

WHAT IS THE GENDER



SECURITY

20 YEARS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325
"WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY" AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

WHAT IS THE GENDER OF SECURITY?

20 YEARS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325
"WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY"
AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Sarajevo, 2020

Edition *Gender* of the Sarajevo Open Centre
Book No 18.

Title: Compendium
WHAT IS THE GENDER OF SECURITY?
20 years of the Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security"
and its implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Editors: Amila Ždralović, Saša Gavrić, Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić

Copy editing: prof. dr Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović
doc. dr Damir Banović

Paging and title page: Indira Isanović

Publisher: Sarajevo Open Centre

Represented by: Emina Bošnjak



© Authors/Sarajevo Open Centre

Any non-commercial copying or any other form of reproduction of either the entire publication or of its parts is desirable, provided that the publisher is informed in writing beforehand at e-mail: office@soc.ba

Authors of the texts utilised different linguistic norms in use in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. Due to our respect for the authors' independence, the linguistic differences have been kept in the final versions of the texts.

The development of this Compendium was supported by the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Any view, statement or opinion expressed in this publication, which is not specifically attributed to the OSCE Mission to BiH, does not necessarily reflect the official policy of the OSCE Mission to BiH.

Work on this Compendium was supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency - SIDA, through institutional support to the Sarajevo Open Centre. The views and opinions expressed in this text are those of the authors and do not represent the express views and opinions of donors.

CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji

Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka

Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

305-055.2:[351.74/.78:355.02(497.6)(082)

KOJEG je roda sigurnost? : 20 godina Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti 1325 "Žene, mir i sigurnost" i njezina provedba u Bosni i Hercegovini / [priredile i priredio Amila Ždralović, Saša Gavrić, Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić]. - Sarajevo : Sarajevski otvoreni centar, 2020. - 249, 272 str. : tabele ; 25 cm. - (Edicija Gender Sarajevskog otvorenog centra ; knj. 18)

Tekst na bos., hrv., srp. i engl. jeziku. - Nasl. str. prištampanoga prijevoda: What is the gender of security?. - Izvorni tekst i prijevod štampani u međusobno obrnutim smjerovima. - Biografije: str. 243-249, 265-272. - Bibliografija uz svako poglavlje i uz tekst.

ISBN 978-9958-536-65-6

COBISS.BH-ID 39553030

CONTENTS

Preface	
<i>Ambassador Kathleen Kavalec, Head of OSCE Mission to BiH</i>	5
Preface	
<i>Ambassador Johanna Strömquist, Embassy of Sweden in BiH</i>	7
Introduction	
<i>Amila Ždralović, Saša Gavrić, Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić</i>	11
I THEORY, LEGAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK	
Debates about Peace and Security – Feminist Paradigm <i>Nerzuk Ćurak</i>	29
Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Importance and Regional Context <i>Zorana Antonijević, Saša Gavrić</i>	43
Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Implementation in BiH <i>Adnan Kadribašić</i>	63
II POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE	
Participation of Women in Legislative, Executive and Judicial Authorities <i>Lejla Balić, Amila Ždralović</i>	85
Women’s Peace Activisms <i>Tatjana Žarković, Jelena Gaković</i>	111
III SECURITY SECTOR REFORM	
Armed Forces: Gender and Defence Reform <i>Selma Ćosić</i>	135
Police Forces in BiH <i>Marija Lučić-Ćatić</i>	151
Asymmetrical Conflict and Gender Perspectives: Covid-19 Case Study <i>Zoran Duspara</i>	175
Behind the Statistics: A Feminist Take on Militarisation <i>Jasmina Čaušević</i>	193

IV GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Refugees, Migration and Trafficking in Humans
Valida Repovac Nikšić 215

Wartime Sexual Violence and Post-War Gender-Based Violence
Majda Halilović 235

INSTEAD OF POSTFACE:

**WHEN THE MASK FALLS OFF – WHAT WILL BE THE GENDER
OF THE FUTURE?**
Lejla Gačanica 257

Recommended Resources on Gender Equality Terminology 263

Biographies 265

FOREWORD

I have the honour to present this second volume of the “What is the Gender of Security?” series. The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina has partnered with the Sarajevo Open Centre in support of established and emerging practitioners and academics to provide important analysis on the engagement of women in the security sector and other relevant topics pertaining to gender and security. In so doing, we aim to foster synergies among academia, practitioners, and political and security decision-makers, and to highlight the importance of including gender perspectives in all aspects of security.

We have partnered with the Sarajevo Open Centre to mark two important anniversaries: 2020 marks 25 years since the end of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 20 years since the adoption of the landmark UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The Resolution, unfortunately inspired by the conflicts in BiH and Rwanda in the 1990s, has helped place women’s war and post-war experiences at the forefront of international policy making, especially when it comes to peace negotiations and peace-building, peacekeeping, reconciliation, and reconstruction.

Although much remains to be done in the fight to achieve equal rights and opportunities, it is worth recalling the progress achieved so far. To date 83 countries have adopted a National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, with BiH being one of the first, having adopted its Plan in 2010.

I am proud to represent an organization that puts promoting and achieving gender equality within and among participating States, our executive structures and field operations at the forefront of its work. The OSCE adopted its Action Plan for Promotion of Gender Equality in 2004, at a time when gender issues were rarely discussed in international fora. UNSCR 1325 is one of the pillars of our Action Plan and the OSCE Mission to BiH will continue to support BiH partner institutions in promoting its implementation.

Since the 1975 Helsinki Final Act (the precursor to the OSCE as we know it today), participating States have recognized the value of a comprehensive approach to security. We remain committed to this approach. Human security cannot be ensured by depending exclusively on democratically-controlled defence and security forces. To achieve sustainable security, access to education and health, economic stability, rule of law, respect for human rights and a stable environment are all crucial. Gender equality and ensuring that youth perspectives play a central role in decision making remains at the heart of the OSCE's approach. In 2019 the OSCE published research on "Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region" which provides an excellent overview of the implementation of UNSCR 1325. I recommend it to all interested researchers.

The world is currently facing a security crisis on a scale more serious than most others in living memory. We are confronted with a pandemic that has forced us all to assume a key role in ensuring the safety and security of our loved ones and ourselves. The spread of the COVID-19 virus has brought into stark relief our global interdependence. It has highlighted the importance of looking out for each other, as well as supporting and protecting the democratic institutions that help our societies function and effectively address crises such as this one. Moreover, it has demonstrated the important role women can and must play as leaders, communicators, researchers and health providers in fighting the pandemic, to the benefit of all.

These challenges require us all, whether in government or academia, to continue to collaborate, monitor, analyse, and learn from the experiences we are confronting. It is my sincere hope that, with this second volume, the Sarajevo Open Centre and the OSCE Mission to BiH will together make a valuable contribution to increased knowledge and awareness of many aspects of the UNSCR 1325 implementation.

Ambassador Kathleen Kavalec
Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH

FOREWORD

Increased gender equality between women and men is one of Sweden's most important foreign policy priorities. Women's active participation in peace processes and conflict prevention is essential to international peace and security. It creates legitimacy, ownership and sustainability.

The adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security in October 2000 was a true milestone. The resolution was an answer to generations of neglect of women as peace makers, as negotiators, mediators and parties to conflict and reformed the way we see and conduct conflict analysis and engage in peace processes. It has been followed by additional resolutions aimed at highlighting how women are affected by armed conflicts, strengthening protection for women in these contexts and increasing women's participation and influence in conflict prevention, crisis management and peacebuilding.

Research shows a link between women's participation in peace processes and more sustainable peace agreements, despite this international peace efforts are still not gender equal. Important initiatives locally, regionally and internationally have moved the agenda forward. Yet, we have a long way to go. Therefore, Sweden is working actively to promote the agenda for women, peace and security on several levels – in bilateral relations, in regional organisations and in the UN – and has had a national action plan for implementation of the resolution since 2006. The government has made special national efforts to improve gender equality in all government agencies, including ensuring there are more women in the police force. The Swedish Armed Forces have also mainstreamed gender equality in their operations, raising the proportion of employed women to 18 percent.

In 2014 Sweden adopted a feminist foreign policy. It is a working method and a perspective that takes four "Rs" as its starting point. The aim is to strive to

strengthen all women's and girls' Rights, Representation and Resources, based on the Reality in which they live. Sweden's feminist foreign policy has a clear focus on supporting women as actors for peace and security. The influence and meaningful participation of women in peace and security is both about rights and effectiveness. Sweden wants to ensure that the Women, Peace and Security agenda is integrated into all peace and security work. This must not constitute a peripheral issue that relies on a few committed individuals for its implementation.

We need to counter attacks on women's human rights, including the sexual and reproductive health and rights, and we need to defend our multilateral achievements. Resources need to be committed. Practical measures must be taken by national governments, multilateral institutions, and individual missions. A gender perspective should influence our work, what we talk about and our next steps. There needs to be a gender perspective in conflict analysis and inclusion of sex disaggregated data in all reporting. We need clearly defined responsibilities to implement the full Women Peace and Security agenda. Follow-up is essential to ensure that analysis and data reflect realities on the ground. There must be strategies for women's participation in peace processes and decision-making bodies. Prevention and prosecution of conflict-related sexual violence needs to be central in peace efforts.

We need international gender equality and human rights standards in order to create safe and supportive societies that condemn, sanction and take action to prevent any form of violence, especially gender-based violence and victimization of the survivors. Societies fully committed to the implementation of their international obligations should, therefore, strive to create environments in which no form of violence is minimized or disregarded. Survivors should be treated with respect and provided with adequate support, and measures should be taken to sanction perpetrators, in order to build a peaceful and safe communities.

The publication before you, presents the state of gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. Experts have looked into different fields such as statistics, legal and policy frameworks, structures and operations of armed and police forces, as well as into the country's communities, to assess the impact of the measures undertaken to eliminate gender inequality, improve the position of women and girls and prevent the escalation of conflicts and violence.

This publication gives us the opportunity to learn from positive examples and practices implemented in the society of Bosnia and Hercegovina, but also cautions us not to repeat the mistakes and oversights of the past. There is still a lot of work

to be done to close the gender equality gap and advance human rights of women and girls in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Every effort of institutions, non-governmental organizations and of individuals, is an extremely important and significant contribution. Publications like this one help us identify where to concentrate our collective efforts, which problems to address and raise awareness of, and give us recommendations on how to make our actions most effective and most useful. The recommendations contained in this report should inspire readers to take further action to advance gender equality in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

*H.E. Johanna Strömquist
Swedish Ambassador to BiH*

INTRODUCTION: What is the Gender of Security 2.0?

DR AMILA ŽDRALOVIĆ, PhD

University of Sarajevo, Law Faculty

SAŠA GAVRIĆ, MA

Independent expert for gender equality

MIRELA ROŽAJAC-ZULČIĆ, MSc

University of Sarajevo, Law Faculty

1. The Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Resolutions and Their Implementation

Immediately after the establishment of the United Nations and after the adoption of a "new" concept of protection of (women's) human rights, which returned to women the status of human beings that was denied to them in the previous theory of natural rights, as a result of which they were excluded from the previous concept of human rights, one recognised also the exceptionally vulnerable categories of civilian population in the circumstances of war - the most radical form of conflict. Already in the Geneva Conventions, which consist of four agreements from 1949, the focus was put on the protection of women, children and the elderly. While respecting the importance of the principles of international law and humanitarian law, women were recognised even in the linguistic expression of the Conventions solely as someone to be protected, but not to be included in all the decision-making processes concerning decisions which affect a political community, including decisions regarding peace and security. Important documents adopted during the UN Decade for Women still did not focus solely on the issues of gender, security and peace, but its general

provisions, widely interpreted, are important even in this context. However, it was only in 1995, in the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, that the importance of inclusion of women in the formal decision-making processes on peace and security issues was expressly mentioned. However, peace agreements which followed this Declaration were still signed by men, much as they have kept making decisions that have led to (armed) conflicts and to various social crisis situations, which have had a reflection in specific ways on the lives of women and children. On the other hand, experiences, including those from our country, confirm the engagement of women's groups in conflict prevention, engagement in humanitarian activities, and continued activism on peace and security-building after the end of conflict.

Such engagement and actions by individuals and civil society groups led to a higher profile of women's peace policies. All those feminist activities, intertwined with theoretical (re)examinations, transform both national and international law and impose new paradigms in the understanding of peace and security. Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, adopted at a UN Security Council session on 31 October 2000 can be interpreted in that context. It undoubtedly has a certain effect on the more equal and more complete inclusion of women as active participants in conflict prevention and conflict resolution, peacebuilding and maintenance of peace. Without any intention to question women's career choices, it is still important to note that the issue of how much it changes, or does it change at all, the concepts and the patriarchic, heteronormative and hierarchic power structures in qualitative terms, remains an open question.

Resolution 1325, together with the nine subsequent Resolutions – 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019)¹ forms the basis of the UN Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”. This Agenda is turned into concrete steps by National Action Plans (NAP) developed and implemented by individual states. NAPs are, at the same time, the main indicators of how the states implement and interpret Resolution 1325. The first National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 was developed by Denmark. A year later, their first National Action Plans were developed by Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom; in 2007 – Austria, Spain and Switzerland. The process of development of the first NAPs which began in Europe, has been intensified after 2008. According to the infographic developed by the oldest peace organisation in the world, WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 2020), as of January 2020, 83 countries, i.e. 43% of

¹ Texts of the Resolutions are available at: <https://www.securitywomen.org/united-nations/unsr-1325-and-national-action-plans-nap>.

all UN Member States, adopted their National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325.

The forms of those Plans differ. In most countries, the timeframe for their implementation is clearly defined, but there is no harmonisation as to the timeframe. For example, Spain has adopted two NAPs – the first one in 2007 without a defined timeframe for implementation, and the second one which covers 2017-2023 (WILPF, 2020). In a small number of countries, NAPs completed their planned implementation cycle and have not been revised. So, for example, Liberia and Guinea published their first Plans covering 2009-2013 but, according to the WILPF data, updated as of August 2019, no new NAPs have been developed after 2013. On the other hand, European countries are mostly implementing their third or fourth NAPs.

The differences between countries are based on different contexts. In the countries which did not experience armed conflict in their recent history, the focus of NAPs is on international humanitarian and peacekeeping operations. Feminists who come from the Western, liberal countries which are relatively stable and, conditionally speaking, without conflict – although, one of the basic features of all societies is that there are some divisions and conflicts, with only the question of their intensity and form – are often sharply critical of the UN Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”. The criticism is especially prominent in terms of the ways in which Resolution 1325 is implemented, emphasising that the states use this document as a smokescreen for other foreign policy interests, instead of dealing with the problem of women’s safety within their borders.² Ms Sahla Aroussi (2017) points out the example of the United Kingdom which mentions six countries in its 2014–2017 NAP, which is available on the WILPF web site, and in the following 2018–2020 NAP expands the efforts to nine countries in which the UK will support the Women, Peace and Security program: Afghanistan, Burma, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Syria. At the same time, Aroussi (2017) especially objects to the Action Plans of the United Kingdom that ignore Northern Ireland, in which the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is not official, although women played important roles during the violent conflict and after the 1998 *Good Friday* Agreement.

In principle, the experience of Western countries, and assistance in bringing about peace and security in a gender-sensitive manner in conflict regions, can

² As a basis for this observation, and as a recommendation for further reading, please read the 2017 Compendium edited by Ms Sahla Aroussi – *Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security*, as well as a text by Ms Marjaane Jauholta entitled “Decolonising Branded Peacebuilding: Abjected Women Talk Back to the Finnish Women, Peace and Security Agenda”, published in 2016 in the magazine *International Affairs* (92/2).

be valuable, but the feminist analyses conducted thus far pose questions about the real motives behind such interventions, and thus about their ultimate effects on the lives of women and girls in (post)conflict regions. Also, the countries which have not experienced armed conflict in their recent history, certainly have enough space to improve security in their states and to identify specific needs of women and of other vulnerable groups within their borders. One should add that states face some new challenges in the times of the refugee and migrant wave which encompassed the world in the recent years. On the other hand, in countries which faced such conflicts or in which the conflict is still ongoing, the adoption of Action Plans for the Implementation of the UN Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” may be extremely important and they should also often rely on other international and regional standards, and not only on Resolution 1325. For example, Uganda’s NAP is not focused solely on the implementation of Resolution 1325, but also on Resolution 1820 (2008) “Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations” and the Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region from 2008.

2. Implementation of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” in BiH

In the countries in transition, such as BiH, governments invest their efforts in the implementation of Resolution 1325. In the Fourth and the Fifth BiH Periodic Report on CEDAW, from 2011, implementation of UNSCR 1325 was “recognised as a priority by relevant institutions” (p. VIII). Even earlier, in the 2006 BiH Gender Action Plan, the implementation of Resolution 1325 was planned, and its importance has been reflected in the context of increasing the number of women in decision-making.

All the activities conducted until now confirm that the relevant institution kept a steady course in the past 10 years. It is exactly because of those efforts that BiH was recognised as country which was the first one in South East Europe to adopt its NAP for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 and which continuously developed new and improved Plans after the completion of the previous cycles, on the basis of previous experiences and of identified (new) problems. Thus, the first Action Plan (AP) for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (AP UNSCR 1325 in BiH), was implemented during the period of 2010–2013, the second one in the period of 2014–2017, while the third plan for 2018–2022 is currently being implemented. The Gender Equality Agency of BiH (GEABiH) has continuously worked on the promotion of these programs in the public sphere, as well as on the co-ordination of their implementation.

One can undoubtedly observe an improvement in the quality of each of the subsequent Plans, in the manner in which they were implemented and in the reporting on implementation. It is especially important to note that the strategic goals have expanded due to new experiences. For example, in the report on Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region (Myrtilinen et al., 2020), it was observed that in both BiH and Serbia subsequent NAPs sought to focus more “on human security, in an attempt to make the plans more relevant to immediate, real security threats faced by the population, including for example responses to natural disasters.” (p. 56)

On the other hand, one can conclude that 50% of the first strategic goal from the previous NAP of BiH – “an increased participation of women in decision-making places, in the military, police and peacekeeping missions” – was achieved. Namely, having analysed the report on the implementation of the last NAP of BiH from October 2017, but also having taken into account other reports on the status of (women’s) human rights, one can conclude that progress has been achieved in increasing the participation of women in the military, politics, and peacekeeping missions. However, results are lacking in legislative and executive authorities, and the Election Law of BiH is essentially still not harmonised with the Gender Equality Law. Certain research papers (e.g., Byrne and McCulloch, 2012) show that consociational political systems work against the substantial participation of women. The situation in the judiciary, although the percentage of women is satisfactory, is a result of the feminisation of the legal profession, and it is certainly necessary to work in the future on gender mainstreaming of this profession through the existing formal and informal education processes.

In spite of all the efforts invested in the implementation of previous APs and of the fact that they achieved certain results, it is still necessary to work intensively on resolving the problems faced by survivors of wartime sexual violence in BiH. The socio-cultural context created in the ethno-national spirit, paralyses peacebuilding process and slows down and often inhibits the improvement of legal regulations, which would enable access to justice for women survivors of wartime sexual violence. The blindness of the state towards (multifaceted) marginalisation of groups and the existing bias regarding gender neutrality of various policies and measures, which lead to the institutional and structural discrimination, do not lead towards the healing of the BiH society, and tasks which began in NAPs remain unfinished.

However, we also have situations in which the goals contained in the Plans are implemented as a formal obligation without concrete effects. As an illustration,

let us discuss the development of Local Action Plans for Implementation of Resolution 1325. First of all, it is really commendable that these kinds of plans have been recognised at all. Namely, since the local level of government is the closest one to citizens' everyday lives, they have a very important role in the implementation of Resolution 1325 to play. However, as long as gender equality is on the margins of their interest, one cannot expect them to, in fact, play that role. On the one hand, local levels are left to fend for themselves and, on the other hand, gender-equality institutions at the higher levels do not have resources to support their work continually. The way the authorities are organised in BiH may be an aggravating factor in the localisation of programs and policies, but when the gender equality is moved into the centre of the interests, it stops being an excuse for inaction in a space in which, according to the principle of participatory democracy, it is possible to work on improving the lives of the marginalised groups in local communities.

Also, co-operation between the government and feminist/women's organisations at various levels is an important precondition for successful design, implementation and evaluation of Action Plans for the Implementation of Resolution 1325. According to their nature, state policies and measures are, at best, rooted in the "ethics of justice", while the "ethics of care", which is a feature of the women's peace policy, sensitised the rigid forms with its creative potentials. According to WIPLF analyses (2020), it is observed that, apart from not including earmarked budgets for implementation, many national plans for the implementation of the UN Agenda "Women, Peace and Security" do not define a clear role for the civil society at various stages of the plans. BiH APs can again be seen, conditionally speaking, as a best-practice example. That is, associations and their roles are clearly defined in individual phases, but that boiled the civil society down to only the formal associations (i.e. to non-governmental organisations as the main institutions of civil society). For practical reasons, this approach seems the only possible one. However, one certainly needs to have in mind their potential shortcomings and the exclusion of some criticism.

On the other hand, one can justifiably pose a question as to whether and how much there is criticism of the UN Agenda "Women, Peace and Security", in comparison to what we read in the works of "Western" feminists. Both in the academic and activist discourse, this Agenda, and especially Resolution 1325, was recognised as a significant achievement. Already in the Report on the Monitoring of Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in BiH, from October 2007, it was written that the civil society sector had been informed in general about the Resolution and about its "importance for the participation of women at all levels of society",

while emphasising the role played by women's/feminist organisations in its implementation. As much as we know, this is the only explicit evaluation of the implementation of Resolution 1325 by the civil society, although it has been present in all the subsequent reports on the status of (women's) human rights (e.g. the "shadow report" on the implementation of CEDAW). However, the general opinion of the women's/feminist scene in BiH is that this UN Agenda is very important, while any critical evaluation is mostly directed towards the procedural side of its implementation.

Possible explanations could be sought in a lack of critical awareness or in the overly NGO-ised feminist movement that keeps its primary focus on increasing the participation of women in decision-making processes in post-conflict situations, peace negotiations and peacekeeping operations. Part of the explanation is certainly in the marginalisation of gender/women's studies at BiH universities³. The second part of the explanation should be sought in the specificities of the BiH context. Namely, there is no doubt that women's/feminist organisations and informal groups played a significant role in peacebuilding and promotion of security. Also, at the very beginning of the conflict, women "disappeared" from the political scene, and the previous emancipation (regardless of its character) that was achieved in socialist times, was sufficient to emphasise the problem of exclusion of women from the decision-making process. At the same time, international standards, and especially those defined in CEDAW, the Beijing Declaration and Resolution 1325, became important arguments in requirements set before the states, and in efforts to make the political transition inclusive and gender sensitive.

The issue of peace and security also became an important topic of research in feminist works and analyses. Although the list of authors' works is much longer, and debates opened much earlier than 2012/13, for the purpose of the publication of this Compendium, we would especially like to attract your attention to the first two publications from the *Gender* edition of the Sarajevo Open Centre. The first book of this edition was a compendium entitled *Someone Said Feminism* edited by Ms Adrijana Zaharijević. This fourth, Sarajevo edition of that compendium, which

³ Namely, none of the three key preconditions of institutionalisation of those studies was (completely) achieved. Firstly, no classes are held in this field. The master's degree program in gender studies was held 2006-2012 at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies, which initiated in 2013 the three-year, interdisciplinary doctoral studies "Gender Studies" (Izmirljija and Ždralović, 2019). However, no new students have been enrolled after that, so the classes are stagnating. At social sciences and humanities schools, even when they have classes in gender/women's studies, it is usually an elective subject, while feminist topics have generally been left out from the syllabus of social sciences and humanities subjects, and they depend on individual efforts of a professor. Secondly, in BiH there is no centre/institute for gender research. And thirdly, there is no specialised magazine for gender studies.

came as a result of co-operation between the Sarajevo Open Centre, the CURE Foundation and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, includes a historical overview of dates important to feminisms in BiH, as well as the following three new texts by women authors from BiH: “Feminist Rebellion on the Net” by Ms Ivana Dračo, “Discrimination in the Language – Research in Bosnia and Herzegovina” by Ms Jasmina Čaušević and Ms Sandra Zlotrg, and “Women’s Peace Activism and Its Effect on Peace and Security” by Ms Amila Ždralović and Ms Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić. The third paper was published a year later in the compendium for which it was primarily written – in the second publication in the *Gender* edition, the compendium *What is the Gender of Security*, edited by Mr Damir Arsenijević and Mr Tobias Flessenkamper. Gender and security issues were covered in the texts in the compendium through a number of topics, including criminology, missing persons, participation of women in the armed forces and the police, as well as peace activism. The printing of that publication was a result of co-operation between the Sarajevo Open Centre and the European Union Police Mission. However, the editors have noted in the Preface that all the papers deal with “institutional aspects of the intersection between gender and security” and that they do not use the full potential of gender as a transformative analytical category. We leave the question open as to whether, at least in some of the papers, the problem of the previous edition of the compendium entitled *What Is the Gender of Security?* was resolved.

3. Overview of Papers Comprising the Compendium

Namely, this Compendium was compiled on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 (and ten years after the adoption of the first AP in BiH), hence the primary goal of the papers comprised in this book was to provide an overview of developments in this field in the past and to analyse BiH experiences. Having in mind the diversity of the topics, in some places it was necessary to step away from a descriptive approach and to delve into theoretical and critical analyses.

Thus, the initial paper in the Compendium is the one written by Mr Nerzuk Ćurak and entitled *Debates about Peace and Security – Feminist Paradigm*. It discusses the development of the science of peace which imposed itself as an academic alternative to the previously dominant militarised discussions on security, and which offered a reference framework for the women’s peace policy. Already in this introductory paper, the author recognises the importance of international documents through which the UN’s Women, Peace and Security programme has developed, but he also observed that “the biggest achievement in the process

of development of feminist paradigms of security would be the one which generates change of social environment for gender equality, so that it is more a reflection of the transformed social relations than of a legal norm which is not a result of the transformed social relations, but rather an octroyed tool of the liberal international order for post-conflict communities.” That is, the author observes that gender-sensitive law must be a result of social transformation, as a reflection of the “transformed society transposed into law”, and not an obligation imposed by the “international *deus ex machina* which lowers its gender-sensitive nerve into a patriarchal swamp”. The author certainly does not deny the need for international standards, but he sees that it is insufficient, not only for the transformation of the BiH society but also of other post-conflict communities.

In the second paper, entitled *Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Importance and Regional Context* Ms Zorana Antonijević and Mr Saša Gavrić write about the development of international standards and their importance today. This paper offers a systematic overview of important aspects of history which led to the adoption of Resolution 1325, which they see as part of efforts to change the concept of security of states into a concept within which states are recognised as the main actors “in terms of both peace and conflict”. This paper presented the four pillars of Resolution 1325 and of subsequent Resolutions, gave an overview of those Resolutions and their main ideas and, finally, offered an insight into the main findings of the research on the global implementation of the Resolution, as well as into the specific experiences of its implementation in the Western Balkans.

In the third and final paper of the first part of the Compendium, Mr Adnan Kadribašić writes about the topic of *Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Implementation in BiH*. Ten years after the adoption of the first Action Plan in BiH, the author writes about the degree to which the adoption of the Action Plans contributed to the implementation of the UN Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”. The research found that, in spite of all the challenges faced by the BiH society, the Action Plans received support from decision-makers. The author observes that the introduction of the concept of human security into the way in which peace and security are viewed from the standpoint of gender equality is an innovative approach, which would have to be promoted further, and especially at the local level, and concluded that “it is necessary to support efforts aimed at using the action plans as a resource for gender mainstreaming in the field of peace and security, at the same time calling upon relevant governmental institutions to be accountable for the implementation and transformation of the approach to peace and security.”

In the second part of the Compendium, two papers were published, both co-authored. Ms Lejla Balić and Ms Amila Ždralović wrote the paper entitled *Participation of Women in Legislative, Executive and Judicial Authorities*, and Ms Tatjana Žarković and Ms Jelena Gaković, wrote the paper entitled *Women's Peace Activisms*. The former paper shows that women do not participate equally in decision-making, but also indicates that mere equal participation is not sufficient for either gender mainstreaming of policies or sensitising for the issues of socially excluded groups and individuals. As much as the feminist paradigms are evidently negated in the public sphere, on the one hand, that much is their effect on civil society activities evident, on the other. Namely, women's peace activism has found the space for their political action in this very sphere since the beginning of the 1990s. The authors identify the specificity of the "feminist approach to justice and their response to the dominant discourses of transitional justice, as well as to the policy and practice stemming from them". It is highly valuable that the authors recorded in one place and presented the formal and informal civil society initiatives and actions in BiH and in the region. However, according to the observation of the authors, the public and political importance of such initiatives "was not sufficiently appreciated, except in the context of rectifying the damage through, for example, provision of support and psychosocial assistance to victims". This approach is recognised by the authors as the usual one even in the current Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH. Importantly, authors observe that it is problematic in this Action Plan that it "emphasises the need to improve the percentage of women in the military and in the police force, and to improve the participation of women in peacekeeping missions thus strengthening the traditional militaristic model. The emphasis is put on the foreign policy, which prioritises national relations, and relevant hierarchies of power, only then followed by the human aspect of security."

Having in mind this approach, the Action Plans, as mentioned in reports on their implementation, achieved evident results in the inclusion of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions, but the question remains to which degree they essentially contributed to the transformation of the security sector (if at all). These issues are dealt with in the third part of the Compendium, in which it is shown that the participation of women in this sector is still not at a satisfactory level. Ms Selma Čosić, in her paper entitled *Armed Forces: Gender and Defence Reform* analyses the level of participation of women in the professional Armed Forces and in the Ministry of Defence of BiH, in terms of their roles in command structures and Departments of the Ministry of Defence, and analyses the impact of the Resolution on the more active participation of women in peacekeeping missions. An overview of data made it possible for the author to show that even in

the segment which achieved the greatest degree of progress, even if we disregard the nature of those activities, the participation of women in managerial and command posts is still insufficient. The author concluded that “men and the logic of masculinity still dominates the security and defence discourse and that the data confirms the established traditional division of gender roles.” Ms Marija Lučić-Ćatić, in her paper entitled *Police Forces in BiH* analyses the participation and status of women in police structures, as well as the legal framework, policies and practice which determine such a status. It is concluded in the paper, on the basis of the data presented therein, that the “percentage of women is approximately 7–8%, significantly below the 40% recommended by laws and standards”, and an especially concerning indicator was a lack of women in managerial posts.

Mr Zoran Duspara writes about the coronavirus as a global asymmetrical conflict. The author concludes his paper by discussing possible scenarios of what could happen globally, but he emphasises that it is especially important to see how the (semi)peripheral countries, such as BiH, will fare in that situation, and supposes that the gender equality issue “will face certain obstructions, much more at a local level than at a global level”. We think that this stance is justified, since the experience thus far confirms that, whenever there are crises, the gender equality issues are temporarily suspended (and it is difficult to bring them back on the agenda), and the fact that the gender-equality issues essentially form the basis of all the “important” issues in a crisis is disregarded. Thus, when the first signs of the crisis emerged, when the states pointed out that staying at home was safe during the pandemic, feminists emphasised that, for many women and children, that was the place in which they suffered from domestic violence. When the public was focused on the necessity to disinfect homes, the feminists emphasised that the largest share of unpaid housework was done by women, hence the new instructions would add to the burden carried by women. Finally, shopkeepers and healthcare staff have been recognised in public as especially exposed to risk, but people forgot that those professions are feminised. Certainly, after the end of the state of emergency, it will be important to analyse the effects of the pandemic from a gender perspective, especially having in mind the economic and labour status of women in BiH.

The third part of the Compendium ends with a discussion on the topic of *Behind the Statistics: A Feminist Take on Militarisation*, a paper written by Ms Jasmina Čaušević. The text illustrates the complexities of the relations between militarism and anti-militarism, and asks the question whether the immense efforts invested in order to increase the participation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions contribute to demilitarisation. On the basis of other analyses, the author accepts that the inclusion of women into those

structures can change them from the inside, and even to destabilise their patriarchic culture. However, this stance does not imply a conclusion that it will be sufficient to transform, in a feminist manner, the dominant narratives about peace and security. Thus, the paper intentionally leaves us without a simple answer and, instead of a conclusion, offers an interesting choice of texts as the recommendations for further reading. In some way, the readers should choose their own conclusions regarding the issues discussed in the paper.

And finally, in the fourth part of the Compendium, we published two papers which deal with gender-based violence. In the paper written by Ms Valida Repovac Nikšić entitled *Refugees, Migration and Trafficking in Humans*, two features of her writings are prominent. Firstly, theories of cosmopolitanism that the author has been studying for a long time are still an inevitable framework of her paper. One should remember that her book entitled *Theoretical Debates on Cosmopolitanism* was published in 2019. Secondly, the author has always tried to define concepts used in her work in a clear and precise manner and to provide information about theoretical discussions she introduces into the debate. Thus, the first part of the paper provides information on social theories about modern migrations and defines terminology used in reference to the phenomenon of migrations (e.g. migrant, refugee, asylum seeker...). Then it describes the problem of migration through BiH, which was a major challenge due to a lack of data. In the third part of the paper, the author discusses the gender perspective of migrations, whereby it is especially important to identify the need for and importance of further research of this topic, but also to provide certain guidance for its implementation. In doing so, the systematic overview of information compiled by the author, whereby she offered her own interpretation and placed it into a wider theoretical context, can certainly provide an inspiration for future research of this topic in BiH. Ultimately, this is a topic to be discussed in the wider context as well, and one should keep in mind that Western feminists have already pointed out the importance of opening the discussion on those issues, since those countries are more focused in their National Action Plans on international politics and peacebuilding in other countries, and less (or almost not at all) on the humane approach towards those who came to those countries seeking peace and (social) security. It is commendable that the BiH Action Plans insist on protecting women and children who reside or who are in transit through BiH but, on the basis of the paper written by Ms Valida Repovac Nikšić, a question arises about (adequate) implementation of envisaged measures. The paper recognises the role of activists in rectifying a bad situation but, as the author concludes, this “active and aware part of the society cannot play the role of the institutions, whose goal is to establish a good system and to provide long-term solutions”.

Ms Majda Halilović wrote the paper entitled *Wartime Sexual Violence and Post-War Gender-Based Violence*. In the first part of the paper, the author provided a general overview through an analysis of the change of paradigm which occurred under pressure from the feminist struggle, and led to the issues of violence, rape, and ultimately sexual harassment, being put on the agenda as specific problems which needed to be part of criminal justice provisions. However, legal norms, although exceptionally important, were still no guarantee that there would be no violations of law. In crisis and conflict situations, women are an exceptionally vulnerable category of population, so that rape and other forms of sexual violence were part of women's specific experiences in the war in BiH. Unfortunately, even 25 years after the end of the conflict, these issues remain the biggest challenge to the transitional justice. Part of the problem is the jurisprudence of the wartime rape. One should add that violence against women still represents a social problem. In her paper, Ms Halilović provided an overview of national and international standards which were part of a wider struggle against violence against women. However, in spite of relatively good legal mechanisms, the analysis provided in this paper showed that the jurisprudence in this context could be seen as problematic, again confirming our opinion about the need to gender mainstream the legal education, and we believe that this paper, as well as other works by Ms Majda Halilović, may serve as a useful teaching material in the process.

4. Conclusion

This Compendium certainly did not cover all the topics which concern Women, Peace and Security, but we hope that, through these ten selected topics, the Compendium will still be a useful tool in the analysis of what has been done and in the planning of further activities. On the basis of the above analyses, we can conclude that this UN Agenda was recognised in BiH as an important one, both in terms of civil society activities and in terms of activities conducted by the state, primarily (but not solely) through Action Plans for the Implementation of Resolution 1325. In the feminist circles, it was accepted in principle as an idea, but disputes boiled down to a debate on institutional implementation and to emphasising different issues, and on declarative, but not really efficient and effective resolution of other problems. Especially prominent criticism coming out of feminist debates was the one claiming that the Action Plans were solely directed towards the inclusion of women into the police, the military and the peacekeeping, but the starting points of various authors differ. Some of them are open to the possibility that this will change the culture of those structures from the inside; others think that the structure will transform the culture of peace into the culture

of militarism; and there are those who, while sharply against essentialisms, think the patriarchic presupposition that women are the “stakeholders” of that culture is wrong, etc. Feminist disputes cannot be resolved here and we doubt that it can be done at all, but it is necessary, at least preliminarily, to provide conclusions on what is mutually agreed. Thus, most feminist men and women emphasise the importance of gender mainstreaming of all policies, plans, programs and measures. However, as long as feminisms are not their dominant paradigm, they will be gender-blind. There is still a lot to do, and it can be done successfully only when all the actors are included. Although some forms of co-operation will only come to fruition when civil society organisations are identified in the Action Plans, the full creative potential will not be used. Hence it is necessary to find different ways to include those activists and theoreticians who act outside organisations/associations, because their criticism can be precious in correcting future work.

The inclusion of feminist perspective into institutional programs, plans, and policies..., seems at this moment as a Utopian ideal. However, the idea which is far on the horizon may be brought closer through long-term and continuous work. The continuous work asks for continuous contextualisation, which implies the ability to recognise social inequality and current problems. For example, when we finalised this Compendium, the world faced the pandemic of the coronavirus, and a paper on that topic was subsequently included in the Compendium. With Postface, we wanted to leave the debate open.

Bibliography

- Aroussi, S. (2017). *Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security*. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series, E, Human and Societal Dynamics, vol. 135. Amsterdam: IOS Press. (e-book).
- Byrne, S. and McCulloch, A. (2012). Gender, Representation and Power-Sharing in Post-Conflict Institutions. *International Peacekeeping*, 19/5 (565-580).
- The Fourth and the Fifth Periodic CEDAW Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (May, 2011). Accessed on 10 April 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/110531_CEDAW_BiH_FINAL.pdf
- Final Report on Monitoring Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (October, 2007). Sarajevo: Žene ženama. Accessed on 05 April 2020. https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/1325_finalreportmonimp1325inbih_zenezemasarajevo_2007_0.pdf
- Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2006.-2011 (2007). Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, BiH Gender Equality Agency.

- Izmirlija, M. and Ždralović, A. (2019). Feministička teorija, nauka i istraživanja u Bosni i Hercegovini (Feminist Theory, Science and Research in Bosnia and Herzegovina), in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (Editors), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka* (pp. 57-72). Sarajevo: Sarajevski otvoreni centar i Pravni fakultet (*Introduction to gender studies for students of social sciences in BiH Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies.*) Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and Law Faculty.
- Jauhola, M. (2016). Decolonising Branded Peacebuilding: Abjected Women Talk Back to the Finnish Women, Peace and Security Agenda. *International Affairs*, 92/2 (333-351).
- Myrntinen, H., Shepherd, L.J. and Wright, H. (2020). Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region. Vienna: OSCE. Accessed on 07 April 2020. <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/444577?download=true>
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) “Women, Peace and Security”, 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000). Accessed on 15 April 2020. <https://arsbih.gov.ba/project/rezolucija-vijeca-sigurnosti-un-1325-2000-zene-mir-i-sigurnost/>.
- Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom – WILPF. (2020). National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Accessed on 07 April 2020. <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states>.
- Final Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014-2017 (October 2017). Accessed on 07 April 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Zavrsni-izvjestaj_AP-UNSCR_2014-2017.pdf

01 THEORY, LEGAL AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Debates about Peace and Security – Feminist Paradigm

PROF. DR. NERZUK ČURAK, Ph. D.

University of Sarajevo, Political Science Faculty

1. Introduction

During the long historical existence, from the early human communities to the modern capitalist society, security manifested itself as something inherently human, as an internal demand of anthropology faced with unfathomable forces of nature. However, the historical development of social relations established the security both as an organised form of human communities, through which an instinctive dimension of human nature is socialised, collectivised, institutionalised, made utilitarian... The useful function of security has primarily been reflected, throughout history, in the need of a human being to manufacture, in accordance with the degree of mental and psycho-social development, an arsenal of protective resources which guarantee successful opposition against the untamed forces of nature, adversaries among fellow human beings and against dangers created by people themselves, because they did not respect the finality of the earth.

Those are already criteria which demanded the transformation of one's urge to defend one's life into organised togetherness. It begins in primitive forms, with a horde as a hunter-gatherer community, which provides food and defends a cave as the then form of the *existence of a house*, creating security conditions to develop human communities as gender-based formations. We still do not have

irrefutable evidence as to which gender established the power relations, if at all: the gender which defended the cave or the gender which resided in the cave.

Although anthropological, philosophical, psychological, political science, economic and historical research on **matriarchy** and **patriarchy** produced multiple theoretical directions without any real scientific consensus as to whether the matriarchy preceded the patriarchy, whether it existed at all as a dominant social system or whether it was a mere *matristic* and *matrilinear* legend produced in *psychological realities* (Neumann, 1994), outside of the material world of life, i.e. outside history, the author of this text, although his values lean towards a gender-connecting interpretation of the signs of history, and not towards the gender-dominance interpretation, be it male or female (Gimbutas, 2020; Eisler, 1987), does not reject the findings of those scientists who presuppose that some forms of matriarchy preceded the transhistorical domination of the patriarchy (McLennan, 1886; Eller, 2006; Briffault, 1927). Regardless of the contemporary liberalisation in the understanding of gender, the patriarchy remains until today the dominant power figure.

Since there is no consensus as to which gender formation has primacy in history, whether it is the case of gradual transformation of non-hierarchical matriarchy into patriarchal paradigms of social reproduction based on private property and the new division of labour (Engels, 1946) or of the triumph of the naked male force generated from biological aggressiveness (Galtung, 2009), or of a third insight, which is revealed as a hypothetical trace that opens up the possibility of a debate on the feminist paradigm of security, which tries to shake up the traditional paradigm of this fundamental sphere of power, is the *discourse of hierarchy* and the *hierarchy of discourse* about security, which are historical products as vertical axes of male dominance, generated from the symbiotic link between the biological aggression and social *patrihierarchy*, confirmed by the prevalent narratives of the science about security in which the female interpretation of militarism and, in the wider sense, the female interpretation of security as such, was historically treated as an (in)tolerable excess of a horizontal, laid-down, non-hierarchical awareness, which (theoretically and anthropologically) wants to be non-hierarchical even when it is in a hierarchy. Thus, *hypothetical trace* which we are tracking refers to the widening of the framework of the debate on security, exactly because the power of the patriarchy is historically reflected in security, whose various institutional forms, primarily the military and the police, after being constituted as utilitarian instruments of power, remained under the dominant aegis of men.

2. Elaboration

2.1 Galtung's Binary Paradigm

The epicentre of the long-term **culture of militarism**, which still exists in most contemporary civilisations, producing violence as human, too human a characteristic, is patriarchy, established through the dominant narratives as a thing of the world, as a prescriptive principle which does not contain a ruling paradigm, but is allegedly a self-styled, objective phenomenon of history, thereby disregarding the possibility that matriarchy came first, in historical terms, as if it did not exist at all, neither as a tendency, an intention, or as a latent possibility. And there is no evidence testifying against its historical existence; on the contrary, there are more arguments that it did exist, as we have indicated above.

Ultimately, the fact that even in today's world there are communities based on the principles of matriarchy (although small, poor, mainly island ones and isolationist, mostly in Asia) implies the existence of matriarchy in history. Matriarchal societies did not fall from the sky, but are instead a living, materialist evidence of the *remnants of the slaughtered matriarchy*.

The strength of patriarchy as a crucial all-encompassing platform for the development of mankind, regardless of which socio-economic formation we are talking about, is the main reason why it was violence, and not peace, which predominantly shaped our journey through history in which the vertical, *alpha promotion* won against the *horizontal, beta promotion*. Simply said, male production of violence through the strengthening of the vertical structure of power won against the female production of peace and security through the horizontal networking and the production of centripetalism, without requiring anyone's dominant position.

In that context, there is a useful methodological instrument (regardless of it being radically deterministic and essentialising), namely, **Galtung's interpretative model of gender-based violence/peace:**

	Violence-productive	Peace-productive
N: Body	Male	Female
P: Mind	Non-empathic	Emphatical
S, W: Structure	Vertical (alpha)	Horizontal (beta)
C: Culture	Centrifugal	Centripetal

Table 1:
 Galtung's (2009) binary
 model of gender-based
 violence/peace

Although reductive, Galtung's synthesis of nature (N), personality (P), society, world (S, W), and culture (C) makes it possible to have a pioneering introduction into biological, social and cultural conditions which produce a male or female paradigm of security. Although we will find evidence in our reality, especially political reality, which minimises the absolute theoretical power of Galtung's fundamentalist division, since we have women politicians in BiH who act in the political sphere by copying the male paradigm of power, without participating in the production of conditions for peace, as the widest framework for the development of the feminist paradigm of security, but instead are working on the reiteration of male paradigms in the political sphere, nevertheless this influential Norwegian scientist and one of the founders of peace studies as a regulated and autonomous scientific discipline offered a starting point for our research of feminist security paradigms.

2.2 Peace Studies as Women's Studies

Peace studies appeared as a response to challenges in the international relations of the second half of the 20th century. That was an era of bipolar structure of the world order, which was marked by the *Cold War* and a high level of mistrust between Washington and Moscow, which led to the relentless arms race, including nuclear weapons as an instrument of the ultimate destruction and self-destruction of the American-led West and the Soviet-led East. Worried about the possible Armageddon, pacifist-oriented world-renowned scientists began holding intellectual, scientific and political debates, throwing down the gauntlet to the scientists of the so-called realist school of international relations who preferred the cold description of the Cold War situation, without throwing into question the key presuppositions and possible devastating implications for mankind. The peace studies appeared opposite such reasoning of the historical relations in the world and they brought intellectual unease into the study of international relations with a very clear goal as a value: to widen the field of interpretation and, in the sense of values, to create conditions to control the arms race, in the Utopian hope that such social conditions would develop which would lead to the total destruction of the nuclear weapons (Rogers, 2010, pp. 53–72).

Although, in the formative times of the pioneering development of peace studies, the key protagonists were male scientists, their view of the world tended to produce peace, and not violence, which leads us to a micro conclusion that the feminist paradigm of security does not necessarily follow the line of gender, but that it appears in history as a result of the **concern which is not gender-conditioned**. Of course, through horizontalization and de-hierarchisation of the arms problem and of that problem's derivatives (destruction of the environment, urbicides,

genocides, culturicide, etc.), as well as through the widening the research area, the peace studies dismantled the inherited paradigms of power both within scientific and within activist communities, thereby becoming one of the most referential frameworks for the promotion of the *women's view of the world* as a peaceful, post-apocalyptic view. Today's development of the peace studies, which follows Galtung's (2009) idea – *that we need people with Master's degrees in peace studies, as much as we need people with Master's degrees in economics and management*, leads us towards new goals of the global social development, among which the change in the security paradigm is one of the key ones.

That change is reflected in the strong moves made in the last decades of the 20th century and the first years of this century, both at the academic scene, through the development of the peace studies curriculum in which the feminisation of security becomes an important academic and human resource issue, and also in the political sphere, through the institutionally normative order of mature liberal democracies, which introduce the female stakeholders into the security sphere as relevant producers of security, and international organisations enter into a battle for the political and legal promotion of women in the field of security, including the radical breakthrough of the female stakeholders into the privileged male international field – peacekeeping operations.

However, in order to throw as much light as possible onto that epistemological break in the security, which is still ongoing because the resistance is still exceptionally strong, it is important to understand the historical context and to generate from it an important axiom: the peace and security-related international organisations, primarily the UN, with a wide-ranging network of its organisations and institutes, with the support of other compatible international actors, led to a change in relations within the international community in regard to the inclusion of the female stakeholders into the security sphere and, at the same time, the international process had repercussions in nation-states in bringing into life, socially and normatively, the feminist aspect of security. Of course, the key reason is in the spread of the liberal interpretation of social relations in the globalised world, characterised by the triumph of liberal hegemony, so the women's issue, not only in the area of security, became an important issue of the transformation of the gender polarisation into the world of gender equality. However, the modern world has changed and we are witnessing a humanistic regression which, initially based on the thundering fight against terrorism as the dominant international paradigm, and on the return of old archetypal images of enemy, moved the pendulum of history strongly to the right, thus the achieved degree of feminist development of security came into collision with tendencies in

the international relations, which are a copy of the narrative from the times of bipolarism. Those tendencies are dominantly determined by a neoconservative paradigm in which the issue of gender equality in the security context is too banal to be connoted at all in the fields of male supremacy, such as the field of security. From which theoretical sources does the act of ignoring come from, and how is the issue of jeopardising the feminist paradigm of security generated?

It is generated from the heritage of the **realist school of thought on international relations**, which bases its origin on the principle of *anarchy between countries*, *a security dilemma* and the *balance of power*, as the criteria of the unchangeable, static world determined by the will of the strongest world powers, historically almost entirely ruled by men, to attain power. Please find more details on realism in the international relations, as well as on its variants, in the works of Morgenthau (1985), Waltz (1979) and Mearsheimer (2001).

2.3 Harsh Realism and Friendly Constructivism

Anarchy between countries is a principle which is based on a stance that, in international relations, there is no force majeure which can order a country how it should act in the international arena. That principle strongly affects the loss of influence of international organisations, especially during the episodes in history in which the sovereignty wins against the ideas of multilateralism and of common responsibility for the world. The security dilemma is based on the conviction that the complex world of international relations rests on mistrust between sovereign countries which form the international arena, upon principle of an *a priori* stance that country A wants to subjugate country B and that, because of that wish by country A, the country B is arming itself in order to defend itself from the implicit aggression. At the same time, country A realises that country B arms itself additionally and, convinced that now country B wants to attack country A, is also arming itself more, thus forcing forward the spiral of latent violence and then the security dilemma turns into squaring the circle, without the possibility of resolution. The third constituent element of the deeply conservative understanding of international relations supports a balance of power between the key world powers, which determine the political history of the world, by being bipolar ones or multipolar ones (Williams, 2013, pp. 15–77).

Unfortunately, this triad is now again at the forefront buoyed by the triumph of Donald Trump in the US and by the strengthening of the xenophobic, feminophobic and chauvinistic right-wing in Europe. That is a disturbing variable for the achieved degree of development of the feminist paradigm of security, since militarism is the main ally of the above-mentioned *realistic triad*, as a chauvinist

ideology in whose interpretation a woman can only be a national entity playing the accompanying traditional ideological roles of a pregnant woman, mother of a warrior, patriarchal keeper of traditional values, etc. However, regardless of the disappointing temporary fall of liberalism as an ideology of freedom into the right-wing darkness and into neoliberal pandering to extremist political formations, the achieved degree of demilitarisation of the world, if we look at it in the widest historical context, is not to be discarded.

As was shown by American cognitive scientist Steven Pinker (2012), through the entire social progress and human development, man evolved from the **dominant being of violence into a being of peace**, revealing *angelic* segments in his nature which, transformed and integrated into the normative order of liberal democracy, especially from the 1990s, made it possible that the long-running epoch of war has been substituted with larger epochs of peace, whereby the key inclusive element of that social transformation was the strong breakthrough of the female stakeholders into the militarised political field, which made possible the beginning of the security and peace transformation of the world into a zone of gender equality, which is still more of an ideal than an implementation mechanism but, in the Kantian understanding of the world, we should care more about the establishment of unextinguishable principles than about the current, suspect implementation.

The implementation is jeopardised right now, due to the limiting social processes, but there is great hope in democracies which succeeded in defending the liberal dream of freedom, primarily freedom of a woman, such as in Scandinavia where security is a female category, just as much as a male one, even in the sense of the distribution of power in the political sphere, hence the security agencies are not at all coded as an *a priori* male cartel. On the contrary, management of key defence and security ministries and agencies is often in women's hands, and the principle of Scandinavisation of security is seen as key encouragement to the promotion of the feminist paradigm of security in other parts of the world as well, including in our Balkan context. Why? Because gender equality in the defence and security sphere is a reflection of not only progress in "masculine" areas of power, but also clear evidence of the level of social trust, which is the highest in northern democracies, and which would not be possible without the realisation of powerfully institutionalised feminist penetration into *a priori* zones of male domination (Ćurak, 2016, p. 175), as the fundamental confirmation of an empirically proven hypothesis that societies with greater equality (such as Scandinavian ones) are simply better societies (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2016, pp. 259-261).

This very **tendency towards egalitarianism**¹ led to the development of the Scandinavian paradigm of security which we carefully interpret as a neo-feminist form of peace that regards the fight for equality (including gender equality in areas of global male dominance) as the primary political issue (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2016, p. 278). In BiH and generally in the Balkans, regardless of the female stakeholders appearing from time to time in human resources in the zones of defence and security, the issue of gender equality in the security and defence system is not a top political issue, but the achieved degree of women's promotion of the question – What is the Gender of Security? – is more a result of careful suggestion of the international liberal institutionalism than of any real internal demilitarisation of the *corridors of militaristic power*. In that context, the academic opening of a debate on this issue is to be commended because, in the long run, it contributes to the relevant socialisation of this crucial issue, which moves from a purported zone of **hard security** into **human security and peace studies**.

Also, important hope of the general progress of feminist issues in security is placed in the UN, which cannot so easily stop the emancipatory transformation of their ultimate role: peace and security in the world, regardless of the anti-multilateral tendencies in the modern world. And that transformation is gender-based with the aim of a step-by-step creation of global conditions for gender equality.

In that context, the **1992 UN Peace Agenda** is still a usable evolutionary document on how to build world peace, which made possible the development, under the widest possible peace umbrella, of exceptionally important transformative international documents that promote the position of women in the world, whereby the **1995 Beijing Platform**, with its 12 defined areas of implementation of national policies for gender equality, paved the way for other UN resolutions, as well as for other international documents which contained emancipatory potential for gender equality. The **UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”**, adopted on 31 October 2000, is postulated here as the primary resolution, as a pioneering platform that “underlines the importance of the role and equal participation of women in the process of preventing and resolving conflicts and building sustainable peace” (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, 2017, p. 3). The above-mentioned resolution paved the way for the dissemination of the key ideas of the Resolution, through

¹ “It can often be heard that bigger equality is impossible because people are not the same. But that is wrong: equality does not mean that we are all the same. People did not become the same when the principle of equality was legalised. Nor is it true that a decrease in inequality – as is often claimed – means lowering standards or bringing everything down to general mediocrity.” (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2016, pp. 242–243)

a set of accompanying resolutions and through the development of national and international legal frameworks for the regulation of important issues, ranging from *the strengthening of the role of women in military and police formations and peacekeeping missions to the gender-sensitive approach to all the relevant issues of human security and peace, including the problems of proliferation, trafficking, natural disasters, migrations, refugee crises, demining, reducing the danger caused by mines, support to the victims of sexual violence...* (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, 2017).

These are important achievements, although it is important to point out that the biggest achievement in the process of development of feminist paradigms of security would be the one which generates change of social environment for gender equality, so that it is more a reflection of the transformed social relations than of a legal norm which is not a result of the transformed social relations, but rather an octroyed tool of the liberal international order for post-conflict communities. The gender law must be a result of social transformation, the will of the transformed society transposed into law, and not the will of an international *deus ex machina* which lowers its gender-sensitive nerve into a patriarchal swamp. It is necessary, but not sufficient, for the creative transformation of BiH or of other post-conflict communities.

In, conditionally speaking, gradually and shyly emerging depatriarchalized and westernised global reality, strongly reliant on the liberal and constructivist theories of international relations and the practice generated from those theories, the waves of which shyly reached our BiH and post-Yugoslav shores, during the 1990s, primarily through the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which brought here a large number of international organisations and thousands of international civil servants, what happened was the strengthening of the horizontal platform of gender transformation, which could not have happened earlier in history, but only now when, as the Dutch-US sociologist Saskia Sassen says, *the world is ruled by the horizontal plane*. Only in such a world were institutional and normative transformations of the spheres of security and peace possible, as well as the adoption of a package of resolutions by the UN and by other international organisations, which strongly promote gender equality, leading to a *de facto* cognitive, ethical and normative turnaround in the security policy area, which was undoubtedly ruled during past centuries by male combat groups. However, let us underline once more, that it is not enough, especially now (at the end of the second decade of the 21st century), when the regressive factors are trying to turn the clock of history to the most rigid variant of the Westphalian order.

Unfortunately, we are witnesses that with the rise of the xenophobic, chauvinist right-wing parties even in the most developed liberal countries (even those which made the biggest breakthrough in the security sphere in the process to decrease the level of privileged power of the male stakeholders, such as Scandinavian democracies), the achieved degree of peacebuilding may be in jeopardy, having in mind the resurrected narratives of neo-right-wing, neo-authoritarian and post-Fascist ideas, ideologies, organised groups, even political parties, dominantly based on white supremacy, which can jeopardise dramatically the achieved degree of development of the national and international security, in which feminist factions of human security and the feminist ideology of security develop.

As a firewall against the old ideologies of evil rising from the grave anew, and as the ultimate figure of today and tomorrow, we find the peacebuilding form based on the feminist paradigm as a necessary transition into the age of gender equality. However, what is the feminist paradigm of security, can it be derived from the history of mankind as the overarching innovation of methodology and content in the political, security and cultural tissue of the modern world? Let us discuss that in the conclusion.

3. Conclusion

My research indicates that there is a radically new concept of security, in order to create conditions for the feminist transformation of the world, which carries a long-term burden of and which was built through the phenomenon of militarism. In essence, the feminist paradigm of security comes from the future, which started in the scientific field with a strong development of peace studies that became separate from the security studies (Collins, 2010 and Williams, 2013) and turned into an autonomous field of scientific research, impregnated with horizontality at the cost of hierarchical, vertical militarism. That is of fundamental importance for the paradigm framework of a new, feminist security. Namely, the interpretative field of security studies remains the area of male dominance, if the peace studies are researched and interpreted through narratives, discourses and codes of security studies, with predominant adherence to the neo-realistic school of international relations, which implies the lack of possibility to constitute the feminist paradigm of security. Therefore, that paradigm is possible if peace, and not security, is hypostasised as the key content.

Hence I open the theoretical tension between the security studies and peace studies, with the conviction that the tension is necessary, in order for the peace aspect to have the upper hand over the security aspect in the future development

of the security studies and of the peace studies, as two complementary but separate research fields. If that happens, i.e. if the philosophy of peace wins over the philosophy of security, or in more precise and more ethical terms, if peace, and not security, becomes the highest-level gender term in the research of social phenomena, then we started our journey into the feminist paradigm. How far are we from that moment? Are we farther today than we were at the end of the 20th century, when the constructivist theories of international relations² strongly enriched the transfer of the globalised world from the culture of war into the culture of peace? Since the constructivism was defeated, except when it appears as a servant to neorealism, is the social context now on the side of the new male history in which there is no place for the feminist paradigm? Is the world, as a deeply militarised security field, whose black hole is devouring peace, appearing again on the horizon of betrayed expectations? Anything would be possible if, metaphorically speaking, and as an example, Germany and other mature democracies give up after all and continue with the formation of government with post-Fascist parties which have, unfortunately, been recognised as the legitimate skeleton of a democratic country.

However, so many good things were done going in the direction of the development of gender equality in many fields, including in the field which was for many centuries a feminist no-go area – the field of militarism and security. It is necessary to defend the achieved degree with everything which stands at the disposal of an exemplary democratic *post-patriarchal state and post-patriarchal world*, which is still not going to build itself. The key lever of that pro-feminist, post-patriarchal, gender equality *world* is the feminist and proto-feminist, horizontal subject which conducts the permanent *re-civilisation of the world* and wins against the trajectories of genocide, terrorism (Pinker, 2012) and against depressing instances of the *culture of fear* (Moisi, 2012).

