's transformative potential, or are they interested exclusively in one or the other? Finally, do organizations see peace activism primarily as a valid resistance to involvement with the armed forces? A particular issue to which Margarite Papandreou (1997) draws attention is how peace movements never succeed in exerting sufficient pressure to stop an emerging war. That would, in fact, be the ultimate goal – maintenance of security, and the resolution of each conflict in a non-violent manner[23]. Just as we contextualize war, the reasons why it emerges, its nature, and its circumstances, it is also necessary to contextualize peace activism. Mechanisms for resolution and the prevention of conflicts, as well as the priorities they set, tend to be different. Helms (2010; 2003) notes that women's NGOs in B&H that deal with peace activism often follow traditional gender divisions, accept "affirmative essentialisms", and see the non-governmental sector as sufficiently separated from the male-dominated domain of politics. On the one hand, women's NGOs manage to achieve certain goals through this stark separation from the government in a patriarchal society; on the other hand, it has become a handicap for making significant impacts on official decision-making.

In analyzing a sample of 24 major peace negotiations since 1992, UNIFEM found that women make up only 2.5% of signatories, 3.2% of mediators, 5.5% of witnesses, and 7.6% of negotiators (2010, p. 3). Although it is obvious that there is a significant number of women's peace movements, albeit with different action platforms, and international documents that provide the basis for improving the participation of women in negotiations, women are still not making sufficient impact, which is a discouraging fact. All movements which must primarily work on changing mind-sets and building new, alternatives ways in which one aspect of human activity could

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23 Feminists of the Third World objected to this concept considering it West-centric, and inapplicable to non-democratic states. (Yuval-Davis, 2004, p. 144).

function, have a difficult task. Educational and research programs, which are an important aspect of action of women's peace organizations, must move from informal to formal education, and become mandatory subjects. It is enough to remind ourselves that entire generations in this region grew up on the postulates of pre-military training, defence, protection, inability of conscientious objection etc. The best way to teach future generations about peaceful values and skills is through incorporating modalities of non-violent conflict resolution into mandatory school subjects. The implementation of Resolution 1325 should not mean that the mere inclusion of women in military and police forces is adequate. Instead, it should leave space for the transformation of these forces under the influence of women's peace activism and feminist studies, which are concerned with the critical examination of power relations, the prevention of sexual violence in and around military bases, etc.

Conclusion

The gender-essentialist and traditional approach to the relationship between gender, peace, and security is one of the reasons why security is perceived as good preparedness in the event of war and the preservation of the *status quo*. The disabling of women's, and any other group's activism, and an unwillingness to challenge the masculine-formed structures leads to an almost daily counting of the victims in all parts of the world and living in a permanent attempt at recovery. The basic principles of the ethics of care are focused instead on the long-term maintenance of positive relationships between people through seeking alternative ways to resolve each and every problem. Peace activism implies peace as a universal value, as well as learning and obtaining skills which contribute to that goal. The text mentions several important international

documents which, decades after the establishment of the UN and fierce lobbying by the women's movement, are starting to show signs of gender sensitivity.

Peace-building is a long-term process, and a lasting peace is impossible without the consensus of all parties involved. It is more constructive to persistently work on this consensus, before the first bullet is shot, and invest significant resources into this process, than work on improving the established military structures. If voices of all peace movements, which become particularly active during the first signs of an emerging conflict, were listened to more than battle cries, then there would not be ceaseless counting of the dead, the abused, the missing, and the displaced. Peace must not be understood as the absence of war, for that implies the possibility of war breaking out. Peace must be understood as an essential prerequisite of individual, collective, gender and any other existence and co-existence. This is what the women's peace movement is committed to.

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Kanita Jajetović

Women in Armed Forces – The Myth or Meeting the Norm towards a Fictitious Equality

Abstract

The problem of including women in professions traditionally characterized as exclusively *male* is still present around the world and in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. The Armed Forces has always been a place where men proved their maculine identity, and women had limited access. The discussion on whether women should actively participate in the armed forces, whether such participation opens up new possibilities and whether they are still discriminated against in this field of work, finds its stronghold in several feminist streams (liberal feminism, difference feminism and postmodern feminism).

This paper also deals with the standards of fulfulling i practicing of human rights, of women's rights which are, in this particular case, violated through entrenched stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes. Furthermore, the paper voices the need of carrying out an effective reasearch in order to collect valuable information on the position of women within the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their understanding of the concept of gender equality, and in order to try and break the enrooted stereotypes of *male* professions, the socially acceptable behaviour of women etc.

Key words: male profession, identity of women, armed forces, human rights, feminist theories, discrimination of women

Introduction

One important question posed by the 21ˢᵗ century is the status of women in armed forces. We can say that the participation of women in armed forces is primarily a matter of human rights, but it also more simply refers to the right of women to have equal access to military professions. Furthermore, it is a matter of non-discrimination in the opportunity to take on various functions and equal pay, as well as the elimination of abuse of women in armed forces. The adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325[24] in October 2000 on Women, Peace, and Security underlined the importance of women in conflict prevention and resolution. With the purpose of promoting human rights, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter, also referred to as B&H) adopted this Resolution, as well as the Action Plan to implement its fundamental principles. The Action Plan defines two objectives: an increase in percentage of women involved in military and police forces, and an increase of women's participation in peace missions where gender mainstreaming is included in training peace mission participants.[25] B&H also faces the challenge of gender equality in terms of meeting its commitments stemming from the UN Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)[26], to which the country is a signatory.

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24 By adopting Resolution 1325, the UN Security Council advocates for the first time the inclusion of civil society, especially women, in peace processes and the application of peace agreements. The adoption of the Resolution is the result of longterm lobbying by women's organisations. It is important to note that the Resolution includes a segment on gender and that it represents an upgrade on numerous international documents. Also, Resolution 1325 especially relates to the effect of war on women and women's contribution to solving conflicts and maintaining peace.

25 The Gender Equality Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette B&H No. 12/03, 102/09 and 32/10) also stresses the right to equal access to different professions.

26 CEDAW, Article 2, Paragraph (a). The convention on the elimination of all forms of violence (CEDAW) is considered as one of the most valuable documents in the domain of women's rights and was passed on the general

However, we are aware of the fact that all patriarchal societies are firm in their attitude that matters of security should be dealt with exclusively by men, and that women can serve solely as objects—never active agents in ensuring the stability and security of a country. The efforts to keep women excluded from typically male professions are supported by societal norms that insist on this gender distinction, resulting in only the rare engagement of women and their failure or difficult survival once in the male profession, which is often justified by their incompetence. The involvement of women in the military is faced, above all, by men's prejudices and fears (Yuval – Davis, 2004: 130). On the other hand, it is necessary to change the attitudes in a society which still nourishes the division of male and female professions, and where the army falls exclusively in the male sphere of interest. Thus, the attempts to achieve equal participation in this area have simply been to no avail, or had the sole aim of following the trend of European countries and to "respect" and "promote" the rights of women in society. In 2011, women made up 5% of the Armed Forces of B&H. The plan is to raise this number to 10% by 2015, which still will be an unequal ratio of men and women.[27]

Theoretical Framework

A single feminist theory of war does not exist. Feminist arguments rather promote contradictory explanations and regulations. Goldstein sorts feminist theories of war into three main structures

Council of the UN on 18 December 1979. CEDAW is also known as the Geneva Convention, taking effect in 1981. It is very important to note, that the convention is part of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and has priority over domestic legal documents. (Filipović – Hadžiabdić, 2009).

27   Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in B&H.

that explain gender war roles in different ways. He mentions liberal feminism according to which women are capable of being warriors; difference feminism according to which there are deeply rooted and partly biological gender differences; and postmodern feminism which takes the stance of arbitrary cultural constructions favorizing men in power (Goldestein, 2001).

Liberal feminism argues that women are equal to men in skills/abilities. These feminists argue that women have the right to participate in all social and political roles. Liberal feminism does not treat war very differently from other aspects of social life in which men dominate the high-paying positions. Soldiering as a job holds potential for future high-paying political and military leadership positions. Goldestein states the example of numerous US presidents who were generals and had combat experience, or in other words, whose military experience helped them reach the position of president. According to liberal feminism, women have shown good skills in military operations during conflict times; however, when such circumstances cease to exist, women face exclusion and are assigned less important jobs. This line of feminist thought rejects the idea that women are by nature more peaceful than men (Goldestein, 2001). Therefore, the issue of women's inclusion in the military, is tied to achieving the right to equal treatment and the politics of equal possibilities.

Difference feminism asserts that women's experiences are fundamentally different from men's. According to this view, the problem does not lie in the fact that men and women are different but that a sexist culture devalues "feminine" qualities instead of valuing, celebrating, and promoting them. Two theoretical claims relevant to war are used. The first one assumes that men are relatively violent, and that women are relatively peaceable. The second one assumes that men are more autonomous and that women exhibit a stronger connection in their social relationships (Goldstein, 2001). Many difference feminists believe that women cannot change masculine institutions if they join them. Mary Wollstonecraft believes women

deserve equal rights as men, but that they should not take part in wars.

Postmodern feminism sees gender as a construct and gender roles in war as fairly fluid, contextual and arbitrary. Postmodernism generally rejects the idea of a single objective reality. This, in particular, makes it hard to understand. A strong version of postmodern feminist analysis claims that all gender roles are arbitrary and adjustable. By this argument, what may be considered masculine in some societies is viewed as feminine and/or gender neutral in others, and vice versa. Postmodernism seeks to deconstruct patriarchally established systems and facilitate change within the social order. Thus it generated the idea of equality. The new postmodern acceptance of women is the basis of change in the ethic of personal life but also in the relationship between men and women (Furlan – Šante, 2010). Therefore, the contemporary feminist theory tries to anull gender differences represented by liberal feminism and seeks to affirm the differences affecting the different positions of men and women.

The second wave of feminism advocates the idea that women's participation in the military would actually contribute to the upkeeping of patriarchical and militaristic power, which is at odds with feminist attempts to change certain paradigms of security. (Antonijević, 2011) According to these attitudes, we can see that there are feminists who advocate the idea of including women into armed forces, and antimilitaristic feminists who do not think that women's participation in this field is important for achieving equality with men. The latter school of thought asserts that the military will sooner succeed in changing women than women will succeed in changing the military system. Women's participation in war cannot reduce gender differences present in the society. An essentialist understanding of men as aggressive and violent feeds into the nationalistic and militaristic myth according to which men fight for the sake of women and security. Some feminists claim that this myth can be broken by having women involved in the army equally to men, while others simply oppose women entering the army at all. In

feminist antimilitaristic thought, motherhood plays an important role. Feminist Sara Ruddick, for example, argues that the ideology of motherhood can become the core foundation of antimilitary movements. In her opinion, preservation of life is the most important goal of motherhood and it is compliant with peacekeeping and opposes the destruction of life (Yuval – Davis, 2004). Pacifist feminists are of the opinion that female soldiers become freed of their femininity.

Along with these attitudes, feminist policies work on promoting the inclusion of groups outside the circle of power which should ensure active participation in creating and implementing safety policies on all levels of decision-making. (Antonijević, 2011) Hence the initiative to deconstruct the army as an exclusively masuline activity and give women a chance to become equal partners in the armed forces. This is how we introduce the concept of gender perspective in the security sector. Therefore, by increasing the percentage of female presence there is a possibilty of changing the system itself.

Historically, around the world, women were allowed to be part of military units in greater numbers, but only in cases of need which required their engagement. In the 1989 Panama invasion, almost 800 women soldiers participated, 150 of them in direct combat; in the Gulf War nearly 40,000 women participated. However, once the conditions stabilize, women tend to be excluded from military service and return to civilian duties (Goldestein, 2001). Negative reactions accompany women's involvement in the army even in times of war; as Watson argues, women move from the private to the public sphere to take a patriotic stance in the war, thus undermining the social order that soldiers are trying to maintain—namely, that men defend women, and women take no individual actions (Summerfield, 1997).

Traditionally, the military in general, and war units in particular, have been viewed as areas for the creation of masculinity or the masculine gender identity (Carreiras, 2006). As the feminist Woolf argues, violence and militarism are often associated with

men (McFadden, 2003). The link between the army and proving one's masculinity—along with the title of war veteran— and citizenship in the United States (US) should also not be neglected. To be a veteran is a privilege that is not accorded to women, as they are not allowed to be soldiers (Tickner, 1995).

Looking at the present day, we see a rise of the professionalization of armed forces that allows women to become involved in this sphere. For example, Canada, in theory, provides women with the opportunity to take any position in the army. Denmark, Norway, and France—similar to Canada—are trying to ensure the principle of equal access to military positions for women. However, France still does not allow women to join the Foreign Legion or to occupy command positions. Even though there have been attempts to ensure opportunities for women to be employed in the army, the French army policy states that *A Woman's duty is to give life and not bring death* (Goldestein, 2001). In any case, the negation of femininity and female attributes is visible in the military career. It is a strong culture dominated by the *group law*. (Jagić, 506).

The issue of gender and the military must be placed in the existing context. As we can see from these examples, even though there is a trend of women entering the armed forces, most men are still of the opinion that women do not belong in the military sector. When we speak about B&H, there is a general lack of literature on this topic. For that reason, it is difficult to make any qualified statements on the attitudes and opinions of men on the inclusion of women into the armed forces. One can often hear that we are a democratic society and that for this reason the democratization of the armed forces in terms of adequate representations of all groups that make up a society is progressing. The Action Plan implementing Resolution 1325 reflects these attempts to increase the percentage of women in the armed forces.

What does reality tell us of female identities?

Women are primarily associated with various identities which in no way belong to a privilaged group, causing their daily activities in the public sphere to be characterized as less valuable that those of men. However, women are there, present in a social order which tries to turn a blind eye and deny that fact. That is why women have been in a subordinate position for centuries.

Feminism contributed to the creation of a new identity for women by pointing out various strategies of oppression inflicted upon them. Although we live in a time which puts greater value on gender equality and women can formally move away from their traditional roles, they are free to do male jobs only in theory. The difference in male and female attitudes towards production is the result of the socializing process. Hence, women are more frequently associated with family than the job market. Although we do have to admit that the emancipation of women lies primarily in their economic self-sufficiency. (Nedović, 2005).

Identities function by way of forming social connections and relations (Kalanj, 4). If we consider the entire social order, we can notice that the stereotypical image of women's identities as subordinate beings is still used. This leads to various discriminatory practices designed to exclude women from the socio-economic life. They are denied the full enjoyment of their human rights. Therefore, when it comes to the issue of women and the armed forces, it is hard to reconcile the notion of female identity as being week, dependent, and home-bound with the military profession. (Hadžiahmić, 2011)

Namely, thinking about the woman's position in the society, her identity, subjectivity and the practical process of the emancipation of women, cannot be done outside the current social, political and economic context. According to Bourdieu, a famous sociologist, changes (se očituju)are visible only in the fact that male dominance/rule is no longer overtly imposed and glaringly obvious, whilst the unequal position remains/persits as a result of structural

difference, i.e. Only ways in which women are oppressed within a society change. (Šabot, 2009: 43).

Unavoidably, we must consider the institutions of power which, according to Foucalt, deserve certain attention. They are responsible for creating, reproducing and distributing attitudes in line with the ruling regime of truth. (Župan, 2009) The armed forces is one such institution where power is formed. Thus, it is the men, as the ruling group, who create the hegemonic discourse which constructs certain identities, ultimately determines the social positions of men and women. Those with power in their hands created the distinction between more and less valuable identities. It is necessarry to approach the issue of power in this way. Discussion on the reconstruction of discriminatory practices which form identities must be placed within everyday discourses.

Women and the armed forces

Despite efforts to increase the number of women in the military profession, the available data for 2011 do not indicate improvement. Women make up only 5%, whilst men make up 94,18%. (Bećirević, Šulc, Šoštarić, 2011). For this reason, a research on the position of women and their previous experiences in the Armed Forces of B&H, would be of great social benefit. Since it is the military profession, in any case, it would be necessary to investigate whether there is any visiblle negation of femininity and female attributes. Discovering whether most female soldiers perform roles which reflect the gender character of the civil work force, is an important guideline towards real changes. Among other things, the aim of the research would include discovering if and to what extent does involvement in the Armed Forces create an opporutnity for social and political recognition. Finally, it would analyze if the inclusion

of women in the public life, i.e. a profession traditionally regard as a *male* one, is the necessary prerequisite for a satisfactory level of human rights prakticiranje.

Through a concept of research which would include direct conversations with female soldiers by means of pre-prepared questions, we would obtain several key answers, for example: has their participation in the military led to an improved economic state and social credibility? Do they feel better being part of exclusively female units, or do they feel better being part of mixed units? We would find out the attitudes of women who were already involved in the Armed Forces about the level of gender equality based on their direct experience. An important information for us would be the level of gender osviještenost of women and whether they accept the division of work within the military. Furthermore, we would investigate the level of solidarity, i.e. whether woman show readiness for mutual cooperation and help, or they simply priklanjaju to male norms.

So, the experience of female soldiers would be the key material for analysis and critical observation of the relationship between male and female soldiers given from their own perspective. Ultimately, the contribution of the research would reflect in an improved understanding of female soldiers and the recognition of the benefits and/or flaws of their position. This kind of research would start from the premises that women are still considered as *intruders* in the untouchable military profession, and that there is still a firm stereotypical division of male and female profession in the collective consciousness of the society. The results of this type of research would intice the relevant media to a stronger promotion of equal participation in the military profession, regardless of sex. Public discourse as such is the best way of destroying the existing stereotypes and prejudices about the military profession as a dominantly and exclusively male one. Advocating the inclusion of an adequate percentage of women into the Armed Forces and their appointment to positions of power, would be on the steps necessary in solcing the aforementioned issue.

Theoretical Contribution

By the research and its results, this study can make a contribution by providing information on the possible impact, or the lack of it, of the UN Resolution 1325 and the Gender Equality Law of B&H with respect to achieving a better position for women or, at least, any significant progress in the increase of the number of women in the Armed Forces of B&H. These findings are important because they will provide an adequate picture of the stated issues and guidelines as to which direction should be taken in future policy and academic work. Furthermore, the actual experiences of women will indicate whether stereotypical relations between men and women in this sphere still exist and to what extent these women are respected by their male colleagues. The research would also provide information on whether the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of women have changed in new circumstances, e.g. whether women have adjusted to male norms. It is also important to establish whether women themselves recognize discrimination within the Armed Forces.

The results would also show how, in their opinion, the Armed Forces as an employer could improve, in order to enhance any working conditions that could lead to better results and promotion opportunities. Also, the research would establish whether male colleagues exercise intolerance towards women in Armed Forces, regardless of their position, status or achievements. Furthermore, the research could possibly provide data on whether men are given priority in terms of further professional development or promotion.

