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SERIES LAW AND POLITICS

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FACTA UNIVERSITATIS

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Vol. 17, N° 2, 2019

Thematic issue:

"The Gender Perspective of Security in the Contemporary World"



UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ

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General notes	The paper shall be processed in <i>MS Word</i> (<i>doc, docx</i>) format: paper size A4; font <i>Times New Roman (Serbian-Cyrillic)</i> , except for papers originally written in <i>Latin</i> script; font size 12 pt; line spacing 1,5.
Paper length	The paper shall not exceed 16 pages. An article shall not exceed 40.000 characters (including spaces). A review shall not exceed 6.000 characters (including spaces).
Language and script	Papers may be written in English, Russian, French and German.
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Author(s)	After the title, the paper shall include the name and surname of the author(s), the name and full address of the institution affiliation, and a contact e-mail address (font size 12 pt). The data on the author(s), academic title(s) and rank(s), and the institution shall be provided in English as well.
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Type of work	References	In-text citation
Book (a single author)	Goldstein, A., (1994). <i>The ecology of aggression</i> , Plenum Press, New York.	(Goldstein, 1994:80)
Book (a number of authors)	Konstantinovic-Vilic,S.,Nikolic-Ristanovic, V., Kostic, M., (2009). <i>Kriminologija (Criminology)</i> , Nis, Pelikan print.	First in-text citation: (Konstantinovic-Vilic, Nikolic-Ristanovic, Kostic, 2009: 35). A subsequent in-text citation: (Konstantinovic-Vilic, et all., 2009: 77)
Joint authorship (a group of authors)	<i>Oxford Essential World Atlas</i> (7th ed). (2012). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press	(Oxford, 1996: 100)
An article or a chapter in a book with an editor	Kostic, M., Miric, F., (2009).Ustanove za izvršenje krivičnih sankcija-pozitivno zakonodavstvo i strana regulativa-stanje i perspektive,(Facilities for execution of criminal sanctions -positive legislation and international regulations, state and perspectives) / In Djukanovic, P. (ed), <i>Proceedings of penology I.</i> - Banja Luka, Penological organization of KPZ, 2009, Vol.1, No.1, pp. 10-32.	(Kostic, Miric, 2009: 295)
Journal article	Papageorgiou, V., Vostanis, P., (2000).Psychosocial characteristics of Greek young offenders, <i>The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry</i> , Vol.11., No.2., 2000, pp.390-400	(Papageorgiou et all, 2000: 397)
Encyclopedia	(2009). <i>The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History</i> . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press	(Oxford, 2009:33)
Institution (as an author)	Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Monthly statistical bulletin, No. 12 (2013)	(Statistical Office RS, 2013)
Legal documents and regulations	Execution of non-custodial sanctions and measures Act, Official Gazette RS, No. 55 (2014)	Footnote: Article 1. Execution of non-custodial sanctions and measures Act, Official Gazette RS, 55/2014
Court decisions	Case Ap.23037/04 <i>Matijasevic v. Serbia</i>	Footnote: Case Ap.23037/04 <i>Matijasevic v. Serbia</i>
Online sources	Ocobock, P., Beier, A.L., (2008). <i>History of Vagrancy and Homeless in Global Perspective</i> , Ohio University Press, Swallow Press, Retrieved 31 November, 2015, from http://www.ohioswallow.com/book/Cast+Out	In-text citation: (Ocobock, Beier, 2008)

Thematic issue:
"The Gender Perspective of Security in the Contemporary World"

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

The second issue of the scientific journal *Facta Universitatis: Law and Politics* for the year 2019 is titled "**The Gender Perspective of Security in the Contemporary World**". Given that the selected scientific articles cover an array of topics pertaining to gender aspects of security, this thematic issue is co-edited by Zorica Mršević, PhD, Institute of Social Sciences, and Svetlana Janković, MA, Advisor for gender and security at the Coordination Body for Gender Equality, acting in the capacity of guests editors.

A special contribution to this thematic issue of *Facta Universitatis: Law and Politics Series (No. 2/2019)* is the *Introductory Note* kindly provided by **Prof. Dr. Zorana Mihajlović**, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure, and President of the Coordination Body for Gender Equality of the Government of the Republic of Serbia.

Colonel Katarina Štrbac, PhD, Advisor for Gender Equality, Ministry of Defence, Republic of Serbia, and **Brankica Janković**, Commissioner for Protection of Equality, Republic of Serbia, submitted the paper titled "*Gender Equality in the Institutional Framework of the EU and the Republic of Serbia*". Promoting and achieving full gender equality and incorporating gender perspective in all EU activities are perceived as strategic commitments and ultimate goals in the European Union. As a candidate for full EU membership, the Republic of Serbia has fully accepted all goals envisaged in the European strategic documents, developed the legal and institutional framework for the implementation of directives and strategic documents, incorporated almost all EC directives concerning the equality of men and women into the Serbian legislation, developed functional control mechanisms for observing the gender equality principle and prohibition of discrimination, and is continuously working on further improvement of this system. The first part of the paper provides an overview of Strategic priorities of the European Union related to gender equality in five key action areas and discusses their significance for the social development of EU member states. The central part of the paper presents the institutional framework for the implementation and control of observance of the gender equality principle in the Republic of Serbia, including a summary outline on the implementation of gender equality.

Danijela Spasić, PhD, Assistant Professor, University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade, submitted the paper titled "*UN Security Council Resolution 1325 'Women, Peace and Security' in the local context of refugee crisis: old experience or new challenges?*" Since 2000, the UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions on women, peace and security: UNSC Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889. UN SC Resolution 1325 "Women, peace and security" was adopted in October 2000 but the refugee crisis has been a particular challenge for its implementation, considering that more than half a million asylum seekers have arrived in Europe since 2015. Women and children accommodated in refugee camps and asylum centers are particularly vulnerable groups. The article identifies the key

determinants of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the local context and analyses the response of local communities to the refugee crisis, particularly in terms of ensuring refugees' safety and psycho-social well-being of women and children as especially vulnerable groups.

Ana Batrićević, PhD, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Criminological and Sociological Research, and **Nikola Paunović, MA**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, submitted the paper titled "*Ecofeminism and Environmental Security*". In the context of climate change and rising risk of environmental crisis caused by pollution and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, the concept of environmental security, primarily defined as the resilience of countries and individuals to the challenges of environmental degradation, is rapidly obtaining the interest of general public and experts from various scientific disciplines. The aim of this paper is to analyse the modern concept of environmental security as well as the evolution and contemporary discourses within ecofeminist movements and to explain the link between them, i.e., the contribution of ecofeminism to the shift in the approach to environmental security in the sense of taking into consideration the rights and interests of women as more common victims of negative environmental impacts as well as their potentials as relevant stakeholders in this field.

Filip Mirić, LL.D., Research Fellow, Senior Associate for Postgraduate Study Services, University of Niš, Faculty of Law, submitted the paper titled "*The Position of Women in the Serbian Army: current state of affairs and perspectives*". The military profession has always been regarded as a typical male profession, which is the result of numerous prejudices about the ability of women to adequately respond to all the challenges in this service. The paper deals with the position of women in the Serbian Army today, the problems they encounter and the prospects for resolving them. The Serbian Armed Forces have made an important step towards a greater involvement of women in their ranks by enabling women participation in the army as officers, non-commissioned officers and professional soldiers, in the same way as men. The paper points to the directions of development of women's position in the Serbian Army, especially considering the process of its professionalization.

Safet Mušić, PhD, Ministry of Defence, Bosnia and Herzegovina, submitted the paper titled "*Women, Peace and Security: the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina*". Women have had a subordinate position throughout history. Evidence shows that all relations were based on male domination. Women did not have significant positions in society, nor did they participate to a significant extent in the decision-making processes. In the 20th century, women started raising issues related to gender roles, woman's role and position in society, and gender equality. In recent years, one of the prominent issues is woman's role in warfares and peace-keeping activities, and in the national and international security and defense sectors. The paper provides an overview of different international and national documents that promote active and equal participation of women in peace and security activities, both worldwide and in transition countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Lieutenant Colonel Goran Topalović, MA, PhD Candidate, Head of Training in Peacekeeping Operations Center of Serbian Armed Forces, and Co-founder and Director of Operations at Conflux Center for Intercultural Dialogue and Mediation, Serbia, submitted the paper titled "*An Overview of Gender Mainstreaming in UN Peace Operations*". This article provides an overview of gender mainstreaming in the UN Peace Operations (POs) and examines whether gender perspective and gender mainstreaming in POs have been given relevant attention, particularly considering that they could vastly contribute to operational efficiency in the field, better protection of human (women's) rights, the higher level safety of the local population and troops in the field, and most importantly, to building peace and

avoiding victimization. The main identified gap is a lack of appropriate training and education. The author analyzes the historical aspects of gender roles in Western society, the importance of UN SC Resolution 1325, the recent developments in UN POs and gender policy in military components. The paper provides practical examples and recommendations for future integration of gender sensitive approach in all aspects of POs as well as recommendations for future work on gender mainstreaming in the military components of international and regional organizations.

Vesna Poposka, LL.M., PhD Candidate at the Macedonian Military Academy, submitted the paper titled "***Grassroots and Inhibitors on Radicalisation in North Macedonia: Towards a systematic approach***". The escalation of the conflict in Syria and the resulting migrant crisis brought the foreign fighters phenomena to the fore. Global trends and developments did not bypass North Macedonia. While media reported on the radicalization of Macedonian citizens (including a number of women and girls), in 2017, the Republic of Macedonia adopted the National Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and the National Counterterrorism Strategy (CT), but there is an apparent lack of gender perspective on these issues in either of these strategies. The main hypothesis of this research is that radicalization of women in North Macedonia is a result of complex political, economic and social factors. Additionally, the lack of gender mainstreaming in the NS CVE/CT policy may lead to an increased rate of radicalization among women and girls. The paper examines the latest developments, analyzes how the CVE/CT policy is applied, and provides recommendations for improving the current situation.

Jana Kujundžić, MA, PhD Candidate in Criminology, Department of Sociology, University of Essex, UK, submitted the paper titled "***Sexual Violence and new forms of Religious Traditionalism in the Croatian post-conflict context***". The paper examines sexual violence and new forms of religious conservative movement emerging in the Croatian political context and their involvement in the process of retraditionalization. Religious conservative organisations frequently use the term "gender ideology" to create fear, confusion and moral panic in the public discourse. Although Croatia ratified the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (the Istanbul Convention) in April 2018, the government has issued an "interpretative statement" further legitimizing the term "gender ideology". The Critical Discourse Analysis methodological framework has been used to investigate the debates surrounding the ratification of the Istanbul Convention in Croatia and to analyze the social problems of retraditionalization and sexual violence.

We hope you will enjoy reading the results of scientific research on the criminal law issues that the contributing authors have chosen to discuss in their theoretical and empirical research. The multidisciplinary nature of the submitted papers and the authors' choice of current legal issues indicate that our scientific journal ***Facta Universitatis: Law and Politics*** is open to different approaches to the legal matter under observation and committed to publishing scientific articles across a wide range of social sciences and humanities. In that context, we invite you to submit research articles on topics of your professional interest.

This thematic issue of the scientific journal ***Facta Universitatis: Law and Politics Series (No. 2/2019)*** has been co-edited by renowned scholars and colleagues: **Zorica Mršević PhD** and **Svetlana Janković MA**. We highly appreciate and commend their commitment to the co-editing process and selection of articles which have contributed to expanding the thematic scope of the journal and making it more appealing to a broader circle of readers in the country and abroad.

We also wish to extend our sincere appreciation and gratitude to our distinguished reviewers whose professional attitude to double-blind peer review has significantly contributed to the quality of our scientific journal.

Wishing you a nice summer holiday, we look forward to our prospective cooperation.

Editor-in-Chief

Prof. Miomira Kostić, LL.D

Niš, 11th July 2019

Guest Editors

Zorica Mršević, PhD
Svetlana Janković, MA

**Thematic issue:
"The Gender Perspective of Security in the Contemporary World"**

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The thematic issue of the scientific journal *Facta Universitatis: Law and Politics*, N^o. 2/2019, titled „The Gender Perspective of Security in the Contemporary World“, is dedicated to two extremely current topics: Human Rights and Security. Both topics have been in the spotlight lately. The articles published in this issue bring together Law and Politics by correlating the freedom of interdisciplinary research on human (gender) rights with gender-related security issues. Interdisciplinarity is promoted in the best possible way by exploring the presence of gender perspective in a number of cross-cutting issues. Gender mainstreaming has been launched as a contemporary trend but it should not be pursued only in the academic community. In the contemporary social environment, interdisciplinarity is an imperative in the world of fundamental research in social sciences and humanities, and a prerequisite for ensuring correspondence with reality.

Gender issues have never been more present and more relevant than today. They create opportunities for opening new horizons and casting more light on modern security concepts. In order to successfully address these issues, there is a need for a rational and sustainable long-term strategy for promoting gender equality and gender perspective, rather than a popular short-lived policy.

Understanding various women's roles and promotion of women's capacities are crucial for the development of nuanced and targeted efforts in different spheres of struggle against gender stereotypes and gender-based discrimination. These can be identified in the research papers on security and defense topics presented in this publication, focusing on the security and defense issues, identified determinants of UN SC Resolution 1325 in the local context of migrant/refugee crisis, taken action aimed at combating and counteracting violent extremism and prevention of terrorism, integrating the gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, promoting the position of women in the military and police forces, developing effective responses to sexual and other forms of gender-based violence, and providing a safe environment for gender equality in the European Union and the Republic of Serbia.

The articles in this thematic publication reflect the authors' endeavour to explore diverse but correlated gender issues in the security context. Although each article should be approached individually, the articles may be observed as part of a whole, where each article is interrelated with other articles. There is a general recognition of the need to raise awareness about gender issues to the highest possible level and further promote gender equality, without being burdened or hindered by the conservative discourse of the local environment. Another prominent feature which has come to the fore is the active gender inclusion policy, which has been manifestly proclaimed as a means for eliminating the systemic and structural causes of gender inequalities as well as the ultimate and permanent value.

Prof. Zorana Mihajlović, PhD



Deputy Prime Minister of Government of the Republic of Serbia,
Minister of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure, and
President of the Coordination Body for Gender Equality

GENDER EQUALITY IN THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE EU AND THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

UDC 342.722-055.1/.2(497.11:4-672EU)

Katarina Štrbac, Brankica Janković

Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, Republic of Serbia

Abstract. *Promoting and achieving full gender equality is one of the key activities of the European Union and there is a strategic commitment to act strongly towards this goal. Gender equality is perceived, among others, as the issue of economic growth. Therefore, gender perspective has to be implemented through all EU activities. The Republic of Serbia, as a candidate for full EU membership, has fully accepted all goals that should be accomplished in accordance with European strategic documents. It has incorporated almost all EC directives concerning the equality of men and women into the legal system. First, the Republic of Serbia has developed the legal and institutional framework for the implementation of directives and strategic documents in the further process of negotiations for EU accession, and is continuously working on further improvement and completing of this system. The control mechanisms for observing the equality principle and prohibition of discrimination are established and functional, which primarily refers to the central state institution for protecting all citizens from all types of discrimination, including discrimination on grounds of sex – the Commissioner for Protection of Equality. The introductory part of this paper provides an overview of Strategic priorities of the European Union related to gender equality in five areas, and discusses their significance for the social development of the member states. The central part of the paper presents the institutional framework for the implementation and control of observance of the gender equality principle in the Republic of Serbia, including a summary outline for the implementation of gender equality.*

Key words: *gender equality, European Commission, Government Republic of Serbia*

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GENDER EQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Promoting gender equality is a core activity for the EU: equality between women and men is a fundamental EU value¹, an EU objective² and a driver for economic growth³. The Union shall aim to promote equality between men and women in all its activities⁴. The Commission's 2010-2015 Strategy for equality between women and men⁵ prioritised five key areas for action:

- equal economic independence for women and men;
- equal pay for work of equal value;
- equality in decision-making;
- dignity, integrity and ending gender-based violence; and
- promoting gender equality beyond the EU.

All five key areas identified in 2010 remain valid today. The action taken over the past five years to address gender inequalities needs more time to secure the necessary changes and support in the form of new measures in these areas. At the same time, recent socio-economic changes resulting from the economic crisis, the rapid spread of digital technology and immigration and integration have a significant impact on gender equality. Efforts are required of all actors if we are to achieve real equality between women and men in all spheres of life within the EU and elsewhere.

More and more Member States are addressing gender equality challenges through national strategies or action plans for equality between women and men. These vary in focus and ambition but they all cover policies on gender-based violence and gender equality in the labour market. Education and training, gender stereotypes and the reconciliation of work and family life are also covered extensively; decision-making is the least addressed area.

Without inquiring into other aspects of women's lives in the EU, such as the issues of economic equality and equal chances for occupying management positions, it is a fact that a significant number of women has experienced gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is still wide spread and can take many forms: one woman in three has experienced physical or sexual violence, 5% have been raped since the age of 15, and 20% have experienced online harassment.⁶ Such violence happens everywhere – at home, at work, at school, in the street and online, regardless of social background. Gender-based violence and negative stereotypes in sport, for instance are widespread⁷. In addition, it is estimated that 500,000 women and girls in the EU are at risk of female genital mutilation

¹ Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 2, *Official Journal of the EU*, C 115/13, 2008

² Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 3, *Official Journal of the EU*, C115/13, 2008

³ OECD (2012), *Closing the gender gap: act now*; <https://www.oecd.org/gender/closingthegap.htm>

⁴ Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, Article 8, *Official Journal of the EU*, C326/1, 2012

⁵ The European Commission (2011). *Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015* (COM(2010) 491).

<https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/c58de824-e42a-48ce-8d36-a16f30ef701b/language-en>

⁶ EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA); <https://fra.europa.eu/en/about-fra>

⁷ European Commission (2016): Study on Gender-based violence in sport (Final Report), by L. Mergaert, C. Arnaut, T. Vertommen, M. Lang; https://ec.europa.eu/sport/sites/sport/files/gender-based-violence-sport-study-2016_en.pdf

(FGM)⁸. Also, human trafficking is one of the most lucrative parts of organized crime in the EU member states and the greatest percentage of victims are women and girls (68% women, 17% men, 12% girls and 3% boys)⁹.

EU Commissioner for Justice, Consumers and Gender Equality

The Commissioner's responsibility within the EC gender equality framework includes:

- Fighting discrimination, promoting gender equality and pursuing negotiations on the proposed Anti-Discrimination Directive, which would ban discrimination in all areas where the EU has jurisdiction.
- Ensuring the swift adoption of the EU data protection reform and modernising and simplifying consumer rules for online and digital purchases.
- Concluding negotiations with the United States on a data protection agreement to protect the privacy of EU citizens wherever they live.
- Setting up an independent European Public Prosecutor's office by 2016 to protect the EU budget from fraud and reinforcing judicial cooperation on criminal matters.
- Concluding the EU's accession to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Council of Europe
- Ensuring that all Commission proposals respect the European Charter of Fundamental Rights¹⁰.

Gender Equality and empowerment of women and girls are fundamental human rights. Both are vital for economic growth, prosperity and competitiveness. Gender equality is an essential precondition for equitable and inclusive sustainable development, which will not take place if half of the world's population is left behind. In spite of significant development in this area, the level of achievement of gender equality has been uneven across regions and within countries. Worldwide, girls and women keep being systematically left behind and discriminated against, and persistent violations of their rights occur on a daily basis.

The European Union strongly supports gender equality and empowerment of women worldwide, working to remove the obstacles such as legislation, social norms and gender stereotypes, to ensure girls and women's participation and to increase their agency in social, economic, political and civil life. The crucial significance of gender equality in EU development policies is recognized in various policy documents. The "EU Strategic engagement for gender equality" highlights the promotion of gender equality and women's rights across the world as one of its five thematic priority areas. In the period 2007-2013, the EU committed an amount of EUR 1,258 million to activities targeted at improving gender equality and girls and women's empowerment. OECD data show that in 2013, 39% of the EU Official Development Assistance (ODA) considered gender dimensions as either significant or principal.

⁸ European Parliament Resolution on ending female genital mutilation (FGM), 2012/2684(RSP); <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2012-0261+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>

⁹ Eurostat (2013): EC Press Release, Brussels; http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-331_en.htm

¹⁰ European Commission (2019): Responsibilities of Commissioner for Justice, Consumers and Gender Equality; https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/jourova_en

In October 2015, the EU adopted the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Transforming Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations (2016-2020). This Gender Action Plan (GAP) focuses on taking action through four key areas:

- Ensuring girls' and women's physical and psychological integrity
- Promoting the economic and social rights / empowerment of girls and women
- Strengthening girls' and women's voice and participation
- Shifting the European Commission services' and the European External Action Services' institutional culture to more effectively deliver on EU commitments.

In the European Consensus on Development (2017), gender equality, promotion of women's rights, and the empowerment and protection of women and girls were highlighted as priorities across all areas of actions.¹¹

Violence against women and girls is one of the most widespread, persistent and devastating human rights violations in our world today. In September 2017, the European Union (EU) and the United Nations (UN) embarked on a new, global, multi-year initiative focused on eliminating all forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG) – the **Spotlight Initiative**, which is to be implemented by the UN. With unprecedented funding of EUR 500 million, the EU has started a global movement to end all forms of violence against women and girls.¹² The Initiative brings this issue into the spotlight and focuses on the efforts to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, in line with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The name of the Initiative suggests that violence often takes place in the dark, that it is often rendered invisible or denied, and that it cannot survive in the light. It also highlights the importance of targeted investments in women and girls to achieve sustainable development, making this renewed and unwavering commitment of the EU and the UN visible. It is a major obstacle to the fulfillment of women and girls' human rights and to the achievement of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It occurs worldwide, cutting across all generations, nationalities, communities and spheres of our societies, irrespective of age, ethnicity, disability or other background. The **Spotlight Initiative** will deploy targeted, large-scale investments in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific and the Caribbean, aimed at achieving significant improvements in the lives of women and girls¹³.

The Gender Action Plan (GAP II) has the overarching objective of providing tools for supporting the progress of the EU and its 28 Member States on the attainment of the Agenda 2030 goals as well as the goals set out by the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, and the Cairo Programme of Action. Besides setting up and adopting a common process, the second GAP will reinforce the EU coordination and coherence regarding the realization and integration of gender equality policies in its external relations, and development cooperation activities. As a contribution to the 2030 Agenda, the EU and its Member States will translate this gender equality policy approach into concrete actions to empower women and girls, including tackling discrimination and violence against them. This includes three thematic priorities:

¹¹ EC International Cooperation and Development (2017): New European Consensus on Development - 'Our world, our dignity, our future, 8 June 2017, available at https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/policies/european-development-policy/european-consensus-development_en

¹² EC International Cooperation and Development (2019): Gender equality; https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/human-rights-and-governance/gender_en

¹³ EC International Cooperation and Development (2019): Spotlight Initiative; https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/human-rights-and-democratic-governance/gender-equality/spotlight-initiative_en

- Physical and psychological integrity of women and girls
- Socio-economic rights/empowerment of women and girls
- Voice and participation for women and girls.

An overarching priority is the institutional cultural shift which aims at integrating gender equality in the "way of working" of all EU actors in external relations and development¹⁴.

The EU supports partner countries around the world in their efforts to secure lasting peace, promote their political stability or rebuild societies and infrastructures after crisis situations. The EU's priorities are to promote good governance, establish the rule of law, fight against crime and strengthen law enforcement. Wars and armed conflicts have devastating human and societal impacts, such as wide-spread violence, the tragedy of refugee camps, accelerated spread of HIV, and the destruction of lives, livelihoods, state institutions and infrastructure. Such calamities can cripple a country for generations. The EU supports initiatives aimed at eradicating some of the leading causes of conflict, safeguarding stability and reestablishing peace after a crisis. Alleviating poverty, tackling disease and promoting good governance help shape societies where all are given a chance to thrive. They also address a number of potential causes of unrest.

EU development work uses non-military means to support the peaceful prevention or resolution of armed conflict through activities such as negotiation, demobilisation and demilitarisation. It also supports:

- good policing;
- the rule of law (e.g. availability of judges and lawyers);
- civil administration (establishing a group of experts);
- civil protection (experts and emergency teams that can be mobilised at very short notice).

Conflict prevention is supported and reinforced by cooperation and association agreements, cooperation on justice and home affairs, development policy, humanitarian assistance, social and environmental programmes, and trade policy.¹⁵

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA DURING THE EUROPEAN UNION NEGOTIATIONS

The Republic of Serbia is dedicated to the implementation of the Resolution 1325 and related UN Resolutions dealing with women, peace and security. Serbia is open to reviewing and exchanging positive experiences in practice, both in the Western Balkan region and in Europe and the world, especially the good practices and experiences it has had the opportunity to exchange during the collaboration with the Kingdom of Spain, Kingdom of Norway, Kingdom of Sweden, Kingdom of Netherlands, Federal Republic of Germany, United States of America, Israel and other countries, as well as the specialized bodies of the United Nations, such as the UN entity UN Women, the UNDP, within the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union (CSDP), the NATO/Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the EAPC, but also through cooperation with certain international organizations such as the OSCE or the DCAF, etc.

¹⁴ EC International Cooperation and Development (2019): Gender equality/Political commitment; https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/human-rights-and-democratic-governance/gender-equality/political-commitment_en

¹⁵ EC International Cooperation and Development (2019): Gender equality/Political commitment; https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/human-rights-and-democratic-governance/peace-and-security_en

Therefore, the Republic of Serbia is actively contributing to the total effort of international organizations, states and the civilian society organizations with the goal to improve the position of women, which is of utmost importance for respecting the right to equality and equal participation and representation of women and men in all spheres of social life, including the reformatory steps taken by the Republic of Serbia in the period between 2010 and 2016 for the purpose of gender equality integration into the security sector. These efforts led not only to changes at the institutional level, by establishing new gender equality bodies and mechanisms, but also to changes in legislation, strategies and plans. Not less important is the success achieved in raising awareness on gender issues of members of all the security sector institutions, primarily through education and training, but also through media promotion.

The results achieved in the previous five-year period of implementation of the National Action Plan for implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) (hereinafter: the NAP) are visible today in almost all aspects of daily work and life of the security sector members. A significant progress had been made in achieving the NAP goals, especially in institutional development, increase of representation of women in the security sector and in the decision-making, increase of participation in the international cooperation activities and multinational operations, improvement of normative presuppositions for protection of women, media reporting on implementation of the NAP activities, as well as establishing cooperation of the state administration bodies, civil society organizations, Western Balkan countries and international organizations in the implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325.

In this context, the development and implementation of this document have produced exceptionally positive effects in the state administration bodies where women are employed in operational units such as: the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Customs Administration of the Ministry of Finance, the Directorate for Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions of the Ministry of Justice, and the Security Information Agency regarding the integration of gender equality into the reform process.

Given the fact that both the first and the second NAP for implementation of this Resolution include the “measurability” of effects of the activities contained in the Plan, it was determined by means of indicators that the representation of women in the security sector of the Republic of Serbia increased in the period between 2010 and 2015 for 4.13% (from 27.40% in 2010 to 31.53% in 2015); in the same period, the representation of women in decision-making (command/management) in the security system increased for 5.21% (from 14.47% in 2010 to 19.68% in 2015). Also, the total representation of women from the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces in multinational operations in 2015 was 10.06%, while in the same period the representation of women from the Ministry of Internal Affairs in civilian missions was 5%¹⁶. There has been a significant increase of participation of women from the security system in international cooperation activities, and women were more often occupying the role of delegation

¹⁶ Zaključak Vlade i Izveštaj PS za sprovođenje NAP-a za primenu Rezolucije 1325 SB UN u R Srbiji u 2015 god.i. (Conclusion of the RS Government and Report of the Political Council on the implementation of the NAP for the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia in 2015), available at http://www.mod.gov.rs/multimedia/file/staticki_sadrzaj/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/2017/Zakljucak%20Vlade%20i%20Izvestaj%20PS%20o%20sprovedjenju%20NAP%20za%20primenu%20R_%201325%20SB%20UN%20u%20R_%20Srbiji%20u%202015_%20godini.pdf

leaders during official visits abroad than in previous years. All forms of education in the military and the police are open to female participants. In 2016, in the 136th class of cadets of the Military Academy, the three best cadets were female cadets from the *Defence Logistics* study programme, *Finance* module¹⁷.

The Republic of Serbia was positively evaluated during external evaluations for implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325 Action Plans. The evaluations were performed by the OSCE Mission in cooperation with the Institute for Inclusive Security from Washington (USA), “One Earth Future“ foundation, and Belgrade Centre for Security Policy. It is important to point out that the implementers of the evaluation pointed out in their report, based on the comparative analysis with other evaluated Plans, that “although the National Action Plan is not the best one, the Republic of Serbia is high up on the list of the plans analyzed, which is a confirmation of the results achieved by the institutions formed to implement the National Action Plan in the five-year period.” The conclusions made based on the results of the internal and external evaluation served as the basis for development of the new mid-term Action Plan¹⁸.