For example, is not the outsider image and the powerful female image of Serbia an exemplary feminist paradigm of human security, which is transferred into the peace paradigm, that confirms the horizontality as a criterion of peace versus the patriarchal and chauvinist vertical Serbia, imprisoned into the kitsch of fake male mythology which prevents our region from emancipating itself into a decent society of common sense. Yes, we are talking about the women of Serbia who, even 25 years after the end of war, show themselves as the most courageous

² Primarily throwing realism into question as a dominant theory of international relations, constructivist theories bring unease into the traditional interpretation of international politics, because they introduce, as a credible variable, the subjective moment as well, the importance of non-state actors, perceive the power of values, soft power, culture, sport, construction of identity, etc, and as such, they are the true allies of peace studies and of the feminist paradigm of security. For more details, see Jović (2016).

formation of a country criss-crossed with nationalism. Borka Pavičević, Latinka Perović, Nataša Kandić, Staša Zajović, Sonja Biserko, Nataša Govedarica, Dubravka Stojanović, and Svetlana Lukić from Peščanik media outlet... and other known and unknown heroines, confirm that the dominantly female stakeholders are the one which are courageous and which are ready to admit what happened during the war, investigate how it happened, make the Serbian society come face to face with the war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide, committed almost 100% by men. The above-mentioned women of Serbia, opposite the parochial, cowardly country, showed the true peace potential and all other priorities, in regard to the research by male colleagues, who think that they research peace, while they in fact keep the ceasefire. These women “think that, in the research and in peacebuilding, there is too much senseless counting of weapons, and too little dealing with human and social consequences” (Brok-Utne, 1998) of Serb conquest wars. The female stakeholders from Serbia are the most indicative sign of the transformative justice, which is a reminder how important, for our region, is the slow, but undoubted success of the feminist paradigm in peacebuilding. That is the paradigm which convinces us that, in civilised societies of the present and the future, man should no longer “carry one’s right on top of a sword” (Heffermehl, 2001, p. 15).

Is such a world possible? Not yet, but we have advanced so much as the species that anything is possible, even peace, although “many people refuse to believe that progress towards peace, however unstable, would be possible at all. They insist that human nature has an insatiable urge to conquer (Pinker, 2019, p. 179). However, “the world in which all sides refrain from the war is a better world for all” (Pinker, 2019, p. 179).

I do not see a better way to build world peace than to demand that the key role in world affairs be played by the gender in our species who, according to international statistics, generates less than 5% of violence. The response to the question “Which gender is that?” is obviously known to us.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Ažije, A. (2019). *Nove seobe naroda, novi kosmopolitizam*. Beograd: XX vek (Belgrade, 20th Century Edition) (English language edition: Agier, M. *Borderlands: Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Condition*)
- Courtine Denamy, S. (2000). *Three women in dark times. Edith Stein, Hannah Arendt, Simone Weil*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press
- Gavrić, S., and Ždralović, A. (Editors) (2019). *Rodna ravnopravnost. Teorija, pravo, politike. Uvod u rodne studije za studentice i studente društvenih nauka u BiH*. (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies. Introduction to gender studies for students of social sciences in BiH) Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, University of Sarajevo – Law Faculty.
- Lederach, J. P. (2017). *Moralna mašta. Umijeće i duša izgradnje mira*. (The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace) Sarajevo: Art rabić, CRS.
- Vargas Llosa, M. (2019). *Raj na drugom čošku*. (The Way to Paradise) Belgrade: Laguna.
-

Bibliography

- Briffaut, R. (1927). *The Mothers* Vol. 2. The Macmillan Company.
- Brok-Utne, B. (1998). Feminizam i mir (Feminism and Peace, *World Encyclopaedia of Peace*, Belgrade), in *Svetska enciklopedija mira*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Centar za demokratiju, Gutenbergova galaksija.
- Collins, A. (Editor). (2010). *Suvremene sigurnosne studije*. (Contemporary Security Studies) Zagreb: Politička kultura.
- Ćurak, N. (2016). *Rasprava o miru i nasilju. (Geo)politika rata – (Geo)politika mira – Studije mira*. (Debate on Peace and Violence. (Geo)Politics of War-(Geo)Politics of Peace-Peace Studies) Sarajevo-Zagreb: Buybook.
- Eisler, R. (1987). *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History*, HarperOne.
- Eller, C. (2006). Sons of the Mother: Victorian Anthropologists and the Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory. *Gender & History*, 18 (2), 285–310.
- Engels, F. (1946). *Porijeklo porodice, privatnog vlasništva i države*. (The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State) Zagreb: Naprijed.
- Galtung, J. (2009). *Mirnim sredstvima do mira*. (Peace by Peaceful Means) Belgrade: Službeni glasnik i NVO Jugoistok (Published by the Official Gazette and NGO South East).
- Gimbutas, M. (s. a.). *Introduction to The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*. <https://www.moderjord.org/texter/staende-artiklar/marija-gimbutas-ur-the-language-of-the-goddess> (Accessed on 20 February 2020).

- Heffermehl, F. S. (Editor). (2001). *Mir je moguć*. (Peace is Possible) Belgrade: Beogradski krug.
- <http://www.libela.org/page/un-i-rodna-ravnopravnost/> (Accessed on 20 February 2020).
- Jović, D. (Editor). (2016). *Konstruktivističke teorije međunarodnih odnosa*. (Constructivist Theories of International Relations) Zagreb: Political Science Faculty.
- McLennan, J. F. (1886). *Studies in Ancient History: Primitive Marriage*. London and New York: Macmillan and co.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees. (2017). 2018–2022 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo: Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees.
- Moisi, D. (2012). *Geopolitika emocija*, (The Geopolitics of Emotion) Belgrade: Clio.
- Morgenthau, H. (1985). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: McGraw-Hill
- Neumann, E. (1994). *The Fear of the Feminine: And Other Essays on Feminine Psychology*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Pinker, S. (2012). *The Better Angels of Our Nature. Why Violence Has Declined*. London: Penguin Books.
- Pinker, S. (2019). *Prosvetiteljstvo našeg doba. Suvremen pogled na razum, znanost, humanizam i napredak*. (Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism, and Progress) Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga.
- Rogers, P. (2010). Mirovne studije (Peace Studies). in A. Collins, (Editor). *Suvremene sigurnosne studije*. (Contemporary Security Studies) Zagreb: Politička kultura.
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Reading MA: Addison-Wesley
- Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2016). *Jednakost. Zašto su društva veće jednakosti bolja društva*. (English language edition: *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better*) Sarajevo: Forum lijeve inicijative.

Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Importance and Regional Context

DR. ZORANA ANTONIJEVIĆ, Ph.D.

Independent expert for gender equality

SAŠA GAVRIĆ, MA

Independent expert for gender equality

1. International Standards on Gender, Peace and Security Prior to Resolution 1325

The Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” represents one of the most important documents which regulate the enjoyment of women’s human rights at the global level. The Resolution also had the key influence on the gender mainstreaming of policies and practices in the field of peace and security at the level of nation-states, regional and international organisations, but also of local communities.

The Resolution is a result of many years of activism by women’s peace groups from throughout the world. In fact, some women authors are of the opinion that it is one of the **few international documents in whose development, and in lobbying for its adoption, the women’s peace movement participated almost entirely** (Mladenović and Branković, 2013). However, their activism and advocacy to adopt an umbrella document/strategy, such as the Resolution, comes

to the terrain which has been prepared through various other international mechanisms. Among the most important are the Geneva Conventions, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Vienna and Beijing Platforms for Action, later including the Statute of the International Court of Justice, as well as the long tradition of women's peace organisations since the 19th century (Georg et al., 2019).

The Geneva Conventions represent the basic standard of international humanitarian law during a war. They define the rights and protection of civilians and of military personnel, war prisoners, the wounded and the sick in and around war zones. Although the first conventions appeared at the end of the 19th century, they were fully implemented only after the end of World War II, i.e. in 1949, when they were updated and amended with appropriate protocols. Having in mind the topic dealt with by the Conventions, women were mentioned as victims or participants in the Conventions only in a rudimentary manner. Namely, women were mentioned in Article 12 of the First Geneva Convention which deals with the issue of the treatment of the wounded and the sick in conflict. Women shall be treated with all consideration due to their sex, i.e. women have to be provided with appropriate accommodation, clothing and medical treatment (*The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols*, 2016). This treatment must be accorded equally to women who participate directly or who are affected by the war, as well as those who provide medical and civilian support.

Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions elaborate additionally on the issue of protection of women and children during conflict. Article 76 of the Special Protocol mentions specifically, for the first time, that women shall be protected against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault. Also envisaged was the protection of pregnant women and mothers having dependent infants who are arrested, detained or interned for reasons related to the armed conflict, including a pardon in case there is a death sentence (*The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols*, 2016).

The adoption of the **Declaration and Programme of Action by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993** represented the next step towards the full adoption of the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security". This World Conference on Human Rights fully promoted the fight of women throughout the world for the issues of violence against women and gender-based violence to be put high on the agenda of the United Nations as a global problem and a human rights issue. It is specifically stated in the Declaration, "Violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law." That was the

formulation which would subsequently be found in other similar international documents, including the Resolution itself (Georg et al., 2019). Soon after the Vienna Conference and its related Declaration, at the **Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, they adopted the United Nations Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**. This Declaration represents the cornerstone in the establishment and implementation of national and international gender-equality standards, including the standards of protection, participation and prevention of women's rights in armed conflict and in post-conflict relief. Among the twelve priority objectives of the Beijing Declaration, there is a special place for Objective No 4: "Women and Armed Conflict", which has no fewer than six strategic objectives:

1. Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation;
2. Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments;
3. Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations;
4. Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace;
5. Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women;
6. Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories (Fourth World Conference on Women 1995).

Each of these objectives was further developed in detail into concrete activities, which needed to be conducted by states and governments in order to resolve existing problems in the context of participation of women in armed conflicts, but also in peace negotiations, including women who are involuntary participants and victims of war activities. An important message of the Beijing Declaration referred to the issues of the prevention of conflict, i.e. to uprooting the militaristic culture and the promotion of peace culture and education, which would subsequently become an integral part of Resolution 1325.

On the eve of the adoption of the Resolution, there was an important breakthrough in the structure of the United Nations, primarily of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Namely, the **Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations** envisages a

number of measures which need to improve not only the participation of women in those operations, but also the gender mainstreaming of mandates of peacekeeping missions in accordance with CEDAW, training of peacekeeping forces on the issues of gender equality and of women's rights, women advisors for gender equality in the missions, as well as resources, mechanisms and procedures which contribute to gender equality (Namibia Plan of Action 2000).

And finally, an essential aspect of history which led to the adoption of Resolution 1325 was the **women's global peace movement** with its origins in as early as the 19th century, and which has lasted until today. The most important among the numerous women's peace initiatives has certainly been the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**, established in 1920, only a year after the Second Women's Congress, which sent strong criticism and a negative assessment of the Versailles Treaty which ended World War I. This longest-running women's peace organisation has an observer status at the United Nations since 1948, and has its branches in over 30 countries (Peace Women).

2. Security Council Resolution 1325: Historical Context and Overview of Content

In the opinion of feminist theoreticians and activists, as well as of practitioners from the sectors of security and politics, Resolutions 1325 represents, until today, the most successful joint endeavour of the transnational women's peace movement. It is a commonly held opinion that this Resolution, in a manner in which it was adopted and concerning its specific content, would not have been possible without a wide alliance of women from throughout the world (including a few male allies) from various sectors, and at different levels of influence and power (Mladenović, Branković, 2013, p. 14).

Although the idea of special protection of women and girls in the war was not new, as mentioned above, there were still some historical events, social and political circumstances which created the critical mass and the moment for the adoption of the Resolution. Those were primarily two wars which, although regional rather than global ones, attracted the attention of the entire world, first of all because of the brutality of sexual violence against women in conflict. Of course, we are talking about the war in the former Yugoslavia, primarily in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Rwanda. Although the **crimes of sexual violence in war were accorded the status of war crimes in 1998 through the establishment of the International Criminal Court and its Rome Statute**, that was not enough for the issue of women and armed conflict to be raised properly, through the Beijing Declaration, and to be put on the agenda of the top international body, the

Security Council. On the International Women's Day in 2000, the then President of the Security Council, **the President of Bangladesh Anwarul Chowdhury** held an important speech on how gender, peace and security are interlinked, calling upon all members of the Security Council to additionally strengthen the role of women in maintaining peace, as well as to improve their safety and freedom from violence in conflict. That speech initiated, in late March 2000, the establishment of a **lobbying group of organisations and women individuals called the "NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security"** (Cohn, 2008, p. 187). Mladenović and Branković (2013) provide the names of all the women and of organisations which participated initially in the formation of this lobbying group at the United Nations (p. 14), which still exists and comprises 19 organisations that deal with women's rights and human rights, maintenance of peace and with issues of safety of women, humanitarian activities, refugees and forcibly expelled people, international humanitarian law and transformative justice, as well as with disarmament and security sector reform (NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security).

In the conceptual sense, Resolution 1325 represents a significant breakthrough in understanding the issue of security outside the traditional context focused on the security of states and, accordingly, on regarding states as the main actors in terms of both peace and conflict. That is especially evident in the discourse of the Resolution which mentions, as one of the issues of extreme importance both for the United Nations and for its Member States, increased representation of women "in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict" (*United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000*). That includes expanded contribution of women not only to military observers, but also to civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel. The United Nations Member States are also urged to increase their financial, and other forms of support to specialised agencies of the United Nations which help especially women and children, refugees and internally displaced persons, again mostly women and children (UN Women, UNICEF and UNHCR) (*United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000*).

In that sense, Resolution 1325 as the precursor of the subsequent more complex Agenda "Women, Peace and Security", which is still in development, breaks into the conservative system of the Security Council which deals with the traditional aspects of security, and not with the so-called soft security issues, such as, for example, global issues of health, civilian protection, environmental protection, etc, which are dealt with by other agencies or bodies of the United Nations (Georg et al., 2019, p. 313).

Conceptually, **Resolution 1325 refers to two major areas in which it is necessary for the UN Member States to achieve visible progress.** One of those areas is **violence against women and**

girls in conflict, and the other is the **increase in the participation of women in the prevention of conflict and in peace negotiations.** These two areas were subsequently elaborated in the four pillars of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”, as well as in its operationalisation through National Action Plans. **The four pillars of Resolution 1325 and of related Resolutions are prevention, protection, participation, relief and recovery.** For example, Resolution 1889 (2009) obliged the UN structures to develop a set of global indicators to track implementation of the four pillars of the Resolution. **Prevention** refers to activities to prevent gender-based violence, to raising awareness of the role of women and of the gender aspects of the prevention of conflict and early warning signs, as well as to the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping forces. **Protection issues** encompass indicators which measure progress in the safety of women and girls, their physical and mental health, as well as economic and legal certainty. Set of indicators which refer to participation cover activities in the area of participation of women in peace processes, increasing the number of women in decision-making in the security sector, as well as partnerships with civil society organisations, especially women’s organisations and human rights defenders. **Participation** also covers issues concerning UN peacekeepers, i.e. posts of gender-equality advisors in peacekeeping operations. Efforts regarding **relief and recovery** refer to gender equality in the distribution of humanitarian aid, as well as to the inclusion of gender perspective into humanitarian operations issues (Miller et al., 2014).

Operationalisation and localisation of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” was envisaged through the development of **National Action Plans** for the implementation of the Resolution, which started appearing in 2005. In January 2020, no less than 83 Member States of the United Nations had their National Action Plans. **In the Western Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first one to adopt its NAP in 2010.**

The NAPs could be divided, basically and most broadly, into security-wise outward looking plans, outside one’s own territory and security system, **and inward-looking plans**, towards security sector reforms in one’s own country. That is also a major conceptual difference in understanding the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”, but also a still insufficiently researched field for its development. This issue also leads to important theoretical deliberations on the Resolution itself, in the context of post-colonial and neoliberal aspects of the development of the international security policy (Parashar, 2019).

The first NAPs were plans of countries which incorporated the principles of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” and Resolution 1325 into their foreign policies, international activities, including multinational peace support operations, but also into various forms of assistance to post-conflict countries. Some of the countries which were among the first ones to adopt outward-looking NAPs were also the countries with the strong foreign policies, development support agencies and (mostly) strong gender-equality policies (e.g. Denmark in 2005, followed subsequently in 2006 by Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom, which adopted NAPs focused more on their foreign policies rather than towards interior policies). The first countries which adopted NAPs that referred to internal issues and the implementation of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” were Uganda and Ivory Coast in 2008, followed by Liberia and Uganda in 2009 (Miller et al., 2014). Also, all the National Action Plans of the Western Balkan countries are NAPs focused towards internal reforms of the security sector and the women’s issues in that sector.

In the last ten years or more, a special momentum has been visible in the development of the so-called **Feminist Foreign Policy**, which tries to include the issues of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” into the foreign policy issues, such as international treaties on weapons trade, migrations, climate change, as well as transnational co-operation in the fight against organised crime, primarily against human trafficking, but also in terms of concrete support to women’s rights defenders in the national and local context. **Sweden** has been at the forefront in this field, since it has developed a number of instruments and mechanisms for gender equality to affect the Swedish foreign policy and especially its development assistance. It is interesting that the influence of Sweden on the foreign and security policy was more significant precisely because of this feminist policy which had an effect on other EU Members States and beyond (Sundström and Elgström, 2019).

3. Development and Content of the UN Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”

Twenty years of the development of the **Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”**¹, as well as the efforts to make it more effective, brought about further elaboration of ideas formulated in the first adopted Resolution 1325. These ideas are contained in nine other special additional Resolutions (Table 1).

¹ Overview of all the Resolutions is available at: <http://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions>

Resolution/ Year of Adoption	Basic issues and key provisions
UNSCR 1325 (2000)	The first thematic resolution on women, peace and security, reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Encourages countries to increase women's role in decision-making with regard to peace and conflict, as well as the prevention of conflict and violence against women and girls. Calls upon the States to improve the protection of women and girls and their rights, as well as to integrate gender perspective into relief and recovery activities.
UNSCR 1820 (2008)	Deals in particular with the role of States in prevention, punishment and condemnation of sexual violence in armed conflict. Resolution identifies the use of rape and other forms of sexual violence as a tactic of war and demands that such atrocities be recognized as war crimes, crimes against humanity and an integral part of genocide.
UNSCR 1888 (2009)	Reaffirms and strengthens the stances from Resolution 1820. Requests that the UN Secretary-General appoint a Special Representative to report on sexual violence in armed conflict.
UNSCR 1889 (2009)	Deals with the role of women in post-conflict situations. Urges actors at various levels to ensure improved women's participation during conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes.
UNSCR 1960 (2010)	Expresses concern over the slow progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict. Advocates for sexual violence to be viewed as a criterion for targeted sanctions against perpetrators.
UNSCR 2106 (2013)	Deals with the issue how to prevent sexual violence in the context of armed conflict and it calls upon all Member States to do more to prevent those crimes. This Resolution also notes the provision in the Arms Trade Treaty that exporting States Parties shall take into account the risk of covered conventional arms or items being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence.
UNSCR 2122 (2013)	Reaffirms the commitment of Resolution 1325. Focuses on women's access to justice in conflict and post-conflict settings, including through reparations for victims. Further reaffirms women's empowerment and participation in all aspects of conflict-related decision-making.
UNSCR 2242 (2015)	Demands the integration of the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security" into all situations within the purview of the United Nations Security Council. Advocates for the establishment of an Informal Experts Group on Women, Peace and Security; connects Women, Peace and Security to countering terrorism and extremism.
UNSCR 2467 (2019)	Strengthens the criminal prosecution and punishment of sexual violence in conflict and opens a number of opportunities for sanctions against perpetrators. Confirms survivor-centred approach and calls for reparations for victims.
UNSCR 2493 (2019)	Calls on Member States to strengthen and promote all the rights of women, and to create safe and enabling environments for women who protect and promote human rights. Calls for full implementation of all Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace and Security.

Table 1:
Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security
(by authors)

All ten Resolutions from the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” could be conceptually **divided into two major thematic groups**. The first one promotes the participation of women in the issues of peace, security and post-conflict recovery (1325, 1889, 2122, 2224, 2493), while the other thematic group underlines the status of women in conflict situations and in post-conflict recovery, with special emphasis on women victims of sexual violence in war (1820, 1888, 1960, 2160, 2493).

What was common to all those Resolutions is that they called upon UN Member States to provide more data on and a systematic assessment of the effect of an armed conflict on women and girls. Additionally, they recognised that, apart from achieving mere balance in the number of men and women, what was also needed was a better understanding of practical integration of gender aspects, i.e. integration of the gender mainstreaming strategy into peace and security policies.

4. Selected Lessons Learned from Global Implementation of the Resolution

Although many academic and practical analyses have been written about the Resolution, the most complicated and the most complex study on the implementation of the Resolution to date was developed on the 15th anniversary of its adoption (2015). The Global Study entitled “**Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325**” was authored by an independent expert, Radhika Coomaraswamy (former Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women and Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict) with the support of a seventeen-member high-level advisory group. Public consultations on the study were organised globally, in all regions of the world. More than 60 UN Member States responded to requests for comments, and 47 regional organizations, academics and research institutions provided inputs. Responses of civil society organizations were generated in a separate report in which 317 organizations in 71 UN Member States took part (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

The Study showed that the Resolution **undoubtedly affected** the issues of women, peace and security. An interesting piece of information was that, since the adoption of the Resolution in 2000, the discourses of certain peace agreements changed, although the number of women participants and signatories of peace agreements has still been negligibly small. Women’s groups and women peace experts have been more involved in direct negotiating processes at the

negotiating table, be it as official negotiators, mediators or even signatories of peace agreements (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 38–59). The study recorded not only this symbolic progress in the participation of women in peace agreements and negotiations, but also the continuation of neglect for the participation of women in peace activities at the level of local communities and a greater focus on the negotiations of male military and political elites at the level of states and governments (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 38–59).

Thanks to the Resolution, **the participation of women in the security sector has increased in the past twenty years**, primarily in the UN peacekeeping missions, but also in national armies, police forces and other services within this sector. The Global Study showed that the presence of women in the security sector, especially in uniformed units, has significantly decreased the use of force and of arms, as well as of improper behaviour both towards civilians, and towards lower-ranking officers (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 132–157). The special contribution of the Resolution was in the area of greater participation of women in peacekeeping operations. The study showed that the participation of women has contributed to the credibility and trust in the peacekeeping forces, better access, even to very closed communities, and to reporting on the sexual and gender-based violence as part of regular tasks of peacekeeping forces. That sector started to change and to understand the issues of introduction of gender perspective into operational, logistical and other areas of that sector, as an integral part of the functioning of various services and organisations in the field of security (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 132–157).

Mechanisms to integrate transformative gender practices into military, police and peace operations structures, which were unthinkable some 20 years ago, are now firmly established and lead to significant changes in practices of disarmament actions, demobilisation or reintegration of former military actors into the post-conflict context. In the Western Balkan countries, these policies and practices are still insufficiently developed, and the issue of sexual violence in war is still a taboo even from the aspect of policies of transitional justice and reparations for victims.

The Global Study pointed out that the **slow progress** in resolving the problem of sexual harassment within security structures, as well as cases of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping forces, were certain indicators of an open resistance and a less open resistance towards resolving these issues on a global scale. It was concluded that the progress was slower than could be expected and that a strong response of all the involved actors was necessary in

order for the violent practices against women to be rooted out once and for all (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 132–157).

This Global Study, but also many other less complex and less wide-ranging analyses, showed that **gender equality was inextricably linked to the probability of emergence of conflicts**. Both individuals and states can act on the basis of the principles of egalitarianism, promotion of tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflicts. In this field, it seems, the Resolution had the smallest effect and least success. Namely, in order to **act preventively in reference to potential conflicts, it is necessary to recognise the importance and influence of patriarchal norms, gender relations and inequality as the fuel for conflicts and threats to security**. Thus, one should not forget that the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” actually talks about the end to the conflict, and not about the conflict becoming safer for women, because that is not possible (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 192–215).

According to the Global Study, but also to other academic research and practical policies, the Resolution had the weakest effect in the field on participation and role of women in conflict prevention. Apart from a short-term approach which implies early warning against potential conflict through the monitoring of enjoyment of women’s rights, the prevention requires long-term approaches which have an effect on causes, sources and structural foundations of conflicts, with a special emphasis on peace education (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 192–215). In fact, that implies **constantly redefining the concept of security towards the concept of human security**, which includes human rights, environmental programs, but also social care and health care for individuals and local communities they live in.

5. Implementation of the Resolution in the Western Balkans

The institutionalisation and operationalisation of Resolution 1325 through the development of National Action Plans was lagging behind, having in mind that the events in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s contributed to the adoption of this international instrument. As mentioned before, Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first country of the region which adopted the Action Plan for Implementation of Resolution 1325, in July 2010. After that, the Action Plans were adopted in Serbia (December 2010), Slovenia (2011), Croatia (2011), Macedonia (2013) and Kosovo (2014). Although they have worked since 2010 on the implementation of the Resolution, Montenegro and Albania were the last countries of the region to adopt, respectively, in 2017 and 2018, their first Action Plans for the period of 2017–2018, and of 2018–2020.

Unlike Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been implementing Action Plans unflinching since 2010 (currently its Third Action Plan), neighbouring countries cannot show this degree of dedication at the level of practical policies, as shown in Table 2:

Country	Valid Action Plan	Coordination Body	Implemented Action Plans
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" (2018-2022)	BiH Gender Equality Agency, and the Coordination Board	The first Action Plan: 2010–2013 The second Action Plan: 2014–2017
Montenegro	Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" in Montenegro (2019–2022)	Ministry of Defence	The first Action Plan: 2017–2018
Serbia	National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" in the of Republic of Serbia (2017–2020)	Gender Equality Coordination Body, led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Civil Engineering, Transport and Infrastructure	The first Action Plan: 2010–2015
Croatia	National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security, and Related Resolutions (2019–2023)	Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs	The first Action Plan: 2011–2014

Table 2:
Action plans for the implementation of the Resolution in the Western Balkans and Croatia
(by authors)

OSCE's comparative studies from 2017 and 2020, on implementing the UN's Women, Peace and Security Agenda throughout Europe and Central Asia, recognise action plans developed by BiH and the neighbouring countries as good

practices (OSCE 2017; OSCE 2020). Thus, for example, the **logical structure of the second Action Plan by Bosnia and Herzegovina is recognised as one of the most adequate ways to interlink activities, results, short-term and mid-term goals in the strategic document.** The same logical structure of the plan is recommended to other countries. Action plans by Serbia and BiH are also mentioned as exceptional examples of the approach to the process of developing an Action Plan and of adequate participation of civil society organisations in that process.

All the action plans in the region fall into the group of action plans focused on activities to achieve changes in the countries themselves, i.e. on the security sector reform, while the foreign policy aspect of the Resolution focusing on the participation of women in international peacekeeping mission has received relatively little attention. Also, it is evident that some topics on which the civil society organisations of those countries insisted the most are not there, such as transitional justice, peace education, participation of women in peace negotiations, and sexual violence in conflict (the first and the second Action Plans of Serbia).

In comparison to the neighbouring countries' plans, **the third Action Plan in BiH covers, by far, the most diverse topics, including the issues of demining, migration and refugees, radicalism, terrorism and natural disasters.** The second Action Plan of Serbia, and the Third Action Plan of BiH pay a lot of attention to the concept of human security. Among other things, the second Action Plan of Serbia also recognises the importance of inter-sectoral approach to security issues. This plan envisages the inclusion of women exposed to multifaceted discrimination, as well as women from minority communities in educational and other activities regarding employment and career advancement in the security sector. Action plans of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Serbia are also examples of good practices of harmonisation with general policies and strategies for gender equality (OSCE, 2020).

In spite of certain progress, **implementation of action plans in the region is not harmonised.** Thus, one cannot talk about an entirely successful operationalisation of Resolution 1325 through action plans in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. For example, no fewer than 5 years passed between the first and second Action Plan in Croatia, while Montenegro dedicated itself to the implementation of the Action Plan only in 2017. The second Action Plan is being implemented in Montenegro, which is largely focusing on activities in the security sector.

Although some Western Balkan countries represent a positive example in terms of the development and adoption of action plans, **practical progress is very slow and invisible**. Insufficient coordination and dedication of institutions, lack of budgetary resources, disharmony between Action Plans for the Implementation of Resolution 1325, national gender-equality policies and the security sector, resulted in merely symbolic changes, especially when it comes to the protection of women and girls from gender-based violence and sexual violence and to increasing the participation of women in legislative and executive institutions, as well as in the police and the military. Inclusion of clearly defined activities to resolve various issues regarding the phenomenon of wartime sexual violence against women, which was avoided in various ways in the action plans, represents a special challenge (Ramšak, 2015).

6. Role of Regional Organisations in the Implementation of the Resolution

Regional action plans and initiatives may be seen as an intermediate step between activities at the UN and national levels, and are of central importance for the preparation of National Action Plans. Their impact is a large one, having in mind the importance the nation-states give to the membership of those regional organisations, as well as taking into account the regional nature of conflicts in the Balkans, but also in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus. **Regional organisations from throughout the world include issues from the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” in two ways. The issues raised by Resolution 1325 are either integrated into those organisations’ gender-equality policies/strategies or special regional action plans are adopted with a special focus on the topics of the Resolution.** Key regional organisations for Europe, such as the European Union, NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) included the UN’s Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” into their policies.

NATO adopted its first Policy and Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security in 2007, and the latest one in 2018. The goal of the Policy is the transfer of global principles from Resolution 1325 into the NATO context, taking into account changed social circumstances, nature of the conflict and the NATO’s response to this global trend and context. **The NATO Action Plan is focused on the issues of integration, inclusiveness and integrity**, i.e. the focus of the policies is on inclusion of women into security policies and into decision-making on security, i.e. on gender mainstreaming of all the activities conducted by NATO. That resulted in the introduction of NATO Secretary General’s Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security, which serves as the high-level focal point on

all aspects of NATO's gender-related work. This position was created in 2012 and it is currently (2020) held by Clare Hutchinson from the United Kingdom. Gender advisers have been deployed through the Organisation, including the Military Command and the Missions. Through the Science for Peace and Security Programme, NATO promotes co-operation between NATO Member States and Partner Countries, implementing multiannual projects, trainings, studies and workshops. However, equal participation of women and men in NATO structures has not been achieved and it is not even close. For example, in the NATO Mission in Kosovo, out of 3,500 soldiers, only 270 are women (*NATO – Women, Peace and Security*).

The European Union has been adopting and implementing various security policy gender mainstreaming activities since 2008, recognising the need for political, but also strategic framework which would integrate gender-equality issues into the European Security Policy, both inside and outside the Union. Thus, **the initial efforts were directed towards the development and adoption of indicators to monitor the implementation of the Agenda, as well as for the purpose of reporting on the issue.** The latest EU Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security covers the period 2019–2024, contains 20 indicators to measure change and implementation of Resolution 1325 at the level of short-term, mid-term and long-term changes (Council of the European Union, 2019).

The presence of the **Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)** in the country is of importance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. OSCE turned the principles of Resolution 1325 into the **2004 OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality**, which is still in force. One of the six priority areas refers to the inclusion of women in conflict management and conflict prevention processes and, in general, to the participation of women in public life and political life and in the security sector. **OSCE's approach to security issues implies understanding security as a complex and comprehensive issue which encompasses implementation of activities from the fields of democratisation and human rights, and the environmental and economic security.** The OSCE also developed some of **the most successful guidelines which include gender equality into early detection of potential conflicts** (OSCE/ODIHR, 2019). Unfortunately, there is no consensus among the participating States about the most efficient way to implement Resolution 1325, leading to the lack of adoption of a specific strategic document, i.e. of the OSCE Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. However, OSCE Institutions, such as the Secretariat based in Vienna, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) based in Warsaw, as well as Field Operations actively work on this topic within their mandates.

7. Conclusion

Challenges in the implementation of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” may be grouped into several problems which are, on the one hand, contextual and refer to global political movements and, on the other hand, they are structural, i.e. they depend on the better and more strongly formulated requirements of the United Nations regarding the Resolution 1325 implementation and oversight mechanisms at the level of UN Member States.

Global trends of re-patriarchisation, of fundamentalisms of all sorts and of a decrease in women’s rights, undoubtedly have great influence on the implementation of some of the key demands of the women’s movement in the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”. Those are, primarily, demands to decrease military investments/expenditures in the State budgets spent on the military and on weapons, to control weapons left behind in post-conflict situations, but also to show zero tolerance against violations of various types of prohibitions of arms exports into regions affected by war, and finally, in the field of prevention, to promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and nurturing of the culture of peace.

The next group of challenges in the implementation of the Resolution deals with the issue of accountability of UN Member States for any lack of implementation. Apart from the obligation to develop National Action Plans, the issue of oversight over its implementation at the global level remains unresolved. Reporting on the implementation of the Resolution is included in obligations to report on the implementation of CEDAW and of the Beijing Platform for Action, but that seems to be insufficient (*Guidebook on CEDAW*).

The issue of conceptualisation of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” through the development of National Action Plans also faces several key challenges, primarily in the framework of the identification of problems which should be resolved through NAP, and includes prioritisation of certain issues over some other issues. **The problem of overlap or of insufficient synergy which exists between NAPs and some other national strategies and action plans** for the improvement of the status of women and gender equality also represents an additional challenge to the implementation of the Resolution. The development of NAPs has the potential to provide a good basis for the introduction of gender perspective into concrete security policies. However, in practice, most National Action Plans deal solely with the so-called “women’s issues”, i.e. outside the security discourse and security policies.

On the other hand, dealing with the mainstream of security policies represents a challenge *per se*, for some of the women participants, in the formulation of the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security". Hence the issue of the conceptualisation of gender equality as equality, difference and diversity (Antonijević, 2018b, 2019) remains one of the challenges not only in the development of NAPs, but also in the understanding of Resolution 1325 (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016). **The four pillars** on which the operationalisation of the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security" rests - **participation, protection, prevention and relief and recovery, also known as 3P+2R** - are not proportionally represented either in the action plans or in the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security". Namely, the ratio between protection and participation, including in the related resolutions, is disproportionately on the side of protection (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016, p. 380). Also, **gender equality in security policies, and often also the participation of women in this sector, is understood only in the context of their participation in militarised structures, and not in peace support policies, or in negotiating initiatives**. Some female authors are of the opinion that too much focus on women as victims, or on their participation in the security sector, affects the gender mainstreaming of other processes within the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security" and, in some way, betrays the original idea, including the discourse of Resolution 1325, of the female activists and of anti-militarists involved in its development (Wright, 2019, p. 2).

Theoretical and practical conceptualisation of masculinity and the links between the patriarchal gender paradigms and militarism rarely appear as issued initiated within NAPs, or in the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security". It was mentioned multiple times that even here, as in many other practices and theoretical concepts of gender and feminist studies, men remain "an invisible presence" (Antonijević, 2018a). More precisely, their evident numerousness in the security sector remains conceptually and practically unused in the deconstruction of violent masculine practices, in the context of issues of war, conflicts and security. Namely, **of the nine resolutions which followed Resolution 1325, only three mention men and boys explicitly (UNSCRs 2106, 2242, and 2467)** in the context of prevention of violence against women, on the one hand, and as potential victims of sexual violence in conflict, on the other. For example, Resolution 2242 "recommends" men's engagement in efforts to promote women's participation in conflict prevention and resolution (Wright, 2019, p. 4). Hence the transposition of these recommendations into practical policies, aimed at deconstructing the discourse and practices of violent masculinity and militarism, into the National Action Plans and into other public policies from the field of security represents a special challenge which still needs to be researched further.

Resolution 1325 and relevant resolutions from the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” undoubtedly changed the way in which the international politics and its actors think and act in the context of conflict resolution and conflict prevention. However, it seems that the (in)sincere institutional focus on certain aspects of the Resolution neglected some other important elements, primarily the critically corrective role of the civil society and of women’s peace groups. Their marginalisation in terms of international security issues, on the one hand, and the focus on “women’s issues” within a wider concept of gender mainstreaming of security policies, on the other, contributed to emphasising only a certain role of women and of civil society, primarily in providing support and protection services. Local peace initiatives and female human rights defenders remain on the margins of both the National Action Plans and the international politics. **The twentieth anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 1325 represents a strong call to renew its original values and goals and for the international security policy to focus more on the peace efforts of female activists in local communities.** Only in that manner will the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” fulfil the other important function: conflict prevention and promotion of the policies of peace.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Coomaraswamy, R. (2015). *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*. UN Women.
- Davies, S. E., and True, J. (Editors). (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security*. Oxford University Press.
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. (2020). *Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region*. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and London School of Economics and Political Science.

Bibliography

- Antonijević, Z. (2018a). Nekoliko nevidljivih saveznika: Muškarci i feminizam u Srbiji. (Several Invisible Allies: Men and Feminism in Serbia) in A. Zaharijević & K. Lončarević (Editors), *Feministička teorija je za sve (Feminist Theory for All)* (pp. 341–360). Philosophy and Social Theory Institute and the Political Science Faculty, University of Belgrade.
- Antonijević, Z. (2018b). Proizvodnja znanja i javne politike u Srbiji: Za i protiv urođnjavanja. (Knowledge production and public policies in Serbia: Pro and contra gender mainstreaming) *Sociologija*, 60(1), 299–312. <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC1801299A>

- Antonijević, Z. (2019). Gender mainstreaming: Urođnjavanje, in S. Gavrić & A. Ždralović (Editor), *Rodna ravnopravnost (Gender Equality)* (1st ed, pp. 275–284). Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Cohn, C. (2008). Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation? in S. Rai and G. Waylen (Editors), *Global governance feminist perspectives* (pp. 185–206). Palgrave Macmillan. <http://link.springer.com/book/10.1057/9780230583931>
- Coomaraswamy, R. (2015). *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*. UN Women.
- Council of the European Union. (2019). *EU Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) 2019-2024*, <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11031-2019-INIT/en/pdf>
- Feminist Foreign Policy*. (no date). CFFP. <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy> (Accessed on 05 March 2020).
- Fourth World Conference on Women*. (1995). UN Women. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>.
- George, N., Lee-Koo, K. i Shepherd, L. J. (2019). Gender and the UN's Women, Peace and Security agenda, in C. E. Gentry, L. J. Shepherd and L. Sjoberg (Editors) *The Routledge handbook of gender and security* (pp. 311–322). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- ICRC. (2014, January). *The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols*. <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/geneva-conventions-1949-additional-protocols>
- International Criminal Court. (2011). *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*. <https://www.icc-cpi.int/resource-library/documents/rs-eng.pdf>
- Kirby, P. and Shepherd, L. J. (2016). The futures past of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. *International Affairs*, 92(2), 373–392. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12549>
- Miller, B., Pournik, M., and Swaine, A. (2014). *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans, and Implementation* (IGIS WP 13/GGP WP 09). Institute for Global and International Studies, The George Washington University. http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/miladpournikanalysisdocs/igis_womeninpeaceandsecuritythroughunsr1325_millerpournikswaine_2014.pdf
- Mladenović, L. and Branković, B. (2013). *Međunarodni feministički mirovni pokret koji je doveo do Rezolucije 1325*. (International Feminist Peace Movement Which Led to Resolution 1325) Belgrade Centre for Security Policy.
- NATO. (2019). *Women, Peace and Security*. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_91091.htm (Accessed on 15 March 2020).
- NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security*. (no date). <https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/about/> (Accessed on 05 March 2020).
- OHCHR. (1993). *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/vienna.aspx> (Accessed on 07 March 2020).

- Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. (2009). *Gender and early warning systems: An introduction*. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. (2016). *Designing Inclusive Strategies for Sustainable Security: Results-Oriented National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security*. <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/444577?download=true> (Accessed on 07 March 2020).
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. (2020). *Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the OSCE Region*. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and London School of Economics and Political Science. <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/294731?download=true> (Accessed on 07 March 2020)
- Ormhaug, C. (2014). OSCE Study on National Action Plans on the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO).
- Parashar, S. (2019). The WPS Agenda: A Postcolonial Critique, in S. E. Davies and J. True (Editors), *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (pp. 828–839). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.013.46>
- PeaceWomen. (no date). *Member States*. <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states>
- Ramšak, A. (2015). *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security in the countries of Western Balkans and Slovenia*. Ekvilib Institute. http://www.ekvilib.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/33A_Studija-Zahodni-Balkan.pdf
- Rosén Sundström, M., and Elgström, O. (2019). Praise or critique? Sweden's feminist foreign policy in the eyes of its fellow EU members. *European Politics and Society*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2019.1661940>
- UN (2000, July). *Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations*. <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20S%202000%20693.pdf>.
- UN Women. (2015). *Guidebook on CEDAW general recommendation no. 30 and the UN Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security*. New York: UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/digital-library/publications/2015/8/guidebook-cedawgeneralrecommendation30-womenpeacesecurity>. (Accessed on 22 February 2020).
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*. (2000). https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/SC_ResolutionWomenPeaceSecurity_SRES1325%282000%29%28english_0.pdf
- UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE: 20 case studies of implementation*. (2013). Brussels: European Peacebuilding Liaison Office.
- Wright, H. (2019). “Masculinities perspectives”: Advancing a radical Women, Peace and Security agenda? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2019.1667849>

Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”: Implementation in BiH

ADNAN KADRIBAŠIĆ

Feminist and gender equality expert

1. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) “Women, Peace and Security” is the first Security Council Resolution which deals specifically with the effects of armed conflict on women and girls, with the role and contribution of women in conflict prevention and conflict resolution, and with achieving sustainable peace. **One of the key areas** of the Resolution deals with increasing the number of women in security structures and with increased participation at all levels of decision-making. That is a precondition for a larger degree of inclusion of the gender equality perspective into the security sector, and for greater protection of and respect for the human rights of women and girls, both in a war, and in the processes aimed to achieve peace and security. It was especially emphasised in Resolution 1325 that **women and girls are especially vulnerable** during armed conflict, which requires increased protection for women and girls. The UNSC Resolution 1325 consists of 18 points, and their content may be grouped into **four pillars** (Monari, 2018):

1. Participation of women at all levels of decision-making;

2. Gender perspective and training in peacebuilding;
3. Protection of and respect for the human rights of women and girls;
4. Introduction of gender perspective into UN reports and into the implementation of their programs.

Following the adoption of the Resolution, the issue of protection of women and girls was additionally underlined through the adoption of UN Resolution 1820 (2008) “Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations”, and subsequently in resolutions UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2009), UNSCR 1960 (2010), and UNSCR 2106 (2013). Resolution UNSCR 2122 (2013) emphasises the role of women in peace processes, while Resolution UNSCR 2242 (2014) additionally emphasises the role of the Agenda “Women, Peace and Security” in the context of the fight against terrorism and countering violent extremism. Today these Resolutions form the so-called **Agenda “Women, Peace and Security”**.

In the works written on the topic, there is clearly inconsistency in terms of the discussion on whether Resolution 1325 was **obligatory or not**. Some authors advocated for the obligatory nature of the Resolution (Reilly, 2007), while others claimed that there were no elements which would make the Resolution obligatory (Otto, 2012; Braunmühl 2013, True-Frost, 2007). The linguistic analysis of the Resolution indicates that the terms used could be found in resolutions and declarations, because it uses words such as “calls on”, “invites” and “encourages” Member States. The UN Secretary-General, in his address to the Security Council, encouraged Member States to develop clear strategies and action plans “with goals and timetables, on the integration of gender perspectives in humanitarian operations, rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes, including monitoring mechanisms, and also to develop targeted activities, focused on the specific constraints facing women and girls in post-conflict situations, such as their lack of land and property rights and access to and control over economic resources (Annan, 2002).”

Denmark was the first country in 2005 which decided to adopt an **Action Plan for Implementation of Resolution 1325**. After Denmark, several countries in Europe (Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Finland, Iceland and the Netherlands), and two countries in Africa (Uganda and Ivory Coast) followed this example. The UN Secretary-General, in his address to the Security Council, (S/PRST/2008/39), on 29 October 2008, reporting on the implementation of **Resolution 1325** once again urged Member States to take measures in order to implement the **Resolution** in full. At several international forums held after October 2008, positive practice of countries which had adopted

their National Action Plans was emphasised, and other UN Member States were called upon to adopt their Action Plans. It was especially emphasised that Bosnia and Herzegovina needed to adopt its Action Plan, as the then first post-conflict country, which happened eventually in September 2010. Today, 83 United Nations Member States have their own Action Plans, which represents 43% of all Member States.

2. Action Plans for Implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH

Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina started even **before the adoption of the first Action Plan**. Although the data about this period is incomplete, it is clear that numerous institutions and organisations contributed through their activities to the implementation of the **Resolution**. **The 2007-2011 Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina** paid special attention to Resolution 1325 as one of the fundamental documents to take certain measures in order to enhance the status of women in society and to prevent any form of violent resolution of problems. Six activities, in total, were dedicated to the implementation of the Resolution, although all activities were solely connected to the issue of participation of women in public life and political life. As one of the examples of actions by civil society organisations, we could point out the activities of the **Association "Žene ženama"** which implemented the project of monitoring the Resolution in BiH (Žene ženama, 2007), **as part of a UNIFEM project** "Implementation of UNSCR 1325 Women, Peace and Security". In late 2008 and early 2009, awareness started to strengthen about the need to adopt an Action Plan in BiH which would strive to respond to all the segments of the Resolution and which would ensure targeted and coordinated actions of a large number of actors in the society. Those activities resulted in the adoption of **the first Action Plan** for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2010–2013, followed by the second one and the third one.

Today, almost a decade later, the question is **"How much has the adoption of the Action Plans contributed to the implementation of the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security"** in a manner determined by Resolution 1325 and other related resolutions? In that context, the following research questions will be posed, as determined through the analysis of bibliography:

- When the Action Plans were developed, was an approach advocated by Resolution 1325 used in the intersectoral issue of Women, Peace and Security?

- How much do the Action Plans respond to the real context of the Agenda for Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- Which results could be attributed to the implementation of the Action Plans, which of those were implemented outside the context of the Action Plans, and which were (possibly) not covered by activities in BiH?

In that sense, we will primarily use a formal and logical procedure of analysis of the adopted Action Plans, analyses of related reports, available literature, and of examples of activities which were not implemented as part of the Action Plans, but which can be regarded as relevant for Resolution 1325. This approach has its limitations, especially when it comes to the third research question, since it is not possible to conclude how encompassing are activities which are not covered by official reports on the implementation of the Action Plans, due to the lack of systematisation of information, but also due to time constraints.

2.1 Analysis of the Situation which Preceded the First Action Plan

The process of development of the **Action Plan** was led by the **BiH Gender Equality Agency** which, according to its mandate, is the institution in charge of gender equality (Article 26 of the BiH Gender Equality Law). During 2009, comprehensive consultations were conducted at the local and State levels (Mansury and Filipović-Hadžiabdić, 2014) with the aim of collecting information from both the governmental institutions and from the civil society organisations. This approach to comprehensive consultations is often mentioned as one of the best practices (Miller, Pournik and Swain 2014; Tomić, 2015). It was pointed out in the UN's **Global Study** (UN Women, 2015) "that the example of the process of development of the Action Plan in BiH opened new opportunities for women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict prevention on one side and protection of women and girls from violence on the other".

An independent evaluation of the first Action Plan (Institute for Inclusive Security, 2013) concluded that "the design of the plan itself takes into account the key mandates of relevant governmental institutions, including the Gender Equality Agency, and also pays attention to the role given to such state-level strategy by NGOs". In the context of co-operation with civil society organisations, there seems to be a consensus that the co-operation was efficient and comprehensive (McMinn and O'Rourke, 2012). The data collected during this process and presented in the analysis of the status of the Action Plan shows the level of available information during the Action Plan development process. Numerous studies confirm that the analysis which preceded the development of the Action Plan was relevant, while the only objections refer to the length of the Action Plan (Miller, Pournik and

Swain, 2014) and to the number of activities and indicators (Institute for Inclusive Security, 2013).

The independent evaluation recognised the stakeholder role of the BiH Gender Equality Agency as **one of the factors for the success of the development** (and subsequent implementation) of the **Action Plan**. This is especially important because the Resolution itself is based on the principle of integration of gender issues, for which the Agency is the key stakeholder in the legal system of BiH in terms of **gender mainstreaming**. The role of the Agency in the Action Plan development process is important for many reasons. Primarily, it is of special importance that the Action Plan development process was initiated and led by a state-level institution, because that is one of the factors to ensure the commitment of governmental institution. Secondly, the key role of the gender equality institution ensured that the Action Plan was gender sensitive and based on the principles of gender mainstreaming. Although, Demir (Demir, 2016) objected that the Action Plan was focused on women, and not on gender mainstreaming, which is true when one analyses the text of the Action Plan and how the activities were formulated. Finally, the evaluation emphasises that the staff of the Agency possessed specific knowledge and skills, and the Agency had institutional knowledge in the development of public policies in the field of gender equality.

The 2010-2013 Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted through a Decision of the BiH Council of Ministers in 2010. **This Action Plan was the first one in South East Europe**, and one of the first National Action Plans adopted in a post-conflict country. **The first Action Plan had eight goals**, of which the first three dealt with the participation of women (in decision-making, military, police, and peacekeeping missions), two with the protection of women (in the context of human trafficking and of support to women and girls who were victims during the armed conflict) and a BiH-specific goal regarding demining. Two goals also referred to the promotion and co-operation with various actors. As far as its content was concerned, the biggest focus of the **Action Plan** was on the issue of participation, and slightly less on protection. The issue of participation of women in peacebuilding was not especially emphasised, although one could suppose that measures to increase participation of women in decision-making in BiH as a post-conflict country and a country in transition would also ensure participation of women in peacebuilding processes.

It is important to emphasise that in the regional countries, action plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325 mostly avoided to link those plans to the legacy of conflict. Only BiH and Kosovo plans explicitly included activities related to the

consequences of war (Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 2013). It is interesting to point out that the Action Plan is still the only policy regularly adopted at the level of BiH which contains in its title the words “peace and security”, and which, among other things, deals with the legacy of war, and especially with the issue of the rights of survivors of wartime sexual violence.

In the context of support to the **survivors of wartime sexual violence**, at the moment of development of the first Action Plan, the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees conducted an activity which, after several different versions, resulted in the development of a Proposal of the Program for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Harassment and Torture and for Their Families in BiH (2013–2016), which was not adopted because it did not receive support from all the levels of government in BiH. That affected the content of the first Action Plan. The very problems faced by other similar policies show how important the existence of the Action Plan is, because it still put the issues of peace, security and the legacy of war on the public policy agenda.

Apart from the BiH Gender Equality Agency, the **Coordination Board** is often seen as one of the factors to mobilise relevant institutions and individuals **in the process of implementation of the Action Plan**. Initially, the Board included twenty or more civil servants from the relevant ministries and institutions from the levels of BiH and Entities, and representatives of civil society and of the Agency. The evaluation of the first Action Plan confirmed the existence of cohesion and coordination between the members, as well as the long-term engagement of those individuals, because a large majority of them were included in the Action Plan development process. The number of members of the Coordination Board increased, so today there are 28 members, of whom 2 persons are from the non-governmental sector.

2.2 Evolution of the First NAP into the Second One and the Third One

In accordance with recommendations of the Independent Evaluation of the First Action Plan, a **structure of the second Action Plan** was established and carried on into the third Action Plan. While the first Plan had eight goals, **here the goals were grouped into three basic categories** based on the Resolution – equal participation, prevention and protection. This structure is clearer, and the strategic and mid-term goals, expected results, and activities were formulated as results-oriented ones.

This simplified the system to establish Action Plan monitoring indicators, as well as the system to collect data necessary to develop annual reports on the implementation of the Plan. It can be concluded that the **new structure of the**

Action Plan represents the framework of modern public policy in BiH and beyond. Also, protection and prevention were grouped into the Strategic Goal No 2: Increased **human security**. That introduced a completely new concept into the Action Plan, a concept based on the fact that security does not only mean protecting a state or an institution, but also protecting individuals or groups from everyday threats. Although this structure is largely focused on the structure of the Resolution, the Action Plan is still mostly focused on the topic of participation which dominates the Plan's content and activities.

Apart from the improved structure, **the second Action Plan was also based on lessons learned** about what prevented the Action Plan from being fully effective. The following challenges were underlined:

- In spite of the above positive examples, the entire process of harmonisation of defence and security sector rules, regulations and procedures with the BiH Gender and Equality Law is inconsistent and uneven;
- The need for a more effective system of monitoring and evaluation was noted. The Action Plan contained too many indicators which were too numerous to monitor and oversee. That resulted in a lack of a unified reporting system in governmental institutions. Almost all the listed indicators were quantitative, which precluded monitoring of progress in implementation of mid-term or long-term goals, as well as of qualitative institutional and social changes in general;
- Another major obstacle was a lack of resources for a more effective implementation of the Action Plan. Goals and activities of the first Action Plan were not adequately prioritised within institutional strategies or work plans, which resulted in a lack of resources for its implementation.

These challenges confirm that, in spite of its success, the first Action Plan faced challenges common to other policies in BiH. Although that was not emphasised, one can suppose that this Action Plan, which was based on a transformative approach and on dismantling gender stereotypes and roles, faced other types of resistance as well. Insufficient resourcing and failure to put the Action Plan on the list of political priorities speaks volumes in favour of that point.

The manner in which to overcome those issues and the monitoring and evaluation topics were specifically dealt with in the second Action Plan, while the issues of harmonisation and financing were dealt with through activities. It is not possible to determine how adequate those activities were in order to respond to the above challenges. At the time of the **adoption of the third Action Plan**, it was pointed

out that the monitoring and evaluation plan adopted after the second Action Plan made it possible to set indicators on the basis of which tables were developed for the institutions' annual operational plan of activities, as well as for the annual report on the achieved results. That simplified significantly the manner in which information from the relevant institutions was delivered, as well as the definition of concrete actions and the measuring of progress in achieving results.

The challenge which was pointed out at the time of the adoption of the third Action Plan **was a lack of financial and human resources**, as well as an **uneven level of commitment, understanding and implementation of gender equality principles within the relevant institutions**. It is necessary to underline that, in the third Action Plan, activities referring to the relevant institutions of the Republika Srpska were not envisaged. There is insufficient information on the approach to the implementation of the Resolution after 2017 by this Entity's relevant institutions. However, if one takes into account the content of the Resolution, the scope of authority of the RS Government's Gender Centre and the fact that the Resolution was largely integrated into the BiH Gender Action Plan, some activities have certainly been implemented. In that sense, a significant piece of information is the Gender Centre's financial support to a project of the RS Women Police Officers Network strengthening the role of women in the police, among other things.

Evolution of action plans in reference to the structure and challenges is shown in the table below.

AP UNSCR 1325 for the period 2010–2013	AP UNSCR 1325 for the period 2014–2017	AP UNSCR 1325 for the period 2018–2022
Duration 3 years	Duration 3 years	Duration 5 years
8 goals	3 goals	3 goals
Focus on participation	More efficient structure based on the Resolution, focus on participation	More efficient structure based on the Resolution, focus on participation
49 activities	16 groups of activities	16 groups of activities
Lack of resources for implementation	M&E plan adopted	No activities for RS
	Coordination Board with 19 institutions	Introduced focus on new security threats
	Introduced concept of human security	
	Lack of resources for implementation	

Table 1:
Key changes between the first, the second and the third Action Plans
(by the author)

3. Progress Achieved, Remaining and New Challenges in the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH

Monitoring implementation and evaluating public policies is a challenge in itself. In the context of implementation of Resolution 1325, the challenge is even greater, because what is measured is not only the influence of a public policy, but also of other activities in the country which contribute to the implementation of the goals of the Resolution. Action plans represent the contribution of Member States in the implementation of the Resolution, while the envisaged activities were contextualised for the situation in each individual country, including BiH. Since the previous analysis confirmed that the Action Plan was based on the Resolution's approach, that there was consensus in literature that the Action Plan was one of the positive examples, strategic goals may serve as a basis for the analysis of the achieved progress. In that sense, progress achieved against the chosen activities will be analysed.

3.1 Participation: Examples of Success and Remaining Challenges, Quantitative Layout of Results

The issue of participation has especially been emphasised in all three Action Plans. In the context of the Action Plan, equal participation is viewed from the standpoint of representation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions, including participation in decision-making.

Participation of women in decision-making refers to the participation in legislative, executive and judicial authorities. It is not clear from the analysis of the situation what is the contribution of the Action Plan to the activities regarding the participation of women. The analysis notes that the implementation of the existing legal provisions, such as the 40% quota (Article 4.19 of the Election Law of BiH or Article 20 of the Gender Equality Law), led to certain progress, but that it was necessary to include additional promotional measures, which would result in a concrete increase in the number of women in decision-making institutions. The plans are also unclear, since the activity which refers to this field reads as follows: "Analysis of the implementation of harmonised policies, laws, bylaws and other regulations, as well as of the adopted enhancement measures, with recommendations for improvement", and a similar approach was envisaged for the second Action Plan. It is our impression that the issue of participation would be dealt with solely **through the adoption of enhancement measures, without any information what that means.** The first Action Plan contained a number of other activities which referred to **strengthening leadership of women, promotion of media contribution in decision-making, and work with political parties.** Hence it is interesting to note that the first Action Plan

dealt with the issue of purposeful equal participation, while the subsequent Plans only referred to quantitative participation.

In the sense of contribution to the implementation of the Action Plan, the **Final Report on the Implementation** of the 2014-2017 Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina does not contain any information either on activities. Instead, it also notes the data on participation of women in decision-making. There is no information on activities conducted, for example, by the Agency during the 2014 and 2016 election campaigns, such as the **Statement on Gender Equality Commitment of Political Parties** (BiH Gender Equality Agency, May 2014) or about the activities or organisation of 7 workshops for over 100 women candidates standing in the 2014 General Elections. The effect of activities conducted by other actors is neither noted nor assessed.

The issue of **participation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping operations** was analysed in more detail and the contribution of the Action Plan is clearer in this segment. The Final Report itself concludes that “the implementation of comprehensive strategic measures through AP UNSCR 1325 has led to the creation of a more favourable environment for an increase in the participation of women in police and military forces, although that increase is still most evident in lower-level positions and ranks”. We will show through several examples which are those comprehensive concrete measures and what progress was achieved.

The data shows that the **promotion of military service** as equally accessible to women and men increased women’s level of interest. The promotion has been based on the use of service men and women in promotional materials, with the following note: “During the selection of candidates for military service, equal gender participation is taken into account in accordance with the Gender Equality Law” (Rulebook on Recruitment into the Military Service, 2014). That is illustrated by information that, **in 2008, only 23 women candidates applied to the vacancy, and in 2014, no fewer than 595 women candidates**. This approach shows that the Ministry of Defence of BiH and the Armed Forces of BiH (AF BiH) recognised the challenge of women’s low-level interest in military service and that working against gender stereotypes through promotion led to the increase in the number of interested women.

Also, the Ministry of Defence adopted a recommendation that 10% of successful candidates accepted into AF BiH should be women, taking into account the most successful men and women candidates on the list. Although the effect of these measures against individual vacancies is not available, the data shows that,

between 2008 and 2017, the **participation of women in the Armed Forces increased by 2%**, mostly 2008-2013 (1.8%), unlike 2013-2017 (0.2%). Information about the reasons for such a situation is not part of the analysis contained in the third **Action Plan**, but one of the envisaged activities is entitled "Analysis and Identification of Obstacles (Visible and Obscure) to Larger Participation and Career Advancement of Women in the Defence and Security System, Including the Decision-Making Posts (Examine Reasons which Directly Affect Employment/ Recruitment of Women and Career Management)".