Finally, we would find out how the immediate environment of the interviewed women reacted to their choice of profession, whether it was accepted or viewed as a reversal of gender roles— e.g. meddling with "male" affairs. This information would be useful because it would provide an insight into possible changes in perception about what a woman should or should not do. In other words, this study would provide insight as to whether a woman's identity is still being built upon the concept of motherhood and the social

norms established by men.

Due to the lack of literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina on this topic, the research could be used as a basis for writing and producing works which would be a needed contribution to the feminist theory. Such literature could not only greatly serve as an incentive to other women to join the Armed Forces, but also for commencing new and similar research. Due to the collected information, actions could be taken to destroy the prejudice about the army as a male profession, which will certainly be a long and difficult process. The research would point out that sex should not be used as a criterion for selection, promotion, dismissal or further career-related action (discrimination), and that criteria should be based on a person's characteristics (features, strengths, weaknesses etc.) because individual differences go beyond sexual differences. Therefore, it is unacceptable for women to be discriminated against based on sex.

Conclusion

In a very brief period of time Bosnia and Herzegovina became a signatory to a range of international documents promoting human rights and regulating specific, respective matters through special instruments. With the purpose of meeting the criteria of the rule of law and requirements set by this concept, enabling equal participation of B&H women in public life had to be taken into account. This primarily meant their inclusion in all aspects of social and economic life, including armed forces. Therefore, the question posed by this research is whether this sphere acquired a gender dimension by the entry of women into armed forces. It is necessary to establish what the profile of women soldiers is and their value judgment on gender equality matters. It is insufficient to simply increase the percentage of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina

who will imitate the norms of behaviour of their colleagues. What matters is the quality of such an inclusion and the opening of a new perspective for women based on their own values and principles. Therefore, what truly matters is women's recognition of the importance of emanipatory policies and the creation of new models suited to the needs of women. A camoflouged identity of women should not stay camoflouged, because such an identity remains in the service of the established patriarchy. It is not enough to work solely on the inclusion of women into the Armed Forces in order to meet the principle of equality. Since gender stereotypes are the result of social activity, they are also supsceptible to change. Therefore, it is necessary to simultaneously conduct media campaigns with the aim of breaking stereotypes about women as the dependent, weak, inactive members of society. This is how we gradually change the individual and social perceptions which are part of the existing system of values. The conventional conceptions about male and female professions continue to be the key element in discrimination against women. On this basis we conclude that the labor market and professions are developed around rooted attitudes. The efforts to exclude women from the typically "male" professions are supported by social norms that foster gender discrimination, which results in the rare engagement of women in "male" professions (Tomić, Spahić: 2010). Different steps need to be taken to improve the current situation. Promotion of the practical implementation of the Gender Equality Law could be one of the future activities. Deconstructing the concept of male and female professions is certainly a necessary, everyday activity of all citizens. It is necessary to ensure the exchange of experiences and good practices as well as to implement policies of motivating individual women to accept the military profession as an acceptable and attractive one.

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Zlatan Bajramović

Women and University Education: The Needs of the Security Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstract

Bosnia and Herzegovina is still faced with an ongoing reform of the security sector which also includes redefining the role of women within the system of security, with the intention of removing prejudice of male superiority. Regardless of sex, advancing to managerial positions depends on achieving a high level of education, but also further learning and development. It is quite clear that this process needs to be analyzed in order to consider the current state of affairs, but also to enhance the development and the role of women within the sector of security. This paper will analyze the success rate of female students on the Faculty of political sciences (Department of Security and Peace Studies) and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences of the University of Sarajevo, and compare the current state and the needs in the institutions of the security sector.

Key words: women, high education, security sector, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Women in the security sector of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The security[28] system is …part of the social system meeting the social and individual interests of citizens of every democratic state in the field of international legal status of the state, civil rights and freedoms, and the protection of man and his environment from all forms of endangerment. (Dujović, 2006:141)

Security sector is a wide term encompassing primarily the structures, institutions, and persons responsible for the management, preparation and surveillance of the security of a state. It includes defence, law enforcement agencies, detention and rehabilitation centres, intelligence services, border management, customs, legal sector elements, management and supervisory bodies, civil society groups, and other non-governmental parties. (monuc.unmissions.org) The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) recently conducted a study entitled *Gender and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In particular, the study emphasized that:

Gender equality and emancipation of women are one of the eight pillars of the Global Millennium Development Goals in the fight against poverty. Not only gender equality, but also the tenth anniversary of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325

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28 Security, *a term with a wide range of meaning. Generally implies a level of protection: protection of people from different forms of imperil, protection of material or cultural goods belonging to an individual or a society, protection of a society and its values, the total protection of a country from all forms of its endangerment, and ultimately implies a level of protection on a planetary and cosmic level of life and humanity in general. All levels of security: the planetary, the state and the individual level, as well as security of material and cultural goods, represent an intrinsic whole.* (Beridan i dr, 2001:348)

"Women, Peace and Security," celebrated in 2010, were recognized as some of the most important priorities of the 21st century. It reminds of the fact that if we wish to achieve peace and stability over the long term, it is necessary to strengthen the participation of women in the resolution of conflicts, building of peace, maintenance of peace, mediation and all other forms of constructive decision-making. In compliance with this goal, the security sector institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina have made significant progress towards the change of their own statistics and increase in the number of women employed in the security sector. (Bećirević i dr, 2011:78)

The study cited above includes data about the percentages of men and women in various security sector institutions. For the purposes of this analysis, these findings are presented below in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 *Percentage of Men and Women in the Police and Armed Forces of B&H*

Percentages of Men and Women in the Police and Armed Forces of B&H		Men		Women	
Institution	**Total**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Armed Forces of B&H	**9206**	**8670**	**94.18**	**536**	**5.82**
Ministry of Internal Affairs RS	**5172**	**4825**	**93.29**	**347**	**6.71**
Police Officers in FB&H	**512**	**470**	**91.80**	**42**	**8.20**

(Bećirević i dr, 2011:79-8)

Table 2 *Percentages of Men and Women in Peace Operations*

Percentages of Men and Women in Peace Operations (Armed Forces of B&H)					
Period	**Total**	**Men**		**Women**	
		Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**
2000-2010	**345**	**337**	**97.68**	**8**	**2.32**
Percentages of Men and Women in Peace Operations (Police Forces)					
Period	**Total**	**Men**		**Women**	
		Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**
2000-2011	**152**	**135**	**88.82**	**17**	**11.18**

(Bećirević i dr, 2011:80-81)

This data demonstrates that B&H still has to work on achieving the 10% benchmark of women in security sector institutions (i.e. in its Police and Armed Forces). This goal is consistently stated in its strategies, such as the medium term strategies of the B&H Ministry of Security and Ministry of Defence. (Bećirević i dr, 2011:81) The study concludes that the percentage of women in the B&H Armed Forces and Police is insufficient[29] and that only

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29 For example, in the United States of America, the percentage of women in the Army is 14% (www.army.mil/women last visited 10.04.2012.), and 15% in the police (bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/wle8708.pdf   last visited

a few police women or female members of the Armed Forces will eventually progress to decision making levels that can be reached only hierarchically, and based on gradual promotion (rank by rank). If the current number of women at initial or higher levels is not sufficient, it is difficult to expect that the goal of 10% will be achieved in the coming years. (Bećirević i dr, 2011:82).

Higher education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The development and progress of employees in the security sector is ensured both through schooling[30] and education. Education represents the expansion of overall cognition, knowledge, skills and abilities of an individual who is able to independently make decisions and react in different situations. (Sikavica i dr, 2008:723) Education may be both formal and informal. However, there are no explicit rules in regard to informal education, as it has no legal basis.

Formal education is the form of education that is usually found in schools or educational institutions, and is specified by legal acts. Knowledge and skills are acquired according to a pre-defined plan and program, which, to a lesser extent, focuses on the individuality of each person. Knowledge is acquired gradually, and according to age. Therefore, it is divided into grades and

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10.04.2012), whilst the percentage of women in the armed forces in the Kingdom of Belgium is 6,15% (Ondrejka/Stojar,2004;107) and around 25 % in the police (Spahić, 2008: 54).

30 Lat. *schola 1. Formation institution, educational institution, classroom; 2. Grade, class (...) 3. Lesson, experience; 4. science, educational system (...).* The word school has been used to such an extent that it is no longer considered a foreign term. (Klaić 2004:1296); Schooling – organized educational activity of schools enabling personnel for relevant duties during service. (Compare to Grupa autora1981: 600)

levels (primary, secondary, post–secondary school and faculty). (edukacija.posao.ba)

According to the Framework Law on Higher Education in B&H (Articles 4 and 7), higher education implies education following secondary school (four years), which provides individuals with an internationally recognized level of higher education. Higher education activities are of particular interest in B&H, where they have the purpose of establishing, developing, protecting and transferring knowledge and abilities through lectures and scientific research work. Such activities contribute to the development of the abilities of individuals and society in order to enable citizens to enjoy the life-long benefits of higher education in compliance with the law.(Articles 2 and 3) Access to higher education is not limited based on any real or assumed characteristics, such as sex, race, sexual orientation, a physical or other type of handicap, marriage status, skin colour, language, religious affiliation, political or ideological preference, national, ethnic or social origin, affiliation with a national community, property, birth, age or any other unique status. (Article 7) The acceptance of European strategic goals in the field of higher education stated in the Declaration of European Ministers for Higher Education in Bologna, Italy (1999), as well as respect for European humanistic and democratic values, contributes to the harmonization of the European system of higher education. (Articles 2 and 4) There are three cycles of higher education. The first cycle leads to a Bachelor (or equivalent) degree, which is acquired after at least three, and at most four years of full-time study. The second cycle leads to the acquisition of a Master (or equivalent) degree, which is acquired after postgraduate study lasting one or two years. The third cycle leads to a PhD (or equivalent) degree and lasts for three years. (Article 5) Higher education may be acquired through full-time, part-time, or distance learning studies, or by combining these forms of study in compliance with the statute of an institution of higher education. Higher education institutions in

Bosnia and Herzegovina are universities and colleges. Universities are higher education institutions whose activities include teaching and research work and the conference of academic degrees for all three cycles. The goals of universities are to improve knowledge, thought and schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina, improve the educational, cultural, social and economic development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, promote the democratic civil society and aspire to the highest teaching and research work standards. (Article 9 and 10)

The Faculty of Political Sciences and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences at the University of Sarajevo are not the only institutions providing higher education of personnel for the needs of the security sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but they are the ones with the longest tradition.[31] This paper deals with the following questions: What is the gender structure of student graduates of the I and the II cycle of studies on these faculties; is the number of female graduates high enough to make up the 10 % of women required in the security sector. By answering these questions, we will be in a position to evaluate whether these two faculties as institutions of higher education contribute to the strengthening of gender equality, and to the building and preservation of peace, mediation and other processes of constructive decision making, for the purpose of

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31 The Faculty of Political Sciences was established in 1961 and the Department of Security and Peace Studies was established in 1975 (under the name of General National Defense and Self-protection) while the Faculty of Criminal justice Studies was established in 1993 (under the name of Faculty of Criminal Studies) In addition to specific fields that contribute to the security sector (i.e. law, economics, etc.), there are also other specialized educational institutions focused on security. These include the Faculty for Security and Protection of the Sinergija University in Banja Luka, the post-secondary school "Logos Centar" in Mostar, and the Security and Assistance Department at the Faculty of Mining, Geology, Construction and Engineering at the University of Tuzla. These programs of study were established after 1995 and provide specialization in compliance with their respective institutions. (for more information, see: logos-centar.com; www.fbzbl.net; www.fknbih.edu; www.fpn.unsa.ba; www.rggf.untz.ba).

achieving long-lasting peace and stability. Bearing in mind the previously stated facts, this paper will from now on focus on analyzing and comparing data on the students who successfully completed the first and the second cycle of studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, in the period between 2008 and 2011.

Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Sarajevo

The University of Sarajevo was founded on 2 December 1949 and according to its current organizational structure, it represents an association of a large number of higher educational institutions with strong legal character. (unsa.ba 28/03/2012) The university is comprised of 23 faculties and academies, including the Faculty of Political Science, which has a department of Peace and Security Studies dedicated to providing higher education to personnel for the needs of the security sector. This department began its work in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). In compliance with Article 244 of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Assemblies of the Socialist Republics and Autonomous Regions, and the Socialist Secretariat for National Defence (SSNO), entered into the Agreement on the Harmonized Basis for Schooling and Training of Teachers for the Subject "General National Defence" on 13 February 1975. This agreement was valid for all secondary schools in the SFRY. It also called for the creation of a Faculty of General National Defence (ONO) in Belgrade and Departments of General National Defence at the Universities of Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Skopje. The purpose of these institutions included the education of personnel

in charge of teaching ''Defence and Protection'' at secondary schools, the education of young researchers at higher education institutions and other institutions, conducting scientific research work, and engaging professionally in duties and tasks related to defence preparations and social self-protection (DSZ). In compliance with this, the competent authorities of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina decided to establish the General National Defence Department, as an interdisciplinary course of study, at the Faculty of Natural and Mathematic Sciences in the academic year of 1975/76. At the end of the academic year, a comprehensive analysis of the one-year implementation of the university curriculum (NPP) was conducted. The analysis concluded that the work of the General National Defence Department would be more successful if it were transferred to the Faculty of Political Science. The Senate of the University of Sarajevo, with the consent of the Faculty of Political Science, accepted such a conclusion. During a meeting on 29 June 1976, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted the decision to transfer the General National Defence Department from the Faculty of Natural and Mathematical Sciences to the Faculty of Political Science. The transfer occurred on 13 September 1976, and the department continued its work. In the 1976/77 academic year, in compliance with the social agreement, part-time studies were introduced. Beginning in the 1978/79 academic year, women were granted the right to enrol into this course of study. Over the past 36 years of its existence, the curriculum has been changed on several occasions. This has been done in compliance with the profession's evolving needs. Changes included giving the department a new name that better represents contemporary society and the department's personnel profile. As of the 2006/2007 academic year, lectures have been held in compliance with the principles of the Bologna Declaration.

The inaugural generation of first cycle students at the Faculty of Political Science graduated in 2009 in compliance with the Bologna Declaration. Graduation ceremonies were also held in 2010 and

2011. It is important to note that the Faculty of Political Science enabled students who had enrolled prior to the introduction of Bologna requirements to continue and complete their studies based on the curriculum in place when they originally enrolled. Table 3 shows the gender structure of students who successfully completed the first cycle of studies at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo between 2008 and 2011. Data presented for 2008 and 2009 includes to a greater extent students who graduated in compliance with the pre-Bologna curriculum. Conversely, the data for 2010 and 2011 presents students who graduated in compliance with the Bologna Declaration.

Table 3 *Gender Structure of Students who Graduated from the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo between 2008 and 2011*
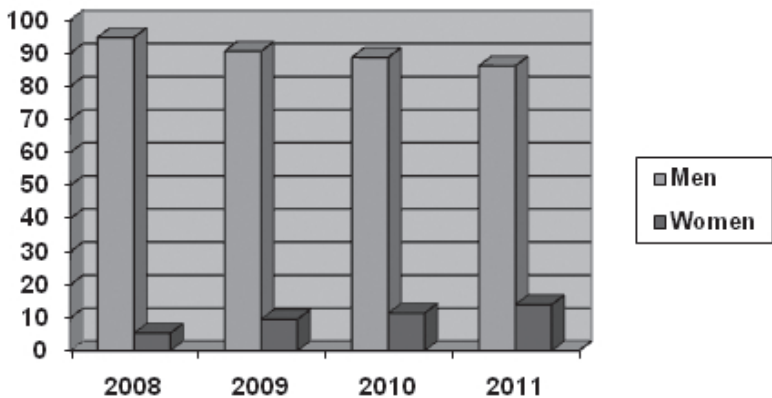
Gender Breakdown of Students who successfully completed the First Cycle Study at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo					
Year	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	%	Number	%
2008	302	286	94.70	16	5.30
2009	179	162	90.51	17	9.49
2010	97	86	88.66	11	11.34
2011	79	68	86.08	11	13.92
TOTAL	657	602	91.63	55	8.37

(modified according to: Čaklovica,

2008:48-52; 2009:42-44; 2010:37-38; 2011:54-55)

To enable a clear understanding of Table 3, the data is graphically presented in Chart 1.

Chart 1 *Gender Breakdown of Students who successfully completed*

The first generation of students to successfully complete the second study cycle (MA students) at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science graduated in 2011. A total number of seven students participated in this program, five of which were men (71.43%) and two were women (28.57%). (Čaklovica,2011:56).

By analyzing the data presented in Table 3 and Chart 1, several conclusions may be drawn. The total percentage of women who successfully completed the first study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department between 2008 and 2011 is 8.37%. Further analysis shows that the percentage of women who completed their studies in the given period has continuously increased, and it increased by more than two and a half times. The annual increase amounts to 2.87%. In 2010 and 2011 the percentage of women who

had completed the first study cycle exceeded 10%. The total percentage of women who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department in 2011 amounted to 28.57%.

Based on data presented in the ''Gender and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina'' study, as well as data about the percentage of women who successfully completed the first cycle of studies at the Security and Peace Studies Department at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, certain conclusions may be drawn. The intention of Bosnia and Herzegovina's institutions, as expressed through medium-term strategies, to increase the percentage of women in security sector institutions i.e. in its police and armed forces at all levels, implies that female candidates will have to further educate and develop themselves. In this respect, institutions of higher education should follow the trends and needs of security sector institutions. The increase in the percentage of women who successfully completed the first study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo shows that women are becoming more interested in this field. Given that the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science grants equal opportunities to all students, and that the number of women who are graduating is increasing, it should be noted that no statistics exist regarding whether and how many women have already found employment in security sector institutions. It is positive that numbers in 2010 and 2011 are higher than the prescribed 10% of women in security sector institutions, which enables these institutions to initiate procedures for the recruitment of female candidates and/or the promotion of its female employees. The total number of students who completed the first study cycle in the aforementioned period is not equal, and has decreased over the years. The number of female graduates per year varied between 11 and 16, and the average is 13.75. Data about the number of women who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science

shows that this level demonstrates a better ratio. The total number of second study cycle graduates is much lower. The percentage of women (28.57) is more than two times higher than the percentage of women during the first study cycle during the same year (13.92), and 2.8 times above the foreseen needs of the security sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences

In addition to the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Sarajevo, the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences also provides education of personnel for the needs of the security sector. It was established in 1993 as a civil institution as the Faculty of Criminal Sciences. Its intention at that time was to follow modern standards in the education of experts for countering *all forms of illegal and socially dangerous forms of behaviour.* (www.fknbih.edu) The goal of higher education of experts at the Faculty of Criminal Sciences at the University of Sarajevo is to provide a contribution in the establishment and maintenance of the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina at *all institutions that make-up part of the chain for countering asocial and antisocial behaviours of individuals and groups.* (www.fknbih.edu) Lectures are held for the purpose of acquiring academic degrees in the field of criminal justice, criminology and security studies. The development and implementation of scientific and research work represents the basis of all teaching activities implemented at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences in Sarajevo. Educational processes at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences have been developed based on graduate and postgraduate programs, and doctoral degree programs, which are based on the legislation on higher education in the Sarajevo Canton. The development of the Faculty occurred in compliance with modern standards in the

field of university education, resulting from international activities in this field. The Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences has continuously and intensively developed its teaching and research work since its establishment. After several years of academic activities, it began focusing on strategic planning and development, which resulted in a new and innovative curriculum and graduate study program. (www.fknbih.edu)

Data regarding the sex structure of graduate students of the first study cycle of the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences at the University of Sarajevo in the period between 2008 and 2011 is given in table 4.