By the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia dated 25 December 2015, a Working Group for development of the National Action Plan for implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325–Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2016-2020) (hereinafter the Working Group) was established, and its composition and tasks were defined. In relation to the previous Plan, the novelty was that the Group was composed of 31 persons from the state administration bodies, but it also included representatives from the local self-governments, civilian society organizations and academic community, who were equal participants in the development of the new Plan. During its first session (held in Belgrade on 11 January 2016), the Group adopted the Concept and the dynamic plan for the development of the National Action Plan and developed the Draft of the new Plan, which was presented in April 2016.

According to the pre-determined methodology, the Plan was developed within two workshops held with the support of the Standing Conference of Towns and Municipalities of Serbia and two workshops held with the support of the OSCE Mission in Serbia. The results of the workshops were considered at the Working Group sessions, implemented with the professional and administrative and technical support of the Ministry of Defence, and based on the public consultations and alignment of opinions with the representatives of all actors included in the Plan development and implementation. Before the adoption of the Plan, the Political Council of the Government adopted and delivered to the Working Group the *Guidelines for Development of the National Action Plan for Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2016-2020)* in December 2015. During the development of the Draft Action Plan, in the period between 18 and 26 February 2016 as well as between 26 April and 10 June 2016, with the support of the Office for Cooperation with Civil Society, the Working Group organized electronic consultations with the civil society organizations on the form and content of the Plan. The Plan was made available to the public at the Office for Cooperation

¹⁷ Blic (2015). Najbolje u klasi: Tri devojke prve u rangu na Vojnoj akademiji, published 04.09.2015, available at <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/najbolje-u-klasi-tri-devojke-prve-u-rangu-na-vojnoj-akademiji/2s9h2xq>, (accessed 10.07.2019).

¹⁸ National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2017–2020), https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Serbia_NAP.pdf

with Civil Society website and the Ministry of Defence website, and the public could provide comments and suggestions via an online form.

As one of the results of the public consultation process, it was suggested that women should take greater part in peacekeeping missions and peace processes, and that rehabilitation and post-conflict recovery programmes should be made equally accessible to men and women in local communities in order to reduce the risk of rise of violence against women and children within families¹⁹.

The proposal of the National Action Plan (2017-2020) was disseminated by the Ministry of Defence to the state administration bodies of the Republic of Serbia on 12 September 2016. After the extensive process of harmonization on financial aspects of its implementation, it was delivered to the Government of the Republic of Serbia for adoption. The NAP (2017-2020) was adopted on 19 May 2017 by the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia²⁰.

By consistent adherence to the NAP (2017-2020), the Republic of Serbia respects the provisions of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (also known as the Istanbul Convention). This first comprehensive and legally binding agreement for the whole of Europe defines the notions such as: violence against women, domestic violence, gender-based violence against women, and it establishes the obligation of the signatory states to systematically combat gender-based violence. The Ministry of Defence is actively implementing the activities defined in the National Action Plan for implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (the previous NAP for the period 2010-2015, as well as the current one for the period 2017-2020).

The total number of persons from the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Serbian Armed Forces (SAF) participating in multinational operations (MnOp) in the previous years did not increase significantly, but the percentage of women did increase in the contingents in 2018 in comparison to 2017. Namely, in 2017, the total of 656 persons took part in MnOp, out of whom 579 were men (88.3%), while **77 participants of the mission were women (11.7%)**. **In 2018, the number of females increased to 14.1%**. Out of the total of 559 persons taking part in the MnOp, 480 were men (85.9%), while **79 were women (14.1%)**²¹.

Prior to deployment to missions, all mission participants (units, teams and individuals) are obliged to participate in trainings on prevention of sexual violence in conflicts. During the training, the disciplinary and criminal aspect of any form of sexual abuse or violence is pointed out both in relation to members of our national contingent and in relation to local population.

The Coordination Body for Gender Equality

The Coordination Body for Gender Equality was founded on 30th October 2014 by the Government of the Republic of Serbia, headed by the Deputy Prime Minister, prof. Zorana Mihajlović PhD. The Coordination Body will consider all issues and coordinate

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Evaluacija NAP za rodnu ravnopravnost 2016-2018, Finalni izveštaj evaluacije Akcionog plana za sprovođenje Nacionalne strategije za rodnu ravnopravnost Republike Srbije (Upitnik o realizaciji aktivnosti predvidjenih akcionim planom u periodu 2016-2018), Koordinaciono telo za rodnu ravnopravnost, Vlada Republike Srbije, <https://www.secons.net/files/publications/99-publication.pdf>

the work of the State administration body in relation to gender equality in Serbia. The establishment of the Gender Equality Coordination Body is important for the process of European integration and the promotion of gender equality in Serbia.²²

The Coordination Body is the national coordination mechanism for gender equality issues. It is mandated to coordinate the work of state administration bodies and other institutions for the purpose of improving gender equality and position of women and men in Serbia. The tasks of the Coordination Body are to initiate and monitor the implementation of strategic documents, laws and other regulations in the field of gender equality, provide expert opinions and manage the work of state bodies in tasks which exert a direct or indirect influence on gender equality and coordinate state administration bodies in the field of gender equality.²³

The Sector for Anti-discrimination Policy and Improvement of Gender Equality of the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs

The Sector for Anti-discrimination Policy and Promotion of Gender Equality performs tasks relating to preparation and analysis of information and other analytical materials for the purpose of promoting the anti-discrimination policy and gender equality. Its jurisdiction includes development of laws and other regulations in the field of anti-discrimination and improvement of gender equality, as well as providing opinions and proposing measures for implementation of these regulations, development of analyses, reports and information on the status and application of regulations in this area, monitoring of developments in the EU acquis for this field, monitoring and preparation of reports on application of international conventions, monitoring the implementation of the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and performing tasks relating to international cooperation and activities in connection to access to international donor funds.²⁴

The Protector of Citizens (Ombudsman) of Serbia

The Ombudsman protects and promotes the rights of citizens through the control of legality of bodies and organizations' with public authority. The Ombudsman covers the gender equality issue as one of the questions within his scope of work, while one of the four Ombudsman deputies is primarily in charge of children's rights and gender equality (Pajvančić, Petrušić, 2014: 37). In 2018, the Ombudsman reviewed almost 100 cases in the area of gender equality and issued 144 recommendations to the administration bodies. During the control procedure in 30 cases of domestic violence, some of which ended in femicide, he established that there were irregularities in the work of state bodies and gave relevant recommendations to the authorities in charge of protection of women from violence.²⁵

²² Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure (2019): Coordination Body for Gender Equality; <https://www.mgsi.gov.rs/en/coordination-body-gender-equality>;

²³ Vlada Republike Srbije: Koordinaciono telo za rodnu ravnopravnost (Government of the RS, Coordination Body for Gender Equality); <https://www.rodnaravnopravnost.gov.rs/sr/o-nama/ko-smo-mi>

²⁴ Ministarstvo za rad, zapošljavanje, boračka o socijalna pitanja (2019) Sektor za antidiskriminacionu politiku i unapređenje rodne radnopravnosti (Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Affairs, Sector for antidiscrimination policy and promoting gender equality); <https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/sr/struktura/sektori/sektor-za-antidiskriminacionu-politiku-i-unapredjenje-rodne-ravnopravnosti>

²⁵ Danas, Beta (2019): Ombudsman: Žene u Srbiji ne mogu da slave 8. mart u duhu ostvarene ravnopravnosti (Ombudsman: Women in Serbia cannot celebrate Women's Day (8th March) in the spirit of accomplished equality);

The Commissioner for Protection of Equality

The Commissioner for Protection of Equality is an independent, autonomous and specialized state authority established on the basis of the 2009 Act on Prohibition of Discrimination. The task of this state authority is to prevent all forms, types and cases of discrimination, to protect the equality of natural persons and legal entities in all spheres of social relations, to oversee the enforcement of antidiscrimination regulations, and to improve the implementation and protection of equality.

The Commissioner for Protection of Equality is competent to carry out the procedure based on complaints in cases of discrimination against persons or groups of persons connected by the same personal characteristic. The Commissioner is competent to receive and consider complaints on discrimination, to issue opinions and recommendations in concrete discrimination cases, and to stipulate measures defined by the Law. In addition, the Commissioner is obliged to inform the complainant about his or her rights and possibilities to initiate a court procedure or another protection measure, including the reconciliation procedure. The Commissioner is also authorized to file complaints for protection from discrimination, with approval of the discriminated person. The Commissioner is also competent to file offence reports against discrimination acts prohibited by the antidiscrimination regulations.

The Commissioner is authorized to warn the public about the most common, typical and severe cases of discrimination, to monitor the enforcement of laws and other regulations, to initiate adoption or amendments to regulations with the aim of making them more enforceable and improving protection from discrimination, and to recommend measures to public authorities and other parties concerned for achieving equality. The Commissioner's competences also include monitoring the situation related to protection of equality and submitting the Commissioner's Annual report on this matter to the National Parliament. In her work, the Commissioner has the obligation to establish and maintain collaboration with authorities competent for safeguarding equality and human rights protection on the territories of the Autonomous Province and local self-governments.²⁶

CONCLUSION

In the Republic of Serbia, the issue of gender equality came into focus with the development of the first NAP in 2010 and, in the years that followed, a series of positive steps for improvement of position of women has been made. At the same time, during the preparation for opening negotiations with the European Union and at the beginning of negotiation process the determination to work in the fields concerning gender equality was confirmed, especially in Chapter 23 – Judiciary and fundamental rights, Chapter 24 – Justice, freedom and security, and Chapter 31 – Foreign, security and defence policy. If we consider the European Union report on this issue, it may be concluded that a lot has been done in the Republic of Serbia on the issue of gender equality, perhaps even more than in some of the EU member states.

published 7 March 2019; <https://www.danas.rs/drustvo/ombudsman-zene-u-srbiji-ne-mogu-da-slave-8-mart-u-duhu-ostvarene-ravnopravnosti/>(accessed 28.06.2019.)

²⁶ The Commissioner for Protection of Equality (2016); Competences of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality; <http://ravnopravnost.gov.rs/en/background-information>

In the first years after the adoption of the NAP in Serbia, the focus was on establishing the gender equality mechanisms, but also on providing better information to the public on this very important issue for human rights in general. The normative legal framework should be complete after adoption of the gender equality law, with all the previously adopted regulations concerning prevention of abuse of women at workplace, prevention of violence against women, economic equality of women, economic empowerment of women, etc. The education process, particularly at the undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate levels of study, has created a generation of young educated people with gender awareness. They need to continue raising awareness and building gender equality in Serbia. In the NAP 2017-2020, the importance of gender awareness and empowerment of women has shifted to local communities where improvement of position of women is also expected. The third NAP would require for the mechanisms established in the previous two NAPs to become fully functional. The weaknesses which were observed in the previous period should be eliminated, especially regarding the lack of understanding of the society's obligation to adopt all the positive regulations and norms of behavior.

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RODNA RAVNOPRAVNOST U INSTITUCIONALNOM OKVIRU EU I REPUBLIKE SRBIJE

Promovisanje i pun doprinos rodne ravnopravnosti je jedna od ključnih aktivnosti Evropske unije, kao i njeno strateško opredeljenje na dostizanju tog cilja. Rodna ravnopravnost je viđena, između ostalog, kao pitanje ekonomskog rasta i kao takva, rodna perspektiva je implementirana u sve aktivnosti Evropske unije. Republika Srbija, kao zemlja kandidat za članstvo u Evropskoj uniji, usvojila je sve ciljeve u vezi sa rodnom ravnopravnošću koji treba da budu ispunjeni u skladu sa Evropskim strategijskim dokumentima, osim toga, u svim direktivama Evropske komisije jednakost između muškaraca i žena je inkorporirana u pravne sisteme zemlja članica. Kao prvo, Republika Srbija je obezbedila pravni i institucionalni okvir za implementaciju direktiva i strategija u procesu pregovora za članstvo u Evropskoj uniji, kao i kontinuiran rad na jačanju rodne ravnopravnosti. Kontrolni mehanizmi za poštovanje principa jednakosti, npr. sprečavanje diskriminacije, su formirani i funkcionišu, pre svega, državna institucija za zaštitu stanovništva od svih oblika diskriminacije, uključujući rodnu diskriminaciju - Poverenik za zaštitu ravnopravnosti. Autori u prvom delu naglašavaju značaj za socijalni razvoj država članica, u drugom delu rad se nastavlja upoznavanjem sa institucionalnim okvirom za implementaciju i kontrolu poštovanja rodne ravnopravnosti u Republici Srbiji.

Ključne reči: rodna ravnopravnost, Evropska komisija, Vlada Republike Srbije

**UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325
“WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY”
IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT OF REFUGEE CRISIS:
OLD EXPERIENCE OR NEW CHALLENGES?***

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Abstract. *Since 2000, the United Nation Security Council has adopted four resolutions on women, peace and security (UN SC Resolutions: 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889). The UN SC Resolution 1325 “Women, peace and security” was adopted on 31st October 2000. This document emphasizes the consequences of armed conflicts on women and girls and the importance of women’s role in peace-building and the post-conflict recovery of the country. A particular challenge for its implementation has been the refugee crisis, as a result of which more than half a million asylum seekers have arrived in Europe since 2015. Particularly vulnerable groups among them are women and children, who are accommodated in refugee camps and asylum centers. During their stay in these centers, they focus on meeting their basic needs within the existing local (material and human) resources. In this context, the readiness of local communities to ensure the safety and psycho-social well-being of refugees and migrants, especially women and children, in accordance with the adopted Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325, will come to the fore. The analytical approach in this paper includes the identification of the key determinants of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the local context of response to the refugee crisis.*

Key words: *UN SC Resolution 1325, refugees, migrants, crisis, women*

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. UN Security Council Resolution 1325: “Women, peace and security” (2000)

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UN SCR 1325) was adopted in October 2000, at the Security Council meeting No.4213. It recognizes specific impacts of armed conflicts on women, as well as the significant contribution that women can provide to security and reconciliation. UN SCR 1325 advocates for greater representation of the women in the prevention and management of these conflicts. Special attention has been paid to the need for gender perspective to be included in the implementation of peace agreements, in the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants and gender training for peacekeepers (Bastik, De Tores, 2010: 3).

The adoption of this Resolution was *inter alia* prompted by the obligations contained in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231), as well as in the final document of the 23rd session of the UN General Assembly titled "*Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace in 21st century*" (A/S-23/10 Rev.1), especially in the part dealing with women and armed conflicts. Among other things, the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 called upon:

- Members of the UN to ensure the presence of women at all levels of decision-making in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts;
- the Secretary-General to seek the extension of the role and contribution of women in UN field operations, and in particular among military observers, civilian police and personnel dealing with human rights and humanitarian work;
- Member States to increase voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender sensitive trainings, including those undertaken by relevant programs and funds, including the UN Women's Fund, the UN Children's Fund, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees;
- the parties involved in peacekeeping processes, **to apply a gender perspective** in negotiations and agreements about peace implementation, **including the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; to include measures supported by the peace initiatives of the women in the local area and local conflict resolution processes, as well as the measures to ensure the protection and respect for the human rights of women and girls**, especially if they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;
- all parties in the armed conflict **to fully respect the international law applicable to the protection of the women and girls as civilians**, and particularly to comply with their obligations under the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocol of 1997, the 1951 Refugee Convention and the Protocol of 1967, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Optional Protocol of 1999, the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and two optional protocols of May 2000, and to take into account relevant provisions of the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;
- all parties in the armed conflict to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, especially rape and other forms of sexual violence, and all forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

- all states to exclude, where possible, from the amnesty provisions, and to punish all those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, including those related to sexual violence against women and girls;
- all parties in the armed conflict **to respect the civil and humanitarian character of the refugee camps and settlements, but also to take into account the specific needs of women and girls**, with particular reference to the Resolution 1208 (19 November 1998) and Resolution 1296 (19 April 2000);
- all parties involved in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration planning to consider the different and specific needs of ex-soldiers' men and women, taking into account the needs of their family members (UN SCR 1325, 2000: 2-3).

By adopting this Resolution, the Security Council has committed itself to ensuring that its missions will take into account the gender perspective and rights of the women, including the need for consultation with local and international women's organizations. At the same time, the UN Security Council urged the Secretary-General to conduct a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, on the role of women in peace building and the gender dimension of peace processes and resolution of conflict, to report to the Security Council on the results of that study and to forward it to all UN member states. The Secretary-General is also required to include, wherever possible, in his reporting to the Security Council, the progress made in sex equalization through peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls.

Therefore, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 "Women, Peace and Security" respects the special and specific security needs of women and girls during a refugee exodus, repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction. The Resolution encourages local peace-building and conflict-resolution initiatives, supports women involvement in psychological and social support programs, and encourages measures to ensure the protection and respect of human rights of women and girls, especially in relation to the UN Charter on Human Rights and the international law applicable to the protection of the women and girls as civilians, as well as in relation to the local constitutional system, state and local institutions.

2. REFUGEE CRISIS: CHALLENGES AND RISKS OF “THE JOURNEY INTO THE UNKNOWN”

“No human being is illegal.” (Elie Wiesel)

More than one and a half million people seeking asylum have arrived in Europe since 2015 (Eurostat, 2016)¹, including a fourfold increase in one year of individuals risking their lives to enter Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Such large numbers of refugees/asylum seekers in a relatively short period have created a global crisis experienced beyond the continent. This crisis is part of the largest global displacement since World War II, with an estimated 65.3 million people worldwide fleeing war, persecution, conflict, and human rights violations (UNHCR, 2016).² Most refugees are concentrated within the urban areas. According to International Rescue Committee and Humanitarian Policy group, more

¹ Eurostat. (2016). *Key figures on Europe*. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/7827738/KS-EI-16-001-EN-N.pdf/69cc9e0d-9eb3-40e5-b424-29d00686b957> (May 17, 2018)

² UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2016). *Global trends: Forced displacement in 2015*. Available at: www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/576408cd7/unhcr-global-trends-2015.html (8 February 2018)

than half of all refugees live in large towns and cities (Smith, 2016: 521). Cities are required to provide services such as housing, education and health care to increasingly diverse groups of newcomers and to maintain public safety often without enough resources to accommodate these new demands. Thus, the “refugee crisis” is also an “urban, local crisis.”

In Europe, the majority of new refugees come from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as from other countries divided by conflict and violence (Eurostat, 2016). Others are economic migrants who hope to build better future for themselves and their families. This unprecedented and striking surge in migration to Europe has activated action by state, nongovernmental and humanitarian agencies and revealed longstanding tensions between the priorities of each of these actors (Smith, 2016: 522) while also generating the mobilization of a new category of ad hoc grassroots organizations committed to providing emergency health relief and new approaches to welcoming new arrivals (Tjensvoll, *et al.*, 2016: 5).

Refugees arrive on foot, by boat, train and car across multiple border crossings. The final destinations for many of them are cities in Germany and Sweden because the governments of these countries have shown willingness to accept them, and their healthy economies are seen as promising job opportunities. Some of the refugees have family and friends who already reside in those places and can assist them in settling in.

Their journey is difficult as they face countless obstacles in attempts to reach their destinations. In 2015, as over 815,000 refugees and migrants crossed the borders of Serbia on their way to Hungary and Croatia, Hungary constructed a 175 km-long barbed wire barricade along its border with Serbia and deployed “*határvaszok*” (“border hunters”) to detain migrants (Haraszti, 2015: 37). More generally, competing national priorities and the complexity of migration patterns that place asylum-seekers alongside economic migrants have made it difficult for the European Union to develop a collective response to recent arrivals, an effort further complicated by inconsistent examinations of asylum claims among the 28 member states (UNHCR, 2010).³ Therefore, refugees became dependent on the good will of the nation states, urban governments and their citizens to accept them and to provide them with the necessary resources they need to forge new lives in new lands.

Until now, the unprecedented number of individuals and families, including an increasing number of children from the Middle East, from Africa and Central Asia has crossed the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea in an attempt to reach the safety and security of Europe. In 2015, more than 3,500 people drowned or disappeared during these forced migration movements. Currently, hundreds of thousands of women, men, boys and girls with the legal status of refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants are on the move through the European territory on their way to the country of their final destination. Among the numerous needs of these populations, considerable attention should be paid to the protection of their mental health and psychosocial well-being.⁴

The refugees and migrants coming to Europe have mostly faced war, persecution and difficult challenges in the countries of origin. Many have experienced displacement and troubles in transit countries and have embarked on dangerous journeys. Lack of information, uncertainty about immigration status, potential hostility, political inconsistency, and undignified and prolonged retentions contribute to their psychosomatic problems. The forcible

³ UNHCR (2010). *UNHCR study finds inconsistent examination of asylum claims in EU*. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/4bac9ae19.html> (accessed 20.4.2019).

⁴ See: UNICEF (2012). *The Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action*. Available at: https://www.unicef.org/iran/Minimum_standards_for_child_protection_in_humanitarian_action.pdf (20.4.2019)

migration violates the protective support which existed before the migration (such as those provided by a wider family) and may jeopardize cultural, religious and sex identity.

Forced migration requires multiple adjustments in a short period of time. People (especially children) become more susceptible to abuse and neglect. The social and mental problems that existed earlier can get worse. It is important to understand that the way the people are accepted and the way in which assistance and protection is provided can cause or exacerbate the problems (for example, by diminishing human dignity, discouraging mutual support, and by creating addictions). It should be borne in mind that an intense sense of urgency among the people on the move may urge migrants and refugees to take extreme health and psychosocial risks, whereby their rapid movement across a few countries leaves little time to provide assistance. However, regardless of the time of their stay in some countries, local communities are obliged to provide them with all the necessary assistance and support, primarily taking into account the needs of the most vulnerable groups in the refugee exodus - women and children.

2.1. Serbia in the refugee crisis

Since May 2015, Serbia and other countries in the Western Balkans have faced an unprecedented refugee crisis. According to the information released by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO), in 2015 and in the first quarter of 2016, over 920,000 refugees and migrants (mainly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq) went through Serbia on their way to Hungary and Croatia.⁵ It took some time for the coordination of national and local institutions, international organizations and civil society organizations to adequately respond to this humanitarian challenge in Serbia.

Since May 2015, Serbian and other candidate countries in the Western Balkans have been facing a huge inflow of refugees and migrants in transit from Greece to Hungary or Croatia. In 2015, the Government registered more than 815,000 refugees who went through Serbia. After the closure of the so-called Western Balkan migration route in March 2016 and the entry into force of the agreement between EU and Turkey, the number of entries has been drastically reduced.⁶

In 2015 alone, Serbia registered a total of 577,995 persons who expressed their intention to seek asylum in the Republic of Serbia. As a result of the border closures, the number of persons expressing intention or having an interest in expressing the intention to seek asylum in the Republic of Serbia significantly decreased and, as of June 2016, a total of 4,551 persons expressed their intention for international protection in our country. This number should not be underestimated although these numbers look very modest in comparison with the previous year. This trend is further characterized by **the significant presence of women and children** (1,138 women, 93 unaccompanied minors) and, at the same time, by unchanged determination of the majority of the refugees and migrants to move on to EU countries; they were concentrated in the border area along the Hungarian border (the border crossings Horgos 1 and Kelebjaja) where it is very difficult to ensure adequate conditions for care and humanitarian assistance.

⁵ See: Evropski pokret Srbija (2018): *Migrantska kriza, Srbija i Evropska unija (Migrant crisis, Serbia and European Union)*, Evropske sveske br. 4/2018; available at: <http://www.emins.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Evropske-sveske-4-2018-Migracije-Srbija-i-Evropska-unija.pdf> (accessed 20.4.2019)

⁶ Evropski pokret Srbija (2018): *Migrant crisis, Serbia and European Union*, available at: <http://www.emins.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Evropske-sveske-4-2018-Migracije-Srbija-i-Evropska-unija.pdf> (accessed 20.4.2019)

Since the beginning of the crisis, the European Commission⁷ has allocated 24.8 million Euros as humanitarian aid in order to help the refugees and migrants in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia. More than 20.1 million Euros of this amount has been allocated to Serbia in order to support the provision of emergency assistance at 16 government reception sites. The measures were originally aimed at providing basic assistance at refugee checkpoints, including health services, temporary accommodation, warm clothes, food, water, providing space for children and protection. The help was then focused on improving living conditions at the official reception locations. Help included food, water, hygienic and non-food items, health services and protection. From September 2015 to August 2016, through the agency of the EU Civil Protection Mechanism, ten member states offered Serbia a total of 246,000 items (such as heaters, aggregates, sleeping bags and blankets) within the framework of humanitarian aid. The European Commission works closely with Serbian authorities, UN agencies and other humanitarian participants in order to meet the needs of newly arrived migrants and those who are "captured" in the country, as well as the most vulnerable refugees.

According to the data of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration⁸, there are 13 collective centers in Serbia: Pančevo, Šabac, Smederevo, Kragujevac, Rača, Kladovo, Kraljevo, Gadžin Han, Bela Palanka, Vranje, and 3 centers in Bujanovac. They accommodate 268 displaced persons and refugees, and 901 internally displaced persons. In addition, the Serbian Commissariat for Refugees and Migration still takes care of 295 refugees and displaced persons and 320 internally displaced persons in 9 collective centers in Kosovo. Twelve years ago, there were 388 collective centers in Serbia for refugees, displaced and internally displaced persons.

In the second half of 2016, a total of 4,257 persons expressed their intention to seek asylum in Serbia. In the same period, 74 persons applied for asylum, while 3,485 asylum seekers were placed in four asylum centers (Banja Koviljača, Bogovadja, Obrenovac, Sjenica and Tutin). Most asylum seekers accommodated in these centers come from Syria, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Pakistan.⁹

3. THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 1325 IN SERBIA (2017-2020) AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

In its "Concluding Remarks" concerning the implementation of the SCR 1325, the UN Committee for CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) has repeatedly encouraged the states to implement the National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of this Resolution. At the end of 2010, Serbia upheld this recommendation by passing the first NAP for the implementation of the SCR 1325 in Serbia for the period 2010-2015; the second NAP for the period 2017-2020 was passed

⁷ Evropski pokret Srbija (2018): *Migrant crisis, Serbia and European Union*, available at: <http://www.emins.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Evropske-sveske-4-2018-Migracije-Srbija-i-Evropska-unija.pdf> (accessed 20.4.2019)

⁸ Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije Republike Srbije/Commissariat for Refugees and Migration Republic of Serbia (2019): *Collective Centers, Commissariat for Refugees and Migrations*, available at: http://www.kirs.gov.rs/wb-page.php?kat_id=34; http://www.kirs.gov.rs/wb-page.php?kat_id=202&lang=2 (English) (accessed 20.4.2019)

⁹ Komesarijat za izbeglice i migracije Republike Srbije/Commissariat for Refugees and Migration Republic of Serbia (2019): *Asylum centers and reception centers in the Republic of Serbia*, available at http://www.kirs.gov.rs/wb-page.php?kat_id=205 (20.4.2019)

by the Government Conclusion on Adoption of NAP for Implementation of SCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia of 19 May 2017.¹⁰

The National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security" in Serbia *inter alia* envisages measures and activities that contain a gender perspective for responding to a refugee crisis, taking into account the specific needs of women and girls in the local context. The NAP focuses on the specific security needs of women from multiple discrimination groups, including the women in the refugee camps who had experience of war and its consequences. The NAP envisages the following activities (OSCE, 2017: 25-42):

Chapter 2: **PREVENTION**; Special goal: Developed prevention mechanisms to increase the safety of women in peace, conflict and post-conflict recovery of society in the country and abroad

Activity 2.2. *Incorporation of measures that support the specific security needs of women and girls in local communities, especially from multiple discriminated and vulnerable groups.*

Activity 2.6. *Providing support to formal and non-formal forms of education and information and training for mediation, negotiation and consensus building on security and peace issues.*

Activity 2.10. *Supporting the production of media content in the area of public information on the importance of preventing violence against women.*

Chapter 3: **PARTICIPATION**; Special goal: Increased representation, involvement and decision-making of women in all processes related to the preservation of peace and security.

Activity 3.10. *Equitable treatment of women in decision making and greater representation of women in the process of planning and realization: disarmament, peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction of society and refugee reintegration.*

Chapter 4: **PROTECTION**; Special goal: Improved normative conditions and institutional capacities for accessible and effective protection of women.

Activity 4.3. *Improving the efficiency of the security system and all other actors to undertake the necessary legislative and other measures to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women in conflict and post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations, with full dedication.*

Activity 4.6. *Providing comprehensive legal protection and psycho-social support to girls and women with the experience of gender-based violence, especially members of multiple discriminated and marginalized groups in the conflict and post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations.*

Activity 4.7. *Improvement of legal protection and psycho-social support for girls and women victims of human trafficking, especially members of multiple marginalized and discriminated groups in the conflict and post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations.*

Chapter 5 **RECOVERY**; Special goal: Improved system for supporting recovery of women who have suffered any form of endangering security in the post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations.