Although the analysis of the situation notes a number of gender equality training activities of the Armed Forces service members, the goals of those trainings are not emphasised. Some information leads us to the conclusion that activities were conducted with the aim of promotion of the participation and leadership of women and men in the Armed Forces, as a precondition for the protection of the population and the society in general, and that activities were conducted within the framework of the He4She Campaign. An additional analysis concluded that the **Rulebook on Uniforms of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina** was amended, among other things, in order to relieve pregnant women of the obligation to wear uniform. Those who are less than five months pregnant would need an opinion of a medical specialist to avail themselves of that opportunity, and those who are more than five months pregnant would need no such medical opinion. The influence of the increased participation of women in the Armed Forces is not documented in the reports, but other sources indicate that such an influence is positive and visible, and the impression is that they change the contribution to peace and security in BiH (Hamidičević, 2017).

In the security sector institutions, there has been an **increase in the participation of women in the police forces**, at all levels in BiH which, in the reporting period, amounts to approximately 1.25% on average and 7.5% in total. The analysis of the situation qualifies this increase as "insignificant" but, without the data on the number of staffed posts and the gender structure of recruited police officers, it is not possible to really assess the progress. In terms of 1.2% of women in managerial posts, a possible reason for that situation was recognised in the lack of opportunity for continued professional education of women, as well as in the career advancement process to the next rank in line, for which there was a requirement of a specific amount of time spent in the previous rank, and an assessment of work for the past three years, the consequence of which can be a difficulty in career advancement due to maternity leave. However, it is unclear how many women police officers did not have an opportunity for career advancement due to this obstacle.

In **peacekeeping missions**, the percentage of women was 30%, a 6% increase in comparison to 2014, and an approximately 14% increase in comparison to 2010. Exactly because of the increase in the participation of women in peacekeeping missions, the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina received in 2012 **the United Nations Public Service Award, in the category of “Promoting Gender Equality in Public Service”** in the context of “Public Participation in Peace Processes”. The analysis of the situation from the third Action Plan assesses that it is the result of application of an enhancement measure which decreased the number of necessary years of experience, as one of the major criteria to apply for participation in peacekeeping missions, from eight to five years for women. This enhancement measure was introduced because it was determined in law enforcement agencies in BiH that there were no women with eight years of uninterrupted experience in the police. Apart from the participation of women in peacekeeping missions, of exceptional importance are activities in other conflict and post-conflict societies. In that sense, the Peace Support Operations Training Centre, located in BiH, conducts important trainings, such as the “Gender Issues in Peace Support Operations” training, which includes the module “Prevention of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict”.

3.2 Human Security:

How is the Concept Adjusted to BiH and What Kind of Influence Can Be Documented?

As already emphasised, after the adoption of the second, and later of the third Action Plan a special focus was put on human security. UN General Assembly Resolution 66/290 (UN General Assembly Resolution, 2012) thus emphasises that “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people”. This approach calls for “comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people”.

According to the Action Plan, this approach refers to the status of survivors of sexual violence and of other forms of suffering during the war, dangers from minefields, human trafficking, but also threats from a natural disaster, refugee crisis, violent extremism, etc. The Action Plan advocates for implementation of a gender-sensitive approach in these fields, thus confirming that the approach, which is also an obligation stemming from the BiH Gender Equality Law, refers to those areas. The areas of **demining, natural disasters and refugee crises**, are not recognised globally, i.e. through Resolutions, as threats to peace and security for women, but were recognised as threats to BiH. In the analysis of the

situation which accompanies the third Action Plan there is no information why these issues are of special importance to BiH, apart from pointing out that some policies in those fields included the gender perspective. Information from other sources shows that, in the past, the effects of the Action Plan in the fields of natural disasters and migrations were humanitarian in nature, through the distribution of humanitarian aid to households following the floods in BiH, as well as to persons in migrant camps in Serbia (Babic-Svetlin, Jacevic and Mansury, 2016).

Of the above goals in the field of human security and in the context of Resolution 1325, it is especially necessary to point out the goal which refers to the **improved support and assistance to women and girls who survived sexual violence and other forms of suffering during the war**. However, having analysed the data and information presented in the analysis of the situation, we could not derive any conclusions regarding the Action Plan's contribution to the progress in this field. There is no doubt that, in the context of survivors' rights, certain progress has been achieved in comparison to the first Action Plan (e.g. in the Brčko District) and that projects were implemented by various actors e.g. the "Seeking Protection, Support and Justice for Survivors of Sexual Violence in Conflict in BiH (2014–2017)" project led by UN Action, or the "Ensuring Access to Justice for Witnesses/Victims Through the Strengthening of Existing and the Establishment of New Witness Support Networks in BiH (2015-2017)" project, led by Association Vive Žene.

Institutions in charge of supporting the survivors are not represented in the Co-ordination Boards, except possibly and indirectly the BiH Ministry of Justice, in the context of the Criminal Code of BiH and of the free legal aid system at the level of BiH. It was noted in the analysis of the situation accompanying the third Action Plan that other initiatives in this field, such as the Proposal of the Program for Victims of Wartime Rape, Sexual Harassment and Torture and for Their Families in BiH (2013–2016), the Transitional Justice Strategy, or the Law on Rights of Victims of Torture in BiH, were not adopted. One could conclude from all of the above that the activities regarding the aspect of survivors of sexual violence have been conducted outside the context of the Action Plan. One could even conclude that the activities regarding the development of the International Protocol on Documenting and Research of Sexual Violence in Conflict, which began in BiH in 2014, have been conducted outside the context of the Action Plan.

This leads to the conclusion that the institutions in charge of those issues have not contributed actively to the implementation of the Action Plan, i.e. have not approached those topics in a manner envisaged by the Resolution.

3.3. Human Security at the Local Level

Human security issues were especially emphasised at the local level **through the adoption of Local Action Plans for Resolution 1325**. The BiH Gender Equality Agency took the lead in that process by working with pilot municipalities. It supported the development of **six Local Action Plans for 1325 in the following municipalities: Mostar, Vlasenica, Istočna Ilidža, Stari Grad Sarajevo and Ilijaš**.

The adopted action plans are not publicly available. It is not possible to confirm when they were adopted, nor is there any information on the impact of these plans. The available information and analyses indicate that the majority of those action plans dealt with the issues of participation of women at the local level, economic empowerment, demining, and domestic violence. One of those areas may be linked to the Resolution, and two to the State-level Action Plan. It is necessary to point out that some other local communities also adopted Local Gender Action Plans during that period of time, or Local Action Plans covering the issue of gender-sensitive budgeting, which also encompassed topics of participation and domestic violence. Available information, based on two case studies (Babic-Svetlin, Jacevic and Mansury M, 2016), shows that, for example, in Istočna Ilidža the focus was on providing stalls for women's handcraft, while in Vlasenica the focus was on raising awareness of institutions regarding the reactions to domestic violence. There is no information whether this approach was abandoned, since no information is available on further activities in this field in the third Action Plan.

4. Conclusion – Which Lessons Learned Can Be Identified?

When **the first Action Plan** for the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted in July 2010, that was a significant breakthrough. The first Action Plan was the first public policy of this kind in the country, in the region and among the first in a post-conflict society. There is general consensus in literature that the **process of development, structure and implementation of the Action Plan** represents one of the models on the basis of which other action plans were adopted in other countries of the world. **The structure of the second and the third Action Plan** is often mentioned as one of the best transformations of a low-impact public policy into a high-impact public policy in the context of Resolution 1325. Even in the regional sense, this Action Plan had a special place, because it was one of the two Action Plans which developed a direct link with the conflict and which envisaged activities

for survivors of sexual violence in conflict. In the context of BiH, action plan(s) remain the only policies which deal directly with the issues of peace and security, while all the other similar initiatives were not adopted.

In terms of content, the action plans largely used the structure of Resolution 1325 as a model of how to analyse the situation, and define mid-term goals and activities. Also, the content of the plans was adapted to the specific context in BiH, but also to new standards within the wider Agenda "Women, Peace and Security". It was also recognised that the **leadership of the BiH Gender Equality Agency** was one of the success factors of the action plans in this process. Knowledge in the creation of public policies, but also an approach based on gender mainstreaming ensured that the Action Plan is not focused on the gender perspective of the issues of peace and security. Although some authors objected to the focus of activities on women (and not on the issues of gender or gender equality) it is clear from the analysis of the situation and from reports that the approach is still based on the concept of gender mainstreaming.

The process of development of action plans is also regarded as one of the positive examples of consultations with organisations and with the civil society itself, and especially with organisations which represent the interests of women. Within the development process, women representatives of the civil sector were represented not only as members of formal working groups, but also as members of the Co-ordination Board for the Monitoring of Implementation of the Action Plan.

The key role of the Agency was also confirmed in the support to the actions of the Co-ordination Board for the Monitoring of Implementation of Action Plans. The example of the Co-ordination Board in BiH is often mentioned in literature as a model how to create a mechanism for oversight over the adopted action plans. Indeed, when one looks at the results, the impression is that those assessments are true, because the progress is visible, especially in the fields in which the institutions had their representatives (particularly in defence and security). It was also documented through research that those institutions largely relied on the specific knowledge of the Agency staff, thus conducting a transfer of knowledge in terms of gender mainstreaming. In those fields in which there were no representatives of institutions in the Co-ordination Board, results were either not visible or not clearly attributed to the implementation of the Action Plan. That is especially evident in the segment which refers to prevention and protection, in which there are still significant problems that remain outside the Agenda "Women, Peace and Security" and outside the framework of the Action Plan. It was also observed that some activities of the institutions which are present

in the Co-ordination Board, and which are linked to the Action Plan were not always attributed in the reports. The field which causes concern is the fact that, **in the third Action Plan, no activities were adopted which referred to the Republika Srpska**, nor do the RS institutions participate in the work of the Co-ordination Board. Although nothing prevents the RS institutions from conducting activities which contribute to the implementation of the Resolution, this paper shows that the existence of a public policy (such as the Action Plan) and joint action of institutions through oversight bodies (such as the Co-ordination Board) is increasing the chances for progress. It is difficult to discuss the consequences of this kind of a decision at this moment, because there is insufficient information as to how the existing situation will be resolved, and any (lack of) success of such a decision could be measured after some time.

Finally, it is commendable that, **every time, the next Action Plan was based on lessons learned and on identified challenges**. One of them referred to the field of participation of women in the Armed Forces, with an increase between 2008 and 2017 of 2%. In the new Action Plan, it was planned to research the reasons for this kind of a situation, because this increase was characterised as insignificant. On the other hand, an area in which, according to the available reports, no special progress can be attributed to the action plans, is the area of prevention and protection of survivors of sexual violence. Regardless of certain activities in this field which could be characterised as progress, they are mostly not linked to the action plans. Although this is a clear shortcoming, one cannot conclude that a special solution was planned in order for the third Action Plan to respond to this challenge.

These findings indicate that, in spite of the achieved results, there are still challenges in the implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH. One should not lose sight of the fact that the **approach of Resolution 1325 is transformative** and that it requires, but also depends on gender roles of the society in which it is implemented, but also on the readiness to talk about the legacy of war, peace and security. It is quite clear that the action plans were developed and implemented in a challenging environment, since there are no other public policies at the institutional level which refer to peace and security. They did contribute to progress in the Resolution-related areas, but did not succeed to serve as a catalyst for a wider social response, which prevents changes advocated for by the Resolution from occurring. However, the question is whether that should have been the role of the action plans in the first place, or do we need other complementary approaches, such as the attempt to adopt the Transitional Justice Strategy.

In spite of all the challenges in the BiH society, the action plans received support by decision-makers, which represents a positive step forward. The introduction of the concept of human security into the view on peace and security, from the aspect of gender equality, represents an innovative approach, which will have to be promoted further, and especially at the local level, where certain improvements have been achieved. For that reason, it is necessary to support efforts aimed at using the action plans as a resource for gender mainstreaming in the field of peace and security, at the same time calling upon relevant governmental institutions to be accountable for the implementation and transformation of the approach to peace and security.

Recommendations for Further Reading

Lippai, Z., and Young, A. (2017). *Creating National Action Plans: A guide to implementing Resolution 1325*. Institute for Inclusive Security, Washington.

Miller, B., Pournik, M., and Swain, A. (2014), *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans and Implementation*, Institute for Global and International Studies.

Olsson, L., and Gizelis, T.-I. (2015). *Gender, peace and security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325*

Clark, J. (2017). *Rape, sexual violence and transitional justice challenges: Lessons from Bosnia Herzegovina*. Routledge, Abingdon.

Bibliography

Agency for Gender Equality of BiH, (2014). *Political Party Gender Equality Commitment*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/GEP_opt.pdf

2014-2017 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Official Gazette of BiH, No 89/14.

2014-2017 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Official Gazette of BiH, No 1/19.

2010-2013 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Official Gazette of BiH, No 92/10.

Babic-Svetlin, K., Jacevic, M., and Mansury M. (2016). *Localization of Women, Peace, and Security Agenda Case Study of Six Local Governments in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Localization-of-Women-Peace-and-Security-Agenda.pdf>

- Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, (2013). *Women, Peace and Security in the Western Balkans: Independent review of translation of UNSCR 1325 into the policies in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/assessment_report_%5Bweb%5D.pdf
- Braunmühl, C. (2013). *A Feminist Analysis of UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security*.
- Demir, E. (2016). *The role of the United Nations women, peace and security agenda in promoting gender justice in post-conflict societies: is the agenda transformative*. International Journal of Law, Transitional Justice and Human Rights, 7 (7). pp. 81-91. ISSN 2232-7541.
- UN General Assembly (2002). Resolution of the General Assembly A / Res / 66/290 on Human Security. Accessed on 02 March 2020. <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/476/22/PDF/N1147622.pdf?OpenElement>
- Hamidičević, S. (2017). *Žene u službi sigurnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini (Women in the Service of Security in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, Centre for Security Studies.
- Hudson, N.F. (2010). *Gender, Human Security and the United Nations: Security Language as a Political Framework for Women*.
- Institute for Inclusive Security. (2013), *Evaluacija i analiza Akcionog plana za Implementaciju UNSCR 1325 u Bosni i Hercegovini 2010-2013 (Evaluation and Analysis of the 2010-2013 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*
- Lynne, A. (2007). Final Report. Monitoring Implementation of UN SCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Žene ženama*.
- Mansury, M., and Filipović-Hadžiabdić, S. (2014). *A Model National Action Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2014/03/09/model-national-action-plan-bosnia-herzegovina/>
- McMinn, K., and O'Rourke, C. (2012). *Baseline Study on UNSCR 1325 - Women and Peacebuilding Toolkit: Sharing the Learning*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. http://eprints.ulster.ac.uk/25297/1/FINAL_1325_Baseline_CFINI.pdf
- Miller, B., Pournik, M., and Swain, A. (2014). *Women in Peace and Security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis of National Action Plans and Implementation*, Institute for Global and International Studies.
- Ministry of Defence of BiH. (2017). *Pravilnik o uniformama Oružanih snaga Bosne i Hercegovine (Rulebook on Uniforms of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Official Gazette of BiH, No 44/17.
- Monari, C. (2018). *Introduction to the four pillars of UNSCR 1325*.
- Otto, D. (2012). *The Security Council's Alliance of Gender Legitimacy: The Symbolic Capital of Resolution 1325*.

- Pravilnik o prijemu u vojnu službu (Rulebook on Recruitment into the Military Service) (2014), Ministry of Defence of BiH.
- Annan, K., (2002), Statement by the President of the Security Council on the item entitled "Women, Peace and Security", No S/PRST/2002/32.
- Reilly, N. (2007). *Seeking Gender Justice in Post-conflict Transitions: Toward a Transformative Women's Human Rights Approach*.
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) "Women, Peace and Security", 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000).
- Tomić, A. (2015). *Gender Mainstreaming of the Security Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina: From the Policy Papers to Reality*. 14 *The Quarterly Journal* 87.
- True-Frost, C. (2007). *The Security Council and Norm Consumption*.
- UN Women (2015). *Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing the Peace - A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*. Accessed on 02 March 2020. [https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1).pdf)
- Council of Ministers of BiH (2019), Decision on Establishment of the Co-ordination Board to Oversee the Implementation of the 2018-2022 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Official Gazette of BiH, No 60/19.
- Military boots and silk: Women in the Armed Forces of BiH. Accessed on 02 March 2020. <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/vojnacke-cizme-i-svila-zene-u-oruzanim-snagama-bih/141214024>
- Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Consolidated Text. Official Gazette of BiH, No 32/10.
- Women in the Armed Forces of BiH received public commendation and awards for service. Accessed on 02 March 2020. <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/zene-u-oruzanim-snagama-bih-javno-pohvaljivane-i-nagradjivane-za-sluzbu/160421065>

02 POLITICAL AND PUBLIC LIFE

Women in Legislative, Executive and Judicial Branch of the Government

LEJLA BALIĆ, PhD, Docent

AMILA ŽDRALOVIĆ, PhD, Docent

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Law

1. Introductory Considerations

Although the feminist movement should not be restricted solely to the struggle for women's suffrage (passive and active suffrage, in other words, the right to vote and stand in the elections), acquisition of the status of political entity, regardless of all theoretical discrepancies between different forms of feminism, remains its lasting feature. The first argumentation of necessity of women's involvement in political sphere was carved out within the framework of the liberal political philosophy on the foundations of its principles of equality of all human beings and was thus formulated as a call for participation of women in political life, on an equal footing with men. However, the actual equality has not been accomplished after women won these rights, and the anticipated societal changes failed to materialise.

The analysis of chronology of active and passive suffrage (Tomaševski, 1993, p. 9, Obrenić, 2012; Popov Momčinović, 2019, p. 156) leads to a conclusion that in most countries women were granted these rights after 1945. However, having won these rights – first and foremost political rights, and even more importantly the right to education as a condition for the full exercise of these rights, failed to produce desired societal change. The success is reflected in the fact that

after centuries of exclusion of women from political decision-making, what the feminists accomplished (though they paid for it dearly) was for the women to be able to get into political positions – the achievement often taken for granted today. Nevertheless, the actual progress, assumed automatically to be a step forward, in disregard of theoretical dilemmas, such as for instance those voiced by Emma Goldman (2001) early in the last century during the first wave of feminism or modern debate on representative democracy, does not *de facto* imply societal change.

Even when complex theoretical discussion remains restricted to its outer layers and reduced solely to statistical analyses, political participation of women remains below satisfactory, despite all international standards BiH pledged to adhere to. It is important to note that the majority of these standards have been put into place during the so-called Decade for Women (1975–1985), when feminism entered what we now know as the second wave of feminism and when it became clear that to improve the position of women in society it was not enough to (only) win the rights such as the suffrage rights, right to equal education and right to freely dispose of one's property (Karapetrović, 2019; Ždralović, 2019a). For that reason, the **Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women**, adopted in the UN General Assembly on 18 December 1979, requires the state parties to take “all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country” and ensure that women, on equal terms with men, have the right to “participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government“, as well as “to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country“, (Article 7) in addition to taking “all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations“, (Article 8).

During the course of the Decade for Women, three international conferences dedicated to women have been hosted by the UN. The first conference, which took place in Mexico City in 1975, resulted in the *World Plan of Action* which was driven toward “equality, development and peace” (Mladenović, 1996). The second conference which took place in 1980 in Copenhagen, for the first time created a platform for discussion “on feminist ethics of female activism and violence against women” (Mladenović, 1996). The third conference which took place in Nairobi in 1985, resulted in the strategy for improvement of the position

of women with emphasis on the increase of participation of women in public life (Karapetrović, 2019, p. 29–30, Banović, 2019, p. 85). Ten years later, the fourth conference which took place in Beijing, resulted in the adoption of the **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**.

The Platform for Action highlighted the need for equal participation of women and men in all state, regional and international bodies and decision-making processes (Paragraph 5). The Platform also underlined that “the equality between women and men was a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and also necessary and vital precondition for equality, development and peace (Paragraph 1). Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action highlight the importance of participation of women in decision-making processes in issues of importance to peace and security and recognise that granting more competences to women and their full participation on equal terms in all areas of society, including their participation in decision making processes and government structures, was of fundamental importance to accomplishment of equality, development and peace.

The equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Although women have begun to play an important role in conflict resolution, peace-keeping and defence and foreign affairs mechanisms, they are still underrepresented in decision-making positions. If women are to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and economically and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making. (Platform for Action, Paragraph 134).

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action identified as one of the strategic goals the need to increase “participation of women in conflict resolution at all levels of decision-making and protect women who live in situations of armed conflict and other types of conflict or under foreign occupation”, and promote contribution of women in “fostering of culture of peace” (E.1, E.4). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted on 15 September 1995. Dayton Peace Agreement was signed on 14 December 1995, with only one woman present in the broader delegation, without any direct involvement in the negotiations (Kvinna till Kvinna, 2000).

In October 2000, the UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 1325 *Women, Peace and Security*. **The Resolution 1325** underlines the issue of influence of armed conflict on women and girls, but also the role women have in peacebuilding efforts. In addition, it points to necessity to increase the presence of women at all levels of decision-making. The Resolution 1325, which was followed by other similar resolutions (such as: 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2122) opened a new chapter in the efforts to improve normative mechanisms which could have positive impact on stronger involvement of women in decision-making.

However, despite all efforts, declarative commitment and adopted international standards, participation of women in politics remains an important indicator of (gender) equality and a clear sign that substantially patriarchal character of society has still not changed to any significant degree. At global level, this claim is corroborated by data that confirms a dominant trend of absence of women from decision-making processes. For instance, Melanie M. Hughes and Pamela Paxton (2019) analysed representation of women in parliaments during the period between 1945 and 2015. The increase in political representation was argued by these authors to be “one of the most important developments in the past 100 years”. However, these authors also recognised that despite significant progress has been made in some countries, the situation was still not favourable and representation was lower in political arena than in education or in the area of labour (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, pp. 33, 34). Analysis of chronology of representation of women provided in the paper shows that the representation ranged between less than 3% of women in parliaments on average in 1945 to over 20% in 2015 (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, p. 34). With these averages, the authors underlined substantial variations between different countries (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, p. 34). Today, BiH in essence does not deviate from the international average, but what makes it interesting for the purpose of the analysis are the negative tendencies that emerged under specific social circumstances (such as for instance, in the early 1990s) and continuous inability to make significant progress.

Women in BiH were given active and passive suffrage under the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, although the principles of equality of women and men in different aspects of social and political life have been gradually introduced since early 1940s (Taljanović, 2010, p. 51, according to: Đokanović et al., 2015, p. 107; Ždralović, 2015, p. 88). The conditions of acquisition of certain rights and freedoms under the circumstances of the national-liberation war and the emergence of a new political ideology, given the activities of the women's movement at that time and the period prior to it, certainly represent a separate

matter¹. In addition, the character and the reach of women's emancipation in the age of socialism is also a topic of its own, but without any doubt, this was the period in which the full suffrage right was accomplished. Based on the available data (Tomšič, 1981, p. 205; Taljanović, 2010, pp. 56–57, According to: Đokanović et al., 2015, p. 119) which do point to negligible variances, both positive and negative tendencies of participation of women in politics may be identified during the period of socialism in BiH. The first to notice is a positive trend which was maintained throughout the 1946–1963 period, to be followed by a negative trend of decrease of women in elected political positions, which was stopped in 1978. The representation of women ranged from around 5% of women in state, republic and provincial assemblies in 1946 to around 20% of women in 1963. In 1967 and 1969 the number decreased to around 10% of women in the assemblies, specifically, in the Assembly of BiH the number of women decreased from 21.5% (1963) to 8.1% (1967), and 5.3% (1969). In the years that followed (1974 and 1978), the level of participation of women will continue to rise toward 20%, to finally reach its peak in 1986 with representation of 24.1% in the Parliament of BiH. However, after the **1990 elections**, the most significant **decline occurred** since granting of the full suffrage rights, with only **2.92%** of women in the Parliament of BiH (Vidović, 1996, p. 6; Bakšić-Muftić et al., 2003, p. 52). The first post-war elections did not change the statistics in any significant way. Disappearance of women from political scene coincided with the emergence of ethnic-national ideologies and transition from socialist to democratic system of government. Generally speaking, the experiences of former socialist states show the paradox of democratisation with the so-called “**male democracy**” at play, which denied women their fundamental democratic and human rights, as noted by Žarana Papić (1997) in her review of the book by Lydia Sklevicky titled: *Konji, žene, ratovi (Horses, Women, Wars)*.

2. Positive and Negative Tendencies Resulting from Participation of Women in Political Life in BiH

Legally speaking, gender equality in the context of political participation in the second half of the 20th century was realised through the normative framework which guaranteed equal opportunities for participation of women and men in public positions, as both elected and appointed candidates, in legislative

¹ For the purpose of a more in-depth analysis of this topic, we recommend publications such as: *Ženski pokret u BiH: Artikulacija jedne kontrakulture (Women's Movement in BiH: Articulation of a Counter-Culture)* (Author: Zlatiborka Popov Momčinović), *Zabilježene: Žene i javni život BiH u 20. vijeku (Women Documented: Women and Public Life in BiH)* (Editor: Jasmina Čaušević), *Izgubljena revolucija: AFŽ između mita i zaborava (A Lost Revolution: Antifascist Front of Women between Myth and Oblivion)* (Edited by Andreja Dugandžić and Tijana Okić).

and executive branches of the government. However, the results of the survey on political participation of women in countries which abolished all forms of discrimination and guaranteed equal opportunities show that the goal of equal participation in public offices and decision-making processes has not been accomplished. That is corroborated by the fact that the international average of participation of women in legislative branch of the government in 2000, five years after the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, was still unsatisfactory, only a bit over 13%, with European average higher by just one point, with sole exception of the Nordic countries in which women accomplished more significant representation in the legislative branch of the government with 39% (IPU).

For that reason, at the level of the **Council of Europe, Recommendation Rec (2003) 3** of the Committee of Ministers has been adopted instructing the member states to ensure equal participation of women and men in political and public life. This document provided specific guidelines that should ensure not only the legal framework that would guarantee equal opportunities for participation of women and men in political and public decision-making, but also instructed the states to undertake measures that would result in equal political participation and participation in decision-making. The recommendation starts with the assumption that in European countries, “the traditional liberal notion of equality of opportunity has evolved to a demand for equality of results, and states now have an obligation to ensure equality of outcomes“ in the context of political participation and not just equal opportunities for men and women. (Recommendation, Rec, 2003, Paragraph 9). The Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 suggests to the member states to introduce the so-called parity thresholds, or in other words, legally mandated **minimum of 40%** representation of women and men in various government advisory bodies (councils, boards, working groups etc.), elected assemblies and, if necessary, juries (and other judiciary bodies), as well as in the structures of political parties, unions and decision-making bodies of the media. The Recommendation also suggests looking into “possible constitutional and/or legal amendments, including introduction of the affirmative action, that would facilitate more balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making”, adding that “if it turns out that election systems had negative impact on political representation of women in elected bodies”, it would be necessary to “adapt or reform those systems to promote gender balanced representation”. Reform of legislation should be implemented at all levels of the government, from local to central, with the view of ensuring election of at least 40% of representatives of both genders.

The overview of the past 25 years since the adoption of the Beijing Declaration, shows that globally, the number of women elected to serve in the legislative bodies doubled, with the international average at 24.5% and European average at 28.4% (IPU). However, we still cannot speak of equal participation, because these numbers are still far below the minimum 40%. It is certainly worth noting the positive trend of increase of the number of elected women, resulting from the measures undertaken by the states ranging from positive discrimination measures, introduction of proportionate electoral systems that facilitate higher number of women to be elected, the so-called women's quota based on guaranteed seats and the so-called *lucky looser*² quota to mandatory quotas of representation in the candidates' lists.

BiH, as a UN and Council of Europe member state, ratified these documents and therefore pledged to respect the rights guaranteed therein and undertake appropriate measures toward accomplishment of planned objectives. To that end, it is important to note the solutions stipulated under the Gender Equality Law of BiH in terms of political participation, specifically, the provisions of Article 20, which stipulates equal representation of both genders in leadership and decision-making positions, which reflects the Recommendation (2003) 3 of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers.

On the other hand, in comparative law, including the law of Bosnia and Herzegovina, positive measures aiming at accomplishment of equal participation of women in political bodies and decision-making processes are in most cases integrated in the election legislation. Electoral system is the integral part of the constitutional system and as such represents the foundation of legitimacy and legality of state government and one of the instruments that shapes political system of that state. Participation of women in legislative bodies is primarily conditional upon the model of the electoral system and comparative law shows that proportionate electoral systems ensure higher number of women elected to serve in legislative bodies (Miftari 2015b, Kadribašić, 2013), although high percentage of women participating in legislative bodies and decision-making processes is mostly ensured through the measures of positive discrimination or different variations of the **so-called women's quotas**.

Speaking of the Election Law of BiH which stipulates principles, conditions and rules of participation in the elections, its harmonisation with the provisions of Article 20 of the Law on Gender Equality of BiH was ensured by introduction of the

² "Lucky looser" is a quota system according to which mandates are awarded to women before men who won higher number of votes, if the number of elected women is below the quota mandated under the law.

provision in Article 4.19, Paragraph 4, which stipulates that “equal representation shall exist in case when one of the sexes is represented with minimum of 40% of the total number of candidates on the list”. In addition to these mandatory percentages, introduction of quota resulted in ranking provisions which require that at least one minority gender candidate shall be amongst the first two, two minority gender candidates amongst the first five and three minority gender candidates amongst the first eight candidates on the list” (4.19). The Central Election Commission of BiH (CEC BiH) shall refuse the list submitted by a political party if it is not made in compliance with these ranking rules. Further in the text, we will highlight changes in terms of number of women elected to serve in the legislative bodies in BiH and establish correlation between those changes and different solutions integrated in the Election Law of BiH.

The first post-war elections took place in **1996** in accordance with Annex 3 – Agreement on Elections. The legal framework in effect at the time did not envisage positive measures aimed at increasing participation of women. Political parties were free to submit lists prepared as they saw fit and male and female citizens were only able to vote for political parties, not for individual male or female candidates on their lists. It is interesting to note that political parties failed to recognise the importance of political participation of women, just as they failed to recognise it in the first democratic elections, which caused the number of women elected to serve in legislative bodies to be very low, similar to 1990 elections, with only one woman out of a total of 42 elected representatives in the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly, which is equivalent to only 2.38% representation, while at entity level 5% of women were elected to serve in the legislative body of the Federation of BiH (FBiH) and 1.89% to serve in the legislative body of Republika Srpska (RS). Similar results were noted in subsequent local elections of 1997, when participation of women in the FBiH was at 6.15%, and in the RS at 2.4% (Bakšić-Muftić, et al., 2003). In other words, it may be argued that the trend of “disappearance” of women from political life in BiH continued with representation of women at half of the international average at the time, which was, according to IPU, at 11.3% in December of 1997 in Europe, at 13.5% in OSCE participating states including the Nordic countries and at 35.3% in the Nordic countries alone.

1998 and 2000 elections were conducted in accordance with the **Electoral Rules and Regulations of BiH** issued by the OSCE Provisional Election Commission. Representatives of international community recognised the significant deficit of women in political life of BiH and commenced implementation of activities within relatively short period of time, with the view of accomplishment of goals

set forth under the Beijing Declaration. The provisional Electoral Rules and Regulations included the first positive measures aiming at implementation of the goal 1 of the Beijing Declaration, which meant that political parties were required to include a minimum of three women in their lists in the first 10 candidates. During these election cycles male and female citizens were only able to vote for a political party and were not able to vote for individual male or female candidates on the list, because **closed candidates' lists with women's quota** were in effect at the time. The results of the election indicated that this measure was effective and brought about notable increase in the number of women elected to serve in legislative bodies, even above the international average, which was at 12.6% in 1998, with the European average at 14.3% (IPU). At the level of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH a total of 26% of women won seats, in the FBiH Parliament a total of 15% and in the RS National Assembly (RSNA) a total of 22.8% (Miftari, 2015b, p. 18).

Further reforms of the electoral system were shaped by the international standards in the electoral law and were aimed at democratisation of the society. To that end, the so-called **opened candidates' lists system** was introduced to ensure stronger influence of male and female citizens on the election of their representatives and enable the citizens to vote for the candidates they prefer, within one party candidates' list. The so-called "women's quota" remained in effect and Article 4.19 envisaged that each candidates' list had to include at least one third reserved for candidates of the less represented gender. The results of 2000 general elections clearly indicated that citizens had a clear preference for male candidates when given the ability to specifically support individual candidates, rather than only political parties they represent. Consequently, the number of women elected to serve in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH significantly declined, with only two female representatives elected, or 4.76%, while in the House of Representatives of the Federation Parliament a total of 24 women were elected, which was equivalent to 17.4% and 14 female representatives were elected to serve in the RSNA, which was equivalent to 14.86% (Miftari, 2015b, p.18). In comparison to the international average, which was at 13.8% at the time and European average of 15.6% (IPU), it was evident that representation of women decreased at the state level, while the share of women in entity parliaments remained above both European and international average.

Election cycles that followed during the period between **2002 and 2018** were conducted in accordance with the Election Law of BiH. During the election cycles of 2002, 2006 and 2010, the Election Law stipulated the so-called "women's quota" referred to above, which resulted in stagnation of the number of elected female

representatives, with slight variances in terms of gradual increase and decrease in the number of women in legislative branch of the government at state and entity level. Following 2002 General Elections, 14.3 % of women were elected to serve as MPs in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, 21.4% in the Federation Parliament and 16.9% in the RSNA (Kadribašić, 2013). A total of 20.15% elected candidates in BiH were women (CEC, 2015) which was both above global average of 14.9% and European average of 16.9% (IPU).

2006 General Elections did not bring any substantial change. After this election cycle, representation of women in the Parliament of BiH was at 9.5%; in the House of Representatives of the FBiH at 27.55%, and in the RSNA at 24%. (Fourth and Fifth Periodic Report on Gender Equality Situation in BiH, 2011, p. 31). Overall number of elected female candidates in Bosnia and Herzegovina decreased in comparison to prior election cycles and was at 17.21% (CEC, 2015), which brought the participation of women in legislative branch of the government to almost equal level as the global average, which was at 16.9% at the time, and somewhat below the European average, which was at 19% at the time (IPU).

After 2010 General Elections, the percentage of women elected to serve in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH was at 21.4%, in the Federation Parliament at 17.3%, and in the RSNA at 21.6% (CEC, 2015). Overall number of female candidates elected in 2010 elections was at 17.37%, which was the first time it dropped below the global average of 19.1% at the time and European average of 21.4 % at the time (IPU).

In **2013**, amendments to the **Election Law** were adopted (Official Gazette of BiH No. 18/13 of 11 March 2013), which introduced a solution integrated in the provisions of Article 4.19 of the Election Law with the view of accomplishing equal representation of women, as mandated under Article 20 of the Gender Equality Law³. As a result, the so-called women's quota changed and the mandatory percentage of the less represented gender was increased to 40% on open lists, with the existing "zipper" system kept in place. The new measures were enforced for the first time in 2014 General Elections and the resulting number of elected women was at 23.8% in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, at 22.5% in the Federation Parliament and at 15.66% in the RSNA (CEC, 2015). Modest increase in the number of elected women was noted at the state level and the level of the Federation of BiH, with decrease at the level of the RS. At cantonal level, representation of

³ As noted in the Gender Action Plan for BiH 2018 - 2020 (2018), this "contributed to higher level of representation of women on candidates' lists, but failed to produce desired election results and increase the number of women in representative bodies where they remain extremely underrepresented" (p. 16).

women was at 18.3% on average. Therefore, the increase of quota from 30% to 40% did not result in the corresponding proportionate increase in the number of elected female representatives, and the actual representation was far below the 40% of the mandated minimum that ensures equality of participation in political life and decision-making processes. In 2014 elections, overall number of women elected to serve in legislative bodies was at 18.9% (CEC, 2015), which was, as in 2010 elections, below global and European averages which were at 21.8% and 24.9% respectively (IPU).

In 2016, Election Law of BiH was amended again and the changes introduced were focused on distribution of mandates within the lists and increase of internal threshold of votes won as a requirement for the award of mandate from 5% to 10% (out of the total number of valid votes won by the list) for municipal and city councils, and from 5% to 20% for cantonal assemblies (Article 30 of the Law on Amendments to the Election Law of BiH). It could be argued that this was a substantial change of the Election Law, particularly in terms of the election of candidates to serve in cantonal assemblies, where the number of preferential votes that male or female candidate needed to win in the open list in order to get a seat quadrupled. The new solution reduced the possibility of “skipping” higher ranked candidates and the model was brought closer to the so-called closed lists. 2018 General Elections were conducted in line with newly introduced provisions, which turned out to be relatively effective, since they resulted in the increase in the number of women elected to serve in cantonal assemblies to 32.18%, which for the first time brought it closer to legally mandated 40% representation. On the other hand, the number of women elected to serve at state and entity level could not be perceived as satisfactory: 16.6% of women were elected to serve in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, 26.3% in the Federation Parliament and 18% in the RSNA (CEC, 2019). The overall number of elected female candidates was at 27.41%, which represented a major step forward in comparison with 2010 and 2014 elections. The actual representation of women in legislative bodies in BiH was above the global average of 24%, and almost equivalent to European average which was at 27.6% at the time (IPU).

As demonstrated by the results of 2018 General Elections, it can be concluded that relative increase was accomplished in the number of women who participate in political life and therefore participate in decision-making at the highest level. However, it is necessary to present additional factors which contributed to such “election success” of female candidates. As we know, each political party had a minimum of 40% of female candidates on its lists for all levels of the government, as mandated under the law. However, the analysis of data on representation of

women as the first candidates on the electoral lists paints an entirely different picture, since the level of their representation as first candidates on candidates' lists was at modest 14% in the elections for the level of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH. In addition, out of seven elected women, only one was awarded a mandate directly, while the remaining six were elected from **compensatory lists**⁴. In addition, it is important to note that the lists of political parties for compensatory mandates are formed according to equal criteria as direct lists, which means that a minimum of 40% of candidates of the less represented gender have to be included and that the zipper system applies (articles 4.19 and 9.6 of the Election Law of BiH). As a rule, on these lists as well, the first ranked is a male candidate, in most cases a person promoted as the principal candidate and the first candidate on the list in his constituency (Kadribašić, 2013) who wins direct mandate, so that the compensatory mandate is transferred to the male or female candidate who ranked second, which is in most cases a woman. Similar situation is observed at entity level as well, where for the level of the Federation Parliament 22% of women were first candidates on the list and for the level of the RSNA 13% of women were first candidates on the list. Just as on the state level, the number of directly elected women is significantly smaller than the number of directly elected men, which shows that male and female voters clearly give preference to male candidates over their female peers. At cantonal level, where the results are the best, women were the first candidates on only 16.6% candidates' lists (Mujić, 2018, pp. 62–65).

It should also be considered that “in comparison with 186 countries in the world, according to data of January of 2017, BiH ranks 67th in terms of the share of women in ministerial positions (22%), and 78th in terms of the share of female representatives in the parliament (23,8%)” (BHAS, 2018, p. 95). Similarly, gender structure of incumbents in ambassadorial and consular positions in diplomatic and consular representative offices of BiH demonstrates inequality of women and men in BiH, given that 26.5% of women serve in those positions according to data of 2018 (BHAS, 2020, p. 85).

⁴ Compensatory mandates are the mandates distributed to lists of political parties or coalitions according to the number of valid votes won. They serve to compensate for insufficient proportionality at the level of entities, which results from addition of results for specific complex constituencies in entities. Only political parties and coalitions that won over 3% of valid ballots for the territory of the entity for which the compensatory list was created may participate in distribution of compensatory mandates.

3. Women in Political Life of Local Communities

The Platform for Action of the Beijing Declaration stipulates as follows: “if women are to play equal role in securing and maintaining peace, they must be empowered politically and economically and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making” (Paragraph 134). This implies at least two general issues. The first is about the manner of empowerment of women which reflects on the overall socio-cultural contexts, including the mode of operation of a complex mechanism of socialisation which, despite the changes that took place, still has a powerful sway over all forms of aspirations of male and female individuals and when those individuals transcend societal roles tailored along the lines of horizontal and vertical gender segregation in different areas of life, they continue to encounter new barriers in their pursuits. For instance, the decision of a female individual to leave the private sphere of home and enter the public sphere of politics (irrespective of the circumstances under which decision has been made and the reasons behind it), represents the erosion of patriarchy (again, irrespective of whether further work in political sphere would be driven toward collapsing or reinforcing patriarchy). Therefore, the activities of civil society are both valuable and diverse, which primarily applies to the activities of feminist oriented non-governmental organisations which include different programmes of informal training for women in politics.

The second issue concerns adequate representation at all levels of the government. For that reason, what represents a particular and serious concern is the absence of women which became typical for all levels of the government, but also **gender insensitive policies** in particular at local level which is closest to male and female citizens and matters that affect their daily lives. The findings of the survey of gender equality in local communities by Čaušević, 2012; Miftari, 2015a; Žarković, 2017; Ždralović et al., 2018; Ždralović and Popov-Momčinović, 2019; suggest that as we descend from higher levels of the government toward lower levels, the adopted gender equality principles become weakened, and instead of being translated into local policies, they often completely disappear from local level regulations. The survey has put a particular emphasis on the issues of **women marginalised on multiple grounds**, in other words, the issue of crosscutting point between gender and other forms of social stratification. To that end, women from rural areas, single mothers, women with disabilities, Roma women, elderly women, lesbians – represent only some of many groups marginalised on multiple grounds. Since the local level is closest to the citizens, it is there that discriminatory and gender insensitive policies and practices occur most frequently, but for the same reason, it is at this level that the biggest,

the most effective changes can be made. However, sometimes the activities of inclusive local community building are determined by the policies in effect at higher levels. For instance, the status of single-parent families largely depends on the establishment of the alimony fund at entity or state level, but that is not to prevent the lower levels of the government from recognising the position of single mothers within their programmes and adopting gender sensitive approach to their daily interaction and communication with female and male citizens.

In addition, the multiple surveys confirm it is necessary to “improve local regulations by introducing the principle of gender equality and prohibition of gender-based discrimination”, in addition to introducing other measures (in particular **affirmative measures**) with the view of ensuring gender equality (Ždralović et al. 2018, p. 128). The surveys also identify the need to intensify activities of committees dealing with gender equality issues at local level and continue gender equality advocacy efforts and initiatives. They also highlighted the need to evaluate all initiatives and proposals of municipal and city councils **from gender responsive perspective**⁵, in addition to underlining the need to introduce gender responsive budgeting. It was also noted that the regulations of municipal authorities (as well as other levels of the government) fail to recognise and integrate gender sensitive language. In addition to using gender sensitive language, municipal authorities should also undertake active role in overcoming gender prejudice and eliminating structural discrimination which occurs when wrong assumptions on gender neutrality of policies/measures/regulations negatively impact the lives of women and girls (Ždralović, et al. 2018). The purpose of these observations is certainly not to put all the blame on municipal authorities since the same suggestions and recommendations could be made to higher levels of the government as well, but the aim here is to put focus on the importance of activities implemented at this level. There is no doubt that some municipalities even adopted local action plans for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 as well as local gender action plans, but question remains which specific results were accomplished due to their implementation at local level.

⁵ *Gender mainstreaming* (integration of gender perspective) represents an approach with requires integration of gender perspective in all programmes and activities at all levels of decision-making, planning and implementation of activities in these areas (Kadribašić, 2019, p. 146; Antonijević, 2019, p. 275). “This approach is considered fundamental since the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and has been accepted as the principal approach of the United Nations, Council of Europe and European Union. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, gender mainstreaming is a fundamental principle for accomplishment of gender equality and as such represents the commitment of all relevant institutions. This commitment was integrated in Article 24 of the Gender Equality Law of BiH according to which institutions at all levels of the government have the responsibility to actively engage in accomplishment of gender equality and elimination of gender-based discrimination” (Kadribašić, 2019, p. 146).

Neither local nor other levels of the government accomplished adequate level of representation of women in their representative bodies. According to the data provided by the BiH Statistics Agency, in 2016, only six women were elected to serve as mayors (five in the RS and one in the FBiH) in the municipalities of Istočni Drvar, Jezero, Kalinovik, Mrkonjić Grad, Novo Goražde and Visoko, which is one more compared to 2012 (BHAS, 2018, p. 97).⁶ The same source from 2018 cites that all mayors in BiH were men and that one in five mandates in municipal/city councils was won by a woman candidate⁷ (BHAS, 2018, pp. 97–98). Slight increase in the level of participation of women may be noted in comparison with 2012 local elections, given that the share of women councillors in municipal/city councils increased from 17.1% to 18.34% of women (Final Report on Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH 2014–2017. p. 8). Generally speaking, increase of 1.24% does not represent major improvement, especially if we consider the effort invested both in improvement of institutional mechanisms for gender equality and implementation of activities of women's/feminist associations in their local communities.

4. Judiciary: Women in Legal Profession

There is no doubt that positive statistical indicators may be found in the area of the judiciary since the moment of entry of women into this profession to date, primarily in the area of education, which after a while, started reflecting on the structure of academic staff and the overall legal profession. However, one should also consider a broad array of societal factors which include the effects of gender socialisation (Ždralović, 2019b) which shapes aspirations of male and female individuals, their choice of profession, which in turn guides them in their pursuit of secondary and tertiary education. This results in horizontal division of labour, in other words, employment of women and men in different professions, which results in differences in social and economic power between them. Jasna Bakšić - Muftić (2012) showed through her quantitative research that legal education in the Faculty of Law of the University of Sarajevo gradually became dominated by women, which reflects general tendencies in education. She also noted at the outset of her paper that such situation “indicated that the reputation of the legal profession was waning and that opportunities for law school graduates in Bosnia and Herzegovina to acquire economic status were shrinking ” (p. 39). Therefore, **feminisation of legal education and profession** (as well as feminisation in

⁶ BiH Gender Action Plan 2018 – 2022 considers the fact that only six women were elected (4.3%) in comparison with five (3.6%) in 2012 to indicate significant progress given the fact that the number of female candidates for mayoral positions was decreased from 39 in 2012 to 26 in 2016 (p. 19).

⁷ 566 out of the total of 3,144 mandates for councillors in municipal/city councils were won by women (BiH Gender Action Plan 2018 - 2022. p. 17).

other areas), in most cases is not the result of systematic and planned efforts to introduce positive changes for the sake of gender equality, but rather a random consequence of a complex patriarchal system.

Feminisation of legal education certainly reflects on the character and the dynamic of feminisation of legal profession and in that regard, BiH deviated somewhat from general trends. General trends have been recognised in theory of sociology of legal profession which notes that in the states which follow European Continental legal tradition women are more represented in the profession as judges and prosecutors than as attorneys, with the same trend demonstrated in lower level courts and prosecutor's offices (disproportion according to hierarchy of competence of judicial institutions), with men more represented in the managerial structure within these professions (disproportion in managerial positions) (Forić, 2019, p. 159).

Empirical data point to feminisation of legal profession. According to 2017 data cited by Forić, women account for 62.1% of judicial and 50.9% prosecutorial appointments. (Forić, 2019, pp. 159–160). Therefore, the number of female judges is higher compared to their male peers, while the numbers are even in prosecutorial profession, but among the attorneys the number of women is 7.5% lower compared to the number of men (Forić, 2019, p. 163). However, when it comes to BiH, question is whether and to what extent can the disproportion in the hierarchy of judiciary institutions and managerial positions be argued.

The data cited in the HJPC 2017 Annual Report indicate that in lower level courts (municipal and basic courts) out of the total number of judges, women account for 62.3%, while in higher level courts (Court of BiH, supreme entity courts, Higher Commercial Court of the RS, cantonal and district courts and Appellate Court of Brčko District of BiH), they account for 64.7% of judicial positions (Forić, 2019, p. 160). According to HJPC data, gender structure of judicial branch of the government has not changed much in 2018 either. Representation of women in courts in BiH is at 63.97%; with representation of women at 66.67% in higher level courts, and at 62.36% in lower level courts (BHAS, 2020, p. 87).

However, in lower level prosecutor's offices (cantonal, district and Prosecutor's Office of Brčko District of BiH), out of the total number of male and female prosecutors, women account for 51.8%, while in higher level prosecutor's offices (entities and state level) they account for 45.8% (Forić, 2019, p. 160)⁸. Based on

⁸ Forić (2019) takes into account data up to 2017, however, data for 2018 do not suggest significant variations. For example, according to 2018 data, representation of women in prosecutor's office in BiH was at 51% (BHAS, 2020, p. 88).

the data cited in the HJPC annual reports for the period between 2008 and 2017, Forić (2019) highlights decrease of disproportion gap in managerial positions as well, given that in 2008 women occupied 34.1% managerial positions in judiciary institutions and in 2018 – 45.4%. The Final Report on the Implementation of Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH 2014 – 2017 also notes increased level of representation of women in managerial structure of judiciary institutions in BiH. The Report notes that as far as the position of court president is concerned, women dominate at the level of cantonal courts, occupying 80% of positions as court presidents, and out of 9 managerial prosecutorial positions, women account for 33% and occupy the position of acting chief prosecutor and two positions of chief prosecutors in district prosecutor's offices. (p. 9). It should be added that out of a total of 15 members of the HJPC, 60% are women. However, BiH Gender Action Plan 2018 – 2022, despite recognising high level of participation of women in judicial branch of the government, still note lower percentage of women in managerial positions in the judiciary, compared with overall level of participation of women in the judiciary (p. 17).

Therefore, when it comes to BiH, one could argue feminisation of legal education and legal profession, but also decrease, and in some cases even overcoming of disproportion in representation of men and women in the hierarchy of judiciary institutions and in managerial positions in judiciary institutions. However, positive statistical trends do not necessarily indicate qualitative change as well. Feminisation illustrated above only means that the share of women increased; what is positive is that the increase occurred both on horizontal and on vertical plane. Going forward, these tendencies should be monitored in reference to the basic set, in other words, in reference to the percentage of female students in the overall number of persons who earned their bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees in different law faculties across BiH. However, these tendencies do not guarantee **gender mainstreaming** of higher education and training implemented by centres for education of judges and prosecutors in the FBiH and the RS⁹, or gender sensitive/responsive legal system in BiH. Moreover, the findings of different surveys suggest the existence of discernible patriarchal pattern of judicial practices in BiH.

⁹ The Annual Report on the State of Human Rights of LGBTI People in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2018 highlights the fact that the entities "do not provide continuous training of members of the judiciary with emphasis on human rights of LGBTI people", and notes that Sarajevo Open Centre provides training for judges and prosecutors, in cooperation with the Centre for Education of Judges and Prosecutors of the FBiH (SOC, 2019, p. 19). These types of training activities and cooperation between the judiciary and civil society organisations is certainly welcome, but this is not to suggest that it is still not necessary to ensure gender mainstreaming of formal education and training activities and introduce gender perspective in all thematic areas which are often incorrectly perceived as gender neutral.

For instance, stigmatisation of persons who survived conflict-related sexual violence was noted within criminal proceedings (Delbyck, 2017). Further surveys also point to partially justified lack of trust in the justice system on the part of persons who survived discrimination (Hanušić, 2013, 48–52), and particular emphasis should be put on the surveys that encompassed specific experiences of LGBT persons (for example, Numanović, 2017¹⁰). The goal here is certainly not to present all different surveys and reports that show that judiciary institutions are not sufficiently gender sensitive, but rather to show that feminisation of legal education and profession on its own is not sufficient and that additional efforts should be made to ensure gender mainstreaming of legal education and other forms of formal education intended for those practicing law. Only then could feminist perspective be introduced into feminised profession, once necessary steps are made toward creating a more fair-minded society.

5. Instead of Conclusion: Debates on Equal Representation

Any analysis of gender structure is condemned to failure because it follows patriarchal binary division to men and women, necessary to describe the social reality which is deeply patriarchal and heteronormative. As a result, institutional efforts remain restricted to formal fulfilment of internationally recognised commitments and fail to produce desired positive social change. According to 2013 census data, women account for 50.9% of the population of BiH, but they are still far from being adequately represented in decision-making positions. Adequate representation is a separate matter altogether. The Gender Equality Law of BiH notes that equal representation exists in situations when one of the sexes is represented with a minimum of 40% in government bodies at all levels and bodies of local self-government (Article 20). For the sake of fulfilment of this goal, special measures were introduced (Gender Equality Law, articles 8 and 20), referred to as affirmative action measures. In the process of adoption of amendments to the Election Law of BiH, the 40% gender equality quota was tied to candidates' lists and equal representation of male and female candidates on those lists, instead of being tied to the actual political representation.

¹⁰These surveys point to a low level of trust of LGBT persons in the police and judiciary, with the main reasons for it being, as cited by the respondents, potential homophobia/transphobia that could be demonstrated by civil servants/officers within the system. In addition to this reason, the respondents expressed scepticism about being provided with adequate protection and pointed to inadequate sensitisation of staff for work with LGBT persons and general incompetence and corruption, as well as protracted and complex procedures (Numanović, 2017, 39–42). Such views are mostly justified, given the fact that the Annual Report on the State of Human Rights of LGBTI People in BiH (the so-called pink report) continues to point to the fact that improved legal framework is not followed by the adequate commitment of representatives of the police and judiciary to its implementation. These observations are confirmed by the experience with prosecution of the attack that occurred during "Merlinka" Queer Film Festival in 2014.

As we are reminded by Natalija Perić, “the Gender Equality Agency of BiH proposed a set of amendments to the Constitution of BiH in 2017, which included, inter alia, those that refer to gender sensitive language and affirmative measures, and pointed to this problem on several occasions” (p. 25). In 2013, initiative titled: **(Female) Citizens for Constitutional Changes** emerged in civil society sector. The initiative brought together civil society organisations and brought about the **Platform of Women’s Priorities for Constitutional Changes**. This document notes the following priorities: 1) use of gender-sensitive language in the Constitution of BiH, 2) introduction of affirmative measures in the Constitution of BiH, 3) expansion of the existing Catalogue of Rights to include provisions on single health, social and family protection, 4) higher degree of judicial and legal protection of human rights and freedoms, 5) principle of direct democracy applied to the process of constitutional reform. Different civil society organisations engage on daily basis and in particular prior to the elections to implement various activities with the view of increasing the level of participation of women in political life. In addition, we should also not overlook the activities implemented by the Gender Equality Agency of BiH.

In its concluding observations to combined fourth and fifth periodic report of BiH in 2013 the CEDAW Committee issued recommendation for the Constitution of BiH to integrate provisions on equality of women and men as well as the provisions prohibiting direct and indirect discrimination of women in public and private sphere, in accordance with the provisions of articles 1 and 2 of the CEDAW Convention. Among other things, it was recommended that efficient mechanisms be developed to enforce quotas to increase **the actual political representation of women**. Concluding observations of the CEDAW Committee (2019) to sixth report followed a similar tone, but the emphasis was put on introduction of “special temporary measures to promote political representation of women from vulnerable groups, such as Roma women, women returnees, single mothers, elderly women and women with disabilities” (p. 6). It should be noted here that these categories were listed as examples of vulnerable groups, and do not represent a completed list of vulnerable groups. To that end, it is necessary to ensure ongoing contextualisation and identification of groups marginalised on several grounds, including sexual and gender minorities.

Compliance with 40% gender quota on candidates’ lists does not suggest that 40% of women would be elected or that the 40% gender quota stipulated under the Gender Equality Law of BiH would be implemented. In addition, 40% is not equal representation and only **50%** would correspond to fair distribution given the demographic structure of the population, which means that affirmative

measures need to be taken for the sake of fairness. If these complex discussions are simplified to the extreme, which is not appropriate for theoretical discussion, the attitude to these temporary measures will depend on whether we start with the assumption that equal rules automatically create equal opportunities that will (or will not) be seized by male and female individuals in accordance with their abilities (for instance, we find this interpretation in the papers of Brian Barry) or the assumption that specific social circumstances and different positions in society, rather than (in)ability, undermine the ideal of being equal seen as being identical. It was the latter assumption that led to a broad spectrum of contemporary theories that perceive affirmative action as corrective measure which represents a precondition to fair representation of women in politics.

However, in addition to the fairness argument, there is another set of arguments that justify the need for increase of political representation of women – the arguments that focus on the benefit and **qualitative change in politics and society** at large that would result from the presence of women in politics (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, p. 35). The argument of fairness and the argument of benefit vary depending on whether the representation of women is taken to imply formal, descriptive, substantial or symbolic representation (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, p. 35). Formal and descriptive focus on the presence of women – the right women have under the law to participate in politics on an equal footing with men and the demand that women should be represented in the government in the same number they are represented in the population (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, pp. 35–36). Substantial representation takes some of the focus from women's presence and puts it on advocacy on women's behalf, while symbolic encompasses multiple effects of fair representation (Hughes and Paxton, 2019, pp. 36–37).

Another question that remains is whether women in politics would necessarily represent women's interests. Finally, entry of women in politics is no guarantee of introduction of feminist perspectives in politics and the assumptions that entry of women in politics would bring about qualitative change in the politics and the society, regardless of being confirmed many times, could also be the result of patriarchal essentialist notions. For that reason, what should cause even more concern is the fact that it is still necessary to provide reasons why women should participate in decision-making in political sphere on an equal footing, while no one is questioning centuries long and still enduring legitimacy of the "male" rule. The never-ending nature of these debates should not draw the attention from the necessity of gender equality in terms of equal representation of men and women in political life and the need of gender sensitisation of policies at different levels and in different areas.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Aganović, A., Miftari E. and Veličković, M. (2015). *Žene i politički život u postdejtonskoj Bosni i Hercegovini (Women and Political Life in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and Gender Equality Agency of BiH.
- Popov-Momčinović, Z. (2019). Rodna ravnopravnost i politički i javni život (Gender Equality and Political Public Life). In S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ed.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 155–170). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.

References

- Antonijević, Z. (2019). Gender mainstreaming, included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ed.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 275–284). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.
- Bakšić Muftić, J. (2012). Sarajevo Faculty of Law – Iskušenja u vremenu (Temptations in Time). *Sarajevo Law Faculty Yearbook, LV*, 37–82.
- Bakšić-Muftić, J., Ler-Sofronić, N., Gradašćević-Sijerčić, J., Fetahagić, M. (2003). *Sarajevo Open Centre – Economic Status of Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Analysis of the results of star pilot research done in 2002*. Sarajevo: Jež.
- Banović, D. (2019). Ujedinjene nacije: pravni okvir i mehanizmi za rodnu ravnopravnost. (United Nations: Legal Framework and Gender Equality Mechanisms) included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ed.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 73–92). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.
- BHAS – BiH Statistics Agency (2018). *Žene i muškarci u BiH. Tematski bilten 03 (Women and Men in BiH. Thematic Bulletin 03)*. Sarajevo: BHAS Downloaded on 16 February 2020. http://www.bhas.ba/tematskibilteni/FAM_00_2017_TB_0_BS.pdf.
- BHAS –BiH Statistics Agency. (2020). *Žene i muškarci u BiH. Tematski bilten 03 (Women and Men in BiH. Thematic Bulletin 03)*. Sarajevo: BHAS. Downloaded on 21 February 2020 http://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Mu%C5%A1karci-i-%C5%BEene-u-BIH_2020.pdf.
- CEDAW Committee. (2013). *Zaključna zapažanja na kombinovani četvrti i peti periodični izvještaj BiH (Concluding Observations on the Combined 4th and 5th Periodic Report of BiH)*. Downloaded on 5 January 2020 https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/CEDAW_4-5.pdf.