Table 4 *Gender Structure of Graduate Students of the First Study Cycle of the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences (2008–2011)*

Gender Breakdown of Graduate Students of the First Study Cycle of the Faculty of Criminal Sciences at the University of Sarajevo					
Year	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	%	Number	%
2008	328	247	75.30	81	24.70
2009	334	251	75.15	83	24.85
2010	160	119	74.37	41	25.63
2011	257	193	75.09	64	24.91
TOTAL	1079	810	75.07	269	24.93

(modified according to: Čaklovica,
2008:41-55; 2009:35-39; 2010:49-51; 2011:75-80)

To enable a clear understanding of Table 4, the data is graphically presented in Chart 2.

Chart 2 *Gender Breakdowns of Graduate Students of the First Study Cycle of the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences at the University of Sarajevo*
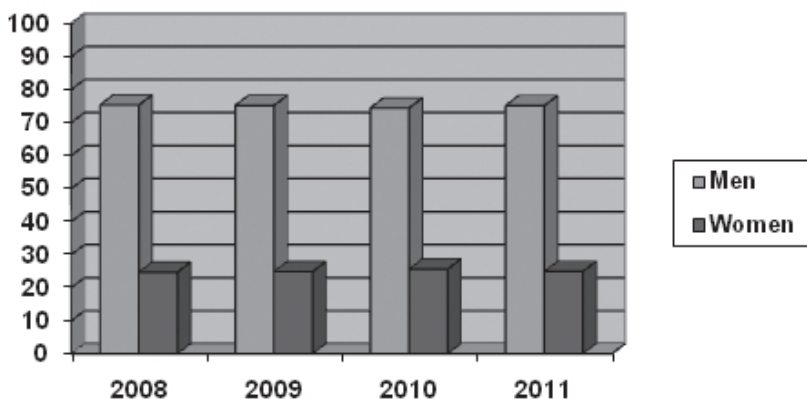
The total number of students who successfully completed the second study cycle (MA students) at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies in 2011 was 11. Of these students, 10 were men (90.9%) and 1 was a woman (9.1%). (Čaklovica, 2011:80-81)

Several conclusions may be drawn based on the data presented in Table 4 and Chart 2.

A total of 24.93% of women successfully completed the first study cycle at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies between 2008 and 2011. In the aforementioned period, the percentage varied between 24.7 and 25.63, which indicates a stable percentage of women who successfully completed the first study cycle. Returning to the data from the *Gender and Security*

Sector Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina study, 10% of employees in security sector institutions should be women. The percentage of women who successfully completed the first study cycle at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences exceeds this by two and a half time. However, no one has researched whether and how many women who successfully completed the first study cycle at the aforementioned faculty have already found employment at the security sector institutions. The number of first study cycle female graduates in the period researched varied between 41 and 81. The average amounted to 67.25 per year. It is evident that the total number of students at the Faculty who successfully completed the first study cycle varied from year to year, and that, in principle, it decreased. Data about students who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences in 2011 shows a lower percentage of women as compared to the average for the first study cycle. Given that the number of students who successfully completed the second study cycle is much lower than the number of students who successfully completed the first study cycle, the percentage of women in the case of the second cycle (9.1%) is two and a half times lower than the percentage of the first cycle (24.91%) during the same year.

Comparing data from the Faculty of Political Sciences – Department of Security and Peace Studies and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences

In comparison to the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, the total number of students who successfully completed the first study cycle at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences is 1.62 times higher. However, the number of men is 1.34 times higher, while

the number of women is 4.89 times higher. Through comparing the percentages of men and women who successfully completed the first study cycle at the both faculties, the total percentage of men at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science is 1.22 times higher than the percentage at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences. The percentage of women is almost three times lower. Taking into consideration the total number of students (1736) who finished the first cycle of studies on these faculties, the percentage of women is 18, 66%.

Table 5. Comparison of gender structure of students who successfully completed the first cycle of studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences (FPN-SIMS) and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences (FZKKISS) at the University of Sarajevo

Comparison of gender structure of students who successfully completed the first cycle of studies at FPN-SIMS an FZKKISS at the University of Sarajevo					
Year	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	%	Number	%
2008.-2011. FPN-SIMS	657	602	91,63	55	8,37
2008.-2011. FZKKISS	1079	810	75,07	269	24,93
Total	1736	1412	81,34	324	18,66

(modified according to: Čaklovica,
2008:41-55; 2009:35-39; 2010:49-51; 2011:75-80)

Comparing this to data about students who successfully completed the second cycle of studies (see Table 6) and were promoted in 2011 at the Department of Security and Peace Studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences, we can draw several conclusions. The total number of students who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science (7) is lower than the number of such students at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences (11). The number of women who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science (2) is two times higher than the number of women at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies (1). The percentage of women who successfully completed the second study cycle at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science (28.57%) is three times higher than the percentage of women at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies (9.1%). Considering the total number of students 1736) who finished the second cycle of studies at these faculties, the percentage of women is 17, 64 %.

Table 6. Comparison of gender structure of students who successfully completed the second cycle of studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences (FPN-SIMS) and the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences (FZKISS) at the University of Sarajevo

Comparison of gender structure of students who successfully completed the second cycle of studies at FPN-SIMS and FZKISS at the University of Sarajevo					
Year	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	%	Number	%
2011. FPN-SIMS	7	5	71,43	2	28,57
2011. FZKKISS	10	9	90,9	1	9,1
Total	17	14	82,35	3	17,65

Conclusion

Bosnia and Herzegovina has no military academy to directly serve the needs of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the completion of the defence reform in 2005, and the establishment of a single military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there has been no public notice for the recruitment of officers to serve as managerial personnel for the professional military service. A specific number of members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were promoted through internal notices or upon completion of education at civil faculties or military institutes of partner countries where they were sent for educational purposes. The percentage of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently 5.82%. This is insufficient, and almost two times lower than the prescribed 10%. The curriculum of the Security and Peace

Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science is a very good basis for the higher education of women who could meet the needs of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The number of women who successfully completed their studies at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science (55) between 2008 and 2011 is not enough to meet the personnel needs of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, it does indicate that there is a basis for an increase in this type of personnel. By applying *positive discrimination* measures encouraging women to enrol in the Security and Peace Studies Department, and by providing for a certain percentage of posts for them with potential scholarships from the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a stable basis for a higher presence of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina could be ensured.

Bosnia and Herzegovina also lacks a police academy on a state level, as the primary higher education institution for the police forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today, the police are decentralized in compliance with the political structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina – at the state level, at the level of the Entities, and Brčko District. A certain number of police officers at the state level, in the Entities, and in Brčko District were promoted by means of internal notices or upon completion of education at civil faculties. Over the years, public notices for the recruitment of candidates for the positions of junior inspectors have been published. The general requirements included that candidates should have completed post-graduate school, college or a first study cycle depending on the time of publication and opportunities available in the field of higher education (abolishment of "college level" education, transition to an educational system in compliance with the Bologna Declaration, etc.). Selected candidates were sent to basic training, which consisted of a six-month stay at a boarding school and a six-month internship at the police institution for which s/he had been recruited. The percentage of women at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republika Srpska (6.71 %) is far below the prescribed 10%, whereas

the number of female police officers in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is somewhat higher (8.2). However, it is also below the prescribed level. The program of study offered by the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences is very adequate for the higher education of women in the police forces. Given the fact that approximately one quarter of students who successfully completed the first study cycle were women, it may be concluded that there are conditions for increasing the number of women with university education in the police forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is clear that there are is a certain number of women with university education (327 or 18,65 % of the total number of students) whose education at the Security and Peace Studies Department of the Faculty of Political Science and at the Faculty of Criminal Justice Sciences meets most of the needs of security sector institutions. Not all of these women are employed. This brings up a number of questions. Is there a lack of political will for increasing the percentage of women in security sector institutions? Are the employees of security sector institutions, who are mostly men, ready to accept women as equal in this sector? Will 10% of women in security sector institutions change the perception that security is a *male job*? Institutions of higher education have already recognized the security sector's need for women with a university education, and have already promoted a number of them. Given the poor economic situation and the general position of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, political structures should participate more actively in the resolution of the issue of female representation within security sector institutions. This cannot only be done through declarative support of certain strategies and plans. Employees in managerial positions at security sector institutions and their subordinates have partially impacted the drafting of medium-term strategies about the increase of female participation in these institutions. This demonstrates a certain level of willingness on their part. Achieving the prescribed level of 10% female participation at security sector institutions will neither endanger the performance of these duties

nor exclude men from this sector. A higher percentage of women may facilitate the performance of certain duties in security sector institutions as a result of cultural phenomena. This is particularly visible in police work in local communities. It is also true of the work of the armed forces and the police in peacekeeping operations. These examples, and other similar situations and needs, may trigger the need for an even higher percentage of women at the institutions of higher education seeking to meet the needs of the security sector.

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Jasna Pekić

Feminism and criminology – gender roles in studying the phenomenon of crime

Abstract

This paper indicates the relationship between feminism and crime research, both analyzing the oversights of criminalistics and criminology, and introducing new theories on crime through feminist criminology. Feminist criminology tries to answer a number of gender related questions within this field of research: why women commit or do not commit crimes, what are the differences between male and female crime and victimization, what are the adequate ways of preventing, fighting and institutional reaction to female crime, etc.

On the other hand, this revolutionary field of research has made a significant contribution to scientific development by criticizing the existing conventional theories of crime. In other words, feminist criminology believes that the existing theories of explaining criminal behaviour are full of prejudice, and are based on stereotypical attitudes about the male-female roles in the society.

Key words: feminism, criminology, criminalistics, feminist criminology, criminality, gender/sex, gender sensibility, victimology

Introduction

The feminist movement of the 1970s has been described as a powerful wave of social changes affecting numerous fields of research. The field of criminology is no exception, especially considering its high susceptibility to changes, frequently caused by political, economic and other (including spiritual, religious) characteristics and values of a particular society and era. That influence gave birth to a new branch of modern criminology called feminist criminology which should be understood as a much wide spectre of scientific ideas and research than those attributed to feminism itself.

What are the topics that could interest feminism in criminology? To begin with, it includes all the gender sensible areas justifiably or unjustifiably neglected by conventional criminology. For example, while criminology has so far dealt with explaining male criminal behaviour (more substantial than female throughout history), feminist criminologists consider the female need for crime also worthy of scientific research for several reasons. One of the arguments is the increase in women's participation in crime but also in institutions of the criminal justice system. On the other hand, if it is true that women have throughout history committed less criminal acts than men, is not that phenomenon in itself worthy of investigation? Discovering the reasons *for not* committing crimes would be as useful to criminology in the phase of their prevention, as discovering reasons *for* committing crimes is useful in the phase of their repression._

There is no unique definition of feminist criminology because of the wide range of issues it covers within the context of the phenomenon of crime. However, authors Jody Miller and Christopher Mullins offered a more adequate definition in 2006 stating that *feminist criminology refers to that body of criminological research and theory that situates the study of crime and criminal justice within the complex understanding that the social world is systematically shaped by relations of sex and gender.* (Miller, Mullins, 2006:217)

In general, feminist criminologists believe that the research on women in crime (whatever their role may be - as victims, offenders, or otherwise) is insufficiently present in the scientific world of criminology and criminalistics which has had a detrimental effect on the final understanding and theorizing on the phenomenon of crime. The final result of this postulate is the objection that conventional and modern criminological theories have not given us a complete and proper explanation of crime, nor have they sufficiently explained criminal acts (or reasons for their noncommittal). Feminist criminology has gradually expanded its scope of interest from the relation of gender/sex to other forms of neglect (or underrepresentation) within criminology and has increasingly engaged in researching the relation between race and crime (particularly in the United States), between different cultures and crime, sexual minorities and crime and so on.

First concerns regarding the partiality of an ostensibly objective, widely accepted science and the potential consequences of such partiality for the society were the reason why even the earliest feminists started questioning much of the conduct research. Depending on the particular form of feminism[32], opinions and criticism of feminist criminologists varied from moderate, "left" opinions to extreme and radical ideas. Earliest criticism revolved around the meagre presence of women in the world of science, and the insubstantial number of women conducting scientific research in general. Over time, the criticism spread to fundamental issues of research results, i.e. the objectivity of knowledge produced in such away.

The work of **Carol Smart** from 1977, *Women, Crime and Criminology* is one of the first publications to strongly criticize previous classical criminological researches, particularly those dealing

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32 Feminism manifested itself in criminology through various forms: liberal, radical, Marxist or socialist feminism, as the main branches of feminism, each left a trace on different orientations within criminology. Today, there are many other branches of feminism, such as postmodern feminism and eco-feminism, but they have not made a considerable influence on criminological theories.

with the issue of women in crime (most frequently as offenders). Previous research of one of the greatest criminologists and the founder of criminology as a science, Lombroso, as well as others, such as Thomas and Pollack, facilitated the influence of feminism on criminal researchers. Their explanation of criminal behaviour in women accentuated some of the main prejudices and attitudes against which contemporary feminists, and the contemporary society at large, were fighting.

What does feminism expect from criminology?

As Mitchell and Oakley point out in their work *What is feminism?*[33], feminism is more easily determined and defined in its absence, when it is lacking in a given social context. Both feminists and non-feminists can agree upon the notion that feminism believes that women are exposed to discrimination due to their sex, have needs that are denied or ungratified, and that meeting those needs requires radical change (including a change in societal attitudes!). All further complications regarding both defining and understanding feminism arise from the fact that feminism is not merely a group of theories dealing with the oppression of women but also a group of strategies for social change.

The first wave of feminism, typical of the late 19th and early 20th century, was paradoxical in a number of ways: acknowledging female differences yet insisting on female unity; insisting on *gender sensitivity*, while at the same time demanding absolute equality with men etc. Many of these paradoxes influenced the second wave of feminism, born in a different social environment, and thus having a

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33 ***Oakley***, Ann, *& **Mitchell***, Juliet, (1986) What is ***feminism***?, Oxford, UK : B. Blackwell, p. 37

different approach. Because of these contradictions, anti-feminists and sceptics readily asserted that *women simply don't know what they want,* while feminists replied that they do not have to know: raising women's awareness of these issues is a long and complex process, and what really matters is that women become aware of the fact that many of their experiences are determined by social constructs of race, class or gender, and that fighting them is worthwhile.

When it comes to criminology, there is a dilemma: does the feminist criminology include criminologists who are feminists, female criminologists, or criminologists that study women? The first answer could be that not all research concerning women, regardless of the sex of the criminologists conducting them, is necessarily feminist. Equally, feminist research is not limited to topics concerning women, which is quite obvious in feminist criminology (especially keeping in mind that the majority of criminals are male). The revolutionary approach of this line of research ensured that the new focus in understanding crime and criminal behaviour is the understanding of the relations between genders; *gender* is as important to theorizing about crime as criminality itself. What interests feminist criminology is to what degree gender, as socially, culturally and historically determined, has influenced the restriction of women and male dominance, and what consequences has it led in different cultural contexts (crime in this particular case). Also, the scope of feminist criminology is not limited to the analysis of criminal behaviour, but offers broader research of criminal law proceedings, victimization and behaviourism. Unlike most criminologists, feminist criminologists are faced with a double challenge: not only must they investigate the effect of gender roles on differences between sexes in daily life, but they are also trying to bring down well-established ideas on gender roles which helped construe social attitudes not only towards crime but other social phenomena, policies and practices as well. But they also highlight the fact that men have **gender** too, and thus propagate a new approach to research—the *research of masculinity* that should investigate the role of social expectations of

the desirable male behaviour in certain deviant behaviours.

The emergence of the so-called *third generation feminism* (the last wave of feminism) focuses on how gender, race (or nationality) and social class affect the placement of some women in less favourable positions compared to others. For many criminologists, this novelty meant a significant improvement in perspectives on feminist criminology, since previous feminist opinions were based on the presumption that all women are equally situated, or at least have an equally unfavourable position in society. The third generation of feminism points out the important fact that class and ethnic distinctions may also be used as a starting point for the research of differences in criminal behaviour.

When it comes to the existing theories of conventional criminology, some feminist movements believe in retrospective emendation of theories, while others question the accuracy of the science itself (for example, liberal feminism and Marxist feminism believe that previous theory and research may be *modified* by the simple inclusion of women in the entire context; others believe it is not enough, saying that such research was improperly set to begin with, and that they need to be re-structured. It is a huge task for feminists who question the existing theories – to investigate everything all over again and determine where mistakes have been made. Such reasoning starts from the following parameters:

- Gender is not only a natural phenomenon, but also a complex social, historical and cultural product, related to, but not necessarily resulting from, biological differences between sexes and reproduction capacities
- Gender and relations between men and women fundamentally determine social life and the functioning of social institutions
- Relationships between sexes and the definition of masculinity and femininity are not symmetrical, but based on the systematic principle of male superiority and social, political

and economic domination over women
- Systems of knowledge and education reflect male opinions concerning nature and society; in this context, the production of knowledge is gender insensitive
- Women should be put in the focus of intellectual quest and research, instead of being peripheral, invisible accessories of men (Barlow, Decker, 2010:292)

If we take these parameters into consideration, it is clear that feminist criminology insists (and this is characteristic of the influence of feminism in all spheres of social life) on *understanding that women should not be excluded from research and theories of social phenomena.* At the same time, it refers to the consequences that such a production of knowledge has had on the development of society and important social apparatus and systems, such as the criminal justice system.

Early criminological theories – incorporated prejudices

Early criminological theories did not only fail to deal with the issue of gender equality in criminology and criminalistics, but also openly degraded women in comparison to men. Such theories incited rebellion, but also the need to point out the problems that these prejudices can cause in creating policies against crime. The original founders of criminal sciences are now subjected to serious criticism, and their theories have certainly been questioned. However, although such theories clearly show many prejudices, which make them unacceptable in the modern society, their influence on the development of criminology cannot be ignored.