¹⁰ See: Government Conclusion on Adoption of NAP for Implementation of SCR 1325 in the Republic of Serbia. http://www.mod.gov.rs/multimedia/file/staticki_sadrzaj/dokumenta/akcioni_planovi/2017/Zakljucak%20Vlade%20o%20usvajanju%20NAP%20za%20primenu%20R_1325%20SB%20UN%20u%20R_Srbiji.pdf (20.4.2019)

Activity 5.3. *Encouragement, financing, implementation of rehabilitation programs for participants in armed conflicts.*

Activity 5.4. *Improving the capacity of all actors in local community to implement individual recovery plans that include psychosocial support, health and social protection, and employment in the conflict and post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations.*

Activity 5.5. *Overcoming stereotypes and prejudices towards the women with experience of violence in conflict and post-conflict recovery of society, crisis and emergency situations, and their empowerment to come out from isolation and break the silence about their traumatic experiences.*

3.1. Local context of implementation of the Resolution 1325 – obstacles

The experience of the refugee crisis in local communities in Serbia (Morača, 2016) shows that people endure the refugee life and stay in foreign countries more easily if they find shelter in the environment which has something in common with the one from which they escaped. Bearing this in mind, it can be concluded that most local communities in Serbia where migrants, refugees or asylum seekers are located do not share cultural, traditional, religious, educational and other specifics. It greatly complicates the work of local institutions and requires additional engagement of human and material resources to meet the existential needs of this vulnerable group.

In addition to members of the police and social work center employees, the health sector is also frequently among the first to have contacts with migrants and asylum seekers. The right to urgent medical assistance, as well as to health care provided from the budget, is guaranteed by the Health Care Act, while the medical treatment of persons waiting for a decision on an asylum application is the subject of the Rulebook on medical examinations of asylum seekers upon admission to the Asylum Center. In order to adequately respond to the phenomenon of migration, and to protect especially vulnerable groups of migrants and the integration of asylum seekers who have been granted some form of protection, it is necessary to involve professionals from other sectors, such as education, civil society organizations, and the National Employment Service.

On the other hand, the analysis of the activities of the local communities (Morača, 2016), shows that, except for the police and to a lesser extent the social protection and health sectors, the representatives of other sectors from most local communities have an almost negligible experience working with the migrant population. Apart from general information and “first-hand” experiences of meeting migrants in public places in their cities, they are not sufficiently informed about the specificity of the migrants’ position, the asylum system in Serbia, and the importance of their role in assisting, preventing and integrating migrants into the community.

The cooperation of institutions at the local level is largely based on personal acquaintances; the activities are largely conditioned by personal initiatives of the employees and representatives of organizations and institutions, and there is no systematically arranged and stable set of clear measures and procedures. While this type of cooperation responds to the needs of some basic official actions, it is insufficient in dealing with more complex situations or assisting a larger number of migrants. It is also evident that representatives of different sectors primarily rely on police officers in almost all segments of work with the migrant population. Due to the nature of their work, the police are among the first who

contact the migrants and asylum seekers, and they also organize the coordination of other sectors and assistance (informing the Social Welfare Center or Health Center, transporting migrants, providing food, etc.).

In principle, the arrival of a larger number of migrants to Serbia in 2015 has shown the extent to which the local mechanisms for assisting the migrants are inadequate for work with any significant number of potential asylum seekers; moreover, there is a serious lack of clarity about their treatment and a lack of coordination between different sectors, as well as between the national and local levels of government. The most frequently mentioned problem is the *service of translators*, which is certainly the key issue when it comes to working with foreign citizens. The lack of translators and reduced ability to communicate with migrants directly affects the capacity to provide them with comprehensive and necessary services. The problem of translation, and in particular the absence of male and female translators for Arabic and Farsi, who would be engaged on a regular basis, becomes particularly alarming when it comes to working with vulnerable groups among the migrant population - women potential victims of trafficking and violence, those involved in prostitution networks, minors suspected of traveling without their parents or relatives (when an elderly person who presents himself as a parent cannot provide adequate evidence that he is a parent), as well as with those who need urgent medical assistance.¹¹

In view of the adequate implementation of Resolution 1325, it has been recognized that the major obstacles faced by the local communities in responding to the refugee crisis are as follows:

- long duration of the asylum procedure
- insufficient accommodation capacities of existing asylum centers
- inadequate migration assistance mechanisms
- lack of coordination between different sectors
- lack of financial, human and material resources
- translation problem (*Arabic and Farsi language*)
- perception, distrust and prejudice towards migrant populations by professionals
- fears and prejudices against migrants in the population
- the role of the media.

In order to overcome the observed problems, the Republic of Serbia adopted the Act on Asylum and Temporary Protection on March 26th 2018,¹² which prescribes the status, rights and obligations of asylum seekers and persons who have been granted the right to asylum or temporary protection, as well as the principles, conditions and procedure for the approval and cessation of the right to asylum or temporary protection, and other related issues.

¹¹ There is an illustrative example from the Loznica Health Center, when a migrant woman (travelling without her husband) was saved by emergency intervention after she had been brought to the Health Center in a critical condition due to health problems related to complicated pregnancy. The male translator, who was supposed to translate the conversation between her and the doctor reasonably believed that the patient could not talk openly and freely about her life circumstances, reasons of travel, or health problems; thus, the possibility of explaining, even giving diagnosis and reaction to the eventual exploitation was very limited (Morača, 2016).

¹² Zakon o azilu i privremenoj zaštiti, [Act on Asylum and Temporary Protection], "*Službeni glasnik RS*", 24/2018, available at <http://www.unhcr.rs/media/docs/2018/LawOnAsylumAndTemporaryProtectionRS.pdf> (8. Feb. 2018).

3.2. Recommendations, *instead of Conclusion*

In addition to the measures envisaged by the law, the local experience of working with vulnerable groups among the migrant population (primarily women and children) recommends taking into account specific measures which will:

- make a balance between educational, creative and recreational activities and the actual needs of women and children;
- provide adequate, timely and useful information necessary to cope with the new environment, as well as enable the introduction of a wider cultural and social context;
- provide timely medical assistance, a permanent open telephone line for providing medical advice, as well as medical examinations and treatment;
- provide a continuous psychological open-type counseling service for children and parents, individually and/or in groups, depending on the interests and needs;
- provide adequate continuous financial/material assistance.

Taking into account the measures promoted by the Resolution 1325, the activities envisaged in the National Action Plan (NAP) for the period 2017-2020, the specific security and other needs of the women in refugee camps and asylum centers, the experience of the local communities in relation to the situation, and proclaimed human rights of multiple discriminated and marginalized groups (refugee women, migrant women, etc.), we recommend undertaking various activities with the following goals:

GENERAL GOAL:

Implementation of the Resolution 1325 in the local context of the refugee crisis, through the implementation of the activities envisaged in the NAP (2017-2020)

SPECIFIC GOALS:

1. Empowering women in refugee camps and their reintegration through psycho-social support programs and lectures/seminars/workshops on gender-based violence, women's health, etc.

In order to achieve this goal, the following **activities** have to be undertaken:

- 1.1. *organize programs for psycho-social support of women in refugee camps, asylum centers;*
- 1.2. *work on empowering women (lectures/workshops on violence, women's health, etc.);*
- 1.3. *organize workshops in the field of arts, crafts or handicrafts,*

1. a. Education of preschool and school children on basic educational needs

In order to achieve this goal, the following **activity** has to be undertaken:

- 1.a.1. *organize classrooms/workshops for children in mathematics, geography, drawing;*
2. Sensitizing the local community/population and local institutions for the needs of multiple discriminated and marginalized groups in refugee camps, asylum centers, etc.
 - 2.1. *conduct research on women and girls' perception of safety and their experiences with gender-based violence in the country of origin and in the country of asylum;*
 - 2.2. *inform the local community about the refugees' needs and situation (particularly women and children) by organizing local public gatherings, round table discussions, etc.;*
 - 2.3. *provide a mandatory training program/seminar for representatives of the local institutions on the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers, human security, respect and protection of women's rights;*
 - 2.4. *organize a public debate about the consequences of war, the refugee crisis, current security challenges, risks and threats.*

The refugees’ health and well-being are influenced by conditions enabling their integration into the host-country society. They need fair and equitable access to housing, education and employment. In some cases, they may need lawyers to help them navigate the new legal, political and social environment. In other cases, they may need moderators to facilitate conflict resolution between the family members as well as between refugees and the local communities. Considering the experience of working with different categories of migrant population, we already have examples of good practices that can be replicated. All we have to do is to put them into effect.

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**REZOLUCIJA 1325 SAVETA BEZBEDNOSTI
“ŽENE, MIR I BEZBEDNOST”
U LOKALNOM KONTEKSTU IZBEGLIČKE KRIZE:
STARO ISKUSTVO ILI NOVI IZAZOVI?**

Od 2000. godine Savet bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija usvojio je četiri rezolucije o ženama, miru i bezbednosti (Rezolucije: 1325, 1820, 1888 i 1889). Rezolucija 1325 „Žene, mir i bezbednost” usvojena je 31. oktobra 2000. godine. Ovaj dokument naglašava posledice krvavih konflikata na žene i devojke i značaj uloge žena u izgradnji mira i postkonfliktnom oporavku zemlje. Poseban izazov za njenu primenu predstavlja izbeglička kriza u okviru koje je više od pola miliona ljudi koji traže azil stiglo u Evropu počev od 2015. godine. Među njima su posebno ranjive grupe žene i deca, smešteni u izbegličke kampove i centre za azil. Tokom boravka čije trajanje nije unapred određeno, usmereni su na zadovoljavanje potreba u okviru postojećih lokalnih resursa (materijalnih i ljudskih). U ovom kontekstu, do izražaja dolazi spremnost lokalnih zajednica da, shodno usvojenom Akcionom planu za sprovođenje Rezolucije 1325, osiguraju bezbednost i psihosocijalnu dobrobit izbeglica i migranata, posebno žena i dece. Analitički pristup u ovom radu obuhvata prepoznavanje ključnih odrednica Rezolucije 1325 u lokalnom kontekstu odgovora na izbegličku krizu.

Ključne reči: Rezolucija 1325, izbeglice, migranti, kriza, žene

ECOFEMINISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

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Abstract. *Having in mind climate change as well as the rising risk of potential environmental crisis caused by pollution and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, the concept of environmental security, primarily defined as the resilience of countries and individuals to the challenges of environmental degradation, is rapidly obtaining the interest of general public and experts from various scientific disciplines. However, it seems that the gender aspect of security in general and particularly of environmental security has not been given the amount of attention it deserves until recently. Thanks to the ecofeminist movement, based on the idea that women are more closely related to nature than men and more vulnerable and susceptible to the negative impacts of environmental degradation (especially those emerging as the consequences of pollution and climate change), the role of women in the improvement of environmental security through participation in decision-making processes in legislation and public policy making is finally being recognised. The aim of this paper is to analyse the modern concept of environmental security as well as the evolution and contemporary discourses within ecofeminist movements and to explain the link between them, i.e., the contribution of ecofeminism to the shift in the approach to environmental security in the sense of taking into consideration the rights and interests of women as more common victims of negative environmental impacts as well as their potentials as relevant stake holders in this field.*

Key words: *ecofeminism, environment, ecology, security, environmental security*

1. INTRODUCTION

The ecologically destructive nature of the modern world is becoming increasingly exposed and challenged due to a broader scientific and social recognition of numerous environmental problems (Barnett, 2001: 1). The literature linking the environment and security suggests two main approaches in the context of combating environmental problems: *Environmental security* and *Ecological security*. *Environmental security* is influenced by the discussions of

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human security. *Ecological security*, by contrast, refers to those analyses which focus on the negative impacts that human behaviours have on the environment (Cudworth, Hobden, 2011: 43-45). Research shows that both environmental and ecological security risks endanger women more severely than men for several reasons. In 1994, the United Nations stated that in no society are women secure or treated equally to men; thereby from childhood through adulthood, they are abused because of their gender (United Nations Development Programme, 1994: 31). Unfortunately, more than two decades later, the situation regarding women's vulnerability and susceptibility to negative environmental impacts (particularly those emerging due to climate change) has remained more or less the same. What seems to be improving, however, is the recognition and the affirmation of the crucial role that women play in environmental protection, ecological development and sustainable use of natural resources. In order to address the growing challenge of the women security, it is now indisputable that a new paradigm is necessary that would put them at the centre of development. It is also recognised that little can be achieved without a dramatic improvement in the status of women and opening of all economic opportunities to women. From that point of view, it should be noted that sustainable development empowers women, by enabling them to design and participate in the processes of the protection of natural systems on which all life depends (United Nations Development Programme, 1994: 4).

Several factors seem to have contributed to this improvement, including the growing ecofeminist movement whose impacts are more and more notable in the media, various scientific debates, social, economic and environmental policies, legislative documents, etc. The *Ecofeminist schools* have claimed a global connection between women as a gender and nature, in order to save the environment. There are currently two main versions of ecofeminism. According to the *essentialist ecofeminism* framework, women are programmed to nurture and empathize with the fertile natural world. This essentialist perspective is opposed by *constructionist ecofeminism*, which states that gender is socially constructed, claiming that women's relationship to nature is constructed in specific social contexts. In other words, according to this approach, the alliance between women and nature has been socially constructed as an aspect of patriarchal power. In that sense, women activate their support for nature in public political action by struggling to achieve environmental goals (Leahy, 2003:106-107). Bearing in mind the link that exists between environmental security and ecofeminism, this paper analyses the concepts of environmental security and ecofeminism. The main goal of this paper is to demonstrate the importance of ecofeminist approaches in the context of the concept of environmental security.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The term "environmental security" refers to a relative resilience of the public to ecological hazards caused by natural or human actions (Bakrač, Vuruna, Milanović, 2010: 315). Defining environmental security seems to be rather difficult because there is no common agreement on the issue that this term is supposed to address. In the 1970s and 1980s, the research was predominantly oriented towards redefining the concept of security so that the term security could encompass both newly emerged risks and the standpoint according to which the object of security is not only the state but the individual as well. During the 1990s, several empirical case studies were conducted, focusing on the interaction between the factors of global changes, environmental degradation, scarcity of natural resources, and the impacts that these factors have on conflicts or cooperation between

the states. At the end of the 20th century, research on environmental security tackled the issue of potential conflict due to the use of resources, failures of the states to prevent these conflicts, and the syndromes of global changes (Jovanović Popović, 2013: 105).

It appears that the best way to explain the essence of environmental security is to recognise the link between environmental degradation and security in general (Barnett, 2001:6), as well as the relationship between environmental degradation and environmental insecurity. Environmental degradation is best described as the process by which the life-sustaining functions of the biosphere are disturbed. As such, it includes the totality of a series of interdependent processes occurring at a range of scales and in different places to differing degrees. These processes comprise, *inter alia*, atmospheric pollution and climate change, biodiversity loss, soil loss, salinization and acidification of soils and water, fisheries depletion, depletion of forests and timber, marine pollution and contamination of plants and animals by synthetic chemicals and radioactive substances (Barnett, 2001:14). The application of new technologies and methods in industry and agriculture increases the risk of environmental degradation and introduces a series of new challenges in the area of protection, particularly in cases where safety standards and procedures regarding ecological security and protection are violated (Beriša, Jegeš, Slavković, 2015: 727).

Regardless of its cause, environmental degradation represents a serious threat to human security and all life on Earth. Air and water pollution, deforestation, soil erosion (etc.), resulting from civilian and military activities can and do change our living conditions dramatically (Graeger, 1996: 109). Hence, environmental insecurity can be defined as the vulnerability of people to the effects of environmental degradation. This implies that environmental insecurity represents more than just a physical process of environmental degradation. On the contrary, it includes the way this degradation affects the welfare of human beings. Therefore, environmental insecurity should be perceived as social problem, both in terms of the way it impacts human welfare and because the meta-problem of environmental degradation emerges as a product of human behaviour (Barnett, 2001: 17).

The end of the Cold War and increasing knowledge on the harmful impacts of environmental degradation have intensified the efforts to find a more comprehensive security concept in the scientific, political and military community; thus, “security is increasingly being defined as the security of individuals as human beings as such, and not only as citizens of a particular state” (Graeger, 1996: 109). In accordance with the aforementioned standpoint, the entire human environment is being taken into consideration in order to preserve security, including the need to resolve environmental issues and guarantee a sustainable future (Graeger, 1996: 109).

Environmental degradation or change may emerge as both the causes and the consequences of violent conflicts. Namely, it seems that environmental degradation as well as insufficient respect for sustainable management of natural resources may lead to disputes within countries and between otherwise friendly countries (Graeger, 1996: 110). When environmental degradation is a consequence of international acts of warfare, it often escalates the conflict (Graeger, 1996: 110). All armed conflicts and acts of terrorism produce a series of negative direct or indirect impacts on the environment (Batrićević, Paunović, 2018:69). For example, massive pollution of air, water and soil and the devastation of flora and fauna were evidenced during World War II (particularly after two atomic bombs were dropped on Japan), during armed conflicts in Cambodia, Vietnam, Afghanistan and Kuwait as well as during the NATO bombing of the Republic of Serbia in 1999 (Mannion, 2003: 5-6).

Regardless of its cause, there is no doubt that environmental degradation leads to environmental insecurity in the broadest sense. For example, it has been proven that

climate change (as one of the most severe consequences of environmental degradation) has several implications for human security, especially given its wide-ranging impacts on critical livelihood sectors and communities with the least capacity to adapt (Denton, 2011: 21). There are two principal ways of understanding the problem of environmental insecurity: as national security threats arising from environmental degradation, or as human impacts on the security of the environment itself. Environmental insecurity is considered to be a way in which environmental degradation threatens the security of people, with a particular focus on the various impacts of environmental degradation on different groups of people. In this sense, this approach to environmental insecurity is also related to the theories of environmental justice (Barnett, 2001: 12).

Predictability and control are essential elements of military security considerations, which are also important elements in safeguarding the environment, and there seems to be a "conceptual kinship which makes it natural to speak of security in both connections" (Lodgard, 1990: 17). Therefore, under certain circumstances, irreparable environmental degradation or ecological systems in dramatic change may boost the probability of escalation of violent conflicts (Graeger, 1996: 110). Lodgard's definition of environmental security includes not only sustainable utilisation and protection of the environment but also the minimisation of risk, or rather - of the probability for experiencing negative consequences of environmental change (Lodgard, 1992: 20). This, in turn, may be related to industrial activities and technology where there is a potential for major damage to the environment (Graeger, 1996: 110). The concept of sustainable development is primarily oriented towards the improvement of the quality of life, including: economic development (accomplished through continuous economic growth without inflation and increase in debt), social development (embodied in the elimination of poverty and all kinds of social pathology), and ecological development (based on rational use of natural resources and environmental protection) (Beriša *et al.*, 2015: 767). These "three major divisions of sustainability (social equity, economic welfare, environmental quality)" (Banaitè, 2016: 149) and components of sustainable development are closely interrelated (Duran, Gogan, Artene, Duran, 2015: 809-810), and they need to coexist in order to remain stable. The concept of sustainable development dwells upon the demand for the maintenance of all natural resources as well as human and physical capital (Beriša *et al.*, 2015: 767). Therefore, the increase of incomes must not be derived from the degradation of natural resources. Quite the reverse, there must constantly exist a balance between the use of resources and the ability of the natural systems to satisfy the needs of the future generations (Beriša *et al.*, 2015: 767-768). On the other hand, the ecological crisis is manifested through the imbalance of environmental factors and the impairing of the unity of the natural and social components, which threaten the stable functioning of the biosphere and the society. So, in the modern world, the disruption of environmental balance caused by unsustainable use of natural resources threatens the survival of both natural and human-made systems (Beriša *et al.*, 2015: 768). In other words, failing to follow the principles of sustainable development is directly linked to environmental degradation and, as such, should also be observed as a factor of environmental insecurity, whereas sustainable development should be perceived as a factor that contributes to environmental security.

3. ECOFEMINISM

Ecofeminism represents both an ecological philosophy and a social movement that draws on environmental studies, critiques of modernity and science, and feminist critical

analyses and activism that is aimed to explicate the links that exist between women and nature, and the implications of these links for environmental politics (Allison, 2017). Being an ecological philosophy and a social movement, ecofeminism embodies a multifaceted critique of global environmental politics. In contrast to mainstream approaches to global environmental politics, which are focused on the role of the nation state or institutions in global, collective efforts to protect and manage the natural environment, feminist critiques emphasize the contextualized experiences of women in politics (Allison, 2017). Ecofeminism examines these experiences specifically as they pertain to nature and the natural environment, especially the daily practices and environmental activism of women living in industrializing nations (Allison, 2017).

Ecofeminism was originally associated with the view that women and nature are connected in morally significant ways because both are identified with femininity. This femininity, associated with characteristics ranging from fecundity to vulnerability to wildness, was seen as a source of ecological and social flourishing that is violently degraded in patriarchal cultures. Ecofeminists took women and nature to be connected because, as providers of life, sustenance and creativity, they are similarly important and valuable, and their strengths are similarly controlled or violated by men (or "patriarchy"). Therefore, ecofeminists advocated turning toward nature and reclaiming the connection, in order to protect the interests of the natural world and to empower women physically, spiritually, and economically (Cuomo, 2002:7). On the one hand, it appears that this standpoint confirms that women have always been connected with nature. In this context, "woman" is referred to as a "unitary concept and reality", focused on the role that women play as "mothers and nurturers of life", regardless of the disparities that might appear between them emerging from factors such as ethnic background, social class and age. On the other hand, it is argued that the biological features of women, that come from the characteristics of their body and its functions (including: pregnancy, childbirth, lactation, menstruation etc.), or cultural experiences (the care and bringing up of children), give them a special natural mindset (Nieves Rico, 1998:22).

In the context of ecofeminist movements, it should be noted that there are three conceptual approaches discussing how ecofeminists have precisely defined the connection between women and nature. First of all, there are *conceptual connections* between women and nature. The majority of ecofeminists following this standpoint agree with radical feminists when it comes to identifying Western patriarchy as the main cause of ecological destruction on the global level. Their claim is supported by the fact that women are in charge of sustaining human life and they have a feeling of compassion toward their environment, which urges them to conserve and repair it. Second, there are *historical connections* between women and nature. In this regard, some researchers have found these historical links in the Greek philosophy and the traditions of rationalism. On the other hand, more contemporary historical analyses focus on the scientific revolutions of the 16th and 17th century. These scholars claim that this has accompanied the period of "reductionist and mechanistic science", which triggered unconstrained expansion of industrial development and put women in a subordinated position. Finally, there are *spiritual connections* between women and nature. These ecofeminists argue that there are some biological features of women that enable them to unlock the mysteries of nature. In that sense, scholars introduce the idea that, at an ideological level, women are closer to nature and more in touch with their bodies, emotions and the natural world; thus, the so called "spiritual ecofeminists" emphasize the internal links between women and the environment (Sapra, 2017: 4-8).

On the other hand, there are two prominent theoretical schools explaining the *materialist conceptions* of the connection between women and the environment: 1) feminist environmentalism, and 2) feminist political ecology. *Feminist environmentalism* is based upon the material concepts of the relationship between gender and environment and their links with some ideological standpoints. *Feminist political ecology* is focused on the seminal work in the area of feminist environmentalism, with particular spotlight on the issues such as: gendered knowledge, the access to resources and their control as well as the connection between the issues on local and global level. What these conceptions have in common is the standpoint according to which there is no inherent or native link between women on one side and the environment on the other. It would be more appropriate to say that they claim that the relationship between women and nature dwells upon the fact that women have the responsibility for nurturing the land and collecting the products from forests, which is especially present in the global South. Another characteristic that these conceptions have in common is their effort to explore in an intersectional manner the ways in which gender, class, and race impact people's lives. Namely, they explore the gender implications of the separation of work and knowledge/science and practice on the gendered science of survival in rural and industrial contexts through a variety of cases of political and environmental struggle. These conceptions also highlight that men frequently have more access to agro-forestry extension work and knowledge associated with science, whereas women have experiential knowledge obtained through providing household subsistence (Sapra, 2017: 8-12).

The theme of gendered environmental rights and responsibilities examines various political backgrounds in which women are deprived of having the control and rights over natural resources. Finally, gendered environmental politics and grassroots activism focus on exploring the environmental movements and gives particular attention to the role of women. Gendered environmental politics and grassroots activism emphasize the empowerment of women through their efforts to change the environment and global economic processes, as well as the international and national shifts in sustainable development policies that came as the result of their efforts (Sapra, 2017: 8-12). One of the most prominent movements related to the ecofeminists is the Earth democracy, explained by Vandana Shiva as the ancient principle that includes peace, justice and sustainability, which connects the individual with the universal, different and usual, local with global (Ćorić, 2014: 555).

Ecofeminism seems to be a combined product of both ecological movement and women's movement. As such, it entails not only the theoretical essences of feminism but also the theoretical standpoints of ecologism. In the context of its *feminist* origin, ecofeminism predominantly represents the sublimation of radical, cultural, and socialist feminism. *Radical feminism* emerged in the 1960s and it is based on the conception of the supremacy of women's reproductive function, with the focus on the relationship, caring and loving culture. In other words, it seems that the feminism theory utilises the conception of patriarchy to clarify female issues. *Cultural feminism* emerged in the late 1970s and it represents a mixture of Liberal and Socialism feminism, which advocates that it is social culture that constructs social gender. The link between cultural feminism and ecofeminism stems from the fact that ecofeminism also considers that nature and women are products of social culture construction. Finally, *Socialist feminism* was initiated in the 1970s and it could be described as a combination of the standpoints of Marxist ideology and Radical Feminism. Socialist Feminism had a significant influence on ecofeminism in its "economic analysis approach". From this perspective, "ecofeminism is the development of feminism in the economic-ecological dimension" (Ling, 2014:105-106).

When it comes to the *ecological* origin of ecofeminism, it is important to mention that ecofeminism has adopted the latest theoretical standpoints of ecology movements that could be described as radical, such as *Deep Ecology* and *Social Ecology*. Emerging in the 1960s, *Deep Ecology* defends the standpoint that ecological crisis has profound philosophical roots. In that context, *Deep Ecology* is directed towards a personal and cultural transformation, suggesting the use of holism and denying the anthropocentric approach. *Ecofeminism* accepts *Deep Ecology*'s approach to exploring the profound reason of ecological crisis. However, it appears that the most transparent difference between these two conceptions refers to the population issue. To be more exact, *Deep Ecology* considers overpopulation as the main reason for ecological crisis and implies that ecological crisis actually represents a crisis of overpopulation. Therefore, according to *Deep Ecology*, population growth has to be stopped. For its part, ecofeminism claims that population reduction may be accomplished only via the suppression of male power structure and its technology as well as through the control of women's fertility. By contrast, *Social Ecology* is focused on the social dimension, blaming hierarchy for all disasters, which indicates that there are at least two sides: the dominant one and the subordinate one. In that context, *Social Ecology* points out that "the nature's getting rid of human domination relies on the premise of human being out of domination" (Ling, 2014:106). The second one is that *Social Ecology* permits humans to lead natural evolution since their rationality and society emerged as the results of evolution. However, *Ecofeminism* raises criticism on *Social Ecology*, pointing out that *Social Ecology* expands the term of "domination" from "human domination over humanity to human domination over nature, which not only ignores human domination on nature but it also ignores the differences and characteristics of human domination between non-hierarchical humans" (Ling, 2014:106).

Finally, different conceptual and methodological approaches dealing with the women-gender-environment interrelationship should not only include the *ecofeminist movements* but also the schools discussing *women and the environment* as well as *gender, the environment and sustainable development* (Nieves Rico, 1998:21). Ecofeminism has had a significant impact on the school *women and the environment*, especially when it comes to the assumption that women have a special relationship with nature and that they are devoted to combating environmental degradation. This approach is focused on the specific features of women as guardians of the environment but it seems to be overseeing two facts: 1) that poor women living in developing countries are the victims of severe exploitation, which dramatically harms their health; and 2) that women have a subordinated position in the society due to the distribution of power between genders. On the other side, the initial position of the school *gender, environment and sustainable development* stems from the fact that women are affected by discrimination that appears in several cases: 1) the gender-based division of labour, which means that women are almost always responsible for household and children; 2) unequal access to productive resources and the benefits of these between men and women; 3) limited participation of women in decision-making processes and access to public power. The differences between women can be identified by emphasizing the social, historical and cultural nature of the processes of subordination and negotiation in which they are involved and through the principles of gender, the environment and sustainable development. Therefore, it should be concluded that the relationships that women have with the environment are shaped by their lifestyles, physical location and social structure as well as by the interrelation of gender systems, class and ethnicity. Moreover, these relationships are modified for individual women throughout their lives. To conclude, this standpoint puts gender relationships against the actual background of countries and regions,

considering the political economy of the current development situation and how this impacts the gender system and the environment; it also focuses on how the negative impacts of environmental damage predominantly affect women (Nieves Rico, 1998:23-26).