- CEDAW Committee. (2019). *Zaključne napomene o šestom periodičnom izvještaju Bosne i Hercegovine (Concluding Remarks on the 6th Periodic Report of Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. CEDAW/C/BIH/CO/6 (preliminary unredacted version). Downloaded on 21 October 2019 <https://arsbih.gov.ba/zakljucna-zapazanja-na-sesti-periodicni-cedaw/>.
- Central Election Commission of BiH. (2015). *Izborni pokazatelji 2002-2014 (2002 – 2014 Election Indicators)*. Downloaded on 27 February 2020 https://www.izbori.ba/Documents/2015/25052015/Izborni_Pokazatelji_2002-2014.pdf.
- Central Election Commission of BiH. (2019). *Izborni pokazatelji 2018 (2018 Election Indicators)*. Downloaded on 27 February 2020 https://www.izbori.ba/Documents/2019/11/Izborni_pokazatelji_2018.pdf.
- Čaušević, J. (2012). *Analiza rodno inkluzivne zajednice u BiH. (Analysis of Gender Inclusive Community in BiH)* Sarajevo: TPO Foundation. Downloaded on 8 March 2018. <http://www.tpo.ba/b/dokument/Analiza%20Rodno%20inkluzivne%20zajednice%20u%20BiH.pdf>.
- Četvrti i peti periodični izvještaj o stanju ravnopravnosti spolova u BiH (4th and 5th Periodic Report on Gender Equality Situation in BiH), 2011. Downloaded on 28 February 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/110531_CEDAW_BiH_FINAL.pdf.
- Delbyck, K. (2017). *Mitovi o silovanju na suđenjima za ratno seksualno nasilje – prebacivanje tereta sa preživjelih na počinitelje. (Rape Myths in Wartime Sexual Violence Trials. Transferring the Burden from Survivor to Perpetrator)* Sarajevo: TRIAL International. Downloaded on 10 February 2020. <https://trial.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/20180112-TRIAL-Rape-Myths-BHS-WEB.pdf>.
- Đokanović, B., Dračo, I. and Delić, Z. (2015). 1945 – 1990 Žene u socijalizmu – od ubrzane emancipacije do ubrzane repatrijarhalizacije (Women in Socialism – From Accelerated Emancipation to Accelerated Repatriarchisation). Included in J. Čaušević (ed.), *Zabilježene – Žene i javni život Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. Vijeku (Women Documented – Women and Public Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 20th Century)* (pp. 103–175). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Forić, S. (2019). *Strategije profesionalizacije u procesu institucionalizacije prava u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon Daytonskog mirovnog sporazuma (Strategies of Professionalization in the Process of Institutionalisation of Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina After Dayton Peace Accords) (doctoral thesis)*. Sarajevo: Faculty of Political Sciences.
- Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 - 2022 (October 2018). Downloaded on 15 February 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/GAP-BiH-2018-2022_B.pdf.
- Goldman, E. (2001). *Anarhizam i drugi ogleđi (Anarchism and Other Experiments)*. Zagreb: Society for the Promotion of Literature/DAF. Downloaded on 20 September 2014. http://elektronickeknjige.com/goldman_emma/anarhizam_i_drugi_ogleđi/index_page_000.htm.
- Hanušić, A. (2013). *Sudska zaštita od diskriminacije u Bosni i Hercegovini: Analiza zakonskih rješenja i prakse u svjetlu prvih predmeta u ovoj oblasti (Judicial*

- Protection from Discrimination in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Analysis of Legislative Solutions and Practice in Light of the First Cases in this Field*). Sarajevo: Analitika – Center for Social Research.
- Hughes, M. M. and Paxton, P. (2019). The Political Representation of Women over Time. Included in S. Franceschet, M. Lena Krook and N. Tan (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights* (pp. 33–51). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Initiative Citizens for Constitutional Changes (2013). *Platforma ženskih prioriteta za ustavne promjene sa amandmanima na Ustav Bosne i Hercegovine iz rodne perspective (Platform of Women's Priorities for Amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Gender Perspective)*. Downloaded on 1 July 2018. <https://gradjankezaustavnepromjene.wordpress.com/platformu-zenskih-prioriteta/>.
- IPU (Inter-Parliamentary Union). *Women in National Parliaments – Statistical Archive*. Downloaded on 15 February 2020. <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm>.
- Election Law of BiH. Official Gazette of BiH, No. 23/01, 7/02, 9/02, 20/02, 25/02, 4/04, 20/04, 25/05, 52/05, 65/05, 77/05, 11/06, 24/06, 32/07, 33/08, 37/08, 32/10, 18/13, 7/14 i 31/16.
- Kadribašić, A. (2013). Izborni sistem i “ženske kvote” (Electoral System and “Women’s quotas”). Included in D. Dardić (ed.), *Zbornik radova Ženske političke akademije (Compendium of Papers of Women's Political Academy)* (pp. 136–167). Banja Luka: Helsinki Citizens’ Parliament.
- Kadribašić, A. (2019). Institucionalni mehanizmi i javne politike za rodnu ravnopravnost (Institutional Mechanism and Public Policies for Gender Equality). Included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ed.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 137–150). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.
- Karapetrović, M. (2019). Istorija borbe za prava žena i rodnu ravnopravnost (History of Struggle for Women’s Rights and Gender Equality). Included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ed.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 15–37). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, downloaded on 10 March 2013. <http://www.arsbih.gov.ba/images/documents/Idoc/cedaw.pdf>.
- Kvinna till Kvinna. (2000). *Engendering the Peace Process: A Gender Approach to Dayton and Beyond*. Stockholm: The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation.
- Miftari, E. (2015a). *Ravnopravnost spolova u opštinama/općinama i gradovima u BiH (Gender Equality in Municipalities and Cities in BiH)*. Sarajevo: CURE Foundation, Sarajevo. Downloaded on 15 July 2018. http://zenskamreza.ba/site/wpcontent/uploads/2015/08/RAVNOPRAVNOST-SPOLOVA-U-OPSTINAMA_bhs.pdf.

- Miftari, E. (2015b). *Politička participacija žena u Bosni i Hercegovini: Analiza učešća žena na stranačkim listama i konačnih rezultata općih izbora 2014 (Political Participation of Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Analysis of Participation of Women in Party Lists and Final Results of 2014 General Elections)*. Sarajevo: Cure Foundation and Sarajevo Open Centre. Downloaded on 3 February 2020. http://zenskamreza.ba/site/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Mapa_Politička-participacija_Edita_Knjizni-blok_Za-stampu.pdf
- Mladenović, L. (1996). Gledati svet očima žene. *Feminističke sveske (Looking at a World Through the Eyes of a Woman: Feminist Notebooks)*, No. 5–6. Downloaded on 5 January 2013. www.womenngo.org.rs/sajt/sajt/izdanja/feministicke_sveske/Fs_s5/lepa.html
- Mujić, M. (2019). *Politička participacija žena u BiH: Opšti izbori 2018. (Political Participation of Women in BiH: 2018 General Elections)* Sarajevo: Cure Foundation.
- Numanović, A. (2017). *Brojevi koji ravnopravnost znače 2. Analiza rezultata istraživanja problema i potreba LGBTI osoba u Bosni i Hercegovini u 2017. Godini (Numbers of Equality 2. Research on Problems and Needs of LGBTI Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2017)* Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre. Downloaded on 1 February 2020. <https://soc.ba/brojevi-koji-ravnopravnost-znače-2-analiza-rezultata-istrazivanja-problema-i-potreba-lgbti-osoba-u-bosni-i-hercegovini-u-2017-godini/>.
- Obrenić, D. (2012). Pravo glasa žena (Women's Suffrage Rights). Included in A. Zaharijević (pr.), *Neko je rekao feminizam: Kako je feminizam uticao na žene XXI veka (Somebody Said Feminism: How did Feminism Influence Women of XXI Century)* (pp. 48–73). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Henrich Boll Foundation – Office in BiH, Cure Foundation).
- Papić, Ž. (1997). Lydia Sklevicky ili mape alternativnih strategija: Spisateljica i njena sjena. *Ženske studije (Lydia Sklevicky or Maps of Alternative Strategies: the Author and Her Shadow. Women's Studies)*. 8–7 Downloaded on 5 December 2019. http://www.womenngo.org.rs/sajt/sajt/izdanja/zenske_studije/zs_s8/lidija.html.
- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Downloaded on 10 March 2014 <https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/04-PEKINSKA-DEKLARACIJA-kb.pdf>.
- Petrić, N. (2019). *Ustav BiH i Opšta preporuka 33 CEDAW komiteta (Constitution of BiH and CEDAW Committee General Recommendation 33)*. Banja Luka: Helsinki Citizens' Parliament, Banja Luka, Initiative Citizens for Constitutional Changes. Downloaded on 17 February 2020. <https://gradjankezaustavnepromjene.files.wordpress.com/2019/12/ustav-bih-i-opc5a1ta-preporuka-33-cedaw-komiteta-web-1.pdf>.
- Popov-Momčinović, Z. (2019). Rodna ravnopravnost i politički i javni život (Gender Equality and Political and Public Life). Included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ur.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 155–170). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.
- Recommendation REC (2003)3 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making.

- Zagreb: Government of the Republic of Croatia, Gender Equality Office. Downloaded 25 February 2020. <https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/1617>.
- Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security. (2000). Downloaded on 8 March 2013. http://www.1325.arsbih.gov.ba/?page_id=265.
- SOC. (2019). *Rozi izvještaj 2019. Godišnji izvještaj o stanju ljudskih prava LGBTI osoba u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Pink Report 2019 - Annual Report on the State of Human Rights of LGBTI People in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* Downloaded on 1 February 2020. <https://soc.ba/site/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Rozi-izvjestaj-2019-za-web.pdf>
- Taljanović, A. (2010). *Žena u politici BiH (Woman in Politics in BiH)*. Sarajevo.
- Tomaševski, K. (ed.). (1993). *Women and Human Rights*, London, New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Tomšič, V. (1981). *Žena u razvoju socijalističke samoupravne Jugoslavije (Woman in Development of Socialist Self-Management Yugoslavia)*. Beograd: Jugoslovenska stvarnost.
- Vidović, G. (1995). *Žena u politici (Woman in Politics)*. Included in *Debates – Woman Today 2*. Banja Luka: Helsinki Citizens' Parliament and Association of Women Banja Luka.
- Gender Equality Law of BiH. Official Gazette of BiH, 16/03 and 102/09. Downloaded on 15 January 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/ZoRS_32_10_B.pdf.
- Završni izvještaj o provedbi Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u BiH 2014–2017. godina (Final Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in BiH 2014 – 2017). Downloaded on 15 February 2020. https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Završni-izvjestaj_AP-UNSCR_2014-2017.pdf.
- Žarković, T. (2017). *Žene koje inspirišu... istraživanje o mogućnostima i uslovima života žena u malim lokalnim zajednicama u BiH (Women Who Inspire... Survey of Opportunities and Conditions of Life of Women in Small Rural Communities in BiH)*. Sarajevo: CURE Foundation. Downloaded on 15 July 2018. <http://fondacijacure.org/files/zene%20bos%20ver.pdf>.
- Ždralović, A. and Popov-Momčinović, Z. (2019). *Aktivizmi s margina: procjena kapaciteta deset odabranih ženskih organizacija (Activism on the Margin: Assessment of Capacities of Ten Selected Women's Organisations)*. Sarajevo: Cure Foundation.
- Ždralović, A. (2015). 1941–1945. Drugi svjetski rat i iskustva bosanskohercegovačkih žena (WWII and the Experience of Women of Bosnia and Herzegovina). Included in J. Čaušević (ed.), *Zabilježene – Žene i javni život Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. vijeku (Women Documented – Women and Public Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 20th Century)* (pp. 71–102). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Ždralović, A. (2019a). *Savremene perspektive feminističkih teorija (Modern Perspectives of Feminist Theories)*. Included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ur.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih*

nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences) (pp. 38–56). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.

Ždralović, A. (2019b). Rodna socijalizacija: Odgoj i obrazovanje (Gender Socialisation: Upbringing and Education). Included in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (ur.), *Uvod u rodne studije. Teorija, pravo, politika – za studentice i studente društvenih nauka (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies - Introduction to Gender Studies for Students of Social Sciences)* (pp. 231–243). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre and the Faculty of Law.

Ždralović, A., Popov-Momčinović, Z. and Hrnjić-Kuduzović, Z. (2018). *Žene u bh. institucijama –marionete zakonske kvote (Women in BiH Institutions – Puppets of Gender Quotas)*. Sarajevo: Cure Foundation.

Women's Peace Activisms

TATJANA ŽARKOVIĆ, MA

DR. JELENA GAKOVIĆ, PhD

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Philosophy

1. Introduction

Women's peace activism in the countries of the former Yugoslavia is a unique example of solidarity which knows no physical or symbolical boundaries imposed by the **nationalist ideology**. In BiH and in the region, the women's peace movement appeared already after the first indications of war in the 1990s, where some women peace activists regarded themselves as feminists, while others did not. Women peace activists organised themselves and co-operated in spite of inimical and confrontational policies of their nation-states. Whether they thought of themselves as feminists or not, it is important to note that many theoreticians point out that, throughout history, women played very important roles in anti-war and peacebuilding initiatives (see e.g. Licht and Drakulić, 2002; Mladenović, 2004; Cockburn, 2012; Cohn, 2005).

The approach to peace, security and conflict resolution which is traditionally characterised as women's approach primarily focuses on thinking and action based on the model of **ethics of care and responsibility**. Concepts of interdependence, connectivity, responsibility and care about others are central to the specific women's experience (Gilligan, 2003), hence in such a pacifist framework any war is *a priori* recognised as a crime in itself. In the action which draws its strength from the ethics of care and responsibility, what stands out is the **idea of solidarity**, which has the potential to act inclusively, above social inequality, divisions and the hierarchy of power. Women peace activists act in public in strong opposition to the military regime, militarism and to the attempts to rationalise violent interventions. When one talks about the idea of solidarity, the ethics of care and the specific women's experience, it is useful to point out the post-modernistic criticism which indicates the danger and harm

of the essentialist interpretation, large narratives and binary understanding, in which the idea of solidarity is connected to the idea of sisterhood, women are characterised as peaceful by nature, and the women's approach is connected to the role of a woman as mother and caregiver, which strengthens the **patriarchic matrix** of social relations. Post-modernist criticism is important, because it liberates women from their "**fixed referral**" (Butler, 2007), which prevents it from being normative and fixed, and thus extends its power of action.

However, knowledge is situated (Haraway, 1988), which implies that social, cultural and historical factors limit and determine the process of creation of knowledge and of critical reflexions. That is why we are going to try to deliberate on the link between the peace activism of the 1990s and women, respecting and taking into account the social context and relations which have had the power to norm and fix hierarchies of relations, as well as women's subjectivity, at the same time determining and limiting its power of action. Maybe it is proper, when we determine the special importance, specific approach and significant contribution of women to peace and to the fight against war throughout history, especially in the countries of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, to deliberate significantly on the social context. That approach makes it possible for us to take into account the post-structuralist criticisms which indicate the **harmfulness of essentialist generalisation**, but at the same time without denying the contribution, potential and importance of action through models and approaches which are traditionally characterised as women's models as approaches.

Patriarchic socio-cultural paradigms create concrete opportunities and conditions for various social actors. Therefore, in order to explain the specific approach of women to peace and security, it is useful to draw on the stance of a woman theoretician and peace activist Mladenović (2004), who explains the specific women's approach and contribution through concrete living conditions which stem from **gender roles**. In dominantly patriarchic societies, women have the experience of doing unpaid jobs at home, experience in volunteering, of professions in which women are in a majority being degraded and poorly paid in the labour market and, on the other hand, due to their gender status, it is safer for them to act against the regime during the war, because they are not called up for military service (Mladenović, 2004). Similarly, Yuval-Davis (2004) explains the specific **anti-militaristic approach** of women by trying to distance herself from the biological and social construct of women as mothers and caregivers, pointing out as the main reason mostly that women are not obliged to serve in the army and do not have to fight in wars they do not approve of, as well as that organising themselves into anti-militaristic and anti-war movements is viewed

by women as a fight against the patriarchy. Both of the above women authors draw their explanations from the concrete living conditions determined by patriarchic socio-cultural paradigms of the modern society, which are stronger in more traditional societies, in comparison to more liberal societies. There is also an exception from that rule with the **traditional militaristic approach to peace and security**, which is almost equally present as a paradigm, both in the traditional and in the modern liberal societies, which we will partially shed light on in the text below.

2. Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” and Women’s Activism

After long and persistent lobbying by women, primarily from conflict-affected countries, the United Nations Security Council adopted in October 2000 Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”. Resolution 1325 is a very important document for women activists because, with its adoption, issues they have long emphasised became part of the international discourse for the first time: that women are disproportionately affected by armed conflict, and that women’s contribution to conflict prevention, preservation of peace and conflict resolution is underestimated and insufficiently utilised. Also, the Resolution emphasises the importance of full participation of women as active actors in peace and security-building and preservation processes. However, since it implies opening the space for women in a traditionally exceptionally masculine domain, and thus a breach of established hierarchies of power and a breakthrough into the political nucleus, the **implementation of Resolution 1325** represents a significant challenge, both nationally and internationally.

Empirical studies (e.g. Black, 2009) show that the very institution which adopted Resolution 1325 and set it into the public domain as an obligation for the international community has a problem with its implementation. An analysis entitled “**Mainstreaming Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security – Are we there yet?**” asked the question how Resolution 1325 affected the **discourse of the Security Council**, by analysing the language and content of Security Council documents adopted during the period of 10 years following the adoption of Resolution 1325. Results of the research show that references to the rights of women in conflict were sporadic, whereby women were primarily mentioned as passive victims to be protected, and less often in the context of the need to actively adopt **gender perspective** and of the call for bigger participation of women in decision-making. The dimension of Resolution 1325 which pointed out the importance of viewing women in peacebuilding processes as active

actors was overlooked, and the practice of the Security Council is **reactive**, when we talk about obligations which stem from the Resolution, instead of being **proactive**, and as the author of those two studies noted, on the basis of the analysis, the prevention, although more effective, was not recognised in the concrete obligatory actions and political will (Black, 2009, p. 84).

Resolution 1325 focuses on three key topics, i.e. **three Ps** (protection, participation, prevention). National and international policies focus on the protection, while the participation and prevention remain abstract. The traditional militaristic approach to security does not find an adequate response to participation and prevention, leading to the fact that national and international institutions often appear slow and reactive.

Indicative for policy and practice which does not have mechanisms to react proactively are the events themselves, which were happening during and before the time of the adoption of Resolution 1325. Women activists have for years pointed to the problem of the suffering of women in countries affected by war, lobbied and emphasised the need for a specific international document which would deal with that problem. What finally attracted the attention of the international community and finally led to a reaction to persistent lobbying of the women activists were the wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda. Within the framework of international tribunals and UN meetings, women testified about the **systematic and brutal violence and rape**. Widening of the jurisprudence through the establishment of the **International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda** was decisive for the enhancement of the status of women in the international law (Black, 2009). Also, there is significant influence of research which indicates that, with the arrival of **peacekeeping missions** in conflict-affected countries, there is also an increase in the **percentage of forced prostitution and in the number of trafficking victims**, which appears during the same period¹ of time. Madeleine Rees of UNHCHR, in an article entitled “Markets, Migration and Forced Prostitution” (1999), reported that the arrival of the peacekeeping mission in BiH and of more than 30,000 “peacekeepers” created ideal conditions for the **sexual services market**. Gusafsson (2006) explains the phenomenon of the link between the increase in the percentage of forced prostitution and trafficking and the arrival of international peacekeeping missions in the country through the concept of **hegemonic masculinity**, which is closely connected to the traditional approach to security that focuses primarily on militarism.

¹ For example, a study on prostitution and trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina: *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, available at: https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/06/14/bosnia_1102.pdf

The feminist antimilitarist concept of security appears as a response to the shortcomings of the traditional militaristic approach, thereby questioning the phenomenon of the state and of national interest, and emphasising the **humane aspect, gender dimension and the necessity of demilitarisation** of security. In accordance with that, feminist activists use Resolution 1325 very skilfully for further research and lobbying, as noted by Cohn (2005) in the analysis of initiatives launched by women's organisations from throughout the world. Cohn (2005) points out,

Resolution 1325 was never designed as an organizing tool for women's movements; instead, it was shaped as an intervention in the functioning of a global governance institution, and its paragraphs mostly speak to actions to be taken by different actors within the UN system itself (e.g., the Secretary-General, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, etc.), as well as by member states. Yet women's NGOs in conflict zones have used it in multiple strategic ways, including for consciousness raising amongst their own constituencies about women's right to participate in peace-making and political decision-making more generally; as a tool to try to hold the UN accountable in its peacekeeping operations in their own country; and as a lever for attaining political access and influence with their own local and national governments, by holding their governments accountable to commitments they made at the UN.. (p. 6).

Women in Black from Belgrade use it for networking and **regional co-operation**. In the framework of their publishing activities, they published a compendium of works written as a result of the **monitoring of the implementation of Resolution 1325**, pointing out the importance of the feminist perspective, and co-operating with women activists and expert in the **region**. They organise seminars, international and regional conferences, workshops and other educational activities, leading to very useful information from the field. The analysis of field information shows that the traditional militaristic concept of security is in direct contrast with the needs and wishes of women, because, in their responses, women do not link security with the institutions of repression or with security forces, such as the military and the police, but instead with the human aspect (Women, Peace, Security Resolution 1325 – 10 years, 2010, p. 90).

Women participants of those educational activities and conferences, among which it is important to underline the **regional conference on Women, Peace and Security**, held in Belgrade in 2005, point out that major threats to security are: poverty, unemployment, constant fear of job losses, domestic violence, lack of political will for a radical break with the criminal past: environment of impunity, distorted morals, legalisation of plunder and of crime-based wealth, nationalism, religious intolerance, rise in fundamentalist tendencies (Women, Peace, Security Resolution 1325 - 10 years, 2010, p. 99). On the basis of a survey conducted among women participants of regional conferences and seminars, all of the above was recognised as a constant element throughout the former Yugoslavia.

3. Nation, State and Gender

The aspect of implementation of the Resolution, which is most often criticised in the feminist literature is the program contrary to peace and to the true human security, whereby it is especially problematic that the Resolution is used primarily for the purpose of an increased participation of women in the military, thus encouraging further **militarisation of the society**. For example, priority goal No 1 even in the current **AP UNSCR 1325 for BiH** is increased **participation of women in the security forces**, i.e. in already existing structures, without leaving much space for any questioning.

In the traditional militaristic approach, security of the society equals **national security**, whereby the society equals national society, an imagined totality of social relations within the borders of nations or states. Peace and security are seen as good preparedness in case of war and as the maintenance of already established relations between nations and states. In such an understanding, which primarily thinks about peace and security through “methodological nationalism” (Chernilo, 2007; Beck, 2000; Urry, 2000, 2008), the gender dimension remains on the margins, and the human aspect remains in the shadows of the security aspect. It is possible to rationalise contradictory notions of a humanitarian war, a humanitarian military intervention, and a just war, within this school of thought (Ždralović and Rožajac-Zulčić, 2012). Feminist activists note that the national and international institutions use Resolution 1325 primarily for their militaristic goals, while the feminist approach has a completely opposite goal – it demands to ensure safety of underprivileged groups in the society.

The social context in BiH is marked by the post-conflict period and by the period of transition into the democratic system, hence the issue of peace and security in BiH is directly linked to the understanding of the concept of **transitional justice**.

Here we will indicate the specificity of the **feminist approach to justice** and their response to the dominant discourses of transitional justice, as well as to the policy and practice stemming from them.

As emphasised above, the starting point of the feminist approach are principles which stem from the ethics of care and responsibility. That approach is critical towards the traditional militaristic approach to security and focuses primarily on the wider context, interpersonal relations and on the prevention of violence. In accordance with that, it relies on models of **restorative justice** which focus primarily on the preservation of peace in the community, at the same time emphasising the responsibility of the individual and of the community. Contrary to that, the **retributive justice** that dominates the traditional criminal justice system is based on the principle of penalisation of criminal offences, while the needs of the victims and the importance of restoration of a society remain of secondary importance (see more on the feminist approach to justice in Kovačević, Perković and Zajović (2011)). The primary focus of the feminist approach is on the human aspect of the concept of security, abolishing the hierarchies of all sorts of relations in the process, whereby the artificial **separation of the human aspect from the security aspect** is exposed as absurd. By emphasising the responsibility of not only the individual but also of the community and by acting through the ethics of care which implies proactive behaviour and an openness to those who are different, this approach negates the system which makes it possible to deny facts from the past and to turn a blind eye to the sufferings of the modern day.

Since women's peace activism mostly acted through formal and informal initiatives and actions of the civil society, and since the feminist movement was often understood as subversive to the traditional masculine structures and values, it was not given sufficient space, and the public and political importance of such initiatives coming from the non-governmental sector was not sufficiently appreciated, except in the context of rectifying the damage through, for example, provision of support and psychosocial assistance to victims. That can also be recognised in the current Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH, in which it was pointed out that activities conducted by the non-governmental sector relevant for security and peacebuilding were initiatives directed towards the provision of psychosocial support to victims of sexual violence, while other activities, which act outside the traditional women's roles and which throw into question the traditional political and national discourses, were neglected. Going back to the observation made by Nira Yuval-Davis (2002) who pointed out that women disappear from the public discourse because, in the discussions about nations and nationalisms, a woman is set in the private sphere and hence not

regarded as politically important, it is significant to note that most anti-war activities which remain outside of the discourse of nations and nationalism also stay on the margins, characterised as irrelevant. It is also problematic that the Action Plan emphasises the need to improve the **percentage of women in the military and in the police force**, and to improve the participation of women in peacekeeping missions thus strengthening the traditional militaristic model. The emphasis is put on the foreign policy, which prioritises national relations, and relevant hierarchies of power, only then followed by the human aspect of security.

4. Women's Peace Movement and the UN Security Council

The traditional militaristic policy of peace which is dominant in the public sphere is integrated into the national and international law. However, one of the advocacy documents which can serve for the purpose of overcoming this problem and for the inclusion of women's peace policy into the public discourse, is UN Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security". Although brought into the public discourse through an institution which can be characterised as formal and conservative (Cook, 2010), such as the UN Security Council, this document is a useful tool in the **women activists' fight**. However, the question is whether it is possible to realise the main idea behind Resolution 1325, if it implies increased participation of women in already existing dominant models. The feminist response is that it is impossible, and that it is necessary to shift the focus of implementation of Resolution 1325 to the possibility to open the space to the **transformation of the existing models** through non-violent actions carried out within the civil society and specifically through women's peace activism and the feminist approach to peace and security, which emphasises the prevention of violence.

Initiatives and actions by women peace activists contributed significantly to the eventual adoption of Resolution 1325, which introduced the practice of **gender mainstreaming** also into the domains which are traditionally understood as exceptionally masculine, such as armed conflicts and international security. Hence Cohn (2005) characterised the initiative to pass and implement Resolution 1325 as "a bold move to influence what is arguably the most powerful global governance institution in the area of **international peace and security**" (p. 3). The Resolution itself is a product of co-operation between the non-governmental sector, the national and international institutions and organisations and individual actors, and it would not have seen the light of day without collaboration. As we mentioned in the previous Chapter, it is true that today various actors use it in

different ways, often with diametrically opposed intentions, but it stands at our disposal as an important advocacy document.

The first important step, decisive for the adoption of the Resolution (Cohn, 2005; Cohn, Kinsella and Gibbings 2004), was **the Fourth UN World Conference on Women**, held in Beijing in 1995. In the Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action, one of the 12 Critical Areas of Concern was Women and Armed Conflict, a key area for the enjoyment of human rights of women, and the governments were called upon to take strategic actions in those areas. The Beijing Conference was one of the biggest women's conferences at which a large number of activists were invited to participate and contribute as part of the NGO Forum, and the **Beijing Platform for Action**, in the area of Women and Armed Conflict, represents a conceptual root and a "precursor" of Resolution 1325 (Cohn, 2005, p. 4).

Women peace activists from the countries of the former Yugoslavia participated actively both at the Preparatory Conference for the UN World Conference on Women, which was held in **1994 in Vienna**, at which the activists from the entire world drafted the Platform for Action, and at the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing (Mladenović and Branković, 2013). Activists Mladenović and Branković (2013) wrote about the meetings held at those conferences:

The agreement between our activists was that every day at 3 PM would be the time when the women from the former Yugoslavia would meet, under the working title "Sisters of the Former Yugoslavia, Unite!". Most often those meetings included women from Medica – Zenica, Bosfam –Tuzla, Infoteka, the Centre for Women Victims of War and BaBe – Zagreb, the Autonomous Women's Centre against Sexual Violence and the Belgrade Women's Lobby – Belgrade, Women's Health Centre – Priština, the Union of Women of Macedonia – Skopje and groups from Pula, Ljubljana and Celje. For many of us during those two weeks, in spite of hundreds of other events, discussions, workshops, unusual colours and sounds, new impressions, the meetings with the sisters from the former homeland were the most poignant and the most beautiful. We simply could not stay apart, so we met not only at 3PM, but also every evening at the same restaurant in order to hug each other and sing together again (p. 10).

In the following years, the Security Council held debates at which it discussed the **issues of women in armed conflict** and the manner of operationalisation of mechanisms to protect women, contained in the Beijing Platform. Those debates were initiated as topics within various working groups by the non-governmental organisations.

At the 1998 UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), a debate was held about the obstacles to implementing that chapter, and at the 2000 CSW (known as “Beijing +5”) issues of women and armed conflict again became a focus of discussion (Cohn, 2005, p. 4). Finally, Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted in October 2000, followed by documents which called for further strengthening of its implementation, for example **UNSCR 1889** (2009), which called for further strengthening of the UNSCR 1325 paragraph on participation and for the development of indicators to measure progress.

5. Women’s Peace Movement in BiH and Regional Initiatives

One of the activities and regional initiatives which prioritises the **feminist approach to justice**, indicating that there was a gender dimension to the wartime suffering, is the **“Women’s Court”** (Duhaček, Iveković and Zajović 2017). As the first such court on the European continent, it was the result of co-operation between civil society organisations from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, the academic community and the international organisations. Namely, this court does not pronounce penalties or obligatory judgements, like the usual courts, but instead these are “courts” which pronounce **“public” condemnation**, whereby the fundamental goal is to open the space for the stories and “truths” from a perspective which was ignored and silenced, dedicated to the complete process, and not only to the outcome. The practice of establishment of Women’s Courts was transferred here in accordance with the models from Asia and Africa, where such courts started to work in the 1990s, opening the space for testimonies of women about the injustices, crimes and violence they experienced. As an **initiative of a network of civil society organisations**, the Women’s Court represents the implementation of the above-mentioned feminist model of retributive justice with an ambition to add to the existing concepts of transitional justice, focusing on the ethics of care, dignity of victims and permanent peace. **Sarajevo** was selected as the location of **the first Women’s Court in Europe**, in May 2015, with the support and participation of ten women’s groups from the region and thirty-six witnesses from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Slovenia and Serbia. The **Regional Organisational Board** consists of the following non-governmental organisations: Bosnia

and Herzegovina: Movement “Mothers of Enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa; Foundation CURE; Montenegro: Anima; Croatia: Centre for Women’s Studies; Centre for Women Victims of War – ROSA; Kosovo: Women’s Network of Kosovo; Macedonia: Gender Equality Council; Slovenia: Women’s Lobby of Slovenia; Serbia: Centre for Women’s Studies and Women in Black.

The form of testimony used at the Women’s Court allows the witnesses to articulate their experience as they wish, to be listened to until the end, without interruption and in accordance with their own system of relevance, thus preventing any secondary victimisation and providing an opportunity for the witnesses to become the **subjects of justice**, instead of objects of questioning, putting the “otherness” into the centre and rewriting history from their own perspective. They show, through their “**public narrations**”, that the private is political, thus calling for **social responsibility** for the suffering and violence in militaristic and patriarchic systems. Women’s Courts do not only talk about the gender-based violence against women during and after the war, but also about the gender-based violence against men that is not talked about. Therefore, apart from mass rape, forced pregnancies, forced prostitution, they talk about forced mobilisations, imprisonment and torture because they refused to take up arms, as typically male experiences. They point towards **gender-based violence** in war and in peace, through the voices of women, but they also point towards any violence toward another human being, throwing into question the **hegemonic historical narration**.

Through its actions which emphasise the ethics of care, the feminist approach strives to actively listen to the voices of the underprivileged and of those outside the limelight of the mainstream political events and interests of nation-states, and thus **rejects the hierarchies** and power relations. Through its specific form, the Women’s Court respects equally the **objectivity and emotions** and thus offers hope that it is possible to achieve justice and reconciliation after all, because the true healing is impossible without respect for both aspects of traumatic events. As such, the Women’s Court represents an initiative of the civil society which contributes significantly to the processes of transitional justice and reconciliation.

That was approached in a similar manner by the women’s initiative to face the past, under the name of “**Peace with a Female Image**”, led by Foundation “Lara” from Bijeljina and H.O. Horizonti from Tuzla, which gathers 13 women’s organisations from BiH that are active in 12 cities and towns - Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Modriča, Bihać, Prijedor, Višegrad, Bratunac, Bosansko Grahovo, Zenica and Mostar. The initiative was launched with the aim of giving

women a voice, to express a clear view on peace and to participate actively in the society. The Peace with a Female Image is a response of women rights activists to the complete **exclusion** of women as actors from peace processes in BiH, as well as to the **minimisation** of experiences and of suffering experienced by women. In their mission to face the past and to preserve the memory of the wartime suffering by women and girls, women activists took part in trainings, research, a peace caravan, and in other activities. Through collaboration, the women activists and representatives of women's organisations contributed to the movie "**They Die for the Second Time**", which talks about the women who suffered during the war in BiH, and who are today forgotten by the institutions. The film represents the contribution of women's organisations, activists and feminists to preserve the memory of women and girls which participated in efforts to stop the war and build peace.

Since 2013, the Initiative "Peace with a Female Image" has launched a number of actions – and one of them has been to mark **08 December** as the Day of Remembrance of the Suffering of Women in the War in BiH, supported by more than 20 women's organisations and other civil society organisations. As material for memorialisation of this date, apart from the above-mentioned film, she wrote a publication entitled "**War Does Not Have a Single Gender**", in order to point out the general negligence regarding the lost lives of women. An initiative that was sent to the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH to establish the **Day of Remembrance of the Suffering of Women in the War in BiH** did not receive political support from the Gender Equality Committee.

One of the actions of the Initiative was an exhibition "**Peace with a Female Image**" opened in Sarajevo on 08 March 2019 and subsequently in Banja Luka, Bijeljina and Tuzla, with a published catalogue of the exhibition. The goal of the exhibition was to show a woman's side of the war, but also to show the engagement of women in peacebuilding, and it was based on 20 authentic **women's life stories**.

A very important initiative which was also directed towards the neglected dimension of the participation and prevention in peace and security issues has been the "**Women Citizens for Constitutional Reform**", which strives for a Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina which would ensure a higher degree of protection of human rights and freedoms, focusing especially on the gender perspective. The "Women Citizens for Constitutional Reform" is an informal group which gathers 35 civil society organisations and activists advocating for **sensitisation and constitutional changes from a gender perspective** with a vision to achieve an egalitarian and lawful participation of women and men in the private and public life in BiH. Within the framework of their activities they

drafted a document entitled “Platform of Women’s Priorities for Constitutional Reform and Amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina from a Gender Perspective”, which defined the advocacy priorities in the BiH Constitution reform processes, and **gender-sensitive amendments to the Constitution** drafted accordingly. As mentioned on their official web site, the priorities include: 1. Application of gender inclusive language in the Constitution of BiH; 2. Introduction of affirmative action principles in the Constitution of BiH to work towards full gender equality; 3. Amendments to the existing catalogue of fundamental rights, to include provisions with respect to common health care services, social and family care; 4. Promotion of a higher level of judicial and legal protection of human rights and liberties, and 5. Introduction of the principle of direct democracy in the process of constitutional reform. The long-term goal of this initiative is to go a step forward from the mere quota for the participation of women in decision-making processes.

The importance of women’s peace activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina is reflected in the developed capacities of organisations and especially in the **women’s networks** which have continuously been created and maintained. In the current Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325, the non-governmental activities that have been recognised and valued have been the activities which represent an addition to the institutional system, directed toward the provision of social services and of psychosocial support to the victims of violence. In BiH there are currently nine **safe houses**, of which six in FBiH act within non-governmental organisations – Fondacija lokalne demokratije Sarajevo, Medica Zenica, Vive Žene Tuzla, Žene sa Une Bihać, Žena BiH Mostar and Caritas Mostar – while at the same time in the Republika Srpska there are three safe houses at NGOs Budućnost Modriča, Udružene žene from Banja Luka and Lara Bijeljina. The 2018-2022 Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in BiH mentions as one of its goals the improved support and assistance to the victims of sexual violence and of other forms of suffering during the war. However, **civil society organisations** face numerous challenges because of the problem of sustainability of this model of support to women due to a lack of **financing** from the public budget and a **lack of harmonisation of laws and regulations**.

There are numerous examples of **women’s social entrepreneurship** in Bosnia and Herzegovina whose primary goal is, by definition, a positive social effect, and thus a long-term decisive influence on the security and stability. They are established for the purpose of improvement of living standards and economic strengthening, especially of women, taking into account actions for the benefit of the wider society. The effects of various forms and models of social

entrepreneurship, ranging from the **agricultural cooperatives** to the sustainable return cooperatives, are especially prominent in small towns and rural areas in which agriculture is the basic economic sector. One of the examples which found its place in our analysis is the **agricultural cooperative “Insieme”** (“Together”) from Bratunac which has existed for more than fifteen years. Insieme deals with the production, purchase and processing of berries, and it employs and provides the livelihoods for more than 500 family members from Bratunac and Srebrenica. This cooperative relies on the traditional production and processing of fruit, by using the existing capacities and **skills of the local community** with a mission, at the same time, to **cultivate dialogue** and a common future of different religious and ethnic groups. Based on a women’s initiative, the Insieme cooperative became economically self-sufficient by selling their produce internationally and thus enabling **sustainable return**. The main focus of the cooperative is the socio-economic stability of the community, primarily through the strengthening of women and of single mothers.

The 2018-2022 Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina includes the area of the “**Current Security Threats and Challenges from the Aspect of Gender Equality**”, specifically natural disasters, migrations and refugee crises. We will mention here some initiatives which especially emphasise the **importance of prevention**, acting with the principles of care and responsibility in mind, outside the narratives which prioritise national rhetoric and hierarchies of interests and power, which did not have its place in the Action Plan.

A protest against the construction of mini hydroelectric plants which started as a spontaneous revolt of an informal group of population at the Kruščica River in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a shining example of articulation of interests of a local community and a women’s environmental action with a positive outcome and long-term changes (Midžić, 2018). The example which we are analysing here is already known in the general public as the “**Brave Women of Kruščica**” (as the bridge was later named). It is socially important for many reasons. The women of Kruščica, a village in central Bosnia, raised their voices, stepped into the forefront of the protest and encouraged other villagers to join them in the fight against the **exploitation of a natural resource** conducted for the benefit of vested interests, while the local rural population oriented towards agriculture would not benefit from it. The culmination of the protest happened when the local authorities responded to the legitimate civic expression of dissatisfaction, at which the population indicated that illegal steps had been taken, by using force in an attempt to disperse the villagers who blocked the bridge and, through

subsequent activist steps, prevented the mini hydroelectric plant from being built. We chose the women of Kruščica as a widely-known illustration, but there are also other significant initiatives insufficiently mentioned by the general public, e.g. women from **Jablanica** who still fight for their river, or women from **Vareš** who fight for their forest. The action of the “Brave Women of Kruščica” is an issue similar to ideas and goals which also mobilise environmental activists who fight for fairness and for the protection of the common good, all in the name of the **protection of environment and a universal human right** to the sources of drinking water. As such, this action is complementary with the principles of environmental ethics, but also with the above-mentioned feminist ethics of care and responsibility.

As an especially vital part of the civil society, the women's non-governmental organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina today represent reliable partners both to the public institutions and to the international organisations in carrying part of the burden of the **migrant crisis**. In accordance with the professional capacities developed after the war, as well as through the many years of practical experience and training, especially on psycho-social assistance, Foundation **BiH Women's Initiative** is an NGO which provides services, assistance and protection to the migrants and refugees at reception centres and camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with international humanitarian organisations. Since the biggest influx of refugees and migrants is in the part of the country (the Una-Sana Canton) in which the non-governmental organisation **Žene s Une (Women from the Una River)** is active, it became involved as a partner organisation by focusing on the work with children as an especially vulnerable group. Apart from those examples, it is important to point out that, hand in hand with the organised forms of assistance, **individual volunteer actions** stand out as expressions of empathy and humanity, such as, for example, an action of sewing bags, or of collecting and distributing food, clothes and footwear.

Summing up peaceful activities of women's organisations in the last two decades is a thankless task, because it undoubtedly opens up the possibility of leaving out some important women's civic actions. Hence one needs to keep in mind that the selected examples are only illustrative fragments through which we tried to attract attention to some of the current preoccupations of the women's activism in peacetime in Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond. Put together, the above-mentioned concrete cases of actions document the **women's activism** through various dimensions: peace, socio-political, environmental, economic and humanitarian, and are evidence of the rich palette of women's activist response to the problems and challenges of today in BiH.

In the past ten years, apart from the problems they have been continuously dedicated to since their establishment in the 1990s, women's non-governmental organisations expanded the field of action and care in accordance with the social needs and challenges BiH society has been facing. Available **empirical data** on the understanding of the peacebuilding process and on the public perception of women peacemakers in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicates that the work of women's non-governmental organisations and activists on peacebuilding mostly does not receive its deserved social recognition. Within the project of the TPO Foundation entitled "**Women, Peacebuilding and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina**", whose aim was to unveil and record stories about women who participated actively in peacebuilding processes during and after the war in BiH, a baseline study was conducted in order to survey directly in the field what citizens know about peace-making and peacebuilding in BiH, how they define it and who they recognise in their local communities as peace-makers, and the conclusion was that

The highest percentage of respondents did not know any women peacemakers, their work and status in their local communities. The respondents who were familiar with the work of some women peacemakers, usually associated their work with reconciliation and humanitarian activities. A majority of respondents (...) are of the view that communities do not respect and appreciate women engaged in peacebuilding. (Spahić-Šiljak, Spahić and Bavčić, 2012, p. 83).

The definition of peacebuilding offered by the respondents of the study (including the activists as part of the sample) as "work on overcoming conflicts, helping other people, humanitarian work and understanding others" speaks about the focus and activities of organisations they came in contact with, which led to the public perception of their role.

Similar results were achieved by a **survey** on peace activism in BiH, conducted several years earlier within the framework of activities of the Helsinki Parliament of Citizens Banja Luka. When it comes to the peace activism of non-governmental organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it showed that

The majority of citizens, when they talk about non-governmental organisations, do not recognise the peace segment of their work, nor do they see them as civil society actors engaged in the establishment of permanent peace and the development of tolerance. On the other

hand, the responses showed that the citizens perceive and interpret the terms “peace work“, and “peace activism“ differently and that the notions of reconciliation and facing the past hit a wall of rejection, lack of recognition and denial, because they contravene the truths about the war nurtured by all three ethnic groups in BiH (Žolja, 2008, p. 54).

This is a very clear indicator of the BiH social **context** in which the women's non-governmental organisations and initiatives work and, at the same time, a general indicator of attitudes towards women's activism, in this case peace activism, and of the need to work on the segment of **raising awareness** of the general public about their importance and achievements.

6. Conclusion

With few exceptions, the common denominator of women activists in the times of peace is the *background* in the organised peace activism of the 1990s or later, which determines significantly their identity and (relative) social promotion. As we indicated, the work of women peace activists, in spite of many years of dedication, is insufficiently perceived by the public as important and it stays relatively unknown outside of local communities or of informed circles (NGOs-donors-public institutions-beneficiaries). Hence it is a significant challenge for women peace activists who have to work, at the same time, on changing the mindset and the dominant existing models through the development of a new, alternative manner of action and approach to security.

Another challenge for non-governmental organisations in general, which the women's organisations are not immune to, concerns the so-called “projectisation” and the related discontinuity in the dedication to social change, because of the focus on donor agendas, which often do not respect the specificities of the social context and the need to work continuously on certain pressing social issues. Such an atmosphere leads to the loss of autonomy and of the critical potential of non-governmental organisations. At the same time, the donors themselves often insufficiently respect the local expertise, the dedication to the sustainability dimension and the monitoring of long-term effects after the completion of the projects. The challenges the women's movement is facing are numerous, but the biggest one is certainly an effort to find a model of (self)sustainability, to implement public financing (as in the case of safe houses) and to preserve the balance between a response to the already formulated programmatic agenda and the role of the proactive social corrective element.

For long-term changes, it is also necessary to co-operate with formal and traditional institutions. As Cohn (2005) observed, representatives of the NGO Working Group on Women and Armed Conflicts self-consciously decided to position themselves as “helpers” to the UN Security Council, rather than confrontational adversaries. Thanks to that the practice of *gender mainstreaming* was introduced into traditionally male domains, such as armed conflict and international security. Adoption of Resolution 1325 would certainly not be possible without the mutual co-operation of all the actors from international, regional and national institutions and organisations and their mutual opening to perspectives conditioned on the different positions of influence and power.

It is necessary to reiterate in the Conclusion that Resolution 1325 is used for the purpose which is not in accordance with the feminist vision whose foundation is pacifism and the human aspect of security, such as the insistence on the greater participation of women in the armed forces (also emphasised in the current Action Plan on the Implementation of Resolution 1325). Apart from the problem of excessive quotas understood in this manner, which could be viewed as just the realisation of preconditions for any changes within rigid organisational cultures, such as the military one, little space is left for the transformation of the dominant militaristic approach, and that is indeed the place for a special effort, for deliberation and for finding solutions.

One should reiterate the aspects of the 2018-2022 Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina that refer to security threats and challenges from the gender equality aspect, which represents the basic direction for the activists to follow in the future. It is interesting to research how much and in what manner will the exceptional potential of women’s non-governmental organisations be utilised, promoted and included into the resolution of these current social problems.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Cockburn, C. (2007). *From Where We Stand: War, Women’s activism and feminism analysis*. London: ZED Books.
- Encloe, C. (2016). *Globalization and Militarism; Feminists Make the Link*. Rowan and Littlefield.
- O’Reilly M. (2018). *Gendered Agency in War and Peace, Gender Justice and Women’s Activism in Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Volčič Z., and Simić, O., (Editors), (2013). *Transitional Justice and Civil Society in the Balkans*. New York: Springer.
-

Bibliography

- 2018-2022 Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325. https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/180718_Prijedlog-AP-UNSCR-1325_2018-2022-u-BiH.pdf (Accessed on 15 December 2019).
- Beck, U. (2000). The Cosmopolitan Perspective: Sociology of the Second Age of Modernity. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1), 79–105.
- Black, R. (2009). *Mainstreaming Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security – Are we there yet?* Potentia. https://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/1325_MainstreamingAreWeThereYet_Black_2009.pdf (Accessed on 12 December 2019).
- Butler, J. (2007). Kontingentni temelji (Contingent Foundations), in S. Benhabib, J. Butler, D. Cornell and N. Fraser, *Feministička sporenja: filozofska razmena* (Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange) (pp. 51–78). Belgrade: Beogradski krug.
- Chernilo, D. (2007). *A Social Theory of the Nation State: The Political Forms of Modernity beyond Methodological Nationalism*. London – New York: Routledge.
- Cockburn, C. (2012) *Anti-militarism. Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cohn, C. (2005). *Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?* Boston: Boston Consortium Working Paper Series on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Working Paper No. 204. <http://www.genderandsecurity.umb.edu/Cohn%20Working%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed on 12 December 2019).
- Cohn, C., Kinsella, H., and Gibbings, S. Women, Peace and Security: Resolution 1325. (2004). *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6 (1), 130–140.
- Duhaček, D., Iveković, R., and Zajović, S. (Editors). (2015). *Ženski sud: o procesu organizovanja*. (Women's Court: On the Process of Organisation) Belgrade: Women in Black and the Centre for Women's Studies.
- Gilligan, C. (2003). *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press.
- Gusafsson, D. (2006). *Gender Integration and the Swedish Armed Forces: The Case of Sexual Harassment and Prostitution*. Aalborg: FREIA – Feminist Research Centre in Aalborg, Department of History, International and Social Studies, Aalborg University. DOI: 10.5278/freia.5050045.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledge: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3), 575–599.
- Hasanbegović, D., Dizdar, A. and Agić, N. (2019). *Narandžasti izvještaj 5: Izvještaj o stanju ljudskih prava žena u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu 2016-2019*. (Orange Report No 5: 2016-2019 Report on Human Rights of Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina) Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre. http://soc.ba/site/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Narandžasti-izvještaj-2016.-2019_BHS_web.pdf. (Accessed on 10 December 2019).

- Human Rights Watch. (2002). *Hopes betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*. New York: Human Rights Watch. https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/06/14/bosnia_1102.pdf (Accessed on 10 January 2020).
- Institution of Ombudsman for Human Rights of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2018). *Special Report on the State of Migration*. Sarajevo: Institution of Ombudsman for Human Rights of Bosnia and Herzegovina. https://www.ombudsmen.gov.ba/documents/obudsmen_doc2019010713545979bos.pdf (Accessed on 21 January 2020).
- Kovačević, Lj., Perković M., and Zajović, S. (Editors). (2011). *Ženski sud, feministički pristup pravdi. (Women's Court, Feminist Access to Justice)* Belgrade: Women in Black, Kotor: Anima – Centre for Women's Peace Education.
- Licht, S., and Drakulić, S. (2002). When the word for peacemaker was a Woman: War and gender in the former Yugoslavia., in J. Blagojević and D. Đorđević Mileusnić (Editors) *Women's studies, journal feminist theory*. Belgrade: Women's Studies Center.
- Midžić, A. (2018). "Kruščica borba za sve nas" (Kruščica – A Fight for All of Us). https://ba.boell.org/bs/2018/03/08/kruscica-borba-za-sve-nas#_ftn1 (Accessed on 12 December 2019).
- Mladenović, L. (2004). Feministička politika u antiratnom pokretu u Beogradu: Pucati ili ne pucati? (Feminist Policy in the Anti-War Movement in Belgrade: To shoot or not to shoot) *Feministkinje pod paljbom, razmjena među ratnim zonama*. Ženska infoteka.
- Mladenović, L., i Branković, B. (2013). *Međunarodni feministički mirovni pokret koji je doveo do Rezolucije 1325*. Beograd: Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku. (International Feminist Peace Movement Which Led to Resolution 1325, Belgrade Centre for Security) Policy. <http://www.bezbednost.org/Bezbednost/5295/Medjunarodni-feministicki-mirovni-pokret-koji-je.shtml> (Accessed on 11 December 2019).
- Independent monitoring of the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Serbia. (2013). Belgrade: Women in Black. file:///C:/Users/acer%20PC/Desktop/Rezolucija%201325,%20Zene%20mir%20sigurnost/nezavisni_monitoring_primene_rezolucije1325_u_srbiji2013.pdf (Accessed on 08 December 2019).
- Rees, M. (1999, June). Markets, Migration and Forced Prostitution. *Newsletter Relief and rehabilitation network RRN, Improving aid policy and practice in complex political emergencies*, (14), 2–3. <https://odihpn.org/wp-content/uploads/2003/06/newsletter014.pdf> (Accessed on 08 December 2019)
- Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security". (2000). <https://arsbih.gov.ba/wpcontent/uploads/2019/02/Akcioni-plan-BOS-KB-14.01.pdf> (Accessed on 09 December 2019).
- Spahić-Šiljak, Z., Spahić, A., and Bavčić E. (2012). *Žene i mirotvorstvo u BiH: baseline studija. (Women and Peace-making in BiH: Baseline Study)* Sarajevo: TPO Foundation.
- Urry, J. (2000). Mobile Sociology. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1), 185–203.

- Urry, J. (2008). Moving on the Mobility Turn, in W. Canzler, V. Kaufmann and Sven K. (Editors). *Tracing Mobilities*, (pp. 13–23). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Women, peace, security resolution 1325 – 10 years. (2010). Belgrade: Women in Black. http://zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=673&Itemid=12 (Accessed on 19 January 2020).
- Yuval-Davis N. (2004). *Rod i nacija*. (Gender and Nation) Zagreb: Ženska infoteka.
- Zajović, S. (2012). Feministička etika – Otpor Žena u crnom, Uvek neposlušne (Feminist Ethics – Resistance of the Women in Black, Always Insubordinate) in S. Stojanović, S. Zajović and M. Urošević. (Editors). *Žene za mir*. (Women for Peace) Belgrade: Women in Black.
- Zajović, S., and Urošević, M. (Editors). (2017). *Ženski sud: O događajima u Sarajevu i nastavku procesa*. (Women's Court: On Events in Sarajevo and the Continuation of the Process) Belgrade: Women in Black.
- Ždralović, A. and Rožajac-Zulčić, M. (2012). *Ženski mirovni aktivizam i njegov utjecaj na mir i sigurnost*. (Women's Peace Activism and Its Effect on Peace and Security), in A. Zaharijević (Editor) *Neko je rekao feminizam? Kako je feminizam uticao na žene XXI veka* (Someone said feminism? How did feminism affect women of the 21st century?) (pp. 390–415). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Foundation Heinrich Böll – Office in BiH, Foundation CURE.
- Žene u crnom* (Women in Black). (2013). *Feminističko-antimilitaristički pristup konceptu, tumačenju i praksi Rezolucije 1325*. (Feminist and Antimilitarist Approach to the Concept, Interpretation and Practice of Resolution 1325) Belgrade: Women in Black
- Žigić R., and Dardić D. (Editors). *Mir sa ženskim licem, Rat nije jednorodan*. (Peace with a Female Image. War Does Not Have Just One Gender) Bijeljina: Foundation Lara. <http://fondacijalara.com/images/docs/RatNijeJednorodan.pdf> (Accessed on 16 December 2019).
- Žolja A. (2008). *Ispitivanje javnog mnjenja o mirovnom aktivizmu u BiH* (Public Opinion Survey on Peace Activism in BiH), in *Mirovni aktivizam u Bosni i Hercegovini*. (Peace Activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina) Banja Luka: Helsinki Parliament of Citizens.

03

SECURITY
SECTOR
REFORM

Armed Forces: Gender and Defence Reform

SELMA ĆOSIĆ, M.A.

University of Sarajevo, Political Science Faculty

1. Introduction

A national security system is inevitable, and it is even one of the **key elements of every state**. Its fundamental goal is to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political order from danger, both from outside (external security), and inside (internal security). The question is what is the role and status of women in the security system, in this case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, how big is their contribution to the preservation of a degree of security of the state? Statistical data indicates that very few women are present in politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in State bodies which make decisions on security matters, and very few of them participate in decision-making bodies, or in the security system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is still regarded as a "male sphere" of action.

For the purpose of this paper, the focus will be directed towards gender and the reform of the defence sector, as the first responder in charge of the protection of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political order of any state. In the first part of the paper, it is necessary to discuss the general theoretical part of understanding and defining the notions of security and national security, while the central part will discuss the reform of the defence sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Armed Forces, AF BiH and the Ministry of Defence, MoD BiH), and the gender perspective of the defence system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to see the real picture of the status and role of women in the defence system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it would be necessary to research the level

of participation of women in professional ranks of the Armed Forces and of the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in regard to their roles in the command structures and departments of the Ministry of Defence, and to show the importance and influence of the Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” on the more active participation of women in peace support operations (peacekeeping missions).

2. On the Substance of the Notions of Security and National Security

Every community of living beings, as well as every living organism, naturally strives towards personal safety, and this is also true for people and their communities. The term “security” is in everyday use, in ordinary people’s communication and in politics, but it is also unavoidable in various sciences, in philosophy, sociology, polemology, political science, even in the natural sciences, physics, chemistry, biology, IT, and recently even more intensively in geology, too. Throughout history, human beings struggled in various ways for survival, livelihood, equal status in a society or in a state and, accordingly, they faced uncertainty, danger and certain risks. Thus, the issue of security concerns every human being and all members of a society equally, without favouring just one side of its **gender dimension**.

Apart from the human population reproduction and the production of material goods, **security** represents one of the fundamental preconditions for life and for its sustenance. In 1943, Abraham Maslow published his paper *A Theory of Human Motivation* in the *Psychological Review*. Through his well-known theory of hierarchy (known as the Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs), he systematised the primary human needs, and divided them into levels, ultimately achieving the satisfaction of a human being, i.e. man’s self-actualisation.

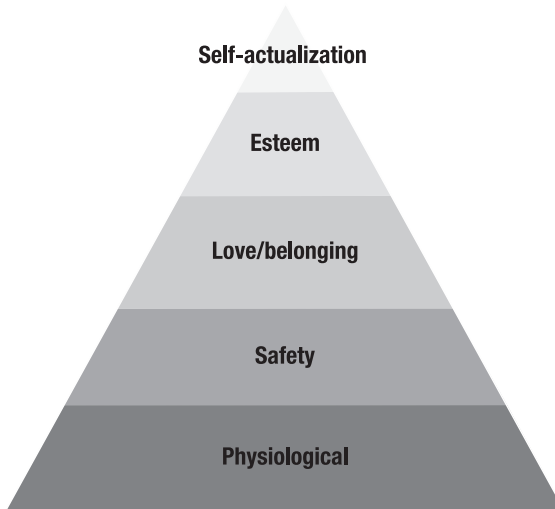


Figure No 1.
Maslow's Hierarchy
of Needs
(Maslow, 2004, p. 27)

As depicted in Figure No 1, Abraham **Maslow** showed, through a pyramid, the basic needs of every human being, starting from the basic physiological needs, then safety, love and belonging, followed by esteem, with all those needs having to be fulfilled in that order, which would ultimately result in reaching the top of the pyramid, i.e. in self-actualisation, the maximum of all the potentials of a human being. The need for safety is one of the basic needs of every person, because that is a dual relationship: with another human being and with the nature.

We witness the complex reality of modern societies, of phenomena and security dilemmas which follow today's civilisation. Their spectrum begins with the simplest forms of threats against man (e.g. public order disturbances) to the most complex ones (armed conflicts). The process of globalisation and an intensive development of the new world order, the spectrum of international relations, and numerous natural and other disasters including, ultimately, the global warming, generate numerous problems in all forms of threats against the security of human beings (both men and women).

Security represents one of the most important goals of actions conducted by states and societies, through interior and foreign policies of the state. In the general political sense, the **nation-state security** implies a degree of protection of the society and the state from any jeopardy, internally and externally. The external security refers to the "independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state and to the degree of its protection and of threats in a certain timeframe", while the internal security refers to the "opportunity for the functioning of the

constitutional, economic and legal system of the state, the degree of the protection of people (citizens), their rights, and material goods owned personally and in all other forms". (Beridan, 2008, p. 27). **National security** is synonymous to security in its generally accepted terms, as an activity and function of the state. There are many definitions and ways to understand the national security whereby, for example, Kegley and Wittkoph define national security as the "psychological freedom from fear of external aggression, and the highest priority in the program of foreign policy creators", more precisely and more widely defined as the "psychological freedom of the country from fear that the state will not be able to resist internal or external threats against its survival and national values" (Kegley and Wittkoph, 2006, pp. 644, 655).

If we view security immanently as a function of the state, an activity of the state, of the society and of the individual, it would be necessary to analyse and pay attention to the notion of the national security policy.