Most of these theories are based on the assumption of the

b*iological nature of women,* built around the idea of the *good woman* (a chaste housewife) as the opposite of the *bad* (criminal) *woman.* The issue of sexuality was also characteristic of all early theories and prejudices they carried. Sexuality was considered not only as a natural trait of women but also as the root of all female behaviour, including crime. Women were regarded as sex-objects, there for the appeasement of male physiological, psychological and social needs.

The controversial theories of Sigmund Freud were the first to attract the interest of feminists, and are a typical example of the stereotypes present in early reflections on female deviant behaviour. Freud claimed that women envy the male sex organ, which makes them feel inferior and therefore prone to intense narcissism and exhibitionism as a form of compensation. He also believed that women are incapable of rational thought, that they are mainly concerned with marginal matters and thus are incapable of building a civilization. Freud also believed that women do not have a clear sense of justice and fairness. Criminal offences committed by women are manifestations of their desire to have male genitals. A quote from Freud's research of women in crime says that *a deviant woman is the one who wants to be a man, and will therefore end up neurotic in her fruitless strive for a penis.* Freud's analysis is not only centred on the female roles of mothers and housewives, but it also insists on the rehabilitation and re-socialization of women who refuse to accept these roles. Since criminal women are only trying to be like men, they need treatment and help to get accustomed to their natural gender roles.

Cesare Lombroso believed all criminal behaviour is a manifestation of biological atavism, of our similarity with the ancestors in certain physiological and behavioural traits. To prove his theories, Lobmroso investigated skull capacity and the attributes of the face and the head, in order to identify the biological characteristics of criminals. In 1903, Cesare Lombroso published *The Female Offender* where he described women with short, dark hair, moles, a masculine body, anomalies on the skull and a low brain capacity, as potential

criminal offenders. He also believed that there will be less criminal women in the future and that the rate of female crime will go down as a result of the decrease in reproduction of these women (because of their physical anomalies and their general similarity with men, other men will not choose them for sexual relations and possible reproduction – sexual selection) Lombroso created a hierarchy of human evolution, placing men with no criminal record at the top, followed by criminal men, women with no criminal record, and finally, at the very bottom, criminal women. He believed that female criminals were much stronger than their male counterparts, that they can take pain better, and that imprisonment would not have much effect on them. These women (and their potential reproduction) also represented a danger to the society, and the only solution for Lombroso was either sterilization or death. Female sexuality, called *excessive eroticism* at that time, was also considered abnormal and socially unacceptable, and seen as one of the reasons why women commit criminal offences. These types of criminological theories based on descriptions of biological characteristics are nowadays considered stigmatizing and discriminating, and are absolutely rejected by feminists and the broader criminal science community.

In 1923, William Isaac Thomas published *The Unadjusted Girl*, where he claimed that women commit crime due to their desire for thrill and new experiences. Because women have always been limited in trying different things (including accumulated sexual frustration), their frustration can cause criminal behaviour. In the context of his ideas, the lack of understanding (or consideration) of social links that were normal for women of that time is more than obvious. Thomas saw female prostitution as an inappropriate and socially unacceptable behaviour by which women want to satisfy their sexual frustration, or—as he put it—their need to love and be loved. His understanding of female crime tends to mix up promiscuous behaviour and criminal behaviour in general, which resulted in a focus on prostitution as a form of female crime. He explains that, throughout history, female crime (unlike male crime) was strictly

related to sexuality (more precisely, in his opinion, with promiscuous, socially unacceptable behaviour) as either the motive, the main idea, or the specific form of criminal expression. Thomas believed female criminality can be eliminated with a better socialization of women and their forced acceptance of gender roles.

Otto Pollack had a completely different view of female criminality. The difference in Pollack's point of view lies in his belief that women commit crimes as much as men do, but are better in hiding and disguising it. In 1950, Otto Pollack published *The Criminality of Women* where he described female offenders as sneaky, revengeful, and emotionless. He also claimed that these women prefer professions in the private sphere, such as maids, nurses, teachers, and even mothers, so they could inconspicuously commit criminal offenses (such as infanticide, murder, poisoning etc.). He also claimed that women are more prone to mental disturbances such as kleptomania and nymphomania. According to Pollack, women are the *great minds* behind crime in terms of both leadership and implementation - either directly or by influencing men to act on their behalf. Even when caught, they often get away with their crime by charming judicial bodies and are not punished simply due to the politeness of judicial representatives towards women. Perhaps the greatest criticism should be directed at Pollack's idea of the emancipation of women being the cause of female criminality. He suggested that increased educational possibilities and the rising equality between sexes result in a higher rate of female criminality which, when added to the rate (the obscure number) of undiscovered female crimes, far surpasses the rate of male criminality. Pollack, like many early theoreticians, defined economic criminal acts as male criminality, and sexual criminal acts as female criminality.

With a short overview of some of the old criminological theories and their prejudices, it should be pointed out that feminism in modern criminology supports the opinion that prejudices are also incorporated in some of the new, mainstream criminological theories. Feminists believe that in the theory of social disorganization,

power control and many other theories, patriarchal control is presented as preventing criminal behaviour. Learning theories, such as the theory of differential association, were mainly criticized for using only male examples and focusing their research only on the male population, even glamorizing crimes committed by men.

Early studies and research of women in crime were very rare due to the aforementioned reasons. The low rate of crime committed by women made criminologists consider this phenomenon as unworthy of investigation, and so this type of research was generally about men, and conducted by men. What can be considered as an oversight in this context is the fact that no one saw the need to investigate why women commit fewer crimes (if it really is the case). Many believe this phenomenon remains insufficiently explored and explained even today.

Early criminological studies which took into consideration (in one way or another) women and their involvement in the phenomenon of criminal behaviour mainly relied on stereotypes concerning social roles and the female versus male behaviour. As the work of Joanna Belknap shows, the first positivist studies that included women made the following conclusions: criminal behaviour was caused by individual characteristics (not society or its influence); women were biologically predetermined not to commit crime; female criminal offenders were mainly *tomboys* which makes them *inadequate* women, prone to crime; the significant difference in the number of criminal offences committed by men and by women is not an issue of gender, but an issue of gender predisposition. (Belknap, 2007:33)

The prejudices incorporated in early research identify a series of factors assumed as true in explaining the behaviour of women and men. According to these studies, women and girls are naturally less intelligent than men, incapable of feeling pain, passive, primitive, loyal, and—according to their behaviour—subordinate. It is important to note that such women were considered *good examples* of how women should behave, while the *bad ones* were those who rebelled against their *natural* roles within society. Breaking the law was less

problematic than breaking the expected social norms, roles, and behaviour. Thus, they were not seen as law-breakers, but as *abnormal members of society*.

Modern feminist theories in criminology and criminalistics: women as the perpetrators, victims and employees of the criminal justice system

Feminist discourse in criminology in the area of criminal proceedings is divided into three basic fields of study: *women as criminal offenders, women in the criminal justice system* (policewomen, employees the Prosecutor's Office, the Court) and *victimological research*: *women as victims of crime*.

Women as criminal offenders

When we consider women as criminal offenders, even nowadays women commit percentually less crimes than men. Here, of course, we speak of the official statistics, which do bear certain limitations, but nevertheless show that the percentage of female criminals is in fact much smaller than male (throughout the world, the ratio is usually 30% of female criminality to 70% of male criminality). However, everything depends on the type of crime; therefore, according to the U.S. criminological research (mainly based on FBI statistics, the so-called UCR – *Uniform Crime Report*, which are annual reports from uniformed police) women partake in up to 50 % of petty crimes (petty crime being petty theft, drug abuse, drunk driving, etc.). Statistical data show that men and women are equally present in less severe crimes of violence, drug abuse and theft.

What is unusual about this phenomenon (namely, that fewer women commit crimes) and what feminist criminologists point out, is that it has been historically perceived as something negative. However, some theories presented this characteristic of women as a possible solution for the problem of crime; for example, the theory of Carol Gilligan on the levels of moral development of women being higher than that of men, since women have developed *ethics of caring* (a theory which has also been criticized by feminists for stereotyping the role of women in the society). The percentage of women in violent criminal offenses is 15-20% in the U.S. and Europe, while in cases of property crime the percentage is 25-30%[34]. In the last few decades, there has been a huge increase in the number of female criminal offenders, rising up to 150% in the USA.

In some studies on female murderers and serial murderers[35] some interesting details in *modus operandi* were found. Apparently, women still prefer to commit murder using poison, while men prefer firearms. The average age of female offenders is 30 or above, which is higher than the average age for men. Women are more present in crimes of prostitution, and the majority of women arrested for any type of crime (more than 60%) claim they had experienced some form of violence, whether sexual, physical or psychological. Women will more likely use their hands in committing a murder, while men prefer weapons. The only exception is the knife, which is equally used by both men and women. When it comes to theft, women are more often involved in specific forms of crime than men – the so called *shoplifting*, petty theft from stores. In addition, women are known (and more numerous) as embezzlers, primarily in bank embezzlement. Concerning drug-related crime, women are usually arrested for drug possession, while men are usually drug dealers. According to addiction experts (alcohol and drugs), studies show significant gender differences in manifestations of addiction and

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34   UCR, 2009.

35   Hickey, E. (2002). *Serial Murderers and Their Victims*. Belmont: Wadsworth

alcoholism, which is a good starting point for theorizing on how to fight and prevent this type of crime.

There are certain criminal acts where women can only be perpetrators, i.e. cases of infanticide. Women murder their children immediately after giving birth, or while they are still very small. (while fathers usually commit infanticide when children are approximately 8 years old).

A certain corpus of research on female offenders deals with the issue of women in re-socialization after being released from prison. A long history of criminological research only superficially dealing with female offenders, resulted in a lack of public policies for prevention of recidivism in female offenders, as well as their re-socialization. According to feminist criminologists, the trend of increasing recidivism is a result of poor responses to the needs of women after being released from prison. They claim that their needs are quite different than those of men due to different pasts, experiences, reasons and motives to engage in crime. Here are some risk factors considered crucial in creating a female criminal (unlike male criminals): a history of physical and sexual victimization; the use and abuse of drugs; mental illnesses (mainly depression, PTSD or the consequences of substance abuse); economic and social marginalization; the lack of education and hence fewer opportunities for a job or a career; relationships with partners involved in crime; the obligation of taking care for their children; homelessness - especially in the U.S. (Bloom 2003, Arnold 1990, Chesney-Lind 1997, Owen 1998, Rishie 1996, 2001)

These are only some of the key factors in creating and *maintaining* female crime. The inability to respond to problems faced by female offenders on a daily basis also contributes to recidivism. Studies show that this type of stigmatization—the stigma of double deviance (the rejection of socially expected behaviour in women) may affect other important factors of re-socialization as well; the lack of social support, unfavourable economic conditions, and the peculiar kind of pressure in re-establishing a connection with their

children.

Liberal feminism placed a special focus on female offenders serving prison sentences, observing how female prisoners are treated in comparison to men. Marxist feminists believe that prisons, as well as other institutions of social control (particularly mental institutions), only attempt to reform deviant women because of their refusal to play along with the suitable, stereotypical roles within the capitalist, patriarchal society. On the other hand, the increase in the number of female criminal offenders sentenced to prison is accompanied by a certain inability of prisons and other penal facilities to accommodate women. Prisons were mainly designed to *accommodate* men.

Women in the criminal justice system

Over the last 20 years, the number of female staff in the criminal justice system has increased. Until the beginning of the 1970s, only few women could be found in this branch in Europe and the U.S. Already in the 1980's, the trend started to change, and some 20 years later it also reached our region. These changes were primarily initiated by legislative changes, such as the adoption of gender equality laws and laws on equal opportunities in different modern countries.[36]

It is important to note that the number of employees in the criminal justice system has increased drastically over the last 20 years (by around 150%), and the need for staff was met by employing women. Equal opportunities became available in universities and other educational institutions within the system of criminal justice. More and more women applied for positions that were traditionally reserved for men.

In the context of judicial system monitoring, feminist

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36   *The Law on Gender Equality* in B&H took effect in 2003. *The Law on Prohibition of Discrimination* took effect in 2009.

criminologists have attempted to explore to what extent are judicial systems gender sensitive, and with what consequences. This area of research was mostly dealt with by liberal feminism, but it is also being explored by other feminist movements, focusing on the process of decision-making in courts and correctional facilities.

When it comes to police forces, it is well known that the decisions of policemen are not always based exclusively on the law (will someone be arrested or not, will someone be released despite committing a crime that is usually punishable—such decisions depend on the human factor). The role of gender in such decisions remains insufficiently explored. The reason lies in a truly complex methodology necessary for a realistic evaluation of this type of behaviour, and artificial conditions, which are not the same as natural conditions. The research of the American researcher Visher from the 1980s came close to meeting these methodological challenges. Visher concluded that gender and race play important roles in determining the behaviour of police officers towards certain suspects, especially when deciding whether or not to make an arrest.

Contact with the police is not the only procedural moment in law enforcement where discrimination may occur. Unfortunately, the majority believe that women receive better treatment by courts than men, both in early stages and at sentencing. However, it has not been proven that differences in punishing have anything to do with gender, rather with the type of crime committed. At the same time, some research (Bernstein 1977, Chesney-Lind 1973, Schlossman i Wallach 1978) show that women receive harsher punishment for crimes *unconventional for women, including* physical assault or offenses which *break* female sexual norms. These and other studies also show discrepancies between punishing women of different races and social classes.

Research on the position of women in judicial proceedings was not accompanied by liberal perspectives. Many critics see the gender sensitivity of courts through the concept of a patriarchal society and highlight social power (class society). Eaton (1986) pointed out

that supreme courts in the UK are not only used for the implementation of official, societal rules, e.g. laws—but also for the creation of informal, unwritten rules regulating the society in question (relationships between classes, sexes, and so on). Introducing the effects of unwritten social norms and roles into the feminist discourse, Daly and Eaton (1987) offer compelling arguments claiming that the social factor deciding a particular penal policy towards women (not considering criminal profiles and the committed crime) is the marital status of a woman. These studies show that married women/family women get milder punishments, while the same factor plays no role in punishing men. In general, family is considered a factor influencing not only the punishment, but also the duration of imprisonment, the value of bail or the possibility of being released on a pre-trial release. Such differences in punishment policy are explained by judges as an attempt to preserve the institution of family, even in cases of a family member being subjected to criminal proceedings.

Women as victims

Feminist criminology has had a strong influence on victimology. Since this analysis would require a more thorough and a more relevant elaboration, it is important to start by emphasizing that feminist criminology led to creating better policies towards all victims, but especially women.

As with the statistics on criminal offenders, the number of female victims is lesser than men, (though, as with committing crime, there are differences between crimes committed against men and against women). The average percentage of female victims is 35%[37]. Ethnic minorities and other marginalized social groups are more often victims than dominant social groups.

Radical feminists have played the most important role in the development of a feminist perspective within victimology. They

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37   UCR, 2009.

focused on criticizing the patriarchy which often includes demonstrations of male dominance through the use of violence, but also through the institutionalized forms of patriarchy, through institutions and ideas of the state and the society. The theoretical focus of radical feminism was also supplemented by a set of research rules and methods which had a tendency of reacting to violence against women while conducting this type of research. Feminist methodology facilitated the recording of acts of domestic violence and rape which often remain unreported and is not included in research of crime.

Also, feminist criminology and victimology focus on emphasizing the female ability to deal with and resist violence. By claiming that women are not just passive participants in violence, but rather individuals who try to fix their relationships with violent partners, feminists see women as fighters not as victims. On the other hand, the attitudes of radical feminists have often been criticized by critical feminists for being too general, insufficiently describing the individual experiences of victimization of women, especially those of different races, cultures, age etc.

Domestic violence includes psychological, physical, sexual and sometimes homicidal violence. Its consequences are long-term, diverse and can resurface years later as a result of some other traumatic experience. The most frequent victims of this type of violence are women, and therefore it is important to investigate the primary and the secondary victimization of women from the point of view of feminist criminology.

On the other hand, rape and other sexual offenses, are also characteristic of female victimization. Some of the studies[38] claim that around 15% of all rapes are reported and legally processed. In this regard, it is important to note that very little research has been done on the unreported number of rape cases in victimology. A huge risk

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38 Walby, S., Allen, J., (2004), *Home Office Research Study 276, Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey*, Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, str. 97

for victimization in this type of crime is age: as the British Crime Survey for 2012 shows, the high-risk groups are girls between the age of 16 and 20, followed by those between 20 and 24 with an almost equal rate of victimization.

Other factors of risks for victimization include low income, girls living alone i urban surroundings etc. The same study shows that despite the standard assumptions associated with sexual attacks, the majority of female victims know their attackers and that only 8% of rapes is done by unknown persons, while in 45% of cases, the perpetrator was the victim's partner. What is also important to recognize is that in 74% of rape cases some form of physical violence was also used and that 37% of victims suffered substantial injuries.

What the feminist studies reveal and contribute to victimology, is the realization that the victimization of women is more often of a personal nature that the victimization of men. It means that the offenders against women are most frequently persons whom they know, or are close life partners (spouses, family etc.). Those and similar findings can have a significant impact on creating policies for protecting and dealing with the victims.

Instead of a conclusion

Feminist criminology has survived the various challenges it faced ever since its founding in the 1970's, and is today a mature and significant theoretical approach. It has opened a number of insubstantially dealt with questions in criminology, which could have a crucial role in forming adequate systems of fighting against crime (both male and female). This is due to a pioneer generation of feminist criminologists who insisted on recognizing women in crime and their deviant behaviour as a phenomenon worthy of scientific research; at the same time, thanks to modern representatives of feminist

criminology who help us understand women as victims, offenders and representatives of the judicial system. Feminist criminology is today a legitimate line of research, or more precisely, a set of theoretical orientations in criminology and criminalistics. Feminist theories in criminology started by recognizing the unequal positions of sexes in criminalistics, but have also expanded over time to other forms of inequality. As a result, modern research in feminist criminology more frequently tackles the issues of race (particularly in the U.S.), age, nationality, religion, physical ability, sexual orientation, and other grounds for unequal treatment.

Feminist criminology appeared in the moment in history characterized by strong political optimism and changes in social awareness. The strongest influence came from the U.S., where feminist discourse in criminology studied not only gender and crime, but also the weaknesses of policies against crime and those regulating criminal justice systems.

The overall challenge of feminist criminology of the 20th century was to question a deeply masculine approach to criminological theories, putting the focus primarily on the presence and share of women in the research of criminal behaviour. It should also be mentioned that before feminist criminology, barely any attention was given to sexual offences, sexual harassment or family violence, the group of criminal offences where women as victims are overrepresented. On the other hand, female offenders were completely marginalized in criminological research, and there were also numerous oversights in punishment policies and rehabilitation programs.

What came to be the focus of feminist criminology is female victimization. Many would agree that feminist criminology had the strongest influence in this field, influencing the change of public policies, particularly in the field of punishment.

Other important discourses within feminist criminology are concerned with female offenders, women in the criminal justice system and critiques of conventional criminalistics and criminological theory that were full of prejudices against women.