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF ECOFEMINISM FOR ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The modern feminist and environmental movements emerged during the same decade, and both came to the critical developmental stage in the 1980s. Their mutual impact was briefly explored in the 1990s (Malone, 2015: 1446). Post-modern ecofeminism urged for essential reconsidering of the role that women have been playing in environmental preservation on global, national and local levels (Malone, 2015: 1446). Namely, ecofeminist movements take into account that women significantly contribute to successful adaptation to changing natural conditions. They do so through their "critical knowledge, experience, agency and unique role in agriculture, food security, livelihoods, income generation, management of households and natural resources in diverse eco-systems, and participation in a variety of socio-cultural, political-economic and environmental institutions" (Nellemann, *et al.*, 2011: 7). On the other hand, they also highlight the fact that women seem to have rather subordinate positions in numerous countries, which will further be discussed in details.

Therefore, the ecofeminist movements are important for establishing social and environmental justice and gender equality, since they take into consideration the subordinate position that women have in many societies across the world, which puts them into a more difficult position in the cases of environmental degradation. Even when both men and women's access to education, health care, political action and financial autonomy is severely restricted, it seems that the subordinate position of women in the social stratification leaves them with the least access to these services and freedoms and sometimes subjects them to physical abuse (Goldsworthy, 2009: 219). Moreover, it appears that there is a social order designed to keep women in the margins of society, creating persistent structural threats to their security by exclusion. The structural position of women in a society can directly and indirectly threaten their livelihoods through violence and discrimination, beginning as early as childhood (Goldsworthy, 2009: 219).

Women are the primary victims of environmental degradation, and in particular the destruction of forests (Čorić, 2014: 555). It seems that women who live in the Southern areas are particularly susceptible to the negative consequences of disasters since the power relations and inequitable cultural and social norms are a part of tradition in these regions. At the same time, women have a crucial role in the development of sustainable adaptation options because they have the knowledge, responsibilities and important roles in productive areas, such as: agriculture, rangelands, biodiversity conservation, forests, households, income-generation, livelihoods and other socio-cultural and political-economic institutions and relations. It is estimated that women are 43% of the work force in agriculture worldwide. However, this proportion is higher in Asia and Africa, often exceeding 50%, particularly in mountain regions. Therefore, women have an essential role when it comes to the attempts to adapt to environmental challenges, to develop and maintain environmental sustainability and food security (Nellemann *et al.*, 2011: 6).

Due to a lack of access to formal education, economic poverty, discrimination in food distribution, food insecurity, limited access to resources, exclusion from policy and decision-making institutions and processes and other forms of social marginalisation, the adaptation is more difficult for some women. It seems that women in general tend to have

less access to and less control over the vital resources, as well as fewer opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes that affect them. In many contexts, women tend to face gender-based violence, various forms of harassment and psychological violence within the household. These problems have negative impacts on women and restrain their capability to adapt to extreme environmental changes (Nellemann *et al.*, 2011: 6). When natural disasters are concerned, climate change seems to be aggravating the aforementioned discriminatory models, making women even more vulnerable to natural disasters and reducing their life expectancy, particularly if they are in a financially subordinated position (Crowley, 2011: 20). Namely, in extreme natural disasters (such as severe floods and drought), women seem to be facing extra risks; mostly because of gender inequities, they carry a much heavier burden of disaster impacts (Nellemann *et al.*, 2011: 6).

There seems to be another serious risk for women associated with environmental problems: organised trafficking. Although environmental and trafficking issues may not at first glance seem to be link, the reality is different. Namely, natural disasters (flood, drought and famine) that appear as the results of climate changes may interrupt safety nets on the local level. It means that women and children may be left without protection due to the collapse of regular control mechanisms, which makes them particularly exposed to the risk of becoming victims of human trafficking. Actually, it seems that all natural disasters resulting in physical, social or economic instability, affect women and children more severely than men and increase the risk of their victimisation from trafficking (Nellemann *et al.*, 2011: 7).

Women on the verge of poverty are more substantially affected by successive natural disasters because such women have very few financial, land or other resources. Poor women are exposed to a greater risk of losing the minimal safeguard they have, for which reason they often face indebtedness, inequality and poverty. In some countries, climate change encourages men (and sometimes women) to migrate in order to find employment. This increases the amount of work that has to be done by the women that are left behind, especially when it comes to agricultural and domestic obligations (Crowley, 2011: 20).

Ecofeminism is important for environmental security due to the fact it connects the vision of female liberation, social inequalities and, ultimately, social justice with the affirmation of degraded areas and subordinate non-human nature. That is the reason why the promotion of ecofeminist ethics should be interpreted in a broader context - as the promotion of freedom from the dualisms of Western intellectual thought and male-gender bias about women and nature (Ćorić, 2014: 555). Moreover, ecofeminism brings new energy and changes the perspective on environmental issues by giving the true importance to the roles of women and nature. That is the main reason for further development of this ethical conception and also for its implementation in the real life solutions (Ćorić, 2014: 556).

One of the fields where ecofeminist ethics should be applied is the area of sustainable development. Namely, feminist scholars criticised the concept of sustainable development by claiming that it had failed, from an ecofeminist standpoint, to sufficiently deal with the marginalization that women and the poor are facing in developing countries (Malone, 2015: 1457). According to this viewpoint, the concept of sustainable development is still based on the so-called male-centered or androcentric standpoints, which perceive human beings as being separate from nature and above it (Malone, 2015: 1457).

The International Conference on Population and Development (1994) (United Nations, 1995; see also: Shaw, 2007: 321-327), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) (United Nations, 1995a), the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) (United Nations, 2002), and the 2005 World Summit (United Nations, 2005) recognized the essential role women play in sustainable development. In its recent follow-up to the Beijing

Platform for Action, the General Assembly highlighted the need to “involve women actively in environmental decision-making at all levels; integrate gender concerns and perspectives in policies and programmes for sustainable development; and strengthen or establish mechanisms at the national, regional and international levels to assess the impacts of development and environmental policies on women” (A/C.3/62/L.89).¹

In November 2009, a consultation on the impact of climate change on women and gender relations was sponsored by the United Nations Environment Program and United Nations Foundation. In 2010, the World Bank joined the discourse with its publication “Social Dimensions of Climate Change: Equity and Vulnerability in a Warming World.” (Malone, 2015: 1458). By 2010, the calls for women’s involvement in high-stakes climate change policy-making and discourse were having an effect (Malone, 2015: 1459). Notably, women in some European countries seem to show stronger support for their governments’ climate-protection policies than men. They also seem to express greater support for more ambitious reduction goals and expect their countries and the European Union to take a principle role in environmental protection (Hemmanti, Röhr, 2009: 155).

5. CONCLUSION

Solving environmental problems may promote cooperation and it may be used for security policy or peace building. Thus, environmental security can be perceived as a link between the environment and human activities (Brock, 1991: 407). In that context, ecofeminist movements can have a crucial role in designing ecological and security policies aimed at environment conservation, sustainable development, environmental, social and gender justice.

The impact of ecofeminism, insisting on taking into consideration gender aspects in public policies, is most visible in the area of climate change policies. There seem to be two key reasons why gender considerations should be included in the development of policies tackling climate change issues. The first refers to the presumption that gender mainstreaming in this area has the potential to enhance the results of climate-change combating process. The second is based upon the standpoint that, if gender issues are not considered, progress towards reaching gender equity could be endangered (Hemmanti, Röhr, 2009: 156). Generally speaking, considering different viewpoints of various social groups may lead to establishing better measures, mechanisms and solutions that reflect the interests of the powerful and the less influential social groups (Hemmanti, Röhr, 2009: 156), which particularly refers to women and children who are finally given the chance to be heard, due to the efforts of activists inspired by ecofeminism learning.

It is obvious that all relevant stakeholders (including policymakers, non-governmental organisations, and the academic community) should take into consideration the gender aspect of climate change adaptation and influences (Crowley, 2011: 20). Since the majority of environmental issues are related to climate change, this actually implies that gender aspect has to be taken into consideration when discussing all issues related to environmental protection, environmental degradation and, hence, environmental security. In order to avoid the risks and consequences of climate change, women should be placed

¹ The 52nd session of the Commission on the Status of Women Interactive expert panel Emerging issues, trends and new approaches to issues affecting the situation of women or equality between women and men “Gender perspectives on climate change” Thursday, 28 February 2008, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw52/issuespapers/Gender%20and%20climate%20change%20paper%20final.pdf>, 23.04.2019.

in the centre of activities dedicated to resolving climate change issues, not only because of ethical but also because of economic considerations (Crowley, 2011: 20). Considering the gender perspective on climate change in negotiations at the international level may also preclude the potential negative impacts on climate-change measures and mechanisms on gender equality (Hemmanti, Röhr, 2009: 157).

Women and nature are the key assets that the existence of future generations rests upon. Yet, they are constantly under threat and their existence, according to the representatives of ecofeminism, is on the edge of viability. Under international conventions, countries are bound to change their environmental policies but the adopted policies largely remain black letter on paper, and the mass destruction of nature in the name of people continues (Ćorić, 2014: 556). For this reason, ecofeminist approach should be taken into account when discussing future environmental policies and women should participate as relevant stakeholders in the decision-making processes related to environmental issues, particularly in those pertaining to sustainable development.

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EKOFEMINIZAM I EKOLOŠKA BEZBEDNOST

U kontekstu klimatskih promena i rastućeg rizika od ekološke krize izazvane zagađenjem i nedrživim eksploatacijom prirodnih resursa, koncept ekološke bezbednosti, prvenstveno određen kao spremnost država i pojedinaca da se suoče sa izazovima degradacije životne sredine ubrzano pobuđuje interesovanje kako šire javnosti tako i eksperata iz različitih naučnih disciplina. Međutim, čini se da rodnom aspektu bezbednosti uopšte, a posebno ekološke bezbednosti, sve do nedavno nije pruženo onoliko pažnje koliko zaslužuje. Zahvaljujući ekofeminističkim pokretima, koji počivaju na ideji da su žene više povezane sa prirodom nego muškarci te da su u tom smislu ranjivije i podložnije negativnim uticajima degradacije životne sredine (posebno onim koji se pojavljuju kao posledice zagađenja i klimatskih promena), uloga žena u unapređenju ekološke bezbednosti kroz njihovo učešće u procesima donošenja odluka u oblasti zakonodavstva i javnih politika konačno je prepoznata. Cilj ovog rada jeste da analizira moderni koncept ekološke bezbednosti, kao i evoluciju i savremene diskurse u okviru ekofeminističkih pokreta, kao i da objasni njihovu povezanost, odnosno doprinos ekofeminizma promeni u pristupu ekološkoj bezbednosti u pravcu uvažavanja prava i interesa žena kao češćih žrtava negativnih ekoloških uticaja ali i njihovih potencijala kao relevantnih donosilaca odluka u ovoj oblasti.

Ključne reči: *ekofeminizam, životna sredina, ekologija, bezbednost, ekološka bezbednost*

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE SERBIAN ARMY: CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract. *The military profession has always been regarded as a typical male profession. This conception is the result of numerous prejudices about the ability of women to adequately respond to all the challenges in this service. In the past, there seemed to be no place for women in the Serbian Army. Women who wanted to serve their homeland in this way were forced to conceal their gender identity. The most prominent example is the First World War heroine Milunka Savić, whose true identity would have probably remained undetected if she had not been wounded. The paper deals with the position of women in the Serbian Army today, problems they encounter and the prospects for resolving them. The Serbian Armed Forces have made an important step towards a greater involvement of women in their ranks by enabling women participation in the army as officers, non-commissioned officers and professional soldiers, in the same way as men. The aim of the paper is to point out to the directions of the development of the position of women in the Serbian Army, especially considering the process of its professionalisation.*

Key words: *women, Serbian Army, professionalization*

INTRODUCTION

The position of women in the social structure is certainly one of the current topics in the contemporary society. Gender equality is one of the principles of modern democracy, and the best evidence of such a democracy is the status of women in all social structures of the community, especially in the armed forces. When speaking about democracy and the Serbian armed forces, it should be noted that the most significant step towards instituting higher standards of gender equality in the security sector was the decision to enhance the admission of women into professional military service (by increasing the percentage of their representation in the overall composition of the Army and extending the scope of their professional services) and to institute military education for women at the Military

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Academy. In this way, the state has tried to avoid the phenomenon of the 'glass ceiling', which refers to the invisible barriers that prevent the advancement of women in organizations and stop them at a certain level (Miladinović, 2013: 272).

The army is the pillar of security in every state. The security of the state and all its citizens depends on the efficiency and training of its armed forces. The military profession has always been regarded as a typically male profession. This conception is the result of numerous prejudices about the ability of women to adequately respond to all the challenges in this service. In the past, there seemed to be no place for women in the Serbian Army. In the past, it seems that there was no place for women in the Serbian army. Women who wanted to serve their homeland in this way were forced to conceal their gender and gender identity. The most prominent example is the First World War heroine Milunka Savić, whose true identity would have probably remained undetected if she had not been wounded.

The paper deals with the position of women in the Serbian Army today, problems they encounter and the prospects for resolving them. The Serbian Armed Forces have made an important step towards a greater involvement of women in their ranks by enabling women's participation in the army as officers, non-commissioned officers and professional soldiers, in the same way as men. The aim of the paper is to point out to the directions of the development of the position of women in the Serbian Army, especially considering the process of its professionalisation. It should be noted that the contemporary laws in a number of countries have contributed to changing the long-standing custom, reflected in the traditional absence of women from the armed forces. The envisaged normative framework, including the anti-discriminatory regulation of the labour market and the paradigm shift from obligatory recruitment to a voluntary army service, has enabled women to enter the army and military forces (Mršević, Janković, 2017: 77).

WOMEN IN FOREIGN ARMED FORCES

Increasing women's participation in the armed forces usually occurred during war conflicts, most frequently because men were involved in direct combat. In times of war, women usually performed civilian jobs in the armed forces (medical care, stewardship, general supply and quartermaster services, etc.). The endeavours aimed at enabling women to perform the duties of officers and to directly participate in battles against the enemy as combatants (under the same conditions as men) were closely related to the general tendency to combat gender discrimination in the area of labor and employment. This part of the paper will briefly present the experiences of the United States, Sweden and Israel in the process of involving women and enhancing their participation in the military services. These comparative practices may serve as guidelines for enhancing the position of women in the Serbian Army, especially considering the process of its professionalisation.

The United States of America

Women currently account for about 13% of the United States Army. There is no doubt that women have successfully entered the military hierarchy and assumed positions that would be difficult to imagine only a decade ago. They have also proved that they have the necessary skills to serve in command positions in the armed forces. A large number of women in the United States served in the armed forces during the Second

World War. They were assigned to different military units and departments but they were barred from engaging in direct combat. Many of them performed unusual civilian jobs for the needs of the armed forces, working as parachute packers, aviation mechanics, artillery instructors, etc. Although women were grouped into several working categories, the given circumstances and warfare needs opened up other jobs for them. During the war, the need for personnel was the main factor that contributed to expanding the women's role and position in the army, but other significant factors were women's patriotisms and desire to contribute to the war efforts of their country, as well as their pressure to make their war contributions officially recognized.

After the war, the US authorities were bound to consider the issue of the future role of women in the army. In 1948, in the same year when President Truman enabled racial integration, Congress adopted the Women's Armed Services Integration Act, which enabled women to serve as regular members of the armed forces (Mršević and Janković, 2017: 83).

Sweden

Until 1980, the military profession in Sweden was reserved exclusively for men, and the issue of women in the military profession was the subject of political debate for much of the 20th century. In 1969, the commander-in-chief of the aviation requested the permission from the King of Sweden to employ women in military positions in the Air Force department. The initiatives for employing women came from the military structures but also from the Government, which called upon the consistent application of Swedish gender equality policies. The request of the aviation commander was motivated by the lack of manpower in aviation, rather than the desire to achieve gender equality. The idea was that women should be employed in non-combat positions, which would enable men to participate in combat operations. The Defense Minister claimed that military officers should have the same status as other state officials, and gender identity should not be ground for exclusion of women. The focus on removing formal gender impediments, the effects of Swedish laws and policies on equal opportunities, and the pressure to enhance gender equality in the structural organization of armed forces has proven to be a successful combination.

When the first Swedish woman entered the military profession in 1980, the Equal Opportunities Act regulated the Swedish labor market. The aim of this legislative act was to promote gender equality rights in terms of equal employment opportunities, treatment and working conditions for both men and women. The subsequent Equal Opportunities Act of 2005 was primarily aimed at improving women's working conditions. Enabling women to enter the military profession was considered to be the practice of inclusion, which would gradually eliminate firmly set gender-based barriers. The restrictions were ultimately removed in 1989, and by the year 2000 women entered different military units as officers, commanders of tank units, navy-ship captains and fighter-aircraft pilots (Mršević and Janković, 2017: 88). Sweden is an example of a country where women are properly included in the defense forces.

Israel

Engagement of women for the needs of Israeli defense forces is a direct consequence of the complex security situation in this country, due to ongoing attacks in the Gaza region. In the last few years, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) have drawn the attention of the world public by the substantial integration of women's in the armed forces, enhancing

their prospects of advancement and improving the overall status of Israeli women in the army (Mršević and Janković, 2017: 90). In the IDF, the role of a combatant is among the most respected social roles and a prestigious status symbol; as such, it entails privileges which are transferrable to civilian life, considering that the quality of civilian career largely depends on the importance of military roles performed during military service and the assessment of overall performance (Mršević and Janković, 2017: 91). It has been noted that women in the Israeli Defense Forces greatly contribute to raising the fighting morale of the army, which is by no means insignificant, considering the tasks of armed forces and their reputation in society.

CURRENT POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE DEFENSE SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

In the Kingdom of Serbia, women had a significant role in the armed forces, particularly in times of war. Historical facts provide evidence about the highest combat values and dedication of the combat units exclusively composed of volunteers, including female volunteers who directly participated in warfares. This practice was also prominent during the Second World War among the female members of the liberation movement. These examples speak in favour of voluntarism as a motive for serving in modern armed forces. In this regard, it is suggested that the volunteering tradition should be used in the contemporary social circumstances as a model of good practice for recruiting personnel for the professional army in the Republic of Serbia. It is concluded that the phenomenon of volunteerism is affirmative, regardless of the deeper motivation that initiates the citizen to join the military and the armed forces in democratic societies (Barović, 2010: 348).

Today, the Republic of Serbia is an active member of the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Partnership for Peace (OSCE), as well as a candidate for potential membership in the European Union. As such, Serbia has recognized different international documents and good practices (stemming from the activities of international institutions and/or the civil society sector) which emphasize the importance of equal participation of men and women in preventing and resolving conflicts, promoting the culture of lasting and sustainable peace in society, and ensuring equal opportunities without gender-based discrimination. Consequently, these commitments were incorporated into the content of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia for the period from 2010 to 2015 (Stojković, 2014: 46).

Article 11 of the Military Act of the Republic of Serbia stipulates that the provisions on the composition of the Serbian Armed Forces equally apply to women and men.¹ Thus, the normative framework reinforces the importance of respecting the principle of equality of men and women in the service of the Serbian Armed Forces.

The current status of women in the Serbian Armed Forces has not been the subject of substantial scientific research. There is only a small number of articles on this issue. The available literature shows that stereotypes about male soldiers had prevailed in the traditional Serbian mindset for centuries. In the past, the army service was exclusively intended for men, and women had no place there. When women were eventually allowed to enter the army ranks, they mainly performed secondary (non-combatant) duties, in

¹ Zakon o vojsci Srbije (Military Act of the Republic of Serbia), "Službeni glasnik RS", 116/2007...36/2018 .

most cases behind the front line. However, the situation gradually changed over time. The Second World War was marked by the mass presence of women in the regular armies, especially in the composition of the liberation movements throughout the world (Šaranović, Marček and Kilibarda, 2005). When the war ended, the total number of armed forces was reduced and a large number of women returned to their civilian ("female") jobs. However, their representation in the army did not significantly decrease. In fact, there was a trend of a constant increase of women's engagement in the army, and their presence was more and more visible both in non-combat and combat units, both in the backlines and in the frontlines. In the 21st century, creating a more favorable climate for equalizing the labor-related rights and duties of men and women in the area of defense has become one of the essential prerequisites for achieving gender equality. By accepting the concept of gender equality as one of its strategic commitments, the Army of Serbia has been committed to attaining the highest standards in the area of gender equality in its ranks (Šaranović and Kilibarda, 2011).

As compared to young men, women show more interest in logistics and less interest in being deployed with the land (ground) forces, which is rather expected considering the stereotypical division into "male" and "female" jobs, whereby the operations of officers in the land forces are considered to be "typically male". There is no dispute that duties of officer in the land forces are more physically demanding in comparison to duties in other military forces, which is a crucial factor in women's decision to pursue education at the Military Academy. Concurrently, their increased interest in logistics indicates that they probably take into account the specific duties they will be performing in the military as well as the prospective employment opportunities outside the army infrastructure, in case they are forced to leave the military profession before the expiry of the term of employment in the army. A professional degree in logistics obtained from the Military Academy certainly provides better employment opportunities than a degree in land forces.

One of the key conditions for women's integration into the Serbian Army organizational structure is adaptability, which can be illustrated by the "drop-out" rate of female cadets during their education at the Military Academy. This rate is a general indicator of their adjustment or non-adjustment to the conditions of life in the military environment and the strict requirements of the educational process at the Military Academy. As noted by Šaranović (2011), the research data covering the educational process of several generations of female cadets show that the first generation of female cadets experienced problems in adapting to the new environment but that the situation eventually improved in subsequent generations. Namely, out of 30 women admitted the Military Academy in 2007, 11 female cadets (36.7 %) did not continue education with their generation in the next academic year; one cadet had to leave school due to illness, while as many as 10 cadets (33 %) could not enroll for the second year of study because they did not pass the required exams within the stipulated deadline. After taking the exams in an additionally approved exam term, nine (out of these 10) cadets continued their education with the next generation. The situation in the generation admitted in 2008 and 2009 was considerably more favourable. In 2008, only two out of 32 admitted female cadets were discharged (one for illness and one for low performance grades). In the generation admitted in 2009, only two out of 49 admitted cadets were discharged (one for illness and one at her own request) (Šaranović, 2011: 124). Such a significant decrease in the drop-out rate may be attributed to the fact that the number of applicants for the Military Academy exceeded the projected

admission quota, which made the admission process more competitive and enabled the selection of the best candidates.

Although physical strain is often viewed to be one of the limiting factors in for women, the same survey shows that engagement of women in military duties is not a particular problem for most cadets (67.50%), while additional 20% of female cadets could not decide whether to qualify physical training as difficult or not. The military marching drill, weapons training, and wearing uniforms are seldom perceived as heavy duty (only 5% of female cadets encountered problems there). In this respect, there are no significant differences between men and women. Women often encounter the problem of adapting to the living and working conditions but their accommodation and adjustment to life in the Serbian armed forces is facilitated by the opportunity to take part in extracurricular activities. The survey shows that 72.50% of surveyed female cadets enjoyed the "opportunity to engage in sports activities"; 55% of respondents pointed to "the spirit of friendship and camaraderie" and 35% of surveyed female cadets expressed interest in "cultural and entertainment activities". These were the top-three factors that female cadets considered important in the adaptation process. Notably, they also proved to be the top-three factors in the survey conducted among male cadets, which is an additional confirmation of their significance for the successful adaptation to the conditions of education at the Military Academy (Šaranović, 2011: 126). It further suggests that special attention should be paid to these aspects of pedagogical environment, especially in the initial stages of education which prove to be most critical

The survey also shows that slightly more than half of the female cadets (51.28 %) would make the same choice to pursue their education at the Military Academy, while 20% of respondents were not sure whether they would make the same decision if they were in a position to choose their prospective education again. A total of 28% of the surveyed female cadets noted that they would not pursue military education. The data indisputably indicate that there are difficulties and specific deterrents that female cadets encounter in the process of adapting to the living and working conditions at the Military Academy. They seem to be questioning their choice of military career much more frequently than male cadets. Only 6% of male cadets responded that they would not opt to continue their education at the Military Academy if they were to choose again. The presented data suggest that that the female cadets' expectations from the Military Academy were significantly different from what they experienced "on the ground" (Šaranović, 2011: 127).

The presented data generate the key question: is gender equality the decisive factor, and are there other (normative, institutional, social and psychological) factors that may contribute to overcoming the discrepancy between the male and female perceptions about the military career and the Serbian armed forces?

Based on the results of the extensive research conducted in the Serbian Army by using the Scale for the assessment of gender stereotypes, it was concluded that gender stereotypes exist in the Serbian Army, that the existence of gender stereotypes is not conditioned and determined by the person's gender, and that men and women assess the characteristics of their own gender as being similar to the characteristics of successful officers in the leadership position, irrespective of their gender (Višacki, 2016: 181).

CONCLUSION

The position of women in the armed forces has changed through history, largely depending on gender stereotypes. For centuries, the military profession was exclusively reserved for men. In times of war, women commonly performed civilian jobs in the armed forces. When they were eventually allowed to enter the army, they mainly performed non-combatant tasks and provided logistic services. The turning point was the Second World War when women were directly involved in military operations and performed important duties in the liberation movements throughout the world. Their position was significantly changed after the war, and particularly after the recognition of different international documents aimed at ensuring equal opportunities without gender-based discrimination.

In recent years, the Serbian Armed Forces have made an important step towards a greater involvement and representation of women in the army by enhancing their participation in the military services as officers, non-commissioned officers and professional soldiers. The paper presents the results of the existing research on the position of women in the Serbian Army. The research shows that women encounter numerous challenges in the course of military education, training and professional service, in the same way as men. Nowadays, women seem to have adapted to the living and working conditions in the armed forces. In the context of professionalization of the Serbian army, they are considered to have a significant role in the defense system of the Republic of Serbia.

The envisaged normative framework and anti-discriminatory regulation of the labour market have provided conditions for equal participation of women in the Serbian armed forces. Through their active participation and performance of combat and non-combat tasks, women in the Serbian Army demonstrate that they are ready to respond to all the challenges of their military career.

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POLOŽAJ ŽENA U VOJSCI SRBIJE – STANJE I PERSPEKTIVE

Vojnička profesija je oduvek smatrana tipično muškom profesijom. Ovakvo shvatanje je posledica brojnih predrasuda o mogućnosti žena da adekvatno odgovore svim izazovima koje bavljenje ovim pozivom nosi sa sobom. U prošlosti, kao da nije bilo mesta za žene u vojsci Srbije. Žene koje su želele da na ovaj način služe svojoj otadžbini su bile prinuđene da prikrivaju svoj rodni i polni identitet. O tome svedoči i primer heroine Prvog svetskog rata, Milunke Savić, čiji bi pravi identitet verovatno ostao neotkriven da nije bila ranjena. Rad se bavi položajem žena u vojsci Srbije danas, problemima sa kojima se one suočavaju i perspektivama za njihovo rešavanje. Vojska Srbije je učinila važan iskorak ka većem uključivanju žena u svoje redove, onda kada je odobeno da i lica ženskog pola mogu da budu angažovani na poslovima oficira, podoficira i profesionalnih vojnika, na isti način kao i lica muškog pola. Cilj rada je da ukaže na pravce razvoja položaja žena u Vojsci Srbije, posebno imajući u vidu proces njene profesionalizacije.

Ključne reči: Vojska Srbije, profesionalizacija

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WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY – THE CASE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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Abstract. *Women have had a subordinate position throughout history. Some evidence dates back to ancient Greece, where relations between the master and slaves, father and children, and between men and women were clearly defined in each household. All these relations were based on male domination. Considering the given inequality situation, legal rules were not necessary. Thus, men were "destined" to become rulers and have a dominant role and position in relation to women in family, love, politics or business. Women did not have significant positions in society, nor did they participate to a significant extent in the decision-making processes. In the 20th century, women started raising issues related to gender roles, woman's role and position in society, and gender equality. In recent years, one of the prominent issues is woman's role in warfares and peace-keeping activities, and in the national and international security and defense sectors. The paper provides an overview of different international and national documents that promote active and equal participation of women in peace and security activities, both worldwide and in transition countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

Key words: *women, security, defense, gender, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

1. INTRODUCTION

The traditional understanding of the roles and activities of women and men through history differs in relation to the role and activities of women in modern times. Until the 20th century, women were mostly housewives, with the basic task of caring for children and family nutrition, while they were spared of going to war. Throughout history, women did not have significant positions in society, nor did they participate to a significant extent in the decision-making processes. Sexual and gender-based violence in conflict situations was a frequent occurrence. Unfortunately, these crimes continued in modern

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times, for example, with wars in Africa, some conflicts on the Asian continent, and the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

"In real life, they [women] still faced discrimination and sexism from different positions. Changes that enabled equality in the legal sense were not followed at the same pace by the change in social norms. These processes in society are never uniform because social norms, as established patterns of behavior, alter much more slowly than changes initiated by legal documents. For this reason, the problem known as "no name problem" triggered the second feminist wave." (Mihaljević, 2016: 157)

All questions of defense of a state or community were exclusively regarded as a matter involving men, but through history women were frequent victims of wars and violence nonetheless. Before the Second World War, 90% of war victims were soldiers, while in current times 90% of victims are civilians, and 70% of them are women and children.