Every country has its political system "which consists of a number of policies in certain social fields and activities, such as: economic, social, health care, security, educational, cultural, foreign and other policies" (Beridan, 2008, p. 55), where each policy, in the interest of the integral policy of a state develops its system (security, education, culture etc.) as a subsystem of the state and of its functions through which it is implemented, out of the common interests for the purpose of functioning of the state. The necessity to interpret and understand the notions of security, national security and **national security policy** is reflected on their ultimate goal, and that is the protection of the state and its population from various forms of threats. One needs to emphasise that the concept of security has been partly redefined in the modern times, turning the focus from a nation-state understanding to the individuals, better known as **human security**. "The idea of human security superseded the traditional understanding of the national and global security and shifted the focus from territorial security to the security through human development. The key element of security should be an individual, and not the state, and that is the basis of the paradigm" (Ždralović and Rožajac-Zulčić, 2012, p. 394). Such a change in the concept of security today is very doubtful. We are witnesses that the migrant crisis and other forms of threats against the national security of states, such as terrorism, international organised crime and others, changed this understanding, and the state imposes itself as a key security actor again, whose priority goal is the protection of states and ensuring the security of borders, in comparison to the human aspect and to the attitudes of states and national policies towards the migrants and refugees from various Middle Eastern countries.

The fact is that every human being is equally exposed to security risks and threats, hence it is important that women and men participate equally in their prevention and in all other phases and resolution processes. There is also no doubt about the rigorous fact that throughout the development of human civilisation, a half of mankind – i.e. women, belonged to the neglected population, especially in terms of state governance, war and peace-related decisions, decisions on the management of general goods of a state or of a society, including family-related property.

The state security issues, everything connected to military service, in all countries, kingdoms and empires... were the purview of the male population of that country, empire or kingdom¹. Even in the oldest democracies, all the way until the 20th century, women did not even have the right to vote.

Even at the theoretical level, in philosophy, we find astounding opinions of renowned philosophers, whose works are studied even today at universities and philosophical schools. For example, Hegel wrote: “[...] The difference between men and women is like that between animals and plants. [...] Women are capable of education, but they are not made for activities which demand a universal faculty such as the more advanced sciences, philosophy, and certain forms of artistic production. [...] When women hold the helm of government, the state is at once in jeopardy [...]” (Friedrich Hegel, late 18th century and early 19th century). In the same vein, let us quote Nietzsche: “[...] A man should be raised for war and a woman for the relaxation of soldiers: everything else is insane [...] For a woman to be a toy, clearly and simply as a priceless gem [...] You go to women? Do not forget the whip!?” (Friedrich Nietzsche, 19th century). (Milojević, 2011, pp. 16, 17).

Women were also neglected in terms of education, and different forms of women’s resistance, such as women’s labour strikes and the initial forms of feminism, of the fight for women’s rights appeared only in the late 19th century. Militarism was in most countries an expression of male dominance. Development of modern warring techniques contributed to the possibilities for women’s participation in armed combat, as shown by the experiences of World War II. Freedom of an individual and its level – of men, and for historical circumstances

¹ A special group within the critical studies of security of immense importance to the defined topics are gender and feminist approaches. The gender and feminist approaches, although present for decades in other disciplines of the humanities, “started to develop within the science of international relations rather late. The pioneering work is the book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* by Cynthia Enloe from 1989”. It is widely known that the research field of security studies, and of security systems, was an exclusively male sphere and that security is a social field which is traditionally shaped by men. Although there are significant differences within these approaches “we all share the criticism of patriarchy, i.e. the intention to identify, question, and resist various ways in which the male views, interests, and activities are privileged over the women’s ones in the modern society.” (Ejdus, 2017, p. 95).

especially of women, in the widest possible meaning, has historically depended on the conditions for employment, earnings and ensuring economic sustenance. Here the matter concerns individual economic dependence or independence irrespective of gender.

The biggest part of budgetary resources in all the countries of the modern world has been earmarked for military requirements and requirements of other elements of the system of national security. Thus, due to the male dominance, women were excluded from participation in the distribution of general benefits. Experiences from World War II and women's participation in it, and the formation of the United Nations and other international organisations (the Council of Europe, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) contributed to the development of legal basis and of resolute obligations of states for the inclusion of women into the armed forces in various posts.

The most important conventions and resolutions in that context are: the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), then the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, etc.

Apart from all of the above-mentioned documents, the key role in the change of women's status in the security sector is played by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which was adopted on 31 October 2000 under the title "**Women, Peace and Security**". The importance of this Resolution is reflected, among other things, in the fact that the most important body of the United Nations, the Security Council, put on the agenda for the first time the issue of Women, Peace and Security. Resolution 1325 specifically deals with the "impact of war on women and girls and with women's contribution to conflict resolution and sustainable peace", and calls upon the states "to include women in the decision-making process, conflict prevention, participation in post-conflict processes, peace negotiation and peacekeeping operations" (Banović, 2019, p. 88).

Research of correlation between gender and politics within the state and social contextualisation is a very important issue for all the countries, and especially for the countries in which, or against which, an armed conflict and war were waged, as a result of aggression and where, as a consequence, genocide, crimes against humanity and of mass rape occurred. The state is a stakeholder of all policies (foreign, security, economic, social, educational, environmental policy, etc.), and

recently of gender policies, which are key in the implementation of all issues concerning relations between gender and politics, gender equality between women and men, violence against women, issues of discrimination, social status of women, domestic violence, gender-based violence, discrimination of LGBT population, etc. For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on gender policies and gender issues within the defence sector of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and on the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 1325.

3. Gender and Reform of the Defence Sector of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Let us start by determining the meaning of the term security sector reform. According to Kristin Valasek, the security sector reform means “transforming the security sector/system, which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions, working together to manage and operate the system in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework.” (Valasek, 2007, p. 1). In the handbook “Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions in Security Sector Reform”, as part of the ten key principles of the UN, it is mentioned that the security sector reform “must be gender sensitive throughout its planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases.” It must also include “the reform of recruitment processes and improvement in the delivery of security services to address and prevent sexual and gender-based violence.” (Bastick and De Torres, 2010, p 3).

The reform of the defence sector, like the reform of other sectors in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, was inevitable. The wartime and Dayton “legacies” of the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of existence of two or three armies and two or three Ministries of Defence, later on the two armies and the two Entity Ministries of Defence, required significant financial and material expenses for the country which had just emerged from the war. One of the primary and successful reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina which was completed was the reform of the defence sector, certainly with the initiative and influence of the international community, and governmental and non-governmental organisations.

The defence sector reform process in Bosnia and Herzegovina was initiated during 2001, and with the formation of the Defence Reform Commission, it was formalised in 2003. The reform process “resulted in the adoption of the Defence Reform Commission’s report and the adoption of the following two laws: The

Defence Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on the Service in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in late 2005” (Muratović, 2019, p. 455). The laws contributed to the emergence of the unified Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted in 2006 the Decision on the Size, Structure and Locations of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, prescribing the total number of 16,000 members of MoD BiH and AF BiH, as follows: 10,000 military personnel; 5,000 members of the active reserves, and 1,000 civilian personnel. (Muratović, 2019, p. 456). The reform process was very complex and required full co-operation between State-level and Entity institutions, as well as with representatives of the international community, NATO Headquarters, EUFOR, OSCE and others. It is important to emphasise that this reform process included content regarding the **implementation of “gender policies** within the reformed structures, enshrining in the law the prohibition of discrimination and the **equal opportunities principle**”. Chapter III, Article 28, Paragraph 1 of the Law on the Service in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina prescribed the following: “Professional military personnel and persons who wish to be recruited to the Armed Forces shall be treated with full adherence to the principles of transparency, fairness and equal opportunities. There shall be no discrimination on any grounds, be it gender, race, skin colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, ethnic or social background, national minority status, property, or any other status” (Muratović, 2019, p. 456). There were difficulties in the reform process to establish the structure of the personnel, such as a lack of **“gender balance”**, a very small percentage of women who served as soldiers, and an unfavourable age structure of the soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers, due to the situation inherited from the times of war.

The fundamental difficulty in the constitution of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina stemmed from the key principle and respect for the ethnic structure of AF, pursuant to the number and ethnic representation at all levels of military formation system. With this relatively complicated “mathematical” formula of the ethnic structure of the Armed Forces (and its three components), an attempt was made to respect gender equality as well (between women and men), but to include it as well into the ethnic principle of formation of the Ministry of Defence and of its Departments, and of the Armed Forces and its formations. That indicates that the priority during the formation and establishment of the professional Armed Forces was given to the equal representation of ethnic communities and that the issue of equal representation of women and men was secondary.

4. Implementation of Resolution 1325 in the Defence Sector of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted in 2003, followed in 2005 by activities to define the monitoring strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the First Draft Report on the Implementation of UNSC 1325.

Activities whose goal was to attract and engage more women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina started in 2008. Representatives of the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina were included into the Inter-Agency Working Group for the Development of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the aim of implementing the obligations of the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognised in the Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina included into the MoD Annual Plans an activity entitled “Implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina.” The Armed Forces of BiH developed three documents: the Standard Operative Procedures (SOP) for Gender Issues Contact Persons Appointed in the AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Amendments to the SOP for Gender Issues Contact Persons Appointed in AF BiH, the Standard Operative Procedures for Gender Equality in AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Instructions on Implementation of Regulations Concerning Maternity and Parental Leave and on the Regulation of the Status of Pregnant Women in the AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina².

The Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted an analysis of laws and bylaws in the defence sector, focusing on their positive effect **on the integration of gender perspective in the defence sector**, and reviewed whether, in what manner and to which degree, positively or negatively, the then provisions of a particular regulation affected the rights, status and quality of life of women and men, then adopted adequate conclusions and proposed concrete measures and activities on the harmonisation of laws and bylaws in the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Gender Equality Law³.

² Rulebook on the Professional Development and Career Management; Rulebook on Education and Professional Development of Professional Military Personnel; Rulebook on Military Service Recruitment; Rulebook on Education of Cadettes and Scholarship Students; MoD and AF BiH Military Personnel Code of Ethics; Rulebook on Participation of Members of the Ministry of Defence of BiH and the Armed Forces of BiH in Peace Support Operations and Other Activities Abroad; Rules of Service in the Armed Forces of BiH and the Instructions on the Procedure of Development of Legal Regulations and Documents of the Defence System.

³ We thank the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the information it provided.

Although 20 years passed since the adoption of Resolution 1325, according to the available information, **the participation of women in the security sector** is not satisfactory, although Bosnia and Herzegovina committed itself in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration to respect gender equality in specific percentages: both in the State-level bodies and in the institutions and agencies of its security sector.

Category	Number - Percentage of Women
Civil Servants	62–41.33%
Employees	50–61%
Managers	8–22%
Total	46.6%

Table 1.
Representation of women in the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Source: Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina

In the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (as an administrative body), the total number of women is approximately 46.6%. In the category of civil servants, the total number is 150, of whom 62 are women (41.33%), while in the category of employees out of the total number of 82 persons, there are 50 women (61%). Of the total number of 36 staffed managerial posts, 8 (22%) are occupied by women. However, one needs to emphasise that these numbers change because of the structure of the personnel. It is evident from the table that the managerial posts in MoD BiH are occupied by only 8 women, which could explain, but only partially, the much larger percentage of women in the status of civil servants, which is used to ostensibly justify the small, insufficient number of women in the Armed Forces.

In a study entitled “The Position of Women in the Armed Forces in the Western Balkans”, we find that “(I)n the last few years the ministries of defence in the Western Balkans have actively been recruiting women. In BiH, the activities aimed at attracting more women into the armed forces were initiated in 2008. According to their five-year Armed Forces Development Plan, by 2015 the number of women in the armed forces will reach 10%.”

Ranks	Percentage of Women
Officers	5.05%
Non-Commissioned Officers	4.24%
Soldiers	9.13%
Women (civilian personnel) employed in the Armed Forces	22.6%
Total Professional Military Personnel	6%

Table 2.
Representation of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Source: Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina

According to the latest data analyses, out of the total number of employees of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, **6% are women among the professional military personnel**, and 22.6% are women civilian personnel employed in AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Percentage of women in comparison to the total number of professional military personnel and of civilian personnel in AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina is 7.1%. The biggest percentage of women among the professional military personnel is in the category of soldiers (9.13%), which is linked to the rejuvenation of the personnel of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The smallest percentage of women among the professional military personnel is in the rank of non-commissioned personnel (4.24%).

Rank	Percentage of Women
Officers	25.0%
Non-Commissioned Officers	3.8%
Soldiers	8.4%

Table 3.
 Number of women recruited into the professional military service in 2018
 Source: Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina

It is important to emphasise the evident trend of increased interest of women in recruitment into the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is evident from the table that the number of women recruited in the professional military service in 2018 is significantly increased as follows: 50 women (8.4%) in the category of soldiers, 1 woman (3.8%) in the category of non-commissioned officers and 16 women (25%) in the category of officers.

In the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of the total number of 742 staffed managerial posts, 21 (2.8%) are occupied by women, while out of the total number of 2,029 staffed command posts, 74 (3.6%) are occupied by women. There are no women in the rank of general, and it needs to be especially emphasised that in the 2014-2019 term, a woman was the Minister of Defence.

The above-mentioned data, ranging from the participation and representation of women in MoD and AF, to the managerial and command posts, speaks volumes and shows that men and the logic of masculinity still dominates the security and defence discourse and that the data confirms the established traditional division of gender roles.

The Security Council Resolution 1325 indicates that the participation of women in peacekeeping missions is very important, and that the **gender perspective** and gender component is more incorporated into the field of peacekeeping operations. EUFOR organised a roundtable discussion on the topic of “Participation of Women in Peace Support Operations” on 05 April 2019 in the Bosnia and Herzegovina

Armed Forces Hall attended by, among others, women members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since they were formed, the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were engaged in several **peace support operations** in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Iraq, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Kongo, Mali and the Central African Republic. A total of 1,381 members of the Ministry of Defence and of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina took part in those missions, of whom there were 62 women (4.49%). It is evident that women members of the Ministry of Defence and of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were represented in a very small percentage in peace support operations and peacekeeping missions until now. However, what is partly positive is that, even in such small numbers, women were present in the categories of officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers. For example, in the above-mentioned missions, there were 7 women officers, 14 women non-commissioned officers and 41 women soldiers. Out of the total number of members of AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who participated in 2018 in peacekeeping missions, 6.76% were women members of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (14 women: 1 officer, 1 non-commissioned officer and 12 soldiers), which was, in comparison to all the previous years, an increase of almost 2% in the participation of women in the peacekeeping missions in the world.

Apart from all the issues integrated into the defence sector reform in terms of gender equality, the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina face new challenges regarding LGBT population in AF. Another case in which these State-level institutions faced a dilemma what to do, was the case of a Muslim woman who decided to cover her head during her service in AF, which is not recognised in the Law on the Service in the Armed Forces and in the Rulebook on the Uniforms of AF BiH, which also concerns labour rights. In our discussion in the Ministry of Defence, we asked the question “Could people with disabilities be employed in the defence sector?”, and we were told that a number of disabled persons already work in the Ministry of Defence, as an administrative body, while the health standards for the Armed Forces are the main impediment for their recruitment to the duties of soldiers and officers.

Elizabetta Addis claims that the “participation of women in the army also has good economic effects on the general status of women, because the military in many countries is one of the major employers of men, and an equivalent program of public expenditures for the employment of women would reduce drastically the number of unemployed women” (Nira Yuval-Davis, 2004, p. 137). Any increase in the number of women in AF of Bosnia and Herzegovina will represent bigger

participation of women in the economic distribution of general goods of the state, their more stable status in the society, as well as in terms of motherhood (for the women that want it), maternity leave and other labour rights.

In post-conflict societies, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which there is a trend of re-patriarchisation and re-traditionalization, in a society which is rife with prejudice and stereotypes, there is a key problematic question, to which the answer should be found through specific research: To what degree do the patriarchic family and social relations transfer into gender relations within the armed forces which function on the basis of the principle of military hierarchy and subordination? It is necessary to point out the fact that the physiognomy of war has changed, the same way that the spectrum of security threats has changed to unconventional threats without the use of weapons, hence the participation of women is necessary in the elements of defence. Greater participation of women in the armed forces may contribute to the transition from traditional defence to the safety of citizens, and ever more emphasis is put on research, information technology (including research and information technology in banking), intelligence work etc. This trend offers women new chances, especially in the countries in which men and women have equal access to education and training.

5. Conclusion

Gender analysis is a relatively new phenomenon in the international security studies. More precisely, before the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”, gender was rarely an important element of integral policies of states and national security systems. One needs to note that the emergence of feminism and of feminist analysis significantly affected the gradual change in not only the policies, but also in the awareness of the place and role of women in societies and of their subordination, and especially in terms of asking questions about the status of women in the field of security, emphasising that, in comparison to men, they have diverse experiences in terms of governing the state, the military, in the armed conflict, wars and in other types of conflicts. Whether because of **stereotypes** or of **irresponsible policies**, including the Security Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the beginning of the reform of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina until today, there has been an insufficient number of women involved in the defence system. The proclaimed goal of 10% of women in the Armed Forces by 2015 has not yet been met. Not only that, but the number and percentage of women in managerial and command posts is very unfavourable, and the greater participation of women in peacekeeping missions has not been achieved either.

Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have a secondary military school nor does it have a military academy. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Defence does not earmark funds (scholarships, etc.) for the education of secondary school students or of university students, which could contribute to better human resources of AF, and especially in terms of greater gender equality. In spite of achieving significant successes in the implementation of reform from the standpoint of gender, from the point of human rights, which also imply religious rights, the defence sector has lately been faced with members of the LGBT population in its ranks, and with women members of AF covering their heads. In every country, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, the security sector, at various levels of authority, spends a significant amount of budgetary resources. In terms of exercising their right to work and to be employed, one could rightfully claim that women in Bosnia and Herzegovina face **economic discrimination**, due to the low percentage of women in this sector,

Twenty years after the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”, we note that, in spite of policy efforts to recruit a larger number of women into the Armed Forces to all posts, the numbers and percentages do not meet the proclaimed projections of women’s participation in the defence sector, especially within the ranks of the Armed Forces.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Arsenijević, D., and Flessenkemper, T. (Editors) (2013). *Kojeg je roda sigurnost?* (What is the gender of security?) Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Gavrić, S., and Ždralović, A. (Editors). (2019). *Rodna ravnopravnost. Teorija, pravo, politike. Uvod u rodne studije za studentice i studente društvenih nauka u BiH.* Sarajevo: Sarajevski otvoreni centar, Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Pravni fakultet. (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies. Introduction to gender studies for students of social sciences in BiH) Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, University of Sarajevo – Law Faculty).
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. (2004). *Rod i nacija.* (Gender and Nation) Ženska infoteka.

Bibliography

- Balon, B. (Editor). (2014). *Položaj žena u oružanim snagama država Zapadnog Balkana*. (The Position of Women in Armed Forces in the Western Balkans) SEESAC.
- Banović, D. (2019). Ujedinjene nacije: pravni okvir i mehanizmi za rodnu ravnopravnost, (United Nations: Gender Equality Legal Framework and Mechanisms), in S. Gavrić and A. Ždralović (Editors), *Rodna ravnopravnost. Teorija, pravo, politike* (Gender Equality: Theory, Law, Policies) (pp. 73–91). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, University of Sarajevo – Law Faculty.
- Beridan, I. (2008). *Politika i sigurnost*. (Politics and Security) Sarajevo: Political Science Faculty.
- Ejdus, F. (2017). *Međunarodna bezbednost: teorije, sektori i nivoi*. (International Security: Theories, Sectors and Levels) Political Science Faculty, University of Belgrade.
- Kegley Jr. Ch., and Wittkoph E. R. (2006). *Svetska politika – trend i transformacija*. (World Politics: Trend and Transformation) Belgrade: South East European Studies Centre.
- Muratović, S. (2019). Rodna ravnopravnost i odbrambeni sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Gender Equality and Security Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina) *Modeli razvoja – iskustva drugih i naše mogućnosti*. (Development Models – Experiences of Others and Our Opportunities) Brčko: European University of the Brčko District.
- Milojević, I., and Markov, S. (2011). *Uvod u rodne teorije*. (Introduction into Gender Theories) Novi Sad: Gender Studies Centre, University of Novi Sad.
- Tatalović, S., Grizold, A., and Cvrtila, V. (2008). *Suvremene sigurnosne politike: Države i nacionalna sigurnost početkom 21. stoljeća*. (Contemporary Security Policies: States and National Security in the Early 21st Century) Zagreb: Golden marketing – tehnička knjiga.
- Valasek, K., and Bastick, M. (2010). *Reforma sektora bezbjednosti i rodna pitanja*. (Gender and Security Sector Reform) Geneva: DCAF.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2004). *Rod i nacija*. (Gender and Nation) Ženska infoteka.
- Ždralović, A., and Rožajac-Zulčić, M. (2012). Ženski mirovni aktivizam i njegov utjecaj na mir i sigurnost (Women's Peace Activism and Its Effect on Peace and Security), in A. Zaharijević (Editor) *Neko je rekao feminizam? Kako je feminizam uticao na žene XXI veka* (Someone said feminism? How did feminism affect women of the 21st century?) (pp. 390–415). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Foundation Heinrich Böll – Office in BiH, Foundation CURE.

Police Forces in BiH

Prof. MARIJA LUČIĆ-ĆATIĆ, PhD

University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Criminalistics, Criminology and Security Studies

1. Introduction

The issues of gender equality and equal opportunities for women are present in all aspects of life. These issues emerged in 1970s, gained in significance since then and became issues of national and international importance (Balgač, 2017). Although the issue of gender equality captures the attention of many science and research minded individuals, there are very few of those whose scientific interest focused on the **position of women in the police structure**, as a male dominated system. Such situation is evident in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) as well; however, improvement of the position of women in police structures, as one of the ways to integrate gender perspective in peace and security efforts, is gaining international recognition. The adoption of the **UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" (2000)** triggered a host of activities of global reach, with the view of increasing the level of participation of women in conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities (Wise and Centre for Security Studies, 2017).

Integration or promotion of gender sensitive policies and practices in police structures is not only a legal commitment; it is an imperative brought about by modern development of police organisations and policing. The fact is that historically speaking, police service was exclusively meant for men. It was referred to as the male profession. However, significant change came with development of modern concepts of policing. Traditional approach to policing was abandoned and the focus was shifted to a concept that defines the police as a public service, intended to serve the citizens in the area of security (Borovec, 2013). As police is no longer solely repression-oriented, the work of the police is increasingly shaped by gender (Delač and Borovec, 2019).

Based on these observations, decision was made to conduct an analysis of **gender sensitive policies and practices in police structures in BiH** by examining and analysing the following parameters: statistical overview of representation of women in police structures in BiH, overview of the position of women in managerial positions within police structures in BiH, analysis of the legal framework for police work through the prism of gender equality in BiH, existence of associations of female police officers, representation and position of female police officers in peace missions and analysis of gender sensitive policing. Since BiH committed to accomplishing gender sensitivity of police structures, which helps police structures become more efficient, more effective and more accountable, systemic implementation of measures that ensure successful integration of women in police structures became a necessity.

2. Organisation of Police in BiH

Police organisation in BiH is extremely complex. It reflects territorial and administrative organisation of the country. As a result, a total of 16 police institutions operate in BiH, as follows:

- ❑ Three at state-level:¹
 - State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA);
 - Border Police of BiH (BP BiH);
 - Directorate for Coordination of Police Bodies of BiH (DCPB BiH);
- ❑ Eleven in the Federation of BiH (FBiH):
 - 10 cantonal ministries of interior (MoI);
 - Federal Ministry of Interior (FMoI);
- ❑ Ministry of Interior Affairs of Republika Srpska (MoI RS) and
- ❑ Police of Brčko District of BiH (PBD BiH) (Sijerčić-Čolić and Radičić, 2015).

2.1 Women in Police Structures in BiH: Statistical Overview

A total of 21,488 persons is employed in these institutions, with 4,285 women, or 19.94%. Out of the total number of employees, 16,275 persons or 75.74% have the status of police officers. There are a total of 1,288 female police officers, or 7.91%. Out of the total number of employees in police structures, a total of 3,258 persons work in state-level police structures, and only **7.92% or 258 of them are women**.

¹ In addition to agencies specified above, we shall also provide an overview of data for the Service for Foreigners' Affairs (SPS), Agency for Forensic Examination and Expertise (AFIV), Agency for Education and Professional Training (AEPTM) and Police Support Agency (APP). Although these bodies, strictly speaking, are not police agencies, they were included in the analysis due to the importance they have in the security sector.

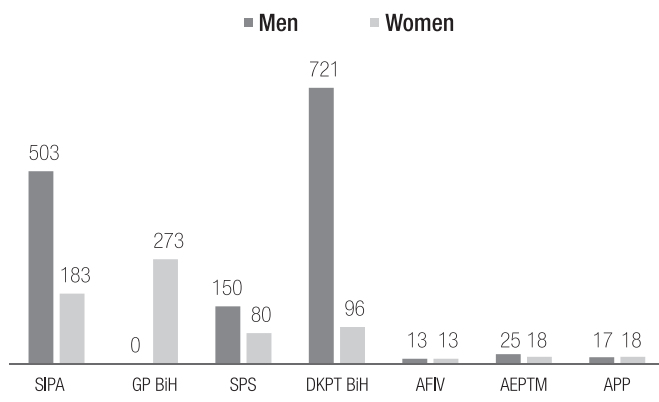


Chart 1.
Gender structure of staff in individual police institutions in BiH at state level
Source: Wise and Centre for Security Studies, 2017 and The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018

Similar situation is noted in the **FBIH**, where out of a total of 7,609 police officers, **7.61% or 579 are women**. In the **RS**, out of 5,160 police officers, **8.51% (439) are women**, while the **PBD BiH** has a total of 248 police officers, with **4.84% (12) of women**. As for the cantonal ministries of interior, they have a total of 7,076 police officers, with **7.56% (535) of women**.

Canton	Men	Women	Representation of women in %
Una-Sana Canton ²	66	106	61.61%
Posavina Canton	152	46	23.23%
Tuzla Canton	1,418	329	18.83%
Zenica-Doboj Canton	1,216	327	21.19%
Bosnian Podrinje Canton	183	38	17.19%
Central Bosnia Canton	885	187	17.44%
Herzegovina-Neretva Canton	754	228	23.21%
West Herzegovina Canton	280	111	28.38%
Canton Sarajevo	1,355	208	13.30%
Canton 10	319	82	20.44%

Table 1.
Gender structure of staff of cantonal ministries of interior⁴
Source: The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018.

- ² Editor's note: The fact that only one of the cantons shows more women than men suggests that the data should be considered with a certain degree of caution. Most probably, the numbers resulted from a clerical data collection error.
- ³ The data represents the percentage of female police officers working in cantonal ministries of interior, regardless of whether they have the status of authorised official, and it should therefore be interpreted with that in mind.

Analysis of the presented statistical overview of gender structure of staff of police institutions in BiH shows that the **number of women** ranges between **7 and 8%**, significantly below the **legally mandated and standard-recommended 40%** representation (Law on Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2003). The British Association of Women in Policing (BAWP), in conclusion of its comprehensive survey on the role and position of women in police structures, presented a claim that 35% of women in police was necessary for the appropriate level of progress and cultural integration to be achieved (Prenze and Sinclair, 2013). Therefore, we may conclude that female police officers are **insufficiently represented** in police structures at all levels in BiH, which is why it is necessary to undertake planned and prompt action with the view of increasing the number of female police officers, for the purpose of accomplishment of gender equality and integration of gender perspective in police structures in BiH.

Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022 (2018) highlights increased participation of women in police structures as a step forward, although the actual numbers are still far from equal gender representation. The trend of increased representation of women in police structures is evident, but certain time and effort are still needed for this trend to result in legally mandated equal representation. **The Final Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan** for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014–2017 (2018) highlights that by 2017, the number of female police officers in SIPA increased by 1.5% in comparison with 2013, in BP the increase was around 1%, while in FMOI the situation remained the same as in 2010. Representation of women in 10 cantonal ministries of interior was increased by about 1% in comparison with 2013. In the RS MoI, the number of female police officers increased by around 2% in the past three years. In the Police of BDBiH, the situation did not change since 2013.

Analysis of the overall share of female police officers in police structures of developed democracies shows much higher numbers. For example, in England and Wales, women account for 30% (37,428) of staff of police structures, (Home Office, 2019). In Sweden, ever since 2006, out of a total of 25,000 staff members, 35% are women. Out of a total of 17,500 uniformed police officers, 18% are women (OSCE Polis: Sweden, n. d.).

In the neighbouring Republic of Croatia, the number of female police officers has been steadily increasing over the years. For example, in 2009, the police had 13.5% of female police officers, in 2010, the number increased to 14.7%, in 2012 to 16.4 %, in 2014 to 17.5 %, and in 2015 to 17.6 %. The latest data as of January

of 2018 shows that female police officers account for 18% of the total number of staff of police structures of the Republic of Croatia. Although that number is still far below the percentage typical of developed democracies, it still indicates substantial progress in terms of the increase of the share of women in police structures in the Republic of Croatia (Delač and Borovec, 2019).

2.2 Women in Management Positions in Police Structures in BiH

In addition to the overall share of women in the staff of police structures, it is extremely important to also look into the **issue of the positions they hold**. It is concerning that there are no women holding the most senior positions within any given police body. In other words, there are no police agencies in BiH where a woman holds the position of director, commissioner or minister, or even a position of second in command - a deputy to those in the most senior positions of leadership. (Jozić, 2018).

Speaking about the position of women in terms of their duties as illustrated by the ranks they hold⁴, the vast majority of female police officers hold the position of police officer (499) and senior police officer (208). Furthermore, the rank of junior inspector is held by 14.26% out of the total number of female police officers, 13.52% hold the rank of senior inspector and 11.3% hold the rank of inspector (Wise and Centre for Security Studies, 2017). The rank of independent inspector is held by 47 women and the rank of senior inspector is held by 149 women (Jozić, 2018). The most senior rank attained, currently held by only four female police officers in the police structure in BiH, is the rank of chief inspector. Therefore, there are no female police officers **holding the rank of police chief inspector general**, held by managers or their deputies in police institutions (Wise and Centre for Security Studies, 2017).

4 There is a high degree of similarity in terms of ranks across police structures in BiH, with numbers varying depending on the institution. Generally speaking, ranks listed from lowest to highest are: police officer; senior police officer; sergeant; senior sergeant; junior inspector; inspector; senior inspector; independent inspector; chief inspector; inspector general. It is certainly important to note that the rank of inspector general in cantonal police administrations is held by the commissioner, while in other institutions, in most cases that rank is held by deputy director and the rank of chief inspector general is held by the director of a given police institution.

Institution	Junior Inspectors		Senior Inspectors	
	Number	%	Number	%
SIPA	3	12.5%	9	10.59%
BP BIH	1	2%	7	8.56%
RS Mol	40	13.22%	111	19.89%
Una-Sana Canton Mol	1	11.2%	1	3.1%
Tuzla Canton Mol	1	4.34%	4	9.75%
Sarajevo Canton Mol	1	4.76%	1	3.03%
Federation Mol	1	4.76%	8	16.66%
BD Police	-	-	1	6.67%
Zenica-Doboj Canton Mol	-	-	2	6.06%
Central Bosnia Canton Mol	-	-	1	3.03%
Herzegovina-Neretva Canton Mol	-	-	1	5.55%
West Herzegovina Canton Mol	-	-	2	9%
Canton 10 Mol	-	-	1	5.26%

Table 2.
Distribution of junior and senior inspector positions held by women in the police structure in BiH;
Source: Jozić, 2018

Modern research indicates that lower level of representation of women in leadership positions is a problem that persists in many developed democracies as well (Balgač, 2017). In the process of distribution of assignments, women are most frequently assigned to duties perceived from gender perspective as culturally and socially more appropriate to them, such as administrative duties, and in the area of operations, they are in most cases assigned to work with women and children, work with abused children and victims of domestic violence and work on juvenile delinquency cases (Becker and associates, 2012). For instance, in the Republic of Croatia, out of the total number of personnel holding leadership positions, female police officers account for 10.21%, while male police officers account for 89.79 % (Delač and Borovec, 2019).

There are many reasons for such situation. They range from cultural and sociological (Natarajan, 2008; Silvestri, 2011) and even to practical ones. For instance, Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022 identifies that **possibilities of career advancement of women in police are limited as a result of scoring methodology** which requires continuity, which is in certain cases interrupted due to pregnancy. This is a very practical issue that could be easily remedied by adoption of necessary amendments to the applicable

regulations. As pointed out in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022, the criteria for promotion to a higher rank, which formally do not distinguish between men and women, require that a certain amount of time is spent in service in a previous rank and that evaluation is submitted for the past five or the past three years of service. In situations in which a female police officer spent a year on maternity leave, such absence makes it impossible for her to submit the requested performance evaluation or apply as a candidate for the vacant position. Certain police agencies, (BP BiH and SIPA) are trying to overcome this problem by taking into account the last three years of service, excluding the period of maternity leave, but that practice is still not widely implemented in all police bodies. It is for that reason that the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022 calls for amendments to the Law on Police Officers at all levels in BiH, in addition to amendments of the corresponding bylaws, with the view of ensuring that the use of maternity leave is not considered an obstacle to career advancement, resulting in indirect gender-based discrimination.

3. Legal Framework Applicable to Policing Through the Prism of Gender Equality in BiH

The sum of legal provisions specified under the international documents that deal with the issues of equality of women in all aspects of life was integrated into the BiH legislation, specifically the Law on Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003), the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (2009), Gender Action Plan of BiH 2018 – 2022, Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014 – 2017, and Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022.

The Law on Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003) promotes and protects gender equality, guarantees equal opportunities and equal treatment to everyone, irrespective of their sex, both in public and private sphere of society and provides protection from gender-based discrimination. Furthermore, it is important to underline the provision specified under Article 20 of the Law, which stipulates that state bodies at all levels of the government will ensure and promote equal representation of both men and women in management, decision-making and representation. Equal gender representation applies to situations in which one of the sexes has a minimum of 40% representation in bodies referred

to above. The analysis of data presented under paragraphs 2.1. and 2.2. points to a disappointing fact that almost all police agencies in BiH **failed to accomplish gender equality**. Identical observation was expressed in the Special Report on Ethnic and Gender Structure of Employees in Police and Security Agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2018), in which a recommendation was made to managers of all police and security agencies in BiH to undertake measures within the scope of their competence to ensure more equitable representation of men and women in agencies under their leadership.

The analysis of the Law on Gender Equality, the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (2009), Gender Action Plan of BiH 2018 – 2022 and Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022 clearly shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina has adequate legal framework, which reflects the current international gender equality standards. These legal documents mandate the responsibility for all government institutions in BiH to undertake the appropriate measures to implement the provisions of the Law on Gender Equality, such as harmonisation of laws and bylaws, implementation of activities and measures specified under the Gender Action Plan, presentation of statistical data disaggregated by gender and implementation of all other activities with the view of ensuring gender equality.

For the purpose of review of the legal framework applicable to policing through the prism of gender equality in BiH, we analysed legislation which focuses on employment status of staff of police and security agencies in all police structures in BiH. The specific laws on police officers deal with police competences and employment and legal status of police officers⁵ (labour issues, including: duties and responsibilities, recruitment, education and professional development, assignment to specific duties, ranks, performance evaluation and career advancement, benefits, working conditions, disciplinary responsibility, responsibility for compensation of damages and termination of employment).

Upon analysis of these laws from the perspective of provisions of Article 9 (e) of the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which reads as follows: “Discrimination in language exists when only one grammar gender is used as a generic term”, it becomes evident that these laws were not written in gender-sensitive language. We can therefore conclude that the existing laws on police officers in BiH are **discriminatory in terms of the language they are written in**

⁵ Police officers are the members of police bodies who enforce police powers as specified under a specific law and act as authorised officials, as defined under the criminal procedure codes in effect in BiH.

and that they are not harmonised with the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, substantial number of these laws do not integrate the provision which clarifies that the terms used in the law were used in a single grammatical gender, for the sake of brevity, and that they equally apply to both men and women, without discrimination. It is certainly worthwhile at this point to refer to the wide spread practice of integration of such provision that clarifies that the terms would be used in one grammatical gender and that they would nevertheless equally apply to both men and women, without discrimination. As noted by Čaušević and Zlotrg (2011, p. 10) “Generic use of masculine grammatical gender, with explanation that it is meant to be neutral and encompassing women as well, is detrimental to gender equality.” Authors rightfully note that given the existing linguistic norms that pertain to women (feminine grammatical gender, suffixes, etc.) there is no reason why women should remain linguistically invisible or considered included without specific reference to them. The same principle is echoed by the European Parliament, whose guidelines on gender neutral language (2018) highlight that legal documents, while recognising the need for clarity, should be written in a way that avoids the use of language that is not gender-inclusive, and in particular avoids the blanket use of masculine gender. We can note the example of the Republic of Croatia, where gender sensitive language is used and titles in the police force defined in both feminine and masculine forms, as follows: policeman/policewoman, manager/manageress, head of department, head of institution (Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network, 2012).

Furthermore, all laws contain provisions on ethnic composition of staff, while only a few add provisions to also deal with the issue of **equal participation of women and men** in the structure of staff. As highlighted in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022, one of the key preconditions for equal participation of women in the sector of security is harmonisation of laws, bylaws, strategies, policies and programmes within the scope of competence of the relevant institutions with the Law on Gender Equality of BiH (2003). Therefore, integration of this provision and further work on harmonisation of regulations in this area with the provisions of the Law on Gender Equality of BiH becomes an imperative.

Any critical analysis of the regulations from the perspective of gender equality warrants another look into previously discussed (see Item 2.1.) conditions for promotion into a higher rank, which formally do not differentiate between women and men, while in practice put female police officers into significantly

more unfavourable position. To that end, it is necessary to ensure that **maternity leave** is not an obstacle to career advancement. In those police bodies in which continuous service over a certain period of time is a condition for career advancement, maternity leave should be treated the same as long term sick leave resulting from work-related injury or, as an alternative, it should be mandated that in the event of maternity leave, continuous service shall not be treated as a condition for career advancement.

In conclusion, overview of the legal framework applicable to policing through the prism of gender equality in BiH shows that the applicable legal framework is not harmonised with the Law on Gender Equality of BiH and other applicable regulations and indicates lack of gender sensitivity, which puts female police officers in more unfavourable position in comparison to their male peers.

4. Association of Female Police Officers

Networking of women in sectors of defence and security facilitates joint action in promotion and accomplishment of gender equality and protection of rights of women in institutions and agencies that operate in these sectors (Council of Ministers of BiH, 2018). However, associations of women in police structures do not matter solely for the sake of improvement of position of women in a male dominated environment, they are also important factor in improvement of services that police organisations are there to provide. Modern security challenges require introduction of new, modern models of policing and approach to operations that requires equal participation of women, since police no longer relies on traditional control and surveillance of citizens and enforcement of laws through repression (Balgač, 2017).

With reference to the above, it is certainly important to note that there are two associations of female police officers in BiH, namely the **RS MoI Women Police Officers Network (WPON)** and **Police Women's Network (BiH/FBiH)**. Network of RS MoI – RS WPON was established in 2011. It brings together female members of police bodies in the RS. Association “Police Women's Network” (BiH/FBiH) was established in 2012 and it brings together female members of all police agencies operating at the level of BiH, FMoI, Federation Police Administration and cantonal MoIs.⁶

⁶ Directorate for Coordination of Police Bodies of BiH, State Investigation and Protection Agency, Border Police of BiH, Federal Police Administration, Police of Brčko District of BiH, ten cantonal ministries of interior and Judicial Police of the Federation of BiH.

The main purpose of these associations is to promote gender equality and gender mainstreaming in all spheres of police work, with particular emphasis on the increase of the number of women in police force in general, especially in the positions of leadership. The associations bring together women in police force and create platform for empowerment and mutual support. The associations also implement projects and activities with the view of promoting and implementing gender equality principles in the process of recruitment of women in police. In addition to that, the associations also focus on education, training, career development and promotion of results accomplished by successful individuals.

5. Women as Members of Police Forces in Peace Missions

Importance of participation of women in peace missions and operations is affirmed by key international peace and security organisations (UN, NATO and EU), which often refer to the key international instrument in this domain – the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security”. Implementation of this Resolution, as well as other UN Security Council resolutions, such as: Resolution 1820 (2008) on elimination of gender-based violence in armed conflict, Resolution 1888 (2009) on sexual violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict and Resolution 1889 (2009) on the role of women and their needs in peace-building operations after the armed conflict, creates an important framework for defining, promoting and protection of the role of women in peace missions and operations.

Committed to affirmation of participation of women in peace mission, the Ministry of Security of BiH reduced the required number of years of service, as one of the most important eligibility criteria for participation in peace missions, from eight to five years for women. This **affirmative measure** was introduced because there were no women in law enforcement agencies in BiH who had eight consecutive years of uninterrupted service (for the reasons explained earlier). This measure contributes to the increase of the number of women in UN peace missions, as demonstrated by the experiences from BiH (Council of Ministers, 2018; Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2017). BiH police agencies have actively participated in different international peace-building and peace-keeping operations across the world for the past 17 years. During the period between 2000 and 2017, a total of 276 police officers served in UN peace operations, with **15.58% or 43 participating female police officers**. Since the first UN peace operation in East Timor, male and female police officers from BiH participated in several missions, with the last deployment being to the UN peace mission in South Sudan.

Mission	Period	Total number of participants	Number of female participants
UNMISSET East Timor	2000–2005	31	1
UNMIL Liberia	2004 to date	81	11
UNFICYP Cyprus	2004 to date	47	8
MINUSTAH Haiti	2004–2006	12	3
UNMIS Sudan	2006–2011	19	4
UNMISS South Sudan	2011 to date	86	16

Table 3.
Number of women in UN peace missions;
Source: Centre for Security Studies, 2018

Although the data presented here suggests that the number of female police officers from BiH who participated in peace missions was rather low, it is nevertheless positive that participation of female police officers from BiH increased since the first deployment to East Timor. At the moment, according to the official data, 30% of participating officers are women. In comparison with 2014, the number of participating female police officers increased by 6%, while in comparison with 2010, the number increased by 14% (Council of Ministers, 2018). We may therefore conclude that the participation of female police officers in peace mission is four times higher compared to their average representation in all police structures in BiH (Wise and Centre for Security Studies, 2017). Finally, it should be noted that, regardless of the trend of increase of the number of women participating in peace operations, going forward, the focus should be on promotion of greater participation of women, both police officers and defence personnel, and their more prominent representation in decision-making processes.

6. Gender Sensitive Policing

Societal development requires that police forces, as integral element of society, evolve and adapt to these changes and introduce new, modern models of policing. Regardless of whether these models refer to community policing (Borovec, 2013) or intelligence-led policing (Mastrofski, 2006), police organisations across BiH (which in essence still operate as traditional police organisations), should strive to embrace and introduce new, modern models of police work. These models, unlike the traditional ones, demand much higher degree of equal participation of women in the performance of police work, given that the work itself is no longer restricted to control and surveillance of citizens and enforcement of repressive measures, and is instead based on proactive engagement (Balgač, 2017).

For that reason, one must consider the ways in which the number of women in police organisations could be increased and the position of the existing female police officers improved, for the sake of more efficient response to community security needs. To address the issues identified earlier, it is necessary to systemically implement measures that ensure more successful integration of women in police structures, and **the concept of gender-sensitive policing** emerges as an efficient and simple solution.

This concept in most cases starts with identification of reasons that led to underrepresentation of women in police structures, where discrimination in the process of recruitment is cited as the most frequent reason for such underrepresentation, followed by long-term stagnation in lower-rank positions, resignation from position due to inability to use one's full potential, discriminatory personal views and organisational regulations, sexual harassment and difficulty balancing professional and personal responsibilities (Walker and Irlbeck, 2002). Once correctly identified, these reasons should be carefully analysed, with appropriate interventions designed, fully adapted to the needs and resources of each police organisation. These interventions do not necessarily have to be complex and costly, as illustrated by numerous good practices across the region.

With respect to **the process of recruitment**, the Guidelines for Gender-Sensitive Policing (2012) highlight attracting higher number of qualified and motivated female candidates as one of the goals and propose a number of practical solutions that would increase the interest of women in police profession. The Guidelines suggest that it is necessary to better inform the public of demands, specific nature and risks of police work and the importance of women in police structures. It is of particular importance for the media to portray women in police and regularly promote successful female members of the police force. Speaking of recruitment procedures, good practice suggests that vacancy notices should be announced in different media, in particular the media that predominantly speak to female population, which is not a wide-spread practice in BiH. For instance, The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies in Serbia, announces enrolment information in magazines that have predominantly female readership (Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe, 2012). Promotional activities in secondary schools, round table discussions, participation in employment and education fairs also proved efficient in attracting female candidates. It is of particular importance that policewomen participate in these activities, since they are well suited to answer general questions, and particularly well suited to answer specific questions of interested female candidates on the role of women in police and professional challenges they experience. Despite being extremely simple

to undertake, these measures are not commonplace in BiH. Furthermore, with regard to the process of selection of applicants for participation in regular police training programmes, while the applicable regulations should be fully followed, the preference should still be given to those candidates that meet the criteria and who are also women or come from minority communities or marginalised groups. That could lead to improvement of ethnic and gender structure of police in the long run and facilitate better contact between the police and marginalised groups, not to mention better understanding of their needs. Another way to attract candidates is to establish cooperation with non-governmental organisations capable of assisting in attracting female candidates and preparing them for participation in courses and training activities. (Zeković, 2015). Another good practice is found in Albania, where Albanian police, dissatisfied with the number of female applicants, initiated legislative changes and prepared a set of amendments to staffing regulations, which introduced requirement that a minimum of 50% of applicants enrolled in elementary level police training had to be women and should such initiative fail to produce desired number of female candidates, the police would be required to initiate recruitment campaign that would solely focus on women. As a result, in 2011, for the first time ever, all cadets participating in elementary level police training were women. Significant change was reported in terms of deferring requirement to possess drivers' license at the moment of enrolment, as it was found that such requirement affects female candidates to a greater extent. As a result, female cadets were required to pass drivers' exam by the end of their training, as opposed to being required to present their driving credentials at the moment of application (Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe, 2012). Although the actual number of women in police structures is far below the required 40%, this measure was also not introduced in the practice of police structures in BiH.

Another important measure is **gender sensitive vetting of candidates for employment**. The process of vetting of candidates (the so-called security clearance) represents an integral element of the recruitment process in any police structure. That process should integrate background checks for the history of domestic violence or sexual abuse, sexual harassment or violent or discriminatory behaviour, in addition to checking if participating applicants for employment hold negative views towards women as police officers, or women victims of domestic violence, sexual violence etc. (Bastick, 2014). The process of security clearance in BiH includes background check for prior offences, but does not include checking whether candidates have discriminatory views and negative opinions of women as police officers.

As for prolonged stagnation of women in lower-rank positions, retention in service and balance between professional and personal life, it is necessary to monitor and evaluate advancement and retention of staff. All police structures should routinely collect and analyse basic statistics on female and male staff in all phases of their career, including percentages of women and men in each rank, percentages of women and men participating in different training activities, frequency of use of flexible rules pertaining to family needs (parental leave), retention of women and men in service and reasons cited by women and men for dropping out of training or resignation (Bastick, 2014).

As for the reasons for prolonged stagnation of female police officers in lower-rank positions, in addition to previously discussed **formal criteria for career advancement** (maternity leave), **insufficient opportunities for female police officers to undertake additional training** are also cited quite often. The research conducted in 2009 revealed that fewer women than men believe that additional training opportunities are equally accessible to women and men (SEPCA, 2010). For women to be able to advance in their career on equal footing with men, it is important to improve accessibility of all forms of education and training activities to female police officers. It is of extreme importance to refrain from presuming that women do not wish to participate in additional training due to family commitments, or because they did not use the opportunity to undertake additional training when it was presented to them in the past. It is also important to underline the importance of organisation of training on the subject of gender equality and gender-based violence. Example of good practice was noted in Serbia, where by the end of 2011 most police administrations organised training for staff on the subject of gender equality and gender-based violence. In addition, during the course of June of 2011, RS MoI (BiH) organised a course under the title: Professional development of police officers of the RS MoI in the area of gender-based violence and sexual violence (Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe, 2012). Although such interventions fall within the regular scope of operations of networks of female police officers operating in BiH, these initiatives should not solely be implemented by these associations, because they often rely on the limited funds available for implementation of their project activities. Recurring or other training activities regularly implemented within police structures should integrate gender component, either in terms of their content, or in terms of the audience they target.

As a part of the effort to create gender-sensitive policies, it is important to keep a record and understand the **reasons that cause male and female police officers to resign from duties**, disaggregated by gender. The best way to collect

such information is through the so-called exit interviews during which the employees separating from service would be able to explain the reasons for their decision. Such information would lead to better understanding of the problems experienced by male and female staff members that could serve as a foundation for introduction of measures to prevent such issues going forward. Good practices can be found in three countries where data is collected on the number of persons who resigned from police, disaggregated by gender (BiH – RS MoI, MoI of the Republic of Bulgaria and Serbia, Basic Police Training Centre and Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies in Serbia), (Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe, 2012). As with most other measures discussed above, this measure too is not implemented in all police structures across BiH.

Introduction of mechanisms to ensure better **balance between professional and personal life** is also extremely important segment of gender sensitive policing. The research conducted in Canada (The Royal Canadian Mounted Police) showed that the rate of resignation from police was at 16% for women and at 8.7% for men. The research indicates that family issues were the principal reason women cited for resignation from police (Crawford Seagram, Stark-Adamec, 1992). The issues of relevance to the period of pregnancy and childcare after completion of maternity leave (also very important aspect of gender sensitive policies) are of extreme importance to female police officers and these issues should be regulated in a way that fully takes into account flexibility, fairness and job security. One of the ways to address these issues could be to reassign female police officers to simpler and safer duties for a while, during a certain period of pregnancy. In the absence of such solutions, female police officers often have to take medical leave if there are medical reasons for it or use time off without pay, which may have bearing on their socio-economic status and their psychological wellbeing. It is certainly worth noting that female police officers should not be forced to reassignment if they are physically and psychologically fit and willing to continue with the performance of their regular duties. In addition, though often overlooked, it is worth considering the issue of uniforms tailored to fit pregnant female police officers, which should be designed to be functional, but also comfortable and accessible to pregnant female police officers throughout their pregnancy. Such course of action would send a strong message that would resonate both within the police and in community at large that women can be mothers and police officers at the same time, which is not the practice that exists in police structures in BiH. Gender sensitive policing should also address the issues of childcare, which traditionally impact working mothers, by introducing activities of establishment of day care centres/kindergartens or flexible working hours. Good practice showcasing such approach comes from Sacramento County

Sheriff's Department where employees (both men and women) may request reassignment within the programme under the title: "Officer On Call" and select days and hours to work within the work week. Once they no longer need to participate in the programme, they may request to be reinstated to their regular duties (National Center for Women & Policing, 2001).

Finally, another important issue that impacts female police officers is the issue of **sexual harassment and discrimination**. Speaking of sexual harassment, due to its special features and the impact it has on victims and the work environment, each police body should have a policy to address sexual harassment as well as ongoing training programmes and measures in place to monitor the situation on an ongoing basis. Implementation of these activities should include training of persons in leadership positions on their roles and responsibilities in terms of creating and maintaining discrimination-free, harassment-free work environment, responding to incidents and preventing retaliation against victims who reported such incidents. (Bastick, 2014). Having in mind specific roles assigned to positions of leadership in police structures, it is critical that management staff continues to display firm position and assert zero tolerance for sexual harassment in the workplace, set example to others by demonstrating appropriate behaviour and positions, as well as sanction perpetrators and protect victims (Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe, 2012). Of particular importance in this area is to design and implement policies on sexual harassment, implement training on the subject, and finally report, investigate and protect victims from retaliation, given the fact that accusation of sexual harassment is often found to be a career killer in the police environment (National Center for Women & Policing, 2001). According to the current regulations in effect in BiH, sexual harassment is a criminal offence. Article 29 of the Law on Gender Equality of BiH stipulates the following: "A person who, on grounds of sex, commits violence, harassment or sexual harassment that endanger serenity, mental health or body integrity shall be punished with a fine or imprisonment for a term of six months up to five years." However, this provision alone is not enough and regardless of its existence, it is still necessary to look into the extent of its implementation and in particular look into the practice of police structures in BiH in pursuing sexual harassment claims.

There are many ways to implement all of the above listed elements of gender sensitive policing, either through separate interventions, or by **combining several measures**. Some of the possible mechanisms for implementation are: regular gender self-evaluation or gender audit, design and implementation of gender policies that would include reporting on the role of a particular police

agency in implementation of international commitments (such as implementation of the UNSCR 1325, 2000), establishment of specialised bodies⁷, establishment and operation of associations of female police officers, etc. Regardless of the mechanism the state opts for, introduction and implementation of gender sensitive policing is an imperative if we are to meet the commitments resulting from ratification of the UNSCR 1325 (2000) “Women, Peace and Security” and improve overall operations of police structures.

7. Concluding Observations

Higher level of participation of women in the military, police and peace-keeping missions, including their participation in decision-making and their affirmation in the positions of leadership is an **imperative** resulting from a number of international and national legally binding documents. As pointed out previously, the analysis of the Law on Gender Equality of BiH (2003), the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (2009), Gender Action Plan of BiH 2018 – 2022 (2018) and Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022 (2017) points to the fact that BiH has adequate legal framework, aligned with the current international standards in the area of gender equality. However, analysis of the actual situation paints a different picture.

Although the **indicators of representation of female police officers** in police structures in BiH show certain progress, the actual numbers are still far below equal gender representation, with particular underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership. There are only four female police officers holding the rank of chief inspector, which is at the same time the highest rank held by a female police officer, with no women holding the rank of chief inspector general, which is typically held by managers of police institutions or their deputies.

With regard to the legislation focusing on legal and employment status of staff of police and security agencies in all police structures across BiH, its analysis through the prism of gender equality indicated that the regulations are **not consistent, not gender sensitive and not harmonised with the Law on Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003)**. The analysed regulations exemplify

⁷ Good practice in this domain is found in the National police of Liberia which introduced Gender Department in its structure. Liberian National Police adopted gender policy in 2005 and established Gender Department in 2008, which was assigned to support, monitor and report on implementation of gender policy. The Department has a staff of seven persons whose work focuses on promotion of employment of women, integration of training on gender issues into police training, raising awareness of police of gender policy and the issue of violence against women and children and responding to reports filed against police officers for sexual harassment, domestic violence and failure to make alimony payments (Gaanderse and Valasek, 2011).

discrimination in language, given that they are all written in gender insensitive language and only a few introduced provisions on generic use of masculine gender to refer to both men and women, the practice which is neither justified nor should be treated as acceptable. In addition, all of these laws integrate provisions on ethnic representation, while only a few also address the issue of equal representation of women and men in the structure of police staff, which is a massive oversight. Finally, it is important to note that the analysed laws do not stipulate different criteria for promotion to a higher rank, which apply differently to women and men per se, but in practice these provisions put women into significantly less favourable position in comparison to men.

The situation is somewhat better in terms of representation of female police officers in peace missions where, although the number of female police officers from BiH who participated in peace missions remains low, it substantially increased since the first mission and is at the moment at 30%, which is certainly positive.

Final question is what could be done to improve the current situation. One of the ways to do it is to introduce a concept of gender sensitive policing, which is almost non-existent in police structures in BiH. As elaborated in more detail in Section 5, integration of these methods, which are not necessarily costly or complicated, will have direct impact on the increase of number, improvement of position and more successful integration of women in the police force, which will in turn facilitate more efficient response to community security needs.

Recommendations for Further Reading

The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of BiH (2018). *Specijalni izvještaj o nacionalnoj i spolnoj strukturi zaposlenih u policijsko-sigurnosnim agencijama u Bosni i Hercegovini (Special Report on Ethnic and Gender Structure of Staff of Police and Security Agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Banja Luka: The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Jozić, K. (2018). *Braniteljice ljudskih prava u policijskim strukturama Bosne i Hercegovine: Mehanizmi zaštite od diskriminacije (Human Rights Defenders in Police Structures of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Mechanisms of Protection Against Discrimination)*. Sarajevo: The Foundation of Local Democracy.

National Center for Women & Policing. (2001). *Recruiting & Retaining Women: A Self-Assessment Guide for Law Enforcement*. Los Angeles: National Center for Women & Policing.

References

- Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2014). *Akcioni plan za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 "Žene, mir i sigurnost" u Bosni i Hercegovini 2014-2017 (Action Plan for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014–2017)*. Sarajevo: Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH/Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2017). *Akcioni plan za implementaciju UNSCR 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u Bosni i Hercegovini za period 2018 - 2022. godine (Action Plan for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018–2022)*. Sarajevo: Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH /Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2018) *Gender akcioni plan Bosne i Hercegovine za period od 2018. do 2022. godine (Gender Action Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 – 2022)*. Sarajevo: Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH /Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Balgač, I. (2017). *Žene u policiji, rodni aspekti policijske prakse u Republici Hrvatskoj (Women in Police, Gender and Policing in the Republic of Croatia)*. Zagreb: Ministry of Interior.
- Bastick, M. (2014). *Integriranje rodnih pitanja u unutarnji nadzor nad policijskim snagama (Integrating Gender into Internal Police Oversight)*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE, OSCE/ODIHR.
- Becker, J., Bowah Brown, C., Fofana, I. A., Kuranchie, A. (2012). *Freedom through Association: Assessing the Contribution of Female Police Staff Associations to Gender – Sensitive Police Reform in West Africa*. Ottawa: The North-South Institute.
- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. (1995). Available on: https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.pdf (Accessed on 11 Dec 2019).
- Borovec, K., and Kutnjak Ivković, S. (2013). Croatia. U M. Nalla, and G. R. Newman, (ur.), *Community Policing in Indigenous Communities*. Boca Raton (str. 231–246). FL: CRC Press.
- Borovec, K., Ezgeta, I., Oršulić, M., Kirin, B., Veber, S., and Balgač, I. (2013). *Policijski rad okrenut zajednici: Priručni za policijske rukovoditelje i službenike (Community Policing: Manual for Police Commanders and Officers)*. Zagreb: Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Croatia.
- Centre for Security Studies. (2018). *Bosna i Hercegovina u Mirovnim misijama: doprinos održavanju mira širom svijeta (Bosnia and Herzegovina in Peace Missions: Contribution to Peace Keeping Worldwide)*. Sarajevo: Centre for Security Studies.
- Council of Europe. (2018). *Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2018-2023*. Available on: <https://rm.coe.int/strategy-en-2018-2023/16807b58eb> (Accessed on 7 Dec 2019).