The revolutionary approach of feminist criminology to criminal theories and research is still a novelty in the world of science. Improvement is needed in introducing its concepts to the scientific community and the wider public, and its practical implementation (in courts, police forces, and other instances of the criminal justice system).

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Missing Persons, Ossuaries and Societal Safety - When Security and Justice have no Gender

Abstract

Societal safety is defined as the *society's ability to maintain critical social functions and protect the lives and health of its citizens, as well as to meet their basic needs in stressful situations*. The implementation of justice is vital to societal safety. Although disappearnces affect the society as a whole, it is important to explore what effects they make on safety as seen through the prism of gender identities. All legal, economic, psychological and safety consequences of forced disappearnces especially reflect on women. In most cases, men are the ones who disappear, while women are most frequenty victims of other crimes (rape, torture...) But there are certain aspects where justice and safety have no gender.

The *ossuaries* in Bosnia and Herzegovina are merely an abstract concept where human remain share the space with other remains which have gained or will gain their identity. Without a name. Without an identity. Without a gender. These bones are *to* (a gender-neutral demonstrative pronoun) They are bones showing that security does not always have a gender. Sometimes it is just *t*o.

Key words: missing persons, ossuaries, societal safety, gender, engendering justice, engendering bones

Introduction

Systematic and deliberate actions to make people disappear have been known as effective tools of war and repression ever since the German *Nacht und Nebel* policy and Hitler's killing of Jews and Romani people during the Holocaust. These disappearances serve political, religious, ethnic, cultural, and other purposes. The period immediately after WWII was a time during which the international community worked hard to ensure that the horrors of the Third Reich would never be repeated. In 1945, trials were conducted in Nurnberg and Tokyo and the United Nations was established. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention were adopted in 1946. Nevertheless, without a system for the implementation of these measures, such horrors continued to be repeated around the world.

Since 1978, the practice by which people are made to disappear has become known as *enforced disappearance*[39] (UN Doc A/RES/33/173, 1978). In 1992, the United Nations adopted a Declaration on this practice, in which it is fully recognized as a crime against humanity in international criminal law, as defined by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) (UN Doc A/RES/47/133, 1992; UN Doc A/CONF.183/9, 1998).

Enforced disappearances most often result in the death of the missing persons. Enforced disappearances also cause trauma to the families of missing persons because they do not know the fate of their loved ones or their remains. Until the body is found and the death certificate is issued, the family can suffer economically

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39 The UN Declaration defines this concept as persons "arrested, detained or abducted against their will or otherwise deprived of their liberty by officials of different branches or levels of government, or by organized groups or private individuals acting on behalf of, or with the support, direct or indirect, consent or acquiescence of the government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the persons concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of their liberty, which places such persons outside the protection of the law."

and socially, their lives can be in danger, and they are stigmatized. Through this, fear and insecurity spread to the rest of society, which is comprised not only of individuals who identify with one or the other side in the conflict, but also of individuals who want to distance themselves from this problem (Juhl & Olsen, 2006). This has an impact on the security of a society as a whole or overall safety of the society.

Societal safety is defined as "society's ability to maintain critical social functions and protect the lives and health of citizens, as well as to meet their basic needs in stressful situations" (Olsen, Kruke, & Hovden, 2005; Juhl & Olsen, 2006). The societal safety framework encompasses all other branches of security and is the overall security of a society.[40]

In order to ensure societal safety, from the point of view of enforced disappearances, it is important to establish the truth, but also to enforce justice. Societal safety must be built in peace and during the reconciliation process with the ultimate goal of restoring faith in basic social institutions to society. Without public trust in institutions, which should organize a society, it is almost impossible to ensure societal safety.

Although the law acts in accordance with the presumption of innocence and *in dubio pro reo*, i.e. that all persons are considered innocent until proven otherwise by a final judgment, in group conflicts persons are guilty through their group association until proven otherwise. In order to avoid the collective guilt of these groups, it is of great importance to exhume mass graves, to uncover the truth, and to criminally prosecute the perpetrators. The enforcement of justice is the most important aspect of societal safety (Juhl & Olsen, 2006).

Truth Commissions are usually the key element for ensuring truth and security in societies that transform into democracies following egregious violations of human rights. The task of these

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[40] For a detailed discussion, see Olsen, Kruke, and Hovden (2007) Societal Safety: Concept, Borders, and Dilemmas.

Truth Commissions is to establish facts about what happened during conflicts, but as an unbiased observer. The task of a Truth Commissions is to gather unbiased evidence of truth on two levels: (1) the truth about individual events, cases, or persons, and (2) the truth about the nature, causes, and scope of human rights violations (Chapman & Ball, 2001). This truth will be further used for legal processes, and to seek justice. Therefore, Truth Commissions are one of the key mechanisms in maintaining the security of a society.

However, it must be pointed out that, in terms of justice mechanisms, Commissions possess a series of features that make them unique. Almost all Truth Commissions focus on the past, and not the present and the future through a possible advancement of society; Commissions investigate patterns of violence in a specific and clearly defined period, and not one specific event or the entire history of a society; they are temporary and usually exist and implement their mandate in periods lasting from several months to several years; they end their work by publishing reports of their findings. Most Truth Commissions publish their reports based on information gathered from victims, sometimes even from perpetrators, and make proposals for justice and reconciliation, and, thereby, security (Juhl & Olsen, 2006; Woody, 2009). Truth Commissions exclusively search for truth and it is not within their mandate to seek justice. Although truth and justice do not have to be separate goals, Truth Commissions do have a series of limitations, which can ideally be overcome by other processes within the state apparatus, primarily the justice system.

It is very important that Truth Commissions take a gender sensitive approach in their work. A Commission can differentiate between the causes and consequences of human rights violations on men and women using a gender sensitive approach to reparation programs. Through such an approach to their work, Truth Commissions can contribute to changes in the law and environment that contributed to inequality and discrimination, as well as to the understanding that women's experiences of violence and repression

are usually neglected in favour of men's opinion on these issues (The World Bank, 2006). Peace processes, which ensure the security and progress of a society, are generally viewed as "men's domain." The language and practice they employ are closer to a male, rather than female, reality, and, as a consequence, women have no direct influence on the reconstruction processes themselves (Sorensen, 1998). Despite this, the United Nations believe that women have a critically important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, as well as in the peace building process (UN Doc S/RES/1325, 2000).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is no Truth Commission that could establish the facts on crimes committed during the four-year conflict. Support for families who are searching for truth and justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also the region, is primarily provided by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) through its activities in the Western Balkans. An initiative for the creation of a Regional Commission Tasked with Establishing the Facts about War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former SFRY, named RECOM, which includes over 1,500 associations, was also launched.

What is the gender of justice?

Although disappearances influence society as a whole, it is very important to consider what influence disappearances have on security, from the point of view of gender identities. All legal, economic, psychological, and security consequences of enforced disappearances apply especially to women. This aspect is so important that the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) adopted a Resolution in which it points out that the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID) must "in fulfilling its mandate... Apply a gender perspective in its reporting

process, including in information collection and the formulation of recommendations" (UN Doc A/HRC/RES/7/12, 2008).

It is usually men who disappear. This is obvious from the example of the Srebrenica victims. By 2008, from over 3,000 victims identified in the mortuary of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), Podrinje Identification Project in Tuzla, only five victims were women (Yazedjian & Kešetović, 2008). Furthermore, based on the data collected by the Research and Documentation Centre (IDC) from a total of 07.207 persons killed and that went missing in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1991 and 1995 10,04% were women (IDC, 2007a). According to the same source, during the same period, 1.948 women went missing (IDC, 2007), which is 6,5% of the total number of persons missing during the conflict that have been documented by the IDC, which further emphasises the statement that men are those that most often go missing.

On the other hand, it is a fact that women are, during serious human rights violations, also victims of disappearances and other crimes (rape, torture, etc.). At the end of the conflict and the beginning of reconciliation processes that societies that suffered enormous losses through enforced disappearances must go through, women are those who feel the direct consequences of mass losses. They are once again victims – they are mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends – whose loved ones have disappeared. Due to accepted gender roles, deeply rooted in history, tradition, and culture, men and women experience the consequences of enforced disappearances differently (WGEID, 2012).

Most enforced disappearances happen in patriarchal, undeveloped, and poor parts of the world. For women, the economic consequences of enforced disappearances are severe. The loss of a husband, who in such patriarchal systems represents "the head of the house," means that women have to fight for the survival of their families and become the main keepers of their families. With regard to the psychological and social trauma they endure, such

women must be strong both for themselves and for their families, in order to begin the healing process. Women also experience acute consequences related to their and their family's safety and security, because men were the protectors of the family unit.

When enforced disappearances are viewed from the point of view of gender, both men, mostly as missing persons, and women, as members of families of missing persons, are victims of enforced disappearances. Justice, in this aspect, does not have just one gender, or to put it more precisely, justice is of both genders. However, there is segment of enforced disappearances when justice has no gender, and keeping in mind that that security is based on justice, it follows that security at times also has no gender.

The process of identification

As a consequence of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, approximately 30,000 persons were considered missing[41]. Today, two-thirds of that number of individuals have been found and identified. Circa 10,000 individuals are currently considered missing (ICMP, 2011a). Missing persons, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are defined in Article 2 of the Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette of BiH, 50/VIII) as "persons of which the family has no news and/or who are reported, based on reliable information, as a missing person due to armed conflict on the territory of the Former SFRY. [...] Persons gone missing in the time period between April 30, 1991, and February 14, 1996." The missing person status ends when the mortal remains of an individual are identified[42], which concludes the search for that person

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41   According to the ICRC's definition, a missing person is anyone whose destiny is unknown as a result of armed conflicts, or due to internal violence.

42   The identification process itself is defined in Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Law

(Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Article 9, Paragraph 1).

From November 2007, three years after the Law on Missing Persons came into force, all missing persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina are considered dead, and have had their death records entered. Prior to November 2007, in order to proclaim a missing person as dead, family members had to file requests. The missing individual's cause of death, which is information that family members are legally entitled to, is established by a forensic expert. A report is subsequently submitted to the competent prosecutor's office (ICMP, 2011b). Once a death certificate has been produced, and a recording of the missing individual entered into the Death Records, the family of the missing person is able to access the rights guaranteed to them through the Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[43] These benefits are primarily financial in character. All of the rights guaranteed via this Law are very important to families, as previously stated, because these are primarily women who have become the sole guardians of their households. The law provides mechanisms through which Bosnia and Herzegovina is trying to ensure the security of its society, particularly through lowering economic pressures on the families of missing persons.

The process described above seems like a simply way via which missing persons can be easily found and identified. It is designed to be a process that restores an individual's identity to human remains. The reality, however, is not that simple.

Human remains in Bosnia and Herzegovina are discovered in diverse conditions and locations. With regard to this work, the most important of these locations are mass graves. Mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina are divided into several types based on the nature of their creation. Mass graves that served as initial burial sites are called primary mass graves. Mass graves that were again dug up,

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on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

43   See Articles 17 and 18 of the Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

with the aim of concealing the crime, with the remains from those graves transported to secondary locations are called secondary mass graves. In some cases, these secondary mass graves were again dislocated, forming tertiary mass graves. Due to the dislocation of mass graves, the bodies and human remains in them were dismembered, and often parts of one person have been found in several mass graves (Jugo, 2011).

Due to the nature of the creation of mass graves, the identification process and search for missing persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been very difficult. Usually, only skeletons remain for identification. Due to the dislocation of graves, these skeletons were dismembered into smaller pieces, which can consist of one or more bones. Differences in gender are subtle and only discernible using certain skeletal elements. The identification process restores the identity of these bones, and this identity also includes gender. Identification returns missing persons to their families, and allows the families to know where their loved ones rest. However, identifications can be performed based not simply on one bone, but rather on an entire skeleton. It is no wonder that we are asked: "when would you decide to name a set of mortal remains — a femur, a rib, a tooth, part of a skull — as a body, with a full identity and history? Are a femur, a tooth, a rib and part of the skull enough for you? What is the bare minimum you would identify as a body, would call a body?" (Arsenijević, 2011).

Identification is not only difficult because bodies are dismembered. Indeed, there are also parts of the body that will never be identified. The identification of missing persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina is guided by DNA analysis (Yazedjian & Kešetović, 2008). However, not all bones are suitable for DNA analysis. Some bones are generally not "good" for acquiring the DNA profile of a missing individual (Martin, 2011), and do not lead to successful identification. Identifying an individual via DNA analysis is also made difficult by the natural conditions of the surroundings in which the remains are located. Depending on the soil, the manner

of burial, and weather conditions, some bones will not reveal a clear DNA profile even after several analyses have been performed. Such bones, and the bones that cannot be subjected to DNA analysis, find their place in an ossuary. Ossuaries are places where justice has neither identity nor gender.

Places where justice has no identity and no gender

Ossuaries (lat. *ossuārius* – "from or for bones," compound noun from *os* – "bone" and *-ārius* "from, linked to"), in the traditional sense, according to Curry (1999:3) "are mass graves containing the collected, often disarticulated skeletal remains multiple individuals", while later defined as depositories where bones of several individuals were buried in a secondary site (Sutton & Arkush, 2009). However, the most complete definition would be that ossuaries are joint deposits of skeletal remains of many individuals which were originally, after death, buried separately somewhere else (Ubelaker, 2000). Ossuaries were formed after a culturally prescribed number of years since the original burial (Ubelaker, 1974). As stated previously, ossuaries are mostly comprised of disarticulated skeletal remains. However, they can also include a certain number of linked bones. The individuals buried in ossuaries include members of the same group who died during the period since the last joint burial. Little attention is paid to separating individual skeletons or groups of skeletons from each other (Rost, 1997). In an archaeological context, the ossuaries from Eastern North America, primarily from the regions of mid-Atlantic and the Great Lakes, Israel, and Africa, are well known. Ethnic, historical, and archaeological evidence indicate that these groups invested a great amount of effort in collecting the skeletal remains of their deceased in order to bury them in a

joint ceremony (Ubelaker, 2000).

Researchers consider ossuaries very important for the study of paleodemography. The paleodemographic research of human remains seeks to reconstruct the basic biological and social facts about human life in the past, which includes gender differences (Rost, 1997; Peleg, 2002). Ossuaries prove particularly good research sites because they contain a large number of remains of a population that is defined by specific, definitive temporal parameters, which are the same for the entire population. It is important to note that these ossuaries contain a large number of individuals. However, the identity and resting place of these individuals is known to their loved ones.

One such study focused exclusively on gender differences evident in ossuaries. It was concluded that gender ideology, i.e. the established symbolism of manhood and womanhood in society, treated men in a more special and personal manner. Ossuaries contained the names of men, and placed great importance on their social status, origin, and profession. Women were usually left nameless, and their status was pointed out only compared to the men in their lives. Thus, they were either wives or mothers (Peleg, 2002). Burials are a way to construct the social identity of a person (or persons) and define their role in society. Accepted customs and social opinions influence every burial. Furthermore, they are also a reflection of a distinct social ideology, and even gender ideology.

The identification process involves exhuming mass graves throughout the country. It is a way to restore identity to victims - who are, at the time of their exhumation, without a name, identity, gender or "belonging" – to give them that back name, identity, gender and "belonging" (i.e. to a family or particular ethnic or religious group). But what happens to remains to which identity cannot be restored?

The process of identification is the process of giving back to the exhumed remains of victims from mass graves around Bosnia and Herzegovina their name, their identity, their gender, their affiliations (ethnic, religious etc.), everything they had lost. What happens

with the remains to which these things cannot be returned to? Following exhumation, all remains undergo the process of examination and anlaysis at the mortuary. Samples of bone and/or teeth are taken for DNA analysis, and, in the end, the remains are identified (Martin, 2011). However, there are some cases when, even after numerous attempts, body parts, and occasionally entire bodies, cannot be identified. Such remains are designated to ossuaries.

Ossuaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina serve a very different purpose and are not places in which the remains of those whose identity has been restored are placed. *Ossuaries* are only an imaginary construct. These human remains share their physical space with other human remains that have regained their identity. They have no name. No identity. No gender. They are *it*.

An analysis on the politics of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, explains how, following the identification process, the *it* suddenly becomes *somebody's missing husband, somebody's missing son, somebody's missing father... But this it keeps insisting. Who is this? And when does this it become Ibrahim, Zvonko or Đorđe?* (Arsenijević, 2011:194). Due to the limitations of current technology in the identification of remains, and in case of Ossuaries, the following question should be added: Does *it* ever become anything else? Will *it* ever become Ibrahim, Zvonko or Đorđe? Even if the technology advances to the point where the identification of bones in ossuaries becomes possible, will it be too late?

Science is the most productive way for humans to understand and analyze our world. However, science is not almighty and has its limitations. Despite this, society sometimes expects that science will provide all the answers. With regard to the identity of missing persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, DNA will answer the question of *who* the person is. Anthropological and forensic analysis provide answers for questions like *which gender*, *what age*, *how tall*, *which race*, and *cause of death*. However, this cannot always be done. Scientific success generally requires certain conditions in order to generate answers. There are some things science can never determine. For

example, it will never provide an answer to the question of which *nationality/religion*. Therein lies science's limitation. Science will still restore a *him* or *her* to Arsenijević's *it*. However, even science cannot help the bones in ossuaries.

DNA analysis, or more generally genetics, is the most quickly advancing science. Current levels of scientific development do not allow identity to be restored to bones found in ossuaries. Nevertheless, due to immense progress in this field, there is a real possibility that science will someday succeed in restoring the identities to these bones as well. It is possible that *it* will become Ibrahim, Zvonko, or Đorđe. This cannot happen now, but perhaps it will. Alas, not yet.

Current levels of scientific development tell us that the basic archaeological paradigm is represented by the idea that human behaviour can be expressed through patterns, and that the physical remains of human activities are also "patterned" (Conner & Scott, 2001). Accordingly, in order to engender bones, we could use the physical remains of activities of the person they belong to. Bones in ossuaries do not have these physical remains. Today, what can we do when activities have no physical remains?

What does this mean for families? What does it mean for society? How does this reflect on justice? Renshaw claims that, although there is a distinction between the absence of a person and the absence of its skeleton, in the search for and identification of missing persons, the person and its skeleton are superordinate to each other in the thoughts of the families. The political tensions regarding the exact way a person died are transposed to the search for their bodies (Renshaw, 2010). Bones in ossuaries, as well as bones for which an identity cannot be decisively determined, can become a part of the identification efforts and a confirmation of the loss of a person. If we cannot confirm the loss of a person, then we cannot seek justice for that person. The loss of justice diminishes societal safety, and security.

In the story *Ruvejda* (Šehabović, 2007), the main character

decides to take back the blood sample she provided for the identification of her grandfather. The moment she takes back the blood sample is a *short moment of truth*, a *moment of an act which cuts through the symbolic*; *a Bartleby moment of subtraction, of 'I would prefer not to'* (Arsenijević, 2011:202).