Gender refers to social differences between men and women. On the one hand, gender implies socially, culturally, politically and economically determined relationships between women and men. Gender relationships vary in space and time; they change depending on how and to what extent the circumstances change. On the other hand, gender implies biological, i.e. physiological, anatomical and endocrinological differences between women and men, which remain constant

"Sex is the term that refers to the biological characteristics of a person. Gender is the term that denotes the socially established roles, status and positions of women and men in public and private life; due to social, cultural and historical differences, they give rise to discrimination based on the biological association with the particular gender. Gender is the term which usually implies all those differences between men and women that are an upgrade to their biological (sex) characteristics and differences. Broadly speaking, these are the characteristics that are socially conditioned and hence variable. Male and female roles in every society reflect the conditions of production, reproduction, and prevailing cultural, religious and ideological systems. Hence, these relations between the sexes have different forms in different social conditions. In other words, it implies that the large part of division of labor, rights and obligations of men and women are determined by the society as variable. What is a constant in a patriarchal society is that these differences between men and women tend to favour men, while disfavoring and openly discriminating women." (Mršević, 2011: 37)

2. WOMEN AND SECURITY

"Women are vital for peace and security in the country, and crucial to economic growth. They must have guaranteed rights and fully participate in the development of society", said Melanne Verbeke, Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for Gender Issues (Vijesti, 2019).¹ Frequently asked public questions are whether there are women, and how many of them, in the security sector or defense institutions. In recent years, this situation has improved, especially in developed countries.

A man has for centuries been regarded as the *pater familias*, a combatant in conflict, and the decision-maker. According to the traditional approach, the war affects women

¹ Vijesti (2019): OSCE Ambassador Verbeke: Women are vital for country's peace and security, Vijesti.ba, published 9 May 2019, available at <https://vijesti.ba/clanak/445973/verbeke-zene-su-od-vitalnog-znacaja-zamir-i-sigurnost> (accessed 18 May 2019)

and men in various ways, although the consequences of war are largely felt by civilians, mostly women and children. As the most vulnerable part of society, they are affected by sexual violence, various types of discrimination, rejection, poverty, unwanted pregnancies and illnesses. Women have been excluded, discriminated and repressed for a long time; they have been excluded from being part of the security systems or participating in peace building in the same way as men.

“Security is often associated with men and their sphere of action, largely due to their traditional family position. As the public sphere is regarded as the place of power, it is the dichotomy (public-male and private-female) that fuels the discourse where men have the monopoly of power” (Global Analytics, 2019)² As noted by Melanne Verbeke, Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for Gender Issues, “while women are destined to the private sphere, they remain permanently deprived. Such views were also positioned in the literature of security studies that perceive a woman as a victim of conflict.” (Vijesti, 2019)

Discrimination³ based on sex is any disadvantageous position of any person or group of persons based on sex, or denied recognition, enjoyment or implementation of human rights or freedoms. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, discrimination is defined in Article 2 of the Anti-Discrimination Act as any different treatment, any exclusion, restriction or privilege based on actual or presumed characteristics (race, colour, language, religion, ethnicity, age, identity, national or social origin, political and other conviction, status, social position, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, etc), disabling or endangering the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of rights and freedoms by a person or group of persons in all areas of life on equal grounds.⁴

In the last few decades, the number of interstate conflicts has been reduced, while the number of rebellions, terrorist attacks and local conflicts within state borders has increased. Changes in the nature of conflicts require changes in the response. Having individuals in mind, human security reflects the security of a state. It emphasizes the importance of day-to-day people's security by improving public services and poverty reduction programs. In 1994, the UN introduced the concept of human security, whose two basic components are "freedom from fear" and "freedom from scarcity". Therefore, key dimensions of human security are personal (physical), economic, health, environmental and community security. (UNDP, 2013).⁵ Internal empowerment improves national, regional and global stability, which ultimately leads to a reduction of the incidence of conflicts

The domain of peace building is much wider and more complex than many imagine. It includes actors from different fields: members of communities who are looking for a better life; non-violent activists who fight for human rights; peacekeeping forces separating the conflicting parties and demobilizing combatants; leaders of religious communities who

² Global Analitika (2019). Uloga žena u nasilnom ekstremizmu: Žrtve ili izvršioци? (Women's role in violent extremism: victims or perpetrators?), published 7 April 2019, available at <http://globalanalitika.com/uloga-zena-u-nasilnom-ekstremizmu-zrtve-ili-izvrsioci/> (accessed 8 May 2019)

³ Vokabular.org: Lat. *discriminare* – to separate, distinguish, make a difference; <http://www.vokabular.org/?lang=sr-lat&search=discrimination&Submit=Tra%C5%BEi> (accessed 18 May 2019)

⁴ Article 2 (1) Anti-Discrimination Act, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina, (consolidated version including, Zakon o zabrani diskriminacije (Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 59/2009) and Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zabrani diskriminacije (Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 66/2016); available at <https://www.osce.org/bs/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/378835?download=true> (accessed 8 May 2019)

⁵ UNDP 2013. "Izveštaj o razvoju društva 2013 – Uspon juga: Ljudski napredak u svijetu raznolikosti" http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/14/hdr2013_en_complete.pdf (accessed 10 July 2019)

encourage believers to make peace with their neighbors; humanitarian workers who assist in the delivery of assistance; community mediators and restorative justice activists who will facilitate dialogue between conflicting parties; entrepreneurs who provide victim assistance; and government leaders who initiate change through public policies. (Schrach, 2004: 13)

Peace and security are narrowly defined and linked to issues of state security, in which men are considered to be physically more capable and more knowledgeable than women. In the area of security, in cases involving armed conflicts/operations and building peace, peace negotiations/operations or protecting citizens' security from various forms of violence or intimidation, the gender aspect is very important. Men and women have different roles, different security needs and interests that need to be taken into account when making decisions and designing security plans and policies.

3. WOMEN AND PEACE

The armed conflict affects women, men, girls and boys in different ways. Women and girls across the globe face gender-based discrimination. Displaced women and refugees are particularly vulnerable. They are most vulnerable to conflict-related sexual violence. That is why women and girls play a key role in preserving their communities, and their economic and social responsibilities can be increased during the wars. They often act as promoters of peace, managing movements that ultimately lead the conflicting parties to the negotiating table. Women often solve the root causes of conflict and increase community participation. Women experience armed conflicts in various ways: as victims, survivors, leaders, and peacemakers. Violence against women in conflict zones is often an extension of gender discrimination that already exists in times of peace. As more men than women directly participate in armed conflicts, it increases the responsibility of women to maintain the necessary care, health services, industry and agriculture. This work is often unpaid and remains unrecognized. Conflict resolution processes often exclude women, although sustainable peace is possible only when women are fully involved in conflict resolution and efforts to preserve peace and security.

It is important to promote and support active and meaningful participation of women in all mechanisms and institutions for conflict prevention and conflict resolution, and to include gender perspective in all peace and security activities and strategies, including in the following areas:

- Peace negotiations;
- Management and planning of assistance and recovery;
- Peacekeeping, Stabilization and Counter-Terrorism missions, and prevention of violent extremism;
- Reconciliation, transitional justice, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, electoral processes, reform of the security sector, institution building, and political, social and economic transformation;

Promoting and protecting human rights of women and girls and taking special measures to protect them from sexual and gender-based violence in situations of armed conflict include:

- Prosecuting the perpetrators;
- Exclusion of sexual violence from the provision of amnesty;
- Ensuring that victims of sexual violence have equal protection under the law and in regard of the access to justice;

- Increasing the access of victims to health care, psychosocial support and socio-economic reintegration services;
- Providing strong training on sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations.

To date, 79 countries have established national action plans for women, peace and security. In order to improve this program, the plan emphasizes: strengthening efforts to increase the participation of women and girls in all peaceful and security efforts to protect the human rights of women and girls, and ensuring that women and girls have equal access to humanitarian aid and development assistance. It is also estimated that close to 90 percent of current casualties are civilian, most of them women and children, as compared to a hundred years ago when 90 percent of victims of war were military personnel.

4. UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1888

Sexual violence against women during armed conflicts is a tactic of war which has reached the scale of an epidemic. For example, in Rwanda alone, a total of 500,000 women were raped during the 1994 armed conflict.

On 30 September 2009, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted UNSC Resolution 1888⁶, which aims to further strengthen the international community's efforts to combat sexual violence in armed conflicts. Backed by more than 60 UN member states, this resolution calls upon the UN Secretary General to appoint a special representative to intensify efforts to end sexual violence against women and children in conflict situations. In October 2009, the UN Security Council adopted UNSC Resolution 1889, aimed at increasing women's participation in the UN peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions, and promoting cooperation on combating sexual violence in armed conflicts.⁷

UNSC Resolution 1888 is based on two previous resolutions: UNSC Resolution 1325 (adopted in October 2000) which provides a political framework that makes women and gender perspective relevant to all aspects of peace process; and UNSC Resolution 1820 (adopted in July 2008), which recognizes the links between sexual violence in armed conflict and its consequences, as well as sustainable peace and security. UNSC Resolution 1820 obliges the Security Council to consider relevant steps to end sexual violence and punish perpetrators, and to seek a report from the UN Secretary General on situations where sexual violence is widely or systemically applied against civilians and on strategies for ending the practice. By implementing the Resolution 1888, the Special Representative would be able to coordinate a number of mechanisms and oversee the implementation of Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1888.

5. BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), adopted at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 1995 in Beijing, are key documents for

⁶ UN SC Resolution 1888 (2009) adopted on 30 September 2009, <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/resolution/resolution-1888-2009/Resolution-1888-2009-en.pdf>

⁷ UN Digital Library: UN SC Resolution 1889 (2009), adopted on 5 October 2009, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/666733>

the promotion of gender equality and women's human rights.⁸ The Declaration was signed by 189 states committed to protecting and promoting women's human rights, removing obstacles to the equal participation of women in all areas of life, and working systematically on empowering women. The Platform for Action is an operational part of the Declaration which outlines concrete goals and measures for achieving an equal position of women in 12 critical areas, including the Women's Area and Armed Conflict. In this context, the Beijing Platform for Action envisages a number of strategic goals.

- Strategic objective E.1. Increase the participation of women in resolving conflicts at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation.
- Strategic objective E.2. Reduce excessive military aimed spending and control the availability of weapons.
- Strategic objective E.3. Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the frequency of violations of human rights in conflict situations.
- Strategic objective E.4. Promote women's contribution to fostering the culture of peace.
- Strategic objective E.5. Ensure the protection, assistance and training of refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women.
- Strategic objective E.6. Provide assistance to women from colonies and non-self-governing territories.

5.1. Some other international instruments

The Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949) and the Additional Protocols of 1977 provide that women are especially protected against any attack on their honor, in particular from degrading treatment, rape and forced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.

The Vienna Declaration and Action Program (1993), adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights, states that the violation of women's human rights in situations of armed conflict violates fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998) stipulates that rape and other forms of sexual violence by combatants during conducting an armed conflict are a war crime. When rape and sexual violence are committed as part of a widely spread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, they are regarded as crimes against humanity, and in some cases may constitute an element of genocide.

6. WOMEN AND DEFENCE

As a human right, women's right to participate equally in all areas of public and political life, and thus both in the armed forces and in peace negotiations, is guaranteed by the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).⁹ Furthermore, equal participation of women in the prevention and

⁸ *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, adopted at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 1995 in Beijing, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

⁹ *UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women New York, 18 Dec. 1979*; <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cedaw.aspx>

resolution of armed conflicts and crises at all levels, and especially at the decision-making level, is one of the recommendations of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which emphasizes that peace is inextricably linked to the advancement of women, who bear enormous potential for taking a leading role in resolving conflicts and ensuring lasting peace at all levels.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the establishment of gender equality is one of the key goals and priorities for the development of every modern society. Gender equality means equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life and aims to promote the full participation of women and men in society. (OSCE, 2018)¹¹

6.1. The North Atlantic Alliance (NATO)

UN SC Resolution 1325 (adopted in October 2000)¹² calls for equal participation and full involvement of women at all levels, from conflict prevention to post-conflict peace building. The NATO accepted the resolution and fully implemented it in all its operations and missions, and in most countries that adopted national action plans for the implementation of this resolution.

Prior to the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, as a military-political alliance with the aim and task of preserving the freedom and security of its members by political and military means, the NATO recognized the role and capacity of women in the armed forces and began working to eliminate obstacles to their equal participation. In 1961, Copenhagen hosted the first NATO Women's Conference of Senior Service Women Officers of the Alliance (Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States), who raised issues of status, organization, employment conditions, career development and opportunities for women in the Allied Armed Forces. Their initiative was formalized by the establishment of the Women's Committee in the NATO forces¹³, which has been advising the NATO Military Committee on gender equality issues since 1976; since 2009, it has been renamed into the NATO Gender Perspective Committee on the Integration of Gender Issues into the Military Structure of the Alliance.¹⁴ The Guidelines are set out in the Joint Strategic Command Directive 40-1 (2009 Rev.1.2012, Rev.2.2017) (Bi-Strategic Command Directive 40-1 (BI-SCD)), which applies to all command structures of the NATO, as well as to all allies and partners. The adoption of Directive 40-1 established the positions of the Gender Advisor (GENAD) and the Gender Focal Point (GFP) at the political, strategic, operational and tactical levels, as well as compulsory training on gender perspective and implementation of the UNSCR 1325.

NATO Allies and Partners in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) launched work on “Women, Peace and Security” in 2007, by adopting a special support policy¹⁵ for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, reinforced by the first action plan at the Lisbon

¹⁰ *The Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action* (Anex 1, item 18), UN Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 1995 in Beijing; <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

¹¹ OSCE (2018), Interview with Clare Hutchinson, NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security, published 29 May 2018, <https://www.osce.org/magazine/382819> (accessed 15 May 2019)

¹² UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, adopted on 31 October 2000, available at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/720/18/PDF/N0072018.pdf?OpenElement/>

¹³ Committee on Women in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Forces (CWINF), established on 19 July 1976.

¹⁴ The NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP)

¹⁵ NATO EAPC Policy on Women, Peace and Security

summit (2010). The policy and action plan stem from the standpoint that the integration of content of resolutions on women, peace and security in all three main areas of Alliance action (collective defense, crisis management, including NATO-led operations and missions, and cooperative security) contributes to the capabilities of the Alliance to responsibly respond to all challenges. In this respect, the Action Plan includes two main aspects: 1) to integrate the key elements of resolutions on women, peace and security and gender perspectives into the policies and activities of the Alliance in relation to the prevention and resolution of conflicts and crises, and 2) to remove obstacles to the equal and active participation of women in all structures, bodies and operations of the NATO, as well as the bodies and structures of member and partner countries. The Action Plan also includes horizontal issues related to human resources management, education, training and training, and public diplomacy. The NATO's international civilian and international military personnel, as well as national authorities, are involved in the implementation; twice a year, the NATO Secretary General reports on progress to the EAPC.

The NATO has developed strong implementation support mechanisms, including (among others) the Special Representative of the NATO Secretary General for Women, Peace and Security, as the focal point in charge of coordinating all Alliance activities in that area and ensuring cooperation with the UN, the EU and other partners, including civil society. The Special Representative is Head of the Task Force for Women, Peace and Security, which brings together civilian and military personnel at the NATO headquarters.

Despite all the efforts and measures taken, women are still insufficiently represented in civilian and military structures and NATO bodies. According to figures from the last report of the Secretary General (January 2017), women account for 39% of the total number of international NATO personnel, of which 35% are in higher positions (A), and only 21% in managerial positions (A5 and above). Analyses show that the main reason for this is poor application of women for higher positions (19.5% in 2016). The situation regarding top positions was somewhat corrected by the appointment of Rose Gottemoeller as deputy secretary general, but all eight assistants are still men. Furthermore, women account for only 16.2% of international military personnel, and very low representation of women in top positions in command structures is noticeable.¹⁶ Current representation of women in allied operations is about 6.8%, while in the armed forces, the allied party is about 10.9%. On the other hand, there is a growing presence of women in the North Atlantic Council, NATO's highest political body, with nine ambassadors currently nominated.¹⁷

7. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

7.1. Legal framework

The domestic legal framework, including the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Constitution of Republika Srpska, the Constitutions of the Cantons and the Statute of the Brčko District of the B&H, guarantees to all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina the right to participate in political parties, participation in public affairs, equality of access to public services, and the

¹⁶ At present, there are only two women commanders (Commander of the NATO Defense Corps, and Commander of the NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control Force) and seven women are at Colonel Level (OF-5).

¹⁷ E-Savjetovanjma (2019) Nacionalni akcijski plan provedbe rezolucija Vijeća sigurnosti UN-a o Ženama, miru i sigurnosti za razdoblje 2018.-2022; <https://esavjetovanja.gov.hr/ECon/MainScreen?entityId=9905>

right to vote and to stand for election. However, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not generally prescribe the obligation of certain gender representation rate (quotas, proportions, parities, etc.) in public life, nor is there a specific obligation regarding gender representation in legislative, executive or judicial authorities. Yet, it contains prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sex in the process of enjoying the rights and freedoms set forth in the B&H Constitution and in the international agreements listed in Annex I of the Constitution. The issue of gender equality is regulated in a number of other legislative acts and by-laws of the state and entities. The consolidated text of the Gender Equality Act of B&H, in Article 20 (the area relating to public life), prescribes the equal representation of both sexes in the management and decision-making processes. The Election Act of B&H is harmonized with the Gender Equality Act. Article 4.19.(para.4) of the Election Act stipulates that equal gender representation exists when one of the sexes is represented by at least 40% of the total number of candidates on the list.¹⁸

The first Action Plan for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2010-2013 (hereinafter: AP UNSCR 1325 in B&H)¹⁹ was adopted in 2010 by the Decision of the Council of Ministers of the B&H. This was also the first action plan for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in the region of Southeast Europe and it served as an example to other countries in the region when drafting national action plans for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325. The Decision of the Council of Ministers of the B&H also established a Coordinating Committee for monitoring the implementation of AP UNSCR 1325 in B&H, consisting of women representatives and men representatives from 11 institutions, mostly from the defense and security sector and one non-governmental sector representative.²⁰ This resolution has made the following changes in B&H: increased the participation of women in peacekeeping missions from 3.5% to 24%; raised the number of women defense members from 5% in 2009 to 6.5% in 2013; along with other legislative frameworks, it also had an impact on increasing women's participation in decision-making positions (in the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the prosecution and diplomatic missions and consular posts), where issues of peace and security are being considered.²¹

In 2014, the B&H Council of Ministers adopted the second AP UNSCR 1325 in the B&H for the period 2014-2017²², relying on the findings and recommendations of an independent assessment of the previous AP UNSCR 1325 which pointed to all the positive aspects and challenges of its application and coordination.

Drafting the third Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 for the period 2018-2020²³ was coordinated by the B&H Human Rights and Refugees Bureau, in consultation with the institutions and NGOs represented in the Coordination Committee for Monitoring the Implementation of the Action Plan. This action plan was based and developed

¹⁸ Izborni zakon (Election Act), "Službeni glasnik BiH" br. 92/10

¹⁹ Prvi Akcioni plan za implementaciju UNSCR 1325 u Bosni i Hercegovini (AP UNSCR 1325 u BiH), za period 2010-2013, „Službeni glasnik BiH“ broj 92/10

²⁰ Akcioni plan za implementaciju UNSCR 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u Bosni i Hercegovini za period 2018-2022.. Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova Bosne i Hercegovine, oktobar 2017. http://www.mhrr.gov.ba/Javne_konsultacije/Bosanski/default.aspx?id=8229&langTag=bs-BA

²¹ Odluka o usvajanju Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 u Bosni i Hercegovini za period 2018-2022., Vijeće ministara Bosne i Hercegovine, 03.08.2018. god. ("Službeni glasnik BiH", br. 1/19), <http://www.sluzbenilist.ba/page/akt/8MeBiDXer3E=>

²² Drugi AP UNSCR 1325 u BiH za period 2014- 2017 godine, "Službeni glasnik BiH", br. 89/14)

²³ Treći AP UNSCR 1325 za period 2018-2020. godine, Službeni glasnik BiH, broj 1/19

on the structure of the previous one, so that the existing strategic goals were retained, whereas certain mid-term objectives, expected results and planned activities were revised.²⁴

The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) has been applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1993, while the Optional Protocol was signed in 2002. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a member state, submits regular reports to the UN Committee on CEDAW on the Application of the Convention (CEDAW Report). During the year 2017, the Sixth Periodic Report on CEDAW for the B&H was prepared, which is in the procedure of adoption in the Ministerial Council (Government) of the B&H.

7.2. Participation of women in the military, police and peacekeeping missions

By implementation of the comprehensive strategic measures of the UNSCR 1325, a more favorable environment has been created to increase the participation of women in the military and police forces, although this increase is still most noticeable at the lower positions and rankings. In the Ministry of Defence of B&H (hereinafter: MD B&H) 38% of women are employed, which is 2% increase as compared to 2013, while 6.8% of women are employed in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter: AF B&H) as compared to only 0.2% in 2013. In 2019, the number of women in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina has increased significantly, which accounted for 7.28 % of the total number of military personnel, while 24 % of women were civilians and 5.5 % were military staff (as compared to 1 % in 2013). The Ministry of Defense of B&H successfully implements the measure that 10% of women should receive admission to the Armed Forces of B&H from the total number of candidates, with priority being given to the most successful female candidates and male candidates in accordance with the performance results. This is supported by the fact that there is an evident increase in the interest of women for admission to the AF B&H, which may be illustrated by the fact that only 23 women applied for admission in 2008 and as many as 595 in 2014.²⁵

Out of the 2,693 registered candidates in 2014, there were 241 women candidates (slightly more than 10%). At the public competition for the admission of AF B&H officers, from the total of 369 candidates, there were 76 women (slightly more than 20%). According to the data from 2016, from the total number of applications for military admission, 9.9% of women were registered. Out of the total number of applications submitted for the admission of officers, 20.59% were women, and 18.75% were women who applied through the internal advertisement for non-commissioned officers. At the military academies, 11 women were enrolled (14% of the total number of enrolled persons) in 2016. There is a trend to increase women's participation in leadership positions in the defense and security sectors. For example, currently, the MD B&H is headed by a woman, three women have been appointed heads of departments, and 22% of women are employed in managerial positions. However, in the AF B&H, the percentage of women's participation in managerial

²⁴ Akcioni plan za primjenu Rezolucije Vijeća sigurnosti UN-a 1325 „Žene, mir i sigurnost“ u Bosni i Hercegovini za period od 2018. do 2022. godine, Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH, Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova BiH, august, 2018; <https://arsbih.gov.ba/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Akcioni-plan-BOS-KB-14.01..pdf>

²⁵ Odluka o usvajanju Akcionog plana za implementaciju UN Rezolucije 1325 u Bosni i Hercegovini za period 2018-2022., Vijeće ministara Bosne i Hercegovine, 03.08.2018. god. ("Službeni glasnik BiH", br. 1/19), <http://www.sluzbenilist.ba/page/akt/8MeBiDXer3E=>

positions is still very low (2.5%). Data from the Ministry of Security of the B&H on the participation of women in leadership positions in security sector institutions at all levels of government show that women are mostly represented at the level of middle management (e.g. Head of the Department), while they are least represented in senior management positions (e.g. Assistant Minister/Director), where there are only three women.²⁶

In the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA), 14.64% of female police officers are employed, which is an increase of about 1.5% as compared to the 2013 data from the beginning of the implementation of the Action Plan. In the Border Police (hereinafter: BP B&H), the representation of women of 7.78% shows an increase of about 0.5% in comparison to 2013. In the Directorate for Coordination of Police Bodies (DCPB B&H), 38 female police officers were employed (5.25%). In the Federal Police Administration (FPA), the percentage of women's participation (7.8%) has not changed since 2010. The representation of women in 10 cantonal ministries of the interior (7.3%) has slightly increased (by about 1%) as compared to 2013.²⁷

According to the available data, the percentage of female police officers in the Ministry of Interior of Republika Srpska has increased by about 2% in the last three years and amounts to 7, 8%. In the Brčko District Police, 4.8% of police officers are women, just as in 2013. Although the data show an uneven state of representation of police officers in some police institutions, the general conclusion is that there has been a slight increase in the participation of women in police forces at all levels in B&H, which is on average about 1.25% in the reporting period. Women are also underrepresented at the highest ranking positions (around 1.2%).²⁸

In recent years, it has often been emphasized that the use of maternity leave is a reason for difficult progress in women's police career. Namely, the criteria for acquiring a direct higher rank do not formally differ for women and men; one of the requirements is the specific period of time spent in the previous position, and evaluation of the last three years' performance. The participation of women in peacekeeping missions has increased in relation to the beginning of the implementation of AP UNSCR 1325 in B&H. The Ministry of Security B&H has used an affirmative measure for women. Namely, the number of years of work experience has been reduced from eight to five years, as one of the main criteria for applying for peacekeeping missions. The use of this affirmative measure contributes to the increase in the number of women in UN peacekeeping missions; the percentage that currently stands at 30% has increased by 6% as compared to 2014, and by about 14% as compared to 2010.²⁹

In the MD B&H, there has also been a significant increase in the number of women in the total number sent to peacekeeping missions. Since 2013, the share of women's participation of 3.5% has increased to 6.7%.³⁰

Women make up more than 50% of the population but they come from different generations, different socio-economic backgrounds, ethnic groups and religions. It seems that we continue to consider that security is still the men's domain. We still think that the defense is tied to men and we do not think women should be involved. But they must be, and that means women from all sectors. (OSCE, 2019).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

7.3. Support to victims of sexual violence during the war

Support to victims of sexual violence and other forms of suffering during the war has been attempted through the improvement of the legal framework and mechanisms for exercising victims' rights, and the availability of compensations and benefits. Survivors generally do not exercise their right to compensation for sustained damage in criminal proceedings. In accordance with the existing B&H legislation, courts and prosecutors often redirect victims to civil litigation. Still, more than 20 years after the war, there are no official data regarding the number of women victims of rape and torture. Various sources agree on several important points: (1) mass rapes involved several thousand victims; (2) there were many cases of rape; (3) rapes were often committed in the presence of victim's parents/children and generally the victim was raped by several attackers. In the past years, competent institutions, international and non-governmental organizations in the B&H have implemented activities and initiatives to define the real needs of survivors, improve the legal and institutional framework, and promote the mechanisms for implementing the survivors' rights, including compensations and benefits. However, in the final comments and recommendations for B&H from 2013, the UN Committee for CEDAW drew attention to the slow pace of solving most of the problems of survivors of sexual violence during the war in B&H, pointing out that the criminal legislation of B&H was not harmonized with the international standards. There is also insufficiently implementation of strategies, action plans and programs aimed at the protection of survivors and witnesses.³¹

Amendments to the B&H Criminal Code were adopted, where sexual violence is defined as a war crime and crime against humanity in accordance with the standards of international criminal law and the jurisprudence of international courts and tribunals. This law is to be applied to all war crimes cases, regardless of the judicial process that may be underway. The implementation of the State War Crimes Strategy helps to resolve cases involving sexual violence by ensuring that the burden of processing is distributed between the state-level judiciary and the entities, or cantons, in the Federation of B&H. In front of the Court of B&H, which according to the Strategy is mandated for processing the most complex cases, proceedings are currently being conducted in a number of cases in this category, while a significant number of unfinished cases are still in the phase of the investigation within the Prosecutor's Office of B&H. In 2016, there was an increase of the number of completed cases as compared to previous years, which was the result of a significant increase in the number of war crimes indictments with elements of sexual violence. This may be evidenced by the fact that in 2011 there were 13 processed persons, in 2016 this number increased to 22, while in February 2017 there were 46 criminal proceedings pending in front of the Court of B&H where the accused were charged with criminal acts with elements of sexual violence committed during the war. In 2016, the Prosecutor's Office of B&H had 181 most complex war crime cases at the reporting stage, and 147 war crime cases in the investigation phase were unresolved. In the same year, the Court of B&H had 61 cases in the most complex war crime cases. Since the Court of B&H started working in 2002 until the end of 2016, the Court finished proceedings against a total of 70 persons (67 men and three women) for criminal acts of war crimes with elements of sexual violence committed against women. Out of this total number, 53 persons (51 men

³¹ Ibid.

and 2 women) were convicted, while 17 (16 men and 1 woman) were acquitted. The convicted persons were sentenced to a total of 695 years of imprisonment.³²

The B&H Human Rights and Refugees Bureau developed a Proposal for a Program for Victims of War Rape, Sexual Abuse and Torture and Their Families in B&H (2013-2016), which aimed to provide measures for the complete protection and support of victims, including psychological support and health care. However, although the Program represented a comprehensive framework with clear roles of all institutions of the system mandated to deal with this issue, the Ministerial Council (Government) of B&H did not adopt it because it did not receive the support of all levels of government in B&H. At B&H level, there is no integrated law that regulates the implementation of survivors' rights, compensation, rehabilitation, and access to victims of services regardless of their place of residence. In B&H, there is no fund for compensation of damage or other compensation mechanisms for victims of criminal offenses in cases where perpetrators are not able to pay damages.

8. CONCLUSION

Lack of institutional protection and insufficient representation of women in the defense and security sector, as well as in the peace-building process, are obstacles to building sustainable peace. It is important to have a proper approach to addressing women's rights issues in order to have good results that connect women to issues such as peace, security, human rights, gender equality, and development of society in general. It is necessary to insist on gender equality and equal participation of women in all social, political and peace-keeping activities and processes that contribute to the prevention and resolution of conflict, faster post-conflict recovery and overall sustainable development. It is necessary to promote women's equal access by providing efficient services and recovery mechanisms (in cases of sexual violence and other violence) and to ensure that their specific needs and perspective are taken into account.

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³² Ibid.

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ŽENE, MIR I BEZBJEDNOST - SLUČAJ BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Žene su kroz historiju imale podređeni položaj, a dokazi o tome dolaze i iz antičke Grčke, gdje su u svakom kućanstvu odnosi bili definirani između gospodara i robova, oca i djece te specifični odnosi između muškaraca i žena. Svi ti odnosi temeljili su se na dominaciji. Zakoni vlasti nisu bili potrebni s obzirom na ove, već postojeće, situacije nejednakosti. Tako su muškarci bili "predodređeni" da postanu vladari, oni koji imaju dominantnu ulogu u odnosu na žene u svim odnosima - porodici, ljubavnoj politici ili biznisu. Tokom prošle godine pitanje položaja žene u društvo često se dovodilo u vezu sa njenom ulogom u ratu/miru, kao i ulogom u sigurnosnom i odbrambenom sektoru u svijetu, ali i u tranzicijskim zemljama kao što je Bosna i Hercegovina.

Ključne reči: *žene, rod, bezbjednost, odbrana, Bosna i Hercegovina*

AN OVERVIEW OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN UN PEACE OPERATIONS

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Abstract. *This paper provides an overview of gender mainstreaming in military components of the UN Peace Operations (POs). The main hypothesis is whether more attention is given to gender perspective and gender mainstreaming in POs that could vastly contribute to operational efficiency in the field, to better protection of human (women's) rights, to the higher level safety of the troops in the field and local population, and most importantly, whether peace could be built on solid basis and whether victimization could be avoided up to maximum possible extent. The main identified gap is a lack of appropriate training and education in this regard. Analyses of recent developments in POs, the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, gender policy in military components, and historical aspects of gender roles in Western society are considered through feminist approach to international law perspective introduced by Christin Chinkin in 1991.*

Key words: *Peace Operations, Gender roles, Gender mainstreaming, Military Component, UNSCR 1325*

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1. ROAD MAP

The first part of this paper will provide a historical overview of gender roles in Western society in order to ensure a better understanding of actions that need to be performed today in order to fight with the root cause of gender based discrimination, particularly in the area where states are weak. The second part will elaborate on the importance of UNSCR 1325¹, including the consequences that it has had in the field of UN Peace Operations (POs)². The third part of this paper will focus on explaining why gender matters and how gender is mainstreamed in UN POs. It will be followed by negative and positive practical examples and recommendations for future integration of gender sensitive approach in all aspects of any POs. In the conclusion, the author will provide the main recommendations for future work on gender mainstreaming in the military components of different international and regional organizations and identify the major obstacles to that process today.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Until just a couple of centuries ago, history of human beings was closely bonded and under a huge influence of religion, or more precisely, under the influence of religious institutions. Thus, the attitude of the Church toward women in Western Europe as well as the attitudes of enduring philosophers toward women throughout history have shaped the problems which we are still facing today. As already stated, a historical overview of relations between the Church and women in Western Europe could to some extent give answer to the question why women were excluded from the public sphere in the western civilization for centuries. The focus on only these two domains, religion and philosophy, does not mean that women were not excluded from other spheres of human interests (like literature, culture or politics), nor will it be elaborated further what situation was like in other territorial domains (Asia, Africa, etc.).

During the pre-Christianity period, the position of women and children could be best explained by invoking the genealogy of the word “family“ whose origin comes from a Latin word “*famulus*“, which refers to all house slaves, including women and children. Going further and analyzing dominant religions in this territorial domain, which more or less belongs to Abraham`s inheritance, it has to be admitted that religion contributed to increasing the visibility of women, children and poor people, at least in the religious context. Notably, in its early days, Christianity was called the religion of women, or religion of the poor. Also, one of the first prohibitions in Quran³ is that it is prohibited to kill female children. Additionally, marriage agreements were first introduced by the Church. Previously, the acceptance to marriage by women was never questioned. But, throughout history, religious institutions had excluded women from public life by neglecting Christ`s words that woman and man are two in one body. This was done in the cruelest ways.

¹ United Nations Security Council Resolutions No. 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, 2000.

² The term “Peace Operations” is used by UN while the term “Peace Support Operations” is used by the NATO. The EU refers to it as “Military Operations”. Speaking of contemporary POs and how gender is mainstreamed through all its activities, this paper will primarily explore how gender perspective is incorporated in the military component.

³ Quran (eng.) – the Holy book of Islam

Women were identified as “Devil’s assistants” Jean Delumeau⁴ explains that there was a need to find someone to blame for all wars, diseases and schisms that had been happening all the time. Priests and monks were particularly good at this, which helped develop a special relationship between them and men. For example, a priest or monk was not allowed to criticize a husband in front of his wife. Jean Delumeau explains this by controlled or locked libido which was transformed to open aggressiveness. Sexually frustrated brothers projected on women what they did not want to see in themselves. But, the problem was that frustration and aggressiveness went too far. For example, women’s smell was identified as early sign of internal rotting; women became the Master of death because they brought us mortal to the world and when someone dies he or she goes back to her; women’s sexuality was constantly downgraded due to the adoration of Virgin Mary, etc. (Delumeau, 1978).

There are two interesting pieces of work from the Middle Ages which may serve as illustration. One of them is “*De planctu ecclesiae*”, written by Alvaro Pelayo in 1474, printed in Ulm, and reprinted in Lion in 1517 and in Venice in 1560. This work enumerated more than 200 women’s sins and vices. The second work is “*Malleus maleficaruum*”, written by Catholic clergyman Heinrich Kramer in 1520 and reprinted more than fifteen times in the period between 1574 and 1669. This work significantly contributed to scarification of women. In medieval times, such writings were used as guidelines for “witch-hunting” and they could be blamed for death of dozen thousands of women (most frequently by incineration) throughout Western Europe and Northern America. They also included perfectly explained methods how to threat and punish women accused of witchcraft. In fact, women were accused, tried and convicted all at once. One of the methods was described as follows: if someone doubts whether a woman is a witch or not, he should tie her hands behind and put some weight, preferably stones, on her legs, and then throw her into deep water. If she does not drown, she is a witch and should be burned (Mackay, 2009). There were a lot of similar examples from the history of human society but, when talking about knowledge, it is critical to understand whose knowledge is relevant. In her work “The Man of Reason: “Male” and “Female” in Western Philosophy”, Genevieve Lloyd explains the issues which all contemporary feminist epistemology is based on. She excludes the ideal of objectivity from history of philosophy and shows that the concept of rationality and reasoning in Western philosophy in the past centuries is gendered or androcentric (Lloyd, 1984).

Many great philosophers (such as Aristotle, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Arthur Schopenhauer, Otto Weininger, Friedrich Nietzsche, etc.) openly stated that women are less reasonable than men. They also claimed that the role of woman is complementary to the role of man since rationality is not an attribute of women. This kind of reasoning contributed to developing the idea of superior masculinity and inferior femininity. Such gender-colored philosophy from the past is becoming visible now, while objectiveness in research remains an ideal for the future. In Western Europe, it was only in the 20th century that women started being considered as reasonable human beings, as rational as men.

By the end of the first half of the 20th century, many declarations and conventions were made at the global level for the purpose of promoting human rights and freedoms, such as: the 1776 Unanimous Declaration of Independence of the thirteen United States of America, the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (*La Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen*), the **1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, and the

⁴ Jean Delumeau (1923-) – French historian

1950 European Convention on Human Rights. Yet, it remains unclear why it was necessary to adopt dozens and dozens of new agreements, charters, manifests, declarations, directives, (etc.) which only state that the reference to “men” also implies women. This shows that international law cannot be considered as an autonomous entity, distinct from the society it regulates. On the contrary, it always depends and is under the influence of political, economical, historical, cultural, and many other contexts in which people live. In other words, a legal system tends to create and perpetuate an unequal position of women. This is why all legal documents and policies should be tested against the feminist analysis which claimed that “legal systems privilege men and if women’s interests are acknowledged at all, they are marginalized” (Charlesworth, Chinkin, Wright, 1991: 615). This is the author’s perspective for the purpose of this article, which attempts to identify how legal and policy system in UN Peace Operations, enhanced with institutional (military) culture, keeps resisting the gender mainstreaming despite different obligations and premises of UNSCR 1325.

The present is surrounded by the past. To paraphrase French philosopher Michel Foucault⁵, thinking of the present is the only thing that does not put someone in the shoes of a prophet. Thus, in order to better understand the phenomenon of gender inequality as existing today, it is necessary to provide an overview of the period which created the present state of affairs. Yet, it could be said that half of the story is missing, as noted by Simone de Beauvoir⁶. Throughout history, women were excluded from the public life and their freedom of action was limited in every aspects of life. However, freedom is a precondition for public action, as Hannah Arendt⁷ emphasized. Today, in the modern world, we are probably more than ever surrounded by the past.

3. UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

This part of the article will focus on the contemporary role of women in the world peace and security, having in mind that all previously said has a significant impact on this issue. UN Peace Operations (POs) are among the most important activities related to peace and security that the UN and particularly the Security Council have at their disposal. Every PO is established by a UNSC resolution. The respective resolution gives mandate and legal background to each PO. Besides enacting resolutions, the UNSC acts in accordance with demands in the field and introduces other resolutions which are mandatory for every PO. One of them is UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace, and Security”, adopted in October 2000⁸. UNSCR 1325 represents a turning point in the international community in terms of women’s rights, gender issues, and sexual and gender-based violence (SBV and GBV) in the conflict zones.

UNSCR 1325 needed to be adopted from various reasons. A couple of key indicators will be given in following text. The UN data of that time stated that in all conflicts that had happen after World War II (WWII) until 1998, there were 80 millions of victims (20 millions of killed and 60 millions of injured persons). As compared to WWII where the number of killed or injured soldiers and civilians was approximately the same, in the period after WWII more than 90% of victims were civilians. A comprehensive analysis

⁵ Michel Foucault (1926 - 1984), French philosopher.

⁶ Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), French philosopher.

⁷ Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), German political theorist.

⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace, and Security”, adopted on 31 October 2000, available at https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/res_1325e.pdf

made by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) states that the victim ratio in World War I (WWI) was approximately 20 combatants to 1 civilian. In WWII, the ratio was almost equal and, today, the ratio is 10 civilians to one soldier (ICRC, 1999: 3-4).⁹ The data show that the total number of civilian victims (children and women) exceeds the number of killed combatants. Going even further, a potential nuclear conflict would cause a ratio of 100 civilians to one soldier, while terrorism targets civilians only. In the other words, as the nature of armed conflicts has changed, the civilians have become the overwhelming majority of victims.

A detailed gender analysis of contemporary conflicts will bring even more devastating results, like the one from Liberia's conflict. According to the UN data, in both civil wars in Liberia (1989-1996 and 1999-2003), a total of 93.9% of all female population (women and girls) were victims of GBV or SBV, while 73.9% out of the 93.9% were raped. Actually, rape became a method of warfare. There are many similar cases and data related to phenomenon of nature of contemporarily conflicts which bring similar statistics. Even when POs were established, like in Ruanda or Somalia, they failed to protect those who could not protect themselves. In addition, the 2000 UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols thereto showed that the situation was the same with human trafficking, where more than 90% of victims are women and children. Obviously, this issue could not have been treated by old methods and there was a need to introduce a new approach which would address those primarily affected. UNSC Resolution 1325 was a logical consequence on the changed nature of armed conflicts.

UNSCR 1325 was adopted invoking previously adopted Resolutions 1261 and 1265 from 1999, which are related to protection of civilians in armed conflicts, and Resolutions 1296 and 1314 from 2000, which refers to problem of children in armed conflicts. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women and the Beijing Platform for Action adopted in September 1995 are considered to be the predecessors to the UN SCR 1325; they showed that women's organization had been working hard to raise awareness about women and children's sufferings during armed conflicts and to have these issues classified as security matter. UNSCR 1325 is mandatory for all POs to implement its provisions; it is not obligatory for member states but they are recommended and given guidelines in terms of its implementation. Some states have already developed National Action Plans (NAPs)¹⁰ in order to incorporate the resolution provisions into their legal frameworks, while some other states have hardly done anything about it. UNSCR 1325 expresses the need to incorporate the recommendations related to training of all future mission personnel. The Secretary General is expected to provide guidelines and training materials related to protection, rights and special needs of women. From the UN perspective, it may be said that everything has been done to encourage contributing states to implement this type of training into mandatory pre-deployment training, but the final word is yet up to contributing states. This kind of training has also become part of induction training in the mission area which is organized by UN, as well as part of the specific mission training. Contributing states are also invited to financially support this type of training held by different national and/or international specialized training centers.

⁹ International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Report (1999): Arms Availability and the situation of civilians in armed conflict (p.3-4), https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/icrc_002_0734_arms_availability.pdf

¹⁰ For more detail see: Peace Women. org (2019): National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security; available at <https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states> (accessed 14th July 2019)

One of the crucial characteristics of UNSCR 1325 is that the UNSC has decided to be actively involved in these issues from the moment of adopting the resolution, which has been proven so many times. For example, numerous of resolutions dealing with similar issues were adopted afterwards, such are: Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2009), Resolution 1960 (2010), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013), etc. UNSC Resolution 1820 (2008) is related to sexual-based violence (SBV) in armed conflicts, pointing that there are more and more examples that this kind of violence is used as a tactic of warfare. This Resolution proclaims SBV as a war crime, crime against humanity, or one of the constitutive acts of genocide. Consequently, this kind of violence is now entered into the list of war crimes of the Rome Statute (article 8, paragraph 2) of the International Criminal Court, which is in charge of adjudicating such cases. Notably, this gender sensitive issue (whether organized rape during armed conflicts should be considered or treated as a war crime or as a criminal act as it used to be) was raised only after the cases of organized rape of men during civil wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1991 to 1995. In other words, the approach to this phenomenon was androcentric again, as it has been in so many other cases. The other aforementioned resolutions were aimed at creating the international framework and mechanism for the implementation of gender perspective into international security and POs.

By enacting UNSCR 1325, the Security Council wanted to reaffirm the importance of women's inclusion in conflict prevention and conflict resolution processes. UNSCR 1325 emphasizes equal participation, not only in conflict resolution and conflict prevention but also in all processes aimed at promoting peace and security, including all decision making processes. UNSCR 1325 reminds that full implementation of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights (IHL and HR) provisions is needed, particularly those aimed at protecting specific women, boys' and girls' rights. In addition to the four Geneva conventions from 1949, accompanied by three additional protocols (two from 1977 and third from 2005) which establish the principle of non-discrimination between men and women in terms of the basic protection during armed conflicts, there are many other documents which recognize the need for additional protection of women in armed conflicts due to their specific needs. Some of the documents which take into account women's experience and perspective are the 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programmed of Action, and the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

UNSCR 1325 pays special attention to the need of demining. According to UN data from 2010, in nearly 70 states there are more than 100 million unexploded different types of mines. Mine fields cover approximately 200.000 square kilometers, which equals the size of Romania. In that area, women are exposed to the risk from mine fields on a daily basis. According to the same UN source, every 28 seconds someone activates a mine which kills more than 18,000 people annually. More than 80% of all victims are civilians (women and children). Also, these who suffer this kind of injuries are later exposed to discriminatory treatment, such are: public isolation, economic power loss, limited access to medical care, etc. (Landmine Action, 2003)¹¹. UNSCR 1325 urges for providing help to these population categories.

¹¹ Landmine Action (2003). *Exclusive Remnants of War: A global survey*, written by John Borrie, published in June 2003 by Landmine Action, London, UK; <http://www.unidir.org/files/medias/pdfs/erw-a-global-survey-eng-0-69.pdf>

UNSCR 1325 further stresses the importance of immediate incorporation of gender perspective into POs in two ways: first, by increasing the percentage of women in Pos and, second, by changing the mission organizational structure in order to implement its provisions. The reason why these changes are necessary will be elaborated later, but one of the main demands that is posed in front of POs is to cooperate and coordinate all activities related to incorporation of gender perspective with relevant international organization, as well as with government and non-government organization (NGO) and local women's organizations.

UNSCR 1325 also specifies the need that all statistical data which are to be produced from the time of its adoption onward should be gender sensitive. All reports which are delivered to Secretary General should have special part related to gender issues in every POs.

UNSCR 1325 calls the contributing states to ensure women representation and increase the percentage of women at every level, particularly at decision-making levels, both in the national and international institutions. The Secretary General is encouraged to implement his strategic action plan¹² in order to secure equal participation of UN employees. The Secretary General is also invited to nominate more women to be appointed for the position of UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG). It is interesting to notice that Secretary General has appointed circa 17% of women for SRSG duties since the resolution was adopted. The Secretary General is required to ensure higher contribution of women as military observers, UN police and the personnel dealing with HR and humanitarian work within POs. UNSCR 1325 also invites parties to the conflict to undertake appropriate measures in order to ensure better protection of women and girls from any kind of SBV and GBV, and to stop the impunity of these crimes. Perpetrators should always be excluded from amnesty provisions.

Special attention was paid to the DD(D)R(R)R process (disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration), which is critical for identifying different needs of women and men, ex-soldiers and/or ex-combatants. This process is also vital for a huge number of persons who depend on ex-combatants and whose needs should also be taken into account. UNSCR 1325 also encourages women who were forced to join fighting formations (mainly to work in logistics or, in many cases, as sexual slaves) to take part in DD(D)R(R)R programs and to benefit from them. This category of women was previously excluded from this process, or simply forgotten, and due to cultural limitation they could not return to their former community. This issue was identified and addressed by the resolution provisions as well.

By UNSCR 1325, the Security Council invoked the application of Article 41 of the UN Charter in case of organized violation of women and girls' rights, which will be considered as a treat to international peace and security. In that case, the use of force may be allowed against the perpetrators, regardless of whether it is a state or an armed group. Action may also entail the application of other instruments, such as: sanctions, diplomatic isolation (etc.), which also represents a turning point in international relations.

At the end, it may be said that UNSCR 1325 represents an international framework and a cornerstone for more effective functioning of POs, peace negotiations and peace-building processes by the international community. In other words, it addresses many women-related issues in different peace and security contexts, as well as with the Security Sector Reform

¹² UN Secretary General Strategic plan for action (A/49/587), available at <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20A%2049%20587.pdf> (accessed 11th July 2019)

(SSR) and political participation of women in decision-making processes. It is already common practice to say that UNSCR 1325 stands on four pillars: participation, protection, prevention (the first three pillars are known as “3-P”) and gender mainstreaming.

4. GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN POS LED BY UN

As it was previously stated, without understanding gender roles, we cannot understand the core values of particular societies and properly address the need of the victims. We will not analyze here why women and children are particularly vulnerable but it has to be noted that it is not because they are weak but because their gender roles limit their potential in the public sphere. Children are vulnerable because they are trustful, not because they are not educated or experienced enough. We are all aware of the importance and existence of gender roles, but some people misused them. It should be prevented by all means by gender mainstreaming.

4.1. Why Gender matters?

There are many gender categories and POs are at least expected to deal with men, women, boys and girls. This distinction has been made due to the previously shown nature of contemporary conflict. It is also critical to understand that gender roles are extremely environmentally and contextually dependant. Gender roles are formed for each gender category, depending on how each role is expected to be performed in terms of culture, tradition, beliefs, convictions, etc. For example, a woman in Germany and a woman in India have the same sex but perform different gender roles. Gender roles are also time-dependant. For example, a French woman born in the 17th century had different gender roles from a woman born in the 21st century. So, gender roles are constantly changing, at a faster or slower pace, but the critical word is “change”. A person has to understand that his/her culture, tradition, conviction, time, religion, beliefs, development, context (etc.) are wide-angle (landscape) lenses through which he/she sees the world around him/her. This is an easier part, but it is much more difficult to understand that those lenses are not made out of the same materials elsewhere. In order to be able to apply appropriate measures in order to achieve desired effects, one has to see the world through the victim’s lenses. This could be done only if their gender perspective and their gender category representatives are included in decision-making and implementation processes by paying full attention to the environmental and contextual dependence of their gender roles. In all other cases, when gender perspective is not included, the effects of actions performed in the field will work against the victims and all those who should protect and empower them.

Thus, conflict must be seen from the victims’ perspective in order to understand their current and future needs. POs must fight discrimination which existed in the respective society prior to conflict. All GBV and SBV-related offences that happened during the conflict have their origin in the past; if these issues are not addressed and treated properly after the conflict, it may serve as confirmation for impunity. Inactivity may only compound the formerly existing discrimination. Gender-based discrimination just became more visible during the armed conflict. This is why gender matters for the success of a mission as a whole. Promotion of gender equality is just the first step in this regard because there is much more to be done.

4.2. Gender mainstreaming

Gender perspective is mainstreamed throughout UN led POs by structural changes embodied in establishing new units whose primary task is to deal with implementation of provisions of UNSCR 1325 and monitoring the units related to gender issues. These units are called Gender Units and they are embedded into the organizational structure of POs. According to UNSCR 1325, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in particular POs is responsible for incorporating all provisions relevant to certain POs. Gender Units are subordinated to his/her staff, or belongs to the SRSG staff. The SRSG may have his/her Gender Adviser when necessary, particularly in robust, multidimensional or hybrid missions. Gender Units are composed of subject matter experts in different fields. They are allowed to act pro-actively or upon request of any person in need of their advisory help. Gender Units supervise whether gender perspective is incorporated in the planning process and implemented in the course of performing tasks and activities. Gender Units belong to the civilian component while connection with the military and police component is achieved by appointing Gender Focal Points (GFP) in the respective military or police component. A GFP person can be appointed at different organizational levels, if the size of the component demands so. For example, in a huge military component, each sector, brigade and/or battalion will have a GFP. These persons usually deal with training; being a GFP is just an additional task (in addition to their ordinary duties), but they need to undergo appropriate gender training or have some knowledge about it at least. GFPs maintain contact with Gender Units and act in accordance with demands posed by the Gender Unit, or propose actions which seem to be necessary to perform by other actors through the Gender Unit or by the Gender Unit itself. Additionally, GFPs have an advisory role to the commanding officers and to other staff. GFPs are in charge of mandatory in-mission gender training, which is conducted in a timely manner by subordinated units. If there is a need for additional type of training, GFPs can organize and supervise it. A GFP person is also in charge of gender-specific training of staff officers of respective command, and he/she is also part of different planning teams in order to ensure that gender perspective is incorporated. GFPs receive all training material from the Gender Unit, and that material is regularly updated in accordance with after-action reports.

The implementation of gender perspective into POs is important for the protection of fundamental human rights, safety and security of troops and personal, operational efficiency, as well as for ensuring that the mission will not compound formerly existing gender discrimination (which existed in the society before the conflict occurred) in order to avoid the victimization of these who are affected and working on eliminating all kinds of gender-based discrimination. In order to ensure the implementation on gender perspective, one must hone one's senses and try to see the local population in all its complexity. According to UNSCR 1325, while dealing with the local population, all UN personnel has to recognize and differentiate at least four gender categories (women, men, boys and girls), and constantly pay attention to how each of these gender categories is affected by any actions performed by POs in the field. This is particularly important during and after a conflict, which may affect all of them in different ways. Identification of specific needs of any of these gender categories is a critical task for Pos, and it is directly linked to the mission success.

4.3. Education and training

“Education is, quite simply, peace-building by another name. It is the most effective form of defence spending there is.” (former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, 2012)

Gender training for UN Troop Contributing Countries (TCC) was first mentioned in the Peoples Millennium Forum Declaration and Agenda for Action Strengthening the United Nations for the 21st Century (May 2000)¹³, and the concept was developed in more detailed in the Namibia Plan of Action.¹⁴ These documents were adopted because there was an identified need for more substantial protection of civilians from the consequences of armed conflicts. The first report to the SRS in regard to gender training was delivered in 2001. This document is known as “Implementation of the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations”.

The first manual for gender training was “Gender and Peacekeeping Operations: Generic Training”, published by Office for Military Affairs (OMA) Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in January 2003. In the meantime, a number of other relevant documents were published but, as it already pointed out, the TCC is responsible for the implementation of gender training into the mandatory pre-deployment training program. Education and training is the only effective tool in the process of fighting conservative attitudes shaped by stereotypes and prejudices of male-dominated military culture toward women in uniforms. The most frequent reasons why men are reluctant to accept female soldiers in their units are gender-colored or extremely subjective and androcentric. In other words, women are often judged on the grounds of men’s experiences or experiences of women from other spheres, but they were never actually given an opportunity to wear uniforms and participate in missions. In fact, women’s experience is the only criteria for judging whether women are able to do something or not. Unfortunately, there is still a lack of women’s experience in this regard and, until it is gained, all claims are mere speculations. An additional problem is reflected in the fact that men are the ones who have to decide whether women will wear uniforms and participate in missions. The research on this issue is extensive.¹⁵ Some studies suggest that the threshold of stress tolerance in women during military tasks is at least twice lower than that in men, that women are not physically able to carry another soldier, etc. Considering different contexts and circumstances,

¹³ See: ‘We the Peoples Millennium Forum Declaration and Agenda for Action *Strengthening the United Nations for the 21st Century*, Globalization and Development: Declaration of the Civil Society Millennium Forum, New York, 26 May 2000, available at https://www.i-p-o.org/millennium_forum.htm

¹⁴ See: Namibia Plan of Action on ‘Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations’, Namibia, 31 May 2000 https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/windhoek_declaration.pdf; and UN SC General Assembly (14 July 2000) <https://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55138.pdf>

¹⁵ For more details see:

Devaney, David K. (2012). Women in Combat Arms Units, *Marine Corps Gazette*; June 2012; 96, 6; ProQuest Military Collection, p.62.

Bohon, D. (2011) Feminizing America’s Fighting Force, *The New American*, www.thenewamerican.com,

Barry, B. (2013) *Women in Combat, Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tsur20>,

Sabine T, Zedlacher E, and Rene H. (2014), *The War against the Female Soldier? The Effects of Masculine Culture on Workplace Aggression*, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.

Kasino, L.(2013) Women, War, and PTSD, *The Washington Monthly*, Nov/Dec2013, ProQuest Military Collection.

Emerald M. Archer (2015) *The Power of Gendered Stereotypes in the US Marine Corps*, Department of Politics&History, Woodbury University, Burbank, CA, USA, www.afs.sagepub.com,

the results of these studies actually reinforce prejudices and stereotypes about women in uniforms. Such assumptions are not supported by empirical evidence, simply because women have not been given opportunity to gain such military experience.

Gender mainstreaming in POs seems to be an easy task but artificial resistance is something that makes it harder. It is much easier to cope with that kind of resistance at tactical level, but it is much more difficult at the operational or strategic level. Gender mainstreaming is always fought in two fronts: within the organization, and from the organization to the local population. It is easy to say but difficult to perform.

5. CONCLUSION

In order to use women's full potential in Pos, a lot of work is yet to be done regarding gender issues. As a matter of fact, gender issues have never been a more relevant subject matter, which creates a window of opportunity which has to be exploited. Raising awareness of women's importance for the protection of victims and civil population in general is a major task for the future. The first step would be to understand that giving gender issues serious consideration can vastly contribute to operational efficiency in the field, the protection of human rights and safety of troops in the field, conflict prevention and conflict resolution, and most importantly, peace-building and peace-keeping efforts. There are a lot of challenges in this regard, both national and international ones. Leadership in general is still quite conservative about the implementation of gender perspective. Moreover, artificial resistance based on stereotypes and prejudice is present, particularly within the military culture which is generally resistant to any new ideas. As stated by Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart,¹⁶ "*The only thing harder than getting a new idea into the military mind is to get an old one out*" (Liddell-Hart, 1944).

All things considered, the conclusion may be that education on gender issues is needed at every level, while current training is at a very low level. Unfortunately, this type of training and education is still not mandatory for contributing states, and there is no universal approach to such education and training. It highly depends on environmental and contextual circumstances. There is a lot to be done in this regard yet.

After providing a comprehensive analysis of how World War I changed the nature of warfare, Gulio Douhet said in 1920: "There are no lessons to be learned from the past. We should forget about history and the future must be approached from a new angle" (Ferrari, 1998: 120). The Great War was the turning point, but we may only hope that the turning point for future conflicts will not be so obvious. Actually, the turning point might have already occurred but we are still unaware of it. Having in mind the statistical analysis presented in the second part of this paper, this might be the case and, if so, we might have the fourth generation of warfare already in place. For the time being, all we know about this issue is that no one actually knows what the fourth generation of warfare would look like. It should be noted though that targets have changed, which is a critical characteristic of the WWI developments as compared to all previous wars, and this is what Gulio Douhet referred to. In this case, there is a need for a rational long-term approach to strategic decision-making processes.

¹⁶ Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart (1895–1970), British Army officer, military historian and military theorist.

Politics, which deal with short-term popularity, cannot cope up with these issues. In other words, we first have to focus on the targeted victims. Unfortunately, at the very beginning of implementing this long-term strategy, the UN and the entire international community were faced with cases of sexual harassment and abuse of the local population (in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, etc) by members of the UN forces. As a result of these events, since July 2016, the UN officials have been requesting an official confirmation from all contributing states that a deployable unit has undergone appropriate pre-deployment training related to GBV and SBV. In the UN General Assembly session on 17th September 2015, the Secretary General stated that he would not hesitate to repatriate the whole contingent if a single member of any contingent committed this type of violence toward the local population. This may show us future steps and trends in the field of implementation of gender perspectives into all plans, actions and tasks in POs.

At the end, it has to be noted that gender roles are not yet as important to the civilized world as they are important to those who are against all that we stand for. In April 2010, we all witnessed the words of Abdul Hadi Arghandiwal, leader of Hezb-i-Islami political party in Afghanistan, who stated that women would have to sacrifice their interests for the sake of having peace with Taliban, which is extremely necessary since coalition forces are about to be withdrawn.¹⁷ This statement is probably the best illustration about the relevance and importance of gender issues. For this reason, it is critical to raise awareness of gender roles and gender perspective and ensure the highest possible level of gender equality in the UN POs context.

'The UN was not created to take humanity to heaven but to save it from hell.' (Dag Hammarskjöld, former UN Secretary General)

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¹⁷ Human Rights Watch (2010): The "Ten-Dollar Talib" and Women's Rights Afghan Women and the Risks of Reintegration and Reconciliation (p. 6), retrieved 17 January 2015 from <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/afghanistan0710webwcover.pdf>

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PREGLED PROCESA UVOĐENJA RODNE PERSPEKTIVE U MIROVNE OPERACIJE UN

Rad daje pregled procesa uvođenja rodne perspektive u mirovne operacije UN. Osnovna hipoteza je da ukoliko više pažnje posvetimo uvođenju rodne perspektive u mirovne operacije, to će značajno doprineti podizanju nivoa operativne efikasnosti na terenu, boljoj zaštiti ljudskih prava (prava žena), većoj bezbednosti snaga na terenu i lokalnog stanovništva, I što je najažnije, izgradnja mira će biti na zdravim osnovama i značajno će se smanjiti broj žrtava. Trenutno glavni identifikovani problem je nedostatak adekvatne obuke i obrazovanja o rodnim ulogama. Analiza poslednjih trendova na polju mirovnih operacija, odredbi Rezolucije SB UN 1325, analiza normativnih I doktrinarnih dokumenata vojnih komponenti u mirovnim misijama, ali i analiza istorijskih aspekata rodni uloga u zapadnom društvu, vrsena je sa stanovišta feminističkog pristupa međunarodnom pravu koje je 1991. godine predstavila Kristin Šinkin.

Ključne reči: Mirovne operacije, rodne uloge, uvođenje rodne perspektive, vojna komponenta, Rezolucija SB UN 1325

GRASSROOTS AND INHIBITORS ON RADICALISATION IN NORTH MACEDONIA: TOWARDS A SYSTEMIC APPROACH

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Abstract. *A few years ago, as migrant crisis was intensifying and the conflict in Syria was escalating, North Macedonia did not remain immune to the foreign fighter's phenomena. This was quite a surprise for the society as a whole. Although there were no official data, in 2018 media sources reported that it was approximated that between 75 and 90 Macedonian citizens joined the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), whereby women make a significant percentage of this group. Another media source reported that the total unofficial number of recruited Macedonian citizens was 156, nine of whom are women; 83 persons are said to have returned to the country. In 2017, the Republic of Macedonia adopted the National strategy for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and the National Counterterrorism Strategy (CT) but these two strategies lack the gender perspective on these issues. Women's engagement in these processes is a result of joint impact of different societal factors and variables. The paper aims to examine and provide deeper analysis of the current situation and most significant grassroots initiatives, which will be used as the basis for recommendations for improvement.*

Key words: *gender, radicalization, extremism, women*

1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The dissolution of Yugoslavia marked the dissolution of dream about “brotherhood and unity”. Although in that period Macedonia was known as the “cradle of peace” and a highly tolerant society, the processes that followed took their toll. Global trends and dynamic developments did not bypass the whole region. The migrant crisis, geopolitical position, instability of the region, globalization of threats, as well as Macedonian support for the Global Coalition against Daesh in Afghanistan and Iraq, brought the foreign fighters phenomena in the focus. Stories were different and although they have been re-told, they

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remained a “public secret” for some time. Although everyone says that radicalization is a great threat, no one goes deeper. Besides, this type of radicalization is not the only one in Macedonia, which has faced multiple protests and counter-protest, as well as two bloody attacks on the Macedonian Parliament (on 24th December 2012 and on 24th April 2017), in the periods of political crisis.

Gender perspective in this context has not been examined so far, which was the basic motivation for conducting research on this issue, including the risk of failing in the attempt. Yet, it is the responsibility of the academic community to address the problems that have been placed on hold or “under the rug”. The primary idea was to focus on legal and policy framework only; however, the quest provided very few answers, particularly considering that the National Strategy on Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism (NS CVET), adopted in 2017, lacks gender perspective on these issues. As the problem proved to be much wider, it was necessary to explore the social context, which was predominantly done by analyzing media coverage of relevant events. It should be noted that a separate research could be done on each of the headlines in this paper. If that happens, it means that this initial research was successful enough to provoke greater interest in the field. The research aims to examine whether the general concept of NS CVET policy is applied in Macedonian legal and policy framework. The main hypothesis of the research is that radicalization of women in North Macedonia is a result of complex political, economic and social factors. Additional hypothesis is that the lack of gender mainstreaming in the NS CVET efforts may lead to increased rate of radicalization among women and girls.

2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALISATION

The Balkan region has gone through the painful economic and political transition from socialism and monoparty system to a free market and plural democracy. The former still has a significant impact in the collective and individual memories. A society predominantly crafted in the manner of collective ownership and identity (a feature that is closer to the eastern rather than to the western mentality), with huge social stability and strong political system, suddenly had to overthrow the obtained identity and turn into capitalism and democracy. This process was accompanied by bloody ethnical conflicts, strong pressure of populism, and usage of nationalism and nation-building as part of the political agenda of the elites. The elites were probably the fastest shifters in the new society: they changed shape and rhetorics but still imposed the same mental code and promises to fuel the expectations of the masses.

After the peaceful dissolution from Yugoslavia, the former Socialist Republic of Macedonia obtained independence, but it faced more challenges than opportunities. Located in the heart of Balkan along the important Roman military road Via Egnatia, the petite landlocked country was permanently experiencing crises, both social and economic but predominantly political ones. Complicated ethnic and religious structure, limited resources, imposed economic embargos, relationships within the neighbors, the name issue (etc.) caused permanent troubles. The spillover effect of the wars and different processes in the region was also inevitable.

In theory, the political system in North Macedonia is based on pluralism but, in reality, the political scene is completely monopolized and divided, thus enabling the creation of parallel societies. The main mobilization factor is the political party; there is a

lack of citizens' activism, and sustainable and influential social movements. Authentic social movements managed to come to the fore only on rare occasions, such as the protests against police brutality in June 2011. The civil sector is mainly divided or associated with one or another political option. There are three main schisms in society: the first and predominant one is affiliation or non-affiliation with a specific political party; the second one is ethnicity, and the third one is religion. Yet, the great anti-governmental rally on 17 May 2015 managed to unite almost all of the different societal groups. The current social democratic government has brought hope for a new beginning.

3. THE FOREIGN FIGHTERS PHENOMENA

A few years ago, as migrant crisis was intensifying and the conflict in Syria was escalating, North Macedonia did not remain immune to the foreign fighter's phenomena. This was quite a surprise for the society as a whole. The presence of the Muslim population in the region is not a newly planted idea or phenomenon. Although the Muslim population it is not homogenous (ethnically speaking), it is part of the common cultural heritage from the Ottoman times. Most of the Muslims in Macedonia have been living here for generations, which is not the case with Muslims in Western Europe.

In North Macedonia, Islam is mostly considered to follow the Hanafi school of thought (Petrović, 2016: 1). The Ottoman influence is still present in the culture and does represent an important part of the common history of all Macedonian citizens. Sufism also plays a significant role. In the western part of the country, there are a few strong dervish communities. The Bektashi order of Dervishes is a Sufi order, belonging to neither the Sunni nor the Shi'a denominations, which most of Islam is divided into. Like all Dervish orders, the Bektashi see themselves as the doorkeepers, or servants of God. The order was founded almost 800 years ago by the Islamic mystic Hajji Bektash Wali and has remained autonomous within Islam as one of the largest and oldest of the Dervish orders (The Economist, 2013)¹.

The first contact of the Balkan Muslims with the radical Islamists was established in the early 1990s during the war in Bosnia. However, this was not addressed as a potential security threat until recent, when the region was pointed out as a place of recruitment of foreign fighters for the battlefields of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Metodieva, 2018: 4). In 2018, media reported that "at least 5 Macedonian women of Albanian ethnic origin have joined the ISIS in the last three years, as revealed by national security services" (Express.mk, 2017)². Although there are no official data on this matter, some media sources reported that it is approximated that between 75 and 90 Macedonian citizens joined the ISIS, and that women make a significant percentage of this group. Another media source reported that the total unofficial number was 156 people, nine of whom were women, whereas 83 of them already returned to the country; notably, the number of recruited persons was significantly reduced after amending the Macedonian Criminal Code in 2014 (24vakti, 2018).³ In the first quarter of 2018, the public was shocked by the information that

¹ The Economist (2013): Baba mondi of a little known Sufi order with deep roots in the Ottoman Empire, available at <https://www.economist.com/eastern-approaches/2013/09/23/baba-mondi>

² Express.mk (2017). Најмалку 5 жени од Македонија во ИСИС, една Македонка се вратила дома, published 18 July 2017, <https://expres.mk...>

³ 24vakti.mk (2018). Во ИСИС активно се борат 15 македонски државјани, 24vakti.mk, 10 August 2018. available at <https://24vakti.mk...>

a teenage girl from Kumanovo died in the battlefields in Syria; her father said that her behavior had changed after meeting a boyfriend through the social media (Brif.mk, 2015)⁴. Another media source reported on interviews with police experts from the Ministry of Interior (MoI) who said that the main reason for the radicalization of youth is the socio-economic factor, i.e poverty, but there are also other factors: non-inclusion in the society, the education system that should act on raising awareness, family relations, peer pressure, as well as the nationalist euphoria such as the war that took place in 2001. According to the MoI findings, all of the recruited young people were persons of a low socio-economic status, and only a few of them were from higher classes. They have mainly been misled by ideology; they believe in what they do, and they think they are doing something good. Notably, some of them have already returned to Macedonia and have been prosecuted under the new legislation which prescribes a term of imprisonment of at least five years for participation in foreign extremist and terrorist organisations (Lokalno.mk, 2018).⁵ An imam from Tutunsuz mosque in Skopje was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for radicalization and recruitment of soldiers in Macedonia (Lider.mk, 2018)⁶

4. THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The Islamic Religious Community in the country has been on the top news for a longer period, especially due to the political interference and the open clash with the Bektashi community. The case was mostly about the ownership of Arabati Baba Tekke near Tetovo, the sanctuary that belonged to the Bektashi community since the 15th century. However, after the denationalization process, the state gave it to the Islamic Religious Community in Macedonia. This object was referred by some scholars as the frontline of confrontation with the Wahhabism. For the sake of truth, the Islamic Religious Community alarmed that they do not have control in four mosques in the country, while the daily newspaper “Dnevnik” reported that the fifth one is the mosque in Idrizovo. They asked the Ministry of Interior for help on several occasions (Radio Slobodna Evropa, 2011).⁷ On one occasion, the Ministry of Interior replied that the reis of the Islamic Community made sensationalist claims, but that the security services have pretty limited authorities under the positive law. The headquarters of the Islamic Religious Community were occupied for 12 days and the reis had to fulfill his duties from the menderesa in Kondovo after the relationships with the muftiship of Skopje came out of control (Kanal 5, 2015)⁸ This goes back in time. In 2005, there was also a power struggle within the Islamic Community, when the reis withdrew from the position. Each side blames another for radical interference.

⁴ Brif. mk (2015). Керка на бизнисмен од Куманово неколку месеци војува за ИСИС, published 23 July 2015.

[https://www.brif.mk/kerka-na-biznismen-od-kumanovo-nekolku/?utm_source=daily.mk&utm_medium=daily.mk](https://www.brif.mk/kerka-na-biznismen-od-kumanovo-nekolku-utn_source=daily.mk&utm_medium=daily.mk)

⁵ Lokalno.mk. (2018)“Сромаштијата младите ги прави лесен плен на радикализмот”, 4 March 2018, <http://lokalno.mk/sromashtijata-mladite-gi-pravi-lesen-plen-na-radikalizmot/>

⁶ Lider.mk (2018) Борците на ИД што ги депортираа САД, биле радикализирани од имамот од Чаир, 12. 08. 2018, <https://lider.com.mk/makedonija/borcite-na-id-shto-gi-deportiraa-sad-bile-radikalizirani-od-imamot-od-chair/>

⁷ Radio Slobodna Evropa (2011): Гацовска Спасовска, З. “Помирување во ИВЗ?”, published 17 Dec. 2011, available at <https://www.slobodnaevropa.mk/a/24434717.html>

⁸ Kanal 5 (2015). ИВЗ останува поделена и за Рамазан, published 17 јуни 2015,-available at <https://kanal5.com.mk/articles/236945/ivz-ostanuva-podelena-i-za-ramazam>

5. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION AND POLITICAL SCHISM

The Macedonian society is highly polarized although the potential for active conflict is low. After 12 years of having the conservative government, the country is still recovering from the effects of its nationalist politics. The incapacity of the institutions to bring criminal elites to justice still reverberates in the society, especially after the former Prime Minister Gruevski fled the country in November 2018 seeking political asylum in Hungary while his party split in two fractions. In the face of the Prespa Agreement with Greece over the name of the country, there were antigovernment protests on a daily basis.⁹ The last decade has been marked by the creation of parallel societies in the country. Every protest was followed by a counter-protest, ending up with the conclusion the other side was to be blamed for everything that was wrong. The mutual blame-pinning practices soon became the subject matter of parody.

The main political parties, the ruling SDSM (Social Democratic Union) and the conservative opposition VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity), forefront the coalitions including a bunch of smaller parties, mainly based on ethnicity (Albanians, Turks, Serbs, Roma, etc.). However, each ethnicity is further divided along the party lines, as each ethnicity includes members of the two major parties: one in power and one in the opposition. For this reason, patriotism and nationalism are usually used as a cover for power-sharing and, more importantly, interest-sharing. A common issue for almost all political parties in North Macedonia is the role of women organization within the party and election of female representatives for leading positions, which is completely minor. However, the good news is that Macedonia has finally resolved the name issue and received a positive report and clear recommendation to join the EU, which is about to bring new perspectives and dynamics.

6. MACEDONIAN SOCIETY THROUGH FEMALE LENSES

As most of the Balkan countries, the country has been facing high migration rates. Although the official census has not been conducted for 15 years, unofficial data show that more than half a million citizens left Macedonia since it gained independence 25 years ago (The Economist, 2017)¹⁰. People usually explain this trend by the economic situation, poor living standard and quality of life, inadequate social welfare, health care and education system, lack of opportunities, and lately high air pollution. The fact is that all of these reasons affect women much more. The country lacks an adequate social welfare and health care system which would address the needs of all, especially women. For example, there is a lack of daily centers for people with disabilities so that at least one parent (usually the mother) has to remain at home to take care of the disabled person, even when he/she is already an adult. Kindergartens, pre-school and day-care facilities where children can stay during the parents' working hours are overcrowded so that children are most frequently minded by mothers or grandparents. As there is gender-based wage gap, mothers are usually the ones who stay at home when a member of the family is in need (Alsattar, M,

⁹ OBC Transeuropa (2018) :I. Cvetanoski, Macedonia, the Gruevski's escape, published 20.11.2018, <https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/North-Macedonia/Macedonia-the-Gruevski-s-escape-191277>

¹⁰ The Economist (2017): Macedonian emigrants estimated at more than 30% of population, published 28 Feb.2017, available at <http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?..>

2017)¹¹. The conditions in public hospitals, especially at gynecology wards, are quite miserable, particularly in smaller towns and rural areas. The new government has been trying to improve the situation. Women do participate actively in all societal spheres but the problem is that they rarely manage to take decision-making positions. The decade-long public narrative of the previous government coalition forefronted by the conservatives imposed a huge burden of chauvinism and nationalism. It culminated in the so-called cultural project “Skopje 2014”, an attempt to assert Macedonia's identity through “antiquitisation” (decorating the Skopje city center monuments recalling the glorious past of Alexander the Great). Notably, among hundreds of masculine sculptures of warriors, there are only a few female figures, while the central one represents Olympia breastfeeding Alexander the Great. During that period, many public campaigns were funded from the budget and conducted with similar machoism narratives. That trend created huge social revolt against social injustice, corruption and impunity of the ruling conservative elite. Women were leading many of the mass peaceful protests in the so-called “Colorful revolution” for freedom, justice and equality (Meta.mk, 2016)¹².

7. GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND RADICALISATION

The year 2017 was a cornerstone for official centralized activities in the field of preventing radical extremism and fight against terrorism in Macedonia. The National Committee for Countering Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism (NC CVECT) was established by a Government decision on establishing the National Committee (Official Gazette 98/ 2017).¹³ The National Coordinator and two deputies were appointed by another governmental decision. The first task of the Committee was to prepare the National Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)¹⁴ and the National Counterterrorism Strategy (CT) (2018-2022)¹⁵, with accompanying action plans. Both strategies are strategic and synergetic documents resting on common grounds. They imply holistic approach to preventing and counteracting violent extremism and counterterrorism at the local, national, and international levels. The prefaces to both documents end with the slogan: “*Strong families, strong communities, strong society*”. The strategies clearly address the needs of all the citizens, but neither of them includes gender-related issues or gender-specific perspective. In the key terms and definitions, the strategies recognize “*At-risk people*: People who are particularly vulnerable to becoming radicalized to violent extremism. A number of factors can make people vulnerable to radicalization,

¹¹ ALSAT-M (2017). F. F.Veseli, Дури 46 отсто од жените во Македонија не се дел од пазарот на трудот, 30.01. 2017., [https://www.alsat-m.tv/mk/...](https://www.alsat-m.tv/mk/)

¹² Meta.mk (2016) „Шарена револуција“: Вие кривични, ние похрабри, published 4.June 2016, <https://meta.mk/sharena-revolutsija-vie-krivichni-nie-pohrabri/>

¹³ Одлука за формирање на Национален комитет за спречување на насилен екстремизам и борба против тероризам, Влада на Република Македонија, *Службен весник на РМ* бр. 98/2017, <http://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/396f0f904d6a4151aa9595d441b6a903.pdf>

¹⁴ National Strategy of the Republic of Macedonia for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), Skopje, 15. 02. 2018, <https://www.rcc.int/p-cve/docs/196/national-strategy-of-the-republic-of-north-macedonia-for-countering-violent-extremism-2018>

¹⁵ National Counterterrorism Strategy (CT) of the Republic of Macedonia (2018-2022) ,Skopje, 27. February 2018; Government of the Republic of Macedonia, National Committee for Countering Violent Extremism and Countering Terrorism; available at https://vlada.mk/sites/default/files/dokumenti/ct_national_strategy_eng_translation_sbu.pdf

including the exclusion from the family, friends or the broader community, and exposure to criminality or violence.” (NS CVE/CT, 2018: 14). Sticking to a broad definition is probably appropriate for a society such as Macedonia, where different groups easily interfere into sensitive social developments. The specific goals of preventing and counteracting violent extremism and terrorism include (NS CVE/CT, 2018: 30):

1. Prevent

Strategic goal 1.1: Strengthened institutional capacities

Strategic goal 1.2: Raising public awareness

Strategic goal 1.3: Strong and resistant community Strategic goal

Strategic goal 1.4: Preventing radicalization via Internet

2. Protect

Strategic goal 2.1: Proactive institutions in the context of protection of the basic values, human rights and freedoms

Strategic goal 2.2: Increasing the confidence among relevant institutions and citizens for protection against radicalization and violent extremism

3. Pursue

Strategic goal 3.1: Established set of measures for early detection of radicalization

4. Respond

Strategic goal 4.1: Deradicalization

Strategic goal 4.2: Reintegration thru resocialization

Within the presented research, the author of this article conducted an interview with the National Coordinator in order to discuss the two strategies and gender-related issues. The National Committee (CTECT) does not have a gender advisor, but gender expertise is not the only shortcoming. The idea is to have different specialist for different target groups on specific questions. The broad language of the two strategies is used due to sensitivity toward different groups and various forms of radicalization within the society. Their approach is soft and focused on prevention. They envisage state cooperation with civil society and religious institutions in order to build trust among institutions and people at risk. Currently, several main activities are underway: working on a project for developing counter-narratives (messaging and alternative view to extremist recruitment and propaganda) and communication strategy (although it is mainly focused on the Committee activities and it does not include gender-related issues or narratives for women); engagement in international activities and training; preparing a forum for dialogue with representatives of religious institutions within the country; and working with municipalities (MIA, 2018).¹⁶ The activities also include organizing local panels and focus groups. Notably, a photo from such a discussion held in Struga shows that participants are predominately women (Spektra, 2018).¹⁷ Another project “*Mother Schools for Counteracting Radicalism*” was implemented from November 2016 to March 2017 by the civil society organisation “Women to Women”, in cooperation with Women without Borders (Analyticamk.org).¹⁸ The project included women

¹⁶ MIA (2018): Стефановска, С. Меморандум за проектот „Јакнење на отпорноста од насилен екстремизам на локалните заедници во Македонија“, МИА, available at <https://mia.mk/2018/10/memorandum-za-proektot-akne-na-otporosta-od-nasilen-ekstremizam-na-lokalnite-zaednici-vo-makedoni-a> (accessed 15.May 2019)

¹⁷ Spektra (2018): Општина Струга: “Дебата за спречување на насилен екстремизам и борба против тероризам”, 6.11.2018, available at <http://www.spektra.com.mk/lokalni/opstina-struga-debata-za-sprecurvanje-na-nasilen-ekstremizam-i-borba-protiv-terorizam>

¹⁸ Analyticamk.org: CSO Analytica Think Tank: “Mother Schools Project for Countering Radicalism” (not dated), available at <https://www.analyticamk.org/en/programs/foreign-and-security-policy/631-mothers-schools-project>

in a few municipalities of the City of Skopje and it was aimed at raising awareness and training women (mothers and wives) whose children or relatives have been exposed to radicalization or have gone to the ISIS battlefields, developing their competences to deal with these issues, and empowering them to build a community-based security strategy to counter radical ideologies (Stojkovski, Selimi, 2018:11).

The National Committee (CVECT) is not the only institution lacking gender perspective. The Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Interior do not have gender advisors, nor are they available to officers deployed in international missions. The last national action plan (NAP) on the UN Security Council Resolution UNSCR 1325 is quite vague and theoretical. The UN Security Council Resolution UNSCR 2242 called for the inclusion of women in devising CVE programmes but the broad women and security agenda of the Macedonian Ministry of Defence¹⁹ does not even mention the UN SCR 2242. The UN Secretary-General's 2016 Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism²⁰ included a pillar dedicated to the role of women and girls. It urged member states to mainstream gender perspectives, empower women and strive for gender equality. However, none of these documents has been referred to in the official Macedonian policy documents.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is generally accepted that women can play critical roles in developing responses to violence and terrorism, and challenging and delegitimizing extremist narratives. Women can be powerful agents of change, and they can even play a crucial role in detecting early signs of radicalization and intervening before individuals become violent. Understanding these varied roles of women is critical to developing more nuanced and targeted efforts to counter violent extremism and prevent terrorism (Commonwealth.org, 2018).²¹

However, the problem with CVE and CT efforts in North Macedonia is wider.

First, there is a lack of institutional approach and awareness about gender dimension, which is contrary to all policy recommendations. Institutions need to take more interest in this issue. For example, different CoE initiatives have hardly been referred to or used (CoE, 2018)²²

Second, women in North Macedonia are quite a diversified category, although they share most of the everyday-life problems: poor quality of life, economic deprivation, underdeveloped infrastructure, chaotic administration, inadequate social welfare system and health care, high air pollution, etc. North Macedonia is a multiethnic society and every local community has different customs and rituals that are generally accepted or recommended as preferred form of conduct. Specific subgroups need specific targeting and specific

¹⁹ Ministerstvo za odbrana (MO), Родова рамноправност и родова перспектива во одбраната и во безбедноста, *Sovremena makedonska odbrana*, Vol. 13/Ministry of Defence of R.Macedonia, Gender Equality and Gender Perspective in Defence and Security, Contemporary Macedonian Defence, Vol.13, Skopje, 2013, ISSN 1409-8199

²⁰ The UN Secretary-General's Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism (2016), UN Counterterrorism Office, <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism>

²¹ The Commonwealth.org (2018): Countering Violent Extremism Toolkits, available at <http://thecommonwealth.org/countering-violent-extremism-toolkits>

²² See: Council of Europe (2018): "Fight against violent extremism and radicalisation leading to terrorism" – Implementing the Action Plan Final Report of the Secretary General, available at <https://rm.coe.int/sg-inf-2018-7-fight-against-violent-extremism-and-radicalisation-lead/16807c0d4b>

approach: for example, although they encounter similar problems, rural women from the eastern parts of Macedonia need a different approach than rural women from the western parts of country.

Third, the fact that two national strategies are focused on resilience means that this society needs empowered women, since resilient society cannot be established within vulnerable groups.

Fourth, North Macedonian society needs better visibility of female role models. A good example is the establishment of database of female experts²³.

Fifth, institutions need to take seriously and implement effectively recommendations of the UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (UN SCR 2242/2015). Among other issues, the resolution urges Member States to ensure the participation and leadership of women and women's organizations in developing strategies to counter terrorism and violent extremism which can be conducive to terrorism, to counter incitement to commit terrorist acts, to create counter narratives and other appropriate interventions, to build their capacity in order to empower women, youth, religious and cultural leaders, to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism and violent extremism which can be conducive to terrorism. It also asks member states to integrate gender as a cross-cutting issue throughout the activities within their respective mandates, including specific assessments and reports, which unfortunately has not been the case in North Macedonia. Gender advisors are a must, especially when planning peacekeeping missions abroad. A real National Action Plan (NAP) is needed for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, as well as a wider peace and security agenda.

Sixth, there is a lack of trust and communication in the society: a lacks of trust in the system, institutions and different groups; a lack of communication among institutions, groups and political elites. Unfortunately, the greatest political decisions (such as the Przhino Agreement) were brought outside the system of formal institutions. In order to maintain trust, institutions (especially public administration) have to do their work much more efficiently and effectively. The country is facing high corruption rates in different areas (although official statistics show some improvement lately). The geopolitical position makes the country vulnerable to different forms of organized crime. Political and religious elites enjoy lower threshold of trust, especially women's organizations in parties as traditionally the greatest HR pool in the country (Nova Makedonija, 2019)²⁴. The Special Public Prosecution Office also needs to deliver results.

Seventh, the building of counter-narratives needs a more systematic approach, clear definition of the messages aimed at to specific groups, as well as allocation of the most appropriate channels of communication with different groups. It requires wider expertise in the field of psychology, sociology, social work, psychiatry, pedagogy, and communicology. It also calls for building a wider network, including institutions, local authorities and true local leaders in prominent social positions (priests, school teachers, village elders, popular TV personalities, etc.). It also requires legal intervention, for example by enacting a set of media laws, in order to ensure that the program council of the national broadcaster_would take the problem into account.

²³ See: Database of female experts, project implemented by ednakvi.mk (2018); <http://ekspertki.ednakvi.mk/>

²⁴ Nova Makedonija (2019): Павловска, J. (2018) "Довербата-алката што се кине меѓу граѓаните и политичарите", published 26. January 2019, available at [https://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/makedonija/politika/...\(accessed 15.May 2019\)](https://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/makedonija/politika/...(accessed 15.May 2019))

Eight, the society and individuals are in need to relax and withdraw from the negative matrix, which may be illustrated by the information that an increased use of antidepressants has been registered since 2014, by almost 50% of the population (A1onMK, 2014)²⁵. Poor living standard and quality of life affect all generations in different manner.

Ninth, the overall treatment of smaller constitutional minorities (which are usually labeled as “less than 20”) needs to improve. For example, the state funds primary and secondary education for each minority in their mother tongue but, when it comes to higher education, they may proceed education in their language only if they organize it on their own, which is a high threshold to be reached. Another issue is the Equitable Ethnic Representation system (the so-called “Balancer” system), which has been envisaged as a percentage-based model for diversity management at the workplace, ensuring equal opportunities to all non-majority groups and their balanced participation in the public life (EPI, 2016: 22)²⁶. Yet, it is also a huge challenge due to the noted lack of transparency in recruiting procedures, party-based recruitment and corrupt (negative-selection) practices which may be the key factors in deciding which ethnicity candidates may apply for a certain position in the public administration. For members of smaller ethnic communities, it is very hard to reach such positions.

In short, North Macedonia needs to stick to the recommendations of the Priebe Report (Senior Experts’ Group assessment and recommendations on Rule of Law issues) (EC /SEG 2017)²⁷ and implement reforms toward improving the resilience of the society as a whole. The government needs to allocate resources for further research, especially pertaining to women who have been radicalized and joined ISIS, but also to obtain deeper understanding of the situation in the field. Laws and regulations might be perfect on paper and the ratification of the Istanbul Convention is a great step ahead, but the key idea behind these activities is to put them into effect and make laws work. The process needs a systematic/systemic approach as well as political will, which should be reaffirmed within the political parties.

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²⁵ A1onMK (2014): “ФЗОМ: зголемена употреба на антидепресиви”, published 4.11.2014, available at <https://a1on.mk/archives/404876>

²⁶ For more, see: European Policy Institute (EPI), 2016. LIFE and numbers : equitable ethnic representation and integration at the workplace / [authors Malinka Ristevska Jordanova...[и др.], EPI, Skopje, March 2016,

²⁷ See: European Commission (SEG Report 2017): The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Assessment and recommendations of the Senior Experts’ Group on systemic Rule of Law issues, Brussels, 14 September 2017; https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/2017.09.14_seg_report_on_systemic_rol_issues_for_publication.pdf

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INICIJATIVE LOKALNE ZAJEDNICE U POGLEDU SPREČAVANJA RADIKALIZACIJE U SEVERNOJ MAKEDONIJI: KA SISTEMSKOM PRISTUPU BORBI PROTIV NASILNOG EKSTREMIZMA I TERORIZMA

Pre nekoliko godina, usled eskalacije sukoba u Siriji i jačanja migrantske krize, Severna Makedonija se suočila sa problemom radikalizacije i regrutovanja stranih boraca za potrebe Islamske države Iraka i Sirije (ISIS). Iako nije bilo zvaničnih podataka, neki medijski izvori su navodili nezvanične procene da se između 75 i 90 makedonskih građana pridružilo ISIS-u. Drugi mediji su naveli nezvaničan podatak o ukupno 156 regrutovanih makedonskih državljana, među kojima je bilo i devet žena. Dok su mediji izveštavali o radikalizaciji, Republika Makedonija je 2017. godine usvojila Nacionalnu strategiju za borbu protiv nasilnog ekstremizma i Nacionalnu strategiju za borbu protiv terorizma. Međutim, očigledan je nedostatak rodne perspektive u ovim strategijama. Glavna hipoteza ovog istraživanja je da je radikalizacija žena i devojaka u Severnoj Makedoniji rezultat složenih političkih, ekonomskih i društvenih faktora. Nedostatak rodne perspektive u Nacionalnoj strategiji za borbu protiv nasilnog ekstremizma i terorizma može dovesti do povećane stope radikalizacije žena. U radu se razmatra trenutno stanje, analizira primena Nacionalnih strategija i daju preporuke za poboljšanje trenutne situacije.

Ključne reči: *rod, radikalizija, ekstremizam, žene*

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SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND NEW FORMS OF RELIGIOUS TRADITIONALISM IN THE CROATIAN POST-CONFLICT CONTEXT

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Abstract. *This paper will focus on sexual violence and new forms of religious traditionalism emerging in the Croatian political context, and their interpretation of the term “gender”. The methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to investigate the debates surrounding the ratification of the Istanbul Convention (Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence) in Croatia in 2018. Religious conservative organisations started to frequently utilize the term “gender ideology” to create fear, confusion and moral panic in the public discourse in connection to the ratification. According to their interpretations, “gender ideology” in the Istanbul Convention was “smuggled in” to destroy the traditional Croatian Catholic heterosexual family by enabling children to choose their own gender. Croatia has undergone significant changes since the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, dismissing its socialist legacy with the support of the Catholic Church and its staunch anti-communist rhetoric which seeks to undo any progress in terms of gender equality achieved during socialism. Researching sexual violence from the intersectional feminist framework poses a challenge in a climate where the conservative discourse has hijacked any discussion on sexual violence in the public sphere by contesting the term gender itself and making it a questioned category of social analysis. Even though Croatia has ratified the Istanbul Convention in April 2018, the government has issued an “interpretative statement” further legitimizing the term “gender ideology.”*

Key words: *sexual violence, religious traditionalism, gender ideology*

1. NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Alongside the rising right-wing populism in Europe, religious fundamentalists have been organizing new religious movements across countries. Anti-gender strategies started developing a couple of decades ago with the Vatican’s reaction to the 1994 UN Conference

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on Population and Development in Cairo and the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women. Paternotte & Kuhar (2017) map out the history of the notion of “gender ideology”, which emerged in the mid-1990s as an answer to the concepts of sexual and reproductive rights in the UN rights system. The main concern for the Catholic Church was that proliferation of sexual and reproductive rights would open the way for deterioration of the traditional heterosexual family with international acceptance of abortion and same-sex marriage. The negative term “gender ideology” became a means of action in the global Catholic strategy but it has also spread beyond Catholic circles (Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017: 12).

In fighting the privatization of religion, the Church mobilized lay believers to publicly declare their faith by mimicking progressive movements, such as the Pride Parade, and to get organized by using new technologies, especially social networks. The right-wing wave reinforced anti-gender campaigns since “gender ideology” functions as symbolic glue against a common enemy: the left, feminists, LGBT activists, minorities, etc. (Kovats & Poim, 2015: 34). Also, as an empty signifier, it can be used to serve any means of a threat to the “natural” order. The economic crisis and austerity measures in many countries enabled anti-gender protests by providing an outlet to the frustration with the corrupt elites and scapegoating the minorities as culprits for the crisis. These conservative movements present themselves as the “silent majority”, as opposed to corrupt international elites who are trying to impose perversion on the normal people. Their populist strategy involves the use of referendums, as seen in Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia and Romania.

In the context of anti-gender movements, Croatia shares some similarities with other European countries but also features some specific differences. The post-conflict context of Croatia in the 1990s was characterised by a state-building project which positioned Catholicism as the core element of Croatian national identity construction. During the war, Croatia was supported by the Catholic Church, and the Vatican was among the first states to recognize Croatian independence. After the end of the war, the Vatican Agreements were signed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Republic of Croatia. According to the last population census in 2011¹, 86.28% of the Croatian population identifies as Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church has a powerful influence on the public discourse in Croatia, including the support of most parties. The Catholic Church has been very active in Croatian social and political life since the 1990s by pushing for various actions which promote its values (such as: the non-working Sunday; punishment for the crimes committed in the socialist era; introducing religious education at all institutional levels of education (in preschools, primary and secondary schools, and higher education institutions); protection of marriage as the union of “a man and a woman”; opposing LGBT rights, abortion, euthanasia, natural methods of family planning and the treatment of infertility; and opposing artificial birth control methods (Galić, 2018: 214). The war period in the 1990s was also a shift from state socialism to capitalism. The privatization enabled the creation of so-called “new elite”, consisting of former company directors (who bought socially owned enterprises), state banks and a small number of entrepreneurs, which caused public indignation (Čengić, 1996: 550). Women were the first to be laid off during the transition period and they went back to their traditional roles of home makers (Kamenov & Galić, 2011: 19). Since gender equality was a strong ideological point in the former Yugoslavia, conservative actors connected to the Catholic Church, and the Church itself, tried to “bring back” the traditional Catholic values by destroying the socialist legacy of gender equality

¹ Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics, population census of 2011, www.dzs.hr/

and, in consequence, devaluing women's lives and social conditions. In the Socialist Republic of Croatia before the 1990s, women constituted 16% to 18% of representatives in the government; in 1990s, they constituted only 4.7% of representatives in the Croatian parliament (Kamenov & Galić, 2011: 17). According to the last available data² for the year 2016, women constituted 12.6% representatives in the Croatian parliament.

The retraditionalization, signifying the post-1990s period in Croatia, also included attacks on the reproductive rights, as seen in the recent request for rewriting the abortion law from 1974 which guaranteed women's right of free choice in family planning. One of the new conservative religious organisations ("*Vigilare*") drafted a new legislative proposal on abortion legislation, requesting a total abortion ban and organizing "28 days of prayers for the unborn children" in front of hospitals, which was inconceivable in former Yugoslavia. Many doctors have proclaimed their religious conscience exemption as a reason for not performing abortions in public hospitals, but many of them perform abortions in their private practices (Mrvoš Pavić, 2017). The timing went hand in hand with the current wave of right-wing populism taking place in Europe and in Croatia. The Church's collective identity building and ardent anti-communism were perfectly aligned with the politics of the Croatian ruling party, Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). This issue will be addressed later in this paper.

New conservative religious movements first appeared in the public spotlight in 2013 when the religious organization "*U ime obitelji*" ("In the name of the family"), supported by the Catholic Church, prompted the call for a referendum to define marriage as a union between a man and a woman in the Croatian Constitution. What is interesting is that this initiative came as a response to the legalizations of same-sex marriages in Great Britain and France even though such proposal was not on any political agenda in Croatia. This was the first referendum where citizens were voting directly on a constitutional provision in Croatia. The votes for the referendum were collected in front of the churches and the ambiguous political slogans, such as: "Let's protect the traditional family", drew enough votes for the referendum to be held. Despite the low turnout of voters,³ the referendum passed with the majority vote for the provision. Nevertheless, the Civil Partnership Act was passed the same year, enabling same-sex partners to obtain their rights through the civil union but without the right to adopt. Currently, there is a dispute over the Foster Parenting Act which excludes same-sex couples.

2. OPPOSING THE ISTANBUL CONVENTION

The Church has lobbied against the ratification of the Istanbul Convention, especially bothered by the positioning of domestic violence as gender-based violence which highlights the historical oppression of women as well as the social construction of gender (Pavičić, 2017). The connection between new conservative religious groups in Croatia, such as *U ime obitelji* (In the name of the family) and *Vigilare*, and issues of sexual violence can be seen in their involvement with the legal system in which they try to imprint their "values", presenting themselves as a silent majority as opposed to the corrupt elites (e.g. EU, Soros, Free Masons, Jews, and feminists). This follows similar trends of retraditionalisation and strengthening of

² Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics, Women and Men in Croatia, 2018, www.dzs.hr/

³ According to the Croatian State Electoral Committee, only 37.40% of the Croatian population voted in the referendum.

the right-wing and religious organizations in the Eastern and Central European countries (Kovats, 2017: 55). Although the Convention was ratified in April 2018, misinformation about the Convention and rallying cries against it kept spreading across newspapers and social media in Croatia. The term “gender ideology” was used as a way of demonizing gender equality ideas and positioning them as a threat to the traditional Croatian Catholic family. This term was not specific just to Croatia but was used in countries across the world. It is substantiated by the explanations of Paternotte and Kuhar (2017: 14) about travelling strategies of the anti-gender initiatives and how certain anti-gender campaigns travelled from the U.S to Eastern and Central Europe. Likewise, since these organizations are backed up by U.S financially and ideologically, some of the discourses were imported from the U.S (Pavic, 2018), such as the fear of men deciding to become women and enter women’s restrooms. Recent journalistic research has shown that *Vigilare* is also connected to the Polish ultra-conservative organisations (Brakus, 2018). Supporters of such organizations and their activities are members of the clergy, war veterans, far-right politicians and their supporters. The religiousness and traditionalism in their discourse are usually coupled with nationalism, anti-communism and chauvinism, which will be explicated further on in this paper.

The issue of relevance for this research is how the term “gender” is redefined and how the invented negative term “gender ideology” is used to manipulate the Croatian public by drawing away the attention from the victims of sexual violence and the problems within the legal system. The meaning of “gender ideology” has changed over the years to serve a particular agenda. For example, in 2016, it was used to obstruct the introduction of health care and sexual education in Croatian schools by claiming that “gender ideology” will be introduced in schools to normalise homosexuality and make children gay. In 2017, during the process of public debate on the issue of the ratification of the Istanbul Convention, it was claimed that “gender ideology” was smuggled in the Convention and it would allow children to choose their own gender. The political homophobia became political transphobia, continuing its scapegoating of the LGBT population.

On the rare occasions when sexual violence was discussed, the public discourse was plagued by rape myths, stereotypical views of gender roles and victim-blaming. Rape myths refer to a range of common beliefs and convictions surrounding the issue of rape: that rapes are only committed by strangers in dark alleys, that the victim did something to provoke the rapist and thus contributed to her/his own victimization, that there is no such thing as a marital rape, and that women often falsely report rape.

The discourse of “gender ideology” was looming in all the debates surrounding the ratification of the Istanbul Convention. There were even some claims that Croatia does not need such a convention since we have all of its mechanisms already prescribed in our laws (Kovačević Barišić, 2018). Claiming that Croatia does not need such a convention can be seen as taking the easy way out of the debate. The Istanbul Convention explains the *gender-based violence* as the basis for its protective mechanisms and educational reforms, which is the term that “triggered” the conservative uproar. But this uproar came at the specific time since the Convention was signed by Croatia in 2013 and, back then, there was no such outcry over the term “gender”.

2.1. Balkanism, victimhood and sovereignty

In 2018, the initiative called “Croatian against the Istanbul Convention” organized a demonstration against the Istanbul Convention, gathering around 5,000 protesters (as

estimated by the police) while the organizers claimed there were 70,000 protesters present. To unpack some of the discourses being used around the ratification, the author of this article draws upon the critical discourse analysis (CDA), which can be defined as a “critical perspective on unequal social arrangements sustained through language use, with the goals of social transformation and emancipation” (Lazar, 2005: 1). The CDA is concerned with uncovering the hidden or embedded power relations in discursive practices, the establishment of dominance and discrepancy in discourse, the ideological background of discourse and connection of discourse with societal changes (Fairclough, 1995, 2001, 2003; T. A. van Dijk, 1993). The symbols and messages of the protests were filled with nationalistic slogans and speeches calling to “preserve Croatia’s sovereignty and values” and proclaiming that “Europe had no mercy while there were killings in Croatia and now [it] wants to conquer us with the velvetiness of the Convention” (N.C., 2018).

In this sense, the last sentence evokes a powerful imagery of the war in the 1990s and the killings during the war. The official⁴ Croatian nationalistic narrative (such as the “The Homeland War” and in some cases “Greater Serbian Aggression on Croatia”) refers to the wartime period. The discourse used in the statement clearly points to the killings of Croatian victims in this war (as opposed to the Serbian or Bosnian ones, or victims of any other ethnicity), further bolstering the idea of innocence and victimhood. Furthermore, there is a clear power relation between Croatia and Europe since Europe is positioned as “having no mercy” to prevent the killings in Croatia and now wants to conquer with a convention. This discourse of resisting so-called colonization from the European Union is not new and it was seen in the 2012 protests to Croatia entering the EU;⁵ but, in that case, the right-wing party HDZ strongly supported the accession process; as the ruling parliamentary party, it influenced the change of the constitutional provision⁶ on the referendum rules for fear that the idea of joining the EU would not be supported by a sufficient number of voters. The main narrative used by politicians back then was the idea that Croatia never really belonged to the Western Balkans and that it would finally come to its rightful place by entering the EU. A similar narrative was expressed during the ratification of the Convention, as the current Prime Minister Andrej Plenković, who played the crucial role in the ratification, opposed several members of his own HDZ party and the bishops of the Catholic Church. Plenković distanced himself from the “backward” (Balkan) far-right conservatives and presented himself as a moderate (Pro-European) and right-wing centrist, thus pleasing the voters from the center of the political spectrum and winning over some of the voters from the disappointed centre left.

Here, the author stresses the interplay between the Balkan/European dichotomy and self-colonizing discourse underpinning both identities, viewing the Balkan as backwards (Todorova, 2009: 288) and (Western) Europe as progressive, making them at the same time “floating signifiers”. For Hall (1999), a floating signifier refers to a term without a fixed meaning, and he used the example of the race to illustrate it. The skin color does not have a fixed meaning; its significance and social status changes depend on the different cultures (Hall, 1999: 8). In this context, the floating signifiers are the Balkan and the EU. For conservative, anti-gender and Catholic press, the European Union and its “liberal” and

⁴ The “official” narrative implies that the terms are used in the official historical records, history schoolbooks, laws and by-laws.

⁵ RTV B92 (January 2012). Zagreb: Protest against the EU, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dViCrTaTpBc/>

⁶ The HDZ abolished the condition that referendum is valid if there is absolute majority of votes (50% of the total number of voters plus one voter)

decadent values will erode the traditional Croatian catholic heterosexual families, while the liberal leftist press places emphasis on moving away from the savage Balkan towards the European civility and progress. In the same way, the term “Balkan”, usually used in a derogative way, can be used as an excuse and justification of violence of men based on their Balkan masculinity and their “Balkan blood and passion” (Luketic, 2013: 24). The anti-EU rhetoric of conservative religious actors and the Catholic Church serves as a narrative against the privatization of religion by engaging lay believers to publicly proclaim their faith by mimicking progressive movements (such as the Pride Parade) and by using new technologies to get organized, especially social media networks.

2.2. Against equality and the patriarchal bargain

Several Catholic priests issued statements to the press (Golemac, 2016) that “women are being disobedient by always asking for their rights while it is God’s truth that men come first while women come second. One bishop proclaimed that “Jesus Christ is the best protection against domestic violence” (B, 2018). Even though the language of the clergy and the anti-gender movements is focused on morality, family and culture, the involvement of such rhetoric in the Istanbul Convention ratification process was a political one (Korolczuk & Graff, 2018: 799). However, the irony is that many Catholic shelters for battered women are entitled to obtain funding under the Convention, but none of them issued a statement saying they will refuse the money.

Both the clergy and lay believers instrumental in organizing and speaking against the Convention perceive or rather construct gender as a threat to the sex binary and naturalise different social roles for men and women. Their discourse relies on the exemplification of the binary of male-female difference and perpetuates patriarchal family as natural and “pre-political” (Peterson, 1999: 40).

Numerous women are visible in the new religious movement, even profiling themselves as leaders, such as Željka Markić from the conservative organisation “*U ime obitelji*” (In the name of the family) and Rozalija Bartolić, from the Association of Widows of Croatian War Veterans and the spokesperson for the initiative “Croatia against the Istanbul Convention.” At first glance, their activities might be perceived as being detrimental to their own interests as women in Croatia; but, as Kandiyoti (1988) explains, in an attempt to maximize their own strength and potential, women reinstate the patriarchal bargain; they adhere to and comply with patriarchal norms, adopting gender roles that are harmful to all women. In that sense, antifeminism expressed by these women aligns them with men, which makes them worthy of protection, and also provides scapegoats (feminists) on whom men can pinpoint their current alienation and dissatisfaction (Kandiyoti, 1988: 284).

Croatian media reported on the protests against the Istanbul Convention in Zagreb (2018), whose messages are clearly illustrated by the slogans “Stop Istanbul Convention, for sovereign Croatia” and “Against the violence of the leftist NGOs”.⁷ In this context, violence against women (which is the focal point of the Istanbul Convention) was replaced with violence against the leftist NGOs which support the ratification of the Convention which would destabilize traditional Croatian values by introducing “gender ideology.” By regarding language as a social practice, and uncovering the reproduction of social inequalities

⁷ Maxportal.hr (2018): Protests against the Istanbul Convention in Zagreb, published 24 March 2018, <https://www.maxportal.hr/vijesti/ulice-su-zakrcene-oko-20-tisuca-ljudi-na-prosvjedu-protiv-istanbulske-konvencije/> (accessed 5 February 2019).

as well as the power relations in and over the discourse, it is possible to describe, interpret and explain the real meaning which is hidden in the text (Fairclough, 2001: 125). Concerning the main banner, Croatian sovereignty is conflated with Catholic dogma presenting the issue of the ratification as a threat to the Catholic moral integrity not on the individual level but as a moral threat to the whole nation (Martin, 2000: 78).

2.3. The media and the myth of two equal sides

Feminist NGO and women's organizations are tired of arguing that there is no such thing as "gender ideology" and that the Convention does not mention the rights of transgender people, but the public discourse has already been plagued by the invented scarecrow of "gender ideology." The Croatian Academy of Science and Arts issued a statement where they disparaged the Convention, claiming that it consists of "ideologically controversial formulations" and that "gender ideology is unacceptable for the Croatian educational system" (HINA, 2017). With these statements, they have further legitimized such discourse and blurred the differentiation between science and dogma. In turn, the Croatian Sociological Association issued a statement explaining the term "gender" and its sociological and historical scientific background, but the political power of the moral panic was too strong to be escaped. Alongside the ratification of the Convention, the Prime Minister and the Government issued an "interpretative statement", explaining that Croatia is not obligated to introduce "gender ideology" in its educational system. The CDA views discourse as a social practice and has an implicit political inclination towards advocacy for oppressed and discriminated groups by uncovering the power dynamics hidden in the discourse (Fairclough, 2001; Teun A Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). Drawing upon that, the "interpretative statement" can be disseminated in two ways: as an acknowledgment and reproduction of the power that the idea of "gender ideology" has over the narrative concerning the Convention, and as a political strategy to please the anti-gender actors and the Church by legitimizing their power over the discourse. In both cases, the truly discriminated and oppressed groups in Croatia (such as minority groups, LGBT population, and victims of domestic and sexual violence) are effectively silenced. The media contributed greatly to the myth of two equal sides, by overrepresenting the religious activists' opinions and the Catholic Church attitudes, and by presenting all the opinions and attitudes as equally valuable and relevant. The liberal configuration of free speech allowed all kinds of opinions to proliferate in the public without any given measure to critically evaluate those opinions.

In the media debate⁸ on the issue of abortion, N1 Television decided to confront a gynaecologist, dr. Jasenka Grujić Koračin, and a Catholic activist, Katarina Kovačević. A Croatian newspaper (Jutarnji list, 2018)⁹ which reported on this TV duel presented the debate as having a clear-cut binary opposition: "For and Against". In the middle of the debate, while the gynaecologist was explaining the complexities of interdependence between the mother and the fetus, and the lack of scientific consensus on the beginning of life, the abortion opponent stated: "I am a layperson and I do not understand half of the things you said. The scientific things are not based on the truth." The gynecologist replied: "God's revelation is not

⁸ N1 television, „TNT abortion duel“, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hve4kV1e_5I, published on 30 September 2018

⁹ Jutarnji List (2018): Abortion Debate on N1 Television, published 30 Sept. 2018, available at <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/protivnica-pobacaja-laik-sam-i-pola-stvari-vas-uopce-ne-razumijem-znanstvene-stvari-nisu-temeljene-na-istini-ginekologinja-bozja-objava-nije-istina/7888650/> (accessed 5.2. 2019).

the truth.” By presenting both sides as having a relevant opinion on the matter of abortion, the media contributed to the confusion among laypeople and the general public about science and scientific knowledge. In this case, even if N1 had confronted a religious gynecologist with a non-religious one, the issue at hand would still be the blurring of the difference between personal attitudes and religious standpoints (on the one hand) and scientific reasoning behind medical decisions and services (on the other hand). The fact that Croatia is a secular country, as defined in the Constitution, makes no bearing on the media’s decision to heavily report on the opinions and statements of lay believers and clergy on social and political questions.

The myth of two equal sides has roots in the nation-stated building process and the historical revisionism. Since the 1990s, once marginal idea that the NDH¹⁰ and the Ustashe¹¹ regime was a valid claim for Croatian independence managed to find its way to the mainstream through right-wing historians, politicians, professors and writers, including the support of Catholic Church in Croatia. The relativization of the Ustashe crimes and insisting on the idea that Tito and the Communist Party in former Yugoslavia committed equal, if not bigger, atrocities can be seen in the continuous disputes over the number of victims in Jasenovac, a concentration camp in the region of Slavonia. It should come as no surprise that a recent research on the youth attitudes on radicalism shows that young people in Croatia consider that radical activities include conservative movements, such as those advocating for the abortion ban, as well as liberal movements’ advocacy for gender and LGBT rights (Bačić, 2019); the researchers explain this stance by referring to the historical “equalization” (*atonement and relativization*) of the traditional ideological divide between the two historically opposed sides: the partisans and the ustashe.

In a similar way, violence against women is relativized in the media. After the initial public outrage against media reports, a woman’s life is scrutinized to find an explanation for the violence she sustained, and her every statement or alleged interaction is under suspicion. In literature, it is designated as “the unrepresentability of trauma” (Kilby, 2007: 20) and the problem of interpreting a traumatic narrative from a non-survivor standpoint. In that sense, trauma-specific behaviour can be used as a weapon against the victims by raising suspicion about their credibility, which brings the exoneration of the perpetrators (Taylor, 2004: 264).

The myth about treacherous women who falsely report men still lurks somewhere in the collective consciousness. Taylor (2004: 258) explains that the relationship between the law and psychiatry is based on the Freud’s family dysfunction theory which helped position children and women as fabricators of abuse and sexual provocateurs. Also, the cases of sexual and domestic violence are presented in the media as individual rather than structural and societal problems. For commercial media, the “shock value” from the reports on abuse and violence is a media commodity (Kilby, 2007: 119). Mainstream media naturalise inequality “by individualising social dysfunction and blaming the victims for their own alienation” (Richardson, 2007: 142). The history of repression and silencing women’s experiences of abuse and suffering is routinely repeated through patriarchal institutions and instruments. The public articulation of sexual violence comes at the expense of societal denunciation, rejection and even retaliation. As Taylor (2004: 284)

¹⁰ Nezavisna Država Hrvatska NDH (the Independent State of Croatia) was a fascist puppet state of Italy and Germany established during the Second World War, responsible for the mass murder of Serbs, Jews, Roma and Croats who opposed the regime.

¹¹ The Ustashe was a Croatian fascist, racist, ultranationalist and terrorist organization that came to power in the NDH.

derives from Goffman's concept of "non-person" (1961), victims and survivors of sexual abuse can suffer from multiple forms of "social death" since they can be renounced by their family, community, professionals and the legal system.

3. CONCLUSION

In this paper, the author has tackled different but related issues. First, the paper provided a brief history and background of the new religious movements and their involvement in the process of retraditionalization. Croatia's (un)happy union with the Catholic Church was explained to emphasize the symbolic and actual power they had over the discourse on the ratification of the Istanbul Convention. In this paper and in the research, the author applied the critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method and critical approach to analyze social problems, specifically retraditionalization and sexual violence, exploring them as a product of a historical and geopolitical context and revealing the power dynamics that contribute to the relativization of violence through discourse. To fully understand the scope and different needs and experiences of victims and survivors, there is a pressing need for a more systematic, qualitative as well as quantitative trauma-informed research on the issue of sexual violence. An ideal kind of research would focus on the socially constructed conditions of a neoliberal patriarchal culture which allows and reinforces abuse of women, as well as on proposing a radical tool for changing the social conditions in every area of women's lives. There is also a pressing need for more qualitative research on the topic of new religious movements and their political influence on the de-secularization of the society through democratic means. These new conservative and religious movements in Croatia, as well as in other countries, pose a threat to gender equality and a challenge to the progressive politics of the left.

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SEKSUALNO NASILJE I NOVI OBLICI RELIGIOZNOG TRADICIONALIZMA U POST-KONFLIKTNOM HRVATSKOM POLITIČKOM KONTEKSTU

Ovaj rad će se fokusirati na seksualno nasilje i nove oblike religioznog tradicionalizma koji se pojavljuju u hrvatskom političkom kontekstu i njihovu interpretaciju pojma roda. Krićna analiza diskursa kao metodološki okvir koristiti će se za istraživanje rasprava oko ratifikacije Istanbulske konvencije (Konvencije o sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u obitelji) 2018. godine u Hrvatskoj. Religijske konzervativne organizacije počele su često koristiti pojam "rodne ideologije" kako bi stvorile strah, konfuziju i moralnu paniku u javnom diskursu vezano za ratifikaciju. Prema njihovim tumačenjima, "rodna ideologija" u Istanbulske konvenciji prokrijumčarena je kako bi se uništila tradicionalna hrvatska katolička heteroseksualna obitelj, omogućivši deci da sami biraju spol. Hrvatska je doživela značajne promene od raspada Jugoslavije devedesetih godina, odbacujući svoje socijalističko nasljeđe uz potporu Katoličke crkve i njezinu čvrstu antikomunističku retoriku koja nastoji poništiti bilo kakav napredak u smislu ravnopravnosti spolova postignutog tokom socijalizma. Istraživanje seksualnog nasilja iz intersekcijskog feminističkog okvira predstavlja izazov u klimi u kojoj je konzervativni diskurs preuzeo svaku raspravu o seksualnom nasilju u javnoj sferi osporavajući sam pojam roda čineći ga upitnom kategorijom društvene analize. Iako je Hrvatska ratificirala Istanbulske konvencije u travnju 2018. godine, Vlada je izdala "interpretativnu izjavu" dodatno legitimirajući pojam "rodne ideologije".

Ključne reči: seksualno nasilje, religiozni tradicionalizam, rodna ideologija

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