- Crawford Seagram, B., and Stark-Adamec, C. (1992) Women in Canadian Urban Policing: Why Are They Leaving? *The Police Chief*, October, 120-127.
- Čaušević, J., and Zlotrg, S. (2011). *Načini za prevladavanje diskriminacije u jeziku u obrazovanju, medijima i pravnim dokumentima (Ways to Overcome Discrimination in Language, Education, Media and Legal Documents)*. Sarajevo: The Association for Language and Culture “Linguists” and The Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies of Sarajevo University.
- Delač, F., and Borovec. K. (2019). Stavovi prema određenim karakteristikama žena u policiji. *Policija i sigurnost godina, 28 (Views of Certain Features of Women in Police. Police and Security, year 28)*, (2), pp. 111–129.
- European Parliament. (2018). *Gender Neutral Language in the European Parliament*. Available on: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/187100/GNL_Guidelines_HR-original.pdf (Accessed on 11 Dec 2019).
- Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (1999). Available on: <https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/preuzimanje/biblioteka-ona/UN%20Konvencija%20o%20uklanjanju%20svih%20oblika%20diskriminacije%20%C5%BEena%20i%20Zaklju%C4%8Dni%20komentari%20Odbora%20na%202.%20i%203.%20izvje%C5%A1%C4%87e%20RH.pdf> (Accessed on 11 Dec 2019).
- Gaanderse, M., and Valasek, K. (ur.) (2011). *The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: A survey of police, defence, justice and penal services in ECOWAS states*. Geneva: DCAF.
- Home Office. (2019). *Police Workforce, England and Wales*. Available on: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/831726/police-workforce-mar19-hosb1119.pdf (Accessed on 10 Dec 2019).
- The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2018). *Specijalni izvještaj o nacionalnoj i spolnoj strukturi zaposlenih u policijsko-sigurnosnim agencijama u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Special Report on Ethnic and Gender Structure of Staff of Police and Security Agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* Banja Luka: The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Jozić, K. (2018). *Braniteljice ljudskih prava u policijskim strukturama Bosne i Hercegovine: Mehanizmi zaštite od diskriminacije. (Human Rights Defenders in Police Structures of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Mechanisms for Protection Against Discrimination)* Sarajevo: The Foundation of Local Democracy.
- Mastrofski, S. D. (2006, November 28-29). *Police Organisation and Management Issues for the Next Decade*. Paper presented at the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) Policing Research Workshop. Planning for the Future, Washington, DC. Available on: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/218584.pdf>. (Accessed on 18 Dec 2019).
- Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe. (2012). *Smjernice za rodno osjetljivu policijsku praksu (Guidelines for Gender Sensitive Policing)*. Belgrade: SEESAC.

- Natarajan, M. (2008). *Women Police in a Changing Society: Back Door to Equality*. London: Routledge.
- National Center for Women & Policing. (2001). *Recruiting & Retaining Women: A Self-Assessment Guide for Law Enforcement*. Los Angeles: National Center for Women & Policing.
- OSCE Polis: Sweden. Available on: <https://polis.osce.org/country-profiles/sweden> (Accessed on 10 Dec 2019).
- Prenzel, T., and Sinclair, G. (2013). The status of women police officers: An international review. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*. Available on: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcrj.2012.12.001> (Accessed on 10 Dec 2019).
- SEESAC (2015). *Women in Police Services in South-East Europe*. SEESAC.
- SEPCA (2010). *Establishing the Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network: Research finding*. Bulgaria: South East Europe Police Chiefs Association (SEPCA) Executive Secretariat.
- Sijerčić-Čolić, H. and Radičić, M. (2015). *Organizacija i nadležnost policijskih agencija u Bosni i Hercegovini (Organisation and Competencies of Police Agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Sarajevo: Perfecta.
- Silvestri, M. (2011). *Women in Charge: Policing, Gender and Leadership*. New York: Routledge.
- UN. (2008). *Resolution 1820 on Elimination of Gender-Based Violence in Armed Conflict*. Available on: [https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1820\(2008\)](https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1820(2008)) (Accessed on 13 Dec 2019).
- UN. (2009). *Resolution 1888 on Sexual Violence Against Women and Children in Situations of Armed Conflict*. Available on: [https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1888\(2009\)](https://undocs.org/en/S/RES/1888(2009)) (Accessed on 13 Dec 2019).
- UN. (2009). *Resolution 1889 on the Role of Women and Their Needs in Peace-Building Operations After the Armed Conflict*. Available on: <https://www.peacewomen.org/SCR-1889> (Accessed on 13 Dec 2019).
- United Nations. (1979). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. Available on: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cedaw.aspx> (Accessed on 11 Dec 2019).
- Council of Ministers of BiH. (2018). *Završni izvještaj o provedbi Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u Bosni i Hercegovini 2014-2017. godina. (Final Report on the Implementation of the Action Plan for the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014–2017)*.
- Security Council. (2000). *UNSCR 1325*. Available on: https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/preuzimanje/dokumenti/un/rezolucija_2000_1325.pdf (Accessed on 11 Dec 2019).
- Walker, S., and Irlbeck, D. (2002). *Driving while female: A national problem in police misconduct*. Omaha: Police Professionalism Initiative, University of Nebraska.

Wise and Centre for Security Studies. (2017). *Žene u službi sigurnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini (Women in the Service of Security in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Sarajevo: Centre for Security Studies.

Zeković, A. S. (2015). Inkluzivna bezbjednost: pristup policije osjetljivim i marginalizovanim grupama. (Inclusive Security: Approach of Police to Sensitive and Marginalised Groups) U A. S. Zeković, *Policijski integritet iz perspektive osjetljivih grupa: praktični vodič za rad policije sa osjetljivim i marginalizovanim društvenim grupama. (Police integrity from the perspective of sensitive and marginalised groups: practical guide for police for work with sensitive and marginalised groups)* Podgorica: Monte Negro Government/Ministry of Interior and Council for Civic Control of Police.

Legislative Sources

Law on Police and Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska, Official Gazette of Republika Srpska No: 57/16 and 110/16.

Law on Police Officers of Bosnian Podrinje Canton, Official Gazette of Bosnian Podrinje Canton, No. 12/06, 13/07, 8/08 and 7/09.

Law on Police Officers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 7/04, 63/04, 5/06, 58/06, 15/08, 63/08, 35/09 and 07/12.

Law on Police Officers of Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 04/08, 41/07, 36/09, 60/10, 37/14 and 13/16.

Law on Police Officers of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 27/05.

Law on Police Officers of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, Available on: <http://www.muphmk.ba/sites/default/files/dokumenti-legislativa/ZakonOpolicijskimSluzbenicimaHNZK-hrv.pdf>, (Accessed on 7 Dec 2019).

Law on Police Officers of Canton 10. Official Gazette of Canton 10, No. 4/07 and 8/08.

Law on Police Officers of Sarajevo Canton, Official Gazette of Sarajevo Canton, No. 25/06 and 4/08.

Law on Police Officers of Posavina Canton, Official Gazette of Posavina Canton, No. 8/07.

Law on Police Officers of Central Bosnia Canton, Available on: <https://www.mupsbkksb.gov.ba/images/zakoni/zakonps.pdf> (Accessed on 7 Dec 2019).

Law on Police Officers of Tuzla Canton, Official Gazette of Tuzla Canton, No. 6/06, 11/07 and 16/11.

Law on Police Officers of Una-Sana Canton, Official Gazette of Una-Sana Canton, No. 14/06, 5/08 and 3/14.

Law on Police Officers of West Herzegovina Canton, Official Gazette of West Herzegovina Canton, No. 8/07, 16/07, 13/08 and 17/08.

Law on Police Officers of Zenica-Doboj Canton, Official Gazette of Zenica-Doboj Canton, No. 8/06, 20/07, 9/09 and 14/13.

Law on Gender Equality in BiH, Official Gazette of BiH No. 16/03, 102/09 and 32/10.

Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 32/10.

Law on Internal Affairs of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 81/14.

Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, Official Gazette of BiH No. 59/09.

Asymmetrical Conflict and Gender Perspectives: Covid-19 Case Study

ZORAN DUSPARA, M.A.

Peace-Time Colonel of the BiH Armed Forces

1. Introduction

Although more than thirty years passed since the **fall of the Berlin Wall**, the event which we often regard as the historical reference point for the end of the Cold War, the geopolitical, geostrategic and especially global security scene has still not had its more prominent and more permanent dimensions. In the scientific sense, there is a lack of clearer quantification of the fundamental security factors, i.e. of the entirely evident new security paradigm. Why is that the case?

Maybe the remnants of that imposing, colossal, in the security sense certainly impressive Cold War, or as certain theoreticians called it the Great Peace, still determine the global security vectors. On the other hand, maybe the global security scene, when it lost one of the two key players, lost its "attractiveness" and became somewhat monotonous without the recognisable balance of fear and global tension. Most probably, both the theories have some basis and they can be specifically explained. Namely, it is a fact that when communism fell in 1989 (with the fall of the Berlin Wall) and when USSR ceased to exist in 1991, the entire world entered a new security era, but primarily a new political era which, at first glance, looked more positive and with better prospects than the previous one.

What happened suddenly, as collateral damage, is that **huge material resources and human military security resources became, in fact, unnecessary**. That

capacity, which was a stakeholder of a global bipolar order, was suddenly “liberated” after many years of political, ideological and overall mentorship of the so-call “Eastern Bloc”. That bloc was led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which was officially the leader and the boss, and communism was the only ideology which created the overall view of the world. On the other hand, the fact is that the NATO Alliance, led by the United States of America, experienced that major victory rather quietly, without euphoria and triumphalism, probably aware that, with the loss of the global security balance, a completely new security situation and new security prospects opened up, which in no way alleviated the possibility for the NATO principles and goals to be jeopardised.

In any case, after the first few years of “confusion” of the major global security actors, of the search for logical reasons why NATO needed to survive, a new global security principle was presented, which we could call some sort of a new global security determinant. That new principle was based on “partnership”, and no longer on conflict, like the one which fell through with the end of the Cold War. Of course, the leader of the implementation of the new security environment was the NATO Alliance. Suddenly, the world found itself in the midst of a new wave of integration processes which were not only security ones, but significantly economic ones, through the globalisation which was in full swing, and of course through political ones which mostly manifested themselves through the strengthening of the European Union.

Of course, not all countries could follow those processes in the same manner, some for objective reasons, because they either did not have the potential or the geostrategic position for it, and some because the major protagonists of globalisation (the most powerful countries of the world) did not give them any serious chance to do it. **Globalisation and the principle of liberal economy** moved forward unstopably, led by the capital and by the fascinating technical and technological progress, which trampled on everything along its path and which did not allow the world to take a breath before it provided the world with new progressive technological advancements. Unfortunately, this whole process was focused more on corporate profit than on meeting the basic needs of citizens. All the progress, apart from huge corporate profits, achieved certain benefits in the context of improvement of living standards. However, the coronavirus crisis shows that the biggest and the richest countries have the most problems with the functioning of their public health systems and with the provision of medical care to their own citizens. That is evidence that the “big” countries, which realistically benefitted most from the globalisation processes and from the dominance of the neoliberal capitalism, did not use the accumulated capital to improve the most

important segments of life, such as the public health system, or at least did not improve it sufficiently, because we have witnessed the collapse of public health systems in Italy, United States, France, Spain...

As it usually happened in similar historical times, all the euphoria that undoubtedly has had its positive sides which significantly make people's lives easier, also has had its by-products. During the celebration of the general progress brought about by the globalisation, the voice of those who did not feel that great could almost not be heard.

Those are the real-life situations, in which those who are smaller or weaker suffer, because they cannot keep abreast with developments. It is logical that, in such a situation, the achieved level of social justice, i.e. of democracy in general, also suffers, because the capital and its interest mostly trample over everything that stands in their way. It is logical that some actors of those social events, individually or collectively, start feeling neglected, discriminated against, and even disadvantaged. And finally, it creates a critical mass of marginalised and dissatisfied people, whose dissatisfaction may be the cause of a just and fair struggle to rectify those shortcomings, but also the cause of manipulation with the dissatisfaction and the creation of a negative security situation whose ultimate product is terrorism. In late 20th century, Malaysia was an economic wonder of the world, which was stopped somehow in parallel with the increasing globalisation and globalising processes. The then Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad wrote, "(...) the United Nations assesses that property held by two hundred richest people is bigger than the total income of 41% of the global population. Just imagine, property owned by two hundred people equals the total wealth of 2.5 billion of their fellow human beings" (Mahathir, 2002, p. 31). He further wrote that in 1960, the total income of the 20% of the richest people in the world was 30 times higher than that of the 20% of the poorest people in the world and that today that proportion, thanks to the wonders of globalisation, is no less than 85 times higher (Mahathir, 2002, p. 31). Robert Kagan illustrates these negative aspects of globalisation by invoking an old proverb, "When you have a hammer, all problems start to look like nails. That is true. But peoples who do not have great military power face the complete opposite danger: When you do not have a hammer, you do not want anything to look like a nail." (Kagan, 2003, p. 40).

Of course, in that prominent need for constant economic growth, which is generated by the omnipresent globalisation, almost everyone forgets the environment, which is mercilessly abused and destroyed, due to steamrolling technical and technological processes, without thinking whether the environment can sustain it and what will be the local and global consequences.

Hence, there is no longer a **mutual, bipolar proportional threat** nor conflict, but there are a number of hotspots which develop threats which are no longer proportional, no longer conventional and no longer recognisable and predictable. Those threats result in conflicts which are no longer predictable, whose dimensions it is almost impossible to predict and which, in the sense of the capacity to enter into a conflict, are nowhere near proportionality. In terms of the treatment of the new security phenomenon, the scientific circles borrowed a term from the technical sciences – **asymmetry**. In the security context, the term does not only denote the physical and technical disproportionality, but also overall inequality, unpredictability and a lack of knowledge, ranging from the material and spatial dimensions to the motivational dimension. Thus, the terms **asymmetrical threats and asymmetrical conflict** are something that directly affected the creation of a new security and military paradigm.

Therefore, we could note that the end of the Cold War, and all the subsequent events briefly discussed above, created a completely new security and military paradigm. A large number of theoreticians who research new security aspect, led by US theoreticians, call that new paradigm the “Fourth-generation Warfare”. Unlike previous generations of warfare, when nation-states organised the war and managed the armed forces and the military capacities, now those are, more and more, led by well-structured and ideologically networked groups which are not limited to state borders and to the existing institutions.

That new generation of warfare is, of course, most prominently represented by **terrorism**. In this asymmetrical warfare, the boundary between war and peace is so blurred that it is almost unrecognisable. In that warfare, it is very difficult to draw a clear line between politics and war, between the front line and the positions further back, between combatants and non-combatants, between military victims and civilian victims, and between the effects of asymmetric warfare on these population categories.

Hence, in order to elaborate further, we can emphasise **two most prominently manifested forms of asymmetrical conflict: terrorism and the conflict between man and nature** – i.e. the disproportional need of the mankind to exploit natural resources and the realistic possibility for the natural resources to face that and regenerate themselves afterwards. In terms of the latter form of the asymmetrical conflict, a lot has already been written and elaborated on, but what was done was either little or insufficient. Many scientists in the world have warned that the climate change is one of the greatest security challenges of today. Anthony Giddens warns, “There is evidence that more vapour is present in the

atmosphere than was the case a few decades ago, which contributes very much to the instability of the climate conditions, including the emergence of tropical storms and floods. In the last forty years, the westerly winds have become more frequent and stronger, most likely as a consequence of global warming” (Giddens, 2010, p. 30).

2. Is the Coronavirus an Asymmetrical Conflict with the Mankind?

When you read about or listen to scientific, political, economic or other types of discussions about new security threats, very often you will hear or read about the terms asymmetrical threat or asymmetrical conflict, without any additional explanations as to what those are. Maybe that is somewhat improper on the part of the scientific community towards the society, because it is expected of the scientific community, more than of anybody else, to provide answers to key questions and to identify the major scientific aspects of the topic. It may sound too much of a criticism, but maybe this crisis with the coronavirus showed more than ever the need for scientific efforts to focus precisely in the direction of identifying new security threats and challenges.

However, some research, although not much, was done and was scientifically verified and hence can be used as relevant. Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, we will use the following **definitions**: “**Asymmetrical conflicts are conflicts** which may be armed or non-armed, functional or dysfunctional in a version of the conventional or non-conventional performance with a prominent disproportion of overall capacities of the actors to the conflict. Its dimensions are very changeable, from spatial and temporal dimensions, through the capacities involved in the conflict, to the psychological and motivational dimensions” (Duspara, 2012, p. 118).

When it comes to the threats, we cannot call them asymmetrical (although they are called just that very often, even in scientific literature) because it is almost impossible to define them as such, and it is also a fairly thankless task to do that. Most simply said, they are essentially unconventional, i.e. all those threats we have not treated as a threat have shown themselves to be a threat to security, directly or indirectly. Can we call the **pandemic of the coronavirus an asymmetrical security threat**, which threatens to turn into an asymmetrical conflict between the coronavirus and mankind, i.e. the world?

If we accept the theory that the **fundamental structure of conflicts** consists of: interests, goals, will and power of the actors (Beridan, 2003, p. 19), then this certainly is a conflict, and asymmetrical at that, because many of the capacities

in the conflict are disproportional and very much unknown. Precisely because of that, it is important to identify the fundamental setup of this conflict, in order to be able to find as effective an answer as possible.

Therefore, **parties to the conflict** are: the whole of mankind, on the one hand, and nature, on the other (because the virus is an integral part of nature, however it may have originated, and the nature is its most logical habitat). Evidently, that is a non-armed conflict and weapons are certainly not the capacity which would have a significant impact on the outcome. Unconventionality is very prominent in one of the parties (nature), and the other side uses, as a rule, the conventional forces (the military) and its resources although, honestly speaking, the military does not play the crucial role in this conflict and it is definitely a secondary force. It is very difficult to frame this conflict, primarily in its temporal dimension and certainly in the intensity of outburst and duration.

At the time when this paper was written, the number of infected people in the world was close to three million and the epidemic was ongoing. No one knew nor dared forecast how long the epidemic would last. This conflict, for now, cannot be connected to any form of terrorism, because there is no political phenomenon which would appear in any of the dimensions of this crisis. As always in similar situations, there is an array of disinformation and speculation which is essentially more of a new security problem rather than assistance to resolve the existing coronavirus problem. In my view, we can be highly certain that no one on earth has full control of this security threat.

Be that as it may, it is a fact that the **entire world is blocked by this conflict**, that everything stopped and that, in some way or other, the whole world has been “reset” and the world order, the established social norms and standards, as well as values and morals, have been thrown into question. One could say that the world suddenly became smaller, not in physical terms, but in terms of perception, that people feel closer to each other and show more solidarity in adversity. The fact is that all the major religious communities in the world have adjusted and in fact supported the efforts of the civilian authorities in the fight against this problem, and there was no serious resistance against the imposed measures, which have significantly reduced the religious activities as well. This is certainly a positive fact and should be pointed out as such. This is also a very important fact in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the three biggest religious communities wield exceptional influence among the citizens, in every sense, including the security one. It is difficult to find in the recent past or in the distant past of mankind an event or a situation which managed to have such a global impact.

It is difficult to find a historical conflict which could measure up to this one. We can remind ourselves of several similar situations in history, such as the Spanish Flu immediately after the end of World War I, or of some of the epidemiological phenomena from the recent past, but the coronavirus has already had the biggest imprint in the modern history. It will certainly be the subject of all types of future research and observations.

This asymmetrical conflict between mankind and nature has several **paradoxical implications** which are difficult to understand in the times of absolute domination of technological advancements. It is somewhat unreal that the best cure or prevention is to not touch each other and to reduce physical contact, but not social contact, as it is constantly and wrongly termed. The introduction of the 5G technology is upon us and it will offer not only smartphones, but also smart refrigerators, as well as technologies which promote Artificial Intelligence and whose creation of the artificial borders on the perverse while, at the same time, there is no adequate protection from the “common” virus, which is in essence just a “variation” of the common cold. Of course, one should not fall into the trap of rumours and disinformation, which appear here and there, and for whom the technical and technological advancements are the guilty ones. One should admit that the achieved level of technological advancement significantly mitigated the consequences of this crisis, ranging from online classes to telecommuting in a range of difficult tasks. Hence, one must seriously push back against very wrong and malicious attempts to compromise the very necessary technological advancements.

Only a few months ago, there was almost a **global political consensus** that **terrorism was the biggest contemporary threat**. One needed a lot of time, academic discussions and huge scientific efforts to reach such a conclusion. However, that stance is now profoundly shaken and it will again be necessary to invest significant efforts in all of that. However unimportant this may seem at this moment, one can justifiably suppose that it is, because it will involve a lot of money and a lot of resources.

Although terrorism was identified as the most prominent form of a manifested asymmetric conflict and although biological terrorism is one of the variants of terrorism, and we can find points of contact between the two when we observe this conflict, in my view, this conflict should be perceived in another asymmetrical context.

Why is it important to view this entire situation also through the prism of the asymmetrical conflict between mankind and nature? Primarily to put it into

context, and to emphasise the field to which it really belongs, and what it really is, in the sense of the overall perception. It is important to identify the fundamental content of the conflict, in order to better understand what it is all about, and what is happening to us. Ultimately, it is important to be able to organise ourselves and to build our overall capacities, as one of the sides in this conflict. It is also important to note the following, “Just as it is important for the national politics to react to climate change, it is also important for an efficient reaction to be multilateral – it must imply cooperation between countries, even those whose other interests confront each other.” (Giddens, 2009, p. 23) Therefore, this **dimension is a global one** and all efforts must be synchronised and globally coordinated.

It is very important for all the segments of the society and of the government to understand it properly, because the emergence of this threat did not mean the disappearance of the old threats we have taken into account until now. The best example of that is the **earthquake in Zagreb** on 22 March this year. Unfortunately, I had the opportunity that morning to witness directly how two unconventional threats manifested themselves: the earthquake (a devastating one) and the epidemic, which was about to reach its peak. Some of the scenes on that cold Sunday morning in Zagreb looked really apocalyptic and unreal. Namely, the epidemic forced the people to stay at home, while the earthquake destroyed their houses and apartments and forced them out.

One must admit that the authorities at all levels functioned extraordinarily well in those difficult moments. The military reacted quickly through their well-rehearsed protection and rescue procedures. The Crisis Staff coordination at all levels was timely and of high quality, including when they conducted rescue operations (some of them were very complicated, e.g. rescuing and caring for pregnant women or delivering babies during and immediately after the earthquake). All the social actors, including the media, succeeded in decreasing panic and stress after the initial shock. One must note a very important positive role played by women, including the doctors who managed those activities in the professional sense. The Zagreb example may provide the best illustration of the above theory that it would be very important to identify those phenomena as a permanent threat or a permanent challenge that one must take into account, in order to essentially properly position oneself.

It is also important to note another lesson learned from the Zagreb earthquake and from the pandemic until now. The fact is that the omnipotent politics is not at the forefront here, but the experts who are the only ones who can deal with these threats on behalf of mankind. Those countries which understood that on time and which acted accordingly have fared better until now.

Politicians will have to initiate discussions involving all other segments of society, after the pandemic, to try to provide answers as to why have the most developed countries, such as the US, UK, Spain and Italy, had the most problems and the worst response of their national health systems to this threat. How is it possible that the public health systems and the health care of the population in the most developed democracies of the world was so bad and ultimately inhumane towards the most vulnerable segments of the population? How is it possible that the powerful European Union fell silent and in fact disappeared from the scene during these difficult days? Where did the Old Lady and the famous European solidarity disappear? Many more answers will need to be provided.

However, when one sets out to analyse various segments of this global crisis, one will have to notice that countries such as Iceland, Finland, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Taiwan and Germany were one step ahead of the others in dealing successfully with this calamity. They will have to notice that the reasons were the directness, honesty and courage of women leaders of those countries to present the issues transparently to their citizens and to deal with the troubles head on. What they will also have to notice is a large degree of confidence of the populations in their leaders in these difficult times. Also, that women are the leaders of those countries. That is a relevant fact to be taken into account in the overall analyses.

Of course, after comprehensive and detailed analyses at all levels, there will have to be a reorganisation of many security systems and many other systems at every level, from the local one to the global one. As usual, one can imagine that there will be many hindsight critics, but there will be real needs for change, and even the need to dismantle the existing ways of thinking about the role and the mission of armed forces, maybe even the creation of a new security paradigm.

3. Military's Help and Assistance to Civilian Institutions in Natural and Man-made Disasters as the Key Future Mission of a Military Organisation

Another significant lesson learned from the unfortunate events in Zagreb became evident regarding the above-mentioned joint effects of the two very unpleasant threats, earthquake and pandemic. That is the engagement of the military at the moment of the most difficult crisis. Namely, it turned out to be very wise, very effective and, in every sense, very good to engage specialised units of the Croatian military with trained personnel and adequate equipment. That effectiveness was shown in the direct removal of physical danger (clearing the

debris, protecting streets and other buildings from dangerous debris, etc.), but also in the psychological sense, because it had a very positive effect on people who were afraid and shocked, to whom the image of an organised institution (especially the military) helping them was very beneficial. One must admit, with all due respect to the firefighters, medical staff and all others, that this engagement of the military was somehow the most prominent.

The engagement of the military started even before the earthquake, i.e. immediately after the proclamation of the epidemic in a very coordinated and synchronised manner with other actors in that situation. This is not the case only in Croatia, which we have observed specifically due to the earthquake as an additional threat, but also in most countries of the region, Europe and beyond. It is important to notice that the engagement of the armed forces, in a large majority of countries, was not repressive in any sense or context, but humanitarian and solely in the field of protection and rescue. Croatia is an example of a Member State of the NATO Headquarters and of the European Union and, in my view, it is very illustrative in the context of identifying prospects of the most important missions of a military organisation in the future.

We can remind ourselves of the 2014 **major floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, when the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (AFBiH) played a key role in providing humanitarian aid, but also in saving vulnerable people, when they were essentially the only organised institution of the state which acted efficiently. Neither in Zagreb nor in BiH, in 2014, the floods were not the only threat. Namely, landslides made an already difficult situation more difficult both for the ordinary people and for AFBiH in rescue operations. There is no doubt that floods and landslides were a direct consequence of man's actions towards nature (we can call them hostile: uncontrolled logging, pollution of riverbeds...) and that those phenomena can be regarded as sort of a response of the nature towards mankind.

We can say that this wrong attitude of man towards nature, apart from the above-mentioned security threats, creates a number of direct or implied situations, which are or will manifest themselves as a threat to mankind. Ultimately, the emergence of the coronavirus cannot be viewed in any other way that in the context of relations between man and nature.

The challenge of migrants, which is now somewhat on the back burner, will certainly escalate again and it is very difficult to predict its dynamic of development and intensity of manifestation. This problem, apart from the obvious political dimension, which created it and still manages it, has a number of collateral effects, which will emerge very soon as challenges, and some of

them most probably emerge as serious threats. The spectrum of impacts of those challenges is very wide, from humanitarian to security impacts.

Here we did not focus on possible **technical and technological disasters**, which may have unforeseen consequences, in every sense, for the community. Of course, those are the challenges and possible threats one needs to take into account when reorganising and redesigning the military organisation, i.e. when its legal mission is determined.

Following these several examples, it is evident that military organisations are more and more important in protection and rescue, and that the conventional approach to “military defence”, i.e. the approach that the military preserves the physical integrity against an attack from another army at the borders, is changing more and more. However, since we live in a democracy and in an era where the neoliberal capitalism is ever more present and ever more determining, the following question always arises: How much does it cost?

Of course, in a democracy, it is completely understandable and justifiable and taxpayers have the right to know what happened to their money. That brought new challenges to the modern, post-Cold War military organisation, as well as needs to reorganise and even redesign the classical military organisation. This situation, at the global security scene, created a new concept of the so-called “collective defence”, based on the principles of partnership led by NATO, but through a special program and approach of the so-called “smart defence”. The simplest interpretation of that concept would be as the one trying to be as effective as possible with as little money as possible.

Those who are familiar with military sciences will agree that there is no other way to fulfil the above goals and for the “smart defence” to gain ground than to try to integrate as many skills and capabilities into an individual soldier or into as small a unit as possible. That way of thinking initiated a number of other aspects and made them more or less relative. Thus, it may happen that an important strategic goal is resolved by a single soldier or by a minimum number of super trained and “multipotent” soldiers.

The global increase in threats from terrorism drastically changed the **perception of major aspects of conflict and elements of conventional conflict**. For example, what is the front line or conflict zone? That can now literally be any corner of the globe, including our own living room, the same as the presidential office of the most powerful people in the world, or some desert at the end of the world. Also, it is very difficult to discern all the other aspects or elements of

this form of asymmetrical conflict (terrorism), from actors to engaged capacities, and they require additional forces and resources, but also additional ways and doctrines to counter them.

In accordance with all of the above, we can conclude that the physical integrity, but also sovereignty of a country may be breached, but also must be defended throughout the territory of the country, on land and in the sky, and not only on its borders. Accordingly, now the military receives greater authority and tasks to act and assist other institutions within the state, and not only on the outer borders.

Let us remind ourselves of the **tasks from the mission of AFBiH** as an illustration of the above-mentioned: participation in collective security operations, in peace support operations, and in self-defence, including the fight against terrorism, provision of military defence to Bosnia and Herzegovina and its nationals in case of attack, assistance to civilian authorities in response to natural disasters and other disasters, demining in BiH and fulfilment of BiH international commitments.

The latest security developments clearly show that the role of the military is ever more important when it comes to providing assistance to the civilian authorities during natural disasters and other disasters. We can say that this is not only the case in BiH, but a regional and even a global trend. Also, we can evidently say that all of these topics mentioned in this part of the text are part of the field and context of the asymmetrical conflict. All the variations which may appear, from the hybrid warfare to special cyber operations, will undoubtedly fall under the context and perception of the asymmetrical conflict and treat them as such in every sense, including in the sense of scientific research.

Finally, as one of the conclusions of this elaboration, it is almost certain that, both locally and globally, one of the key tasks of the armies in the world will be to provide **help and assistance to the civilian authorities in natural and technological disasters**. In time, they will absorb, more and more, the conventional tasks called the “protection of sovereignty and integrity of the state”, because the threats also change in that direction.

Since the **civilian oversight of the defence sector** ensured a democratic approach in every segment of the establishment and activity of a military organisation, the effort invested by all the democratic institutions in order for certain democratic standards and a level of fundamental human rights to be enjoyed, as much as possible, in military organisations is logical. A military organisation, by nature, is more conservative than other institutions, but it too experiences changes, and the need for the enjoyment of fundamental human rights and other democratic

principles to be raised to the highest possible level is ever more prominent. When we talk about this, then we primarily have to discuss gender equality, i.e. the right of women and men to participate in the creation, but also in the implementation, of safety and security activities. We can rightly say that the fall of the Eastern Bloc and the end of the Cold War first opened and later brought this issue to the fore.

It would require a lot of time and space to explained why this is so, but the fact is that, throughout history, the discrimination against women has been very prominent. Because of a very present bias that the military, the warfare, even the planning and creation of the environment, of documents, as well as all the security issues in general, were solely “male” tasks, very many mistakes were made and women were unnecessarily denied the right to participate more actively in security issues. Lacking proper arguments (and it is difficult to find them at all), the issue was always explained through **unfounded essentialisms**, i.e. through “biological” difference between men and women, starting from the wrong presuppositions that the “biological” sex predisposes people to work in security jobs. Of course, some traditional elements, which are closely connected to religious issues, certainly to the issues of the social order in the country, and to the understanding of the status of women in the society, etc, closely contributed to that.

Of course, this is wrong, deeply unjust and discriminating against women. Ultimately, there is a major question what would have been the outcomes, consequences and results of all those wars had women participated in proportion to the engagement and decision-making by men. Although, at this moment, it is impossible to prove, yet on the basis of observations of qualitative changes brought about by the presence of women in decision-making places, one can pose an open question as to whether there would have been so many victims and so much destruction had women participated more in decision-making. The final step forward in rectifying that injustice has been evident in the past ten years even in the part of the world, which, during the bipolar division of the world, was on the side ruled by communism.

Rich and democratic Western countries noticed this problem much earlier and began to resolve it. We can undoubtedly say that, in the context of everything else, that was also one of the reasons why they won the global Cold War.

Participation in the military provides the most evident opportunity to gain insight and to quantify changes in that field. Of course, security cannot be viewed separately from other segments of the society and from the engagement in those other segments, especially in politics. Thanks to the fact that there is a symbiosis

of efforts of all the democratic institutions in the country, but primarily thanks to the engagement of the international community (NATO, OSCE, UN, embassies in BiH), one could feel a significant positive step forward in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Implementation of the provisions of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was recognised in the past years in AFBiH as significant, not only declaratively but also through a sincere approach and recognition at all levels of MoD and AFBiH, and through very practical activities. There was a breakthrough in the general perception of the issue, not only in security institutions, but in all other state-level fields of work.

With a very adequate engagement of international community institutions in BiH, there was constant coordination of MoD and AFBiH with those institutions, and with others in BiH and in all the neighbouring countries on the issue of gender perspective. In the past few years, there were continuous efforts on the true promotion of the implementation of UN Resolution 1325. All those activities had a significant effect on relaxing the internal and external environment, when it comes to AFBiH. One can proudly point out the fact that the percentage of women in AFBiH is constantly increasing and is now close to 8%. The fact is that one can feel and see positive steps forward also in other fields of AFBiH concerning the participation of women, ranging from the participation in career trainings to the participation in peace support operations outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is very important to point out that all these positive processes enjoy a significant level of continuity, consistency and vitality, as well as a sincere approach by the key management of both MoD and AFBiH.

4. What After the Coronavirus?

One of the biggest specificities of this global crisis is the fact that none of the key questions regarding the coronavirus have answers. Although everything began early this year (and that is also very questionable), there is still no explicit answer to any of the important questions which concern, literally, the fate of the entire world. It is somewhat absurd that in the 21st century, in the times of overall domination of technology, even after four months of absolute paralysis of life on planet earth we do not have an adequate response to this threat. It is frustrating for all the inhabitants of this beautiful planet because, at first glance, everything looks normal, the same as this time last year but, in essence, everything has changed.

We know that the technology has become so powerful that we can have the world in the palm of our hand, by using an ordinary mobile phone and that all the

opportunities provided by the information technology seem somewhat unreal. The fact is that the mankind is already used to the benefits of the technological advancements and how then to explain that the world capitulated without making much noise?!

However, let us not add fuel to the fire by encouraging the growing global frustration with new questions which remain without answers. One should cross from one hypothesis which refers to present-day developments to another hypothesis regarding the future, i.e. regarding the times when this thing ends (it will hopefully end some day). I know that it is not proper, or even scientifically correct, to base the entire observation, which has an ambition to be scientific, just on a hypothesis, but it simply cannot be done otherwise at this moment. The alternative would be to not try anything, but that is not a version which is relevant to us. Hence, what can happen to us after the coronavirus?

One thing is certain, the global economy has suffered, medically speaking, a severe heart attack that it will be very difficult to recover from. The facts are that, for the first time after more than 20 years, China has experienced a downturn in gross domestic product, and the price of oil hit record lows due to the decrease in demand. Let us connect the dots and see what these two facts imply. It is almost certain that the world is about to enter into a new recession and a global economic crisis whose dimensions it is difficult to imagine at this moment, because the specific damage is yet unknown (pessimists even forecast a depression). It is a major question how the recovery would reflect on the current geostrategic and geopolitical state of the international community. The fact is that the leading global players, whether nation-states (China, US, UK, Spain, Italy...), or unions and alliances (European Union, NATO...) have been quite shaken and have looked the least prepared for all of this and had the most cumbersome response to the crisis.

The question is whether this dynamic, and it must be intensive, will reflect on the political context? Will it be some new globalisation which will again have integration processes as its goals or will the ever-present sovereignty manifest itself more significantly, thus weakening the position, power and influence of the European Union as a super state or of NATO as the Big Brother.

What is the most important to us is how the small countries will fare in all that, and especially Bosnia and Herzegovina with all its specificities which were difficult, sometimes too difficult, even without the coronavirus crisis. It can be expected, and it is somehow logical, that in the very beginning, everyone will fend for themselves, as it turned out to be the most practical to do during the crisis itself. However, that is certainly not the permanent solution, because the

problem is not local but global, and it leads us to rely on each other, whether we want it or not. Hence one can assume that the recovery will have to integrate all the positive global and local efforts and capacities.

It is also to be expected that the dynamism and increased intensity, which is unavoidable, during the recovery from the coronavirus crisis, will damage and desecrate the achieved democratic standards, the level of respect of human rights and other democratic aspects of the modern society. It is my personal opinion that it will, and I only hope that it will not do it to a large degree. It is logical that, after major crises, during the time of recovery, chiefly at the national level, people start to homogenise mostly around traditional values. At that moment, those who are different become a target, regardless of whether they are doing anything, because they look differently, act differently or have a different stance. This is certainly going to be a great democratic challenge for all levels of human beings' social and political manner of organisation. It should be expected that the issue of gender perspective and the gender equality issue in general will face certain obstructions, much more at a local level than at a global level.

Let us go back to the beginning of this text and to the definition of this crisis as an asymmetrical conflict between man and nature. We are witnesses that the nature has been recovering these past few months from everyday oppression committed by the mankind (which is even a good thing), while the entire world is astounded by what happened to it. Is that sufficient evidence that, at least at the moment, we are much weaker than the nature? It is a sufficient sign to us that, in numerous analyses which will follow, we will have to seriously take into account the nature as a very relevant actor, and not only as an object at our service? Because if it happens that we push away this unfortunate virus, we must not forget that it will remain in the environment, because that is the only place it can be pushed to, and that it can aggrieve us again, or another virus of the same family.

What could be identified as the most important conclusions regarding this asymmetrical threat, in the context of the gender perspective? Firstly, one must carefully record all the relevant phenomena regarding this pandemic, when it comes to the percentages of women and men who were infected and who recovered, in order for the data to be used adequately in future analyses. Identify any possible specificities which affect gender differences in the observation of this crisis, from social to biological. It is necessary to respect medical recommendations, and to support and encourage medical professionals to engage more intensively at all levels of the society. It is entirely evident that this crisis cannot be resolved locally, although it requires local efforts and engagement, but

through global coordination and synchronized action of mankind. Finally, it is big question will we become better human beings, globally, regionally, locally, or personally? Will we show more humility, modesty, act more humanely towards each other? Will we understand those who are frailer than we are, who cannot do the things that we can, who are weak and elderly, those who are different from us?

Recommendations for Further Reading

Beck, U. (2003). *Što je globalizacija. (What is Globalization)* Zagreb: Vizura.

Duspara, Z. (2012). *Asimetrični konflikt. (Asymmetrical Conflict)* Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga.

Kagan, R. (2003). *O raju i moći: Amerika i Evropa u novom svetskom poretku. (Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order)* Beograd: Čarobna knjiga.

Bibliography

Beridan, I. (2003). *Konflikti. (Conflicts)* Sarajevo: Political Science Faculty.

Duspara, Z. (2012). *Asimetrični konflikt. (Asymmetrical Conflict)* Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga.

Giddens, A (2010). *Klimatske promjene i politika. (The Politics of Climate Change)* Novi Sad: Clio.

Kagan, R. (2003). *O raju i moći, Amerika i Evropa u novom svetskom poretku. (Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order)* Beograd: Čarobna knjiga.

Mahathir, bin M. (2002). *Globalizacije i nove realnosti. (Globalisation and the New Realities)* Sarajevo: Ljiljan.

Behind the Statistics: A Feminist Take on Militarisation

JASMINA ČAUŠEVIĆ, MSc.

Independent Gender Equality Expert

1. Introduction

Although many feminists, including anti-militarist feminists, argue that **gender mainstreaming** has blunted the blade of feminism and opened the door to donor policies and non-governmental organisations, which simplified feminist fight and weakened transnational nature of the feminist movement, we must wonder what equality situation would be like and where women would be today had it not been for the ideas that promote gender mainstreaming. We understand this term the way it was explained by Jadranka Rebeka Anić citing the Glossary titled: *100 Words for Equality* – in essence, it is about gender-conscious policy making, in other words:

The systematic integration of the respective situations, priorities and needs of women and men in all policies and with a view to promoting equality between women and men and mobilising all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account, at the planning stage, their effects on the respective situations of women and men in implementation, monitoring and evaluation (Anić, 2011, p. 26)

Put simply, as Anić explains, gender mainstreaming means that any planning, implementation and evaluation of any social, economic or political intervention, all of which are strongly interconnected, should take into account different needs of women and men and ensure that those interventions are implemented in gender-responsive manner:

That makes it clear that gender-responsive policy does not solely apply to women and that it applies to men too, as well as that the issue of equality is not a separate issue, but rather an integral element of overall social relations. In addition, gender-responsive policy is not an abstract, predefined policy of equality; instead, decision-makers should accept the responsibility for design and implementation of gender-responsive policies that would benefit both women and men in everyday political and other decision-making processes. (Anić, 2011, str. 27)

The topic of gender and security certainly would not exist in public discourse in the way we perceive it today without the influence of gender mainstreaming. The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” was the first resolution that precisely mapped the impact of armed conflict on women in general, pointed to the fact that women were not represented at the positions that could possibly prevent armed conflict, and highlighted that women should participate in peace and security building efforts on equal footing with men. The text below, looks into contemporary theory that aims to overcome significant obstacles present in this area from the beginning – the notions that argue correlation between women, subordination, militaristic ideas, patriarchy; reality and the relationship between the role of women in military structures and feminism. It will become clear by the end how far those notions took us and whether they just opened new questions, making it impossible to call for the specific action.

2. Paradox of Militarism

Back in 1938, **Virginia Woolf** addressed in her essay “Three Guineas”, the question of whether women could contribute to peace and prevent war. Although the position of women and paradigm of warfare changed a lot since her time, the question of how women could contribute to peace remains both current and without an answer, just as it was in 1938, when Virginia Woolf answered her interlocutor as follows: “...its question – How in your opinion are we to prevent war? - is still unanswered...” Answering another question in 2006, Ida Sabo, a revolutionary, partisan, President of Anti-Fascism Front of Women of Vojvodina and Member of the Presidency of SFRY, expressed her take on the issue and highlighted that equality was not presented as a gift or simply given to the women of Yugoslavia, explaining that they **fought for it and won it for themselves**, as a result of their mass participation in national-liberation – with weapons in their hands.

In the attempt to create a context for the complex paradox of militarism, relying on modern feminist philosophy, we need to remind ourselves at the outset of the teaching of anti-militarist branch of feminism, whose main premise is that patriarchy uses warfare for the purpose of preserving its own domination, that no army is there to keep peace and that the purpose of the army is militarism and violence, which is why everyone, and women in particular, should demonstrate civil disobedience to the nation and the army. There are several **principles of antimilitarism** which have been in place for a hundred years. One of them is the following – each war is unfair and should be opposed, because everyone has responsibility as a citizen for what the government is doing in their name. Feminist principle that transcends any boundaries, the principle of solidarity with anyone who is oppressed on class, ethnic, sexual or any other ground, strongly supports antimilitarism. **Pacifist branch** of antimilitarist feminism, on the other hand, relies on peace negotiations and institutional peace agreements (Zaharijević, 2012, p. 516), and argues, for that reason, that women should be involved in these processes, even if we are to reluctantly agree that women in military structures play by the men's rules. Speaking of militarism, patriarchy and peace movements, Cynthia Cockburn and Cynthia Enloe (2012), explain as follows:

Feminists pointed to the fact that wars (as well as war preparations) rely on specific types of masculinity – not just one type, several of them: militarised masculinity of weapons engineer, civilian “expert” in national security, sexist politician, fathers who talk their sons into joining and fighters holding weapons (p. 552).

In the same conversation they call for men to accept their share of responsibility and admit that “*since masculinity is part of the problem, men should be part of the solution*”, while warning moments later that “*patriarchy also relies on those men from academic circles who think that they can study masculinity without serious consideration of women and notions of femininity*” (Cockburn & Enloe, 2012, p. 554).

A statistical indicator of several years ago shows galloping trend of **global militarisation** and specifies that almost a trillion (so a million million) of dollars is spent world-wide on weapons. On the other hand, just for the sake of comparison, it would take 37 billion dollars a year to provide drinking water and sanitation, 24 billion to cut famine in half, 12 billion dollars to cover all benefits and cost of prenatal protection, 5 billion to eradicate illiteracy, 3 billion dollars to inoculate each child in third-world countries (Šimleša, 2016, p. 28). According

to the unverified piece of information that strikes the same note, it is argued that free education could be provided to every child in the world, if the global military spending was stopped for only eight days. This utopian notion could perhaps sound pathetic, but it also opens discussion on different types of relationships between education and militarism. One of those relationships is to be found in militarisation of primary and secondary education. Erica Meiners and Therese Quinn, published an article on the subject in an American socialist magazine, in which they argued on specific implications of interference of the army in public education and the impact such interference has on the most vulnerable groups of youth in the United States. They argued that in addition to reshaping our own understanding of complexity of the phenomenon of militarisation in education, it was also necessary to criticise and end the trend of normalisation of militarisation in public schools in the United States, by explicitly demanding that military power is kept away from children and the public education system (Meiners and Quinn, 2011).

Question is if antimilitant, **anticapitalistic feminist society** can even exist in practice. The Rojava women demonstrate that such system could function, but for the time being, it must include war and violence, in other words, a militaristic imperative, both as its reflection and its negation. Just as a reminder, Turkish army illegally occupied the region of Afrin in Syria, which had particular impact on women, because rape and other forms of violence were being used on massive scale as the weapons of war, just as they were on countless other occasions throughout the recorded human history.

The revolution in Rojava, located in the north-eastern Syria, was a revolution of all women in the world. Kurdish, Arab, Ezidi and many other women of the region inspire and give hope to women worldwide who fight for a better world. Rojava women insist that anti-patriarchy fight is the most important fight to be won. The Women Defend Rojava movement declares on its site that the women of Rojava dedicated their lives to revolution, their freedom and freedom of their communities and that their fight concerns all women and men who want to create better world, truly liberated from the shackles of gender roles, based on principles of environment protection and socialist values (2012).

There are actually quite a few examples of anticapitalistic feminist societies. In his book under the title: "Anarchy Works", antimilitant activist, Peter Gelderloos (2013) cites numerous examples of communities that have found ways to **balance their gender relations**. Here is just one example that focuses on Haudenosaunee, better known as Iroquois, a matrilineal egalitarian society in the Eastern North America.

While European civilisation uses gender divisions to socialise people within the firmly defined roles and oppress women, queer and transgender people, gender division of labour and social roles within the Haudenosaunee community serve the purpose of maintaining balance and give each group autonomy and power, allowing for more latitude to change one's gender in comparison with western societies. For hundreds of years, Haudenosaunee coordinated with many other nations using federal structure with male and female councils at each level of organisation. At what could be interpreted as national level, which dealt with issues of war and peace, male council made decisions, but female council had the power of veto. Women had more influence at local level (p. 18).

Feminists' fight has always been there, fought **simultaneously** at many fronts. Even this sentence itself, illustrates how difficult it is to evade the discourse of militarism. The only question is whether and to what extent can we use it selectively for antimilitary feminist agenda.

3. Troubles with the Resolution

Resolution 1325 called upon the states 20 years ago, to devise strategies and rely on education on gender equality to ensure women are recognised as essential in peace keeping. The instruments that preceded it, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the UN documents adopted in the fourth international conference focusing on women in 1995, started with the basic premise that rights of women were human rights. These documents highlighted that broad institutional changes were necessary to decrease military spending and enable global promotion of human rights and non-violent conflict resolution, adding that it was also necessary to ensure participation of women in peace-making and conflict resolution processes and protect women in war zones and camps.

In late 2019, Nejra Nuna Čengić interviewed feminist theoretician, author and professor Cynthia Enloe, who focuses on understanding of the relationship between **militarism** and patriarchy and warns that the proponents of militarism rely on the way we think. The interview highlighted the following important question: "What does any of us imagine we celebrate as we mark national holidays? Do we celebrate the victory in some past war, or do we perhaps celebrate our shared aspiration to justice, respect and equality? There are some rather diverse ideas out there on what we actually celebrate. The first notion of

a national holiday may serve to spread the seed of militarism, while the other is much less likely to lead us in that direction. It is precisely in this gap that the complexity of the relationship between militarism and antimilitarism is hidden, along with the pitfall of taking final, resolute position on the issue. Cynthia Enloe continues her reflections and adds:

Patriarchy and militarism are certainly broad concepts. But each and every one of us lives in the vortex of petty daily conundrums of life. I therefore believe that these concepts are only useful to the extent each of us uses them to shed some light on our chaotic realities. For me, patriarchy and militarism are not the end of the story. Rather, they are what pushed me to be more curious. Both motivate me to imagine fairer, more peace-loving alternatives.

The text will show if UNSCR 1325 is one of those alternatives, when it briefly touches upon the topic of feminist ethics. It is generally believed that women make traditionally male environments more humane, and the question why women have the role of corrective power is certainly, culturally speaking, an interesting one. “The atmosphere is certainly better and men act with more decency when women are around (no foul language) and everything seems better in some way.” These are the words used by one of the participants in the survey conducted by Zorica Mršević and Svetlana Janković, titled “Influence of Feminist Theory on Participation of Women in the Armed Forces of Serbia” (2019, p. 291). The same observation was made by a Tibetan lama a hundred years ago, speaking about monasteries “... monks and nuns worked harmoniously side by side and made a perfectly organised community in which the atmosphere used to be much more pleasant than in pure male communities” (Rampa, 1986, p. 108).

Although this text deals with the feminist discourse on UNSCR 1325, we will briefly refer to the study under the title: “A Feminist Perspective on Post-Conflict Restructuring and Recovery – The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, which focuses on the BiH Reform Agenda 2015–2018. Authors of the study introduce the topic of **economic instability** because they believe that the reforms introduced with the view of accomplishing general security in the society must also strive to accomplish socially justified economic development and growth.

Economic instability and financial stress negatively impact both women and men. But for men, especially for those who support their families, whose identity is closely tied to that role, due to gender

divisions of labour and power, joining armed forces can reasonably be considered important in terms of the benefit or status within the group. In addition to the fact that economic reform deepens gender inequality and discrimination, it also has a bearing on some of the most fundamental causes of conflict, by exacerbating hardship and instigating mobilisation of militarised masculinities, while at the same time, marginalizing women and their ability to prevent conflict (Mlinarević et al, 2017, p. 28).

On the other hand, 20 years into the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, the desired percentage of equal participation, which is in BiH taken to mean 40% of women, has still not been accomplished – not even close. Although the first Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 (developed 10 years ago) was the first action plan for implementation of this Resolution in the region of the South East Europe and at the time set an example to other countries of the region in their efforts to devise similar national action plans, there has not been any actual progress towards equal participation. Even the Action Plan itself, acknowledges **slow progress** in the section that focuses on participation of women in the military, police, peacekeeping missions and participation of women in decision-making positions:

Indicators of participation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions, including participation of women in decision-making positions, point to a certain progress since commencement of the implementation of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH, but the progress achieved is still far from the actual gender equality. (Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH, p. 208).

Anna Nikoghosyan, Armenian theoretician points in her essay under the title: “Co-optation of Feminism: Gender, Militarism and the UNSC Resolution 1325” to the fact that the **Resolution is binary in nature** – on one side, we have militarised men who are the **norm** and who are perceived as protectors, and on the other side, we have women – **the others**, helpless, those who, along with children, need protection. (2017). She goes on to explain that co-optation of feminist ideas occurs in the Resolution precisely on the basis of the way in which sex, gender, protection and security are interpreted, because it is precisely these interpretations that manipulate with discursive portrayal of women and men in the Resolution, highlighting that participation of women in security domain in

essence solidifies militant state agendas and leaves the paradigm of male power intact and undeniable (Nikoghosyan, 2017).

We note two parallel and paradoxical situations here: the amount of effort that has been invested into this is in great disproportion with a single-digit statistical indicators of participation of women, while at the same time, although in principle, the presence of women is meant to contribute to demilitarisation, it appears this is not happening. To start with, what are women doing in the military structures in the first place?

The influence of feminism, could be identified early upon the entry of women into what used to be exclusively male dominated military structures, but it remains only indirect and primarily reflected in change of cultural values that support gender equality of women and their presence in the public sphere. Part of the feminist agenda is to accomplish equality in all institutional segments of public life, which includes military profession, because the long history of mankind gives public sphere of paid labour or manufacture to men, while women are left in the private sphere of unpaid labour or reproduction. Where women are given access to “female” occupations and/or where they are prevented from accessing “male” occupations, they face obstacles in exercising their right to participate in the workforce on equal footing with men (Charlesworth and Chinkin 2000). That’s where the feminist movement has a “duty” to demand that such discriminatory attitudes are rejected and women enabled entry into the military (Mršević and Janković, 2019, p. 287).

Nevertheless, the authors underline that the recent past of armed conflict in our country, as well as warfare elsewhere across the world and the engagement in the area of feminist pacifism and anti-militarism, make it significantly more difficult to get feminist support to entry of women in the military, given that antimilitarist feminists argue that violence is the only reason armies exist. There are, however, as claimed by Mršević and Janković (2019) citing theoretician Eric M. Blanchard, certain feminist convictions according to which the main purpose of the military is first and foremost security, as corroborated by many situations in which armies served as important organisations, and perhaps even the only organisations that provided assistance and maintained security (p. 295).

The available research shows the extent to which women change the prevailing culture upon their entry into the strict hierarchical structures. That notion is

exemplified in the text under the title: “Women’s Participation in Peace and Security. Normative Ends, Political Means”, written by Pilar Domingo, Tam O’Neil and Marta Foresti, which concludes with recommendation for introduction of policies and practices of inclusion of women in security issues using the example of post-conflict countries such as: Colombia, Bolivia, Burundi and Rwanda, where women at first acted through informal groups, associations, alliances and non-governmental organisations and later through the structures of the armed forces and positions of political power, and thus contributed and still continue to contribute to peace and security. In conclusion of their research, the authors claim: “Women’s participation and leadership in peace and security processes is an ambitious and long-term political project” (2014, p. 5), but also call upon donors to provide greater support to women in security structures, who have what’s more than a regular job. As stressed already, feminist philosophies of this orientation still require stronger theoretical basis and a framework with a vision of a different, reformed, gender-egalitarian, peace-making army. It is clear, however, even at this point, that participation of women in the military creates opportunities to trigger internal change, and even set off disruption, subversion and therefore transformation of the military, which will bring about transformation of the armed forces and with them, transformation of the international relations as well. (Mršević and Janković, 2019, p. 295).

In accordance with the **feminist ethics** it must be emphasised here that the general position of the author of these lines is that daily work, dedication and contribution of each individual woman in the police, army and peacekeeping missions, in other words, each woman the Resolution affects and enables her to have a job, is valuable and extremely important, since it demonstrates that women now occupy positions previously restricted, prohibited and unavailable to them under written and unwritten laws and thus change the paradigm of these rigorous hierarchical organisations. Finally, the UNSCR 1325 makes it impossible to go back to the time when women’s labour was invisible in areas of relevance to security and peace.

4. Potential, Goals and Results – a Debate Behind Statistics

One of the fundamental premises of feminist ethics focuses on opening of the space for a woman and femininity, or more specifically, a woman and femininity that would be different from the woman and femininity shaped and defined by the structures of gender hierarchy recognised and interpreted as “rational violence”. (Babić-Avdispahić and Mujkić, 2019). It is in this fundamental premise of feminist ethics that we recognise the institutions such as the police and military

and knowing about the roles assigned to women in gender hierarchies, we can imagine that the UNSCR 1325 represents opening towards a different version of woman and femininity. Can we then argue that the Resolution epitomises feminist ethics in reality?

In addition to being completely justified in the society we live in, the UNSCR 1325 represents an important social, economic and ideological issue, because it contributes to greater visibility of women's labour. Entry of women into these structures represents a beginning of the journey toward gender equality, because that entry was, among other things, the paradigm of ideological, social, economic and legal affairs that dominated the society in late 20th century. The intent to ensure a different distribution of power in society can be discerned in the UNSCR 1325, which raises hope that higher positioning of women on social, economic and even on a symbolic hierarchical level would really give women greater influence in society that could be used to advance different interests of female population.

We will start with the specific plan devised by BiH to ensure that the ideas contained in the UNSCR 1325 are operationalised and integrated into our society. Upon the proposal of the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, the Council of Ministers of BiH enacted the decision to adopt the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 2018–2022. Article 5 of the Action Plan provides the overview of the structure and highlights that it rests upon the previous Action Plan structure. The document lays out planned goals and anticipated results as presented in the current Action Plan, relying on the contemporary feminist theory, which examines issues addressed in the Resolution, and recognises the specific political and socio-economic context of BiH society.

To accomplish equal participation of women and men in the institutions tasked to ensure peace and security, it is necessary to accomplish the first strategic goal which pertains to increased participation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions, including their participation in decision-making positions. Item 3.1.2. Participation of Women in the Military, Police and Peacekeeping Missions, provides an overview of statistical indicators. Diagonal reading of this section of the Action Plan, looks more or less, as follows:

More favourable environment was created for the increase of participation of women in the military and police forces, although that increase is still most visible in lower grade, lower rank positions. The Ministry of Defence of BiH employs 38% of women (2% increase compared with 2013), 6.8% of women participate in the Armed

Forces (1.8% increase compared with 2010 and only 0.2% increase compared to 2013), with 24% of female civilian personnel and 5.5% of female military personnel... Evident increase of interest of women is illustrated by the fact that in 2008, only 23 women applied to vacancy, while in 2014 as many as 595 women applied... A bit over 20% applied to the public vacancy for recruitment of officers in the Armed Forces of BiH... out of the total number of applications received to public vacancy for recruitment of soldiers, 9.9% were the applications submitted by women... 11 women enrolled in military academies or 14% of the total number of enrolled cadets... the trend of increase of participation of women in leadership positions in the sectors of defence and security .. the percentage of participation of women in leadership positions remains low 2.5%. Participation of women in police forces at all levels is at 7.5%, mainly in positions of police officers or senior police officers, inspectors, junior and senior inspectors. Out of the total number of female police officers, 11.3% hold the position of senior inspectors, 3.3% hold the position of independent inspectors and only 0.3% hold the position of chief inspectors. 14.64% of female police officers work in the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA). In the Border Police of BiH participation of women is at 7.78%, which represents an increase of about 0.5%. Participation of women in the Directorate for Coordination of Police Bodies is at 5.25%. Women participate with 7.8% in the Federal Police Administration. Participation of women in 10 cantonal ministries of interior is around 7.3%... participation of female police officers in the RS Ministry of Interior is at 7.8%. There are 4.8% of women in Brčko District Police... The MoD of BiH records an increase in the number of women deployed to peacekeeping missions... the number is increased to 6.7%. Women are underrepresented in the highest-ranked positions of leadership with their representation at 1.2% (Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH, 2018).

Statistical indicators remained in single digits in 20 years of existence of the UNSCR 1325 and ten years of existence of the state-level Action Plan for its implementation. Behind the statistics are the questions that truly shape the reality. For instance, one thing to consider is the important issue of maternity leave as it correlates to career advancement. The Action Plan specifies that in the past several years it has often been pointed out that the use of maternity leave

was the reason for difficulties experienced in advancement in law enforcement career, because the criteria for promotion to a higher rank, which formally do not differentiate between women and men, require that certain time is spent in service in the lower rank and that performance evaluation is submitted for the past three years. What this means in practice is that a female officer who spent a year on maternity leave is effectively unable to present the required performance evaluations and thus apply to be promoted to a higher rank. This is an ongoing problem that is being addressed for the benefit of women. The issue of maternity leave and career advancement also fits into feminist ethics, with its common denominator skilfully defined by Alison Jagger, who said (cited according to Babić-Avdispahić and Mujkić, 2019, p. 146) that it should serve to indicate morally desirable alternatives that will promote emancipation of women.

The Action Plan acknowledges, justifies by organisation of society and brings the attention to slow advancement of women towards positions of power:

Increase of participation of women in the sectors of defence and security, including their participation in decision-making is a slow process. Due to specific nature of these sectors which are traditionally dominated by men, fast progress cannot be expected. It is necessary to create a number of preconditions to be able to accomplish equal participation as mandated under the Law on Gender Equality in BiH (AP for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH, 2018)

In the same tone, it is noted that the data of the Ministry of Security of BiH

on participation of women in the positions of leadership in the sector of security at all levels indicate that women are mainly represented at the level of mid-management, holding positions of sections heads, while their representation is at the lowest level in the positions of leadership, specifically, the position of Assistant Minister/Director (AP for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH, 2018).