Ruvejda decided to leave the bones unidentified. However, what happens when *I'd prefer to* and *I'd prefer not to* have no influence? In the story, it is presumed that the remains of Ruvejda's grandfather can be identified and will not be designated to an ossuary. It is assumed that DNA extraction will be successful. But, what if the remains of Ruvejda's grandfather, without an identity, must be placed in an ossuary, and Ruvejda decides to give her blood sample after all? With ossuaries, regardless of whether Ruvejda had provided her blood sample or not, identification cannot be performed. The bones are now unidentified regardless of her decision. Do ossuaries take away all of our control and ability to decide?

Conclusion

Re-establishing societal safety must be based on peace and reconciliation processes. However, societal safety is not simply based on this alone. The exhumations of mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the identification of remains discovered in them have been successfully applied in the processing of war crimes before the International Crime Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), as well as before national and local courts. Considering that the Former Yugoslavia has a history of genocide and mass killings reaching back to WWII, the exploration of mass graves performed by the ICTY is very important for the promotion of overall societal safety, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and throughout the region, especially considering that understanding of security as being

insured through power has now evolved into emancipatory security, i.e. security that is insured through justice (Williams, 2008)

This is a straightforward procedure in the case of identifiable remains. What about ossuaries? The first question to be asked is to whom these bones belong. If we take into account past opinions, these bones belong to an entire society (Arsenijević, 2011), and as such, they are the responsibility of the whole society. This is in accordance with current, suggested practice, under which the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina (MPI), in cooperation with the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina, plans to start resolving this problem (BIRN, 2012). The establishment of a Working Group for Resolving the Issue of Unidentified Mortal Remains is planned. Such a group would visit all 11 mortuaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina and perform a review of unidentifiable cases. The members of the Working Group would represent all bodies involved in the search for and identification of missing persons (MPI, Prosecutor's Office of B&H, forensic experts, ICMP, ICRC, etc.) (Dzidic, 2012). Through such an approach, the state and society, as well as the members of the family associations of missing persons comprising the MPI Advisory Board, will be the members of the Working Group responsible for resolving these remains' destiny. This demonstrates that, at least theoretically, society has taken responsibility for these remains. However, is the question of "which" society took responsibility for these remains is imposed?

A 2011 report on the assessment of security risks in Bosnia and Herzegovina has shown that, since 2006, ethnic and national divisions within Bosnia and Herzegovina's society have intensified. Little is needed for renewed ethnic violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Azinović, Bassuener, & Weber, 2011). If our society is so divided, and the process of finding and identifying the missing persons so highly politicized (Nezavisne novine, 2009) that each side counts precisely how many of *whose* victims has been exhumed, is it realistic to assume that the whole society will take responsibility for the bones from the ossuaries? Or, is it more realistic to expect that

only one part, or specific, ethnically divided parts of society, will take responsibility for *it* from the ossuaries? If the implementation of justice is vital to societal safety, the bones in the ossuaries, i.e. the bones which are *to* – without an identity, without a gender, but for which justice needs to be done in order to ensure societal safety,these bones show that security does not always have a gender. Sometimes it just *to*. The broken ribs, vertebrae and femurs that failed to provide a conclusive DNA profile. These are the bones that will remain as *to* (it).

What can be done when there is no way to know the gender of these bones?

How can we seek justice for these bones?

How can we seek justice for *it*?

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Ivana Dračo

Security for Whom? Feminist re-defining of the Concept of Security

Abstract

From a feminist point of view, peace can be regarded as the absence of not only direct violence but of structural violence as well. Peace is both a process of eradicating wars and their consequences and achieving social justice, economic development and security. Although the role of women was vital in the process of preventing and transforming conflict and establishing a permanent peace and security in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they are portrayed only as victims of war, and are marginalized as participants of peace. Including women in the process of peace-building is often justified by stereotypes of innate female pacifism , their inclination to dialogue and compromise, which is extreamly problematic since it indicates an essentialist assumption of women as peace-makers and men as warriors. At the same time, the claim that women are predetermined for peace-making is also used by those who advocate the inclusion of women in the security sector. It is supposed that women can make a typically "female" contribution to military and police structures, manifested in the innate female care, patience and mildness. Deeply rooted gender stereotypes are not eliminated by the simple inclusion of women in the police and the military, but continue to have an effect, disabling women's advancement in these professions. Apart from questioning the role of women as participants of security feminist analysis of the concept of security touches upon various experiences of security and articulates the security needs of women. Discussions on security have traditionally omitted multiple experiences of women born in a network of various class, ethnic, religious, sexual, age and other identities. In order to actively include women in the process of creating and implementing policies of security on all levels of decision-making, it is necessary to provide the space for articulating the security needs of women, taking into consideration personal, political, socio-economic, cultural and ecological aspects of security.

Key words: peace-building, gender stereotypes, gender-based violence, security needs of women, feminist concept of security

Feminist work tends to represent war as a continuum of violence from the bedroom to the battlefield, traversing our bodies and our sense of self. We see that the 'homeland' is not, never was, an essentially peaceful unitary space.
(Cockburn, 1999, p. 8)

By re-considering the issue of the potential gender neutrality of security, an analysis of different concepts of security begins – from the traditional to the human and to the feminist concept of security. In the context of the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the focus will be on three areas – women and peacemaking, women as entities in the realm of security, and re-defining security from the point of view of multiple experiences of women. This paper will address the significance of the entry of women into the processes of prevention and resolution of conflict and building sustainable peace and security, it will contest the stereotype of women's dedication and placability, and it will create a space for articulating feelings of insecurity from the women's perspective.

Women, Peace, Insecurity

Gender-based violence and structural violence are key points of women's security both in times of war and in times of *peace*. Structural violence is hidden in the form of specific organizational and societal structures, and it is reflected in the unequal distribution of resources as well as the unequal possibility to decide on the their distribution, whereby resources do not have to be only material or economic, but also non-material, such as education and health care. (Galtung, 1969) Cultural violence is the product of the ideology legitimizing structural and direct violence. The absence of structural

violence is a necessary precondition for achieving stable peace.

Peace cannot be perceived only as the absence of war or a violent conflict, but requires the existence of social justice, economic development and security. (Galtung, 1996) Taking into consideration that peace is not merely the absence of direct violence (killing, rape, beating, incest, and so on) but also of indirect, structural violence (of inappropriate health care, sexual harassment, discrimination on the grounds of sex, or the deprivation of resources), raises the following question: does peace also imply a peace for women? What kind of "protection" does the state provide to women? Does structural violence affect the achieving of women's human rights? A society characterized by an unequal distribution of power creates gender inequality and makes it legitimate. Promoting gender equality and eliminating gender discrimination are of vital importance to the issue of security and the protection of political, economic, social and cultural rights of women.

From a feminist point of view, peace is not achieved by ending conflicts and signing peace agreements, but by an on-going process aimed at eradicating wars and the consequences of wars. Focusing on the consequences and not on the causes of conflicts, feminist theoreticians demand sanctioning of all forms of violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual violence committed against women in war. In the process of creating permanent, stable peace and security for all members of society, active participation of women is of vital importance.

Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000) affirmed for the first time the active role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, emphasizing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and implement peace and security, as well as the need for their enhanced role in the process of decision-making in preventing and resolving conflicts. However, women in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still portrayed only as war victims, as passive objects of nationalism and militarism, and are marginalized as

peace participants or peace initiators. The gender component of the nationalist discourse is reflected in representing women as passive objects of a male-centric nation. (Kašić, 2000; Spasić, 2000). Helms (1998) states that the construct of the woman in Bosnia, especially the Bosniak woman, as an orientalized, egzotic, passive victim of nationalistic violence, has largely remained unquestioned. (p. 26) Women as participants of peace are completely invisible in the wider social context.

The Government and international organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina generally do not engage in active promotion and application of the 1325 Resolution standards. Civil society organizations, particularly women's non-governmental organizations, have contributed to the implementation of the Resolution in the form of official and informal trainings, consultation and networking with government institutions; however, their work is invisible in the media and generally not known to the general public. The *Association of Women to Women* was active in monitoring the implementation of the 1325 Resolution in Bosnia and Herzegovina and has emphasized in its *Final Report (2007)* that the majority of representatives of international and domestic government organizations and institutions do not understand the objectives and obligations arising set by this Resolution.

A greater inclusion of women in the prevention and resolution of armed conflicts (or other types of conflicts) on all levels, particularly the level of decision-making, is one of the recommendations of the *Platform for Action*, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The *Platform for Action* emphasizes that peace is inextricably linked with the advancement of women who represent the fundamental power in taking a leading role in conflict resolution and the promotion of sustainable peace at all levels.

Equal access by women to all government structures is of great importance for maintaining and promoting peace and security. In order to exercise their equal position in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace, women must be politically and economically

empowered and adequately represented on all levels of decision-making. One of the strategic objectives of the *Platform for Action* is to promote women's contribution in fostering a culture of peace and to introduce peace education for boys and girls with the focus on non-violent forms of conflict resolution and the promotion of tolerance.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, two aspects of the *1325 Resolution* have not been implemented: the involvement of women in the process of peace-building, and security and protection of women in war and post-war periods. According to the conclusions of the *Committee for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women* in 2006, a particular problem is the *lack of participation of women in the process of peace-building, reconstruction and transformation and of their analysis in this aspect*, which inevitably affects the implementation of women's human rights in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Žene ženama, 2007) Women were excluded from the Dayton peace negotiations and were not consulted by international organizations in the process of negotiations and peace-building. Only a small number of women's non-governmental organizations have worked actively to increase the participation of women in the process of establishing peace and security.[44] Despite their efforts, the issue of women's participation in peace-building remains on the margins of public and political interests.

The need to involve women in the process of peace-building is proven by the fact that women and children constitute the majority of those exposed to the adverse effects of armed conflicts, which leaves significant consequences on sustainable peace and reconciliation. Women are the most numerous victims of war, and attacks against women are no longer accidental but have become part of a war strategy aimed at humiliating and degrading the enemy, destabilizing its ethnic and religious group and achieving military,

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44 More on peace-building in former Yugoslavia in: Centre for non-violent action. (2007). *20 poticaja za buđenje i promenu: o izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije*, Beograd – Sarajevo: Centar za nenasilnu akciju.

political and economic advantage. Systematic rape of women during the aggression against the Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 was part of the strategy of ethnic cleansing. Rape of women was considered an effective method of damaging the morality of their men and their community. Considering that a woman is perceived as a man's "property" in a patriarchal society, an attack on her integrity represents an attack on the masculinity of "her" man. The body of the raped woman becomes a symbolic battlefield for conveying a message to the defeated man of the antagonistic nation. (Brownmiller, 1995) Treated as a conflict of men, who are members of the combatant parties, rape becomes a political act, a crime committed against a certain ethnic/religious community, and not against the female body and the woman as a person. (Mischkowski, 1998) Focusing on the ethnic/religious gropup, instead of the female subject, further reinforces violence.

War rape was for the first time in history declared as a crime against humanity by the *International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).* The laws in force in B&H grant rape victims the status of civilian war victims, entitling them to KM 514.00 per month, as well as to some limited health care. Only Sarajevo Canton provides health insurance to women who were victims of war crimes. (Žene Ženama, 2007) Even after the termination of the conflict, women are still not safe or legally recognized, and are visible only when used for political interests. In the nationalistic, highly sexualized discourse, women are presented as both a nation's peril and its origin. In wartime, their bodies are treated as foreign borders there to be encroached, while in peacetime they are merely incubators for the sons of the nation. (Iveković, 1997) Both in war and the post-war periods, women's human rights are neglected in favour of religious and national rights.

War rape as the most severe form of violence, is only an extension of the patriarchal order and daily, peacetime violence against women. (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2000) Sensitization to the gender perspective of war/s as direct consequences of patriarchy is of crucial

importance to including a continued education of not only women but of men as well. It is important to raise awareness of the importance of both men and women in the prevention and transformation of conflicts, as well as of the importance of articulating one's own sense of security, which is the precondition for creating sustainable and equitable peace.

Women in military and police structures

The inclusion of women in the peace-building process is often justified by the stereotype of the pacifist "female nature", a hugely problematic concept since it perpetuates oppressive gender binaries – inherent male propensity to violence and inherent female submissiveness. From this perspective, men start wars, while women are either victims or peacemakers. However, women's peacefulness, domesticity and solicitude are not inherent but learned. The following question needs to be raised: *If women are so loving, quiet and caring, why do so many of their sons become violent?* (Gnanadason, Kanyoro, & McSpadden, 2005) Women and men are equally responsible for promoting and passing on values which advocate and glorify war. Knežević (2004) claims that *mothers appear as ideal symbols for an authoritative community in which individuals' duties to the community prevail over their individual rights* (p. 79). Women are often key parts of the war machinery, as guardians of traditional values, instruments of confirming, propagating, normalizing, and imposing the national-military rhetoric.

The essentialist assumption of the inherent pacifism of the woman, who is morally superior to the man-warrior, is defended by radical feminists who find arguments in its favour in the practice of a matriarchal past.

> *Essentialism is...a dangerous political force, created for the sake of reinforcing differences and inequalities, of preserving dominati-on. It functions through stereotypes about fixed identities placed in a perpetual dualism: the woman as the victim, the man as the warrior; the reliable compatriot, the foreign traitor.*
> *(Cockburn, 1998: 13)*

Women are represented as care-takers and nurturers, devoted to dialogue and reconciliation as typically "female affairs". Uncritical exaltation of female superiority in the process of peace-building me-rely reproduces gender dichotomies and asymmetrical relations of power and decision-making. (Bethke Elshtain, 1990) Generalising claims of radical feminists about women being *predetermined* for pe-ace-making also point to a problematic tendency of homogenizing women, thus annulling any distinctness. (Sylvester, 1987). This cla-im is particularly problematic when used as an argument by those advocating the entry of women into the security sector. It means that women within the military and police structures can only make a specifically "female" contribution, which requires the possession of special qualities and characteristics attributed to the role of wo-men, such as better communication skills, solicitude and patience.

Deeply rooted gender stereotypes and prejudices negatively affect the inclusion of women into military and police forces, and their advancement in these professions. (Žene Ženama, 2007) Directing women in the uniformed police forces to work on cases of domestic violence and juvenile crime, i.e. those areas considered less valuable in police-work, has also been well noted. (Rabe-Hemp, 2009) Tickner (1992) points out:

> *When women enter the army, their position is ambiguous; men do not want women fighting alongside them, and the public sees the role of a wife and a mother as less compatible with being a soldier than that of a husband and a father. While modern technology blurs the distinction between combat and non-combat*

roles, women are still barred from combat roles in all militaries,
and the functions that women perform are less rewarding than
those of fighting forces. (p. 43)

The practice of including women in decision-making bodies only
when "women's" issues are discussed, while the issue of security is
still considered a "male" field, shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina is
no exception. In police structures women are mostly present in ad-
ministrative, technical, accounting and supporting jobs. Although
the *Police Academy* enrols a relatively equal number of men and wo-
men, women are more often exposed to discrimination and violence
and have fewer chances to advance to key management positions.
In the State Border Service, the State Investigation and Protection
Agency (SIPA) and the police of both Entities, women account for
only 10% of the staff. All ministers and heads of police services,
as well as the ministries in the *Ministries of Defence*, are men. Only
4.5% participate in the armed forces, and they are equally disadvan-
taged as women in the police. (Žene Ženama, 2007)

Women did not participate in the police reform in B&H, star-
ted in 2005. It is worrying that the prejudiced view of the police as
a "male" profession is supported by women themselves. As Besima
Borić of the Gender Equality Committee of Sarajevo Canton states:
"If we look at the police reform today and see that no woman was
involved in these negotiations, it becomes quite clear that we have a
problem – women politicians do not speak of these things. Not only
are they excluded by men, but we, women, do not raise this issue
because it is a men's issue."(Žene Ženama, 2007: 22) In order to
enable the full participation of women in the security sector, Article
5 of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination
against Women (CEDAW) requires states to modify the social and
cultural causes leading to the discrimination against women, and
entrenching the traditional attitude that only men can occupy po-
sitions of power and decision-making.

The inclusion of women into the military does not eliminate

oppressive gender stereotypes which present women exclusively as victims. This statement is supported by the experiences of women members of the Army of B&H, who chose to fight in the war, taking on an active instead of a passive role. Their choice was in direct opposition to gender norms. Female soldiers emphasize the feeling of personal responsibility and the need to protect the community under attach, as the main reason for joining the Army of B&H. Hadžiahmić (2010) quotes one woman soldier of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

> *We were simply forced to fight for survival. I had no desire to fight, I was simply in a position to defend what was mine, to try and do something. People died every day, we all had to do something in any way we could. (p. 52)*

The following statement also testifies to this feeling of social responsibility:

> *We thought everything would get better, so many simply said to themselves: let's solve this problem together.*
> *(Hadžiahmić, 2010, 68).*

The responsibility of protecting is usually ascribed to men, while women are those who need to be protected as bearers of future generations of citizens and soldiers. (Yuval-Davis, 2006) Men have traditionally claimed the right to fight, while active participation of women in the army was seen as "unnatural", because women should give, not take away lives. (DeGroot, 2001) Women who fought in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to ensure the safety of their families testify to the transgression of gender roles. Their identities as women soldiers are imbued with tension and insecurity. (Hadžiahmić, 2010)

Statements of highly positioned security sector officers and of retired military officers reveal deeply rooted stereotypes and

prejudices about the participation of women in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Women are recognized only as care-takers, nurturers, and guardians of the home and the family. Hadžiahmić (2010) quotes a statement of a retired military officer on the importance of women soldiers in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the siege of Sarajevo:

> *What did women on the battlefront mean to us at that time? Whether they would kill an enemy soldier or not, whether they would bear the cold with the soldiers or not...These things were of no importance. Only those women who knitted woollen socks for our boys to keep them warm, only they mattered. One or two of them on the battlefield did not really matter. But on the other hand, there were hundreds of women making sure hundreds of soldiers were well dressed, kept warm and well fed. (p. 81)*

Attitudes on women soldiers also point out the patriarchal stereotypes of women in general, as carefree, fickle and ignorant (*Which women soldiers? Ah, yes, they must have been those phantoms on the battlefield coming there to pick flowers*), amorous (*What is the use of having women in the army? She falls in love and disappears*) and as custodians of tradition (*You should be investigating what women did at home to keep the spirit of Sarajevo alive. They were our beautiful housekeepers.*)

Although in 1995 the Army of B&H had 5360 women-combatants who voluntarily joined the military ranks, their contribution has been marginalized. Military elites have thus undoubtedly sent the message that only men can be recognized as active participants of war. Women soldiers have remained invisible even to the institutions established to promote gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Hadžiahmić, 2010)Their experience only proves that the inclusion of women into the military does not abolish the patriarchal gender stereotype of the woman as the victim and the man as the protector.