There are, however, examples of equal participation. The Action Plan notes that, among other things, participation of women in law enforcement agencies in BiH, as well as in the police of Brčko District of BiH is at 50.5% on average. Medium term goals of the Action Plan suggest that policies, laws and regulations should enable increase of participation of women in the army, police and peacekeeping missions, including their participation in decision-making positions, in addition

to creating necessary conditions for improvement of position and career advancement of women and raising awareness of importance of participation of women in decision-making and maintaining of peace and security. In addition to creating a lot of room for criticism of such abstractly defined goal in the Action Plan, we can also note the question posed by the author in her text under the title “The Art of Security”, as follows:

How can monitoring of change of multiple activities and roles of men and women as fellow fighters, those who instigate wars, those who build peace, those who look after one another, workers and citizens – improve our peace programmes? (Brocklehurst, 2005, p. 426)

Question here is whether these changes could be monitored through the anticipated results of the Action Plan. Could strengthened institutional mechanisms for coordination, implementation and monitoring of the Action Plan, improved instruments such as gender responsive statistics, analyses and budgeting for introduction and implementation of the principles of gender equality in the sectors of defence and security and improved international and regional cooperation and exchange of information on implementation of the UNSCR 1325, as well as cooperation with civil society organisations, academic community and the media really show the way in which changes in society are taking place by monitoring numerous roles and activities undertaken by women and men as fellow soldiers, peace builders, security sector workers and citizens? To answer these specific questions, we must turn to abstract tools, since it is necessary, as also included in the anticipated results of the Action Plan, to develop policies, laws and specific measures to increase participation of women in the sectors of defence and security, harmonise laws with international and national gender equality standards, have specific measures in place to increase participation of women in decision-making positions as well as create conditions for improvement of mutual cooperation and networking of women in the sectors of defence and security.

Two anticipated **results** are of particular interest as they show, as long claimed by feminists, that efforts must be made over and over again to accomplish something that was considered normal under the principles of socialism some 60 or 70 years ago. These anticipated results refer to organisation of training for decision-makers on the importance of equal participation of women and men and implementation of awareness raising campaigns on the importance of participation of women in decision-making in defence, security and peacekeeping processes. What we have here is the difference between dominant ideologies –

the one we lived with 60 years ago and the one we live with today. Equality got lost in the transition from one system to another and new ways must be found to ensure it. As written by authors Jutta Joachim, Andrea Schneiker and Anne Jenichen (2017) gender mainstreaming is a demanding strategy which requires the policymakers to embrace new perspectives, gain insight into new knowledge and expertise and change the existing procedures (p. 106).

Citing other theoreticians, the authors explain further that gender mainstreaming attempts to change structural inequalities in society and address institutional inequalities, all at the same time. They highlight that the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 is a particularly demanding task and underline the position that indicates where the main problem is – gender mainstreaming has not been implemented efficiently because the EU documents, as indicated upon more detailed analyses, are actually gender blind, with gender sensitivity only sporadically integrated into operational layer. They make a general conclusion that all levels lack specific instructions as to how gender could be integrated into everyday life and practices in the area of security and peacekeeping. (Joachim et al., 2017, str. 106 i 110).

This paper does not address the broad area of protection of safety and prevention of trafficking in human beings, especially girls and women, or the issue of rehabilitation available to women who experienced sexual violence and other forms of conflict-related abuse – the topic covered in detail in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH. It would take a separate paper to discuss the topic of specific positive impacts of implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in individual countries. This topic could be further expanded by the overview of the way in which the UNSCR 1325 sees women, in other words, what could be concluded about women on the basis of analysis of the discourse of the Resolution, in addition to consideration of the reasons why women are represented in such a way and the ideology that stands behind it. Another subsequent paper could examine these relationships in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and consider implementation of the Resolution through the lens of the mutual relationship that exists between gender, health status, sexual orientation and class.

The author of this text intended to answer the questions posed in the introduction by the editors of the Compendium “*What is the Gender of Security*”, Damir Arsenijević and Tobias Flessenkemper (2013):

By focusing on increased participation of women in decision-making in post-conflict situations, peace negotiations and peacekeeping

operations, the Resolution 1325 creates normative framework for the institutions to address gender aspect of security. However, how does that reflect on the level of society? What are the specific tangible effects of institutional participation in resolving cases and addressing patterns of gender-based violence?

Although the paper tried to address this issue, the simple answer to the question remained elusive. Women increasingly get into decision-making positions, but are the decisions they make the decisions that advance women's interests and prevent wars? The statistics indicates that women, although very slowly, gradually conquer the broad area of security.

As this paper did not address the issue of peace activism, which is certainly one of the integral themes in the overall theme of militarism, let us make a reference here to the essay under the title: *Female Peace Activism and its Impact on Peace and Security* included in the compendium titled: "What is the Gender of Security". In their essay, Amila Ždralović and Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić (2013), argue that peace policy was shaped by the absence of female voices and that the reflection of the existing women's peace activism was missing from the public and political discourse (pp. 110-111). Writing about the long history of women's opposition to war and militarisation, deconstructing the danger of positive prejudice resulting from the essentialist view that women are peace-loving kind and demonstrating how women affected by war suffer in different ways, the authors answered the everlasting question of the position of woman in areas affected by war:

Peace should not be seen as the absence of war, because that would imply the possibility of war. Peace should be understood as the essential precondition for individual, collective, gender and all other forms of existence and co-existence. That is the idea that shapes the essence of women's peace activism. (Ždralović & Rožajac-Zulčić, 2013, p. 121).

Feminists' actions, as demonstrated through their activism and writing, must be guided by ideals, sharp criticism and constant vigilance. Those fights, though they may be at fault at times, must always strive to correct and repair the world we live in.

5. Instead of Conclusion – Recommended Reading Materials

Finally, to create additional context for the problem of making a conclusion, even a formal one, let us note that this paper is written at the moment of the emergence of a major global threat, the heated dispute between Iran and the United States and the fear that Washington and Teheran might get into a conflict on the territory of Baghdad and Iraq. What would the World War III, as this conflict is referred to in the social media, mean for the people of the Middle East, what would it mean for the world and for us here? How much could women do, what is it that they should do and who among them should do it? Are we going to see the potential of implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in action? Three essays on the topic of feminist critic of militarism recommended below could provide inspiration for the pursuit of indirect answers to these questions. All three essays share a strong need for consideration and action driven by feminist ideals, despite the fact that certain topics may make those ideals seem utopian.

As a food for thought on the possible emancipation-driven intentions of the World Bank, which represents a group of international organisations/corporations that provide financial and advisory support to states to facilitate their faster economic development and decrease of poverty, as well as its potential role in decrease of violence against women in armed conflict, we recommend the text written a year before the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, under the title:

“Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence” (1999) by **Cynthia Cockburn**. The fact that this renowned antimilitarist feminist was one of the speakers at the conference organised by the World Bank on 10 and 11 June 1999 in Washington, for which she prepared 26 pages long remarks, is interesting in itself. The remarks are important as they point to areas of military engagement on the world map at that moment, explain them in feminist language and give specific recommendations for action.

The direction in which the ideas of Cynthia Cockburn developed, 13 years since the World Bank conference, when it comes to topics of militarism, patriarchy, peace movement and possibilities to oppose the regime, is indicated by the conversation between her and equally sharp and analytical antimilitarist feminist theoretician, Cynthia Enloe. The text is also recommended for its form, believed by the author of this paper to be the most suitable for discussion and self-reflection on topics as complicated as suggested by the title: *Militarism, Patriarchy and Peace Movements*, **Cynthia Cockburn and Cynthia Enloe** in conversation, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2012.

There are many contemporary authors whose texts are essential to understanding of feminist criticism and examination of many aspects of militarisation. All it takes is to enter in the search engine or text database names such as Claire Duncanson, Robert Guerrin, Rahel Kunz, Marie O'Reilly, Staša Zajović, Jutta Joachim and Insook Kwon and numerous avenues will open into research of this topic. The third recommended text is even more important, because it comes from the region. It is the piece co-authored by **Zorica Mršević and Svetlana Janković**, titled: "Impact of Feminist Theory on Participation of Women in Serbian Armed Forces", included in the compendium titled: "Feminist Theory is for Everyone", published in Belgrade in 2019. The authors explain that feminist theory influenced participation of women in the armed forces of Serbia, they polemize the challenges of such security and use a small-scale empirical research to demonstrate that women do change the balance of power, structure and dominant culture upon their entry into the armed forces.

Analysis of feminist myths is also a part of feminist struggle and one of such myth is that nothing, not even antimilitarist ideas and organisations, is to be taken at face value and blindly idealised. Male and female feminists have a duty to remain vigilant and open to engage and ponder, regardless of the pitfalls, errors and constant threat of defeat, knowing that patriarchy and capitalism cannot be fully and completely defeated.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Cockburn, C. (1999). *Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. Washington DC: The World Bank. <https://www.hhri.org/publication/gender-armed-conflict-and-political-violence/>
- Cockburn, C., i Enloe, S. (2012). Militarism, Patriarchy and Peace Movements. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14 (4), 550–557.
- Mršević, Z., and Janković, S. (2019). Uticaj feminističke teorije na učešće žena u oružanim snagama Srbije. *Feministička teorija je za sve*. (Impact of Feminist Theory on Participation of Women in Serbian Armed Forces. *Feminist Theory is for Everyone*) Belgrade: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, the University of Belgrade and Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade.
-

References

- Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018 - 2022. <https://arsbih.gov.ba/project/akcioni-plan-za-primjenu-rezolucije-vijeca-sigurnosti-una-1325-zene-mir-i-sigurnost-u-bosni-i-hercegovini-za-period-od-2018-do-2022-godine/> (Downloaded on 5 January 2020).
- Anić, J. R. (2011). *Kako razumjeti rod? (Understanding Gender)* Zagreb: The Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar.
- Arsenijević, D., and Flessenkemper, T. (prir.) (2013). *Kojeg je roda sigurnost? (What is the Gender of Security)* Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Babić-Avdispahić, J., and Mujkić, A. (2019). *Etika (Ethics)*. Zenica: Eidos.
- Brocklehurst, H. (2005). The Art of Security. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7 (3), 426–433.
- Cockburn, C. (1999). *Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. Washington DC: The World Bank. <https://www.hhri.org/publication/gender-armed-conflict-and-political-violence/> (Downloaded on 7 January 2020).
- Cockburn, C., and Enloe, S. (2012). Militarism, Patriarchy and Peace Movements. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14 (4), 550–557.
- Domingo, P., O’Neil, T., and Foresti, M. (2014). *Women’s Participation in Peace and Security. Normative Ends, Political Means*. ODI briefing 88. London: ODI. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8961.pdf> (Downloaded on 8 January 2020).
- Enloe, C. (2019). Pokretači militarizma oslanjaju se na načine kako razmišljamo. (The Proponents of Militarism Rely on the Way We Think) <https://www.oslobodjenje.ba/dosjei/intervjui/pokretaci-militarizma-oslanjaju-se-na-nacine-razmisljanja-516158?fbclid=IwAR3CF-Y1AiUSAs3-YoCXiof5oR97ENzD1WicTRyQz6m1H4nIZy-4ImUh5WQ> (Downloaded on 9 January 2020).
- Gelderloos, P. (2012). *Anarhija je moguća. (Anarchy is Possible)* <https://anarhisticka-biblioteka.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarhija-je-moguca> (Downloaded on 6 January 2020).
- Interview with Ida Sabo: Socijalizam je izbrisao vjekovnu nepravdu prema ženama; tada smo bili protiv feministkinja. (Socialism Eradicated Centuries of Injustice to Women, Back Then We Opposed Feminists) (2006, 2017). *Impuls*. <https://impulsportal.net/index.php/drustvene-teme/intervju/11264-intervju-s-idom-sabo-socijalizam-je-brisao-vjekovnu-nepravdu-prema-zenama-bili-smo-protiv-feministkinja-tada> (Downloaded on 6 February 2020).
- Joachim, J., Schneiker, A., and Jenichen, A. (2017). External Networks and Institutional Idiosyncrasies: the Common Security and Defence Policy and UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 30 (1), 105–124.
- Meiners, E. R., and Quinn, Therese (2011). Militarism and Education Normal. *Monthly Review - an independent socialist magazine*, 63 (3). <https://monthlyreview.org/>

- org/2011/07/01/militarism-and-education-normal/ (Downloaded on 4 February 2020).
- Mlinarević, G. at al. (2017). *Feministički osvrt na postkonfliktno restrukturiranje i oporavak – slučaj Bosne i Hercegovine. (A Feminist Perspective on Post-Conflict Restructuring and Recovery – The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* Women Organizing for Change in Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
- Mršević, Z., and Janković, S. (2019). Uticaj feminističke teorije na učešće žena u oružanim snagama Srbije. *Feministička teorija je za sve. (Impact of Feminist Theory on Participation of Women in Serbian Armed Forces. Feminist Theory is for Everyone)* Belgrade: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, the University of Belgrade and Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade.
- Nikoghosyan, A. (2017). Co-optation of Feminism: Gender, Militarism and the UNSC Resolution 1325. <http://feminism-boell.org/en/2017/09/26/co-optation-feminism-gender-militarism-and-uns-c-resolution-1325> (Downloaded on 5 January 2020).
- Rampa, L. (1986). *Treće oko. (Third Eye)* Gornji Milanovac: Dječije novine.
- Šimleša, D. (2016). *Četvrti svjetski rat/Drugačiji svijet je moguć! (IV World War/A Different World is Possible!)* Zagreb: Association for the Promotion of Literature on New Media
- Women defend Rojava <http://womendefendrojava.net/en/> (Downloaded on 4 February 2020).
- Woolf, V. (2004). *Three Guineas*. Zagreb: Centre for Women's Studies.
- Zaharijević, A., editor. (2012). *Neko je rekao feminizam? Kako je feminizam uticao na žene XXI veka. (Has Someone Said Feminism? How Feminism Influenced Women in 21st Century)* (4th revised edition). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Heinrich Böll Foundation – Office in BiH, CURE Foundation.
- Ždralović, A., and Rožajac-Zulčić, M. (2013). *Ženski mirovni aktivizam i njegov utjecaj na mir i sigurnost (Female Peace Activism and its Impact on Peace and Security)*. U D. Arsenijević and T. Flessenkemper (editors), *Kojeg je roda sigurnost? (What is the Gender of Security)*, (pp. 99–124). Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.

04

GENDER-
BASED
VIOLENCE

Refugees, Migration and Trafficking in Humans

Prof. VALIDA REPOVAC NIKŠIĆ, PhD
University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences

1. Introduction and Structure of the Paper

Modern migration, combined with negative aspects of globalisation and neoliberal world order, became an instrument in the hands of populist-minded politicians. That particularly applies to the growth of populism, as noted in the first two decades of the 21st century. (Bojanić-Savić and Repovac Nikšić, 2019). Migration is a key theme for those who race to get into power, both in Europe and world-wide. It suffices to analyse the last general elections that took place in Italy in 2018, which resulted in an unlikely coalition between Lega, far-right political party and Movimento Cinque Stelle, radical leftist populist movement. Even better, try listening to campaign speeches of now sitting United States President, Donald Trump, and his ideas about Latin America migrants expressed during the course of his presidential campaign and after his inauguration. Zygmunt Bauman describes in detail these retrograde and conservative trends in his latest book titled: "Strangers at our Door" (2016).

What we have today is globalised, highly technologically developed, urbanised and individualised society plagued by old scourges of nationalism, xenophobia, fascism and new racism. It is obvious that global tendencies based on neoliberal ideology led to uncertainty of modern life, which gave rise to the feeling of constant fear. Uncertainty about future resulted in mistrust among people, especially mistrust towards those we do not know. Bauman argues that refugees and migrants herald fragility in our own lives. As we are left powerless to

oppose the forces of globalisation, powerless to do anything else, we can at least direct our anger and negative emotions towards them. The same fear (for instance, the fear of cheap labour) is felt both by the poor and the richest among us, and the mistrust among people illustrates the current crisis of the mankind (Repovac Nikšić and Ždralović, 2018, pp. 19–20).

The following text focuses on the **modern phenomenon of migration**. It will show patterns and modes of migration in general terms. It is very important to analyse challenges and problems experienced by “people on the move”. The purpose of the text is to highlight positive reactions of domicile population and show that understanding, solidarity, humanity and inclusion prevail. We should also examine the trend of negative reaction to the arrival of “foreigners” that gives rise to concern, emergence of social distance, prejudice and discrimination. The first section lays out **social theories of modern migration** as a global phenomenon, with special focus on European and regional context. The focus is on the precise definition of the terms that emerged in connection with the phenomenon of migration, such as: migrant, refugee, asylum seeker, etc. Differentiation between these terms is considered imperative, regardless of whether their meaning is defined in legally binding documents (for instance, conventions) or in scientific papers. The purpose of such differentiation is to promote precise, constructive and positive discourse on migration, in the interest of development of good policies and practices.

The second section describes and analyses **national circumstances within broader regional and European context of migration**. We attempted to explain very complex situation referred to in the public discourse during the migration crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ In the context of the events that transpired in Camp Vučjak in Bihać (Ibraković, 2020) in late 2019, migration crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also characterised as a humanitarian crisis. The problems were described in detail in reports of state institutions, international and non-governmental organisations. The analysis of migration discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina suggests negative reporting of national and regional media and existing prejudice of the local population as a result of being poorly and inaccurately informed. Negative trends, rightist populist positions and statements made by politicians, combined with sensationalist reporting, abuse of the topic for other purposes, information manipulation and concerning degree

¹ Migration wave has been in progress since the last quarter of 2017 to date. That shows that the migration wave hit Bosnia and Herzegovina later in comparison with the migration crisis that started in Europe in 2015, as well as the migration flow along the so-called Balkan Route, which was closed in March of 2016.

of hate speech are all present in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cizelj-Pajvančić and Cvjetanović, 2017).

The third section of the text focuses on the importance of **gender perspective on migration** and points to insufficient number of scientific research papers and official documents on the number and position of vulnerable categories of population such as women, the elderly, persons suffering from illness, etc. The analysis of gender perspective on migration crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina highlights lack of data as a problem which suggests lack of care about the most sensitive categories of people within the population of migrants and refugees. It is particularly concerning that there is not even the basic data which indicates insufficient understanding and responsibility to the particularly vulnerable part of the migrant population. This is further illustrated by the fact that statistics, information, documents and media reports focus on the presence of women, children, the elderly and the ailing, to a minimum degree possible. There is also not enough research and reporting on the threat to security, suffering, violence or health. There are some indications of a serious problem with smuggling and trafficking in humans, but it remains very difficult to find reliable sources of information. Negative discourse has been noted in this area as well. Insufficient information available to citizens presents an obstacle in the process of their awareness raising, which is necessary for them to be able to develop the feelings of solidarity and empathy for women and children on the move. The last section presents the analysis and evaluation of implementation of measures included in the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in BiH 2018 – 2020, in particular the section of the Action Plan that focuses on **migration, migrant and refugees women and children and the problem of smuggling and trafficking in human beings**.

The final section summarises findings presented in the text. It also includes recommendations as to the ways in which the research on gender perspective of migration could be incentivised, in addition to recommendations focusing on reporting and awareness raising activities. The purpose of the paper is to contribute to improvement of unfavourable situation observed in the field.

2. Migrations – Context, Theories and their Meaning

Historically speaking, migrations are inseparable from human experience, their dynamic is inherent to communities and societies (from early to global communities and societies). Since prehistoric times, people have migrated to survive. They moved in pursuit of food, they moved because of the climate, they

conquered territories and fled to avoid conflict and destruction. The pursuit of the new, different and better is deeply rooted in the human nature. Sedentary way of life emerged in the period of Neolithic culture and there are cultures that are not characterised by mobility. Late Middle Ages mark the beginning of continuous migration of the population. Development of civilisation and science, coupled with great discoveries, paved the way to the new corners of the world and marked beginning of the long-term process of European migration overseas. Modern migration has become intensified. Modern migration intensified during the period of European colonisation campaigns. Regional and especially world wars that brought about suffering and destruction, caused forced migration and displacement. The processes of decolonisation of the 20th century brought national awakening and sovereignty, but also the trend of relocation “after the colonisers”, to European imperial centres. That gave rise to the formation of the post-colonial diaspora which lives in “post-colonial melancholy”, as labelled by the British cultural theoretician Paul Gilroy (2005). After the WWII, European labour migration gained in significance and the process of globalisation and neoliberal system made it one of the key features of the global society. (Mesić, 2002).

Scientific research into migration is multidisciplinary in character. Historiography, ethnography, social geography, each in their own way add to what we know about this phenomenon. However, founders and classical theorists of sociology (Marx, Weber, Durkheim) did not attribute much importance to the issue of migration. For instance, Émile Durkheim treated migration as one of the factors that led to the collapse of traditional communities, maintained before migration on the principle of ‘mechanical solidarity’. The transition to ‘organic solidarity’ based on the social division of labour and economic interdependence is often combined with the emergence of ‘anomy’, in other words, collapse of shared system of values that kept people together, which gave rise to migration (Mesić, 2002, pp. 271–272). Sociology of migration as a separate branch of sociology originated in the renowned American Chicago School. Mesić argues that the “problem of integration of ‘new migrants’ in the US was the central theme of the early American sociology in general” (Mesić, 2002, p. 278).

Migration became central point of interest of sociological research in the 1980s. The theory of migration emerged at the same time as theories of modern society and processes of integration and globalisation. To that end, Anthony Giddens (2003) postulates thus: “although migration is not a new phenomenon, it appears as if such movement gains in pace as a part of the process of global integration. The patterns of migration across the world could be viewed as a reflection of

extremely fluid economic, political and cultural ties between different countries (...) Immigration, in other words, movement of people into a different country in the intent to settle there and emigration, the process in which people leave their home country to settle in a different country, are combined to produce global migration patterns (...)” (p. 274).

In more precise terms the “new migrations” as Giddens (2003) calls them, are related to the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, the collapse of socialism and disintegration of the Soviet bloc. The wars caused by the dissolution of Yugoslavia in early 1990s, ethnic cleansing and genocide committed on the territory of Eastern Bosnia in 1995 initiated exodus, a major migration wave. Around 1.5 million people fled from Bosnia and Herzegovina alone, during the course of the war (Emirhafizović and Zolić, 2017). Although internal European labour migration was widespread in the second half of the 20th century (Mesić, 2002, pp. 66–69), globalisation initiated migration of the young people and qualified experts in pursuit of employment or better labour conditions. This type of economic migrants emerged as a direct result of macro-structural change: global economic development, emergence of global cities, expansion of transnational corporations, global financial crisis of 2008, economic underdevelopment of countries in other parts of the world, political underdevelopment, transition towards open society and democracy, autocratic regimes and so on.

Recent international movement of the population was predominantly caused by global socio-economic transformations. Economic uncertainty of neoliberal daily life led to fragmentation and dissolution of society and forced individuals left to their own devices into pursuit of self-preservation. Becks ‘international risk society’ is in essence the ‘society of performance’ in which the individual is completely abandoned, alienated, left on its own in predatory competition and fight for existence, according to Bauman. In addition to economic disruptions, collapse of society was ignited by the erosion of territorial and political sovereignty of nation states (...) (Repovac Nikšić and Ždralović, 2018, p. 19).

Due to the importance of migration, the first section shall attempt to lay out precise definition of terms within sociological theory or within international legally-binding documents: Giddens (2003) in his book titled: *Sociology*, asserts that **migration** is:

*Movement of people from one area or society to another in order to settle there. **Global migration**, specifically, movement of individuals across the boundaries of their home countries, particularly intensified in the years following WWII and continues to intensify with the process of globalisation. **Diaspora** refers to displacement of an ethnic group from its home state to foreign areas, often under coercion or under traumatic circumstances. The term **new migration** refers to changed patterns of migration flows in Europe that emerged upon conclusion of the Cold War, extended ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia and solidifying of European integration. **Irregular migration** is on the rise since the process of legal entry into the countries of the European Union is getting increasingly restrictive.*

The document issued in 2018 by the OSCE Mission to BiH under the title: “Assessment: Migrant and Refugee Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina” provides an overview of the important terms used in this area, such as, for example: **Mixed Migration Flow**: “The movement of people of different status and motivations - refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, unaccompanied children, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrants, among others, form a mixed migration flow”. The document also provides a definition of the term **migrant**, as follows: “A migrant is any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from her/his habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person’s legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of stay is”. Furthermore, the term of vulnerable category of **unaccompanied and separated children** is defined as follows: “Separated children are children who have been separated from both parents, or from their previous legal or customary primary caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives. These may, therefore, include children accompanied by other adult family members. Unaccompanied children are children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so.” (OSCE Mission to BiH, 2018).²

The Convention on the Status of **Refugees** of 1951, is used as a reference for the definition of the refugee as the person who:

² For more details, visit: <https://www.osce.org/bs/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/397322?download=true>

(...) As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term “the country of his nationality” shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.

It is also important to provide interpretation of the term gender, which refers to “social differences between men and women”. **Gender** identifies relations between women and men in social, cultural, political and economic sphere. Gender relations vary from one place to another just as they vary from one era to another. They change as the circumstances change. Sex, on the other hand, identifies biological differences between women and men, which remain constant. (AP 2018-2022. g., p. 31). Finally, the smuggling that emerged in the context of irregular (illegal) migration turned out to be the biggest, most complex challenge even for the far more developed countries. It is therefore not hard to imagine the magnitude of challenge it represents for less developed countries undergoing transition such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Smuggling** is defined as: “The procurement, in order to obtain directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit from the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. Trafficking in human beings is defined as: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (OSCE Mission to BiH, 2018). In continuation, the term ‘people on the move’ will be used both for the sake of correctness and due to objective difficulties in precisely defining the status of this population.

3. Migration Crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2017–2020)

“The New Migration” towards Europe as well as the migration process occurring on the European ground reached their peak in 2015. In most cases, the migration flow followed the so-called Balkan Route (from Turkey, via Greece and Italy, the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, toward the European Union). Once the official route was closed in March of 2016, along with closure of the borders of the European Union, the only remaining possibility for irregular migration, smuggling and trafficking in humans was the transit through Bosnia and Herzegovina, referred by Sociology Professor Dželal Ibraković (2019) as the “Bosnian Route”.

Both distant and more recent past prove that migration is not a new phenomenon for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is particularly familiar with the phenomenon of emigration. Forced migration occurred during the wartime 1990s. Destruction and persecution caused massive exodus from the country and resulted in internal displacement of a significant portion of the population. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a sizeable diaspora scattered across the world which is estimated to be between 1.5 and 2 million people. The trend of emigration of young, educated persons and the entire families also saw an increase over the past several years. The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is leaving for economic, but also for political reasons, in pursuit of better life. It is precisely the historical context and the experience of forced migration that should move the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina to understand hardship and suffering and positively react to the arrival of people on the move from the Middle East, Asia and North Africa. That, however, is not the case.

To make things even more complex, people on the move who cross the border across the Drina River perceive Bosnia and Herzegovina predominantly as a conduit for fast transition into Croatia and further towards the planned destinations in the European Union and the promise of better life. Due to well-guarded and now closed borders and multiple failed attempts to enter Slovenia, there are approximately 20,000 people trying to “quickly transit across” Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their stay in the country is extended over the winter when it is impossible to partake in the so-called “game”, which is the expression used to refer to numerous rather risky and dangerous attempts to enter Croatia.³ In 2018, there were approximately 25,000 refugees and migrants in the country and the number remained more or less the same in 2019.

³ See a documentary: <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/dokumentarni-film-go-game>

During the course of 2018, Bosnia and Herzegovina saw a significant number of people on the move from parts of the world affected by the war, such as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. That number decreased somewhat in 2019, while the number of migrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and North Africa increased. The research and direct interviews indicate that most of them experience no major problems crossing the eastern border of BiH. Most succeed after one or two attempts, while fewer among them are captured and prevented from crossing several times (“push-back”)⁴. There are people now in Bosnia and Herzegovina who fled their homes due to hardship at home, unfavourable political conditions, violations of human rights, extreme poverty and other similar reasons. Most migrants state that they are ready to apply for asylum, but once the legally mandated period of 15 days elapses, few actually do so. Discrepancy between those who claim their willingness to apply for the asylum and the actual number of applications received show that the majority of people on the move do not intend to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The problem is that their act (avoidance to apply for the asylum) makes them irregular migrants, which makes the situation rather complicated, even more so given the fact that the vast majority of them do not have any personal identification documents. Failure to regulate their status, makes them vulnerable to manipulation and abuse and exposes them to danger of becoming victims of potential fraud and even more serious problems such as smuggling and trafficking in humans.

People on the move are placed in temporary reception centres in Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (Salakovac), Sarajevo Canton (Ušivak and Blažuj), and Una-Sana Canton, where the pressure due to the possibility to cross the border is the highest (reception centres Bira, Miral, Borići and Sedra are located in this Canton). Centres for accommodation of foreigners are located in East Sarajevo and Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (Turčalo, 2019).

In late 2019, camp Vučjak was closed due to the conditions that were described by Dunja Mijatović, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, as “the shame for BiH”.⁵ In addition to poor conditions in camps and reception centres where distribution of humanitarian aid is predominantly coordinated by international organisations such as IOM (funded by the European Union), the vast

4 “A total of 8.466 persons suggested their intent to apply for the asylum, while a total of 196 persons actually applied. The majority of migrants come from Pakistan (36.3%), Bangladesh (9.2%), Iraq (8.8%), Syria (8.7%) and Afghanistan (7.5%). During the period between 27 May and 5 June 2019, a total of 743 irregular migrants have been reported to the Service for Foreigners’ Affairs. During the same period, a total of 673 persons expressed the intent to apply for the asylum, while only 51 persons applied.” For more details, please refer to: http://www.vijeceministara.gov.ba/saopstenja/sjednice/saopstenja_sa_sjednica

5 <https://ba.voanews.com/a/dunja-mijatovic-vucjak-je-sramota-za-bih-migranti-zelimo-samo-precu-granicu/5192147.html>

majority of migrants is quite literally on the street, sleeping in bus and railway stations. Due to the efforts made by a certain number of citizens volunteers and some non-governmental organisations, such migrants may get assistance in the form of donation in warm clothing and food. However, since the number of incoming people on the move is significant and continuous, the volunteers and non-governmental organisations are facing numerous objective obstacles to providing adequate assistance.⁶ The response of the state at all levels is far from satisfactory. Due to lack of coordination and cooperation between institutions at different levels, the heaviest burden of the migration crisis is placed on the local communities. Lack of institutional strategic planning and organisation creates obstacles for distribution of funding provided by the European Union for Bosnia and Herzegovina to efficiently manage the migration crisis and prevent humanitarian disaster.

The media prone to sensationalist reporting are the key disseminators of negative political positions as well as negative reactions of residents of local communities, which largely contributes to the confusion about who the people on the move are. Due to unprofessional and distorted reporting which aims at igniting fear and animosity, the media whose role should be constructive, only make things worse. This is corroborated by the recommendations issued by the Association of BiH Journalists resulting from their analysis of media coverage of migrants and refugees. The author of the text, Rea Adilagić, (2019) wrote on the subject, as follows:

Although the professional standards of ethical journalism require the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina to report in comprehensive, balanced and humane manner, the coverage of migrants and refugees is often driven by inflammatory rhetoric and stereotypes and lack credibility. The coverage of refugees and migrants is often biased or incomplete, presented in the form of simple information dissemination, with migrants and refugees portrayed in negative light, deepening their marginalised position even further. In addition, such practices give rise to concerns of the public and lead to hostility to migrants and refugees among all citizens in BiH, in particular among residents of the local communities in which the highest number of migrants reside at the moment (p. 3).

⁶ "Speaking of the attitudes to migrants and refugees, Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country is failing the test of humanity day after day. The only thing separating us from a humanitarian disaster are the volunteers, non-governmental sector and citizens who got involved in the provision of assistance on their own." (Stokić, 2020).

4. Vulnerability – Analysis of the Actual Situation in Comparison with the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Social and cultural anthropology significantly contributed to migration research, especially in terms of the issue of gender aspect of migration. The research of the American cultural anthropologist, Margaret Mead, is considered to represent a turning point in this area. Scientific contribution is to be found in qualitative sociology, which provides valuable insight into gender aspect of migration. (Bobić, 2018, pp. 75–76).

The research on the relationship between gender and migration is multi-layered. The researches attempted to fill the gaps that emerged as a result of decades long focus solely on male migrants. The more recent research is trying to reformulate the theory of migration and establish links with other disciplines and innovative solutions to integrate quantitative and qualitative methods and bring about the understanding of gender as contextual and relational dynamic process, shaped by the power relations. (Bobić, 2018, p. 75).

To this end, of great interest and significance is the research conducted in Serbia in 2017 by authors Cizelj-Pajvančić and Cvjetanović titled: “**Gender Perspective of Personal Stories Shared by Female and Male Migrants**”. Their work was based on the analysis of official information, documents and media reports which led the authors to conclude that gender perspective was non-existent both in verbal discourse and in written reporting on migrant population located in Serbia at the time. The statistics can only serve the purpose of getting the information on how many migrants stay at a certain territory over a certain period of time, which countries they are from, how many are in possession of their personal documents and how many intend to apply for the asylum. Those simple numbers create a lot of room in the public discourse for arbitrary interpretations and generation of narratives which, as it turned out, absolutely do not help, but on the contrary ignite the feelings of fear, distance and even hate of these people. When displaying at least some measure of sympathy and understanding, the media portray the people on the move with pity, as people struck by a great calamity. For that reason, the authors insisted that these people are no longer treated as “objects” or “topics to cover” and that their perspective should be viewed and pondered from their own position. They are the subjects of their journey and genuine storytellers, capable of conveying their complex experiences as their lives reached turning point. Their qualitative research was based on in-depth

interviews with women and men of different ages. In addition to conveying authentic stories, experiences and perceptions of the situation they were in in great detail, the photographs illustrating their lives in reception centres added another layer to what was already said. (Cizelj-Pajvančić and Cvjetanović, 2018).

Only such type of introduction, two-way communication between the people on the move and local community can bring understanding and help overcome certain challenges in the right way. Volunteers and activists are often the ones that make these processes easier, facilitating contact between the two sides, assisting with interpretation and better mutual understanding. The value of the research is reflected in the fact that it gave female migrants and refugees the opportunity to tell in their own words the story about the kind of life they have and the kind of life they want for themselves. On the other hand, the interviews conducted with men also showed that the dominating attitudes that are formed about them are absolutely without any ground in reality, showing the extent to which their lives and some “traditional” roles we use as a basis to make “judgement” of them have been changed. These interviews serve as a motive to seriously consider gender-responsive approach, since it is the only way to unveil the motives, obstacles and approaches to dealing with the problem of discrimination, violence, smuggling, trafficking, blackmail, extortion and many other threats these women, men and children face on daily basis.

The results of the research show that children are particularly vulnerable group within the migrant population. Camp Adaševci features a kids’ corner where UNICEF volunteers work to provide kids with access to toys and educational materials. Other than that, there are no facilities in the camp that cater to the needs of children, but despite that, they still find the way to reconstruct their daily lives and their childhood, even under these circumstances. (Cizelj-Pajvančić and Cvjetanović, 2017, p. 15). We also learned from it that all interviewees expressed strong opposition to war and conflict as well as their desire to flee from them. This is also reflected in their desires and visions of the “good life” (Cizelj-Pajvančić and Cvjetanović, 2017, p. 16). Our conclusion is that qualitative sociological and ethnographical research is the best way to get more comprehensive and more reliable information on the vulnerabilities of the migrant population as a whole, and especially the information of the position of vulnerable groups within the population (women, children, elderly, ailing persons, LGBT persons), which is in the focus of interest of this paper.

There are very few papers that can shed more light on these phenomena. Unpublished paper of professor Sead Turčalo titled: “Security Aspects of Migration Crisis in BiH” (2019) provides significant insights:

The majority of men is located in Bira (1549), Miral (661) and Ušivak (662), while the majority of women is located in Sedra (133) and Borići (130), and out of the total number of women, Borići accommodates most women who travel on their own (13). Children are present in all facilities, with most registered in Bira (212), Sedra (138), Ušivak (123) and Borići (116). The number of unaccompanied or separated children increased during March of 2019, with operational teams trying to protect the best interest of children and provide adequate protection. The highest number of children in this category is accommodated in Bira (152), Ušivak (77), Miral (21) and Sedra (7). In late March of 2019, most were relocated from Miral to Bira. In camp Ušivak, World Vision and SOS Kinderdorf staff is available 24/7 to provide protection, assistance and support, while in camp Bira, the assistance is provided by UNICEF through Save the Children. Transitory nature of migration makes it difficult to provide consistent service and assistance to unaccompanied or separated children. 14 children were awarded guardians and the total number of guardians assigned since January of 2018 is 430 (legal guardian 56, advisory guardian 98, guardianship to placement in accommodation 26 or asylum centre 17). The intent of the guardianship is to relocate these children to Bira or Ušivak where conditions are better. Unauthorised entries in camp Bira represent a problem for these children, as such entries expose them to risk of being victims of abduction, violence, abuse, etc. Some children refuse to be relocated into separate facilities and remain in the same accommodation with adults. It is worth noting that most unaccompanied or separated children are not registered as such.

Migration crisis represents security challenge and entails many risks. That particularly applies to vulnerable categories. It is necessary to engage into research and introduce approaches (for instance gender perspective approach, advocated in this paper) which could contribute to prevention and countering of potential security risks. According to the data provided by the European Parliament Fund for rights of women and gender equality (FEMA) women and children refugees make over 50% of refugees and migrants since the beginning of the migration crisis in 2015. They are exposed to violence and suffering. They are often victims of physical and psychological violence, prostitution and trafficking and they make the highest percentage of those who go missing during the course of transit into Europe (AP 2018–2022, p. 24). The Action Plan (2018–2022) in its Strategic

Goal 2: Protection, Prevention and Increased Level of Human Security through the Prism of Gender Equality, specified the following midterm goals: “decreased level of trafficking in human beings in BiH; improved support and assistance to victims of sexual violence and other forms of conflict-related abuse; improved gender-responsive approach and systems of support in the circumstances of the current security threats and challenges” (AP 2018–2022, p. 4). The Action Plan also insists on the protection of women and children who reside in Bosnia and Herzegovina or are in transit through it.

Strategy in the Area of Migrations and Asylum 2016-2020 prepared by the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina focuses on the sensitivity of vulnerable, or “at risk” groups. The Strategy argues as follows: “It is necessary to ensure gender-responsive approach to implementation of activities specified under the Strategy, especially the activities and procedures that focus on identification, assistance and protection of vulnerable categories of foreign citizens, as well as activities of defining data and information collection methodologies that focus on migration crises with the view of timely information dissemination and action. That would enable better understanding and more efficient addressing of the needs of both genders during the process of development and implementation of emergency measures in the event of immigration-related emergency situation” (AP 2018–2022, p. 24). However, upon analysis of availability of information on implementation of defined goals, measures and activities, the situation depicted in the official documents becomes blurred in the field. When compared with reality, these documents appear to be nothing more than a wish list. There are shining examples though, like the example of Hadžići municipality where efforts are made to integrate children placed in camp Ušivak in education, and with the assistance of non-governmental organisations, also integrate them in society.

The problem with smuggling and trafficking of at-risk groups is the most alarming, having in mind the fact that reliable data is not available. The Action Plan claims that Bosnia and Herzegovina “continues to be the country of origin, destination and transit for female, minor and male victims of trafficking in human beings. Poor socio-economic situation is considered to be a contributing factor that benefits perpetration of criminal offences of trafficking in human beings” (AP 2018–2022, p. 13). That section of the text ends with a sentence that confirms the concerns expressed earlier, specifically: “Given the fact that no new judgements resulted from the introduction of the new definition of criminal offence in the law, it is currently not possible to provide exact data on the effect these legal amendments had on the penal policy in cases of criminal offences of smuggling and trafficking in human beings” (AP 2018-2022, p. 13).

Much to the credit of civil society organisations, the poor situation in the field is gradually improving. That fact has been recognised in the Action Plan, especially in its section that focuses on the activities of the Ring Network that focuses on the prevention and fight against smuggling and trafficking in humans. The Network works to raise awareness among children and youth of the phenomenon of trafficking in human beings, with particular emphasis on the phenomenon of forced begging, and urges of the importance of mobilisation of citizens, relevant institutions, judiciary, law enforcement and education institutions in the fight against abuse of children for the purpose of begging, which is not only a serious crime but also violation of human rights (AP 2018-2022, pp. 14-15). As a result of the activities undertaken by Sarajevo Open Centre, we learned that both the data on and the care provided to other at-risk groups, such as LGBT persons are insufficient (Pandurević, 2020). However, despite being very active and engaged, these organisations cannot replace the institutions, which have responsibility to put in place a reliable system and introduce long-term solutions.

5. Conclusion

This paper provides an overview of sociological interpretations of modern migrations using the accepted definitions of key terms, such as refugees, migrations, trafficking in human beings etc. It is imperative to precisely interpret these terms and use them consistently. Lack of understanding, inadequate interpretation as well as deliberate and malicious confusion between different terms generate fear, intolerance, conflict and racism. Use of the correct term to refer to these persons as to people on the move, objective and humane reporting and critical analysis of the problem, could act as a corrective mechanism and bring the politicians, whose rhetoric and actions are critical to long-term solution of the problem of migration, to account. In addition to politicians, the media and non-governmental sector, great responsibility for creation of positive image and generation of empathy and tolerance is bestowed upon the academic and scientific community, the professors, and their students. It is for that reason that the paper integrates a brief overview of contribution of social sciences in understanding of the phenomenon of migration. Particular emphasis was put on the role of sociology and the fact that sociologists started focusing more keenly on this problem during the 1980s, as a part of their research into modern migration processes, globalisation and neo-liberal economic and political ideology. Sociological research into the modern society focuses on violence and conflict in the world, as well as on the growing problem of global poverty. Both phenomena contribute to pressure on the world population and force people to leave their homes and move toward more developed parts of the world in pursuit of peaceful, safe and dignified life.

Ever since about four decades ago, the sociology of migration developed significantly generating numerous papers of relevance in this area. However, the criticism pointing to lack of gender-based scientific approaches is justified. In general, there is not enough research that focuses on vulnerable categories, at-risk groups, women, children, ailing persons, LGBT community and others. These groups face increased risk of violence, smuggling and trafficking in human beings. Indicators and insights into these problems are particularly scarce. Quantitative research fails to provide in-depth insight into these issues. Such research is important and it cannot be done without adequate collection of data on the part of the relevant institutions and cooperation with these institutions. Reliable data is indispensable for adequate planning of activities that are currently implemented, to be implemented or that should be implemented by the state. They also serve as a basis for qualitative sociological research.

As much as the first part of the paper focused on theory, the second part focused on the situation on the ground, specifically the migration crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina which took off in 2017 and continued to date. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in terms of the level of knowledge of the local residents of the issue and their attitude to the people on the move, is quite unfavourable. The sources of information (cited from documents available for our country and referenced above) focus on the analysis of numbers and statistics on countries of origin, (non)possession of personal identification documents, number of asylum applications etc. There is something to be learned from certain media outlets that report professionally and objectively about the conditions in reception centres, state of health and hardship experienced by these persons. There is no official consolidated data that would provide more detailed insight into the number of women and children, the number of families, the number of men or women who look after an ailing person while in transit, or on members of the LGBT community. In addition, it remains difficult to find reliable data on the number of minor unaccompanied children and the conditions they live in. Local volunteers who help them on daily basis may be able to provide some insight into their situation, which is in most cases rather grave.⁷

The final section of the text presents the analysis of the level of implementation of the official documents, with particular emphasis on the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1328 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and

⁷ Journalist and activist Nidžara Ahmetašević delivered a lecture during 2019/2020 academic year for the students of the Faculty of Political Sciences (Social Work Department and Sociology Department) and explained in detail very complex situation on the ground (in the streets and in the reception centres). In addition to objective existential problems experienced by this population and poor conditions in reception centres, most frequently used words to describe the situation this population experiences were: uncertainty, fear and violence (verbal and physical).

Herzegovina 2018-2022, specifically the section that focuses on migration, women and children refugees and migrants and the problem of smuggling and trafficking in human beings. The Strategy in the Area of Migrations and Asylum 2016-2020 recognises the vulnerable categories on a rather declarative level. Interviews with volunteers, testimonies of migrants and local residents and media reports all suggest that official documents, public perception and the actual reality are three very different things. Objective analysis of the Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1328 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018-2022, specifically the section that focuses on migration, women and children refugees and migrants and the problem of smuggling and trafficking in human beings suggests that the measures specified under the Action Plan have not been implemented to a sufficient degree. This is further corroborated by the lack of transparent indicators of what has been done or improved in the field. One of the arguments that illustrates that little or nothing has been done with regard to security of people on the move and prevention of their abuse through smuggling or trafficking is encapsulated in the information of 10 February 2020, according to which “the Task Force for Fight Against Trafficking in Human Beings had a meeting that followed immediately after the USAID Deputy Director stated that BiH would be denied assistance of the United States unless the problem was addressed”.⁸

⁸ For more details, please visit: <https://ba.voanews.com/a/udarna-grupa-za-trgovinu-ljudima-odrzala-sastanak-nakon-amerizkog-upozorenja-o-obustavi-pomoci/5281537.html>

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Bauman, Z. (2016). *Strangers at Our Door*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jelić, S., and Vasić, M. (2017). Žene i deca migranti – Žrtve trgovine ljudima (Women and Children Migrants – Victims of Trafficking in Human Beings) included in: Lutovac, Z., and Mrđa, S. (ed.) *Savremene migracije i društveni razvoj: interdisciplinarna perspektiva, Tematski zbornik, (Modern Migration and Social Development: Interdisciplinary Perspective, Thematic Compendium)* (pp. 87–97). Belgrade: Sociological Society of Serbia, et al.
- Simić, J. (2017). Prava migranata – poštovanje univerzalnih ljudskih prava ili pravo na razvoj (Rights of Migrants – Respect of Universal Human Rights or Right to Development). *Security Studies Forum*, 1 (1), 73–97.
- Smajić, M. (2017). Sigurnosni aspekti migracijske krize: između humanosti i oblikovanja novih “umjetnih” manjina. (Security Aspects of Migration Crisis: Between Humanity and Shaping of New “Artificial” Minorities) *Security Studies Forum*, 1 (1), 153–167.
- Specijalni izvještaj o stanju u oblasti migracija u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Special Report on Migration Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (2018). The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

References

- Adilagić, R. (2019). *Od viktimizacije do demonizacije: Gdje je istina? Istraživanje o načinima izvještavanja medija o migrantima i izbjeglicama. (From Victimization to Demonisation: Where is the Truth? Research into Media Reporting on Migrants and Refugees)* Sarajevo: Association of BiH Journalists.
- https://www.media.ba/sites/default/files/od_viktimizacije_do_demonizacije_gdje_je_istina_bhn_feb_2019.pdf (Downloaded on 6 January 2020).
- Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSCR 1328 “Women, Peace and Security” in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2018-2022* (2017). Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH.
- Bobić, M. (2018). Rodni prsitup u istraživanju migracija. Rod i integracija u okviru migracija. (Gender Perspective in Migration Research. Gender and Integration within the Framework of Migration) included in: Lutovac, Z., and Mrđa, S. (ed.) *Savremene migracije i društveni razvoj: interdisciplinarna perspektiva, Tematski zbornik (Modern Migration and Social Development: Interdisciplinary Perspective, Thematic Compendium)* (pp. 73–78). Belgrade: Sociological Society of Serbia et al.
- Bojanić-Savić, M., and Repovac Nikšić, V. (2019). “How We Understand Populism?” Popular Responses to Populist Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Sociological Problems*, (Special Issue), 291–311.
- Cizelj-Pajvančić, A., and Cvjetanović, V. (2017). *Rodna perspektiva ličnih priča migrantkinja i migranata (Gender Perspective of Personal Stories Shared by Female and Male Migrants)*. Novi Sad: Gender Knowledge Hub.

- Emirhafizović, M., and Zolić, H. (2017). Dobna struktura i reprodukcija stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine (Demographic Structure and Reproduction of the Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina). Included in Cvitković, I. (ed.). *Demografske i etničke promjene u BiH (Demographic and Ethnic Changes in BiH)*, (pp. 11–27). Sarajevo: Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Friedman, J. (2003). Globalization, Dis-integration, Re-organization. Transformation of violence. U Friedman, J. (ed.) *Globalization, the State, and Violence*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.
- Gidens, E. (2003). *Sociologija (Sociology)*. Belgrade: Faculty of Economics, Belgrade.
- Gilroy, P. (2005). *Postcolonial Melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ibraković, Dž. (2020). Odnos prema izbjeglici – (i) ili biti izbjeglicom (Attitude to Refugee – and (or) to Being One). included in: Čamo, M., and Osmić, A., (ed.) *Zbornik radova: Pola stoljeća sociologije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Proceedings: Half a Century of Sociology in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, (pp. 9–25). Sarajevo: Faculty of Political Sciences of Sarajevo University.
- Mesić, M. (2002). *Međunarodne migracije. Tokovi i teorije. (International Migrations. Flows and Theories)* Zagreb: Societas Sociology Institute.
- Migracioni profil Bosne i Hercegovine za 2018. godinu. (Migration Profile of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2018)* (2019). Immigration Sector. Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ministry of Security. <http://www.msb.gov.ba/PDF/010720191.pdf> (Downloaded on 6 February 2020).
- Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2016). *Strategija u oblasti migracija i azila i Akcijski plan za razdoblje 2016-2020. godina (Strategy in the Area of Migrations and Asylum 2016-2020 and Action Plan)*. http://www.msb.gov.ba/PDF/Strategija_HRV_2016.pdf (Downloaded on 13 February 2020).
- Pandurević: LGBT osobe posebno ranjiva grupa među migrantima. (LGBT Persons as Particularly Vulnerable Groups Among Migrants)* (2020). Sarajevo Open Centre. <https://soc.ba/pandurevic-lgbt-osobe-posebno-ranjiva-grupa-medu-migrantima-video/> (Downloaded on 22 February 2020).
- Procjena situacije u vezi sa migrantima i izbjeglicama u Bosni i Hercegovini. Pregled djelovanja ključnih aktera na terenu. (Assessment: Migrant and Refugee Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Overview of the Intervention of Key Actors in the Field)* (2018). OSCE Mission to BiH. <https://www.osce.org/bs/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/397322?download=true> (Downloaded on 22 February 2020).
- Repovac Nikšić, V., and Ždralović, A. (2018). Cosmopolitan Perspective in the Work of Zygmunt Bauman. *Sociological discourse*, 7 (13–14), 5–27.
- Stokić, V. (2020). *Ljudski o ljudima u pokretu: vratite im dostojanstvo. (Humanely on People on the Move: Give them back their Dignity)* <https://lgbti.ba/ljudski-o-ljudima-u-pokretu-vratite-im-dostojanstvo/> (Downloaded on 21 February 2020).
- Turčalo, S. (2019). *Sigurnosni aspekti migrantske krize u BiH (Security Aspects of Migration Crisis in BiH)*. Unpublished research paper.

Council of Ministers of BiH. (2019). *Informacija o stanju u oblasti migracija u Bosni i Hercegovini u vezi s povećanim prilivom migranata u Bosnu i Hercegovinu (Information on the situation in the area of migration in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of increased influx of migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Council of Ministers Information dated 5 June 2019.

Wartime Sexual Violence and Post-War Gender-Based Violence

MAJDA HALILOVIĆ, PhD

Atlantic Initiative

1. Introduction

This section shall provide a general theoretical overview of sexual and gender-based violence and show progress made with change of paradigm which occurred gradually since the 1970s onward in understanding the phenomenon of violence against women, which resulted in perception of the violence as something other than a mere private and family matter between a man and a woman, but rather a serious problem that requires engagement of the criminal justice system and protection services and condemnation on the part of the public. However, this paradigm change did nothing to deter the perpetrators of wartime rape during the course of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) – in focus of the second part of this section, which also provides overview of the case law in the area of wartime rape and support provided to surviving victims. The second part of the paper provides an overview of post-war violence against women and analysis of the case law in prosecution of the crimes of rape, sexual harassment and domestic violence. The section shall also focus on the analysis of the impact the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 had in changing the attitudes to women victims of sexual violence and look into the extent to which international efforts and civil society interventions reflected on how the victims of wartime rape are recognised and supported in Bosnia and Herzegovina at state and entity level. In addition, the paper shall address the issue of whether and to what extent has the case law expanded the existing knowledge after the prosecution of wartime rape and how the judiciary treated the survivors as opposed to how it treated the perpetrators of rape. The section shall also

examine whether the public of Bosnia and Herzegovina understood judgements and testimonies of surviving women, victims of wartime rape as a warning, and whether those judgements and testimonies led to collective examination of the attitude to women in general and deep awareness and understanding of the serious consequences of rape, sexual violence and domestic violence.

2. Violence Against Women: Paradigm Change

Violence against women has always been there, all over the world, but the efforts to counter violence, punish the perpetrators and change the social mindset, only became visible during the 1960s and 1970s, with the rise of the civil rights movement and the second wave of feminism. The best-organised movements emerged as a result of practical need of women to protect themselves from violence of men and partners by influencing the systems that justified violence. In the United States, **the Battered Women's Movement** and **the Anti-Rape Movement** were among the best prepared organisations that operated as networks and coalitions to create community services and advocate for better legal solutions (Ake and Arnold, 2017).

However, these movements were preceded by a long history that did not favour women. Anglo-American common law stipulated that a husband could physically punish his wife, provided that no lasting injuries were inflicted as a result. During the course of the 19th century, in the era of feminist engagement and reform of matrimonial law, this right of husbands was abolished, but the legal system was still failing to adequately recognise spousal abuse, with sporadic interventions undertaken and the prevailing perception of domestic violence as a private matter. During the late 1970s the feminist movement challenged the concept of family privacy which allowed spousal abuse, and effected introduction of numerous reforms to protect women against violence (Siegel, 1996). With these developments also emerged better theoretical understanding of violence against women. Initial early interpretations according to which men abuse women because they are physically stronger and because they lose control as a result of women's provocations are simply not acceptable today. Violence is now understood as planned and systemic set of behaviours used to maintain the position of power and control, accomplished through a number of patterns of physical, psychological and sexual abuse committed by a man against a woman to accomplish deliberate domination over her (Wagers, 2012). It is also of great importance for the protection systems to recognise different forms of domestic violence, assess risk to life of a victim and devise criminal justice responses and social interventions (Johnson, 1998).

During the second and third waves of feminism, the paradigm of rape changed from the initial prevailing explanation that the rape was caused by biological urges of men for casual sex, to the notion that rape was a crime against property, in other words – a theft, because according to this understanding, sex was a commodity to be used by its owner. Psychological considerations of the personality traits of rapists pointed to a correlation between early development and rape by claiming that some men had stronger proclivity to rape because they grew up in the environment in which they were taught that manipulation and violence were integral element of social relations. Today, the theories supported by most are those that prove that rape was gender-based, founded on gender inequality and hate to women and perception of men that sex is something they are entitled to, even without consent of the other party. These theories are corroborated by examples of actions of defendants accused of rape who often demeaned their victims, mutilated their genitalia and refused to acknowledge women's objection and refusal, considering that her *no* actually meant *yes*.

While **domestic violence and rape** captured the attention of feminists and triggered changes of legislation, **sexual harassment** got on the radar of women's rights activities no earlier than in the 1980s. Legal definition of sexual harassment emerged in the 1980s as an unwelcome behaviour of sexual nature which occurs in the professional environment and Catherine MacKinnon, American legal scholar, made a major breakthrough in the legal theory and ensured that workplace sexual harassment was recognised as a form of gender-based discrimination that must be prohibited under the law. (MacKinnon, 1979). Today, periodical research is conducted across the European Union into sexual harassment and these offences are recognised as a violation of the principle of equal treatment and a form of discrimination, but also as a serious form of violence against women and a violation of human rights. Member states have a duty to encourage employers to develop mechanisms for prevention and protection from workplace sexual harassment (Tsekos, 2003). Despite having clear legal definitions and prevention programmes, sexual harassment remains very widespread, as confirmed by the #MeToo movement, which encouraged women all over the world to speak out about their experience of sexual harassment and rape.

3. Wartime Rape and Denial in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Website of “Vilina vlas” hotel appeals to tourists and those looking for a spa treatment. It reads as follows:

Višegrad spa is a balneo-climatology treatment centre in which direct and indirect effects of water and air provide excellent conditions for all forms of rehabilitation and recreation. Medical programmes are based on the use of natural medicinal thermo-mineral water used in modern procedures of physical medicine and rehabilitation.¹

The hotel website fails to mention the fact that it served as incarceration centre in 1992 in which women, minor young women and even girls were raped on daily basis (BIRN BiH, 2009). The experience of staying in this hotel was described by Australian artist Kym Vercoe, who stayed there during her tour of the Balkans, not knowing anything about its dark past. Haunted by the feeling of discomfort, she did a research into the hotel upon her return to Australia and soon thereafter learned that the hotel was used as a rape camp. Her story has led the director Jasmila Žbanić to direct the film titled: “For Those Who Can Tell No Tales”, about this hotel and the culture of denial of crimes against women who suffered wartime rape. Unfortunately, “Vilina vlas” is not the only place where women were raped; it is estimated that over 20,000 women were **raped and subjected to other forms of sexual violence** in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995.² A large number of women was kept in captivity and tortured, some were subjected to forced pregnancy in “rape camps” (Amnesty International, 2017, p. 9). The exact number of raped men is not known, but it is estimated to several thousand (Trial International, 2017).

Immediately after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, women were reluctant to publicly speak out about the rape as they feared condemnation, shame and stigma that was automatically attributed to women who suffered this act. However, in the interest of justice, women did testify in courts and some even publicly spoke of their experience. Gender norms imposed within society allow no room for recognition of suffering of men who experienced rape, which was why most men who survived rape kept their experience to themselves. During the course of the war and immediately thereafter, the international community

¹ Vilina vlas. About us. Available on: <https://vilinavlas.com/o-nama/>

² See the Resolution 1670 (2009) of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly: *Sexual violence Against Women in Armed Conflict*, adopted on 29 May 2009. Available on: <http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=17741&lang=en>

and broader public realised the extent to which mass rapes were systemic in nature. As a result, it became necessary to define these planned patterns of sexual violence against women. This was corroborated by the judgements for war crimes pronounced by the Hague Tribunal³ which, for the first time ever, recognised and defined wartime rape as a war crime and crime against humanity. Numerous studies and interviews were conducted with women survivors of rape after the war. Their narratives made it clear that rape marked traumatic turning point in their lives, even for those who perceive themselves as survivors, rather than victims. Their lives were marked forever by this personal trauma that resonated in their relationships with their partners and children, their attitudes to their own bodies and their place in their communities (Snyder, 2006).

In the broad spectrum of human rights violations, rape is the kind of violation that **in most cases targets women**. What sets the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina apart from other conflicts is the fact that wartime rape gave rise to a serious debate both on the causes of rape and on possible ways to prevent it. These debates helped overcome the theories that used to be popular in the past, according to which rape was a product of biological and uncontrollable urges of men who take advantage of the situation of armed conflict to satisfy those sexual urges. Instead, the feminists drove the dialogue toward **misogyny**, already widespread in society, which found its most brutal expression in the war. This dialogue was partly made possible because women in the 20th century entered into politics and legal profession, occupying prominent positions which enabled them to offer other perspectives on rape and give victims of rape a voice. Susan Brownmiller wrote on the subject many years before the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina explaining that the culture of patriarchy grooms men to despise women and wartime circumstances enable them to express that despise, as illustrated by the brutality that went hand in hand with wartime rape of women in BiH, which makes it clear that hate of women plays an important part in the commission of such atrocities in the time when social order collapses and rules cease to apply. (Included in: Snyder, 2006, p. 186).