First-wave feminists believe that women's participation in the military and the police is a matter of exercising the right to enter the public sphere and equally participate in all spheres of social life. However, although the implementation of equal opportunity policies is one of the preconditions for gender equality, it does not lead to changes of gender roles, identities and regimes that remain masculinised within the existing military and police structures in which women continue to suffer violence and discrimination. (Segal, 2008; Rabe-Hemp, 2009) From the perspective of second-wave feminists, the entry of women into the military and the police does not change the system of security and the patriarchal militarist hierarchies of power. The redistribution of financial resources in favour of other areas, such as fighting violence against women, improving women's health, etc., is necessary in order to ensure the fundamental rights and freedoms of women, which cannot be achieved by the mere participation of women in the military and the police.

Security from the perspective of women

Debates on human security have traditionally neglected key dimensions of security: feminist critique of the concept of security, ways in which girls and women experience security and the conditions to be met so they can feel secure. The different experience of security of women and men is the result of gender hierarchies and unequal power relations. Due to their subordinate position, women are less ready to articulate their security needs than men. The *United Nations Development Programme Report* (1994) states that there is no society where women feel secure and where they are treated equally as men. The feeling of personal insecurity stays with women throughout their lives. Neither in their childhood nor in their adulthood are women protected from gender based violence.

All forms of human (in)security, irrespective of the manifestation, patterns and intensities that can be specific and context-dependent, are engendered, since social structures, practices and symbols are engendered. (Holzner i Truong, cited in Lammers, 1999, p. 59) Whether it is personal, political or economic security, women are affected in a very specific way due to their physical, emotional and material differences and due to the important social, economic and political inequalities existing between women and men. (Kristofferson, 2000, 2)

Feminist analyses of the concept of security focus on the issue of invisibility of the woman's perspective. So far in Bosnia and Herzegovina there has been no comprehensive research of the security needs of girls and women. The traditional concept of security is reduced to the military and police dimensions, with the main goal of protecting the state borders and institutions from external, but also internal threats and dangers. Women are marginalized and victimized and they are visible only when they serve the state – e.g. as mothers to reproduce the nation. Although near the end of the 20th century there were certain changes to the concept of security which shifted from the state to the people or individuals, the traditional security concept is still prevalent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The new view of security was promoted in the *UNDP Human Development Report,* which states that: *The porous ozone layer can pose a greater threat to the population than any enemy army. Drought and diseases can destroy equally mercilessly as war weapons.* (Bouiros-Ghali, 1992, 3) The concept of human security is based on the assumption that human beings, and not states, are the fundamental security subjects, and that security cannot be achieved by way of weapons, but by such a policy that advocates dialogue and the meeting of basic needs. The new view of security was promoted in 1994, in the *UNDP Human Development Report,* which enumerates seven dimensions of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

The feminist theory of security seeks to explore these concepts of peace and security from the perspective of individual and/or collective experience of women. Security is measured by the degree of personal security of an individual man or woman. The basic question is: does peace entail peace for women and what kind of protection are women offered by the state? Can we speak about a time of "peace" if in such "peace" we note the frequency of direct and structural violence against women? One of the feminist demands is that those outside the centres of power be allowed to identify and articulate security needs and to actively participate in the creation and implementation of security policies at all decision-making levels.

At the Women's International Peace Conference in Halifax, in 1985, participants offered their definitions of security, with a notable difference showing between the Western concept of a threat and the definition of non-security of women from the Third World. While the first expressed their concern about the threats of nuclear war, the other formulated the key points of non-security of women as imperialism, militarism, racism and sexism. Peace activists and theorists were "pioneers" in re-defining security, although their work did not receive the recognition it deserved. (Boulding, cited in Tickner, 1992, p. 36)

So far, there has been no comprehensive research in Bosnia and Herzegovina on women's view of security and women's security needs. The only research concerning women's attitudes and views on security through a general perception of security, and the evaluation of the factors contributing to it, was limited to the area of the municipality of Novi Grad. (Fond lokalne demokratije, 2011) The research defines communal security as the *prevention of injuries, including the prevention of violence, suicide and natural catastrophes through actions carried out by the local community*. (World Health Organization, 2005) This narrow definition of security does not include the problem of structural violence and does not make room for other dimensions of security, but is reduced to personal security

or safety from bodily violence and threats.

The survey of women's attitudes and views on security was conducted on the sample of 202 subjects from four local communities in the Municipality of Novi Grad Sarajevo. The feeling of extreme insecurity was expressed by 27.2% of the surveyed women, citing feelings of fear, fear of an attack on women and girls, the possibility of theft, poor relations in the neighbourhood, non-compliance with the Law on Public Order and Peace, and other situations such as muggings in the street and burglary. On the other hand, 11.9% of the surveyed women expressed a feeling of extreme security, stating that they feel very safe and that in the place where they live there is a considerable support by the police, the local community and municipal authorities, extremely good cooperation between citizens and the local authorities, and excellent neighbourly relations. The surveyed women mostly fear attacks and street violence (thefts, muggings, attacks by violent men, street brawls, drug abuse, attacks by stray dogs), while they feel completely safe when accompanied by relatives and in the presence of neighbours and the police.

Upon reviewing the findings of the survey, a question arises – why is the concept of security reduced to only one of its dimension, i.e. personal security, which includes the suppression of threats, either by the state, other states, other groups of people, individuals, and so on? The study does not deal with structural and institutional violence which include invisible and intangible obstacles to achieving women's human rights. Furthermore, the very area of personal security is narrowed to the protection from a physical attack, which imposes a conclusion that, due to the insufficient sensitization of the community, and women themselves, with respect to various forms of violence against women in the private and public sphere, physical violence has been recognized as the only threat to women's security. Gender based violence is the key security issue faced by women in B&H, however, it is important to note that the first step towards the elimination of violence, is raising awareness and deconstructing biases, stereotypes and customs based on the idea of

female inferiority. In achieving this cause, it is necessary to persist in intervening in educational programs, articulating women's rights in the public sphere, and demanding the implementation of human rights standards.

From the total number of surveyed women, only 2.5% cite general socio-economic problems (the lack of interest of citizens and local authorities in the local community where they live, unemployment and poverty) as the reasons for feeling insecure. One of the recommendations given in the study is to ensure the promotion of activities conducted so far, which have contributed to the increase of awareness of security in communities and to a better understanding of security in the community with respect to the inhabitants – women in particular.

It is obvious that women do not recognize their socio-economic position as an important aspect of their feeling of security. Vulnerability due to socio-economic insecurity, such as women's unemployment or unequal access to work places based on sex is the crucial problem that women in Bosnia and Herzegovina face. Only 40% of women are economically active, while the level of poverty among women belonging to certain groups (older women, unmarried women) is on the rise. Women have half as much chance of getting a paying job as men do. Taking all of this into consideration, security cannot be viewed as the lack of violence only, but it also includes the enjoyment of economic and social justice.

A comprehensive research on the security needs of women should recognize the diversity of female experiences which have so far been ignored. Ignoring a variety of female experiences cutting across class, ethnic, sexual, age, and other differences, construes an extremely one-sided and collective identity of the *Woman* which is extremely problematic. The assumption that all women are in the same position within an uneven power structure diminishes the variety of experiences of women belonging to different groups. The experience of *being a woman* is complex, because not all women share the same material reality. (Stanley, 1990, p. 22). Feminist

view on security includes a wide range of experiences, and such a holistic approach is especially important for women coming from developing countries, who are often marginalized in discussions on security. Results of a research encompassing personal, political, socio-economic, cultural and ecological aspects of security, and their inter-connections, could provide a quality basis for creating security policies which would incorporate multiple security needs.

Conclusion

Affirming the inclusion of women in the process of peace-building and security is one of the necessary prerequisites of a stable and just peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the mere inclusion of women in the security sector does not deconstruct the patriarchal assumptions of women as care-takers and men as protectors. The inclusion of women in the security sector must be preceded by training on gender perspective which would include the promotion of multiple identities of women as carriers of change and participants in establishing security. Also, it is necessary to enable the articulation of personal feelings of security of both men and women, and the integration of a gender perspective in the security policy of the country. A research that would enable the articulation of a manifold oppression and subordination of women, as well as of multiple experiences of insecurity, would make a significant contribution to the political debate on human security. Problematizing the traditional concept of security would open up a field of discussion of security as a personal, political and social issue. Feminist criticism and analysis of the concept of security are necessary in order to reveal the relation between patriarchy, violence against women and war, and to lead to the creation of new security policies.

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Nikolina Grbić Pavlović

Women in the Police Education System of Republika Srpska

Abstract

Introducing the principle of gender equality to all areas of social life, including both the public and the private sphere, represents the realization of one of the main requirements for the implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Education is one of the most important elements in achieving gender equality, especially in times of need for a lifelong, continuous education and professional improvement. It has been determined in many countries that, except for jobs underground, there is no profession unsuitable for women. Women have the right to hold public duties and perform any function according to national laws, without any discrimination, under the same conditions as men.

This paper will consider the profession of female police officers through history and the right to choose education regardless of sex, particularly with respect to the system of police education in Republika Srpska. In addition, police education in Republika Srpska will be presented in terms of its availability to women, i.e., through statistical indicators on current and graduated female students of the Police College and Police Academy. This paper uses various scientific methods for social and legal research including historical, legal dogmatic, comparative law, and the statistical method, as well as methods of analysis and synthesis, and the deductive and inductive approach.

Key words: international standards, rights of women, gender equality, police education, female police officers, position of women in police education

History of women police officers[45]

Although the profession of *police officer* has been traditionally reserved for men, it is now available to women as well and as such represents quite an attractive profession for them. The introduction of women in police forces represents a positive step towards overcoming the stereotype of a woman as being exclusively a mother, a housewife, and a caregiver. The realization of women in this profession[46] has followed the historical progression of the emancipation of women. Civil society in all its historical forms represents the social framework in which the emancipation of women takes place. The social environment which emancipates women is the civil society in all the forms it has taken throughout history. Over time, the primary role of women as guardians and caretakers of their children and families expanded significantly to include the creation of social values by determining the lifestyle of their families.

Women have fought long for economic and political emancipation, as well as acceptance and satisfaction in their profession of choice.[47] For many women, however, the fight against prejudices, stereotypes, conservatism, and other difficulties, is still ongoing. It

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45   More details in: Petrović, D.: *Žena policajac kroz istoriju*, Bezbednost 2/07, pg. 330-431. Also in: Grbić-Pavlović, N., Rogić, I.: *Žene u policiji Republike Srpske,* magazine *Bezbjednost, policija, građani* of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska, issue no 2/09, Banja Luka, 2009.

46   According to UN data, women perform two thirds of the world work, earn one tenth of the world income, and own less than one per cent of world property. Women represent only 7 per cent in the world politics. Nine UN ambassadors are women, from the following countries: Finland, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Liberia, Lichtenstein, Somalia and Turkmenistan. In the UN, women hold only nine per cent of top management positions, 21% of senior management positions, and 48% of clerks; *Presmagazin, 8th March 2009.*

47   In the 21st century, there are still some countries in which women do not have the right to vote (these include Brunei, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia and United Arabian Emirates). Countries that have not ratified the Convention on Discrimination of Women are: Bahrain, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Syria, United Arabian Emirates. *Presmagazin, 8th March 2009.*

took quite some time for society to acknowledge the intellectual capacities and talents of women, and their ability to have a business or artistic career in their professions of choice. It was not until the second half of the XIX century that women were allowed to attend universities and faculties. Social and political involvement[48] of women only became possible in the XX century.

According to many foreign academic sources, the first policewoman was Rose Fortune (1774.), a woman who freed herself from slavery by escaping from America to Canada. She was not a police officer in the modern sense of the word, but she was certainly the first woman in *the service of safeguarding and maintaining public order on the streets of Annapolis Royal in the north of Nova Scotia* in Canada. She set certain dress and behaviour standards that were adopted by women of her time.[49]

Around 1845, in the United States (U.S.), a woman was employed by police forces for the first time as a guard in a female prison, with defined duties and responsibilities, working hours and a salary. Half a century later, in 1893, the first female officer was employed in the police patrol of Chicago, with the duty of controlling public order, prostitutes, "women of loose morals", juvenile offences, mendicity and crime. In 1910, in Los Angeles, the first policewoman dressed in a uniform made for a female police officer. (Brown and Heidesohn, 2000: 149–155) The first female police officers in Canada (*Mrs Laurancy Harris* i *Miss Miller*) were employed in the Vancouver police department in 1912. Apart from women being employed as guards in female prisons, it was believed that women should perform tasks and duties related to other women

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48   New Zealand was the first to allow women to vote in 1893, then Finland in 1906, Albania in 1920, Mongolia in 1924, Ecuador in 1929, Turkey in 1930 and Sri Lanka in 1931. Countries that were last to allow women to vote were Switzerland in 1971, Iraq in 1980, Namibia in 1989 and Kazakhstan in 1994; *Presmagazin, 8th March 2009.*

49   History of Policewomen. The World's First Policewoman, available at www.sameshiled.com, last viewed; 15. 03. 2012.

and children. The first duties assigned to women, in terms of what we today perceive as police work, aside from surveillance in female prisons, included fighting and prevention of crime, particularly juvenile crime; maintaining public law and order; maintaining the public morale, and managing abandoned children, young women and wayward girls. It was believed women were more sensitive and more capable of handling emotionally charged situations than men. They were assigned with specific cases, mainly involving other women and children, which required the upholding of certain family rights. (Le Beuf and McLean, 1997)

In Europe, England was the first country with women in police forces, employed around 1905 for the similar purpose of preventing, controlling and fighting prostitution and severe juvenile and female crime. In 1916, women organized around the Women's Police Volunteers, made up of about one thousand women who patrolled restaurants and hotels, and performed "street duty". (Scot, 1956)

The first female police officer in Sweden was employed in 1908, the same year as Norway, with Denmark following suit in 1911. By 1914, i.e. World War I[50], all Nordic countries and Germany had women in their police forces, performing administrative and organizational work, i.e. dealing with issues that in fact belonged to social care and youth welfare. The employment of women tended to be of a pragmatic nature – to deal with the current lack of men due to the outbreak of war, or as a result of demands from organizations for gender equality. (Janković, 1926). In 1927, according to a survey of the League of Nations, there were 20 countries with women employed in police forces, while the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Greece, France and a couple of other countries were against such practices. Between the two wars, policewomen continued to have

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50   WWI resulted in more women being employed in police forces on jobs of so-called prevention and protection and establishment of social and hygienic activities. During WWI, the police in many countries of Europe, Australia and other parts of the world, employed women to fill the posts of men on the frontlines. Such trends continue, not in the expected volume, but it is certain that women are slowly getting in the police force.

duties strictly limited to the issue of female and juvenile crime, that is, offences in which women, children or youth were the victims. Accordingly, the International Criminal Police Commission believed that the main benefit of employing policewomen was limited to cases requiring assistance to children, youth and women, while other police duties were not recommended. (Lazarević, 1993: 105-109)[51] It should be noted that this type of attitude became a stereotype that still prevails in many countries. The message of this attitude is that if the women are to be employed in police forces then they should perform "women duties" and be organized into special "women's police" forces.

The employment of women in police forces was one of the topics discussed at the Women's Congress held in Paris in 1931. In Russia, ever since the October Revolution, but particularly since WWII (in the then Soviet Union), women have been equally employed as men in all professions, including the police force. Poland has been employing women in police forces since 1926. Hungary started doing so in 1935. China started forming female police forces as well. Shanghai was the first Chinese city to have a female police force (1929), and in 1932 and 1933 it was introduced in every larger city in China. India and Singapore followed suit. In 1932, Turkey began employing women in traffic police. (Petrović, 2007)

In the first decades after WWII, only a few women were promoted to police officers. In mid-1970s there were no significant changes in this respect, although some countries did make a certain progress (especially Great Britain where female police officers made up 5.2% of the entire police staff). In 1971, the U.S had around 3,700 female police officers, and in 1990 the number was 29,403, or 8.1% of the total number of police officers in uniform. By 1988 in Canada 18.8% of police forces in Canada were women, but the share of their presence in uniformed staff was only 5.1%. The highest percentage of female police officers was in RCMP (7%), while the

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51   See more at: Milosavljević, B. (1997). *Nauka o policiji*. Beograd: Policijska akademija.

Security Service in Quebec had only 50 women among 4,500 police officers. (Lunneborg, 1989: 251) In Italy, the Women's Police Corps was formed in 1959 with 553 members. It was abolished in 1981, and female police officers became completely equal to men. In the 1960s employing women in police forces gained momentum in other countries of Western Europe as well. (Milosavljević, 1997: 525-526)

Although still insufficient, the acceptance of women in police forces was stimulated in 1980s and early 1990s by the activities of the feminist movement demanding the harmonization of gender structures in police forces with the gender structure of the general population—that is, by demanding that the share of women in police forces be 50%. Certain countries have adopted court decisions that confirm the existence of discrimination in the employment of women in police forces. Authorities in many countries have issued recommendations for the purpose of the popularization of women in police, motivated by positive public opinion concerning the issue. However, these requests, decisions and recommendations have been met by strong resistance from the police community. Interestingly, the conservatism of the police regarding this issue is occasionally publicly expressed, often in the form of open disagreement with the idea of women in police forces. Selection standards represent a common obstacle in the employment of women, i.e. the same requirements regarding height, weight, and physical abilities are set for both male and female candidates. Police forces' defence of the uniformity of such standards is based on the notion that physical strength represents one of the key prerequisites to police work. (Milosavljević, 1997: 526-527).

Women who manage to meet the selection standards are faced with further obstacles during training and probation. Training is mainly performed by men, and, as is shown in practice, women are almost constantly reminded that police work is a profession for men. However, it is not until women start working that the real problems begin. This is evident based on numerous studies and surveys,

complaints from female police officers and court decisions.[52] Female police officers have to fight not only crime and criminal activities, but also negative attitudes and stereotypes aimed against women in general and against female police officers. (Hernandez, 1982)

On the human rights of women and gender equality in education

Looking back on the history of humankind, we can notice that except for the relatively short (from a historical point of view) period of matriarchy which is considered to be an early form of organization of human society, women have been and still are subordinate to men, regardless of their vitally important reproductive role, and in later stages of civilization, their social and scientific roles, and in newer times, their political role as well. (Mijović, 2001: 363-369)

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52   According to a research conducted in 1987 on the LAPD, it was concluded that the majority of policewomen face issues concerning the lack of acknowledgment of their working abilities (70%), sexual proposals from colleagues (76%), verbal denial of their personal capabilities by their co-workers (55%), etc. Data show that the work of policewomen is evaluated against different (more harsh) standards, and that policewomen often suffer harrassment and are not accepted on their workplace. The Attorney General of Canada, after numerous complaints received from policewomen concerning harrassment by their superiors and colleagues, conducted an investigation and found that over the course of two years (1983-1985) 69 female police officers were fired, and 68 resigned from work in Canada. The number of women who resigned was five times the number of men who have left the service during the same period. As main reasons to leave the service, the women said: that their work was not accepted, and; "sexual proposals" from their superiors and insensitive jokes from their colleagues. In the UK it was also found that women in police forces were discriminated against, and the issue was also dealt with by the European Court. (Anderson, R., Brown, J. M. And Campbell, E. A., *Aspects of Sex Discrimination within the Police Service in England and Wales*, London: Home Office Research and Planning Group, 1993.).