Nena Močnik argues that Balkan is no different than other places in how it stigmatises, mystifies and controls sex in the local culture and male dominated ideology which shapes intimate relationships, which in the Balkan, just as much as elsewhere in the world, represents a replica of heteronormative discourse on sexuality. Močnik claims that few research papers on Balkan sexuality mainly

³ For more information about judgements in cases of rape as a war crime, see the judgement in the case of "Kunarac, Kovač and Vuković". Kunarac et al. (IT-96-23 & 23/1). Available on: United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/kunarac/acjug/en/kun-aj020612e.pdf>

portray Balkan as primitive, wild and cruel to women, a place where women were raped during conflict. Ethnic folklore encouraged such perceptions to a degree, and Močnik refers to folk songs which, among other things, imply forceful sexual intercourse. At the same time, in the broader public, despite formally being equal in the Former Yugoslavia, women were often portrayed as sex objects, as highlighted in Cathrin McKinnon's critical overview of the popular periodical "Start", which introduced pornography into the *mainstream* public arena. According to McKinnon, pornography is one of the triggers of rape. This portrayal and the correlation between Balkan pornography and rape was rejected by the feminists of the region who accused McKinnon of being ill informed and trying to simplify social, cultural and political features of the region. (Kesić, 1994). According to the information specified above, there is nothing very special about Balkan, as misogyny, patriarchy and pornography are present in well-developed as well as underdeveloped countries of the world, now and in the past, and though they may be manifested in different ways in different regions, there is no doubt about their widespread presence.

Therefore **patriarchy, misogyny and pornography** do provide important background that no doubt contributed to perpetration of sexual violence against women during the conflict, but they still fall short to provide detailed understanding of mass rape that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war. Question here is how is it possible that that many women were raped during the war and that that many men participated, committed or observed such mass rapes in a country in which women were believed, at least declaratively and legally, to be equal to men. The understanding of the society that existed at the time could not be reduced to simple misogyny and patriarchy, as often claimed in the sources, as it encompassed much richer and much more diverse nuances of life and social relations. Important fact here, that is now often overlooked when rapes are debated or written about, is that **victims of rape were predominantly Bosniak women**, while perpetrators were predominantly Serb soldiers (Amnesty International, 1993). This argument is not made to deny that rape occurred on all sides. However, to understand the dynamics and causes of mass rape, it is important to remember systemic and planned pattern of rape deliberately targeting one group. Therefore, the mass proportions of rape required the existence of an ideology founded on the deep-rooted nationalism and ethnic extremism determined to exterminate one people, as demonstrated and proved in judgements for war crimes (Bećirević, 2014). Only combination of misogyny with the intent to engage into ethnic cleansing and genocide against Bosniaks can produce mass rape, as recognised by the **International Criminal Tribunal**, which labelled such mass rape as a weapon of war and war crime used not only

against women individually or as a group, but for the purpose of spreading fear, persecution, destruction of communities and devastation of families.

For raped women, treatment of rape as crime against humanity made it possible for them to more openly speak of their experience and testify in the court. In the past, no one ever spoke of rape, while now, much to the credit of the ICTY judgements, rape is discussed as a very specific crime and some of the victims believe that the new narrative on rape changed Bosnia and Herzegovina (Inger, 2006). The fact that rape was used as a weapon of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina meant that women were raped because they belonged to a certain ethnic group, not just because they were women, which has a specific significance in how the raped women can later deal with the trauma of rape. According to Inger, (2006) the fact that a woman was raped because she belongs to a certain ethnic group which was targeted and subjected to other crimes in the intent to destroy it, means that such woman, because she belongs to that group, can reach out to the group and count on understanding and solidarity from other men and women. Inger also argues that such solidarity transcends traditional patriarchal division within the family, as corroborated by personal stories of some of the surviving women who received support from their husbands because both felt that they suffered and survived these crimes (Inger, 2006). However, the reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also the reality of other countries where mass rapes occurred during the war, suggests that the interpretation offered by Inger should not be taken as universal experience of raped women. The support of spouses and communities is more often the exception than the rule in societies which experienced mass rape. At the same time, women who survived rape received support from women's organisations and associations that emerged immediately after the war and actively engaged in provision of assistance and empowerment of survivors of war time rape.

Women survivors of rape often wonder if they could have avoided what happened to them, they avoid speaking about the crime, they distance themselves from their loved ones, often experience negative reactions of family and friends, which may cause some of those relationships to break up and it even happens that victims' spouses ask questions like: "why were you the one to get raped and not somebody else, did you do something to provoke it?" (Trail International str. 20).

Prejudice, stigma and denial of experience of raped women are mostly reflected in obstacles to recognising their status in society and getting adequate assistance from the state. While immediately after the war, families of fallen soldiers and civilian war victims got their status recognised and entitlements awarded

with relative ease, it took victims of wartime rape and women's organisations many years of incessant advocacy and engagement to get benefits, and in some parts of BiH, their struggle is still ongoing. As noted in the Final Report on the Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014–2017, **entitlements are not consistent across Bosnia and Herzegovina**. While special status⁴ is awarded to victims of rape in the Federation of BiH, in Republika Srpska⁵ the law does not recognise persons who survived sexual abuse and rape as special category of civilian victims of war. Under the provisions of this law, benefits are awarded to persons who sustained injuries resulting from wartime violence including rape, which resulted in a minimum of 60% disability. Such formulation makes it difficult to prove rape, since it is a specific type of trauma, which discourages victims from reporting their trauma and pursuing assistance. In the FBiH, at the level of individual cantons, persons who survived war time sexual violence are treated as a separate category of civilian victims of war, with monetary benefits and other entitlements awarded to them including health protection, psychological assistance and the assistance in covering the cost of treatment and procurement of orthopaedic aids, professional rehabilitation, retraining and additional training, while in some cantons, affirmative action is undertaken to ensure these persons are given priority in employment, housing and legal aid. It is clear that it is necessary to develop comprehensive and consistent approach in BiH to improve the status and position of all women victims of war, including fighting stigma attributed to sexual violence and expansion of the existing measures of provision of benefits, support and rehabilitation, in addition to ensuring equal access to such services for all women victims, regardless of their place of residence (Fransioli, 2013).

4. Case Law and Wartime Rape

Case law treats wartime rape differently compared to other rape cases, specifically, the requirement to **prove coercion, extortion or force** which applies to rape in the time of peace, should not apply to wartime rape due to the circumstances of war. During war, victims are in extremely vulnerable position and any resistance to hostile soldiers is impossible. Following international case law, the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina changed the provisions on rape in the Criminal Code in 2015 and completely eliminated the requirement of existence of coercion. The research of Trial International of 2017 confirms

⁴ Law on Basics of Social Protection, Protection of Civilian Victims of War and Protection of Families with Children of FBiH, "Official Gazette of the Federation of BiH", No: 36/09, 54/04, 39/06, 14/09 and 45/16.

⁵ Law on Protection of Civilian Victims of War in Republika Srpska, "Official Gazette of the RS", No 25/93, 32/94, 37/07, 60/07, 111/09 and 118/09.

that these provisions reject the possibility of consent and lack of resistance that defence is often trying to prove. However, in the case of “Radosav Milovanović”, District Court in Bijeljina ruled to acquit the defendant because, among other things, the victim voluntarily went to the house of the defendant and “was able to show resistance under such circumstances” (Trial International, 2017, p. 36).

Courts and Prosecutor’s Offices are in the unique position to contribute to creation of the social narrative that could eventually lead to understanding of rape as a serious crime that cannot be justified in any way. However, this goal is undermined by malicious lasting myths and prejudices on war time rape that were documented and shown in 2017 Trial International research, which are manifested in the language of judgements, questions asked in the courtroom, as well as in allocation of some protective measures. Although it is not allowed to ask victims questions about their sex life, this research shows that defence lawyers often bring up references to victims’ previous sexual experience prior to rape, hoping that judges would believe in the myth of “promiscuous” survivors who caused the criminal offence, claiming their prior promiscuous behaviour, frequent change of sexual partners and their current way of life were the reason they were raped. The problem for women who survived rape is that the defence often shares details of their life after the criminal offence was committed, which is not prohibited, and such practice is illustrated by the situation referred to in the research, in which the defence lawyer showed photos of half-naked victim and shared the details of her intimate relationships. In addition, the questions about lack of sexual experience of some victims aiming to differentiate between “promiscuous” women and “innocent” victims also undermine victim’s dignity and imply that the crime was her fault. The language used during trials could also reinforce prejudice and implicitly minimise the crime, as illustrated by some examples of cases of wartime rape, such as the following: “He took the injured party away and had sexual intercourse with her”, or “Afterwards, he engaged in sexual intercourse with her on the bed and then he told her to take a shower... After the shower, he had sexual intercourse with her again.”. In some cases prosecutors asked victims what the sexual intercourse was like or used language like: “the defendants sexually pleased each other”, which implies to some extent that there was no coercion and that the main drive was to give one another sexual pleasure, rather than violence (Trial International, 2017).

Nevertheless, in addition to persisting gender-based prejudice and myths, the OSCE Mission to BiH claims that significant **progress has been made in prosecution of wartime rape**. In the ten-year period until 2013, a total of 111 cases were processed which included charges of sexual violence committed

during the armed conflict. The Court of BiH completed 36 cases in this category, convicted 33 perpetrators and acquitted 12 persons, which represents 73% conviction rate for the sexual violence charges. In late 2019, indictments were confirmed in additional 18 cases, although in 3 cases the defendants were outside the jurisdiction of BiH authorities. The OSCE Mission to BiH highlights that significant progress was made and adds that female and male judges and prosecutors show considerable understanding in prosecution of rape cases, although the total number of indictments for the crimes of sexual violence raised by the Prosecutor's Office of BiH remains low, when compared with substantial number of crimes committed (OSCE Mission to BiH, 2014, p. 5). Mlinarević, Čaušević and Čaušević (2012) point to the need to work on strengthening of gender-awareness of the staff of the Court of BiH, but also highlight examples resulting from the trial monitoring programme of male and female judges, who showed sensibility to rape victims and interrupted inappropriate and aggressive line of questioning of defence attorneys.

5. Post-War Violence Against Women: Laws and their Enforcement

Perhaps it was overly optimistic to expect that collective examination of ideas, views and attitudes to women would take place immediately after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and commission of mass rapes and that crimes of such proportion would bring about better treatment of women and decrease the prevalence of violence. Many women in Bosnia and Herzegovina today are exposed to violence and the latest OSCE survey showed that **48% of women experienced some form of violence**, including violence by intimate partner, stalking and sexual harassment, since the age of 15. Almost four in ten women (38%) stated they experienced psychological, physical or sexual violence since the age of 15 committed by partner or non-partner (FBiH: 36%, RS: 39%). One in seven women (14%) claimed to have experienced **psychological or sexual violence** since the age of 15 by partner or non-partner. Since the age of 15, 28% claimed to have experienced **sexual harassment** (RS: 31%; FBiH: 26%), while 10% of women experienced sexual harassment within the 12-month period prior to the survey (RS: 14%, FBiH: 9%). **Stalking** was experienced by one in 20 interviewed women (5% in both entities) (OSCE, 2019).

A lot has been done in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past two decades **to address the issue of domestic violence**. Legal framework has been amended, safe houses put in place for women to escape their abusers and get support, free legal aid has been introduced to help women exercise their rights and women's non-governmental and international organisations work around the clock to

raise awareness and encourage women to get help. It appears that these efforts yielded results as the OSCE survey indicated that the highest number of reported cases of violence was the violence committed by the former partner, followed by violence committed by the current partner. At the same time, it is disheartening that sexual harassment remains underreported, as demonstrated by very scarce case law of less than 10 adjudicated cases since sexual harassment was introduced in the body of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Galić et al., 2018). In addition, during the course of active engagement of the #MeToo movement, women in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not speak out of their experiences, which indicates that sexual harassment is still something women are ashamed of, something they would rather not share with others and something they are reluctant to speak about publicly.

International human rights instruments are binding for states that ratified them and such states have the responsibility for implementation of norms stemming from these instruments. The importance of these documents is reflected in the fact that they expand on the international rights and define the rights of women. Recognising the importance of promotion of women's rights, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Convention) in 1979, which entered into force in 1981 as a global, comprehensive, legally binding international treaty for state parties, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Committee for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, in its Recommendation 19 on violence against women clarified as follows: "*The definition of discrimination includes gender-based violence, that is, violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm*". Another document of major global importance is the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995. The Declaration encompasses different areas of private and public life, including the issue of violence against women.

As a next step, the Council of Europe issued the first document that directly tackles the issue of domestic violence: *The Council of Europe Convention on Prevention and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence*. (CAHVIO/**Istanbul Convention**). Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified the Convention in 2013, and thus assumed a number of responsibilities focusing on improvement of response to violence against women, including domestic violence. According to these conventions, the state is responsible for actions committed by an individual if it fails to ensure sanction based on the rule of law or fails to undertake measures, fails to prevent consequences resulting from those actions and fails to

grant access to justice (*due diligence*). The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 “Women, Peace and Security” adopted in 2000, was the first UN Security Council resolution that highlights the importance of the role and equal participation of women in preventing and resolving conflict and peace-building and calls on the member states to ensure greater participation of women in decision-making at all levels and ensure higher degree of integration of gender perspective in defence and security sectors, as well greater protection and respect of human rights of women and girls both in armed conflicts and in the peace-building and security-building processes. It is also important to note the **UN Resolution 1820 (2008)**, which focuses on the issue of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations and highlights the importance of prevention of sexual violence against women and punishment of perpetrators, which is of particular importance for the process of reconciliation and building of lasting and sustainable peace.

Rape was criminalised in criminal codes at all three legislative levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically: Criminal Code of the Federation of BiH, Criminal Code of Republika Srpska and Criminal Code of Brčko District of BiH. The provisions of the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina do not include this criminal offence, which is understandable given the scope of protection provided in line with division of jurisdictions in the area of criminal justice. The exception is found only when the rape, or specifically, the crime of sexual violence, constitutes the essence of another criminal offence encompassed under the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina and therefore represents criminal offence of crime against humanity or war crime against civilian population. **Sexual harassment** is defined under the Law on Gender Equality (2003) and the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination, labour laws and Criminal Code of the RS.

Since 2000, existing laws were amended and new ones adopted to deal with the issue of **domestic violence**, including criminal codes (FBiH, RS, Brčko District of BiH), entity laws on protection from domestic violence, the Law on Gender Equality of BiH and the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination of BiH. The Criminal Code of the RS introduced the criminal offence of domestic violence in 2000, while the Criminal Code of the FBiH introduced the same criminal offence in 2003. Both Republika Srpska and the Federation of BiH adopted laws on protection from domestic violence in 2005. These laws specify measures for protection of victims of domestic violence as well as the responsibility of employees in healthcare, social protection, education, non-governmental organisations and other institutions and bodies to report domestic violence. Based on these laws, corresponding bylaws were enacted to mandate in more detail the procedures to be followed by the relevant actors in cases of violence against women and award of protective measures in cases of domestic violence.

Analysis of Atlantic Initiative which encompassed 38 final judgements points to problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina in prosecution of cases of rape not related to the war. The judgements disprove the myth that rapists are men who attack scantily clad women late at night and show that rape is often committed by persons known to the victim and that the perpetrators take advantage of victim's vulnerability in various ways. The sample of analysed judgements indicated that even children and younger minors both male and female were victims of rape, as well as elderly women, all of whom were carefully and deliberately targeted by the perpetrators who took advantage of their vulnerability and resorted to different methods to deter victims from reporting the crime. Even superficial analysis of the judgements indicates that sentencing policy in criminal cases of rape and other cases against sexual freedom is not harmonised across Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sentences range from prison sentence of three months to fifteen years and six months, with exception of one case against a minor perpetrator against whom the court pronounced the sanction of educational measures (Halilović, 2019).

Analyses point to inconsistencies in how the courts evaluate **mitigating circumstances** because it often appears as if there is no clear connection between the perpetration of a specific criminal offence and the mitigating circumstances considered by the court, as shown in this example: *“Regarding the personality of the defendant, the Court considered the mitigating circumstance as reflected in the fact that the defendant is a very serious person (...) who has a very demanding and complex job.”* Economic hardship or, for instance, the fact that the defendant is unemployed, or a parent, that courts often accept as mitigating circumstances, could perhaps be acceptable in cases of crimes against property. However, judges fail to explain why such circumstances are considered in favour of the defendant in cases of rape. In addition, in one case, the fact that the act was only attempted and not completed was taken as a mitigating circumstance, despite the fact that the reason the act was not completed was not because the perpetrator changed his mind and stopped his attack, but because the victim managed to escape, which logically speaking, should not work in favour of the defendant. The victim was indemnified in only one case, while in the rest of the cases the victim was advised to initiate civil proceedings to get compensation, which represents an additional burden for the victims and adds to the overall duration of the proceedings. The analysis also showed that temporary insanity due to intoxication that the defendant brought upon himself was accepted as a mitigating circumstance. It is rather interesting that one court found praiseworthy that the defendant at first plead not guilty, but showed remorse later during the trial, and very often appropriate demeanour demonstrated in the courtroom is also taken as

mitigating circumstance, although appropriate demeanour is standard and to be expected of everyone participating in court proceedings (Halilović, 2019).

There seems to be more consistency in consideration of aggravating circumstances, where lasting consequences of the rape, abuse of position (failure of the defendant to appropriately look after the child in his care, failure to honour the trust given), gravity of the offence, premeditation, perfidy, persistence, cruelty, method of perpetration, prior convictions and the fact that the defendant is not showing remorse or responsibility for the act, are all considered aggravating for the defendant. The trauma of rape is often not taken into account if the victim is an adult woman or if the rape was only attempted and not committed. In one case, the court expert noted that the person is not suffering lasting consequences although she was physically injured and very emotionally distraught after the attack. In one case, the court noted that the fact that the injured parties expressed interest in initiating criminal proceedings against the defendant was deemed by the court as aggravating circumstance, although pursuing criminal proceedings is not something the injured parties should be responsible for (Atlantic Initiative, 2019).

It is a well-known fact that different victims react differently during the course of sexual assault; some victims resist, while others freeze or conclude that resistance is futile and that it would additionally aggravate the perpetrator, who already has advantage due to the element of surprise, or simply due to being physically superior. Although the Istanbul Convention in its Article 36 mandates that engaging in non-consensual act of sexual nature is to be considered rape, practice in our courts is still far from such position and insists on proving resistance or coercion as a condition for the offence to be considered rape, as demonstrated by the following explanation: *“the resistance must be real and serious, far beyond a mere pretence of shame.* In one such particularly shocking case from 2016, (Br.13 O K 003998 16 K) the uncle, found by the court to have committed the act of sexual nature against a 15 years old nephew, was acquitted for the crime of rape because he did not use force or threat, and the court insisted that the resistance on the part of the victim was required in that situation. In this case, the court failed to consider the fact that the defendant was much older than the boy, that the boy was staying in his house, that the boy was afraid of the uncle and in the past heard stories of him being dangerous and the fact that the defendant took advantage of his position of authority. Not even the fact that the boy froze during the event was considered sufficient by the court. The judgement specified that the treatment of the case would have been different if the boy was 14 at the time the offence took place, citing that under those circumstances the act

would have been considered a criminal offence due to the fact that it is prohibited to engage in sexual intercourse with a 14 year old child. The judgement further cited that it was proved during the proceedings that the boy suffered substantial psychological trauma resulting from the event and that he was undergoing psychological counselling. Such narrow interpretation of consent and coercion is one of the ways to discourage victims from pursuing the claim for court protection. In addition, it is contrary to the Istanbul Convention and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Lanzarote Convention which aims at preventing and countering sexual abuse of children. The new Criminal Code of the RS of 2017, in its Article 173 offers protection from sexual abuse to children over the age of 15 and we therefore expect that the judgements like the one cited above would no longer be made.

Another judgement analysed by the Atlantic Initiative argues that the victim contributed to perpetration of the criminal offence by accepting the ride from the perpetrator with whom she was in a relationship in the past. The judgement showed that the defence attorneys questioned both the resistance and consent on the part of the victim, by asking: *“how is it possible that she was unable to defend herself when she had mastery of martial arts”*, which indicates they were not aware of different reactions demonstrated by rape victims. The analysis of these judgements indicates the use of language which, as mentioned previously, was also identified in wartime rape cases, which is problematic because it fails to point to the fact that rape is in essence the act of violence, rather than a sexual intercourse. That is clearly demonstrated in formulations frequently used by judges in the rationale section of their judgements, specifically: *“he engaged in sexual intercourse..., she slept with him..., they had sex..., he sexually pleased himself..., etc.”*

Bias is visible in another case in which the court argued that rape was particularly painful for the injured party because she is patriarchal person raised in a patriarchal family. In another case, the court argued that a person would think twice about engaging in sexual intercourse if she was a virgin. Obviously, we have to wonder about the effect of such views of the court on victims who had prior sexual encounters and at some point in their life found themselves in the courtroom because they were raped (Atlantic Initiative, 2019). It is particularly difficult for women victims of violence who are exposed to prejudice and discrimination due to their other social features, such as disability, or the fact that they are members of national, sexual or gender minority groups. Reporting of sexual violence is particularly difficult for women with disabilities due to practical barriers, but also due to the fact that they are often dependent on those who commit violence against them (Atlantic Initiative, 2019).

The analysis of domestic violence cases in the case law of Bosnia and Herzegovina shows year after year lenience in determination of the sanctions and excessive use of mitigating circumstances. Čehajić and Veljan (2017) argue that progress is visible, but not sufficient, especially in the area of use of suspended sentences, but add that prison sentences are more frequent and somewhat longer. It is encouraging that judges and prosecutors are more open to attending training on violence against women, as demonstrated by the curricula of centres for training of judges and prosecutors. In addition, the interviews with women who experienced domestic violence show the importance they attribute to courts not only in terms of the sanctions they would impose and immediate protection from the abuser they would provide, but also in terms of validation of their experience and unequivocal condemnation of this criminal offence. Frequent mitigating circumstance cited in domestic violence cases is the fact that the defendant is “a family man”, which is perceived as humiliating by women who find such statements to cause them additional pain. They wonder how someone who abuses his wife in the presence of his children and fails to participate in their care can be described as a family man and how can such label of the perpetrator be included in the judgement. Judgments have great importance to them and they often refer to what is written in the judgement when they talk about violence (Halilović, 2015).

The study titled: “**Survivors Speak**” shows that women whose cases were concluded with a suspended sentence deemed such sentence inadequate for the perpetrators, expressing doubt that such sentence would deter perpetrators from engaging in violence again. Women also believe that the experience they had in the courtroom, regardless of whether they participated in criminal or divorce proceedings, had decisive impact on the way they dealt with the trauma and violence they experienced. (Halilović, 2015, p. 81). In addition, many women spoke of how important it was for them to feel safe in the court, due to the fear they felt in the presence of their abusers. One of the interviewed women spoke of how satisfied she was with the way the court dealt with her case. During her first appearance in the courtroom, her husband got upset, and she felt that she had support of the judge:

[My husband] was shouting that all I wanted was a divorce and that I was after other men (...) The judge was kind to me, he told him to keep quiet, insisted it was my turn to speak and instructed him not to interrupt me again. (cited in: Halilović, 2015, p. 83).

6. Conclusion

One must wonder how is it possible to ignore the gruesome past of a place like “Vilina vlas” hotel and how is it possible that there is nothing there now to honour the women who survived such brutal rape and abuse. The culture of denial of crime against women goes hand in hand with denial of crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general, glorification of war crimes and war criminals and the attempts to minimise the crimes. Denial and minimalization of violence is not only devastating to reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina; it leads to unfair attitude to victims and creates the atmosphere in which violence in general and sexual violence in particular are ignored for the sake of maintenance of image of a community that appears to live in peace, while ignoring the crimes, regardless of the impact it has on the dignity of victims and the dignity of the entire community that harbours such attitudes to war crimes.

The way in which society treats victims of wartime rape, their struggle to survive and get on with their lives, inadequate social assistance and lack of solidarity, denial of these crimes, all demonstrate the attitude of society to wartime rape. The message that such attitude sends is not the message of understanding and assurance that such abuse would never happen again. The acts of violence reinforce the conviction of abusers that violence would continue to be tolerated in their communities, even after the courts convict them and that the society would remain reluctant to do anything to stop them. We should also point to the importance of strong response of the judiciary, with clear message that violence is the scourge of society and that women are protected under the law. The way in which the judiciary treats such acts of violence now unfortunately does not correspond to the efforts put in different awareness raising campaigns and initiatives to change the legal framework. It will take a serious shift in how sexual violence is perceived in a society, in other words:

Stigmatisation will only be eliminated once the society stops to view sexual violence as a mere “violent expression of one’s sexuality” or the result of “natural urges”, and starts viewing it as “sexual expression of violence” (Trial International, 2017).

What is also necessary is the change of narrative on women as victims of ethnic and gender identities, because women are more than just victims; they are the survivors who fight and who deserve to get a more prominent role in peace building, as underlined in the UNSCR 1325. The understanding that gender, sexuality and sexual violence are not permanent, lasting concepts, but

rather ideologies that can be transformed, can pave the way to the process of transformation and change (McCaughey included in: Henderson, 2013, included in: Močnik).

To be able to understand how these mass rapes were even possible, it is necessary to understand the way in which culture and nationalism may mobilise traditional discourse on gender and introduce gender aspect into the war. Under such circumstances, what we see at play is extremely dangerous and deliberate mobilisation of culture that encourages revival of traditional ways and use of identity politics and moral values that weaponize rape and make it an instrument of ethnic cleansing. It is extremely troubling that such problems generated by political ideology and nationalism are not detected on time, before the idea of mass rape is translated into practice (Doja, 2019), as tragically demonstrated in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is also of great concern that nationalist political ideology is on the rise again, with its recurring drive toward revival of traditional way of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is supported by the conservative religious narratives which enslave women in ethnic and patriarchal dogma, under the excuse of maintenance of tradition, religion, values and honour. These narratives need to be seriously and publicly challenged and deconstructed to encourage women and women's organisations to more seriously engage in prevention of nationalism and ethnic intolerance and point at misogyny and toxic patriarchy, because the combination of these ideas and ideologies represents the greatest threat to women of repeated sexual violence, but also of denial of rights of women and their security in the time of peace.

Going back to the question posed earlier: "did the mass rape that occurred during the war result in broad examination of attitudes to violence against women in general?", we are about to conclude that despite amending laws, ratifying international conventions and activities undertaken by civil society, attitude to violence against women is still often characterised by stigma, prejudice and lack of support, which is the result of still dominating patriarchal discourse which helps catapult misogyny into the public sphere. It is about time that the society starts treating women who suffered and survived sexual violence with respect and starts directing shame and condemnation for this criminal offence solely at perpetrators, but unfortunately, that is still not the prevailing discourse. This is vividly illustrated by a Facebook status of one of the representatives of "Savez za bolju budućnost" in the House of Representatives of the Federation of BiH, posted in February of 2020, which reads as follows:

While men were busy hunting, hostile troops entered the village and raped all women but one, who managed to overpower her attacker and kill him. When she stepped outside her tent, pushing the dead body of her assailant outside, she found other women there in tears, disarray and great distress. No one there failed to notice that she was the only one with the body of a dead soldier at her feet. Other women stared at her. "Why are you all looking at me like that? Weren't you too able to resist the enemy, whatever the cost? I am ready to sacrifice my life for my honour, and this time, I was lucky too. I managed to overpower him", she uttered with pride in her voice. Other women exchanged looks with one another and started whispering. They decided to kill her, lest their husbands wondered why they were unable to resist the rapists, like she did. It did not take long for them to jump down her throat and kill her. They killed honour so that shame could live on. Such is the state of affairs in our society as well. We often see honest people killed, persecuted and attacked to disguise someone else's laziness, corruption, bribery and crime!

This status encapsulates a lot of things that are wrong, obsolete, insulting and toxic in the understanding of violence against women in general, and rape in particular and it is quite stunning that someone is able to publicly share such ideas, especially when that someone is representative of the government, someone expected to demonstrate higher degree of accountability to the public. According to this post, women are expected to overpower their rapists and keep their "honour", and those who fail in this endeavour shall be questioned, shamed and accused for what had happened to them. It is particularly troubling that many, including some women, positively reacted to this post, but it still encourages that a large number of attentive female and male citizens and media strongly condemned this post, which points to the fact that we still managed to make some progress since the war when it comes to violent acts against women in our society. It is also encouraging that discussions on domestic violence increasingly occupy the attention of the public, that the case law in cases of violence against women is getting scrutinised and reviewed and that it is now clearer than ever that violence against women is a serious threat to women's safety that commands the attention of institutions at all levels.

Recommendations for Further Reading

- Doja, A. (2019). Politics of mass rapes in ethnic conflict: A morphodynamics of raw madness and cooked evil. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 71 (5), 541–580. 10.1007/s10611-018- 9800-0. halshs-01319734.
- Marković, I., Halilović, M. and Čehajić-Čampara, M. (ur.). (2019). *Priručnik za razmatranje krivičnog djela silovanja u sudskoj praksi u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Benchmark for consideration of the criminal offence of rape in the caselaw of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative.
- OSCE. (2019). *Well-Being and Safety of Women. OSCE-led Survey on Violence Against Women*. Trial International. (2017). *Mitovi o silovanju na suđenjima za ratno seksualno nasilje. Prebacivanje tereta sa preživjelih na počinitelje. (Rape Myths in Wartime Sexual Violence Trials. Transferring the Burden from Survivor to Perpetrator)* Sarajevo.

References

- Ake, J., and Arnold, G. (2017). A Brief History of Anti-violence against women movement in the United States. https://in.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-assets/79117_book_item_79117.pdf
- Amnesty International. (1993). *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Rape and sexual abuse by armed forces*. Amnesty International, *Women in the front line*, AI Index: ACT 77/01/91, mart 1991.
- Amnesty International. (2017). “*Trebamo podršku a ne sažaljenje*”: Posljednja šansa za pravdu za bosanskohercegovačke žrtve ratnog silovanja. (*We Need is Support, Not Pity: Last Chance for Justice for Bosnia’s Wartime Rape Survivors*) London: Amnesty International.
- Bećirević, E. (2014). *Genocide on the Drina River*. Yale University Press.
- BIRN BiH. (6. 11. 2009). Ranjena duša (Wounded Soul). *Justice Report*. Accessed on 20 January 2020. <https://www.justice-report.com/bh/sadržaj-članci/moja-priča-ranjena-duša>
- Čehajić, M. and Veljan, N. (2018). *Analiza sudske prakse u predmetima nasilja u porodici (Analysis of Case Law in Domestic Violence Cases)*. Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative.
- Doja, A. (2019). Politics of mass rapes in ethnic conflict: A morphodynamics of raw madness and cooked evil. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 71 (5), 541–580. 10.1007/s10611-018- 9800-0. halshs-01319734.
- Fransioli, E. G. (2013). *Godišnji izvještaj o stanju prava žena u Bosni i Hercegovini tokom 2013. godine. (Annual Report on the State of Women’s Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013)* Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre.
- Galić, N., Kadribašić, A., Milišić-Veličkovski, S., Veljan, N. and Halilović, M. (2018). *Priručnik za sudije i tužioce za postupanje u predmetima seksualnog uznemiravanja. (Practice Handbook for Judges and Prosecutors in Sexual Harassment Cases)* Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative.

- Halilović, H. (2019). Sudsko odmjeravanje kazne u predmetima silovanja i drugih krivičnih djela protiv spolne slobode – analiza olakšavajućih i otežavajućih okolnosti (Sentencing in Cases of Rape and Other Crimes Against Sexual Freedom – Analysis of Mitigating and Aggravating Circumstances). Included in: I. Marković, M. Halilović and M. Čehajić-Čampara (ed.). *Priručnik za razmatranje krivičnog djela silovanja u sudskoj praksi u Bosni i Hercegovini (Benchbook for consideration of the criminal offence of rape in the caselaw of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (pp. 19–34). Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative
- Halilović, M. (2015). *Survivors speak: Reflections on Criminal Justice System Responses to Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. DCAF / Atlantic initiative.
- Johnson, M. P. and Leone, M. J. (2005). The Differential Effects of Intimate Terrorism and Situational Couple Violence: Findings from the National Violence against Women Survey. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26 (3), 322–349.
- Kesic, V. (1994). A Response to Catharine MacKinnon’s Article “Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide”. *Hastings Women’s L. J.* 2 (2/5), 267–280. Accessed on 20 January 2020 <https://repository.uchastings.edu/hwlj/vol5/iss2/5>
- MacKinnon, A. C. (1979). *Sexual Harassment of Working Women*. Yale University Press.
- Marković, I., Halilović, M. and Čehajić-Čampara, M. (ur.). (2019). *Priručnik za razmatranje krivičnog djela silovanja u sudskoj praksi u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Benchbook for consideration of the criminal offence of rape in the caselaw of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative.
- Mlinarević, G., Čaušević, J. and Čaušević, J. (2012). *Procesuiranje ratnog seksualiziranog nasilja na Sudu Bosne i Hercegovine : šta se dogodilo sa interesom pravde? : analiza i preporuke u vezi sa rodno osjetljivim praćenjem suđenja za ratno seksualizirano nasilje u Bosni i Hercegovini u periodu 23. maj 2011. – 25. maj 2012. (Prosecution of Wartime Sexualized Violence at the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina: What Happened to the Interest of Justice? An Analysis and Recommendations on Gender Sensitive Trial Monitoring for Wartime Sexualized Violence Cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Period 23 May 2011 to 25 May 2012)* Sarajevo: Association Alumni of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies (ACIPS).
- Močnik, N. (no date). “U divojke među nogan janje, a u mene nožina za klanje”: The Epistemological Evolution of ‘Imagining the Sexualities’ through Violence in Balkans. Accessed on 20 February 2020. http://www.yuhistorija.com/society_txt01c1.html
- OSCE. (2014). *Borba protiv nekažnjivosti za seksualno nasilje u oružanom sukobu u Bosni i Hercegovini: postignuti napredak i izazovi: Analiza krivičnih postupaka pred Sudom Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu od 2005. do 2013. godine. (Combating Impunity for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Progress and Challenges: An analysis of criminal proceedings before the Court of BiH between 2005 and 2013)* Sarajevo: OSCE Mission to BiH.
- OSCE. (2019). *Dobrobit i sigurnost žena: Istraživanje OSCE-a o nasilju nad ženama. (Well-Being and Safety of Women: OSCE-led Survey on Violence Against Women)* Sarajevo.
- Siegel, R. B. (June 1996). “The Rule of Love’: Wife Beating as Prerogative and Privacy”. *Yale Law Journal*, 106, 2117–2207.

- Snyder, C., Gabbard, W., May, D. and Zulčić, N. (2006). On the Battleground of Women's Bodies: Mass Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Journal of Women and Social Work*, 21 (2), 184–195.
- Skjelsbæk, I. (2006). Victim and Survivor: Narrated Social Identities of Women Who Experienced Rape During the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Feminism & Psychology*, 16 (4), 373–403.
- Trial International. (2017). *Mitovi o silovanju na suđenjima za ratno seksualno nasilje. Prebacivanje tereta sa preživjelih na počinitelje. (Rape Myths in Wartime Sexual Violence Trials. Transferring the Burden from Survivor to Perpetrator)* Sarajevo.
- Tsekos, M. E. (2012). *Deconstructing the "Power and Control Motive" Developing and Assessing the Measurability of Internal Power* (Doctoral thesis, University of South Florida).

INSTEAD OF POSTFACE¹

WHEN THE MASK FALLS OFF – WHAT WILL BE THE GENDER OF THE FUTURE?

LEJLA GAČANICA, MSc, doctoral candidate
Independent legal advisor and researcher
Initiative Citizens for Constitutional Changes²

¹ *Note of editors as of 20 April:*

As we were in the process of wrapping up this Compendium, already deep into the phase of editing, proofreading and translating the papers into English, the world changed and "COVID-19" entered our reality. We were caught off guard by the unprecedented global phenomenon and we decided to react to this change in two ways. First, we decided to integrate additional 11th paper in the Compendium by Zoran Duspara, to cover the topic of asymmetrical conflict and gender perspective and close the compendium with an open-ended postface, in other words, instead of closing it with conclusions, we decided to close it with questions and a call to everyone to continue thinking about and researching into these topics. For that reason, we also included the paper by Lejla Gačanica.

² The paper was taken off the website of the Initiative, upon the approval of the author. It was originally posted on 13 April 2020 and is available at: <https://gradjankezaustavnepromjene.wordpress.com/2020/04/13/kada-padnu-maske-kojeg-ce-rodabiti-buducnost/>

As we are reading reports and recommendations on the impact the crisis caused by COVID-19 has on women, hoping that something would be done about it (or to be more precise: some things, having in mind many different ways in which the crisis impacts women), because of our inability to predict when the crisis would come to an end, we fall short to assess, foresee and prevent the consequences it will have on women. Once the time comes to take protective masks off, what will the future of women look like? How frail were the victories won prior to COVID-19 and can we still expect the future to be female?

In any prior form of crisis, conflict, or emergency situation in which human rights were suspended, restricted or violated, participation of women was invisible. In post-crisis period, any efforts aimed at rebuilding of society and state, heavily relied upon the contribution of women (physical, peace-building, labour, reproductive) and the assessment of damage that the emergency situation inflicted upon women was almost always done upon conclusion of the crisis and rebuilding efforts. That is because the hierarchy of priorities is well known – it corresponds to the general hierarchy of priorities, in which gender equality does not rank very highly. This crisis is somewhat different: assessment of impact of the crisis from gender perspective occurred early on, it became visible as it was translated into recommendations, analyses, data (that usually came from civil or international sector), and thus specific demands and issues were raised. The difference this time is that in this crisis, it was women that pulled the heaviest weight in the front lines, in healthcare and retail services, unpaid labour in housekeeping, in education and the media.

If we take a look at the data on the number of jobs lost due to COVID-19 crisis – again most jobs are lost in areas in which women are in the majority of the workforce (catering, retail, manufacturing). As for the numbers that fall into the category of ‘grey economy’, we do not even come close to being able to assess the magnitude of consequences. Gender-based domestic violence is on the rise, the status of safe houses is recklessly disregarded, and the isolation only helps close the circle of violence. Many women are now trapped in their homes with their abusers, without access to protection and support. The burden of housekeeping, in addition to paid work from home, fell on women. One should add to this the work involved in assisting the children with online education. We therefore wonder if the ongoing crisis is affecting women in a different way compared to men. The answer is without a doubt – Yes.

COVID-19 crisis also deepened the gap between different classes of citizens in BiH. The recovery will be difficult and will have different impact on different economic, social and societal groups of female and male citizens in BiH and the return to

'normal' will probably require continued enforcement of security measures the discriminatory effect of which we can already feel. The consequences, as it is argued, can be prevented and foreseen, but they still, just as much as the measures, must recognise and take into account gender aspect of the crisis.

Protective measures, the 'corona' law and amendments to it, in addition to many different initiatives, do not demonstrate that gender aspect was indeed taken into account. Democracy and equality do not have to be suspended as we fight, as vividly described in sensation-making journalism, 'the invisible enemy'. Despite being invisible, the face of this fight has gender, and it is female. Some of the calls come from (private) business sector which cries out for help arguing that payroll taxes are covered by business owners – although, just to remind everyone, payroll taxes are earned by the employees. In private sector, specifically retail which continued to operate, majority of workers are women whose engagement in this sector under 'normal' circumstances means exposure to short-term employment contracts, termination of employment due to pregnancy, lower wage, inability to get promoted, discrimination based on age, and many other forms of discrimination.

The future can be female, but the pandemic is patriarchal. The virus puts both men and women at risk. Society, policies, patriarchy and inequality on the other hand, put women at many other forms of risk during the state of disaster. This is all part of the crisis we have to overcome; the crisis whose consequences we need to worry about in the long run. We cannot have any significant influence on how the virus develops (and we are very disciplined when it comes to protection of our health!), but we can use the momentum to change societal norms on gender roles. That can only be accomplished to the extent to which we are prepared to make the society aware of their harmful effects. Here, just as much as in other areas, we must resist the narrative that labels gender as the issue of marginal importance which shifts the focus from the actual crisis. The actual crisis has health, economic and social dimension. We are still focused only on a part of one of its dimensions and what's worse - our focus is very poor and very discriminatory.

Does it really matter what is the gender of the future, which by the way, does not bode well for BiH? It does not, for those that belong to a group that believes that female gender is implied. However, the consequences that will be suffered by women will inevitably reflect on the entire society. We can be even poorer, more violent and more patriarchal than we already are. Question is – are we going to prevent it or are we going to just go with the flow? This is not a metaphorical question and it does not only require engagement of women, activists and civil

society; it also requires very active engagement of institutions and policy-makers. Are the security, preventive, protective and exit measures gender-responsive? Are the budgets gender-responsive? Measures for protection and growth of the economy must be inclusive for women. When women have less power to engage in decision-making than men, in the household or the government, it is less likely that the needs of women would be addressed during the pandemic. Even in pandemic and isolation, we still need social solidarity.

With the exception of protective masks (imagine this: produced in bulk, at homes), since COVID-19, all other masks in BiH have long fell off.

Recommended Resources on Gender Equality Terminology

In the interest of clarity and better understanding, the editors of this Compendium recommend the following resources on gender equality terminology.

Vesna Jarić and Nadežda Radović (2011):

Rečnik rodne ravnopravnosti (Gender Equality Dictionary)

Second updated and expanded edition

Belgrade: Gender Equality Administration, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Serbia. Available on:

http://www.zenskestudije.org.rs/knjige/recnik_rodne_ravnopravnosti_2011.pdf

Second edition of the "Dictionary" explains 136 gender equality terms in great detail. It encompasses a broad array of key terms from "abortion" to "women's studies" providing an indispensable resource not only for the purpose of academic and theoretical pursuits, but also for the purpose of development and implementation of public policies and legislation of relevance to a broad range of gender equality themes. Although this publication is based on the context of the Republic of Serbia, detailed explanations of terms presented in it may be applied in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.

Rada Borić (2007):

Pojmovnik rodne terminologije prema standardima Europske unije. (Gender Equality Glossary Aligned with EU Standards)

Zagreb: Gender Equality Office, Government of the Republic of Croatia, Available on:

https://ravnopravnost.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/preuzimanje/biblioteka-ona/Publikacija_Pojmovnik%20rodne%20terminologije%20prema%20standardima%20Europske%20unije.pdf

The Glossary is modelled after the manual titled: *100 words for equality. A glossary of terms on equality between women and men*, developed by the European Commission's Equal Opportunities Promotion Department. The majority of terms presented in the Glossary were taken from this publication and expanded further. The Glossary also includes the terms of importance to understanding of gender equality that were not originally listed in the EC document, as well as those that explain the existing gender equality mechanisms in place in Croatia. In total, it encompasses 179 units, with 143 detailing direct equivalents and 36 referring to similar terms. Although this publication reflects the context of the Republic of Croatia, it may be used in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.

Gender Equality Glossary and Thesaurus

Online resource of the European Institute for Gender Equality. Available on:

<https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus>

Online resource currently available in English, German, Bulgarian, Estonian and Spanish, developed in cooperation with the European Commission, European Parliament and Council of Europe, in consultation with national gender equality mechanisms and academia. The terms presented in this online resource have been selected on the basis of 92 resources of the European Union, Council of Europe and United Nations. It encompasses definitions of over 400 terms, with references to other resources as well. The European Institute for Gender Equality is in the process of translating the definitions into different languages of the European Union.

BIOGRAPHIES

Editors

Amila Ždralović is a Docent at the Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo. She earned the title of Philosophy and Sociology Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, while she earned her MA and PhD degrees at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo. In addition to being a member of faculty staff of the Faculty of Law since 2006/07 academic year, she also served as a guest lecturer at other institutions. In 2011/12 academic year, she worked as the associate on the module: "Gender and Nationalism" within the postgraduate course of gender studies at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies of the University of Sarajevo. Between 2000 and 2006, she worked as a journalist, high school teacher and educator implementing training programmes of non-governmental organisations. She co-authored the book titled: *Građani/ke u kolektivističkoj ideologiji: Sociološko-pravna analiza položaja "Ostalih" u Bosni i Hercegovini. (Citizens in Collective Ideology: Sociological and Legal Analysis of the Position of "Others" in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Together with Saša Gavrić, she edited the compendium titled: *Rodna ravnopravnost. Teorija, pravo, politike (Gender Equality. Theory, Law and Policies)*, the first textbook for introduction into gender studies for students of social sciences in BiH. She presented the results of her scientific work in over 40 papers published in various periodicals/proceedings in addition to presenting her papers at scientific symposia and conferences.

Saša Gavrić (1984) earned a bachelor's degree in political and administrative sciences (BA, University of Konstanz, Germany) and a master's degree in international relations and diplomacy (MA, University of Sarajevo). In 2016, he joined the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)¹, initially as Gender Equality Adviser at the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, and in July of 2018, he assumed the position of Head of Democratic Governance team at the OSCE

¹ The development of this Compendium was supported by the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Any view, statement or opinion expressed in this publication, which is not specifically attributed to the OSCE Mission to BiH, does not necessarily reflect the official policy of the OSCE Mission to BiH.

Mission to Skopje (North Macedonia). Over the past three years, he served as one of the key experts for staff training and professional development in the area of gender equality and *gender mainstreaming*, serving different OSCE field operations across Balkan, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. As one of the founders and Executive Director of Sarajevo Open Centre, during the period between 2007 and July of 2016, he led the process of positioning of the organisation as one the leaders at the forefront of feminist and human rights efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He worked closely with UNDP, European Women's Lobby and German political foundations Heinrich Boell and Friedrich Ebert. In March of 2020, he received Gender Champion Award presented by the OSCE Secretary General. Over the past 14 years, he published (co)edited and (co)authored 50 publications (textbooks, proceedings, papers published in scientific journals and compendia, research papers and advocacy reports). His research interests encompass studies of federalism, Western Balkan political systems, policies and institutions for gender equality and equality of LGBTI persons.

Mirela Rožajac-Zulčić earned a bachelor's degree in comparative literature and librarianship at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo. At the same university, she completed interdisciplinary postgraduate course in gender studies as the student of the first generation and earned a degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies. She currently works at the Faculty of Law of University of Sarajevo, as a Senior Adviser at faculty library. She worked as an educator-trainer for international non-governmental organisations active in the area of peace building and youth. Her research interests focus on the area of women's peace activism, access to legal information, education of IT experts and library science. She published 20 papers and delivered lectures at a substantial number of conferences and round table discussions. She works with many academic institutions and non-governmental organisations on her research and publishing endeavours.

Authors

Zorana Antonijević graduated at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade and earned her master's degree at the Singidunum University in Belgrade in the area of European integration, public administration and policies. She earned her PhD in gender studies at the University of Novi Sad and defended her doctoral thesis under the title: *Urođjavanje politika podrške porodici u kontekstu evropskih integracija u Srbiji* (Introducing Gender in Family Support Policies in the Context of European Integration in Serbia). She worked at different international organisations and government gender equality institutions since 1995. She served as the first Gender Equality Adviser in the Government of Vojvodina and the first Director of the Gender Equality Institute. She joined OSCE Mission to Serbia in 2009 as Gender Equality Adviser. She implemented training activities for bodies of public administration, non-governmental and international organisations in the area of gender equality in Serbia, neighbouring countries, North Macedonia, Moldova, Ukraine and Austria. She received two scholarship grants for research residency from the Swedish Institute and Open Society Institute in Budapest. She taught at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade as a Guest Professor in 2016 and 2017. She edited several books and published papers in the area of gender, gender equality policies and gender and security. Her interests encompass introduction of gender in public policy, gender-sensitive budgeting as well as gender issues in the area of security.

Lejla Balić is a Docent at the Department for State and International Law of the Faculty of Law of the University of Sarajevo, teaching the constitutional law. She earned her master's and doctoral degrees at the Faculty of Law of the University of Sarajevo and her research efforts focus on the area of European public law, with special emphasis on legal issues in the European Union, democratic legitimacy of European citizenry and political participation in transnational constitutional systems. She is particularly interested in federalism, federations and status of federal units as well as the institutes of parliamentary law. She published many research papers covering these areas, published in international and national scientific journals. Some of the titles include: *Federalism in Multicultural and Multinational Politics: the Case of B&H*, published in: *Federalism, Constitutionalism and Good Governance in Multicultural Societies*, Institute du Federalisme Fribourg, Switzerland; *Consociation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Practical Implementation of the Theoretical Principles*, co-authored with Midhat Izmirlija, published in: *South-East European Journal of Political Science*; *Ustavni običaj u*

Bosni i Hercegovini – osvrt na izbor sudija Ustavnog suda Bosne i Hercegovine (Constitutional Convention in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Overview of Appointment of Judges of Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina), published in *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Sarajevu, (the Yearbook of the Faculty of Law of the University of Sarajevo)*; *Pravna priroda i političke refleksije bosansko-hercegovačkog federalizma (Legal Nature and Political Reflections of Federalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, published in “Sveske za javno parvo” journal.

Jasmina Čaušević (1976) earned a bachelor’s degree in literature and language at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade and her MA degree in the area of gender studies at the University of Sarajevo in 2008. She edited, authored or co-authored many surveys and research papers, the most prominent of which are: *Načini za prevladavanje diskriminacije u jeziku u obrazovanju, medijima i pravnim dokumentima (Ways to Overcome Discrimination in Language in Education, Media and Legal Documents)* co-authored with Sandra Zlotrg, published in 2011 by Association for Language and Culture “Lingvisti” and Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies (CIPS) of the University of Sarajevo. Together with Saša Gavrić, she edited *Pojmovnik LGBT kulture (Glossary of LGBT Culture)* (2012. Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Heinrich Boell Foundation). She also edited compendia titled: *Zabilježene (Noted)*; *Žene i javni život Bosne i Hercegovine u 20. vijeku (Women and Public Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 20th Century)* (2014, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre, Cure Foundation), as well as *Feministička čitanja društvenih fenomena (Feminist Reading of Social Phenomena)* (2015, Sarajevo: Sarajevo Open Centre). She delivered lectures on topics of relevance to gender equality and broad range of feminist issues and queer studies. Over the past five years, she served as a coordinator of academic-activist programme titled: School of Feminism *Žarana Papić*, at Sarajevo Open Centre. The focus of her interest is on history, culture and rights of women and LGBTIQ persons as well as feminist linguistics.

Selma Ćosić serves as a Senior Assistant at the Department of Security and Peace Studies of the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Sarajevo. She completed the first academic cycle at the Department of Peace and Security Studies, course Peace Studies, Democracy and Human Rights. She completed the second academic cycle at the same faculty and defended master’s thesis under the title: *Uloga žene u sistemu sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine (The Role of Women in the System of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. She is currently attending the third academic cycle of interdisciplinary doctoral course at the Faculty of Political Sciences in the field of security and peace studies, where she applied to defend doctoral thesis under the title: *Sigurnosne dimenzije rodnih odnosa i*

rodnih politika u postdejtonskoj Bosni i Hercegovini (*Security Aspect of Gender Relations and Gender Policies in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina*). She authored and co-authored several research papers in the area of security and peace studies, with emphasis on gender discourse.

Nerzuk Ćurak is a Doctor of Political Sciences, full-time Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Sarajevo, essay writer, scientific publicist, journalist, editor, engaged intellectual, peace and civic activist. He authored the following books: *Geopolitika kao sudbina: slučaj Bosna: postmodernistički ogled o perifernoj zemlji (Geopolitics as Fate: the Case of Bosnia: Postmodernist Experiment on Peripheral Country)* (2002); *Dejtonski nacionalizam (Daytonian Nationalism)* (2004); *Obnova bosanskih utopija: politologija, politička filozofija i sociologija dejtonske države i društva (Revival of Bosnian Utopia: Political Philosophy and Sociology of Daytonian State and Society)* (2006); *Filozofija zagrljaja (The Philosophy of Embrace)* (2009); *Izveštaj iz periferne zemlje: gramatika geopolitike (Report from Peripheral Country: the Grammar of Geopolitics)* (2011); *Rasprava o miru i nasilju: (geo)politika rata - (geo)politika mira - studije mira (Discussion on Peace and Violence: (Geo)politics of War - (Geo)politics of Peace - Peace Studies)* (2016); *Od erosa do polemosa. Knjiga razgovora (From Eros to Polemos: Discussions)* (2018.). He is a member of the Board for Political Sciences of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of BiH and member of BiH PEN Centre. He also serves as a member of the Steering Board of *Step by Step*, a non-governmental organisation actively involved in promotion of fair and inclusive education in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region.

Zoran Duspara earned bachelor's degree in 2007 at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo. In 2010, he earned master's degree at the same faculty and defended master's thesis titled: "Asymmetrical Conflict and Global Security". He continued his research into this issue and wrote a book titled "*Asymmetrical Conflict*" in 2012. During his mandatory service in the former Yugoslav People's Army in 1985, he completed the school for reserve officers – engineers in Karlovac. He participated in the Croatian Homeland War and volunteered to serve in the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) in 1992. After the war, he continued his career in the military in the Army of the Federation of BiH and the Armed Forces of BiH and subsequently retired in 2020 holding the rank of brigadier. In 1998, he enrolled in the Croatian Military Academy "Dr. Franjo Tuđman" and completed the course for command officers (civilian equivalent of master's course) and in 2013, he completed "Ban Josip Jelačić" War College (civilian equivalent of doctoral course). The last position he occupied in the Armed Forces of BiH was the position of the Head of Personnel Department, where he directly engaged in implementation of the UNSCR 1325.

Lejla Gačanica, candidate for a doctoral degree in law is currently working as a legal advisor and independent researcher. She has over 10 years of experience in cooperation with civil society organisations in BiH and the region. The areas of her interest include: confronting the past, constitutional law and human rights with emphasis on gender equality. She authored many published analytical, scientific and research papers in these areas, including the first in-depth research on gender-based labour discrimination. She co-authored the study titled: *Nazivanje ratnih zločina pravim imenom (Calling War Crimes What They Are)* on the subject of legal regulation of denial, minimisation, justification or approval of genocide, holocaust, crimes against humanity or war crimes and the study titled: *Kultura sjećanja u lokalnim zajednicama u BiH (Culture of Remembrance in Local Communities in BiH)*. Her article on invisible walls of Sarajevo is included in the book titled: *Observing Walls* (Beletrina, Slovenija). She received a scholarship grant for writing residency from the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2016 for the residency at Frauenmuseum in Hittisau. She is an active member of the Initiative Citizens for Constitutional Changes, regional Western Balkans Strategy Group, Women's Lobbying Group in BiH and Women's Advisory Board (joint initiative of the Special Representative of the European Union in BiH, Swedish Development Agency SIDA and Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation).

Jelena Gaković is a Docent at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. She was a student of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo and La Sapienza University in Rome, Italy. Along with her academic engagement, she is actively involved in the non-governmental sector, in implementation of international programmes in the area of youth reconciliation, democratisation and human rights and freedom of expression. She teaches undergraduate and postgraduate courses in the area of systemic sociology and special sociologies. The area of her interest encompasses applied and critical sociology, cultural studies, sociology of politics, sociology of communication, as well as economic, gender and urban studies. She presented the results of her research work at local and international conferences and published several scientific research papers. She is a member of scientific-research incubator (ZINK), *Academia Analytica* Society and editorial board of *Sophos* periodical.

Majda Halilović heads the Research Department of the Atlantic Initiative office in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her academic profile is multidisciplinary in nature – she earned a bachelor's degree in psychology at Westminster University in London, earned her master's degree in educational policies at the University of Cambridge and earned her doctoral degree in sociology and social policy at the Open University in the United Kingdom. In addition to her academic education,

she completed specialised vocational training in the area of systemic family psychotherapy. She is actively engaged in civil society for the past 20 years and involved in research and training work on violence against women, gender and security, prejudice in enforcement of the law, social exclusion and inclusion and radicalisation and extremism. Some of her publications include: *Preživjele govore: osvrt na odgovore krivičnog sistema na nasilje u porodici u Bosni i Hercegovini (Survivors Speak: Overview of Responses of Criminal Justice System to Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*; *Rodne predrasude u primjeni prava: bosanskohercegovački i međunarodni pravni okviri i praksa (Gender Prejudice in Enforcement of the Law: BiH and International Legal Framework and Practice)*; *Rod i pravosuđe: implikacije roda u pravosuđu Bosne i Hercegovine (Gender and Judiciary: Gender Implications in the Judiciary in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. In addition to these, she wrote and published many other publications and research papers.

Adnan Kadribašić, Attorney at Law, BA, expert in human rights, gender equality and rule of law. In the capacity of Legal Adviser at Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and OSCE Mission to BiH, he participated in development of key legislation and policies in the area of gender equality and prohibition of discrimination in BiH. He also participated in development of international standards in the area of gender equality and attended meetings of Council of Europe and United Nations working bodies. He frequently participates in implementation of training activities as educator and trainer in different workshops, training sessions, conferences and meetings. He manages an educational module within the *Žarana Papić School of Feminism*. He also serves as the editor of *International Journal on Rule of Law, Transitional Justice and Human Rights* and is one of the organisers of International Sarajevo Summer School on the topic of transitional justice. He co-authored and authored the following research papers and analyses: *Zašto nema žena u vladama? Žene u izvršnoj vlasti u BiH: zastupljenost i reprezentativnost (Why Aren't There any Women in Governments? Women in Executive Branch of the Government in BiH: Representation and Representativeness)* (2018, Sarajevo Open Centre); *Legislating for Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Key Developments and Remaining Challenges* (2017, European Commission); *Vodič za primjenu izmijenjenog i dopunjenog Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije BiH (Guide for Implementation of Amended Law on Prohibition of Discrimination in BiH)* (2017, Sarajevo Open Centre); *Komentar Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Commentary of the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination in Bosnia and Herzegovina)* (2010, Human Rights Centre, University of Sarajevo).

Marija Lučić-Čatić (1979) earned her PhD degree at the Faculty of Criminalistics, Criminology and Security Studies at the University of Sarajevo, where she is currently holding the position of the Associate Professor. She co-authored several research papers in national and international journals and participated in several research projects in the area of criminalistics, criminology and law. She organised and participated in many national and international scientific conferences, round table discussions and seminars.

Valida Repovac Nikšić serves as the Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Sarajevo. She earned her bachelor's degree at the Department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo and pursued European interdisciplinary postgraduate study in the area of democracy and human rights at the University of Sarajevo and the University of Bologna. She earned her master's degree in 2002 in the area of political philosophy and defended master's thesis under the title: *A Reconciliation of the Liberal-Communitarian Debate in Will Kymlicka's Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. She worked at the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina as Senior Adviser in the Cabinet of Deputy Minister for European Integration and as Senior Adviser in the Cabinet of Director of Directorate for European Integration. She spent a semester in 2010/2011 academic year at Berkley, University of California, as a Fulbright fellow. She earned her PhD degree at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Sarajevo in April of 2014. In April of 2019, she published a book titled: *Teorijske rasprave o kozmopolitizmu (Theoretical Debate on Cosmopolitanism)*.

Tatjana Žarković earned her bachelor's degree in philosophy and sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo and her master's degree at the University of Vienna. She has been involved in research work since 2013, when she commenced her engagement as the Assistant for Education and Research at the Department of Sociology of the University of Vienna. Her research interests focus predominantly on the topics of migration, marginalised groups and gender. She commenced her employment at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Sarajevo in 2018.