The equality of sexes is not only an issue of social justice, but also a precondition for the social and economic development of a country, with a special focus on reducing poverty and improving the quality of life of all the people in a society. Although both international and domestic legal norms formally guarantee the right to education free of any form of discrimination—therefore of gender discrimination as well—in practice there is a gap and a percentagewise disparity in educational levels of women and men of the same age[53], but also in educational levels of women and men in certain professions.

The core of the human rights concept is their universality and indivisibility. Universality of human rights means that all human rights belong to all human beings, regardless of their sex, nationality, religion, race, or any other affiliation. One may question why we are talking about the rights of women, as if they are a part of humanity to which different rules apply than those that apply for men. It would be reasonable to say that if human rights are universal, then talking about a special group of rights such as the rights of women is in any case inappropriate, since it means we are ostensibly creating the difference ourselves. (Mijović, 2001) However, the general quality of the human rights concept results in the social invisibility of those rights, and indirectly leads to the violation of woman's rights as well. At the same time, within their borders, the local legislations and their application discriminate and diminish the rights of women compared to men.

As for the international documents, the document considered to be the *International Charter of Women's Rights* is the UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)[54]. The CEDAW identifies discrimination *as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment*

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53   Available at: http://www.vladars.net/sr-SP-Cyrl/Vlada/centri/gendercentarrs/ Pages/Obrazovanje.aspx

54   Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (G.A.res. 34/180, 34 U.N.GAOR Supp. (No.46) at 193, U.N.Doc.A/34/46.

or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. One segment of women's rights in the Convention specifically deals with *the same conditions for career and vocational guidance* and equality in employment.[55]

According to the Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina is obliged to directly apply, without previous ratification, 16 international documents which, among other things ensure protection of basic human rights, and therefore, of women's rights as well. *(Mijović, 2001)* The constitutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina[56] and Republika Srpska, in their respective chapters on Human Rights and Freedoms, assert that all persons/citizens on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Republika Srpska, are equal in their freedoms, rights and duties, equal before the law and in their right to legal protection regardless of their race, sex, language, nationality, religion, social background, birth, education, material status, political or other convictions, social position or other personal characteristics. Furthermore, the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina[57], in its chapter on education, asserts

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55 Equal rights for women, and equal employement of men and women are also highlighted in other international documents, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, teh African Charter on Human Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights, as well as numerous other international documents. The very fact that all of these regulations were passed, speaks of the tendency to equate the position of men and women on a universal level. On the other hand, there is the devestating fact that a number of these international regulations do not have a legally binding status for the internal legislations of the signatory countires. Luckily, this does not apply to all document.

56 The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Annex 4 of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina) came into force on 14th December 1995.

57 The Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina – revised text (Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina, issue no. 32/10).

that everyone has the right to education, regardless of sex, and that no educational institution is allowed to discriminate against people based on their sex in relation to: application conditions; rejection of applications; ways of providing services and benefits; exclusion from the education process; evaluation of the results achieved during education; equal conditions for career and vocational guidance; professional education and acquiring of diplomas, or in any other possible circumstances. Curricula, programs and working methods must ensure an educational system that will guarantee the elimination of curricula which contain stereotypical representations of the social roles of men and women and result in discrimination and inequality of genders, and ensure efficient mechanisms to protect from discrimination and sexual harassment. In addition, it is foreseen that content promoting gender equality will be included in curricula for all levels of education.

The police education system in Republika Srpska

This section will deal with the police schooling and training system in Republika Srpska. It will attempt to present characteristics of this form of education, as well as the openness of police education to women, the level of respect towards equal rights of men and women regarding availability of this form of education, and also rights concerning employment, career, and professional guidance in the police. Police education in Republika Srpska is under the responsibility of the Police Education Administration, which is a basic organizational unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska[58]. The main task of the Administration is to provide education and professional training of current and future members of the

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58   Hereinafter: the Ministry.

Ministry. All duties and tasks of the Administration are performed within four internal organization units: Police College, Basic Training Unit – Police Academy[59], Department for Vocational Guidance and Department for Logistics and Boarding School Services. The Police College (Visoka škola unutrašnjih poslova)[60] was established upon the proposal from the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the decision of the Government of Republika Srpska number 02/1-02-734/02 dated 23. 07. 2002 (it existed before as the Police School for Higher Education, established by decision of the Government of RS number 02-157/95 dated 01. 07. 1995). This institution of higher education is dedicated to the education of future members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other police or security agencies of Republika Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina based on modern curricula, and is harmonized with the Bologna educational and scientific system. The College is an adjoined member of the University of Banja Luka.

In the realization of teaching matter and other content, general principles of the European educational system are upheld, especially those concerning the protection and respect of academic freedoms; the development of democratic institutions in society in line with European standards; the continuous increase of efficiency and rationality of the education process; the monitoring of objective needs of society, public and private sector for new subjects; the improvement of all forms of cooperation and communication; the strengthening of the sense of professional, vocational solidarity, and; the principle of equality and ban on discrimination of any kind. Students of

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59   Hereinafter: the Police Academy.

60   Hereinafter: the Police College. The Police College provides basic studies (*bachelor*) that can last six or eight (specialist level**)** semesters. Completion of six-semester studies gives 180 ECTS points, a college degree, and the title "graduated attorney of internal affairs". Basic studies in duration of eight semester (specialist level) result in 240 ECTS points, a college degree, and the title "graduated attorney of internal affairs – specialist" for the selected vocation. Available vocations are police and criminal science, and the selection is made on the fourth year of studies. *http://education.muprs.org/*

the Police College are provided with modern education in general, legal, criminological, police and safety sciences, all for the purpose of training the students for the most complex jobs in the security organizations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[61]

The College enrols students of both sexes. The total number of enrolled students (first year) since the Police College was established (from 1995 to 2011) is 2,520, out of which 538, or 21.34 %, are women. Since the school's establishment and until 31.12.2011, a total of 1,046 students have graduated, 286 or 27.34 %, of them women. Currently, the College has 586 students, 154, or 26%, being women.[62] The enrolment process—that is, selection of applicants— respects the principle of gender equality. Although in previous years the public call[63] for applications for the College precisely defined numbers of male and female candidates that may be enrolled, where the number of women was significantly lower than the number of men, Article 11 of the Rulebook on selection of candidates for the Police College[64] foresees that the Minister of Internal Affairs may approve extending the list of candidates selected for the Police College. The list is extended from the group of candidates who have passed the selection process, and it also ensures that candidates of different "nationality, sex and regional origin" are included (Paragraph 2 b). In addition, concerning the process of the selection of candidates for the first semester of studies which includes a medical exam and motor skills

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61 Beside activities of high education, the Police College is also engaged in scientific research, professional consulting and publishing activities, as well as in cooperation with other high education and scientific institutions, and other bodies in charge of education within and outside the region.

62 Data from departments of the Police College of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka.

63   Last year's call for applications for the first year of studies in the Police College foresaw 45 students as regular students, out of which 35 would be men and 10 women. General and specific requirements, as well as other elements of the call, were the same for both sexes.

64 *The Rulebook on selection of candidates for the Police College* (Official Gazette of Republika Srpska, issue no. 88/10), hereinafter: the College Rulebook.

test, a test of general knowledge, grammar and spelling, an interview and grading of the overall success in previous education, it should be noted that equality is respected. In Attachment 1 to the College Rulebook on Criteria for Selection of Candidates for the first year of regular studies, concerning the evaluation of the motor skills level of candidates, the difference is made between male and female candidates in line with realistic expectations. Thus, for example, to get the highest mark, male candidates must do at least 15 push-ups, while women earn the same grade with at least 11. The difference exists in all exercises used to determine the motor skills of candidates.[65] Two Ranking lists are made – one for men and one for women.

Annex A of the Madrid Declaration, Item 16, stresses the importance of forming a Police Academy in Republika Srpska, which was done in 1999. The founder of the Police Academy was the Government of Republika Srpska. The Police Academy provides schooling and professional training of staff in line with the law, the Statute, and other bylaws concerning education of adults. It participates in the preparation of all curricula for all types of training and courses held at the Police Academy, develops these curricula, organizes lectures for all forms of courses under its responsibility, and cooperates with other organizational units of the Ministry.

The Police Academy, like the College, is open to candidates of both sexes. The total number of enrolled cadets since the establishment of the Academy is 1,052, with 225 or 21.38 % of them women. As of 31.12.2011 a total of 1,009 cadets (214, or 21.20 %, of them women) graduated. Currently, basic police training of the first level is taken by 51 candidates, with 7, or 13.72% of them women.[66]

Likewise, the enrolment process, respects the principle of gender equality. Although in previous years the public call[67] for appli-

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65 Find more in: *The Rulebook on selection of candidates for the Police College* (Official Gazette of Republika Srpska, issue no. 88/10)

66 Data from departments of the Police College of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka.

67   Last year's call for applications for cadets of the 16th class of the basic police

cations for the Police Academy precisely defined numbers of male and female candidates that may be enrolled, where the number of women was also significantly lower than the number of men, Article 3 of the Rulebook on Amendments to the Rulebook on selection of candidates for the basic police training (1ˢᵗ level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training, the Police Academy[68] also foresees that the Minister of Internal Affairs may approve the extension of the list of candidates selected for the Police Academy. The list is extended from the group of candidates who have passed the selection process, and also to ensure that candidates of different "nationality, sex and regional origin" are included (Article 12a, Paragraph 2, Item b). As is the case in the process of selection for admission of students to the Police College, a difference is also made between male and female candidates in line with realistic expectations in the evaluation of the motor skills level of candidates.[69] Two Ranking lists are made – one for men and one for women.

However, the Police Academy also has candidates for initial level police training for the Special Police Unit members. Last year's call for applications foresaw the admission of 20 cadets. It was not indicated how many of them should be male or female. In this way, all interested parties, regardless of sex, had the opportunity to apply under the same conditions. It should be noted, however, that the Rulebook on the selection of candidates for basic police training

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training (1ˢᵗ level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – the Police Academy, foresaw 25 cadets, 20 would be men and 5 women. General and specific requirements, as well as other elements of the call, were the same for both sexes.

68   The *Rulebook on selection of candidates for the basic police training (1ˢᵗ level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – the Police Academy* (Official Gazette of Republika Srpska, issue no. 41/09) and the *Rulebook on Amendments to the Rulebook on selection of candidates for the basic police training (1ˢᵗ level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – the Police Academy* (Official Gazette of Republika Srpska, issue no. 54/10).

69   The *Rulebook on selection of candidates for the basic police training (1ˢᵗ level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – the Police Academy* (Official Gazette of Republika Srpska, issue no. 41/09)

(1st level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – Police Academy for Special Police Unit members makes no difference in determining the motor skills of male and female candidates according to realistic expectations. This means that all candidates are supposed to be tested against the same standards, regardless of their sex.[70]

When it comes to starting employment for women in the police force, the assignment of women to non-police positions in the police is a relatively old and widespread practice, and as a result women still carry out many administrative, technical or unskilled jobs within the police. The traditional understanding of the police as a male profession has changed over the years, and we can now freely say that women can and do perform all police duties, and that this profession has long since stopped being regarded as a predominantly male one. The average percentage of policewoman in European countries is around 10%, except in Sweden, Norway, Holland and the UK where the average is 18%. This number is rising in all countries. Bosnia and Herzegovina, at 7% (6.3% in Republika Srpska[71]), has not yet reached the European average. According to data from November 2010 provided by the Ministry, 6.71% of officers are female in the Ministry. (Bećirević, Šulc i Šoštarić, 2011: 75) Today, when our country is aiming towards the development of a partnership between the police and the citizens in local communities for the purpose of nourishing and improving positive relations, organizing prevention and other activities that would reduce the number of criminal activities and other forms of socially unacceptable behaviour, it is necessary to modernize the police. The police in our country needs to become a modern citizens' service, and employing more women in the police will support that goal. Quality gender structure is one of

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70 Find more in Criteria for implementation of selection of candidates for the basic police training (1st level) in the Unit for Basic and Specialist Training – Police Academy for Special Police Unit members, that are constituent parts of the Rulebook mentioned in the previous footnote.

71 See more at: Grbić-Pavlović, N., Rogić, I. (2009). Žene u policiji Republike Srpske, *Bezbjednost, Policija, Građani*, broj 2, str. 167–181.

the main preconditions for professional execution of certain police tasks. (Grbić-Pavlović i Rogić, 2009)

According to the official data from the Administration for Legal and Personnel Affairs of the Ministry, 6,853 employees are recorded, 1,455, or 21%, being women. Namely, 367 or 25.22%, of the women have the status of police officers, 638 or 43.85%, have the status of civil servants, 446 or 30.65%, are state employees, and 4 or 0.27%, are apprentices. Managerial positions are held by 76 women, out of which 13 are police officers, from heads of units to heads of departments, and 63 are civil servants, from the head of administration level to group manager level. (MUP RS, 2012: 47)

Final considerations

Today's attitudes indicate that certain jobs in the police force are reserved exclusively for women, and they include, first and foremost, official contact with women (the law requires the search of women to be done by female officers), police questioning (in cases of sexual harassment and acts of indecency) and the questioning of minors. In all such cases, a man would find it harder to obtain valuable information, for women are naturally gentler, more precise and more thorough.

The employment of women in police forces has been traditionally restricted, for many men in positions of power within the police consider police work as a male preoccupation, and justify employing women only in those positions where they are usually required, such as to work with minors (Cohn, 1978: 189) Jobs which policewomen could perform and where their involvement is necessary are related to solving criminal offences such as rape, sexual crimes, domestic violence and child abuse. The insistence of the experts on defining the police as a *service* and not as a *force*, and

their demand that those who work in the police show compassion, courtesy, patience and kindness when dealing with the citizens, must be particularly upheld when it comes to solving and providing help in the aforementioned cases of criminal offence. It is exactly in these instances that the value of female police officers becomes most apparent, something that has been understood as early as the turn of the last century and implemented through the activities of female police forces in many countries. (Dapčević-Marković, 2002: 353).

The admission and level of integration of women in the police has usually been a result of the adoption of some important international documents on human rights or gender equality, or it was initiated by female activists in 1970s and 1980s, requesting harmonization of gender structures in the police with the gender structure of the population—that is, a 50% share of women in police forces.[72]

The main goal of the introduction and proper application of gender equality principles and standards in the field of education is to create equal opportunities and access to education for both women and men, and to provide them with equal perspectives for future professional life. The new vision of education does not know gender or any other form of discrimination, and promotes equal rights for both men and women as users of education.

The selection criteria for police education represents required standards regarding psychological and physical abilities, knowledge, skills, and other personal qualities necessary for police work. Admission procedures for both police education and for the employment of police officers should respect discrimination bans, meaning that the best candidates should be selected, regardless of their sex.

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72 See more at: Spasić D.: *Žene u sistemu policijskog obrazovanja – stanje i perspektiva ženskih ljudskih prava*, **časopis** Temida, September 2008, p. 41– 61.

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development of high quality support services in local communities.

Vesna Jarić (1978, Belgrade) is a feminist, author and researcher. She received her B.A. and M.A. degrees in Oriental Studies at the University Ca 'Foscari in Venice. She also completed three years of training in intercultural mediation. She is the co-author of two manuals about processing operational experience and designing transfer models in multicultural communities, which were published by the Province and Municipality of Venice. Vesna has lived and worked in Belgrade since 2008. Following a specialized academic course of study in international relations, she completed her PhD at the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Belgrade. She is the author of numerous academic articles, as well as the co-author of two editions of the "Dictionary of Gender Equality." She cooperates with the Office for Gender Equality as a gender equality consultant.

Zlatan Bajramović (1977 Split) is a Senior Assistant who graduated from the Faculty of Political Science within the Department for Defense and Security in Sarajevo. He holds an MA from the Institut fuer Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik from the University of Hamburg. He also completed postgraduate studies in the field of security at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo. He works at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo as a Senior Assistant, where he is currently writing his doctoral dissertation on "Managing Human Resources in the Security Sector of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Post-Dayton Period." He published a book in English in 2007 called "The Role of the EU in the Peace-Building Process in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Case of the Stability Pact." He is the author of numerous articles that were published in 2011, including "Managing Human Resources in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Armed Forces" in the Yearbook of the Faculty of Political Science (no. 5/6, p. 272-282).

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ABOUT SARAJEVO OPEN CENTRE

Sarajevo Open Centre is an independent, non-political and non-profit organization that promotes full respect of human rights and decreases the level of discrimination on grounds of gender, sexual orientation and gender identity by empowering marginalized groups through community activities, promoting human rights within the society and advocating for policy change towards the public authorities.

Sarajevo Open Centre was established in 2007 and ever since has been constantly working and increasing its scope of action from cultural programmes to a human rights programme, especially the rights of women, lesbian, gay bisexual and transgender persons. We have been working intensively since 2011, when we opened our first office and had our staff constantly working in the Sarajevo Open Centre. Nowadays, our team is composed of 12 employees and 2 voluntaries. We are part of the following networks:

Omladinska mreža BiH – Youth Network in B&H
Koalicija protiv govora i zločina iz mržnje - Coalition against hate speech and hate crime
Mreža izgradnje mira u BiH – Peace Network in B&H
Mreža pravde – Justice Network in B&H
Koalicija "Jednakost" – Coalition "Equality"
Ženska mreža u BiH – Women's Network in B&H
Regional Network Against Homophobia

Our specific objectives are to increase awareness among state institutions/officials about the necessity to fully implement International, European and national human rights standards towards women and LGBT persons, to raise citizens awareness about the LGBT rights and political, social and economic rights

of women and to empower and strengthen the LGBT community by implementing supportive community based activities, related to their rights and needs.

In 2012, in cooperation with NATO, we have organized forums titled *What is the Gender of Security?* in 7 B&H towns on the inclusion of women into armed forces and peace actions and we have published a collection of femisnit papers - *Somebody Said Feminism*. Our longterm goal in this area is to establish Women's Fund B&H, an independent fund for the capacity strenghtening of small women's organisations, which we would fund and we would organize traveling cultural programs, in cooperation with Foundation CURE.

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Adriana Zaharijević

NEKO JE REKAO FEMINIZAM?

Izdanje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu