



Sodobni vojaški izzivi

Contemporary Military Challenges

Znanstveno-strokovna publikacija Slovenske vojske

ISSN 2463-9575
September 2016 – 18/št. 3



REPUBLIKA SLOVENIJA
MINISTRSTVO ZA OBRAMBO
GENERALŠTAB SLOVENSKE VOJSKE

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ŽENSKE, MIR IN VARNOST
OB 15. OBLETNICI SPREJETJA
RESOLUCIJE VARNOSTNEGA
SVETA ORGANIZACIJE
ZDRUŽENIH NARODOV 1325

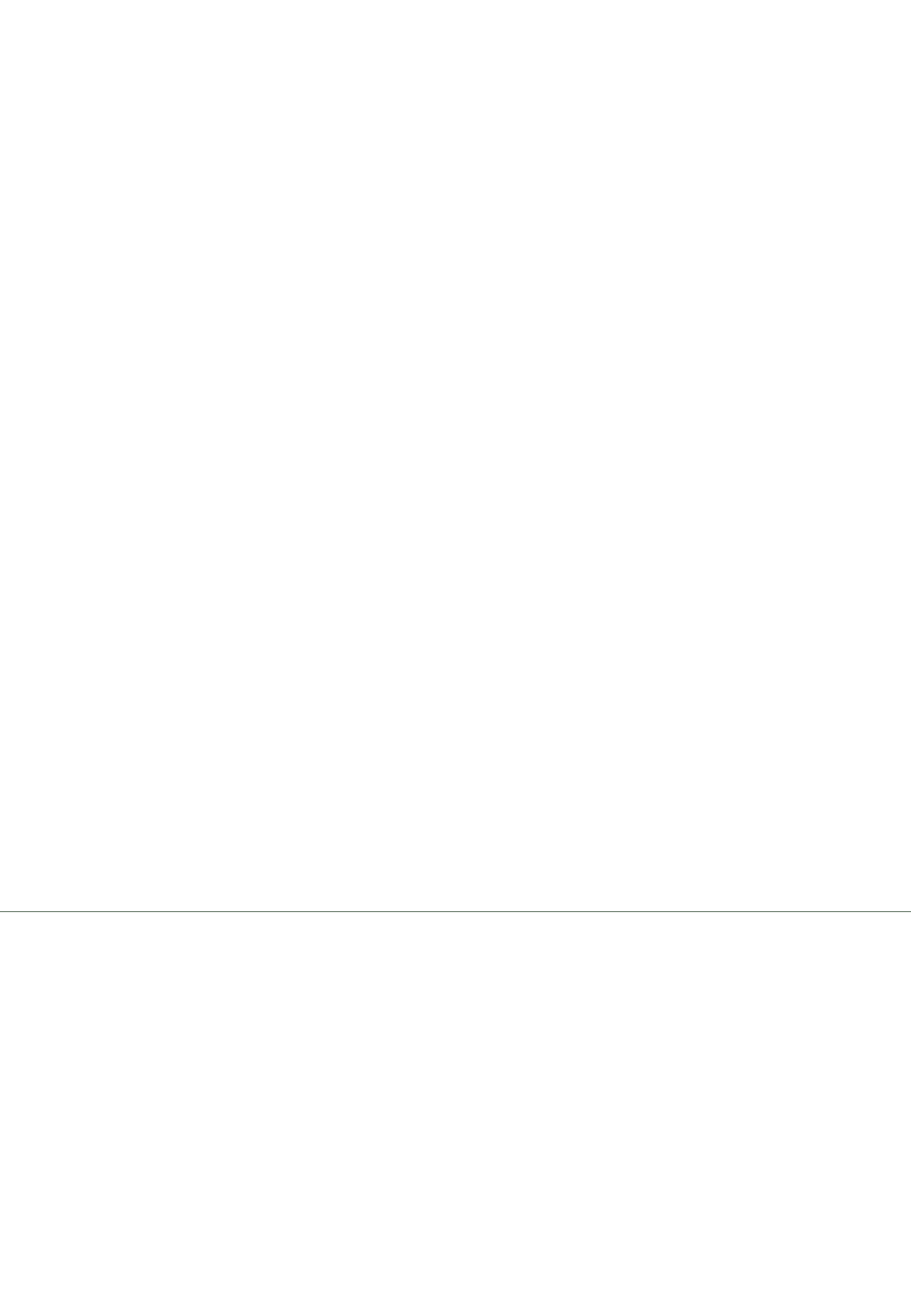
*»Ženske nosijo glavno breme vojne,
medtem ko poskušajo obdržati družine in skupnosti skupaj.«*

*Jody Williams, dobitnica Nobelove nagrade za mir;
Ženske za mir (Women for Peace), 2016*

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY
ON THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY
OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 1325

*“Women bear the brunt of war
while trying to keep families and communities together”.*

*Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Prize laureate,
Women for Peace, 2016*



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UVODNIK

ŽENSKE, MIR IN VARNOST OB 15. OBLETNICI SPREJETJA RESOLUCIJE VARNOSTNEGA SVETA ORGANIZACIJE ZDRUŽENIH NARODOV 1325

31. oktobra 2000 je Varnostni svet Organizacije Združenih narodov (OZN) sprejel Resolucijo 1325¹ o ženskah, miru in varnosti. Sledile so ji še druge (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122 in 2422), ki poudarjajo nesorazmeren vpliv vojn in konfliktov na ženske in otroke ter osvetljujejo dejstvo, da so bile ženske zgodovinsko vedno na obrobju mirovnih procesov in stabilizacijskih naporov. Poudarjajo pomembno vlogo žensk pri preprečevanju in reševanju konfliktov, v mirovnih pogajanjih, pri graditvi miru ter humanitarnih in pokonfliktnih aktivnostih. Resolucija 1325 poziva države članice, naj vključijo vidik spola v načrtovanje, priprave in usposabljanje za mirovne misije ter v sisteme obveščanja in programe OZN, predvsem naj zaščitijo ženske in deklice v oboroženih spopadih. Resolucijo je sprejela tudi naša država in Slovenska vojska jo je kot obvezno čtivo vgradila v programe usposabljanja in priprave slovenskih kontingentov, ki sodelujejo v mednarodnih operacijah in na misijah.

V Sloveniji sta po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 izšla dva zbornika, namenjena ženskam v oboroženih silah. Prvi je nastal leta 1995, pet let pred resolucijo OZN. Njegova urednica je bila Zorica Bukinac, založilo ga je Ministrstva za obrambo, naslov pa je *Ženske v oboroženih silah*. Leta 2002 je nastal drugi. Urednici sta bili Ljubica Jelušič in Mojca Pešec, moči so združili Obramboslovni raziskovalni center Fakultete za družbene vede, Ministrstvo za obrambo in Generalštab SV. V prvem zborniku smo dobili prvi opis ženskih izkušenj iz SV ter poglede domačih in tujih avtorjev na vlogo žensk v oboroženih silah. V drugem so bili z vidikov tradicije, kulture in vzorcev spolnih vlog predstavljeni omejevalni dejavniki pri vključevanju žensk v oborožene sile ter analiza deleža žensk in dolžnosti, ki jih opravljajo v SV.

¹ V izvorniku *Security Council Resolution on Women Peace and Security, 1325*.

Večje vključevanje žensk v oborožene sile še vedno vzbuja veliko pozornosti in vprašanj. Izkušnje številnih držav so zelo različne, veliko je pozitivnih, pa tudi negativnih.

Leta 2015 je minilo 15 let od nastanka Resolucije 1325 o ženskah, miru in varnosti, 20 let od nastanka prvega zbornika in 13 let od nastanka drugega. V uredniškem odboru smo želeli s tematsko številko preveriti, kaj je novega na področju resolucije doma in po svetu, in to objaviti. K sodelovanju smo povabili podpolkownico dr. Suzano Tkavc, svetovalko na področju vidika spola v Generalštabu SV, imenovano tudi za koordinatorico za enakost spolov na Ministrstvu za obrambo in nacionalno predstavnico v Natovem odboru za vidik spola. Z združenimi močmi je nastala številka, ki je pred vami.

Pablo Castillo Díaz, ki je zaposlen v Organizaciji združenih narodov, je pripravil članek z naslovom *Pripadnice oboroženih sil v mirovnih operacijah in politika Resolucije 1325 Varnostnega sveta OZN*. V njem z nami deli svoj strokovni pogled in izkušnje z vidika resolucije o ženskah, miru in varnosti, pri čemer s poudarkom na mednarodnih operacijah in misijah opozarja na prednosti in pomanjkljivosti resolucije.

Garry McKeon je napisal članek z naslovom *Boljši državljani – usposabljanje s področja humanitarnosti in spola EUTM Somalija*. Avtor je več kot 30 let pripadnik Irskih oboroženih sil, med drugim je sodeloval tudi na misiji v Somaliji. Njegove izkušnje pri usposabljanju za uresničevanje Resolucije 1325 so zelo zanimive, saj gre za kulturno okolje, ki se precej razlikuje od našega.

V članku z naslovom *Nekatere dobre prakse s področja vidika spola in uresničevanja Resolucije VS OZN 1325 v 25-letnem obdobju SV* avtorice **Suzane Tkavc** dobimo vpogled v obravnavo vidika spola v obdobju samostojnosti slovenske države, predvsem s poudarkom na oboroženih silah in njihovih aktivnostih v mednarodnih operacijah in na misijah. Kako dobro smo se pri tem izkazali glede na predstavnice in predstavnike vojsk drugih držav?

Dosežki in stališča pri izvajanju Resolucije VS OZN 1325 na Ministrstvu za obrambo in v Vojski Srbije je naslov članka avtoric **Jovanke Šaranović, Brankice Potkonjak-Lukić** in **Tatjane Višacki**. V Srbiji so si za uresničevanje Resolucije 1325 zelo prizadevali, saj je področje vključeno v nacionalni akcijski načrt. Pri tem sodeluje veliko različnih državnih organov in drugih nevladnih ustanov. Avtorice v članku ugotavljajo, kako uspešni so pri tem.

V članku z naslovom *Analiza in ocena Resolucije VS OZN 1325 – kakšna so priporočila za priložnosti v prihodnje* nas **Jane Derbyshire** seznanja s pogledom na področje resolucije in z izkušnjami z vidika Obrambnih sil Nove Zelandije. So te zelo drugačne od izkušenj drugih držav? Avtorica meni, da je zdaj čas za spremembe.

V primerjavi z večino avtorjev, ki so predstavniki oboroženih sil ali pa so z njimi neposredno povezani, je **Nadja Furlan Štante** članek z naslovom *Ženske v oboroženih silah: med nasiljem in ranljivostjo* napisala z drugačnega vidika. Specializirana za religijske in ženske študije izhaja iz bioloških, zgodovinskih, religijskih in drugih vidikov, hkrati pa upošteva tudi ugotovitve, prakso in dela avtorjev, ki pišejo o področjih obrambe in oboroženih sil.

Verjamemo, da smo s to tematsko številko posredovali nove izkušnje in prispevali poglede v dinamičen mozaik vidika spola, spodbudili koga k branju in morda tudi k pisanju.

EDITORIAL

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

On 31 October 2000, the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. This resolution was followed by others (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122 and 2422), which stress the disproportionate impact of wars and conflicts on women and children, and highlight the fact that, historically speaking, women have always been on the margins of peace processes and stabilisation efforts. They underline the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, in peace negotiations, peace building and humanitarian and post-conflict activities. Resolution 1325 calls upon member states to integrate gender perspective into UN plans and programmes, but mainly to protect women and girls in armed conflicts. The Resolution was also adopted by the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovenian Armed Forces has included it into pre-deployment training of Slovenian contingents as required reading.

After 1991, when Slovenia became independent, two journals on women in the military have been published. The first one was published in 1995, five years prior to the UN Resolution. It was edited by Zorica Bukinac and published by the Ministry of Defence under the title of *Ženske v oboroženih silah* (Women in the military). The second journal was produced in 2002. It was edited by Ljubica Jelušič and Mojca Pešec and published by a joint effort of the Defence Research Centre of the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana, the Ministry of Defence and the SAF General Staff. The former journal provides the first account of the experiences of female SAF members, and the views of Slovenian and foreign authors on the role of women in the military. The latter uses traditions, culture and gender-role patterns to present the limiting factors of the integration of women in the military, and provides an analysis of the share of women and the duties they perform in the SAF.

Greater integration of women in the military still raises much attention and a number of questions. The experiences vary importantly across countries. A number of them are positive, but there are also the negative ones.

2015 marked 15 years since the adoption of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, 20 years since the publishing of the first journal, and 13 years since the publishing of the other. With this thematic issue, the Editorial Board wished to learn about the novelties regarding the Resolution in Slovenia and abroad, and publish them. We invited Lieutenant Colonel Suzana Tkavc, PhD, Gender Advisor at SAF General Staff, appointed coordinator of the MoD for Gender Equality and national representative in the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives to participate. The issue in front of us is the result of our joint efforts.

Pablo Castillo Díaz, who works in the United Nations Organisation, wrote the article *Military women in peacekeeping missions and the politics of UN Security Council Resolution 1325*. He shares with us his expert view and experiences regarding the Resolution on Women, Peace and Security. By focusing on international operations and missions, he draws attention to the advantages and disadvantages of the Resolution.

Garry McKeon wrote an article titled *Better citizens – humanitarian and gender training, EUTM Somalia*. The author has been member of the Irish Defence Forces for over 30 years and has also been deployed in a mission in Somalia. His experiences regarding training in the implementation of Resolution 1325 are very interesting, since they concern a cultural setting, which is substantially different from ours.

In her article *Some of the best practices in gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the 25 years of Slovenian armed forces*, **Suzana Tkavc** provides an insight into gender perspective in the 25 years of Slovenia's independence with a special emphasis on the armed forces and their activities in international operations and missions. How well did Slovenia do compared to female and male representatives of other armed forces?

Jovanka Šaranović, Brankica Potkonjak-Lukić and Tatjana Višacki are the authors of the article *Achievements and perspectives of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces*. Serbia invested important effort into the implementation of Resolution 1325, since this subject matter is included in the national action plan, which includes a number of different state authorities and other non-governmental institutions. In their article, the authors determine how successful they were in this mission.

In the article titled *An analysis and critique of the UNSCR 1325 – what are recommendations for future opportunities?* **Jane Derbyshire** acquaints us with the perspective and experiences of the New Zealand Defence Force regarding the

Resolution. Are they very different from the experiences of other countries? The author believes that time has come for changes.

Unlike the majority of the authors, who are members of armed forces or are directly related to them, **Nadja Furlan Štante** wrote her article *Women in military system: between violence and vulnerability* from a different perspective. She specialises in religion and women's studies and as such bases her writing on biological, historical, religious and other aspects, also taking into consideration the findings, practice and works of the authors who write about defence and the military.

We believe that with this themed issue we have passed on new experiences and added some views to the mosaic of gender perspective, encouraged you to read or maybe even write.

UVODNIK

RESOLUCIJA 1325 IN VLOGA VIDIKA SPOLA

V mednarodnem prostoru je v zadnjem času opazno vse bolj intenzivno dogajanje v povezavi z uresničevanjem Resolucije Varnostnega sveta Organizacije združenih narodov 1325 in z njo povezanih resolucij. Iz leta v leto je organiziranih več mednarodnih dogodkov na temo žensk, miru in varnosti, razvijajo se programi izobraževanj in usposabljanj ter konceptualni okviri vidika spola, oblikujejo se tudi sistemske rešitve, tako v mednarodnih organizacijah kot v nacionalnih strukturah. Med takšnimi sta imenovanje ambasadorjev za ženske, mir in varnost ter uvajanje svetovalcev za vidik spola. Generalštab Slovenske vojske je v preteklem letu ustanovil delovno mesto svetovalca za to področje. Kot strokovna nosilka za področje vidika spola v SV sem vesela, da je bil prepoznan pomen agende o ženskah, miru in varnosti ter da smo z angažiranjem strokovnjakov in ob podpori vodilnih uspeli izdati publikacijo na akademsko-strokovni ravni. Hvaležna sem za prispevke sodelavcev iz mednarodnega prostora, ki so se odzvali povabilu in delijo z nami svoje poglede, rešitve in izkušnje. To je namreč bistvena vrednost te publikacije: deliti pomeni skrbeti (sharing is caring). Izbira tem ponuja uresničevanje resolucije in vidika spola od mednarodne ravni prek nacionalnih rešitev do uresničevanja v MOM. Čeprav je resolucija obširno razložena v prispevkih avtorjev, želim za bolj celostno razumevanje uvodoma z vami deliti še nekaj ključnih povezovalnih dejavnikov med resolucijo in vidikom spola. Pri tem izhajam iz konceptualnih rešitev mednarodnih organizacij ter svoje vključitve v Natov odbor za vidike spola, kar omogoča širjenje obzorij, razvoj stroke, sproža nova razmišljanja v iskanju rešitev in prenos idej v delovanje SV.

Resolucija 1325 pomeni mejnik v vlogi žensk pri preprečevanju in reševanju spopadov, mirovni procesih, humanitarnem odzivu ter pokonfliktni obnovi. Govori o treh med seboj povezanih dejavnikih: ženskah, miru in varnosti. Ni varnosti brez miru in ni miru brez varnega okolja. Prav tako ni miru in varnosti brez vključitve celotne

populacije v obravnavo. V preteklosti so bile namreč ženske pogosto izključene iz mirovnih procesov. Vključitev pretežno le enega vidika vodi do spoznanja, da bodo tako verjetno sprejete delne rešitve.

V 15 letih od sprejetja resolucije 1325 so dogajanja ob naraščajočih asimetričnih grožnjah v kompleksnem varnostnem okolju pripeljala do potrebe po celovitejših pristopih zagotavljanja varnosti in miru v svetu. O številnih dejstvih, ki so bila v preteklosti prezrta, se je v mednarodnem prostoru v tem času začelo resno razpravljati pri iskanju rešitev. Oboroženi spopad in obdobje po njem imata drugačen vpliv na ženske kot na moške, poleg tega sta delovanje moških in žensk v takšnih razmerah lahko različna ali pa tudi enaka, vendar v družbi različno sprejeta zaradi družbeno pogojenih zaznav. Lahko bi poudarili, da v zvezi s tem ne govorimo o biološko določenem spolu, ki je podan ob rojstvu, temveč o družbeno pogojenih značilnostih med spoloma, ki so oblikovane v neki družbi in kulturi ter določajo vloge med spoloma. Spol se tako izraža v naši realnosti, na primer: medtem ko je v oboroženem spopadu večina moških rekrutiranih za opravljanje bojnih nalog, ženske z otroki ostajajo doma ali pa so se prisiljene preseliti. Zato predstavljajo tudi večino notranje razseljenih oseb in beguncev, tako na begunski poti kot v begunskih centrih. Pri tem je njihova varnost izpostavljena, pogosto so tarča skupin bojnikov, ugrabljene, zaslužnjene ali zlorabljene. Dejstvo je tudi, da so deklice in dečki drugače izpostavljeni, bodisi deklice za prezgodnje in prisilne poroke bodisi dečki za zgodnje rekrutiranje v bojvniške vrste. Pri splošnem prepoznavanju vlog moških in žensk v oboroženem spopadu ter po njem največkrat prevladuje misel o ženskah kot žrtvah in moških kot bojvniških. Resnica je, da so tudi ženske bojevnice in močni akterji za mir ter moški žrtve namerno povzročenih dejanj. Pereč problem v sodobnih konfliktih pomeni tudi na spolu temelječe nasilje, ki je še vedno prisotno v prevelikem obsegu. Predvsem se izvaja nad ženskami, pa tudi deklicami in dečki ter moškimi, bodisi kot oblika trpinčenja bodisi kot sredstvo taktike bojevanja.

Lahko bi rekli, da se je vidik spola v povezavi z MOM po eni strani razvil zaradi uresničevanja resolucije 1325 ter po drugi iz izkušenj vojsk. Težišče vidika spola v MOM je usmerjeno v vključitev družbeno pogojenih vlog žensk in moških, deklic in dečkov v procese operacije. Pri tem je treba upoštevati različne varnostne situacije, s katerimi se posamezniki soočajo glede na njihov spol. Kot že povedano, se ženske, moški, deklice in dečki srečujejo z različnimi varnostnimi tveganji zaradi družbeno in kulturno oblikovanih zaznav o vlogah žensk in moških v neki družbi. Prepoznavanje in razumevanje čim bolj celostne situacije o varnostnih razmerah pomeni orodje za doseganje večje operativne učinkovitosti. Na izvedbo operacije na primer vpliva tudi prepoznavanje poti žensk, ki so običajno drugačne od poti, ki jih uporabljajo moški, saj imajo drugačne opravke. Izkazalo se je, da takšne informacije vplivajo na zagotavljanje varnosti, zaščito lastnih sil in uspešnost operacije. Zato je vključevanje vidika spola v vseh procesih na vseh ravneh ter v vseh fazah delovanja bistveno, celostne informacije o dogajanju na območju delovanja pa prispevajo k odločitvam poveljujočih. Izkušnje iz MOM so pripeljale tudi do spoznanj o nekaterih omejitvah pri opravljanju nalog, predvsem na taktični ravni, na primer pri vključevanju lokalnih

žensk, še posebno na tistih območjih delovanja, na katerih ženskam ni dovoljeno v javnosti komunicirati z neznanimi moškimi, v sestavi vojaških sil pa so bili pretežno moški. Vključevanje vidika spola v opravljanje nalog je postalo nujnost, na katero opozarjajo tudi mednarodne organizacije, kot so OZN, Nato, EU in druge.

Sodobne vojske potrebujejo v svoji sestavi tako pripadnice kot pripadnike na vseh ravneh in na različnih dolžnostih. To velja tako za opravljanje nalog v MOM kot tudi za opravljanje nalog v domačem okolju. Mednarodne organizacije vse bolj poudarjajo vključevanje žensk v vse strukture, a se v vojskah pogosto še vedno porajajo vprašanja na to temo – predvsem v smislu enakosti spolov, telesne pripravljenosti žensk in opuščanja omejitev opravljanja nekaterih dolžnosti za ženske. Vse večja je težnja uresničevanja načela enakosti spolov, pri čemer pa v vojaških vrstah lahko nastane nevarnost enačenja enakosti z istostjo. Dojemanje enakosti kot istosti lahko vodi v enostranske ali preveč splošene rešitve. Pomisleki, da bi upoštevanje na primer anatomsko in fiziološko pogojenih razlik med moškimi in ženskami pri oblikovanju standardov pomenilo nižanje meril in slabšo učinkovitost, vodijo k pomembnejšemu vprašanju: Ali so standardi v resnici oblikovani po zahtevah posameznih dolžnosti ali pa so preveč splošni in predvsem, ali so oblikovani tudi na podlagi vključitve vidika spola. Bistveno je razumeti, da različne naloge zahtevajo različne kompetence in pripravljenost posameznika. Resnica je, da moški in ženske ne bodo nikoli isti. Med spoloma obstaja raznolikost, ki bi morala biti prepoznana kot prednost in ne kot slabost. Brez vključitve obojih celovitosti ni mogoče doseči, saj vključitev moškega in ženskega pogleda na isto zadevo prinese celovitost s spajanjem različnosti.

Spreminjajoče se varnostne razmere pred vse nas postavljajo nove izzive in zahtevajo še tesnejše povezovanje organizacij tako na nacionalni kot mednarodni ravni, da bomo zagotovili celovite in učinkovite rešitve. Vremenski pojavi z obsežnimi posledicami uničenja vse pogosteje zahtevajo vključevanje vojsk v naloge zaščite in reševanja. Lanske razmere z množičnimi migracijami z vojnih žarišč, Bližnjega vzhoda ter iz Afrike v Evropo so zahtevale tudi vključitev vojsk v izvedbo nalog na domačih tleh. Podobno kot med opravljanjem nalog v MOM so se vojske in druge vladne ter nevladne organizacije, vključene v obravnavo beguncev in migrantov, srečale z različnimi kulturami, pri čemer imajo družbeno pogojene vloge med moškimi in ženskami velik pomen. Te razmere odpirajo nadaljnja spoznanja o vključevanju vidika spola v nove smeri. Temeljno dejstvo, da družbo tvorimo tako ženske kot moški, deklice in dečki, ostaja, prav tako kot raznolikost, ki naj nas s celovitostjo vodi v zagotavljanje varnosti in miru.

Želim vam prijetno branje avtorskih del v nadaljevanju in upam, da bo širilo nova obzorja ter sprožilo nova razmišljanja.

EDITORIAL

UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 AND THE ROLE OF GENDER PERSPECTIVE

An increasingly intensive activity has been noticed recently at the international level with regard to the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and associated resolutions. More and more international events regarding women, peace and security are being organised every year, education and training programmes as well as a conceptual framework of the gender perspective are being developed, and system solutions in both international organisations and national structures are being put forward. One of such solutions is the appointment of ambassadors for women, peace and security, as well as of gender advisors on gender perspective. Last year, a full-time advisor position in this field was set up at the General Staff of the Slovenian Armed Forces. Being a subject matter expert for the area of gender perspective in the Slovenian Armed Forces, I am pleased that the importance of the agenda regarding women, peace and security has been recognised and that a publication has been issued at the academic level by involving experts and gaining support from the leadership. I am grateful to my international colleagues for their papers, for having kindly responded to the invitation to share their views, solutions and experiences with us. This is indeed the main value of this publication: sharing is caring. The set of topics demonstrates to what extent the Resolution and the gender perspective are implemented, ranging from the international level, through national solutions and to the realisation in international operations and missions.

Although Resolution 1325 is extensively explained in individual papers, I would like to introduce several key factors linking the Resolution and the gender perspective, to proffer a better understanding of the topic and emphasise why the integration of the gender perspective is vital for both Slovenian and international landscape. The basis for this discussion are conceptual solutions of international organisations and my participation in the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives. Actions like this are vital for they aim to develop the said area and encourage new ways of thinking,

thereby highlighting compound gender-related topics and informing the practices of Slovenian Armed Forces.

Resolution 1325 is a milestone for the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution, in peace processes, humanitarian response and in post conflict reconstruction. It underlines three interlinking factors, i.e. women, peace and security. There is no security without peace, and no peace without a safe and secure environment. Moreover, there is no peace and security without addressing the entire population. In the past, women were frequently excluded from peace processes. If solely one perspective is included, the expected result can be partial.

In 15 years since the adoption of Resolution 1325, the increased asymmetric threats in a complex security environment have resulted in the need for more comprehensive approaches to ensure security and peace around the world. During this time, many facts which were ignored in the past have been seriously discussed at the international level with the aim of finding solutions. Armed conflicts and the post-conflict period affect women differently than men. Boys and girls too are affected differently, in relative terms. Importantly, acts of men and women in such circumstances can be either different or the same, but due to socially constructed perceptions they are accepted differently. More particularly, it should be stressed that socially constructed is their *gender*, which is a concept that this introduction defines as social and cultural characteristics associated with a given sex (whereas sex refers to biological differences between males, females, and intersex persons, and is assigned at birth).

Gender as such materialises in our reality: for example, while during armed conflicts the majority of men are recruited for combat tasks, women stay at home with children or are forced to leave their homes. That is why they make up the majority of internally displaced persons and refugees both on refugee routes and in refugee camps. Their safety is compromised in such circumstances; they are often targeted by groups of combatants, kidnapped, enslaved or abused. It should also be noted that girls and boys are not exposed in the same way: girls can be subject to premature and forced marriages, boys to early recruitment into combatant groups. As regards the general recognition of the role of men and women in armed conflicts and beyond, the most common perception is of women as victims and men as combatants. However, the truth is that women also are combatants and strong actors for peace, and men are victims of intentionally committed acts. Furthermore, a serious problem in contemporary conflicts is sexual and gender-based violence. This is an alarming issue. This form of violence is predominantly inflicted against women, although also girls, boys and men suffer from it, either in the form of torture or as a weapon of war.

It could be said that the gender perspective in relation to international operations and missions has, on the one hand, developed for the purpose of implementing Resolution 1325 and, on the other hand, resulted from militaries' experiences. Central to the gender perspective in international operations and missions is making women's and men's experiences and concerns integral to operation processes, whilst

taking into account the different security-related situations these individuals face in line with their gender. As it has been argued, there is evidence that women and men, boys and girls, face different security risks - a process underpinned by the way their masculinities and femininities are perceived in a given culture and society, i.e. gender. Being able to recognise and understand the entire security situation as broadly as possible is crucial for operational effectiveness. Recognising the routes of women, which are usually different from routes used by men due to their individual gender roles, can affect the execution of an operation. Such information influences the provision of security, force protection and operational success.

Therefore, the integration of the gender perspective into every process at all levels and in every stage of action is of extreme importance; comprehensive information on situation in the area of operation contribute to decisions of those in command. Experiences gained in international operations and missions have led to observations on certain limitations in the execution of tasks, particularly at the tactical level, for example as regards the exclusion of women from the local environment, particularly in those areas of operation where women are not allowed to communicate publicly with unknown men and where the structure and personnel are predominantly male. The inclusion of the gender perspective into task accomplishment has thus become a necessity to which international organisations, such as UN, NATO, the EU and other have drawn attention.

In their structures, the contemporary armed forces need both female and male members at all levels and on different duties. This holds true for the fulfilment of tasks in international operations and missions and for the execution of tasks in domestic environment. International organisations tend to increasingly emphasize the importance of the inclusion of women into all structures; however, questions regarding women in armed forces keep appearing in the military, particularly as regards gender equality, physical performance of women and removal of restrictions in relation to the fulfilment of certain duties for women. There are growing tendencies to implement the gender equality principle, whereby a risk of equating equality with sameness may appear in the militaries.

However, to perceive equality as sameness can lead to unilateral or too general solutions. Concerns, for example, that taking into account the biological differences between men and women in setting the standards could mean lower criteria and poorer performance actually lead to more important question: are standards really defined according to the requirements of individual duties or are they too general, and are they also established on the basis of the inclusion of gender perspective? It is crucial to understand that different tasks require different competences and preparedness of an individual. Indeed, the truth is that men and women will never be the same. There is variety between males and females which should be recognised as an advantage and not as a weakness. Failing to include the spectrum of gender, the wholeness cannot be reached; the inclusion of both male and female perspective on the same issue leads to integrity by bringing together the diversity.

Due to changing security environment, we all are faced with new challenges, requiring even stronger networking of organisations both at the national and international levels in order to ensure comprehensive and effective solutions. Meteorological changes causing large-scale destruction call more often for the engagement of the armed forces in search and rescue tasks. Last year, mass migration from conflict zones, the Middle East and Africa to Europe required the involvement of the armed forces into tasks at home. Similarly as in fulfilling the tasks in international operations and missions, the armed forces and other government and non-government organisations dealing with refugees and migrants were faced with different cultures, where socially determined roles of men and women have great significance. Such circumstances promote further knowledge about the integration of gender perspective in new directions. The fundamental fact that the society is made up of women and men, girls and boys, remains, just as the diversity which, in its integrity, should bring us all towards ensuring security and peace.

I wish you a pleasant reading of papers hoping they will help broaden new horizons and encourage new thoughts.

PRIPADNICE OBOROŽENIH SIL V MIROVNIH OPERACIJAH IN POLITIKA RESOLUCIJE 1325 VARNOSTNEGA SVETA OZN

MILITARY WOMEN IN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS AND THE POLITICS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

Povzetek Po letu 2000 je Varnostni svet Organizacije združenih narodov sprejel osem resolucij o zaščiti in opolnomočenju žensk v konfliktnih situacijah. Med glavnimi cilji teh resolucij je povečati zastopanost žensk v mirovnih operacijah, še zlasti med uniformiranim osebjem. Med vojaškimi pripadniki v mirovnih operacijah je le tri odstotke žensk, ta odstotek se je v zadnjih letih komaj kaj spremenil. Slab napredek v misijah OZN je sovpadal z obdobjem zgodovinskega napredka pri vključevanju žensk v nacionalne oborožene sile. V tem obdobju sta se zaradi mandатов in oblike mirovni operacij pojavila bolj ali manj neposredna in odkrita potreba po sodelovanju žensk ter vse večje spoznanje zagovornikov enakosti spolov, da se sodelovanju pripadnic na mirovni misijah posveča prejš preveč kot premalo pozornosti. V članku so predstavljeni argumenti razprave, ki v Združenih narodih na to temo poteka zadnjih nekaj let, ter poskusi razlage teh navideznih protislovij.

Ključne besede *Spol in mirovne operacije, ženske v oboroženih silah, Resolucija 1325, ženske, mir in varnost.*

Abstract Since 2000, the United Nations Security Council has adopted eight resolutions on the protection and empowerment of women in conflict situations. Increasing the representation of women in peacekeeping, and particularly among uniformed personnel, is one of the most repeated goals of these resolutions. However, only three percent of military personnel in peacekeeping operations are women and this percentage has barely budged in recent years. This lack of progress in UN missions has coincided with a period of historically significant advances in the integration of women in national armed forces, a time in which the mandates and design of peacekeeping operations more directly and explicitly called for the participation of women, and a growing perception among gender equality advocates that the presence of female troops in peace operations was being given too much emphasis,

rather than too little. This article outlines the parameters of this debate in the United Nations over the last few years, and attempts to explain these apparent contradictions.

Key words *Gender and peacekeeping, women in armed forces, Resolution 1325, women, peace and security.*

Introduction At the turn of the century, the United Nations Security Council recognized that gender equality and women's leadership are crucial for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since then, this has since become a prominent theme in deliberations and resolutions of the Security Council, and an important area of work for the international community. Although many of these commitments and declarations are often only partially met and sometimes altogether ignored, there has been undeniable progress since Resolution 1325 was adopted in 2000. There are more women in government and international and regional organizations, more and better examples of meaningful inclusion of women in peace negotiations and national dialogues, more financial resources spent on women's empowerment in post-conflict contexts, a full body of international jurisprudence devoted to sexual and gender-based crimes, and programmes assisting hundreds of thousands of women where none existed two decades ago in crisis settings.

However, one of the most repeated goals of these resolutions is the one that has experienced arguably the least amount of progress: more women in peacekeeping, including in the military component of UN peacekeeping operations. In 22 years, the representation of women has only inched up two points, from one to three percent (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 139). This is paradoxical for multiple reasons. One, this lack of progress by the United Nations has coincided with an era of significant advances in the integration of women in national armed forces. Two, the nature and mandates of modern UN peacekeeping operations, and the normative framework of the organization in general, lead to a reasonable expectation that, on the matter of gender balance, the UN should out-perform other actors involved in military operations, rather than lag behind. And three, the perception among many gender advocates is that the goal of having more female troops in UN operations has been given too much emphasis, rather than too little, and that military and security actors have co-opted and narrowed down the women, peace and security agenda. This chapter will outline the parameters of this debate in the United Nations over the last few years and will attempt to explain these apparent contradictions.

1 WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES: RECENT ADVANCES

The integration of women in the armed forces has witnessed considerable progress in recent years. Many countries have opened all positions in the military, including combat positions, to women. For example, by eliminating all remaining restrictions to women in the United States armed forces, close to 140,000 jobs will open up to women in 2016, and for the first time women graduated from its elite Ranger programme for special forces (Burns, 2015). The US Marine Corps pioneered the

use of Female Engagement Teams in Iraq and Afghanistan more than a decade ago, deploying female soldiers to interact with women in the affected communities (Bumiller, 2015). After 350 years, women are finally allowed to join the Dutch Marine Corps. Norway has begun experimenting with universal conscription for women as well as men, unisex dorms in military barracks, and all-female Special Forces units (Braw, 2016). Less than a third of NATO members still have positions closed to women in the armed forces -mostly in combat positions and in submarines and tanks-, more than two-thirds have a military entity dealing with gender integration, and all 28 members of the military alliance have specific policies for women's participation in armed forces. In 2000, only five countries did so, and only six had equal enlistment for women and men. A growing number of countries, including Slovenia, have reached double digits in the percentage of women in their armed forces, and many have set ambitious goals. Canada wants to reach 25 percent in ten years, and Australia is aiming to reach the same threshold for its Navy and Air Force by 2023. Many have adopted concrete measures to increase the representation of women: targeting recruitment campaigns to women, using the image and testimonies of female military officers; setting recruitment and retention targets and diversifying career paths, promotion boards, and candidate pools; conducting studies and surveys and collecting systematic data on the experience of women in the military; making changes to family and child care policy; adjusting facilities, uniforms, equipment, trainings, minimum-period-of-service and physical requirements, and cracking down on sexual harassment and abuse (Coomaraswamy, 2015, pp. 137-138).

Many of these changes have taken place in developed countries. However, several developing countries have much higher percentages of women in their armed forces. For example, South Africa is aiming for 40 percent of its armed forces to be women, and has reached 34 percent already. Rwanda has a target of 30 percent female representation among its peacekeepers. Bangladesh recently set a target of 20 percent in its Air Force. India, which has one of the largest armies in the world, is opening up combat roles in all sections to women and expanding the availability of women to serve in full military commissions and be eligible for pensions when they retire (Iyengar, 2016). Pakistan has women flying warplanes (Husain, 2014). News organizations have made a point of repeatedly featuring the stories of women fighting against ISIS, whether it is the women fighter pilots from the United Arab Emirates leading airstrikes in Syria (Tharoor, 2014), the thousands of Kurdish Peshmerga women fighting in the frontlines in northern Iraq (Valentine, 2016), or the first all-female brigade of Yazidi fighters (Moroz, 2015). In 2000, only three Ministers of Defence in the world were women and more than twenty occupy such a position currently, in both developed and developing countries.

2 GENDER EQUALITY AND UN PEACEKEEPING: MISSING THE TARGET

In September 2016, close to 80 military chiefs and Ministers of Defence of countries from all over the world gathered in London for a one-day high-level summit on peacekeeping, as follow-up to the one that President Obama had convened the year

before in the margins of the UN General Assembly. In the London summit, countries were supposed to pledge greater resources to peacekeeping operations, such as more readily available and trained soldiers, Special Forces, intelligence and reconnaissance units, combat engineers, and helicopters. But women, peace and security was one of the highlight themes of the day. Angelina Jolie, the world's best-known humanitarian, made it the centerpiece of her speech: "The fact is that increasing the number of UN peacekeepers alone will not be enough to resolve the conflicts that we are experiencing. It has to be accompanied by a new way of conducting peacekeeping, one that has the rights and protection and involvement of women at its heart." One after another, most of the ministers in attendance echoed her call, and noted that a better gender mix in the forces was an urgent operational necessity. At the end, they signed a communiqué urging the UN Secretary-General to double the numbers of women in military and police contingents of UN peacekeeping operations by 2020, hold senior leaders in UN missions accountable for mainstreaming gender and improving gender balance in their operations, as well as using Mixed Engagement Teams with female officers to improve the outreach to women in the communities; emphasizes the need to have more women serving as Staff Officers and Military Observers, and attending specialized trainings for these positions, with the goal of reaching a new and ambitious 15 percent target by the end of 2017; calls on all Member States to take immediate and concrete measures to help reach this goal, including in the framework of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security, and to regularly provide information to the UN about the presence of women, per rank and specialization, in their armed forces and military academies; and supports and reiterates the need for more robust measures to ensure the UN's zero tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse (United Kingdom, 2016).

Some of these elements were new, such as setting a 15-percent target for staff officers and military observers to be women in just a few months, which would represent a significant improvement over less than 4 percent at the end of 2014. Similarly, never before had so many military chiefs, in one room, repeated so unequivocally the importance of this agenda for the operational effectiveness of their missions. However, they were repeating a message that has been a staple of yearly UN meetings and Security Council resolutions since 1325 was adopted, as noted in the table below:

However, as noted above, the percentage of military women in peacekeeping operations has only increased two points in 22 years. In that time, both peacekeeping mandates and practice have changed in other many aspects related to gender equality. For example, gender advisors are now an expected component of civilian staffing tables in peacekeeping missions, whereas only the missions in Kosovo and Timor Leste had them in 2000, where they were a recent innovation (UN DPKO/DFS, 2010, p. 40). Now, most missions have gender advisory units and women protection advisors, who focus on conflict-related sexual violence specifically (UN DPKO/DFS, 2014, p. 8). Almost every mission mandate and military directives now include provisions on women, peace and security. The trainings offered on these issues are

Table 1:
Security Council references to increasing the number of women in military components of peacekeeping operations (2000-2015)

1325 (2000)	OP 4: Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel. OP 6: Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures (...).
1820 (2008)	OP 8: Encourages troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including wherever possible the deployment of a higher percentage of women peacekeepers or police.
1888 (2009)	OP 19: Encourages Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities.
1889 (2009)	OP 4: Calls upon the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including through appropriate training, to increase the number of women appointed to pursue good offices on his behalf, particularly as Special Representatives and Special Envoys, and to take measures to increase women's participation in United Nations political, peacebuilding and peacekeeping missions.
1960 (2010)	OP 12: Underlines that, in order to carry out their mandate, missions must communicate effectively with local communities; and encourages the Secretary-General to improve their capacity to do so. OP 15: Encourages Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training on sexual and gender-based violence, inter alia, to carry out their responsibilities.
2106 (2013)	OP 14: Recognizes the role of United Nations peacekeeping contingents in preventing sexual violence, and, in this respect, calls for all pre-deployment and in-mission training of troop- and police-contributing country contingents to include training on sexual and gender-based violence, which also takes into account the distinct needs of children; further encourages troop- and police-contributing countries to increase the number of women recruited and deployed in peace operations.
2122 (2013)	OP 9: Encourages troop- and police-contributing countries to increase the percentage of women military and police in deployments to United Nations peacekeeping operations.
2242 (2015)	OP 8: Welcomes the Secretary-General's commitment to prioritize the appointment of more women in senior United Nations leadership positions (...), and encourages him to review the obstacles preventing women's recruitment and professional advancement, further welcomes efforts to incentivize greater numbers of women in militaries and police deployed to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and calls upon the Secretary-General to initiate, in collaboration with Member States, a revised strategy, within existing resources, to double the numbers of women in military and police contingents of UN peacekeeping operations over the next five years.

now typically longer and more practical and operational, based on real situations and tailored to different roles within peacekeeping operations. Targeted monitoring and reporting, particularly on conflict-related sexual violence, has improved, and missions attempt to ensure that their patrols are better adjusted to the daily routines of women and girls, including when collecting firewood or water outside of refugee and IDP

camps. All-female formed police units have been deployed in a handful of missions (Anderholt, 2012). Peace operations have supported mobile courts and special police units to bring justice to survivors of gender-based violence, facilitated the provision of fuel-efficient stoves and rolling water containers that alleviate the burden and risk incurred by women and girls trying to feed their families, and used their budget for quick impact projects to build shelters for women or sex-segregated latrines in camps. Furthermore, since 2010, when the UN celebrated the tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325, peacekeeping missions open their doors to representatives of women's organizations in the host country, to listen to their concerns, priorities, and suggestions. Some of these initiatives are piecemeal or lack scale and scope to make a tangible difference in the lives of women and girls, but others represent system-wide changes in the way missions operate. For example, in the first nine months of 2011, the hybrid UN-AU mission in Darfur reported the conduct of more than 26,000 patrols that escorted women and girls when collecting firewood, water, and grass. This number represented close to one-third of all patrols conducted by the mission, and reports indicated that it had helped in limiting the prevalence of sexual violence during the farming and cultivation season.

And yet, the percentage of women peacekeepers remains stubbornly low. As of August 2016, a total of 2,899 women out of 87,134 military personnel have been deployed in the military components of the sixteen on-going United Nations' peacekeeping operations. That means that women constitute only 3.3 percent of the military personnel currently deployed. This percentage ranges from some 10 percent of the 41 military observers monitoring the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir, to 1.5 percent of more than 10,000 military personnel deployed by the United Nations in Mali.

There are multiple reasons that are used to explain this deficit. Perhaps the most used is that there are very few military women in the world and the countries that send the majority of troops have even fewer women in their armed forces, while Western countries that have a greater percentage of women in their military send very few troops to UN peacekeeping operations, as opposed to NATO or EU-led operations, among others. This explanation is unsatisfactory. One, there is no correlation between the percentage of women in national armed forces and the percentage of women in that country's deployments to a peacekeeping operation. European countries, many of them with ten percent or higher female representation in their armed forces, deployed 106 military observers to the UN mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2012, and only one of them was a woman.

Developed and developing countries alike deploy a smaller percentage of women than there are in their national armed forces. For example, if a peace agreement is reached in Colombia, it will be verified by a UN observer mission, which is expected to include a few hundred unarmed military observers drawn from countries in the region. For the first time ever in the history of mission planning in the UN, the Secretary-General's report indicated that at least 20 percent of these observers should

be women, a target that had been proposed in various forums by the host country and the UN's Special Envoy (United Nations, 2016, p. 9). In Colombia, the observer mission would follow a peace process that has been unique for the high levels of women's participation and leadership, and in a context where the percentage of women associated with the armed groups is higher than in most other settings, ranging between 20 to 40 percent in the FARC-EP. Furthermore, the countries that have been requested to send these military observers are Latin American countries that have higher percentages of women in the military than the largest traditional troop contributing countries to peacekeeping operations. In 2014 in Argentina, more than 14 percent of the army, 16 percent of the navy, and 22 percent of the air force were women, with close to 140 officers with the rank of Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, and many more with lower ranks. Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic also have female representation in the double digits (Donadio and Tibiletti, 2014). Due to language, geographic and cultural proximity, and level of development, the deployment of women from the region should present less difficulties than for far away peacekeeping missions. And yet, preliminary reports indicate that the nominations by the countries participating in this observer mission include very few women so far, showing that other dynamics are at play than the sheer lack of availability of military women.

Another reason offered is that women do not join UN peacekeeping operations due to personal or cultural reasons that make it harder for them to leave their families. This is undoubtedly an important factor, but one that is less often offered by military women themselves than by their male peers or by civilians in charge of peacekeeping. When one speaks to women in the military, they often say that these peacekeeping opportunities are frequently not communicated to them, probably as a result of gender biases and discrimination, professional competition for positions that offer privilege and career advancement, and a perception of danger in duty stations by commanders and decision-makers. In fact, there are studies that indicate that an unintended consequence of the advocacy and increased awareness of sexual violence in peacekeeping theaters in recent years is that it may have made it harder for women to be deployed out of protection concerns (Karim and Beardsley, 2015).

Another reason, less often mentioned, is that the number of uniformed personnel in peacekeeping operations has tripled over the last 15 years. As a result, the percentage has remained virtually stable even though a greater number of women are deployed now than a decade ago. However, this still shows that gender balance considerations do not yet feature into the planning of missions and their size and composition.

In my view, the most important reason is that the United Nations neither nudges nor forces the countries that contribute troops to include women in their deployments. Until very recently it has seemed as if the United Nations, both the Security Council and the Secretariat, limited themselves to reiterating the need for more women year after year, as if merely saying it would make it so. This has begun to change. Resolution 2242 established an explicit target of doubling these numbers in the next

five years. The Office of the Military Advisor of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, which now includes a full-time gender advisor and is embedding gender advisors in the military components of several missions, has a strategy to meet these targets, including the maintenance of a network of female military officers who have peacekeeping experience, a new Gender Advocate of the Year award – whose first recipient, at the London Summit in 2016, was a female Major from Niger for her work when she was deployed in Mali-, and the commitment to ensure, in the short term, that a sizeable minority of military observers posts be filled by women. In 2015, UN Women developed and piloted a two-week international course exclusively for female military officers with an interest to deploy to peacekeeping operations. This was an unprecedented activity that aimed at providing a space for exposure, visibility, and opportunities for professional advancement to military women from all over the world; encouraging the preparation and deployment for female military officers for UN peacekeeping operations; and providing them with the technical skills demanded by commanders in the ground. Before the end of 2016, this international course had taken place in India, South Africa, China, and Kenya, and many other countries had expressed their interest to host or fund these courses (UN Women, 2015). Interestingly, in conversations with participants in these courses from countries of very different religions and income and development levels, they all seemed to share a universal experience as women in a male-dominated military world. This included a common passion for the military career from an early age, the denial of opportunities for professional development and international deployments in spite of knowledge, experience, or performance, the need to prove their merits and aptitude much more than their male peers and, when reaching positions of command or authority, seeing this authority undermined or challenged by their male subordinates.

The 2015 high-level reviews of both UN peace operations and implementation of 1325 proposed suggestions to remedy the lack of conditions or incentives to the deployment of women by troop contributing countries. One is that peacekeeping budgets, which already constitute the largest category of spending by the United Nations, could develop a tool to monitor their investment on gender-related issues and identify ways of making mission facilities and mission life in general more suitable to women, from accommodation quarters, sanitary facilities, specialized medical care, or special leave arrangements, to welfare and recreational spaces and activities. Another proposal suggests adding financial incentives to the reimbursement rates received by troop contributing countries. In the latest negotiations on these rates, Member States and experts discussed the introduction of different kinds of premiums for individuals in units assuming exceptional levels of risk, for contingents deploying force multipliers and enabling capabilities, and for troops and equipment that were ready to deploy in short notice. The 2015 global study on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 recommended a gender equality premium, which would be added to the overall reimbursement depending on the percentage of women in the contingent, their rank and function, the specialized training on gender issues received by the overall contingent, and their compliance with the due diligence,

screening, and vetting required by human rights policies (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 142). This proposal has not yet been discussed by Member States.

Finally, increasing the percentage of women in peacekeeping operations may be a recurrent theme of Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security, but has not been a priority of the global women's movement. In fact, as mentioned above, women's organizations and gender advocates have often expressed concern that actors have over-emphasized this question at the expense of others, much more strongly demanded by feminist activists, and that particularly actors in the Global North have increasingly interpreted 1325 through these narrow lens (Cook, 2016, p. 355). For decades, the main constituency behind women, peace and security issues have been women's organizations that are fundamentally opposed to militarization. To their dismay, some of the main goals of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, such as reducing excessive military expenditures, promoting non-violence and fostering a culture of peace, have been neglected. Instead, what has followed is the steady growth of military budgets and the frequent use of military force to settle disputes, including the tripling of the UN's peacekeeping budget in the last fifteen years. Even though a commitment to equality under the Convention to End Discrimination Against Women requires that women be given the same employment opportunities as men, including within military structures, military women and feminist organizations working on peacebuilding make unlikely allies. In the eyes of many gender equality advocates, many governments have limited their implementation and interpretation of 1325 to increasing the presence of women in the military.

This perception is understandable, given the comparatively large policy space that institutions like NATO and DPKO occupy in global policy forums, or that Ministries of Defence have in the development and implantation of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security. This is part of the trade-offs and risks that come from policy mainstreaming and involving the most powerful actors in policy agendas pushed by marginalized groups. However, this perception is also misguided. The slight increase of women in the military of many countries predates the signing of National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security or the adoption of 1325 as a frame of reference, but has more to do with domestic social or political pressure that, when they come from feminist advocates or policymakers, only recently started using Security Council resolutions as additional justifications. In fact, most of the handful of non-NATO countries that have experienced the most dramatic increases of female representation do not have these National Action Plans on 1325 nor link their advances to international policy. Most often, changes in most countries have come from court decisions brought about by trailblazing litigants, lobbying and sustained pressure by military women themselves, or women leaders in positions of influence in the government and the security sector.

Furthermore, progress has been unacceptably slow in all areas of the women, peace and security agenda, but as much as we can (imperfectly) measure them, there has been much more progress in areas like women in decision-making, in peace

negotiations, or as beneficiaries and participants in peacebuilding, recovery, and humanitarian assistance, than as members of armed forces. The perception that this is a priority is also belied by the fact that we do not even count the number of women in the military. Neither the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations nor any other institution have ever kept track, and many member states do not collect or do not share this data. Some of the activities mentioned above, like the UN Women course for female military officers, are relatively modest interventions that have begun to take place in the last two years, in the absence of any large-scale efforts by the United Nations to address this gap.

Conclusion Missed opportunities

The dismal numbers of women in peacekeeping operations are especially worrisome because of the nature of these missions. Unlike military operations that operate behind military compounds and are focused on destroying an enemy, peacekeeping operations have much more contact with the population, engage much less in direct combat, and collaborate with civilian partners in multiple tasks, from facilitating humanitarian aid to helping with the disarmament and demobilization of armed groups and the reform of the security sector in the host country. UN guidelines for the military on how to mainstream gender in peace operations demonstrate the need for women to be able to effectively implement these tasks, from checkpoints and cantonment sites to building and guarding correction facilities or participating in investigations or cordon-and-search operations (UN DPKO/DFS, 2010b).

As stated many times both by advocates and commanders themselves, women broaden the range of skills and capacities among all categories of personnel and improve the mission's image, accessibility, and credibility vis-à-vis the local population. They may be seen as less threatening and more accessible to affected populations, and particularly women and girls who prefer to communicate with female military officers, especially in settings where it would be a cultural taboo to communicate with a man in the same function. Targeted outreach to women in host communities is particularly needed to capitalize on their familiarity with local protection strategies that affect women, early warning on patterns of attack that affect women and girls disproportionately, tensions in social relations and in the community, and threats to personal, family, and community security, interacting with survivors of gender-based violence, and screening women in disarmament and demobilization sites.

Without women, mission cannot fulfill their goals of improving their protection of women and girls. For example, to respond to atrocities against civilians, and particularly against women and girls in Eastern DRC, the UN mission developed an intricate system full of innovations and protection and monitoring tools. However, without the involvement of women in these tasks, they could not be effective. In 2013, only 10 percent of community liaison advisors, who performed the crucial task of interacting with the community, were women. Less than a third of the hundreds of joint protection teams –meant to have a mixture of military, police and civilians with different skills and functions- deployed since 2009 included at least a woman,

typically one woman as part of a large team. And even though the mission was supposed to monitor for early warning signs of conflict-related sexual violence, there were only 16 female military observers in a country as big as Western Europe that year.

Crucially, the presence of women is correlated with fewer allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by blue helmets themselves. Over the last year, investigators have uncovered a string of allegations of sexual abuse by peacekeepers that is shocking in its scale and unthinkable in its brutality. These atrocities have been committed both by UN and non-UN forces, and the international community is trying to punish these criminals, assist their victims, and prevent this from happening again. Without dramatic changes in the composition of peacekeeping missions, this is likely to continue to happen. In UN peace operations, 97 percent of blue helmets, 90 percent of police, 80 percent of the leadership, and 70 percent of all civilian staff, are men. If the perpetrator is identified and repatriated, his supervisors –and I say “his” because there has never been a confirmed allegation against a woman peacekeeper since the UN keeps track- are likely to be men, and so are the people involved in a hypothetical military court back home, if it gets that far. The investigators of these abuses –interrogating traumatized women and children- are also likely to be men, as are the decision-makers that determine how this is all handled. Reversing this gender imbalance is urgent and is a central piece to addressing this global emergency. For the victims of these gross crimes, ‘where are the women’, a question gender advocates insistently raise and is sometimes dismissed as unimportant, matters a great deal.

For many peacekeeping missions –often struggling with limited resources, obstructions by the host government, and at the mercy of political dynamics in the Security Council or troop contributing countries- actually keeping the peace can be extremely challenging. But what the United Nations should be able to control more directly is how cardinal values of the UN Charter like human rights or gender equality become a visible part of the mission’s presence, posture, and profile. As the face of the UN in many settings, widespread sexual exploitation of the local population profoundly undermines what the mission is trying to accomplish. Conversely, even if violations of women’s rights cannot always be prevented, it does have a positive impact for societies where women are valued so much less than men to see that in the UN women and men work alongside each other as equals, or to see women in positions of leadership. In the end, drastically improving the gender mix of UN missions is not just a question of operational effectiveness, but a question of credibility and legitimacy too.

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BOLJŠI DRŽAVLJANI – USPOSABLJANJE S PODROČJA HUMANITARNOSTI IN SPOLA, EUTM SOMALIJA

BETTER CITIZENS - HUMANITARIAN AND GENDER TRAINING, EUTM SOMALIA

Povzetek Prispevek obravnava praktično uporabo Resolucije Varnostnega sveta Organizacije združenih narodov 1325 in drugih sorodnih resolucij ter pripadajoče doktrine, povezane z usposabljanjem na področju spola. Še posebej se ukvarja z usposabljanjem kulturno in izobrazbeno tako raznolike skupine posameznikov, kot so bili udeleženci usposabljanja EU na misiji EUTM Somalija. Prispevek je irska študija primera o misiji za usposabljanje s področja humanitarnosti in spola ter temelji na osebnih izkušnjah z misije. Osredotoča se na vprašanje, kako učinkovito izobraziti skupino pripadnikov in pripadnic oboroženih sil o enakosti spolov in humanitarnem pravu ter globljem pomenu prava oboroženih spopadov. Avtor skuša predstaviti taktični vidik izzivov pri podajanju smiselne razlage in praktični uporabi prizadevanj mednarodne skupnosti za spoprijemanje z grozotami spopadov ter način ravnanja odgovornih vojakov in državljanov pri reševanju sporov in razvoj družbe pri prehodu iz krize v sodobno ureditev. Pri oblikovanju programa predavanj je bilo upoštevano nizko osnovno znanje vojakov na usposabljanju, pozornost pa je bila namenjena tudi določitvi ciljev in obsega predavanj. Merilo uspešnosti je bil odziv udeležencev v različnih scenarijih, ki so vključevali vprašanja uporabe prava oboroženih spopadov in vidika enakosti spolov, s katerimi se kot pripadniki somalijskih oboroženih sil srečujejo v vsakodnevnem življenju. Uspešnost usposabljanja je bila po mnenju inštruktorjev EUTM pozitiven odraz predavanj.

Ključne besede *Pravo, spol, usposabljanje, EUTM Somalija.*

Abstract This paper is concerned with the practical application of UNSCR 1325 and other related UN Resolutions and associated doctrine regarding gender training. It focuses in particular on training a group of individuals as culturally and educationally diverse as those trained by the EU in the European Union Training

Mission (EUTM) Somalia. It serves as an Irish case study on a humanitarian and gender training mission, based on personal experience from the mission. The article considers how to teach an effectively illiterate group of male and female soldiers in gender and humanitarian law, as well as in the implications of the Law on Armed Conflict (LOAC). The article endeavours to give a perspective from a tactical viewpoint on the challenges of delivering a meaningful explanation, the practical application of the efforts of the International community in dealing with the horrors of conflict, the manner in which responsible soldiers and citizens are expected to behave in the resolution of conflict, and the development of a society transitioning from crisis to modernity. In developing a programme for the delivery of lectures, cognisance was given to the very low base the soldiers were starting from and also to determining the aim and scope of the lectures. The measure of their success is how the soldiers reacted to scenario-based exercises, incorporating issues on the application of the LOAC and the aspects of gender they may find in their daily lives as soldiers in the Armed Forces of Somalia. The measure was successfully identified by the EUTM instructors at the end of the training period as a positive reflection of the delivery.

Key words *LOAC, Law on Armed Conflict, gender, training, EUTM Somalia.*

Introduction The purpose of this paper is to offer a pragmatic approach to the developmental teaching of the various topics listed below to a largely unfamiliar audience, with a varying degree of literacy and understanding of the topics. The article will demonstrate that “one size does not fit all” with regard to addressing the manner in which a lesson or series of lessons can or should be delivered to a challenging audience very much removed from the norms associated with military training “methods of instruction”. The European Union Training Mission (EUTM) Somalia was essentially tasked with training the soldiers to a sufficient military standard, with the added function of imparting knowledge on humanitarian law and human rights law, the prevention of sexual violence, and the necessity of recognising the importance of gender in conflict and post-conflict situations. Even though my primarily appointment in EUTM Somalia was “Visits and Protocol Officer”, I additionally received tasks on gender (as gender advisor). Therefore the focus of this article will be mainly related to gender and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325), with the purpose of sharing personal experience as one member of the Irish Armed Forces performing the mission.

I have to acknowledge that in the delivery of the lectures I borrowed from a wide variety of sources, as well as from previous experience and simple inventiveness. The syllabus in general covered a wide range of topics, listed below:

- Defend the government and all the people of Somali: appreciate the law of the land and the principles involved;
- Protect the constitution of Somalia and the government: understand the United Nations Universal Human Rights (associated charters and conventions);

- Create a stable society for people to live a normal life: understand dignity, respect, human rights and customs, and the incorporation of gender into military and civilian life;
- Establish the rule of law: how the LOAC is implemented in a conflict situation;
- UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and Gender Perspectives.

The discourse regarding gender in and about conflict scenarios is well-documented, and has been widely discussed and written about. There are many papers discussing gender issues surrounding Civil Military Cooperation (CIMIC) and the involvement of the international community and organisations. There is a broad consensus on the EU and NATO's comprehensive approach to dealing with gender in post-conflict situations. Gender mainstreaming is well recognised among the primary actors and the varied and broad community of NGOs. UN resolutions populate the discourse on the implementation of gender in the agendas of international actors in their approach to conflict resolution and security sector reform programmes. The design and development of a holistic approach to the integrated training of gender and its aspects, as applicable to the LOAC and humanitarian law, are also well discussed and debated. This paper will address all of the above issues in a non-academic manner and focus on the pragmatic aspects, by discussing a specific core group during a specific time in a very specific theatre of training. In part, the purpose of the lectures was to initiate the building of a productive culture in allowing the Somali to appreciate the LOAC and how it should or could best be implemented into their ethos and culture, so that the lessons could enable ("baby steps") lifelong learning to develop and flourish among them. Fundamentally the design and content of the lectures were to teach the Somali soldiers the right information so that they can affect the right decision for the right reason to achieve the right outcome at the right time.

1 UNSCR 1325 AND IRELAND'S DEFENCE FORCES ACTION PLAN ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325

1.1 The United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and related resolutions

The United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which is concerned with women, peace and security, was adopted in 2000, and was seen as an important step in recognising the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and girls. It recognises that women and children are not accidentally caught in the crossfire during conflict, but rather are increasingly specifically targeted by armed groups. This escalates the cycle of violence, which in turn has a lasting negative impact on the prospects and conditions necessary for peace and reconciliation. UNSCR 1325 highlights the vital role that women can play in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peace building, post-conflict reconstruction, reform and governance.

The commonly agreed pillars of UNSCR 1325 are;

Prevention In relation to prevention of conflict, including gender-based violence and sexual exploitation and abuse, UNSCR 1325 “calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse.” It also “emphasises the responsibility of all states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls.” (Resolution 1325, 2000, p. 3 of 4)

Participation In relation to the participation and representation of women in decision making, UNSCR 1325 considers the issue in two sections:

Internal: Internal participation relates to women within the Defence Forces, aiming to increase participation at all levels. It also relates to integrating a gender perspective into the Defence Forces on a permanent basis. UNSCR 1325 calls for “increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions.” (Resolution 1325, 2000, p. 2 of 4)

UNSCR 1325 states that “gender perspectives should be considered in analyses, policy and strategy development, and planning of peace support operations, as well as training programmes and instruments developed to support effective implementation of those operations, such as guidelines, handbooks and codes of conduct.” (Resolution 1325, 2000, p. 3 of 4)

In the publication *Gender Perspectives in Military Operations* (2015, p. 2), it states “to have a gender perspective is to have the ability to detect if and when men, women, boys and girls are affected differently by a situation as a consequence of their gender”. We must consider this at all times, and assume that lives, experiences, security threats, freedom of movement, health and access to health care, resources and influence are not the same for men and women or children. These differences and their consequences should be analysed and taken into consideration to provide recommendations and guidance for operational commanders.

Gender mainstreaming can be defined as: “The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.” (UN ECOSOC, 1997)

External: UNSCR 1325 seeks to place more women staff in UN field missions in those areas where they are traditionally under-represented. It also calls for the Defence Forces to assist in increasing the participation of women in countries where

the Defence Forces are part of a peacekeeping mission. This is currently being done to great effect by IRISHFINNBATT in UNIFIL, who actively seek to incorporate women into their CIMIC projects and increase their participation in various forums.

Protection In relation to protection from gender-based violence and sexual exploitation and abuse, and other violations of women’s human rights and international humanitarian law, UNSCR 1325, in its opening statements, is “expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation.” (Resolution 1325, 2000, p. 1 of 4)

It is imperative that peacekeepers realize who are affected: men, women, boys or girls. They require information about the types of risks different people are exposed to, so that they can provide the protection and security required. If this is not done then their credibility among the population is challenged, which will have a negative effect on Force Protection and the willingness of the civilian population to cooperate with the peacekeepers.

UNSCR 1325 was further strengthened by the adoption of UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2009) and UNSCR 1960 (2010). These Resolutions built on the pillars of UNSCR 1325 and used stronger language to condemn violence against women and children. The concepts of sexual exploitation and abuse are also highlighted, leading to the recognition of rape as a war crime.

UNSCR 1820 (Resolution 1820, 2008, p. 2-3):

- declares “condemnation in the strongest terms of all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children... such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality”.
- “demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence... rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity”.
- calls for “zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theatre awareness training”.

UNSCR 1960 (2010, p. 2) calls for an end to impunity, stating that “ending impunity is essential if a society in conflict or recovering from conflict is to come to terms with past abuses committed against civilians affected by armed conflict and to prevent future such abuses”. It is imperative that all peacekeepers are made aware of this during pre-deployment training.

1.2 Defence Forces Action Plan on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 Relief, Recovery and Rehabilitation

The two main objectives of Relief, Recovery and Rehabilitation are:

- to ensure that security sector reform activities supported by Ireland are responsive to the different security needs and priorities of women;
- to ensure that disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration activities supported by Ireland are responsive to the different security needs and priorities of women.

Promotion by the Irish Government of steps to implement UNSCR 1325

The main objectives under this pillar include:

- to strengthen institutional capacity in order to ensure that commitments to gender equality, human rights and UNSCR 1325 are incorporated into peace building, peacekeeping and post-conflict transition;
- to use regional and international foreign policy instruments to promote the principles of UNSCR 1325.

The 10th anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325 brought the Resolution firmly into focus again, but it also highlighted the lack of progress on the implementation both at the UN and also at the national level. Following this, the Irish National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 for the period 2011-2014 was drafted and adopted in November 2011. Of the 193 member countries of the United Nations, approximately 37 currently have a National Action Plan in place. Ireland's second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2015-2018 (2015) has the following aims:

- To listen to the voices of women affected by conflict; to strengthen women's leadership and implement accountability mechanisms;
- To strengthen institutional capacities and collaboration, through comprehensive and effective training of staff deployed overseas and greater accountability;
- To support programmes to promote women's participation in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peace negotiations, peace-building, and post-conflict transition and governance;
- To leverage Ireland's participation in global and regional forums to champion the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

In order to meet the aims identified above, the National Action Plan has listed a number of objectives for each specific pillar that must be achieved. These objectives have listed actions, actors, indicators and target timeframes. There are 12 objectives overall and the Defence Forces are listed as an actor in six of them. With the exception of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, who are driving the National Action Plan, no other organisation is as heavily tasked as the Defence Forces. This highlights the importance of the Defence Forces to the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325. From a Defence Forces perspective this requires integrating UNSCR 1325 into policy, training and operations both at home and overseas (Irish Defence Forces Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325).

2 GETTING STARTED

As the sun baked down on the runway of Entebbe Military airport, with the next intake of Somali recruits, both male and female, descending off the plane with only the clothes they wore as their sole possessions, it was difficult to determine where we would start with them when lecturing on humanitarian law, LOAC and gender awareness. We were tasked with delivering these lectures to the Somali troops in December 2012, when we were appointed in addition as the mission Gender Advisor (training/ humanitarian law/ human rights/prevention of sexual violence), EUTM Somalia, based in Bihanga Training Camp, Uganda. For two weeks over the Christmas period, we delivered a series of lectures that covered humanitarian law, human rights law and the gender rights of women, families and children. In addition to teaching the Somali trainees the skills of soldiering, we engaged with the Somali trainees to deliver better citizens for Somalia.

Interpreters were required to translate this content to the Somalis. Initially, the interpreters were briefed on what exactly the message was, and to ensure they were familiar and comfortable with the complexities of the concepts so that no ambiguities would arise during the instruction to the Somalis. It was essential that the lectures were not diluted or misinterpreted in translation from English to Swahili. Once the interpreters were comfortable with the concepts and the language, the instructors confident, and no ambiguity of language existed, the training on this important aspect of good citizenship commenced.

It was heartening to witness the engagement of the trainees in these important subjects. The Somali trainees were keen to learn these new concepts and engage in debate. In realizing that many were illiterate and poorly educated if at all, we commissioned a series of pictures and cartoons to reflect the message we wanted to deliver. This enabled us to question many perceptions of the Somali in a very simple way while being extremely forceful in the delivery of concepts. We made a note of all the questions asked by the students, and in an after-action review with the EUTM instructors, combined their questions with the correct answers, and designed a programme of inclusion into their training syllabus and training modules, which were incorporated into situational tactical training as tasks for the students to deal with.

2.1 Background

The lessons began by explaining the history of Somalia back to the days when the British and Italians controlled the country, including French Djibouti. It was interesting to note that some did not know where on the map they actually lived. Each trainee was given time to see and understand where they had come from. Factual consideration and explanations were given to relay the history, and how the country had now found itself embroiled in its current conflict. This was to empower the students with their geographical identity, and for them to appreciate, like most nations, why and where they evolved, in order to appreciate their customs and traditions as they pertain today.

2.2 Giving context

Thereafter, a comprehensive overview of the history of humanitarian law was given, followed by specifics on what the various laws and conventions actually stood for. Some time was dedicated to explaining the Geneva Conventions, the Hague Convention and the United Nations Charter on the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. This was necessary in order to give some historical context, rather than giving too much detail to conceptual arguments, processes and procedures. All the students were made aware that any infringement of these rights could lead to soldiers – irrespective of nationality, rank or who actually issued the order – being interned by the International Criminal Court (ICC). Pictures were then used to convey what the concepts were and, in the follow-up questions, students were able to relate the message to the picture. Each concept was then given a scenario, in which the students were asked to effectively determine what was the “right thing to do”. Certainly not all the answers were completely correct, but during within-class and after-class discussion, they quickly understood the concept in its basic form.

The Somali constitution was discussed, with emphasis on the 1960 constitution and the most recent Transitional Federal Government (TFG) 2004 constitution. Various articles from the constitution were read out and explained, and again, a questions and answers session followed. This was to assure, or indeed to reassure them, that what was being discussed does not take place in a vacuum and that as representatives of the government they had a responsibility to the constitution. Interestingly, they requested a copy of the constitution, and one was supplied in the Somali language to each trainee.

2.3 Dealing with fundamentals

Following this, the trainees were given classes on human rights. The specific focus here was firstly on identifying what human rights were and identifying the core principles, regardless of who you were or where you came from. Again, we cross-referenced the Universal Human Rights with those listed in the Somali constitution, to highlight the necessity of understanding them and being able to apply them on their return to Somalia as trained, responsible and professional soldiers. Questions and answers were followed by robust inquiries from the Somali trainees related to their experiences at home. Answers were given to their questions within the framework of the legislation and best practice between the LOAC and good governance. Occasionally, a suggestion of a revenge attack was made, but interestingly the other trainees of the class would correct the individual. They would explain that he/she must follow the rule of law and why, otherwise he/she could be considered a common criminal.

We explored the nature of a lawful order, and who could give it, and when an order was not a lawful order. This was quickly understood and appreciated by the class. They understood that they did not have to blindly follow an unlawful order and how they could avoid following an unlawful order. This was further qualified as to when they could open fire: in defence of their own lives or a comrade’s life, and

what degrees of force should be used prior to opening fire, for example, weight of numbers, batons, disperse or ‘we open fire’.

2.4 Family and loved ones

The trainees were brought through the various aspects of gender. The focus was on the rights of women, families and children. Brief mention was made of homosexuality, which was an alien concept to them. Mention was also made of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The trainees were informed of UNSCR 1325 and 1820, giving context to post-conflict situations as approved by the international community. Gender mainstreaming was also discussed as a broadly inclusive concept to bring society completely along the road to recovery. Issues affecting women, such as domestic violence, were also discussed. Education was a special topic that was engaged in and appreciated, but acknowledged as sadly lacking for many Somalis, both male and female. Examples were given of impact on gender caused by the conflicts in Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Bosnia, and this was also explained in both picture and video formats for added effect.

The subject of the use of child soldiers was discussed at length. The trainees were unanimous in their contempt of the use of child soldiers by Al-Shabaab. Their upset was clear when shown pictures of injured child soldiers. The empathy they had with these children was tangible, considering quite a lot of them had young children themselves and indeed had witnessed a lot of turbulence in their own lives. They seemed determined that their children would not be subjected to the same ordeals. In essence, they wanted their children to grow up in a carefree society, able to attend school and enjoy the normality that most communities around the world take for granted. The liberal use of graphics throughout the presentations greatly enhanced the learning curve. Issues regarding the rights of women were interesting and illuminating. There was a heavy emphasis on the traditional aspects of the Somali way of life. Many had difficulty reconciling the modern ideas with what they see as absolutely normal. Group discussion was encouraged to help them understand the concept of freedom to choose, as opposed to conform. There was a consensus that women should be respected and supported to continue their education in order to advance their chance in society. We explored the concept of marriage, and that women and children were not the property of their husband, but rather his responsibility.

The module finished with a round table discussion on all the topics discussed. This proved invaluable, in that we were able to confirm that the message had been received and understood in the Somali way. Many aspects were reinforced, such as their professionalism, leadership, commitment to the TFG, and appreciation of the need to be aware of the various gender issues as applying within Somali society.

2.5 And finally, a way to better conditions for citizens

These students had experienced the horrors of conflict, yet had humanity and empathy in abundance. They wanted to learn in order to restore their country to a place where

all peoples live in harmony, tolerant of diversity, and where their children can run, skip and sing on their way to school. They wanted a country that stands proud in the international community. The series of lectures were appreciated and understood as valuable. Obviously they were not, nor could be, comprehensive in the delivery of a true understanding of the complexities regarding law and associated norms as understood by western society, but rather they delivered the seed of understanding, and recognised that while the Somali have a troubled history, humanity is universal to all cultures, religions and societies. It gave them a window to see and explore old concepts dressed in new language to help their war torn nation find peace and help its citizens to be able to live in harmony.

Conclusion

In the Irish Defence Forces we promote lifelong learning on all our courses and in our deployments on missions overseas. We have lessons learnt and after-action review sections. The intent was to nurture a seed of learning for the Somali, to enable the learning of both the LOAC and new concepts that would hopefully develop and mature into normal societal behaviour. There was only a short window of opportunity to plant that seed. I believe that while not all the soldiers grasped the concepts totally, most learnt something from the lectures, the discussions amongst themselves and the collegiate effect that training has on all groups. The after-action review from the instructors confirmed that the Somali soldiers did, for the most part, implement their learning in the scenario-based exercises conducted during the final phase of training. This is testament to the instruction delivered and the importance of including gender training in such training deployments. Somalia is a nation in transition and I hope that these lectures will propel that nation along on a more fruitful and harmonious journey.

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NEKATERE DOBRE PRAKSE NA PODROČJU VIDIKA SPOLA TER IZVAJANJA RESOLUCIJE VS OZN 1325 V 25 LETIH SLOVENSКИH OBOROŽENIH SIL

SOME OF THE BEST PRACTICES IN GENDER PERSPECTIVE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 IN THE 25 YEARS OF SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES

Povzetek Leta 2015 je Resolucija Varnostnega sveta 1325 o ženskah, miru in varnosti praznovala 15-letnico. Letos praznujemo 25-letnico samostojnosti Republike Slovenije in slovenskih oboroženih sil. Politika enakosti spolov, ki je bila upoštevana tudi v pogojih za zaposlitev v Slovenski vojski, je v veljavi vse od začetka samostojnosti RS. Kljub temu da so v prvih letih v RS in slovenskih oboroženih silah potekali razvojni procesi, ni bilo prepovedi razporejanja žensk na vojaške dolžnosti niti programov ali področij dela, v katera vključevanje žensk v oboroženih silah ne bi bilo mogoče. Ženske so zastopane v celotni strukturi SV, od taktične do strateške ravni poveljevanja, vključno s položaji odločanja v Sloveniji in tujini. Najvišji čin, ki ga od leta 2011 ima ženska v SV, je brigadirski. V strukturi SV je bilo v zadnjih desetih letih skupno zaposlenih od 15 do 16 odstotkov žensk. Ženske pripadnice sodelujejo v mednarodnih operacijah in na misijah od prvega slovenskega kontingenta, ki je bil napoten leta 1997. Izvajanje resolucije VS OZN 1325 in vidika spola sta vključena v izvajanje različnih procesov, kot so izobraževanje, usposabljanje za mednarodne operacije in misije, operativno načrtovanje in drugo. V članku so predstavljene nekatere dobre prakse SV na področju vključevanja vidika spola in izvajanja resolucije VS OZN 1325.

Ključne besede *Spol, ženske, Slovenska vojska, izvajanje, resolucija VS OZN 1325.*

Abstract The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) celebrated its 15th anniversary in 2015. This year, the Republic of Slovenia (RS) and the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) both celebrate their 25th anniversary of Independence. The policy on gender equality, also considered in the SAF's conditions of employment, has applied since the very beginning of the independent RS. Even though during the first years the RS and the SAF underwent some developmental processes, there were no legally forbidden areas for female

personnel, nor programmes or branches which excluded the participation of women in the SAF. Women are represented throughout the SAF structure, from the tactical to the strategic levels of command, including decision-making positions both in Slovenia and abroad. The highest rank in the SAF held by a woman since 2011 is that of Brigadier. The overall percentage of women in the SAF structure is between 15% and 16% performing active duty in the past decade. Women have been deployed to international operations and missions since the deployment of the first Slovenian contingent in 1997. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the integration of gender perspective are applied through different processes, such as education, pre-deployment training and operational planning, among others. This paper demonstrates some selected best practices of the SAF on the integration of gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Key words *Gender, women, Slovenian Armed Forces, implementation, UNSCR 1325.*

Introduction The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) was issued 15 years ago. However, when considering women in the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF), we cannot ignore those processes which had already taken place beforehand. Basically, it could be pointed out that the main reason for the involvement of both men and women in the SAF is found in the legal framework which has been regulating gender equality at the national level since the very beginning of the establishment of the armed forces in the independent Republic of Slovenia. Bearing in mind that the Republic of Slovenia (RS) is celebrating “the first 25 years of independence in the international security” (Contemporary Military Challenges, 2016) it should be understood that both the RS and the SAF have undergone development processes in their early years. In this respect, two main points could be set out in the SAF: the professionalisation of the SAF, and the accession to NATO and the EU. In 2003, the Slovenian Government abolished conscription and, in 2004 the SAF was reorganized into a professional armed forces with additional voluntary reserve personnel. In the same year, Slovenia formally became a NATO and EU member. We could assume that this professionalisation, and NATO and EU membership, can be considered as important turning points which had an impact on the SAF. However, with regard to gender, the SAF was following national legislation on gender equality.

The first document related directly to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the SAF is the Directive for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, which was issued by SAF General Staff in 2009. The main focus and goal of the Directive are the role of SAF female personnel in decision-making processes, encourage the increased participation of female personnel in international operations and missions, increased awareness of gender perspective, and education and training on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective (Gregorič, Pešec, Frlic, Borc-Osolnik, 2009).

This paper shows some of the selected best practices of the SAF (and the RS), alongside some data, with the purpose of gaining insight into the situation related to the integration of gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325. This means that not all data are included.

1. THEORETICAL BASIS ON GENDER, THE UNSCR 1325 AND ITS CONNECTION WITH MILITARY

1.1 Gender, gender equality and gender perspective

Gender basically refers to the roles of men and women and girls and boys in a particular society. The differences in their relationships exist even across urban and rural areas. According to the UN definition, gender “refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relationships between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/ time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, and access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities” (Concepts and definitions, 2016). These inequalities in societies have triggered the efforts towards achieving gender equality which “refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for women and men, and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same, but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born female or male” (BI-SC Directive 40-1, 2012, p. 6). Gender equality is “the goal” and gender mainstreaming is “the strategy” for achieving gender equality (Gender Mainstreaming, 2002, p. 1).

According to the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), gender perspective is a conceptual framework and in addition to other things, also an instrument that guides decisions (Gender Perspective, 2016). NATO defined gender perspective through the military operational aspect. This definition says that gender perspective is “a tool to increase operational effectiveness. By identifying an often overlooked populace, recognising their specific needs, and providing the appropriate comprehensive response, the operational environment is positively influenced. NATO has therefore adopted a policy of gender mainstreaming, integration of gender perspective and more adequate protection of women, girls and boys during armed conflict” (BI-SC Directive 40-1, 2012, p. 5). Furthermore, gender perspective in relation to military operations, especially at the tactical level, speaks of the “ability to detect if and when men, women, boys and girls are being affected differently by a situation due to their gender” (Whose Security?, 2015, p. 10). Furthermore, the integration of gender perspective in the military is also “a way of assessing gender-based differences of women and men reflected in their social roles and interactions, in the

distribution of power and the access to resources” (BI-SC Directive 40-1, 2012, p. 5). The connection between gender equality and gender perspective is inevitable. A relatively high level of gender inequality in the local environment of many countries where international operations and missions (IOMs) are conducted has triggered a need for the involvement of both men and women into IOMs at all levels. We could say that from the operational aspect, gender perspective in operations was developed as a concept through the need which came up during the performance of military operations.

1.2 Complexity between UNSCR 1325, gender perspective and armed forces related to IOMs

When considering the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in practice, we should first understand the key messages of UNSCR 1325 and the role of militaries in this regard, as well as how gender influences the performance of military tasks.

UNSCR 1325 was adopted in 2000 (Resolution 1325, 2000) as the “first Security Council resolution to address the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women. It stresses the importance of women’s equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction. It calls on member states to ensure women’s equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts” (The UN Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, 2014). The focus of UNSCR 1325 is on the “Protection, Prevention, and Participation” of women, and it provides a “legal and political framework” (UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, 2014). Following the adoption of Resolution 1325, seven related Resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) have been adopted: Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2009), Resolution 1960 (2010), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013), and Resolution 2242 (2015).

There is a strong message in the title of one of the publications of the Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations (NCGM): “Whose Security?” (2015). This title can make militaries think about *Whose security to ensure when performing a mission? As Schuurman (NATO taking the WPS agenda forward, 2015, p. 5) states, “Women and men both have critical roles to play in making peace and keeping peace. The needs and interests of an entire population matter - not just a half of them.”* The awareness that there is a possibility of excluding 50% of the population due to gender-based distinction of roles within a society can affect the effectiveness of the operation.

Experiences from different IOMs have shown that gender has become a very important key for reaching higher operational effectiveness, and according to Lackenbauer and Langlais (2013, p. 5) “has to be taken into account in order to fulfil mission objectives.” For example, International Security Assistance Force

(ISAF) experiences have shown that “this is particularly true at the tactical level, when, during operations, ISAF troops have to take into account the position and situation of women in Afghan society” (Lackenbauer and Langlais, 2013, p. 5). Furthermore, the same authors (2013, p. 6) noted that Afghan women respondents reported that women were rarely approached by ISAF. The respondents considered that the ISAF had failed to identify women as important actors. This kind of lesson also reinforced some recommendations to “encourage the increased participation of female personnel at all levels of operational planning and operations, particularly in decision-making” and follow the “aim for gender mixed teams (male and female) in all phases of operational planning and operations” (CWINF Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming, 2003, p. 21). Furthermore, “integrating gender perspective is a force multiplier” (Gender perspectives in military operations, 2013, p. 7); therefore “concepts shall be considered in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the integration of gender perspective in the framework of the comprehensive approach to make sure that risks and security for the entire population will be addressed and handled” (BI-SC Directive 40-1, 2012, p. 6).

2 GENDER IN SLOVENIAN SOCIETY AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325

When speaking about the SAF and gender it is important to consider the gender-related situation in general society. The SAF constitutes an integral part of the Slovenian population and is embedded in the social environment to which it belongs.

A report by the RS on the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (2014, p. 4) states that “in the 1992 National Assembly elections, 13.3% of women were elected.” Furthermore, a significant increase was achieved in the early elections of 2011, when 32.2% of women were elected. “In the first elections of Slovenian members to the European Parliament in 2004, women comprised 41.1% of the candidates. In the elections for the 2009-2014 term, a balanced representation was achieved, with four women and four men being elected. Its 50% representation places Slovenia significantly above the EU average in women's representation in the European Parliament” (Report of the RS on the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 2014, p. 4). In the same report (2014, p. 5), it is stated that “Slovenia is one of the rare countries where the impact of parenthood on the employment rate is limited. Women’s high employment rate is due to good regulation of employment, parental leave, child care, primary schooling, etc., which enables parents, particularly women, to reconcile professional and family life.” Salecl (2016, p. 2) stated that “up to 2012, Slovenia was the only country in the EU, where the rate of employed women with children younger than 6 years was higher than the rate of employed women without children (age range 25-49 years).” According to the Gender Equality Index 2015 (Gender Equality Index 2015 – Measuring gender equality in the European Union 2005-2012, 2015, pp. 75-76) in the period 2005 to 2012, Slovenia ranked 7th in the 28 EU member countries, and 2nd among member States where scores of the Gender Equality Index have risen in

both periods (2005-2010 and 2010-2012), which means that the RS is still making progress. Furthermore, the Input to the Secretary-General's 2016 report to the Security Council on Women and Peace and Security (2016, p. 5) showed that the RS has reached gender balance (50%) in the government structure of the ministries and even more female heads of diplomatic missions and consulates were appointed (55%) in 2015. There were 8 female ministers out of a total of 16, including the Minister of the Interior for the first time, and Minister of Defence (MoD) for the second time. The first female minister of Defence in the RS took over the position in 2008 and led the ministry until 2012 (Government of the RS: November 2008-February 2012, 2016). According to the list of female ministers of defence at a global level (Female Ministers of Defence, 2016) the first female Minister of Defence was appointed in 1960; however, even today it is still not often that a woman takes the lead in the defence or interior sectors.

The RS adopted the first National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security in 2010 for a five year period (Action Plan of the Republic of Slovenia for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security for the period 2010-2015; 2010). Additionally, the new Resolution on the national programme for equal opportunities for women and men for the period 2015-2020 (ReNPEMŽM15-20, 2015) also includes gender perspective and provisions on UNSCR 1325 with "enhancing integration of gender perspective into Slovenian development, peace and other foreign-policy initiatives" (ReNPEMŽM15-20, 2015, pp. 68-69). The resolution was followed by the Periodic Plans for the period of 2016 to 2018, where gender perspective and UNSCR 1325 are included in the section on peacekeeping and peace-building with three main measures: the integration of gender perspective into conflict prevention and resolution policies, including pre-deployment training on gender perspective and UNSCR 1325; greater involvement of women in IOMs and decision-making and intervention processes, including ensuring mixed gender teams on IOMs; and prevention of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict against women and girls, as well as their protection during and after armed conflict (Periodic Plan for the implementation of the Resolution on the national program for equal opportunities for women and men for the years 2016 and 2017, 2016, pp. 49-52).

Slovenia is engaged on the UNSCR 1325 through various international activities. In 2015, two high level events were organised, namely the panel "Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict: One Year after the Summit" as part of the 2015 Bled Strategic Forum, held in Slovenia, and event marking "the 15th anniversary of the UNSCR 1325, *inter alia* by leading the preparation of the joint statement of more than 80 States at the 29th session of the UN Human Rights Council (Input to the Secretary-General's 2016 report to the Security Council on Women and Peace and Security, 2016, p. 1).

3 SOME BEST PRACTICES ON GENDER PERSPECTIVE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 IN THE SAF

3.1 SAF have been composed by both women and men since the beginnings without restrictions on duties

Modern conflict settings have raised the need for a comprehensive approach where both diversity and the potential of both genders are beneficial to armed forces. In this regard the trend for an increased proportion of women in the armed forces and a reduced number of restrictions for women have been identified. Some of those data can be found in the Summary of the National reports of NATO member and partner nations 2014 (2016).

Since its very beginnings, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Slovenia – at that time the Territorial Defence (TD) – have been open for employment to both men and women. The main reason was found in the national legislation which supported gender equality. There are no lawfully forbidden areas for female personnel nor programmes or branches legally excluding the participation of women in the SAF. The percentage of women in SAF structure has ranged between 15 and 16 percent in the last decade (Tkavc, 2015).

Table 1:
Ratio between
male and female
SAF active
duty personnel
in the period
2000-2015 (on
31 December of
each year)

Year	Number (Total)	M (No)	F (No)	M (%)	F (%)
2000	4875	4191	684	86.0%	14.0%
2001	5038	4322	716	85.8%	14.2%
2002	5584	4765	819	85.3%	14.7%
2003	6367	5355	1012	84.1%	15.9%
2004	6948	5858	1090	84.3%	15.7%
2005	7324	6206	1118	84.7%	15.3%
2006	7333	6213	1120	84.7%	15.3%
2007	7071	5974	1097	84.5%	15.5%
2008	7040	5909	1131	83.9%	16.1%
2009	7505	6333	1172	84.4%	15.6%
2010	7539	6373	1166	84.5%	15.5%
2011	7567	6393	1174	84.5%	15.5%
2012	7437	6292	1145	84.6%	15.4%
2013	7312	6175	1137	84.5%	15.5%
2014	7133	6005	1128	84.2%	15.8%
2015	5884	6005	1128	83.9%	16.1%
Average:				84.6%	15.4%

M – Male; F – Female; No – Number; % - Percentage

As is evident from Table 1, the SAF structure of the past fifteen years has on average been composed of 84.6% male and 15.4% female personnel (overall). Up to 2003, before the professionalisation of the SAF, the percentage of female SAF members gradually increased, from 14.0% to 15.9%. From 2004 to 2007, in the years after the completion of the professionalisation of SAF and the first years after the RS's official membership of the North Atlantic Alliance, a slight decrease in the proportion of female service members was noted (2004: 15.7%; 2005 and 2006: 15.3%; 2007: 15.5%). The percentages from 2008 to 2014 showed a relatively constant representation of women in the SAF (average 15.6%). The ratio between men and women over a 15-year period has remained relatively constant.

The data on female personnel on active military duty as well as in voluntary reserve forces are only few percent lower than the overall percentages shown in Table 1. In 2015, 14.2% of female personnel were appointed to active military duties, and 13.9% the previous year. In 2014, the SAF was 6th of the other 27 NATO member nations, just behind the first five countries with the largest number of women serving in their armed forces on active military service: Latvia (16.5%), the United States (15.2%), Bulgaria (14.8%), Hungary (14.6%), and Canada (14.3%) (Summary of the National reports of NATO member and partner nations 2014, 2016, p. 8). Data on the voluntary reserve forces, according to Šteiner (2014, p. 289), showed an average of 12.1% of women in the period 2004-2012.

Considering the ranks of female military active personnel, data from 2015 showed that the highest percentages of women in comparison to men were found in the ranks of Second Lieutenant to Captain (20.6%), followed by soldiers (14.9%), officer ranks of Major to Colonel (14.5%), and non-commissioned officers (11.0%). There was one female Brigadier. The ratio of ranks of female personnel in 2015 did not change in comparison to 2014 (soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers). However, a slight increase in the percentages of women was identified in comparison to men. In 2014, 20.1% of female active military personnel were in the ranks from Second Lieutenant to Captain, 14.7% were soldiers, 13.6% ranked from Major to Colonel, and 10.7% were non-commissioned officers. In recent years, a slightly increasing trend has been noted.

Table 2 shows that many areas of work in the SAF are almost balanced in the representation of men and women. It is especially interesting that, considered from the stereotypical point of view of "traditional" male and female roles, some areas of work in the SAF are close to a gender-balanced ratio (50:50). Posts in the administration, medical, or human resources (personnel) have in the past been primarily considered as jobs for women, but in the SAF today more men than women work in administrative (52.48%) and human resources (61.32%) positions. These two are the most gender-balanced areas of work, besides public relations (57.14%), medical (40.32%), and legal services (35.29%). Public relations are also one of duty areas where the complementary skills of both male and female personnel are essential in the light of the increasing complexity (The NATO Committee on

Table 2:
Some duty
areas where
both women
and men were
serving (as of
31 December
2015)

Area	Women Percentage (%)	Men Percentage (%)
Administration	47.52	52.48
Communications	7.50	92.50
Finance	84.21	15.79
Infantry	13.85	86.15
Legal	64.71	35.29
Logistics	17.32	82.68
Medical	59.68	40.32
Musicians	18.75	81.25
Personnel	38.68	61.32
Public Affairs	42.86	57.14

* Note: Infantry - only infantry regiments; Medical – Military Medical Unit (regiment level), Musicians- Military Band; Other- full-time and dual-hatted duties included.

Gender Perspectives, 2014, p. 2). A lower percentage of men can be found in finance (15.79%), and a lower percentage of women in communications (7.50%). The ratio between women and men in the infantry regiments (13.85% women, 86.15% men) is close to the average of active military duty personnel (14.2% women, 85.8% men), and logistics (17.32% women, 82.68% men) is close to the average of overall active duty personnel (16.1% women, 83.9% men). There are 18.75% of women among musicians, and the conductor of the SAF Band is a woman.

3.2 Female personnel in the SAF are taking senior and decision-making positions at home and abroad

Resolution 1325 (2000, p. 2) “urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.”

Both women and men in the SAF are taking leadership, command or decision-making positions at home and abroad. Those positions have ranged, and continue to range, from the tactical level (e.g. platoon commanders), up to the positions at the strategic level (e.g. heads of sections, divisions, joint division, chiefs of staff). The first female battalion commander was appointed in January 2006 as the commander of the Intelligence and Reconnaissance Battalion; the second was appointed in March 2007 as the commander of the Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) Battalion up to August 2010. By November 2011, one more female had been appointed commander of one of the motorized battalions. From 2011 to 2013, the Officer Candidate School was headed by a female commander. More recently, in October 2016, another woman took over the position of commander of the Initial Training Centre.

The highest rank to be held by a woman in the SAF since 2011 has been that of Brigadier. She currently holds one of the highest positions in the SAF at the General Staff and is responsible for one of the three pillars in the SAF, i.e. the operations pillar; she thus holds the position of Chief of Joint Operations Division and Assistant to the Chief of General Staff. She has also held the positions of Chief of Staff at General Staff, chief of a division, commander of a battalion, and others. Until recently one of the female Colonels held the position of Deputy Commander of one of the brigades. There are also other women taking deputy commander positions; one of these is, for example, in the Military Medical Unit (regiment level).

The contribution of the SAF to the structures of different international institutions has been in place for many years. Several female SAF members have been posted to different positions, also holding senior and decision-making positions abroad. One example is a female military active duty officer who in 2008 was selected for the position of Director in the rank of Colonel for three years from the applicants of member countries of the International Military Sports Council (CISM) – the first female director in the 60-year history of this worldwide organization of 134 member countries. She was also the Deputy Secretary General of CISM. From 2012 to 2016 one of the Colonels was appointed to Allied Command Transformation as National Liaison Representative. In July 2016, another Colonel was posted to the position of Head of Training and Exercise branch at one of NATO's Joint Force Commands. Last but not least, the first female Military Attaché from SAF was appointed in 2014 in the rank of Colonel and she is still in post.

Furthermore, both women and men from the SAF are posted to senior positions, performing decision-making and commanding duties in IOMs. For example, in 2007 a woman was deployed as Commander of the Slovenian contingent to EUFOR Althea (European Union Force Althea) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and two women were deployed as Deputy Commanders in the same year, one as Deputy Commander of the Slovenian contingent in ISAF in Afghanistan, and the other as Deputy Commander of a task force in KFOR (NATO peace support operation in Kosovo - the Kosovo Force). In the period between 2009 and 2010, two female Colonels were deployed as chiefs of branches at KFOR HQs. In 2013/2014, Slovenia deployed two Lieutenant Colonels, one as a shift director and another as the operations and training advisor. At the same time, the Ministry of Defence, which deploys civilian functional experts (as outsourced specialists, or MoD employees) in IOMs, also posted two female civilians from Slovenia to advisory positions in Kosovo. Both male and female, military personnel and civilians, are posted to different advisory positions.

3.3 Both men and women have been deployed to IOMs since the first deployment

Gender perspective in NATO recognizes that “the complementary skills of both male and female personnel are essential for the effectiveness of NATO operations” (Gender perspectives in NATO Armed Forces, 2016).

Both men and women have been regularly engaged in IOMs since the very first deployment, in 1997, to the crisis response humanitarian operation ALBA in Albania. At that time, a medical unit and liaison officers were deployed (International operations and missions, 2015).

As can be seen in Table 3, the average representation of female SAF members in international operations and missions over the last decade was 9.2%, with the highest percentage in 2006 (11.8%) and the lowest percentages in 2003 (2.6%) and 2004 (3.1%). Considering the data from Table 1, where it is evident that the overall representation of women in the SAF in 2003 (15.9%), and 2004 (15.7%) was among the highest in the 15-year period, such a low involvement of women in IOMs is unexpected. However, considering that this period (2003-2004) was the years when the SAF was reorganized to become a professional armed forces and when the RS became a fully-fledged member of the North Atlantic Alliance, we can assume that the very low percentage of deployed women can be considered a temporarily inhibited involvement of women in operations due to these processes, which at that time also brought up discussions on the inclusion of women in certain specific duties, considering solutions of some other armed forces at that time.

In February 2007, the increase in the number of deployed male and female personnel in 2007 (Table 3) can be, according to Šteiner (2014, p. 290), explained by the

Table 3:
SAF female
active military
duty personnel
deployed to
IOMs in the
period 2000 –
2015 (from
1 January to
31 December of
each year)

Year	Number (No) Total	F (No)	F (%)
2000	194	10	5.2%
2001	165	16	9.7%
2002	136	8	5.9%
2003	341	9	2.6%
2004	425	13	3.1%
2005	474	49	10.3%
2006	575	68	11.8%
2007	994	88	8.9%
2008	961	94	9.8%
2009	1037	92	8.9%
2010	919	62	6.8%
2011	894	61	6.8%
2012	897	60	6.7%
2013	1119	80	7.2 %
2014	1129	101	8.9 %
2015	999	69	6.9 %

F – Female; No – Number; % - Percentage

Table 4:
Percentage of
SAF female
active duty
military
personnel
deployed in
IOMs in 2015
(from 1 January
to 31 December)

Operations	Officer: Major to Colonel	Officer: 2 nd Lieutenant to Captain	Non- commissioned officer	Soldier	Average
All Operations	3.60	2.30	1.30	10.20	6.90
NATO Operations	9.50	10.00	4.50	10.00	8.60

deployment of the battalion-sized unit which brought about the assignment of female military personnel to combat positions. However, the percentage of women in 2007 (8.9%) did not increase compared to the data of 2006 (11.8% women). When interpreting these results, we must bear in mind that the percentage shows the overall representation of active duty military personnel, both men and women, who were deployed to different IOMs on a yearly basis (from 1 January to 31 December) and also depends on the number and type of IOMs conducted in each year.

Data from Table 4 show that, in 2015, 6.90% of women were deployed in all IOMs, and 8.6% in NATO operations. The classification according to rank and status shows that female soldiers are deployed in higher percentages (10.20%) than officers (2.30-3.60%), while the lowest percentage of the deployed personnel is for non-commission officers (1.30%). Larger contingents provide a greater variety of duties, and the largest number of SAF members is deployed in KFOR. This is the main reason for a higher involvement of female members in NATO operations.

3.4 Integration of gender perspective with a focus on ensuring gender-mixed teams in IOMs

“Gender-mixed Liaison and Monitoring Teams enhanced the credibility of the mission. The gender-mixed LMT received more information than the battalions in the area of operations and also more – and more useful – information than the other male-only LMTs” (Whose Security?, 2015, p. 35).

Both male and female military personnel are posted to various positions in IOMs. Experiences gained by SAF personnel in IOMs have brought a deeper understanding of the inclusion of women in tasks, especially in those involving contact with the women of the local population. Furthermore, one of the directions of the Directive for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 (Gregorič et al., 2009) was inclusion of women in LMTs, CIMIC, and other. Consequently, more attention has been devoted to the composition of teams, such as the Liaison Monitoring Teams (LMTs). In the same year (2009), the Slovenian contingent had three LMTs of six, composed of both men and women. Nowadays, the SAF regularly posts female members to different positions within LMTs - as members, patrol leaders, and LMT leaders.

3.5 Integration of gender perspective into operational planning and education and training

In addition to evaluation, the integration of gender perspective into operational planning and operations, and into education and training, constitutes two out of three recommendations for NATO gender mainstreaming (CWINF Guidance for NATO Gender Mainstreaming, 2003).

Through integrating gender perspective into military force planning, greater effectiveness can be achieved. Such an example is gender-mixed teams in the composition of Liaison Monitoring Teams. Gender-mixed teams enable the inclusion of both genders of the local population.

Since 2013, two more actions have been taken in relation to IOMs. Regular training in gender perspective and UNSCR 1325 has been included in pre-deployment training, and they have also been incorporated into operational planning. Each deployment order, for example, includes an attachment on gender perspective and UNSCR 1325. The appendix gives directions on the integration of gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through tasks which are specified for each deployment of the SAF in relation to the mandate, mission objectives and tasks of the personnel, including situational awareness on gender in area of operations (AO).

Furthermore, training on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective in the pre-deployment training process is focused on implementing UNSCR 1325, as well as on the integration of gender perspective through the work. It also focuses on what the personnel should pay attention to and how to proceed in order to achieve better operational effectiveness. Additionally, more other topics are included in the pre-deployment training, such as cultural awareness, and other. The qualifications of SAF members are reflected in the integration of gender perspective into their tasks; for example, the first ever computer training for female members of the Afghan Security Forces was recently organised, on the basis of a SAF members' initiative in the NATO Resolute Support Mission.

Since 2014, the SAF has also been providing training of personnel and briefings of leadership representatives on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective for those appointed to international organisations (for example, to NATO and the EU).

The lectures on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective have been integrated into the military education, for example at the Officer Candidate School after the Directive for the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 had been issued (Gregorič et al, 2009). In 2015, lectures on UNSCR 1325 and gender perspective were initiated as part of leadership programmes for senior officers and senior non-commissioned officers.

Additionally, on 25 November 2015, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, the MOD marked the 15th anniversary of the UNSCR

1325 with a high-level event, at which the NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security was the guest speaker. Through her lecture on UNSCR 1325 she addressed commanders of the SAF, key leaders of the MOD, and guests from the Government of the RS and other ministries.

3.6 Building a gender advisory network within the SAF structure

The Gender Advisor (GENAD) “serves in a peacetime HQ and at strategic/operational HQ levels. The GENAD should have direct access to the Commander/Command Group in order to be able to communicate promptly and directly with the decision makers. The GENAD maintains functional contact with other GENADs, GFAs and GFPs in higher and subordinate commands” (Whose Security?, 2015, p. 11). Both, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related UNSCRs and integration of gender perspective are primary tasks of gender advisors (GENAD). They are primarily tasked with advising the commander, senior leadership and staff on the integration of gender perspective.

The first full-time Gender Advisor (GENAD) was appointed to the General Staff of the SAF in June 2015. Before the establishment of this full-time position, gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 were in the domain of the senior national representative appointed to the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP). In addition to the national representative, a deputy representative had also been appointed, and this format of appointments is still in place. The national representative became a full-time GENAD at the General Staff, while the deputy representative in NCGP is also in the role of Deputy GENAD for the SAF.

In May 2015, five participants from the SAF successfully completed a “Gender Training of Trainers Course” (GToT), organized by the NCGM and the Swedish Armed Forces International Centre (SWEDINT), in collaboration with the Centre for Security Cooperation SE Europe (RACVIAC) in Croatia. These candidates were carefully selected in order to take over the tasks on gender perspective in their respective units as subject-matter experts. After the completion of the course, all of them were involved in the execution of pre-deployment training and other tasks on gender perspective. Moreover, in 2015, some new lectures started at the Military Schools Centre (MSC) within the above-mentioned leadership programme for senior officers and senior non-commissioned officers. In 2016, in the next phase, “dual-hatted” positions of GENADs are in establishment process at the brigade level and in the MSC.

Even though the GToT is primarily focused on the carrying out of training on gender perspective and UNSCR 1325, the selection of candidates and the completion of the course constituted the foundation of the establishment of the gender advisors network. Four out of the five students who completed the GToT course in 2015 had already performed various duties in IOMs, and the fifth candidate is currently deployed in an IOM. Additionally, in 2016, one non-commissioned officer attended the GToT course. These subject-matter experts bear the ranks of officers, military specialists

and non-commissioned officers, which contributes to a more comprehensive approach towards the integration of gender perspective in the SAF. However, it still remains to raise awareness that the WPS (Women Peace and Security) agenda and gender perspective are in the domain of both men and women.

3.7 Integration of gender perspective and the provisions of UNSCR 1325 into the refugee and migrant situation in Slovenia in 2015

The SAF recognized the applicability of the UNSCR 1325 provisions in a recent situation, i.e. the refugee and migrant crisis of 2015. In this respect, extra measures were taken on the integration of gender perspective in SAF activities on the ground.

Refugees and migrants have massively fled from some countries of the Middle East and Africa due to armed conflicts in the region. During this process, their direction has been from the Mediterranean towards Europe, thus also crossing the RS. This situation required the involvement of the SAF in support of the police efforts to provide security measures, to give logistic support, and other. In order to perform tasks properly, effectively, safely and securely, the personnel were instructed to take gender awareness into consideration when executing their tasks. Gender perspective was included in the operational planning. A mission order of the General Staff, including an attachment with a note on gender perspective and UNSCR 1325 was issued. The basic instructions for personnel to be prepared for this situation were focused on some UNSCR 1325 provisions (the protection of female refugees, etc.), gender awareness, guidance on force management, etc. Both female and male SAF members were engaged.

Such situations usually occur in countries of armed conflicts, or the nearest neighbouring countries where refugee camps are established, while this situation occurred in relatively safe European and other countries. Another difference is that it involved migrants as well as refugees. Nevertheless, this situation was also the result of armed conflicts and an increase in conflict settings in the people's countries of origin. This situation particularly highlighted its humanitarian and security aspects, and required the involvement of a number of different institutions to manage the situation. Tight and well-managed collaboration between these institutions is of great importance for an effective and successful outcome. Additionally, the awareness of the importance of cultural differences and the integration of gender perspective are crucial for the successful completion of tasks. Nevertheless, female refugees are exposed in a similar way as those in refugee centres in the areas of armed conflict, which is a topic also highlighted in UNSCR 1325.

According to our knowledge, the conference on gender perspectives organized by RACVIAC in April 2016 (Conference on Gender Perspectives and Security SEE, 2016) placed migrants and refugees on the Balkan route on the agenda for the first time.

3.8 Challenges and solutions in use of the term 'gender'

Many countries have difficulties translating the term “gender” from English into their respective languages. Like some other languages, Slovene has only one term (“spol”) designating both “sex” and “gender”.

In English, “the social sciences distinguish between biologically defined *sex* and socially constructed *gender*” (Sex and Gender distinction, 2016). The use of the word “spol” in Slovene, however, does not by itself imply whether we speak about sex or gender. In the light of making the terminology useful and understandable, as well as to avoid misunderstandings or the simplification of the meaning of gender, which from the military aspect influences operational effectiveness, we found that the use of the term “gender perspective” within the UN and other international organizations related to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 seems to be a convenient solution for militaries. Furthermore, we could say that NATO has established a conceptual framework on gender perspective and uses the phrase “Gender perspectives in NATO Armed Forces” (2016). In 2009, it renamed its committee to the “NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives”. The committee’s mandate is the integration of a gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related UNSCRs (NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, 2016). Therefore, the translation of the term “gender perspective” and its use as a concept in a NATO context, is also suitable for use in the SAF. Moreover, this term is clear in meaning, and simple for use. And it makes sense.

Conclusion Military operations in today’s world require a diversity of qualifications and resources to ensure that peace and security are achieved and maintained (Gender perspectives in NATO Armed Forces, 2016). Both male and female personnel within armed forces are essential, bringing a diversity which leads to a more comprehensive approach. Through merging the complementary characteristics, abilities and skills of both men and women better effectiveness of armed forces is reached.

The 25 years of the SAF’s experience on gender equality within the armed forces have shown that female and male personnel are represented from the tactical to the strategic level within the SAF structure, also holding command and decision-making positions, and performing different duties, from combat, staff to specialists, both at home and abroad.

Gender equality has brought equal involvement and participation of male and female personnel in the execution of tasks. It has also provided for a relatively constant ratio between male and female SAF personnel in the past years. Additionally, both men and women have been involved in IOMs, although in the first years of the involvement in IOMs they were deployed without focusing on whether particular duties required male or female personnel. Taking a look at the example of previously mentioned LMTs, one should take into consideration those duties where both genders are required. If we would like to ensure the involvement of both women and men in the composition of LMTs, it is necessary to integrate gender perspective into force planning.

This paper focuses on some of the best practices which do not mean it reflects the overall situation in the SAF or that SAF did not undergo any questions, dilemmas, and challenges related to the inclusion of women during these first 25 years. In the independent Slovenia the formation of AF was necessary in the first place and women were included on the basis of equal employment opportunities. Only then matters began to be settled. Time has told that the decision of the SAF's leadership to continue with a gender equality policy and to adhere to the national legislation on a gender equality policy without restrictions on duties was the right path to follow. It can also be stated that the 2009 directive prompted some more concrete implementations and changes like for example introducing gender related topic and UNSCR 1325 into education, involving women into IOMs, etc. The way forward should be to integrate gender perspective into different processes in order to achieve the best effect within the national armed forces.

Understanding gender perspective from the point of view of a “female perspective” and a “male perspective” means that two perspectives on the same topic or situation can lead us towards complexity. This is also having a gender perspective. The inclusion of gender perspective into daily work brings benefits to the organization from the complementary skills of both genders towards a comprehensive approach. Contemporary security situations, such as violent extremism, natural disasters or the still topical migrant and refugee situation are setting new challenges before us. Consequently, the integration of gender perspective may also be considered as a bridge towards effective solutions for peace and security.

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DOSEŽKI IN STALIŠČA PRI IZVAJANJU RESOLUCIJE VS OZN 1325 NA MINISTRSTVU ZA OBRAMBO IN V VOJSKI SRBIJE

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND THE SERBIAN ARMED FORCES

Povzetek V članku so predstavljene pozitivne izkušnje pri izvajanju Resolucije OZN 1325 na Ministrstvu za obrambo in v Vojski Srbije. Ker prvi nacionalni akcijski načrt za uresničevanje Resolucije OZN 1325 – Ženske, mir in varnost v Republiki Srbiji (2010–2015) ni več v veljavi, so doseženi rezultati najboljši dokaz pomembnih izboljšav na področju enakosti spolov na Ministrstvu za obrambo in v Vojski Srbije. Poleg boljše ozaveščenosti na področju spolov in večje zastopanosti žensk v obrambnem sistemu ti rezultati kažejo tudi na izboljšane vloge, položaj in zaščito žensk. Za prihodnje odgovore na izzive, ki se še pojavljajo na poti do popolne objektivizacije enakosti spolov na Ministrstvu za obrambo in v Vojski Srbije, so nujna dodatna prizadevanja, da se pravočasno odkrijejo, celovito razumejo, pravilno tolmačijo in objektivno predstavijo. Danes, podobno kot pri pripravi prejšnjega dokumenta, ima Ministrstvo za obrambo Republike Srbije glavno vlogo pri oblikovanju novega nacionalnega akcijskega načrta za obdobje 2016–2020, še zlasti pri opredeljevanju ciljev in določanju dinamike njihovega uresničevanja. Pri tem se upoštevajo sodobni standardi na področju enakosti spolov, pridobljeno znanje, učenje iz izkušenj, rezultati empiričnih raziskav ter izkušnje drugih držav na regionalni in globalni ravni.

Ključne besede *Enakost spolov, ženske v vojski, Resolucija VS OZN 1325, Republika Srbija, Ministrstvo za obrambo in Vojska Srbije.*

Abstract This paper reviews positive experiences in the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces (MoD and SAF). Since the first National Action Plan for the Implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010–2015) is no longer valid, the best evidence of the significant improvements that have been made regarding gender equality in the MoD and SAF are the achieved

results. In addition to improved gender awareness, and a higher representation of women in the defence system, these results also indicate that the roles, positions and protection of women have been improved. Future responses to all the challenges that stand in a way of full objectification of gender equality in the MoD and SAF require additional efforts for their timely identification, comprehensive understanding, correct interpretation and objective presentation. Today, as was the case with the previous document, the MoD of the Republic of Serbia has a key role in drafting the new National Action Plan for the period 2016-2020, especially with regard to the definition of its objectives and determining the dynamics of their implementation, thereby taking into consideration contemporary standards in the area of gender equality, accumulated knowledge, lessons learned, empirical research findings and experience gained by other countries at the regional and global level.

Key words *Gender equality, women in armed forces, UNSCR 1325, Republic of Serbia, Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces.*

Introduction As part of the overall efforts made by international organizations, states and civil society organizations to improve the status of women, and as a result of recognizing the crucial importance of respecting the right to equality and equal participation and representation of women and men in all spheres of social life, some very important activities have been initiated and carried out in the Republic of Serbia in recent years. The demonstrated political will and determination of the Government of the Republic of Serbia to carry out the necessary reform steps towards the integration of gender equality in the security sector have led not only to a shift at the institutional level, through establishing new bodies and mechanisms for gender equality, but also to changes in legal regulations, strategies and plans. No less important are the achievements made in raising awareness of gender issues in members of all the institutions in the security sector, primarily through education and training, but also through media promotion.

Numerous results that were achieved during the previous five-year period of implementation of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia are visible today in almost all aspects of everyday work and life of the members of the security sector. In that context, the development and implementation of this document have resulted in extremely positive effects in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces in terms of mainstreaming gender equality in the reform process.

1 DEVELOPMENT AND CONTENTS OF THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA (2010-2015)

Considering international efforts towards the empowerment of women and giving them a more significant role in peace building and conflict resolution, and taking into account the need to respect and implement the adopted United Nations Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security, as well as the commitment of the

Republic of Serbia to reach the international standards in this field contained in the relevant documents of the EU, OSCE and NATO, by developing a National Action Plan for the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) starting in 2010, for the first time special attention was directed to the improvement of the status and role of women in the security sector.

Although the strategic and legislative frameworks that govern the issue of gender equality were already established in the Republic of Serbia, a large number of civil society organizations, whose work is mostly directed towards the protection of women’s human rights, actively advocated the development and adoption of an action plan to address the implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325. These organizations, coordinated by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (BFPE), put forward their positions in 2009 in a publication entitled “United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia – on Women, Peace and Security”¹, which gives guidelines and possible areas of action in accordance with the content of the UNSC Resolution 1325.

In June 2010, the year which marked the tenth anniversary of the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325, the Government of the Republic of Serbia, on the initiative of civil society organizations, decided² to start drafting a National Action Plan for the implementation of this resolution, which would be carried out over the next five years. With this purpose the Government Working Group for drafting a National Action Plan for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) was formed, consisting of representatives of the twelve relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies of the Government. The Ministry of Defence was tasked with providing expert, administrative and technical support to the Working Group of the Government, and that Ministry had a coordinating role throughout the process of drafting the document (Stojković, 2011). The task entrusted to the Working Group was very ambitious and difficult, bearing in mind that in the past there had been no implemented research with findings that could serve as a basis for drafting this document or for the inclusion of a gender perspective into the policies, plans and practices of the security sector of the Republic of Serbia in order to improve the status of women through the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325.

Based on national statistics, it was, however, known that in 2010, at the time of drafting the document, women accounted for 51.36% of the total population of the Republic of Serbia, but both quantitative and qualitative indicators of women employed in the security sector were not available. Therefore, in a very short time, initial research was conducted in order to obtain valid data on the representation and

¹ *United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Serbia – on Women, Peace and Security (2009), BFPE, Belgrade; (Срб) Резолуција 1325 Савета безбедности Уједињених нација у Србији - о женама, миру и безбедности, Београдски фонд за политичку изузетност, Београд.*

² „Службени гласник РС“, број 44/10, Београд, 30. јун 2010. године.

position of women in the security sector, so that they could serve as the initial basis not only for the development of the document itself, but also for the monitoring of progress made during the later application of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325. Research findings showed that the representation of women in the security sector in the Republic of Serbia in 2010 amounted to 27.40%. This percentage was, in fact, even then, nearly a satisfactory result, but at the same time, it was clear that this is a very complex issue, which in addition to adequate numerical representation of women applies to a whole range of other indicators. Therefore, the Working Group was largely focused on finding ways to substantially improve the position of women in terms of respect of their human rights, according to which all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without limitations imposed by strict gender roles, and to be equally taken into account, valued and supported with regard to the different behaviour, desires and needs of women and men.

In accordance with such a commitment, and based on the results of the research carried out and an analysis of strategic, normative and planning documents on gender equality adopted in the Republic of Serbia, as well as the effectiveness of their implementation, based on the content of international conventions and resolutions and the experiences of other countries which had already adopted national action plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325, drafting contents of the document and the identification of general and specific objectives and activities started. On this occasion, care was taken that the formulations should be as precise as possible to enable monitoring and evaluation of the effects of the changes on the basis of indicators³.

The completion of the draft document was followed by a public debate. The draft document was submitted for consideration to the competent government authorities, posted on the website of the Ministry of Defence and opened to the public, enabling the submission of objections and suggestions from all interested parties via e-mail. The draft was also discussed in public debates that were organized for this occasion. Some of the objections to the content of the new document which arose from the public debate, particularly those provided by the Ombudsman and civil society organizations, were recognized and included in the text of the document proposal.

As a result of these efforts, on 23 December 2010, less than six months after the decision on the development of this document was made, the Government of the Republic of Serbia approved the National Action Plan for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015) (hereinafter: NAP)⁴.

³ A list of 74 indicators, classified in seven groups according to the chapters of the NAP, was made. Later attempts made for the purpose of their optimization (including reducing the number of indicators) have never been finalized. In the absence of a unified list of indicators, some institutions have drawn up their own indicators and used them for reporting on the implementation of the NAP.

⁴ „Службени гласник Републике Србије”, број 102/10, 30. децембар 2010. године.

The document contains seven chapters, in which the following seven general objectives were defined:

- The development and functioning of institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP;
- Increasing the representation of women in the security sector and their impact on issues relating to peace and security;
- Increasing participation and influence of women in decision-making in Defence and security;
- Increasing women's participation in international cooperation, conflict resolution, and post-conflict, and greater participation in multinational operations;
- Use of the instruments for the legal protection of women;
- The education and training of members of the security sector in the spirit of UNSC Resolution 1325;
- Providing media support for the objectives of the NAP.

The activities envisaged by the NAP are aimed primarily at changing gender stereotypes in the minds of citizens and members of the security sector through continual education and information, media campaigns, organization of expert meetings and the like. In their turn, they need to ensure increased representation of women in the security sector, significant participation by women in decision-making on issues relating to peace and security, and more effective protection of women in peace and post-conflict rehabilitation of society and in multinational operations.

Objective media reporting on the implementation of the NAP and its affirmative role in promoting gender equality was very important, in order to overcome prejudices and gender stereotypes, shape public opinion, and raise the awareness of the general public of the role of women in society, especially when it comes to issues relating to peace and security.

2 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN (2010-2015) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE AND SERBIAN ARMED FORCES

Bearing in mind the role of the Ministry of Defence during the preparation of the NAP, as well as a clear commitment to the integration of gender equality in the Defence system reform, the Ministry was the first in the security sector to approach the implementation of the NAP in a planned and organized way in order to achieve its objectives and application as envisaged in the document. In a formal sense, the implementation of the NAP was initiated by the adoption of the Decision of the Minister of Defence on the implementation of measures within the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces, defined by the NAP, as well as by the approval of the plan of activities for the implementation of the NAP in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces in 2011.

After that, during the whole period of implementation of the NAP, ending in 2015, plans for achieving the goals envisaged by the NAP were made on an annual basis.

In the annual plans, the responsibilities of individual organizational units of the MoD and SAF for the realization of activities, and deadlines for their execution, were determined, and a number of activities whose implementation was supported by international partners were also included, which have contributed significantly to the creation of conditions for integrating the principle of gender equality into the defence system reform.

Planning, the coordination of the NAP's implementation, and reporting on progress were all the responsibilities of the Strategic Planning Department of the Defence Policy Sector of the MoD, which tried to include as many as possible of the organizational units and members of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces in its plans and implementation of activities. The Institute for Strategic Research of the Defence Policy Sector of the MoD, as a scientific research institution, had a very important role in this process.

Transparency of the content of the reports on the implementation of the action plans in the MoD and SAF for the preceding five years of the NAP's implementation, which were made on the basis of analyses of reports from the organizational units of the MoD and SAF responsible for the implementation of the planned activities, was achieved by their regular publication on the website of the Ministry of Defence.

It should be emphasized that significant results in the implementation of the NAP have been achieved primarily thanks to the manifested political will and extremely stimulating role played by the management of the Ministry of Defence, as well as the established cooperation and confidence built between all stakeholders involved in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the country, Western Balkans and beyond, a large number of educations and trainings in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces and also published media contents that accompanied the implementation of this plan significantly contributing to raising awareness of the role of women not only in the armed forces but also in the entire society.

Support was provided by international organizations, most significantly by the UNDP/ SEESAC, UN Women and the OSCE. Without this, undeniably, it would not have been possible to achieve such results.

2.1 Institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP

One of specific things about the NAP of the Republic of Serbia, in contrast to national action plans for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in other countries, is the establishment of new inter-related institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP.

In this context, ensuring the regular functioning of some of the newly-established Government bodies was a major challenge, especially for the Ministry of Defence, whose role and involvement in this regard was of great importance.

The most important institutional bodies and mechanisms for gender equality formed in accordance with NAP in the Republic of Serbia were:

Political Council for the implementation of the NAP (hereinafter: the Political Council) was formed in 2011 as the government's institutional body for gender equality, with a mandate to consider issues related to the implementation of the NAP. Accordingly, it provided guidance and recommendations to the Multisectoral Coordination Body (hereinafter: MCB) and discussed its reports, assessed progress, submitted regular reports to the Government and the supervisory body for the implementation of the NAP of the National Assembly, and participated in conferences of international importance regarding Resolution 1325.

Twelve representatives from the Government Ministries/Departments/Agencies responsible for the implementation of the NAP in the security sector were appointed as members of the Political Council. Later, the composition of this body was expanded so that it included members from all Government Ministries, the Security-Information Agency, the Office for Kosovo and Metohija, the Office for European Integration, the Office for Cooperation with Civil Society Organizations and the Office for Human and Minority Rights of the Government. The Ministry of Defence was tasked with providing expert, administrative and technical support to this body, and, regardless of occasional changes in the membership, the President of the Political Council was from the Ministry of Defence throughout its operation⁵.

In addition to the members, the Political Council's sessions are, by invitation, attended by representatives of the CPE, the Ombudsman, the Commission for monitoring the implementation of the NAP of the National Assembly and others.

Three working groups were established within the Political Council: (1) Working Group of the Political Council for improving the implementation of the NAP; (2) Working Group of the Political Council for directing the work of the MCB; and (3) Working Group of the Political Council for creating the political preconditions for achieving the goals envisaged by the NAP, which, in meetings of the Political Council, discussed issues for which they are responsible and gave their recommendations and proposals for improving the implementation of the NAP in the Republic of Serbia.

In accordance with its role, the Political Council has also taken the necessary measures for the aim of developing a new NAP.

The Multisectoral Coordination Body for the implementation of the NAP was also formed in 2011, with the main task of performing operational tasks related to the achievement of the objectives and implementation of tasks foreseen in the NAP. The Ministry of the Interior provides expert, administrative and technical support

⁵ *At a meeting of the Government on 18 June 2013, Zoran Đorđević, then State Secretary in the Ministry of Defence, and now the Defence Minister, was appointed President of the Political Council.*

to this institutional body, and its chairman is from the Ministry of Interior. The MCB has achieved significant results in establishing cooperation with international organizations, civil society organizations and other institutions in the Republic of Serbia, in order to achieve the objectives of the NAP. Also, this body conducted, in 2015, an internal evaluation of the implementation of the NAP, which served not only as an indicator of the effectiveness of this document, but also as useful guidance in determining the content of the new draft of the NAP.

Both of these institutional bodies of the Government delivered reports on their work to the responsible authorities.

For democratic control over the implementation of the NAP a **Commission for monitoring the implementation of the NAP** was established, as a body of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. This institutional body works with civil society organizations which carry out independent monitoring and reporting of the implementation of the NAP, as well as with international organizations that have expressed an interest in supporting its implementation. The President of the Commission, on invitation, attends meetings of the Political Council of the Government, to better understand the activities and results of the NAP's implementation.

Analytical groups or research teams are institutional bodies envisaged by the NAP, which are formed in the respective Ministries/Departments/Agencies to monitor the implementation of the NAP, establishing statistics and other indicators of the effects of its implementation and reporting. The analytical group of the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces for analyzing the implementation of the NAP⁶ (hereinafter: Analytical Group of the MoD and SAF) was the first such group formed in the security sector in the Republic of Serbia. The members of this group were the organizers and participants in a large number of activities planned for the purpose of the implementation of the NAP in the organizational units of the MoD and SAF. In cooperation with the UN Women, several joint education courses and training for members of analytical groups and research teams from the whole security sector were conducted. At these events they exchanged experiences and presented practical methods and techniques for gender analysis, and further horizontal networking and information exchange was initiated.

A **“trustworthy person”** is a specific mechanism for gender equality established to provide primary collegial assistance to employees in terms of gender equality in the relevant Ministries/Departments/Agencies⁷. In the MoD and SAF this mechanism was established in 2013, when the Minister of Defence approved the instruction

⁶ Consists of 22 members from 17 organizational units of the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Armed Forces (19 women and 3 men).

⁷ At the time of adopting the NAP, this mechanism was established only in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, within the project “Colleague for Support”. In establishing the mechanism «persons of trust», great support was given by UN Women.

on the selection and function of the “person of trust”⁸, after which the selection of “trustworthy people” in the organizational units of MoD and SAF was conducted. Coordinating the work of this mechanism of gender equality in the MoD and SAF is the responsibility of the Gender Equality Advisor of the Minister of Defence.

Appropriate training for the elected “trustworthy person” and the sustainability of this mechanism of gender equality was implemented in cooperation with the UN Women. The “Handbook for a Trustworthy person” was prepared, published, and distributed to all the “trustworthy persons” in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces.

The person in charge of coordinating the activities of the NAP is a mechanism for the introduction of a gender perspective in policies and programmes in the relevant Ministries/Departments/Agencies. This mechanism was established in the Ministry of Defence in 2012, by the decision of the Minister of Defence, who selects the authorized person who, in addition to her/his regular duties, has responsibility for enhancing and promoting gender equality.

Although the introduction of a mechanism of **Gender Advisor in civil and military missions**, in accordance with the standards and experience of the EU and NATO (PfP), was provided by the NAP, this mechanism has not been established, since the Republic of Serbia does not participate in civilian and military missions with national contingents.

Independent monitoring of the implementation of the NAP during the whole period of its implementation was carried out by the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, the Ombudsman, the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance, the media, civil society organizations and the public.

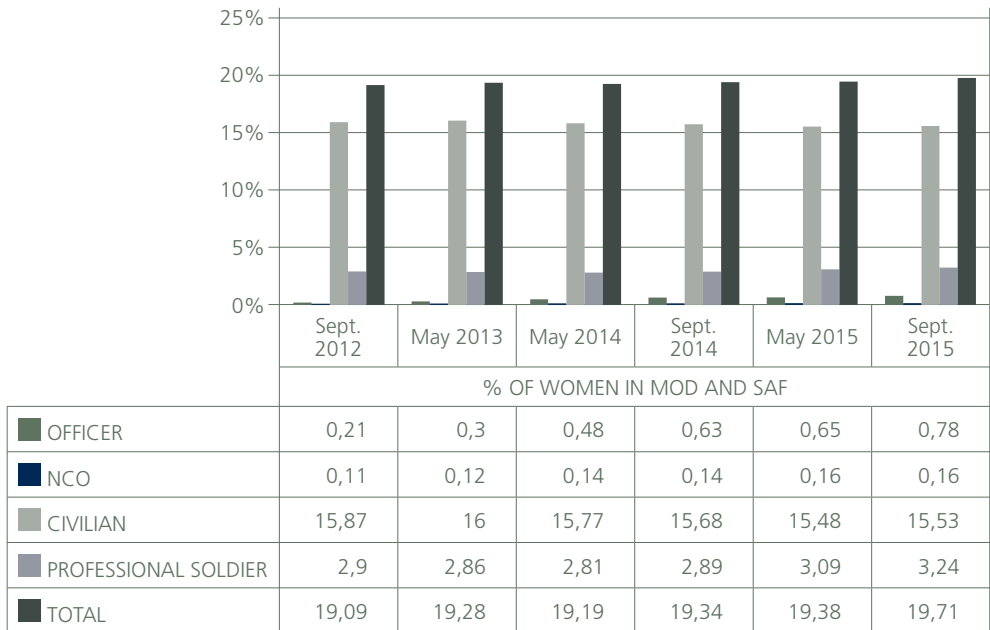
2.2 Representation of women in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces

Bearing in mind that the right to equal representation of women and men, in the context of their impact on peace and security, is not fully realized in practice in the Republic of Serbia, this issue was given special attention and significance in the NAP. For the purpose of monitoring trends in the representation of women in the MoD and SAF, a gender analysis, based on collected data, has been carried out every six months.

Monitoring and comparing the results of the gender analysis, beginning with the first analysis conducted by the Analytical Group of the MoD and SAF in September 2011 and continuing to data gathered in September 2015, indicates an overall small increase in the number and percentage of women employed in the MoD and SAF (Šaranović, Kilibarada, 2012). The increase in representation of women has occurred primarily in the categories of officers and professional soldiers. (Table 1).

⁸ „Службени војни лист“ број 25/13.

Table 1:
Overview of the representation of women in the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces



Regarding the trend of constant decrease in the representation of women in the category of civilians in the period 2010-2015, and a simultaneous increase in number of women in the categories of professional military personnel and professional soldiers, it should be noted that the reduction in the number of women in the civilian category was caused by retirement or finding jobs outside the MoD and SAF.

At the same time, there was a positive trend of gradual increase in the representation of women in the Serbian Armed Forces from 8.1% in 2010 to 9.01% in 2015.

With regard to the representation of women in decision-making, the majority of women employed in the MoD and SAF are not in management or command posts (Šaranović, Višacki, Stojanović, 2015). It can be expected that over time the representation of women in decision-making will grow, especially in the category of professional military personnel, from which officers are assigned to command posts in the Serbian Armed Forces. The relatively small proportion of women in managerial/command functions is a direct consequence of the insufficient number of women in the category of senior officers with rank, the necessary qualifications, or years of service in the SAF for appointment to higher positions.

Women employed in the MoD and SAF, formally, on equal conditions as men, are entitled to apply for work in military-diplomatic missions abroad (which until recently was not the case), and to be involved at all positions in multinational operations.

The representation of women, mainly medical personnel but also officers and professional soldiers, in multinational operations is about 10%. Measures are in place intended to increase the representation of women in UN-mandated multinational operations, and training in gender-sensitive issues for participants in multinational operations.

According to data from September 2015, there were 17.1% female cadets (in relation to the total number of male and female cadets) in basic studies at the Military Academy. In the 2014/2015 academic year, 35 girls graduated, and the three most successful graduates from Class 136 were girls. The number of girls interested in enrolling in the Military Academy is growing every year.

After selection, 22 girls were admitted in the first year of Military High School.

2.3 Education and training in the context of the NAP's implementation

Within the integration of a gender perspective in the defence system reform, with the aim of overcoming gender stereotypes, the curricula of military-educational institutions at all levels (Military High School, Military Academy, Command Staff and General Staff College) have been adapted, through the inclusion of topics that deal with gender equality issues.

Also, in the previous period, in the MoD and SAF, many lectures, courses, seminars, conferences, round tables, expert consultations and discussions on gender equality were held with the participation of a large number of representatives from different organizational units of the MoD and SAF, with the support of international organizations. MoD and SAF members participated in numerous conferences, symposia, seminars, courses and round tables organized by governmental institutions of the Republic of Serbia or by NGOs.

Members of the Analytical Group of the MoD and SAF have had regular training through the organization of seminars on analytical methods and techniques.

Considerable attention has been given to the training of women in the SAF, and full equality in terms of choosing job posts and training has been ensured. Through the introduction of voluntary military service, men and women are fully equal in terms of initial training duties. Training is carried out in training centres according to a unique training programme. Differences only exist in the standards for checking physical fitness, which are customized based on gender.

Training of officers and future peacekeepers on gender issues has been carried out in accordance with training material for UN peacekeeping missions⁹, the UN Directive¹⁰, a publication of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations - DPKO¹¹,

⁹ *Core Pre-deployment Training Material*

¹⁰ *Gender Equality in Peacekeeping Operations*

¹¹ *Gender Resource Package for Peacekeeping Operations*

a set of manuals on gender issues¹² and other relevant documents such as NATO doctrine¹³, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women¹⁴, the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women¹⁵, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights¹⁶, the Council of Europe Declaration on Equality between Women and Men as a Fundamental Criterion of Democracy, and the Handbook on CSDP, Gender and SSR, EU SSR, European Security and the Defence College.

In addition to the standards contained in the “United Nations Basic Standardized Module for Training for Multinational Operations”, similar standards of the EU, OSCE and the Council of Europe, as well as the standards of behaviour in peace and war against civilians (women, children and the elderly), prisoners, etc. arising out of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols and other international political and legal documents signed and ratified by the Republic of Serbia, are also respected.

2.4 Media support for the objectives of the NAP

By informing the public about the activities of the MoD and SAF since the adoption of the NAP in 2010, the Public Relations Department of the MoD has contributed significantly to raising awareness in the general public about the importance of integrating a gender perspective in the defence system, and highlighted the importance of the implementation of the NAP.

The following information campaigns were particularly praised by the domestic and foreign public as examples of good practice:

- 1) A campaign for the enrollment of girls at the Military Academy and the Military Medical Academy;
- 2) The campaign “Be a Professional” created for the promotion of the military profession and admission of candidates (men and women) to professional military service in the SAF;
- 3) A campaign dedicated to the completion of education of cadets at the Military Academy, in which special attention was devoted to the completion of the first generation of cadet education (school enrollment 2007/2008), ie. promoting women officers.

¹² *Set priručnika o rodnim pitanjima i reformi sektora bezbjednosti preveden za upotrebu u regionu Zapadnog Balkana – DCAF*

¹³ *Allied Joint Doctrine For Non-article 5, Crisis Response Operations AJP-3.4 (a)*

¹⁴ *Службени лист СФРЈ – Међународни уговори, број 11/81*

¹⁵ *Службени лист СРЈ – Међународни уговори, број 13/02*

¹⁶ *Службени лист СРЈ – Међународни уговори, број 4/01*

Through the websites of the MoD and SAF, as well as the magazine “Defence”, MoD and SAF members and the general public were regularly informed about the activities of the institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP in the MoD and SAF, and about the contribution of women to the defence system, as well as about the problems of gender equality. The most common topic on women is the place of women in the SAF. The aforementioned magazine has published two special contributions about women since the adoption of the NAP.

News that mentions or affects women has regularly been published on the MoD and SAF websites; on the latter there is a separate webpage called “Women in the SAF” where female professional military personnel and their duties are presented.

2.5 Cooperation with international subjects

In pursuit of the implementation of the NAP, the MoD has achieved significant cooperation with international organizations such as the UNDP/SEESAC, the OSCE Mission to Serbia, and UN Women, as well as bilateral cooperation with countries that have expressed an interest in supporting the activities of the MoD in this area.

The OSCE Mission to Serbia financed the printing of 500 copies of the NAP, in Serbian and English, within the framework of the project “Consolidation of the Democratization Process in the Security Sector in Serbia”, and organized a cycle of three seminars on the theme: “Gender Mainstreaming in Security Sector Reform”, which was attended by representatives of the MoD and SAF.

On the basis of the consent of the Minister of Defence, the MoD has, since 2012, been included in the regional project “Support to Mainstreaming of Gender Equality in Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans”, implemented by UNDP/SEESAC in order to integrate the issue of gender equality in the process of security sector reform, thus contributing to the greater efficiency of the security sector.

The MoD, in cooperation with UNDP/SEESAC, organized the first regional meeting in Belgrade in March 2012, where a joint statement on cooperation to strengthen the process of security sector reform in the Western Balkans by integration of a gender perspective in policies and institutions of security and defence was signed by representatives of the Ministries of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. Following that, there were further regional meetings and numerous activities at home and abroad, which were attended by representatives of the MoD and SAF. UNDP/SEESAC planned to complete this project by the end of June 2016.

Representatives of the MoD and SAF participate in meetings of the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives, which is annually organized in Brussels, Belgium.

The implementation of activities through the exchange of experiences, expert talks and lectures on gender issues is planned and implemented in the framework of bilateral military cooperation.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN (2016-2020) – CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

After five years of the implementation of the NAP (2010-2015), it is evident that gender equality is one of the issues which has been given deserved attention in the Republic of Serbia, especially in the security sector, including the Ministry of Defence and the Serbian Armed Forces. Significant progress has been made in achieving the intended objectives of the NAP, especially in institutional development, increasing the representation and decision-making of women in the security sector, increasing their participation in international cooperation activities and multinational operations, improving the legal prerequisites for the protection of women, and media coverage of the implementation of activities included in this plan, as well as in establishing cooperation between state administration, civil society organizations and international organizations on the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia.

For the purpose of more a comprehensive and objective review of the results of the implementation of the NAP, as well as to gain insight into the proposals for improving the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the Republic of Serbia in the future, an event entitled “Dialogue of the Political Council and institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP for the UNSC R 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2010-2015)”, with representatives of civil society organizations, academia and media, was organized by the Political Council of the Government on May 28, 2015, in Belgrade.

At the event, which was attended by a total of 93 people¹⁷, of whom 47 were representatives of civil society organizations from the entire territory of the Republic of Serbia, it was concluded that the implementation of the NAP needs to be continued in the next medium term (2016-2020). It was expressed that it is necessary to evaluate the results of the recent implementation of the NAP and to revise its contents. Also, it was concluded that the future implementation of the NAP should be directed at the local level.

The internal evaluation was performed by MCB, and the external by the Institute for Inclusive Security from Washington (USA) and the OSCE Mission to Serbia. Conclusions made on the basis of the results of all the analyzes which were carried out served as the basis for the development of a new medium-term action plan. One of the conclusions referred to the functioning of institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms. Apart from the fact that their establishment enabled the

¹⁷ *Representatives of: institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for the implementation of the NAP, Coordination Body of the Government for gender equality and relevant Committees of the National Assembly, Commission for Monitoring the Implementation of the NAP within the National Assembly, mechanisms for independent monitoring of the implementation of the NAP, such as the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, the Ombudsman, the Commissioner for Public Information and Personal Data Protection, civil society organizations, academia and media, representatives from UNDP/SEESAC, OSCE Mission to Serbia, UN Women and NATO.*

systematic and formalized operation of the policy-makers and practitioners with sufficient knowledge of the problem, it was pointed out that, due to the large number of participants, the channels of communication are not always sufficiently clear. It was pointed out that it was necessary to further invest in the knowledge and skills of the personnel involved, and also to simplify the roles of the different institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms in the security sector and establish a network between them.

The existence of political will and support was stressed in the results of the conducted evaluations, but at the same time, because of frequent shifts of personnel at the highest levels of decision-making, the need for continuous implementation of activities aimed at raising awareness of the importance of preserving the essential support of policy makers with regard to gender equality in the defence system was pointed out. It was concluded that there is awareness of the need for gender budgeting, but also that in the analyzed period funds that could have been used to implement more demanding objectives are not allocated.

Also, it was concluded that a single and generally accepted list containing sufficient minimum of indicators should be made, by selecting those that are reflecting targeted interventions and avoiding indicators that don't have essential and instrumental role.

As already mentioned, activities aimed at increasing the representation of women in the defence system have been successfully implemented; however, a simple increase in the number of women does not automatically imply greater equality. The challenge is to design activities in such a way as to form an organizational culture in the defence system which will be equally supportive, in every respect, to all its members on their career path to reach the highest positions.

By the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, on 25 December 2015, the Working Group for the development of the National Action Plan for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia (2016-2020) (hereinafter referred to as the Working Group), was established, and its composition and tasks were determined. Responsibility for providing expert, administrative and technical support to the Working Group was given to the Ministry of Defence.

During the development and implementation of the previous NAP, the Republic of Serbia cooperated with the OSCE Mission to Serbia, which again expressed its readiness to provide appropriate support to the Working Group of the Government and the NGO sector during drafting of the NAP, in organization of workshops for the Working Group, and also to support a wider consultation process on the content of the document in the local community, with the involvement of all the relevant stakeholders in society.

Conclusion The development and implementation of the NAP represents a significant contribution to the reform of the defence system, as well as the national security system as a whole in the Republic of Serbia; above all by the inclusion of international standards, primarily UN, EU, NATO and OSCE standards, into national legislation and strategic and planning documents.

In this regard, the ability to better and more efficiently use human resources for an effective response to crisis and post-crisis situations, and for cooperation with the NGO sector towards improving the place and role of women in society, has been recognized.

The result of such an open approach is joint action of representatives of state institutions, NGOs and international organizations, thanks to which the draft of the NAP was developed and adopted in less than six months, and effectively implemented as of 2011.

The currently achieved state and knowledge of certain principles which govern the process of improving gender equality should be used as a platform for the next breakthroughs that lay ahead of us. Certainly the biggest step forward is the development and adoption of the NAP for the period 2016-2020. In this process, the Ministry of Defence was again assigned to leadership positions and a coordinating role of all stakeholders involved in the process of its development. The Government Working Group for the development of the NAP 2016-2020 is currently working on a customized and focused NAP that will reflect national priorities as well as international commitments; streamlining the number of chapters; defining clear, measurable and carefully selected objectives and dynamics of the implementation which will take into account modern standards in this area to an extent that does not contradict the objective possibilities; the selection of indicators and monitoring methods that are realistic and that can be implemented; the establishment of gender budgeting and a balance between the particular set of resources and funding through regular budget lines; and defining responsibilities, monitoring and evaluation of progress and challenges.

The implementation of the NAP, as before, contributes to increasing the overall reputation of the Republic of Serbia in the international community and the Ministry of Defence in the domestic and foreign public.

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ANALIZA IN OCENA RESOLUCIJE VS OZN 1325 – KAKŠNA SO PRIPOROČILA ZA PRILOŽNOSTI V PRIHODNJE

AN ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF THE UNSCR 1325 RESOLUTION – WHAT ARE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES?

Povzetek Resolucija VS OZN 1325 pomeni prelomnico za ženske, mir in varnost. Članek vključuje analizo in oceno resolucije. Analiza obsega uresničevanje resolucije, vključno z napakami o ne vključevanju žensk na vseh ravneh mirovnih in konfliktnih procesov. Obravnavane so ključne priložnosti za doseganje sprememb: resno sodelovanje s civilno družbo, strokovnjaki in vladami, usklajena strategija združevanja moških skupin in posameznikov kot moških pobudnikov sprememb ter sprejemanje dobro financiranih in vplivnih nacionalnih akcijskih načrtov v različnih državah kot neke vrste meta politike, za katero je nujno popolno prevrednotenje vlog spolov. Iz sklepov članka izhaja, da je najpomembnejša resnična predanost enakosti spolov, s katero se bo mogoče premakniti od prizadevanj k dejanjem. Zdaj je pravi čas za ukrepanje.

Ključne besede *Resolucija VS OZN 1325, ženske, mir in varnost, enakost spolov.*

Abstract UNSCR 1325 was a watershed moment for women, peace and security. This article analyses and critiques the Resolution itself. The current implementation of the Resolution is identified, including failures to include women in all aspects of peace and conflict processes. Key opportunities to achieve transformative change are covered: meaningful engagement with civil society, experts and governments; a coordinated strategy to unite men and men's groups as male champions of change; and states having high-impact well-resourced national action plans that are a meta-policy requiring a complete gender re-think. The article concludes that the most important requirement is that there is a true commitment to gender equality in order to move from aspiration to action; the time to act is now.

Key words *UNSCR 1325, women, peace and security, gender equality.*

Introduction

In 2015 there were two important anniversaries of momentous and pivotal moments for women and women's rights: the fifteenth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), and the twentieth anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action (Powell, 2015). These two documents, among other things, call for women to be included in leadership and decision-making positions (Wilett, 2010). UNSCR 1325 demands a re-focus, to viewing women as agents of change and agents of peace, rather than only as victims of war. Women are over half of the global population; however, they remain marginalised and excluded in all aspects of peace and conflict processes (Wilett, 2010). UNSCR 1325 did not just ask governments to simply acknowledge women's important contributions – it charged them to act. However, where are the women (Enloe, 1989)?

This article will address the question in four parts. Firstly, a brief overview of UNSCR 1325, and why it was adopted, will be provided. Secondly, there will be an analysis of the current successes or failures in implementation. Thirdly, the UNSCR 1325 Resolution will be critiqued, and finally, the essay will identify areas of opportunity. The essay will conclude that “UNSCR 1325 is a unique and potentially transformative resolution” (Oudraat, 2013, p. 618). However, in order to achieve transformational change, it is time for new strategies to be adopted and male champions of change to be united for action. The underlying issue of gender inequality must be addressed, as security for all the citizens of the world cannot be achieved while oppressive gender hierarchies remain (Wilett, 2010).

1 WHAT IS UNSCR 1325 AND WHY WAS IT ADOPTED?

UNSCR 1325 was the result of a long historical and political process; it had its roots in the UN Charter that recognises the equal rights of men and women (Olsson & Gizelis, 2013). The Resolution was adopted on 31 October 2000 by the UN Security Council, under its Namibian Chair.¹ Earlier that year, Namibia had passed the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (Pratt & Richter-Devroe, 2011), and this provided the impetus to introducing this Resolution. UNSCR 1325 is commonly called a watershed moment for women, peace and security, and a major turning point in raising global attention to these concerns (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). UNSCR 1325 provides four key pillars that need to be addressed. It calls for: an increase in the participation of women at all levels of decision-making; the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence; the prevention of violence against women through the promotion of women's rights; and the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in all aspects of peace operations (UNSCR 1325, 2000).

UNSCR 1325 was the culmination of years of lobbying by feminists and women's groups (Meger, 2012); its conceptual roots are derived from the 1995 Beijing

¹ *The Security Council members, in addition to the permanent five that unanimously adopted the Resolution were: Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, the Netherlands, Tunisia, and Ukraine.*

Declaration and Platform for Action, signed by 189 countries (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). The breakthrough at the Beijing Platform for Action had its origins in Boutros Ghali's Agenda for Peace in 1992, which introduced a bottom-up approach of peace building to mainstream conflict resolution (Pratt & Richter-Devroe, 2011). UNSCR 1325 was adopted following feminist transnational advocacy groups uniting to put violence against women onto the mainstream security agenda (Harrington, 2011). The vision of those who advocated the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 Resolution was to prompt radical change in the structural issues that continued to oppress women, and to invigorate the importance of gender equality (Swaine, 2009). Conceptual shifts post-Cold War, which turned the focus from a realist State-centred view (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011) towards a more holistic, agent-centred view, human security (Oudraat, 2013), provided a hospitable environment for discourse, and action, on the security concerns specific to women. As UN peacekeeping became more complex to address a wide range of areas, which were predominantly linked to peace-building, this further brought gender equality into the spotlight for international peace and security (Olsson & Gizelis, 2013). A key component of the success of this Resolution was the interchange between the international organisations, Member States, and civil society (Inclusive Security, 2014) and this interchange is also a key component of success moving forward.

2 ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SUCCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION

Over fifteen years on, implementation has not been successful and changes are required in order to move from rhetoric; to action; and then to impact. In a statement in 2004, the UN Security Council (UNSC) called upon Member States to advance the implementation of UNSCR 1325 through national action plans (NAP) or other national-level strategies (Dharmapuri, 2013). However, another ten years on, only just over a quarter of UN Member States have a NAP to implement the Resolution. Importantly, the top three troop-contributing nations to the UN – India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, do not have a significant number of women in their forces (Dharmapuri, 2013) and do not have NAPs (Dharmapuri, 2011). The UNSC recognised the significant disparity between the promise of UNSCR 1325 and the reality of implementation when it adopted Resolution 2122 in October 2013 (Inclusive Security, 2014). This Resolution urged Member States to examine existing NAPs and progress to preparations for the 2015 high-level review. There was also a warning in this Resolution: that without a significant shift in implementation activities, women and gender perspectives would continue to be under-represented in security and peace decisions for the foreseeable future (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014).

Two areas that are key in the women, peace and security agenda, which have shown the least progress since UNSCR 1325 was adopted, are the inclusion of women in peace negotiations and including women as peacekeepers on peacekeeping operations (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). UN statistics have 4268 women currently deployed in various peacekeeping missions (UN Peacekeeping, Feb

2016)² – this accounts for only 4% of peacekeepers. This percentage is about the same as when the Resolution was adopted over 15 years ago (Gippner & Mohan, 2015). However, more positively, in absolute terms, the numbers of women have tripled in peacekeeping operations since 2012, and there are three all-women formed police units and five women have led peacekeeping operations (Gippner & Mohan, 2015). A female officer of the pioneering all-women unit in Liberia advises that structural changes are still needed, as it is ‘still an overwhelmingly male space’ (Gippner & Mohan, 2015). She points out issues such as very limited medical facilities for women peacekeepers in UN camps, and the absence of maternity benefits and childcare support. There has been no significant increase in the number of women involved in peace negotiations since UNSCR 1325 was passed (Westendorf, 2013). A UNIFEM report of 2010 noted that “women’s participation in peace processes remains one of the least well-implemented elements of the women, peace and security agenda” (Sharp, 2013, p. 160). The report concluded that it was clear that where crucial decisions are made post-conflict, women are “conspicuously underrepresented” (UNIFEM, 2010, p. 2).

There are also other areas where significant progress must be made in implementing UNSCR 1325. There is still evidence of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers (Swaine, 2009), most recently allegations of sexual abuse of street children in Bangui (Al Jazeera, 2015). This sexual abuse appears to be prevalent and the perpetrators often unpunished, despite the UNSC in the Resolution calling for an end to impunity for gender-based crimes (Wilett, 2010). Reports of horrific sexual violence against women continue to be reported back from conflict zones (Swaine, 2009), including, most recently, reports from areas controlled by militant groups, aligned with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, of brutal acts of violence against women and girls (Malinowski, 2015). These on-going concerns have resulted in the UN Assembly approving on 19th June that it would be an International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict (UN News Centre 2015). However, the challenge still remains, warned the UN Secretary-General’s Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Zainab Bangura, in converting “political will into concrete actions and protection on the ground” (UN News Centre, 2015). UNIFEM, in a report in 2010, stated that less than eight percent of funds in peace agreements are allocated to implementation in any way for women or their specific interests (Swaine, 2009 & UNIFEM, 2010, p. 12). In the aftermath of conflict, women’s concerns appear to be systematically ignored and marginalised, relegated to a ‘special needs’ category and routinely underfunded (Wilett, 2010).

3 CRITIQUE OF UNSCR 1325

Although UNSCR 1325 has been referred to as the ‘Magna Carta’ or the ‘Bill of Rights’ for women, there are still many areas of concern (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). One concern is that the version that was unanimously approved was essentially

² Includes military experts, troops and police.

watered down; it had a number of very important feminist ideas and aspirations removed for various reasons (Swaine, 2009). A non-governmental organisation (NGO) working group had been convened that consisted of an assortment of NGOs, the majority of whom did not define themselves as feminist or peace activists (Otto, 2010). This resulted in important aspects such as conflict prevention, de-militarisation and discussion of militarism being sidelined and removed before it even reached the UNSC. There had been disagreements over content and a pragmatic approach had been adopted, with members making strategic calculations as to what the UNSC would find acceptable (Otto, 2010). The draft was further divested of feminist ideas while it was subject to the diplomatic negotiations of the UNSC (Otto, 2010). Therefore, “crucial aspects of feminist anti-war activism” were removed, and no paragraphs addressing the important underlying structural gender inequalities that can lead to conflict were left in (Otto, 2010). The vision of peace that had emerged at the Platform for Action in Beijing: “a sustainable peace based on gender equity, social justice, and respect for human rights” was therefore not entirely embraced in the final version of UNSCR 1325 (Sharp, 2013).

While the Resolution has been translated into over one hundred different languages, there has been less than satisfactory progress in translating words into action (Swaine, 2009). The language of the Resolution has been criticised for, in parts, being weak (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014) and patriarchal (Puechguirbal, 2010). The Resolution is ‘soft law’ owing to its language, and its positioning of the Resolution outside the more robust Chapter VII mandate, and therefore it can be argued that it is limited in achieving true progress for women (Swaine, 2009). The UNSC does have the authority to make declarations that are binding on Member States; however, the language used in the Resolution is often weak, including expressions such as ‘urges’, ‘requests’, ‘encourages’, and ‘calls upon’ governments and parties to act. It is simply up to Member States and regional organisations to elect to adopt NAPs or a national-level strategy, and no formal sanctions or penalties exist for failing to do so (Miller, Pournik & Swaine 2014). The language of UNSCR 1325 also uses ‘gender’ and ‘women’ interchangeably, which reinforces the incorrect belief that only women have ‘gender’ perspectives. Furthermore, the way that women are at times defined – as victims, vulnerable, and in association with children (Sharp, 2013), “is not only essentialist but undermines women’s agency” (Puechguirbal, 2010, p. 172). However, contrary to the protective gender stereotypes, there are some more positive empowered representations of women in the Resolution (Otto, 2010). There are references to women as peacekeeping personnel, participants in peace-building, peace advocates and implementers of peace agreements, bearers of human rights, refugees and ex-combatants (UNSCR 1325, 2000).

There are no accountability mechanisms in UNSCR 1325 to monitor its implementation, and as it is not a Treaty then there are no ratification, compliance or verification requirements (Wilett, 2010). The then UN Secretary General expressed frustration, in his 2009 annual report on UNSCR 1325, about its ‘weak implementation framework’ and the ‘absence of clear targets and reliable data’,

identifying this as an ‘obstacle’ to strengthening women’s participation as intended (Otto, 2010). There is also a lack of an accountability mechanism as to whether the UN itself implements the Resolution in its daily work. In fact, there appears to be a lack of political will (Oudraat, 2013) and commitment within the UN hierarchy to meaningfully implement UNSCR 1325 (Puerchguirbal, 2010). It is crucial to include women in higher decision-making if there is to be greater inclusiveness and gender equality (Gippner & Mohan, 2015), but this is not occurring even within the UN. It took the UN five years to institute its own action plan and gender mainstreaming is still not mandatory in all of the UN’s specialised agencies (Swaine, 2009). In October 2014 the UN Secretary-General himself was accused of turning his back on UNSCR 1325 in an open letter by AIDS-Free World (Donovan & Lewis, 2014) with the lack of women included in his appointed High Level Panel on Peacekeeping Operations (Deen, 2014).

The lack of accountability mechanisms has also allowed UNSCR 1325 to be a vehicle for officials to pay lip service to gender perspectives (Puerchguirbal, 2010). Officials and government representatives celebrate the adoption of UNSCR 1325 every year. Statements are made “purporting to represent the views of women” and also detailing what actions will be taken next (Puerchguirbal, 2010). However, this generally accounts to empty rhetoric and propagandistic gestures to mainstream gender (Sjoberg, 2014). The rhetoric may in fact “obscure the structural obstacles that in reality impede progress on the Resolution” (Swaine, 2009). Furthermore, there has been a reluctance to fund and resource appropriately NAPs and initiatives related to gender equality (Swaine, 2009). Often government agencies must absorb these costs into already stretched budgets and personnel resourcing, with the result being minimal resourcing and a lack of meaningful implementation of UNSCR 1325.

4 WHAT OPPORTUNITIES ARE THERE FOR THE FUTURE?

There is an opportunity for the UN to strengthen the implementation of and demonstrate its commitment to UNSCR 1325 by passing a further Resolution that has strong language, accountability mechanisms and requirements for reporting. The existence of the UNSCR 1325 framework, and the seven other women, peace and security Resolutions, in itself has not proven sufficient to achieve the desired transformational change (Sharp, 2013). The UN could require that all Member States, when deploying on UN peacekeeping operations, commit and demonstrate their incorporation of UNSCR 1325 and mainstreaming gender in all areas of their peacekeeping operations. Gender mainstreaming is at the heart of the UNSCR 1325 Resolution and key to its implementation success (Swaine, 2009). NATO has successfully implemented the incorporation of all aspects of UNSCR 1325, and in particular gender mainstreaming, in their Bi-SC Directive, which is binding for all NATO-led operations and obligates its members and partner nations (NATO Legal Gazette, 2013). A Resolution could address conflict prevention and general disarmament – both long-standing objectives of women’s peace movements to address militarism (Otto, 2010). Fundamentally, a Resolution could also address

the structural causes of women's inequality, not limited to conflict, which UNSCR 1325 lacks (Otto, 2010). The Resolution could also call on, and co-ordinate, male champions of change, or men as allies, to provide leadership and action on gender inequality (Dharmapuri, 2011).

The UN should institute a strategy or campaign that brings together men, and men's groups, to promote gender equality in peacekeeping (Dharmapuri, 2011). Men are widely acknowledged as being key to achieving change for issues related to women, as they are often in positions of power and influence and therefore are crucial to generating political and social will to achieve positive change (Dharmapuri, 2011). There are already men's organisations such as MenEngage Alliance, and the UN Network of Men, that can be supported. There are also national organisations such as Australian Elizabeth Broderick's 'Male Champions of Change', that includes well-known feminist Lieutenant-General David Morrison, ex-Chief of Army. Male Champions of Change's website³ states that it brings together "men of influence to form a high profile coalition to achieve change in gender equality issues." This group further states that they will "work together to identify and implement progressive, high impact actions that disrupt the status quo and create meaningful and lasting change." Often the progress and change required to achieve gender equality are put in a 'special-needs' basket; having male champions of change recognises that these are not simply 'women's concerns', but rather global issues that we all have a responsibility to solve. Men have a vital role in achieving transformational change for their mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, colleagues and friends; a co-ordinated strategy would enable their individual voices to join together to create new social norms and behaviours.

A key opportunity is a conscious focus on meaningful and co-ordinated involvement of civil society, experts and governments; currently, the engagement is ad hoc and unco-ordinated. This would result in more high-impact NAPs, it would leverage and share expertise, and also build implementer capacity whilst bolstering commitment (Inclusive Security, 2014). This may also mean a higher understanding, through education, of what the truly feminist and transformative aspirations of UNSCR 1325 are (Swaine, 2009). There has been growing expertise and strength in the women, peace and security field; however, the different agencies, groups and experts are not co-ordinated to maximise impact. Within the UN itself there are numerous UN agencies that are conducting activities that can be considered to be linked to UNSCR 1325. Inclusive Security is an organisation that has recently launched a 'Resolution to Act' initiative, aiming to work alongside governments and civil society to close the gap from rhetoric to action for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Inclusive Security, 2014). They are partnering with other agencies and have launched a community of experts dedicated to assisting governments in moving from low to high impact NAPs.

³ <http://malechampionsofchange.com/about-us>.

Operationalising UNSCR 1325 and ensuring adherence to the norms stated in the Resolution must be undertaken by States; this can occur through high impact, well-resourced NAPs (Westendorf, 2013). In order to achieve meaningful action, these NAPs must be more than a matter of just ‘adding women and stirring’ (Women Peacemakers Program, 2014), but a deeper process of rethinking peace and security through a gendered perspective (Westendorf, 2013). For national action plans to be high impact they should move from what is currently often provided – a collation of what a country is already doing – to a more results focused NAP that is structured around the intended outcomes and an audit of the quality of those actions (Swaine, 2009). A results-focused NAP would deliver more than a technical approach and embrace the “transformative aspirations of gender mainstreaming” (Swaine, 2009). For national action plans to be transformational requires a complete gender re-think in relation to all governmental policies (Westendorf, 2013). Instead of simply being an ‘add-on’ to other policies, it needs to be an overarching meta-policy that traverses all of government, across military and civilian police spheres (Westendorf, 2013). Governments should draw on the expertise of a co-ordinated civil society, their libraries of NAP resources and online Resource Centres to heighten implementation.

The UN requires a clear strategy to effectively operationalise its own policies, co-ordinated in its specialised agencies, and to generate greater political will amongst Member States (Dharmapuri, 2013). Some Member States lack the political will to act, potentially because of entrenched cultural norms, so it is key that there are accountability mechanisms and requirements for reporting, as detailed earlier. To achieve the integration of a gender perspective into peace operations and a significant increase in female participation, then a strategic vision at UN headquarters and within key Member States is required (Dharmapuri, 2013). Some key Member States are the three top troop-contributing countries, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, who have a low number of women in their forces and no NAPs. The vision should result in a gender-sensitive force generation strategy (Dharmapuri 2013), especially in the key mission areas where women are most needed. Including women in a meaningful way will increase operational effectiveness and will be a powerful force for peace (Inclusive Security, 2016).

Now is a key opportunity to implement these strategies and plans, having just celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of UNSCR 1325. At this anniversary the UN held a High Level Review, released a Global Study on women, peace and security, and unanimously approved UNSCR 2242, the eighth of the UNSCRs on women, peace and security. The open debate was the most popular in UNSC history, with 113 speakers registering to speak. The new Resolution 2242 includes many different aspects of the women, peace and security agenda, and has the potential to serve as an important tool in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 if adequate resources are allocated. The creation of the Informal Experts Group on women, peace and security is charged with greater oversight and coordination of implementation efforts. Only time will tell if this new Resolution will have a

large positive impact. This momentum needs to be harnessed and driven across the finish line so that results can be realised.

In conclusion, this article has outlined how UNSCR 1325 was the culmination of years of lobbying by feminists and women's groups (Meger, 2012), and was a watershed Resolution for women. However, even though it has been recognised that it is "a unique and potentially transformative Resolution" (Oudraat, 2013), that rhetoric has not transformed into results. Key critiques of the Resolution were identified: the lack of accountability and reporting requirements; the 'soft law' status and weak language; empty rhetoric without political commitment in resourcing; and the fact that the Resolution itself did not state all of the feminist aspirations for sustainable peace and addressing gender inequality (Otto, 2010). Key opportunities were identified: there should be a meaningful, co-ordinated plan of involvement with civil society, experts and governments; a co-ordinated strategy should be implemented to unite men and men's groups as male champions of change; and Member States should be required and assisted to formulate high impact, well-resourced NAPs that are a meta-policy requiring a complete gender re-think. It has been identified that this is a key time to conduct this change, with the results of the global study commissioned as part of the 15-year review recently released, and a new Resolution to be acted upon.

Currently, there is no country in the world where women are equal to men, in terms of livelihood and economic security, political rights and personal safety (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). However, progress towards achieving gender equality is occurring in many countries. The past fifteen years has shown that perhaps it was naive to think that a UN Resolution, along with its follow up Resolutions and high-level political rhetoric, was enough to precipitate the wide-reaching principles into meaningful action (Westendorf, 2013). The most important requirement is that there is a true commitment to gender equality in order to move from aspiration to action (Dharmapuri, 2013). The time to act is now.

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ŽENSKE V OBOROŽENIH SILAH: MED NASILJEM IN RANLJIVOSTJO

WOMEN IN MILITARY SISTEM: BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND VULNERABILITY

Povzetek Prispevek poskuša združiti vprašanje posledic napačnega razumevanja in tolmačenja ranljivosti žensk ter vprašanja negativnega vpliva spolnih stereotipov in predsodkov na položaj žensk v vojaškem sistemu. Emancipacijski vidik v kontekstu vprašanja žensk v vojaškem poklicu in žensk na kriznih, bojnih (vojnih) žariščih in v kriznih situacijah je soočen s posledicami vpliva negativnih spolnih stereotipov in predsodkov, ki so jih oblikovale in favorizirale zahodne družbeno-religijske agende, in posledično izzvan z vprašanjem razumevanja ženske kot ofenzivnega in defenzivnega vojaškega orožja. V popularnem diskurzu se namreč ženska telesa, menstrualna kri in ženska seksualnost zaradi učinkovitosti združevanja predsodka nevarnosti žensk z nevarnostjo narave pogosto uporabljajo kot vojaška taktika. V tem smislu bi lahko ranljivost ženskih teles razumeli v kontekstu tistih, ki so zlorabljeni in podvržena nasilju nasilnih drugih (moških, sistema itn.).

Ključne besede *Žensko telo, ženska seksualnost, ranljivost, predsodek, religija, vojna.*

Abstract The paper brings together perceptions and concerns about the practical consequences of the misconceptions of the concept of women's vulnerability and the question of negative gender stereotypes and prejudices regarding women in military profession.

The emancipation viewpoint within the context of women in the military profession and women confronting combat (war) situations and equivalence, is introduced within the universal orientation of the impact of negative gender stereotypes and prejudices formed and perpetuated within religion-society cycle and confronted with the issue of understanding women as both offensive and defensive weapons of war.

Within popular discourse, women's bodies, menstrual blood, and female sexuality can be used as tactics of war because of the potency of their association with the

danger of nature. To that extent the vulnerability of women's bodies could be understood as the one being violated and abused to violet others.

Key words *Women's bodies, female sexuality, vulnerability, prejudices, religion, war.*

Introduction The question of a woman, of her role in the society is still inexhaustible and more and more present subject of different psychological, sociological, social and other scientific researches and debates. The whole society is faced with new view of a woman and also of a man. The world is in the middle of the important place of transformation or new valuation and formation of gender's identity. At that point the institutionized religion plays an important role, as a meaningful system for producing the meaning is (so)responsible for (non)ethical behaviour of society and vice-versa. The culture and religion are not just the area of passive influences but also a meaningful system for producing the meaning. The culture and religion give the notions, the beliefs which become unnoticed and non-rectified patterns by which the people live by. That is why in the sphere of cultural society beside the positive life phenomena also negative gender stereotypes and prejudices are formed and we absorb them non critically. The important role here have the religions which, according to Majella Franzmann, are the main key which in a individual social-political structures open the door to harmful gender stereotypes and prejudices and consecutively to a patriarchal mentality (Franzmann, 2000, p. 60). Stereotypical conceptions which are linked mostly to gender stereotypes have a very important role here. These stereotypes have a destroying influence on the comprehension and notion of oneself, of the other gender and consecutively of all relations. They are creating a distance between a man and a woman and the ideal of symbiosis of gender differences and respectful-harmonious relation between sexes. Negative gender stereotypes and prejudices encourage, preserve and tolerate patriarchal hierarchical marks of human relations and spread class hierarchy of power on every field of life. Innocent patriarchy's parasites live and transfer through the language, images and thoughts. Negative gender stereotypes and prejudices paralyse and prevent healthy mutual relations. These are heart and health of a person, of partner and family relations and also of the whole net of relations and society. Healthy relations mean healthy society and vice versa.

The question of parity and equality of women and men in a view of the impact of negative gender stereotypes, is one of the basic and complex questions which our era has to think about. Because the more we non critically accept the norms around us, the more we become limited: victims of our environment, less capable to doubt about the beliefs which were unconsciously taken from our environment. That is why it is important to find a liberation from life's captivity in which the people live as passive products of this culture.

This problematical feeld introduce the paper in the sense of ethical model: two integrities of a man and of a woman which are two different totalities and from constructive differencies it is not possible to create a relation moreworthy – manly

and lessworthy, which in the past has always been womanly. The modern progressive conception and understanding of gender order is certainly rather significantly related to the issue of socio-cultural paradigm of power and power distribution. The present paper also results from the progressive view that the roles of men and women were mainly shaped by influences arising from the history, culture, society, religion and therefore change as the society itself changes.

The starting point of the approach in the paper is problem based. The emancipation viewpoint within the context of women in the military profession and women confronting combat (war) situations and equivalence, is introduced within the universal orientation of impact of negative gender stereotypes and prejudices formed and perpetuated within religion-society cycle and confronted with the issue of understanding *women as both offensive and defensive weapons of war; a notion that is symptomatic of age-old fears of the "mysterious" powers of women, maternity, and female sexuality.* (Oliver, 2007, p.19).

So, the research question of these paper is the urge to trace possible connection between the impact of the negative gender stereotypes on comprehension of women in military profession. The basic hypothesis would be that universal orientation of the impact of negative gender stereotypes and prejudices formed and perpetuated within religion-society cycle has strong negative impact on understanding of women as both offensive and defensive weapons of war.

1 NEGATIVE GENDER STEREOTYPES, PREJUDICES REGARDING WOMEN IN MILITARY PROFESSION

Anthropological and ethnographical research indicates that between human activities are very few of those who would be, in all human cultures performed exclusively by male or exclusively by female. Although there are a whole range of cultures, of which there is a strict division of labor between the sexes, but the views on which the work is male and which female, are usually very different. Equal work or activity can in some culture applies to extremely masculine and in other to extremely feminine gender role. One of the few exceptions is fighting because we can not cite a single living culture in which women had in it equally important or even more important role than men.¹ The military profession until recently, certainly was considered as exclusively male profession, and as Igor Kotnik-Dvojmoč has pointed out, it was not only because of the objective complexity of the profession, but also for tradition, stereotypes and prejudices. (Kotnik-Dvojmoč, 2002, p. 33) Igor Kotnik-Dvojmoč also reveals particular attention of the impact of negative gender stereotype of the "relationship between the concept of masculinity and heroism". In addition, he claims, that the general code, which assessed the members of the battle group is still "to be a man". It is also one of the easiest ways

¹ Among the 122 cultures that were analyzed in terms of who produces the weapons, there was only one found in which women sometimes participate in this work. (Makarovič, Žvokelj, Kromar, 1986, p. 36)

to encourage soldiers to implement a completely irrational procedures in the fight, which can also lead to certain death; with the reference to their “masculinity” being put into question as the crucial element. The man, according to Kotnik-Dvojmoč, is much more afraid of losing masculinity as women fear their loss of femininity. This is probably due to the fact that it is necessary to prove “real manhood, or real masculinity” with achievements. Moreover, men are much more pronounced need to prove their masculinity through various roles and profession. (Kotnik-Dvojmoč, 2002, p. 33)

The hardest issue for women in the military profession is to resist traditionally and culturally conditioned opposition. Due to culturally marked stereotypical gender roles men are thought aggressiveness through socialization, while women are constantly thought non-aggression. In line with this, the male ego requires to keep themselves protectors. Musek is also convinced that the observed differences between the members of both sexes reflect the life situation, the process of socialization and experiences that prevail in a given environment. Quite clearly these differences are expressed through gender roles and performances, the individuals during development creates about their sexual identity, stereotypes and roles. On the other hand, it is again difficult to defend the impression that gender roles and gender schemes are not completely independent of the actual nature and objective characteristics of members of both sexes. However, the marginalization of women in the military profession, is the result of the predominance of male centered culture. (Musek in Kotnik-Dvojmoč, p. 34)

Women entering into public activities, that were considered as exclusively men, is still very limited. The cult of masculinisation, which is dominated by a strict principle of exclusivity, commands women to be considered as “outsiders” and represents a negative phenomenon in a man’s world. Women’s professional career is, despite numerous attempts of emancipation, still largely dependent on traditional prejudices and cultural norms. Although in the last forty years, women massively penetrated in so called “man’s world of army” of Western European and North American armed forces, women in the military occupation which applies to be “most male centered profession” are still burdened with strong impact of prejudices and negative gender stereotypes. These prevent them from equal opportunity to perform a profession of a soldier without barriers. Instead, they must cope with the remarks of their fellow men that contain negative stereotypical idea of women as dependent, helpless, weak, man’s slave property. For the reason of “threats to his manhood” male soldiers repeatedly disable and make difficulties to their female colleagues. Thus, for example. Slovenian soldier that wants to remain anonymous says: *I often receive various ridicule accusations by male colleagues. Perhaps even worse, however, I find the comments and reactions of other people when I tell them that I am a professional soldier.* (Furlan, 2005, p. 189) Undoubtedly, this is due to the gender stereotype of specific gender role played by a woman imprinted in the collective consciousness of our society. On the other hand, military colonel Damjana Jurkovič, responds that she did not think of feel any disadvantages of

being a woman among her male colleagues in the workplace. In connection with the question of the presence of prejudices about women in the army or military occupation, she argues: *In 1991, there were non (prejudices), because the war made us equal. (...) In the following years, gender differences and prejudices began to appear, but I can say for myself, that in my surroundings, I have never felt them. The differences may be traced when command responsibility comes into question ...* (Jurkovič, 2003, p. 26)

The reason for increasing number of women who, despite of the impact of negative gender stereotypes and prejudices opt for military occupations, could be seen mainly in new roles and tasks of the armed forces. With the spread of non-war military operations in which the military performs the role of peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian tasks in aid during natural disasters, the interest of women to military profession increases. These tasks often take place in areas where the military crisis has passed, or even in environments where there is no threat of use of military force, and allow the participation of a large number of women. These tasks do not assume great physical strength and the use of weapons, but on the contrary, requires the large capacity of the negotiations, understanding of different cultures, understanding the civilian population in the area of operations ...

So called “machomilitarism” trend, which we are familiar with from some of the modern aggressive armies, is nothing but cultural cockpit cover to the the soldiers in peacekeeping operations. Feminization of the military, is not understood only in terms of the increased number of women in the military, but also brings with it a qualitative change. Feminization of army presupposes re-conceptualization of masculinity and transformations of gender identities and relations between them, and thus the ability and willingness of the acts of violence has dramatically dropped. Feminization of the military also brings new perspectives to the conception of masculinity. It also brings liberating concepts that break down prejudices such as: brave fighters do not cry, fear or retreat. With the entry of women into the army and the units on the front lines, such samples are disrupted. It is permissible for a man to cry, allowed to consider whether it is wiser to attack or retreat. By changing the definition of courage and fear transformation of the operation in the frontline occurs as well. This is precisely what bothers some military experts which believe that the presence of women reduces the effectiveness of the army. Greater presence of women reduces combative intentions of the army and this helps to lower glorification of violence in the army, and consequently also in wider society. In this regard, Maca Jogan questiones whether feminization of the armed forces may be a first step towards changing patterns of everyday life in the direction of decreasing violence and as an agent of mutual coexistence. (Jogan, 2002, p. 24)

Despite of increasing involvement of women in the military occupation, women are far from equal with men, which is mainly reflected in the functional (inequality in access to tasks and their implementation) and positional (inequality in the dynamics of acquiring rank and level) differentialisation of women. Igor Kotnik-Dvojmoč concludes that the problem of functional differentiation and positioning

of women in the military occupation, both in its quantitative as well as qualitative aspect, reaches such a magnitude that it would be appropriate instead of using term differentiation for labeling this phenomenon entitled to use term discrimination. (Kotnik-Dvojmoč, 2002, p. 58) We could conclude that women in a male-designated occupation of soldiers, are therefore visibly exposed to non-equal distribution of power, discrimination and negative impact of gender stereotypes and prejudices, and all this is also manifested in the form of disadvantage in promotion and payment. Kelly Oliver alerts: *Even as the presence of women in the military seems to signal their liberation from patriarchal traditions, the rhetoric surrounding their involvement betrays the lingering association between women, sexuality, and death.* (Oliver, 2007, p. 19)

And this connection is especially noticeable in the phenomenon of vulnerability.

2 WOMEN'S VULNERABILITY: VIRGIN / SEDUCTRESS, LIFE / DEATH, PEACE MAKER / WARRIOR

Fearing women's power and authority, even Christianity often made women scapegoats and subjected them to men. In his work *Violence, Society and the Church*, Gerald A. Arbuckle arrives at similar conclusions and points out the patriarchy as the oldest form of supremacy of one gender over another, that is, of men over women (Arbuckle, 2004). He believes that gender oppression stems from deeply rooted anti-women prejudices preserved and strengthened throughout history. And the origin of all these prejudices and the patriarchy as an oppressive form of power and men as possessors of power, is – in the opinion of anthropologists Edwin Ardener and Sherry Ortner – to be sought in men's feeling of loss of power and inferiority. The two anthropologists argue the following thesis: in pre-modern cultures pregnancy and birth were understood as spheres of dangerous secret wrapped in a veil of mystery. Despite or perhaps precisely because of this, the phenomena of pregnancy and birth aroused envy among men, as they made them feel helpless. The fact that men could seemingly establish and determine the rights related to the offspring had to kneel down in front of the actual ability to create a life, which was outside men's power. Precisely because of their lack of this capability or power (to bear children) men pushed women aside and confined them to the wild sphere of nature, while assigning other men the superior position in the area of social decision making and order. Women were thus ousted from the orderly social world of decision making and public social life, with their wild nature representing the main obstacle and excuse for men to chase them away from this sphere. Consequently, women's position in the society became marginal and only restricted to their primary function, which was supposed to be ensuring procreation, that is, bearing offspring (Arbuckle, 2004, pp. 39-40). Femininity, woman and her body become extremely vulnerable.

The root of the word vulnerability is the Latin *vulna*, which means "wound". The term is used in a variety of ways: economic, geopolitical, emotional. In one side it

describes the fragility of our bodies, and the terror, confusion and fellow-feeling that can come from our perception of our shared embodiment. As Sarah Hagelin refers “both to the physical fact that a thin layer of skin separates the inside of our bodies from the outside world and also to the complex structures of feeling in this case those that define our sense of ourselves as vulnerable”. (Hagelin, 2013, p. 13)

Kate Brown summarizes three distinct but interrelated concerns about the practical consequences of the concept of vulnerability: (1.) vulnerability is a patronizing, paternalistic, and oppressive concept; (2.) vulnerability becomes a premise for an instrument of social control; and (3.) vulnerability has stigmatizing and exclusionary consequences. (Brown, 2011, p. 316)

Through the body, we are exposed, opened onto the world and to others, even as for others we are the ones to whom they are exposed and vulnerable. In this sense, vulnerability is universal, an inevitable part of embodiment. Or in the words of Judith Butler: “the body implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others, but also to touch, and to violence, and bodies put us at risk of becoming the agency an instrument of all these as well”. (Butler, 2004, p. 26) The theme of vulnerability is implicit in all Butler’s work, yet it is treated most directly in *Precarious Life*. Butler’s idea of precarity, which is politically conditioned and precariousness as “the condition of being conditioned” is definitive of life itself and reveals “life as a conditioned process”. (Butler, 2006, p. 23) Precariousness is akin to an existential sense of finitude in that it emphasizes the fragility of existence, but it serves a different purpose. Precariousness calls our attention to the way any of us might be substituted for another. Understood in this way precariousness is an ungrounded ground for “positive social obligations”. (Butler, 2006, p. 22) To the extent that I am vulnerable and my life is precarious, it is also because I am bound to others. Social bonds condition my existence.

The other possible understanding of vulnerability would be also the one that deals with emotions. Psychoanalyst, philosopher, feminist Julia Kristeva describes vulnerability not primarily as the result of having bodies that can be wounded, but rather exists because we occupy a place between being and meaning, between bodies and words. And precisely in the gap between bodies and words, the ways in which words are never quite adequate to capture bodily experience, is figured as a wound. And according to Kristeva, this wound is the seat of our vulnerability. She suggests that the encounter with other puts us face to face with our own vulnerability with and for others. In this view, it is the fear and denial of our own vulnerability that causes us to hate and exploit the vulnerability of others. (Kristeva, 2010, p. 115)

Vulnerability in this sense, usually means a system of beliefs, images and narratives that imply a capacity to be harmed (either physically or emotionally). Generally the word has also implied a powerlessness or victimization that strips from our understanding of the term, especially in regard to images of the female body. Or as

Erinn C. Gilson has stated *female vulnerability is manifest in the way women are portrayed as submissive, powerless objects that are acted upon and often harmed by men.* (Gilson, 2014, p. 157)

From the perspective of feminist critique there is always something both risky and true in claiming that women are especially vulnerable. The claim can be taken to mean that women have an unchanging and defining vulnerability, and that kind of argument makes the case for paternalistic protection. And yet, there are good reasons to argue for the differential vulnerability of women; they suffer disproportionately from poverty and literacy, two very important dimensions of any global analysis of women's condition. Women disproportionately suffer also the impacts of disasters, severe weather events, and climate change because of cultural norms and the inequitable distribution of roles, resources, and power, especially in developing countries.

In some ways, vulnerability has been regarded as a value in feminist theory and politics. This means neither that women are more vulnerable than men nor that women value vulnerability more than men do. Rather, certain kinds of gender-defining attributes, like vulnerability and invulnerability, are distributed unequally, and for purposes of shoring up certain regimes of power that subordinates women.

Religion (Christianity) has been one of the patriarchal structures that have objectified women and denigrated their bodies. At this point we should briefly mention the strong negative impact of prejudice of perceiving women's body as the seed of carnal wickedness and seductive wilderness, imprinted negative stereotype by church fathers and perpetuated throughout church history. (Furlan, 2006, p. 117)

And that brings us to the problem of vulnerability and its myths and common misconceptions about weakness of women on one hand, and the danger of their sexuality, on the other. The prejudice of the virgin-whore dichotomy setup within cultures that historically have excluded female bodies from the properly social and political realm is well known. Women have been figured as either innocent virgins or dirty whores.

Among other negative consequences that negative gender stereotypes regarding women's bodies have had on the perception of women as embodied subjects, the vulnerability of women's bodies and their abuse is far more destructive.

Although the paper will not focus on the question of vulnerability of women's bodies furtheron, it would be appropriate to stress out three aspects of women's vulnerability in terms of embodied experience: (1.) on women's disproportional suffering from poverty and literacy, (2.) on feminicide (the phenomenon of the female homicides in Ciudad Juárez, called in Spanish *feminicidio* (feminicide) involves the violent deaths of hundreds of women and girls since 1993 in the

northern Mexican region of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua²) and (3.) on women's involvement in abuse (be it sexual abuse in terms of rape) or in terms of Kelly Oliver's *Women's as wapons of war*. Within popular discourse, women's bodies, menstrual blood, and female sexuality can be used as tactics of war because of the potency of their association with danger of nature. Oliver states that *akin to a natural toxin or intoxicant, women's sex makes a powefful weapon because, within our cultural imaginary, it is by nature dangerous*. (Oliver, 2007, p. 31)

And that brings us to the problem of the figures of women from wars in the Middle East, speaking of Palestinian women suicide bombers, strating with Wafa Idris in January 2002. An editorial published in Egypt's weekly newspaper *Al-Sha'aba* few days after the bombing, stated: *It is a woman who teaches you today a lesson in heroism, who teaches you the meaning of jihad, and the way to die a martyr's death ... It is a woman who has shocked the enemy with her thin, meager and weak body. It is a woman who blew herself up, and with her exploded all the myths about woman's weakness, submissiveness, and enslavement*. (Whaley Eager, 2008, pp. 188-189)

While women are obviously capable of the most heinous abuse and torture, the myth or prejudice of women more savage than men continues today with stories of women torturers and women interrogators in Iraq (shocking images of Pfc. Lynndie England and Army Spc. Sabina Harman at the Abu Gharib prison in Iraq) as well as in Guantanamo Bay prisons. There women have been identified with sex and their sexuality has been figured as a weapon by the military. The prejudice of that so-called dangerous natural sexuality can be harnessed by the military to break and "soften up" recalcitrant prisoners. That suggests that the presence of women in Abu Gharib prison allowed for even more humiliating forms of abuse supposedly used to "soften up" prisoners before interrogation. Because of their sex and its seemingly natural effect on men, women become the means to compound not only sexual and physical abuse but also abuse of religious and cultural beliefs. The use of menstrual blood in

² *The phenomenon of the female homicides in Ciudad Juárez, called in Spanish feminicidio ("femicide") involves the violent deaths of hundreds of women and girls since 1993 in the northern Mexican region of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, a border city across the Rio Grande from the U.S. city of El Paso, Texas. The number of murdered women in Ciudad Juarez since 1993 is estimated to be more than 370. After surveying 155 killings out of 340 documented between 1993 and 2003, a government committee found that roughly half were prompted by motives like robbery and gang wars, while a little more than a third involved sexual assault. The murders of women and girls in Ciudad Juárez since 1993 have received international attention, primarily due to perceived government inaction in preventing violence against women and girls and bringing perpetrators to justice. More recently, prosecutors from the state of Chihuahua reported that in 2010, 270 women were killed within the state, of these murders 247 occurred in Juarez. In 2011, Chihuahua's Attorney General, Carlos Manuel Salas, announced during a briefing in August 2011 that 222 women had been killed in Chihuahua since January of that year. Of these 222 murders, 130 of them occurred in Ciudad Juarez. In total, more than 300 women were murdered in the city in 2011. It is believed that the femicide in Ciudad Juarez may be related to organized crime (like prostitution rings) given the presence of the powerful drug cartels in the region. Further, criminal gangs have become a permanent threat particularly to women on the border. Gang activity creates high risk for women especially due to very little institutional protection. This patriarchal backlash may indeed be the result of lack of employment opportunities for men and more women entering the workforce which has altered traditional gender dynamics and created a situation of conflict between the sexes. (Overall, in considering the potential motives for gendered violence against women, academic Mercedes Olivera has argued that femicide is a mechanism of domination, control, oppression, and power over women. (Olivera, 2006, 113).*

the interrogation of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay is especially telling. Patriarchal cultures have traditionally regarded menstrual blood as unclean and disgusting. Now the imagined abject power of menstrual blood is being used as a weapon of war. It is not just that we suppose that our Muslim prisoners will think they are unclean being exposed to menstrual blood, but also that within our own culture and the rhetoric of the soldiers and media reporting these incidents, menstrual blood is seen as unclean. (Oliver, 2007, p. 20-22) Patriarchal culture demeans and denies the elemental power of the female body. So the taboo of impurity and inferiority of women's body, dangerous and impure in ritual is stigmatized and pathologized. Menstruation is regarded by many, as a sickness, a blank spot, a non-event that the women must endure and would be better without, an evil time. Menstrual taboos, are defined not by moral distinctions (negative-positive; pure-impure), but by the logic of separation inherent in both. The most common explanation for the taboo of menstruation is "primitive" association of menstrual blood with "demonic powers", which thus puts the menstrual prohibitions with a kind of superstition. (Furlan Štante, 2014, p. 40)

In these regard Kelly Oliver examines various ways in which women involved in war in Middle East have been imagined as dangerous weapons linked with death. Within popular discourse, women's bodies, menstrual blood, and female sexuality can be used as tactics of war because of the potency of their association with the danger of nature. To that extent the vulnerability of women's bodies could be understood as the one being violated and abused to violet others.

Conclusion Despite of increasing involvement of women in the military occupation, women are far from equal with men. They are visibly exposed to non-equal distribution of power, discrimination and negative impact of gender stereotypes and prejudices, and all this is also manifested in the form of disadvantage in promotion and sometimes also payment.

We could conclude that unequal opportunities of women in military profession are practical consequences due to misconceptions of the concept of women's vulnerability and negative impact of gender stereotypes and prejudices regarding women that have become strong platform of our collective memory. The issue of understanding women as both offensive and defensive weapons of war has arose, and that has everything to do with stereotypes of femininity and female sexuality.

With women entering military arena, women have started to tell their own stories, they have started with deconstruction of those negative gender stereotypes. In the framework of the women's liberation movement this could be understood as attempt to revive *her-story*, that has been, suppressed in the markedly masculine *his-story* of military service. Within *her story*, the face of military arena is slowly began to change, embracing also feminine side.

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Avtorji

Authors



Pablo Castillo Díaz

Dr. Pablo Castillo Díaz je diplomiral iz politologije in mednarodnih odnosov na Universidad Complutense de Madrid, doktoriral pa iz mednarodnega kazenskega pravosodja in reševanja konfliktov na Univerzi Rutgers. Je strokovnjak za oblikovanje politike pri agenciji OZN za ženske. Ukvarja se s preprečevanjem spolnega in na spolu temelječega nasilja ter odzivanjem nanj v spopadih in po njih ter v izrednih situacijah, z uveljavljanjem enakosti spolov v mirovnih operacijah ter s sodelovanjem z Varnostnim svetom na področju žensk, miru in varnosti.

Pablo Castillo Díaz, PhD, holds a degree in Political Science and International Relations from Universidad Complutense de Madrid and a doctorate in international criminal justice and conflict resolution from Rutgers University. He is a Policy Specialist at UN Women, focused on efforts to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, post-conflict, and emergency settings; mainstream gender equality in peacekeeping operations; and engage with the Security Council on women, peace and security.



Jane Derbyshire

Podpolkovnica Jane Derbyshire je zaposlena v obrambnih silah Nove Zelandije. Po končani častniški šoli je prva tri leta delala v enotah artilerije, nato pa 12 let na področju prava, nazadnje kot vodja pravne službe v operativnem poveljstvu obrambnih sil. Na Univerzi Massey je predavala pravo oboroženih spopadov in vojaško pravo. Trenutno se ukvarja s strategijo zaposlovanja, odgovorna je za kadrovsko politiko in organizacijske raziskave. Leta 2017 bo v publikaciji Univerze Massey izšel njen članek o ženskah v obrambnih silah Nove Zelandije.

Lieutenant Colonel Jane Derbyshire is a member of the New Zealand Defence Force. She spent her first three years as an Artillery officer and then practised as a lawyer for 12 years with her final legal post as the Chief Legal Advisor at NZDF's operational headquarters. She was posted to Massey University where she taught the law of armed conflict and military law. Her current role is in HR strategy in charge of HR policy and organisational research. In 2017 she will have a chapter titled 'Women in the armed forces' published in a Massey University book.



Suzana Tkavc

Podpolkovnica dr. Suzana Tkavc je diplomirala na Fakulteti za šport v Ljubljani. Leta 2004 je magistrirala in leta 2011 doktorirala. Je svetovalka za vidik spola v GŠSV, koordinatorica za enakost spolov na Ministrstvu za obrambo in nacionalna predstavnica v Natovem odboru za vidik spola. Pogosto je bila vključena v dejavnosti s področja spola, tudi v MOM (Kfor). Bila je direktorica v mednarodni organizaciji (CISM), pobudnica mednarodne konference za ženske v vojski (Durban, 2010) in drugih vidnih dogodkov doma in v tujini.

Lieutenant Colonel Suzana Tkavc, PhD, graduated from the Faculty of Sports in Ljubljana. She obtained a Master of Science degree in 2004 and a PhD in 2011. She works as Gender Advisor at SAF General Staff, and is an appointed coordinator of the MoD for Gender Equality and national representative in the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives. She has often been involved in gender-related activities, also in international operations and missions (KFOR). She was Director of an international organisation (CISM), and initiated the conference on women in the military (Durban, 2009) as well as other prominent events in Slovenia and abroad.



Jovanka Šaranović

Izr. prof. dr. Jovanka Šaranović je docentka na vojaški akademiji in izredna profesorica na Fakulteti za uporabni menedžment, ekonomijo in finance. Trenutno je direktorica Inštituta za strateške raziskave, imenovana pa je bila tudi na mesto svetovalke srbskega ministra za obrambo za vidik spola. Je članica večresorskega usklajevalnega organa in namestnica načelnika delovne skupine Ministrstva za obrambo za oblikovanje Nacionalnega akcijskega načrta za obdobje od 2010 do 2015 ter članica vladne delovne skupine za oblikovanje novega za obdobje od 2016 do 2020.

Assoc. Prof. Jovanka Šaranović, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the Military Academy and Associate Professor at the Faculty of Applied Management, Economics and Finance. Currently, she is the Director of the Strategic Research Institute and has been appointed Gender Advisor to the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Serbia. She was member of the Multisectoral Coordination Body and deputy chief of the MoD working team for the drafting of the National Action Plan (2010-2015), and is member of the Government Working Group for the drafting of the new NAP 2016-2020.



Brankica
Potkonjak-Lukić

Dr. Brankica Potkonjak-Lukić je doktorirala na Fakulteti za politične študije na Univerzi v Beogradu. Je vodja Oddelka za strateško načrtovanje v Sektorju za obrambno politiko srbskega Ministrstva za obrambo. Sodeluje pri oblikovanju, usklajevanju in organizaciji dejavnosti, načrtovanih v nacionalnem akcijskem načrtu za uresničevanje Resolucije VS OZN 1325 – Ženske, mir in varnost v Republiki Srbiji, ter poročanju o njih. Je tudi recenzentka Priročnika za usposabljanje na področju enakosti spolov.

Brankica Potkonjak-Lukić, PhD, holds a PhD from the Faculty of Political Sciences. She is the Head of the Strategic Planning Department in the Defence Policy Division. She participates in the creation, coordination, organization of and reporting on the activities within the National Action Plan for the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325 – Women, Peace and Security in the Republic of Serbia. She is also a reviewer of the Serbian MoD's and Armed Forces' Training Manual on Gender Equality.



Tatjana Višacki

Dr. Tatjana Višacki je asistentka raziskovalka na Inštitutu za strateške raziskave. Magistrirala je iz psihologije in doktorirala iz politologije na Univerzi v Beogradu. Sodeluje v projektu »Vidik spola v vojski«. Kot koordinatorka dela inštruktorjev s področja vidika spola je urednica Priročnika za usposabljanje na področju enakosti spolov srbskega Ministrstva za obrambo in vojske. (Priročnik nastaja v sodelovanju z UNDP SEESAC.) Je članica analitične skupine za pripravo nacionalnega akcijskega načrta za uresničevanje Resolucije VS OZN 1325. V skupini SEESAC sodeluje kot strokovnjakinja za enakost spolov v vojski.

Tatjana Višacki, PhD, is Research Assistant working in the Strategic Research Institute. She holds a master's degree in psychology and a PhD in political sciences. She is working on the project "Gender Perspective in the Military". Coordinating the work of gender instructors, she is the editor of the Serbian MoD's and Armed Forces' Training Manual on Gender Equality (The manual is being created in cooperation with UNDP SEESAC). She is member of the analytical group for the implementation of NAP for UNSC Resolution 1325 and member of SEESAC's roster of experts with expertise in gender equality in the military.



Garry McKeon

Major Garry McKeon je že več kot 34 let zaposlen v Irskih obrambnih silah. Služil je kot častnik obrambnih sil za enakost in bil zadolžen za številne naloge na področju vidika spolov v čezmorskih državah. Opravljal je mnoge mednarodne poveljniške in štabne dolžnosti v Libanonu (UNIFIL), Liberiji (UNMIL), Afganistanu (Isaf), Čadu (EU), Bosni (Eufor Althea) in Ugandi (EUTM). Diplomiral je iz ekonomije in geografije na Irski narodni univerzi v Galwayu in magistriral iz voditeljstva, menedžmenta in obrambnih študij na Irski narodni univerzi v Maynoothu.

Commandant Garry McKeon has over 34 years' service in the Irish Defence Forces. He served as the Defence Forces Equality Officer, and held a number of gender appointments overseas. He has served in many command and staff overseas appointments in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Liberia (UNMIL), Afghanistan (ISAF), Chad (EU), Bosnia (EUFOR Althea) and Uganda (EUTM). He has a BA (Galway NUI) in Economics and Geography and an MA (Maynooth NUI) in Leadership, Management and Defence Studies.



Nadja Furlan Štante

Izr. prof. dr. Nadja Furlan Štante je višja znanstvena sodelavka in izredna profesorica za področje religijskih študij v Znanstvenoraziskovalnem središču Univerze na Primorskem, avtorica treh znanstvenih monografij na področju žensk in religije ter več znanstvenih člankov. Je tudi urednica treh zbornikov in udeleženka ter soorganizatorica mednarodnih konferenc doma in po svetu. Raziskovalno sodeluje v več nacionalnih projektih. Bila je vodja podoktorskega in temeljnega nacionalnega projekta. V študijskem letu 2008/09 je bila Fulbrightova štipendistka na univerzi Berkeley.

Assoc. Prof. Nadja Furlan Štante, PhD, is a Senior Research Fellow and Associate Professor for religious studies at Science and Research Centre, University of Primorska. She is the author of numerous scientific papers and three scientific monographs on women and religion. She is the editor of three anthologies and a participant and co-organizer of several international conferences in Slovenia and abroad. As a researcher, she participates in several major national projects. She has received the Fulbright scholarships for the academic year 2008-09 (University of Berkeley).

Navodila avtorjem
za oblikovanje prispevkov

Instructions for the authors
of papers

NAVODILA AVTORJEM ZA OBLIKOVANJE PRISPEVKOV ZA SODOBNE VOJAŠKE IZZIVE IN VOJAŠKOŠOLSKI ZBORNIK

Vsebinska navodila

Splošno

Sodobni vojaški izzivi je interdisciplinarna znanstveno-strokovna publikacija, ki objavlja prispevke o aktualnih temah, raziskavah, znanstvenih in strokovnih razpravah, tehničnih ali družboslovnih analizah z varnostnega, obrambnega in vojaškega področja.

Vojaškošolski zbornik je vojaškostrokovna in informativna publikacija, namenjena izobraževanju in obveščanju o dosežkih ter izkušnjah na področju vojaškega izobraževanja, usposabljanja in izpopolnjevanja.

Kaj objavljamo?

Objavljamo prispevke v slovenskem jeziku s povzetki, prevedenimi v angleški jezik, in po odločitvi uredniškega odbora prispevke v angleškem jeziku s povzetki, prevedenimi v slovenski jezik.

Objavljamo prispevke, ki še niso bili objavljeni ali poslani v objavo drugi reviji. Pisec je odgovoren za vse morebitne kršitve avtorskih pravic. Če je bil prispevek že natisnjen drugje, poslan v objavo ali predstavljen na strokovni konferenci, naj to avtor sporočiti uredniku in pridobiti soglasje založnika (če je treba) ter navesti razloge za ponovno objavo.

Tehnična navodila

Omejitve dolžine prispevkov

Prispevki naj obsegajo 16 strani oziroma 30.000 znakov s presledki (avtorska pola), izjemoma najmanj 8 strani oziroma 15.000 znakov ali največ 24 strani oziroma 45.000 znakov.

Recenzije

Prispevki se recenzirajo. Recenzija je anonimna. Glede na oceno recenzentov uredniški odbor ali urednik prispevek sprejme, če je treba, zahteva popravke ali ga zavrne. Pripombe recenzentov avtor vnese v prispevek.

Zaradi anonimnega recenzentskega postopka je treba prvo stran in vsebino oblikovati tako, da identiteta avtorja ni prepoznavna.

Avtor ob naslovu prispevka napiše, v katero kategorijo po njegovem mnenju in glede na klasifikacijo v COBISS spada njegov prispevek. Klasifikacija je dostopna na spletni strani revije in pri odgovornem uredniku. Končno klasifikacijo določi uredniški odbor.

Lektoriranje	Lektoriranje besedil zagotavlja OE, pristojna za založniško dejavnost. Lektorirana besedila se avtorizirajo.
Prevajanje	Prevajanje besedil ali povzetkov zagotavlja OE, pristojna za prevajalsko dejavnost oziroma Šola za tuje jezike Centra vojaških šol.
Navajanje avtorjev prispevka	Navajanje avtorjev je skrajno zgoraj, levo poravnano. <i>Primer:</i> Ime 1 Priimek 1, Ime 2 Priimek 2 V opombi pod črto se za slovenske avtorje navede, iz katere ustanove prihajajo. Pri tujih avtorjih je treba navesti tudi ime države.
Naslov prispevka	Navedbi avtorjev sledi naslov prispevka. Črke v naslovu so velike 16 pik, natisnjene krepko, besedilo naslova pa poravnano na sredini.
Povzetek	Prispevku mora biti dodan povzetek, ki obsega največ 1200 znakov (20 vrstic). Povzetek naj na kratko opredeli temo prispevka, predvsem naj povzame rezultate in ugotovitve. Splošne ugotovitve in misli ne spadajo v povzetek, temveč v uvod.
Povzetek v angleščini	Avtorji morajo oddati tudi prevod povzetka v angleščino. Tudi za prevod povzetka velja omejitev do 1200 znakov (20 vrstic).
Ključne besede	Ključne besede (3-5, tudi v angleškem jeziku) naj bodo natisnjene krepko in z obojestransko poravnavo besedila.
Besedilo	Avtorji naj oddajo svoje prispevke na papirju formata A4, s presledkom med vrsticami 1,5 in velikostjo črk 12 pik Arial. Na zgornjem in spodnjem robu naj bo do besedila približno 3 cm, levi rob naj bo širok 2 cm, desni pa 4 cm. Na vsaki strani je tako približno 30 vrstic s približno 62 znaki. Besedilo naj bo obojestransko poravnano, brez umikov na začetku odstavka.
Kratka predstavitev avtorjev	Avtorji morajo pripraviti kratko predstavitev svojega strokovnega oziroma znanstvenega dela. Predstavitev naj ne presega 600 znakov (10 vrstic, 80 besed). Če je avtorjev več, se predstavi vsak posebej, čim bolj zgoščeno. Avtorji naj besedilo umestijo na konec prispevka po navedeni literaturi.

Strukturiranje besedila

Posamezna poglavja v besedilu naj bodo ločena s samostojnimi podnaslovi in ustrezno oštevilčena (členitev največ na 4 ravni).

Primer:

1 Uvod

2 Naslov poglavja (1. raven)

2.1 Podnaslov (2. raven)

2.1.1 Podnaslov (3. raven)

2.1.1.1 Podnaslov (4. raven)

Oblikovanje seznama literature

V seznamu literature je treba po abecednem redu navesti le avtorje, na katere se sklicujete v prispevku, celotna oznaka vira pa mora biti skladna s harvardskim načinom navajanja. Če je avtorjev več, navedemo vse, kot so navedeni na izvirnem delu.

Primeri:

a) knjiga:

Priimek, ime (lahko začetnica imena), letnica. *Naslov dela*. Kraj: Založba.

Na primer: Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

b) zbornik:

Samson, C., 1970. Problems of information studies in history. V S. Stone, ur. *Humanities information research*. Sheffield: CRUS, 1980, str./pp. 44–68. Pri posameznih člankih v zbornikih na koncu posameznega vira navedemo strani, na katerih je članek, na primer:

c) članek v reviji

Kolega, N., 2006. Slovenian coast sea flood risk. *Acta geographica Slovenica*. 46-2, str. 143–167.

Navajanje virov z interneta

Vse reference se začenjajo enako kot pri natisnjenih virih, le da običajnemu delu sledi še podatek o tem, kje na internetu je bil dokument dobljen in kdaj. Podatek o tem, kdaj je bil dokument dobljen, je pomemben zaradi pogostega spreminjanja www okolja.

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, str. 45–100. <http://www.mors.si/index.php?id=213>, 17. 10. 2008. Pri navajanju zanimivih internetnih naslovov v besedilu (ne gre za navajanje posebnega dokumenta) zadošča navedba naslova (<http://www.vpvs.uni-lj.si>). Posebna referenca na koncu besedila v tem primeru ni potrebna.

Sklicevanje na vire

Pri sklicevanju na vire med besedilom navedite le priimek prvega avtorja in letnico izdaje. *Primer: ... (Smith, 1997) ...*

Če dobesedno navajate del besedila, ga ustrezno označite z narekovaji, v oklepaju pa poleg avtorja in letnice navedite stran besedila, iz katerega ste navajali.

Primer: ... (Smith, 1997, str. 15) ...

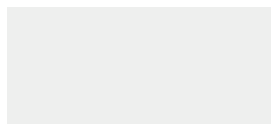
Pri povzemanju drugega avtorja napišemo besedilo brez narekovajev, v oklepaju pa napišemo, da gre za povzeto besedilo. *Primer: (po Smith, 1997, str. 15).* Če avtorja navajamo v besedilu, v oklepaju navedemo samo letnico izida in stran (1997, str. 15).

Slike, diagrami in tabele

Slike, diagrami in tabele v prispevku naj bodo v posebej pripravljenih datotekah, ki omogočajo lektorske popravke. V besedilu mora biti jasno označeno mesto, kamor je treba vnesti sliko. Skupna dolžina prispevka ne sme preseči dane omejitve.

Če avtor iz tehničnih razlogov grafičnih dodatkov ne more oddati v elektronski obliki, je izjemoma sprejemljivo, da slike priloži besedilu. Avtor mora v tem primeru na zadnjo stran slike napisati zaporedno številko in naslov, v besedilu pa pustiti dovolj prostora zanjo. Prav tako mora biti besedilo opremljeno z naslovom in številčenjem slike. Diagrami se štejejo kot slike. Vse slike in tabele se številčijo. Številčenje poteka enotno in ni povezano s številčenjem poglavij. Naslov slike je naveden pod sliko, naslov tabele pa nad tabelo. Navadno je v besedilu navedeno vsaj eno sklicevanje na sliko ali tabelo. Sklic na sliko ali tabelo je: ... (slika 5) ... (tabela 2) ...

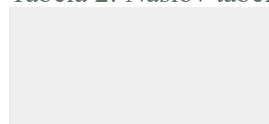
Primer slike:



Slika 5: Naslov slike

Primer tabele:

Tabela 2: Naslov tabele

**Opombe pod črto**

Številčenje opomb pod črto je neodvisno od strukture besedila in se v vsakem prispevku začne s številko 1. Posebej opozarjamo avtorje, da so opombe pod črto namenjene pojasnjevanju misli, zapisanih v besedilu, in ne navajanju literature.

Kratice

Kratice naj bodo dodane v oklepaju, ko se okrajšana beseda prvič uporabi, zato posebnih seznamov kratic ne dodajamo. Za kratico ali izraz v angleškem jeziku napišemo najprej slovensko ustreznico, v oklepaju pa angleški izvornik in morebitno angleško kratico.

Format zapisa prispevka

Uredniški odbor sprejema prispevke, napisane z urejevalnikom besedil MS Word, izjemoma tudi v besedilnem zapisu (text only).

Naslov avtorja	Prispevkom naj bosta dodana avtorjeva naslov in internetni naslov ali telefonska številka, na katerih bo dosegljiv uredniškemu odboru.
Kako poslati prispevek	Na naslov uredništva ali članov uredniškega odbora je treba poslati tiskano in elektronsko različico prispevka.
Potrjevanje sprejetja prispevka	Uredniški odbor avtorju pisno potrdi prejetje prispevka. Avtorjem, ki sporočijo tudi naslov svoje elektronske pošte, se potrditev pošlje po tej poti.
Korekture	Avtor opravi korekture svojega prispevka v treh dneh.
Naslov uredniškega odbora	Ministrstvo za obrambo Generalštab Slovenske vojske Sodobni vojaški izzivi Uredniški odbor Vojkova cesta 55 1000 Ljubljana Slovenija Elektronski naslov Odgovorna urednica: liliana.brozic@mors.si

Prispevkov, ki ne bodo urejeni skladno s tem navodilom, uredniški odbor ne bo sprejemal.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE AUTHORS OF PAPERS FOR THE CONTEMPORARY MILITARY CHALLENGES AND THE MILITARY EDUCATION JOURNAL

Content-related instructions

General

The Contemporary Military Challenges is an interdisciplinary scientific expert magazine, which publishes papers on current topics, researches, scientific and expert discussions, technical or social sciences analysis from the field of security, defence and the military..

The Military Education Journal is a military professional and informative publication intended for education and informing on achievements and experiences in the field of military education, training and improvement.

What do we publish?

We publish papers in Slovene with abstracts translated into English. If so decided by the Editorial Board, we also publish papers in English with abstracts translated into Slovene.

We publish papers, which have not been previously published or sent to another magazine for publication. The author is held responsible for all possible copyright violations. If the paper has already been printed elsewhere, sent for publication or presented at an expert conference, the author must notify the editor, obtain the publisher's consent (if necessary) and indicate the reasons for republishing.

Technical instructions

Limitations regarding the length of the papers

The papers should consist of 16 typewritten double-spaced pages or 30,000 characters. At a minimum they should have 8 pages or 15,000 characters and at a maximum 24 pages or 45,000 characters.

- Reviews** All papers are reviewed. The review is anonymous. With regard to the reviewer's assessment, the Editorial Board or the editor accepts the paper, demands modifications, if necessary, or rejects it. Upon receiving the reviewers' remarks, the author inserts them into the paper.
Due to an anonymous review process, the first page must be designed in the way that the author's identity cannot be recognized.
Next to the title, the author should indicate the category the paper belongs to according to him and according to the classification in the COBISS¹. The classification is available on the magazine's internet page and at the responsible editor. The Editorial Board determines the final classification.
- Proofreading** The organizational unit responsible for publishing provides the proofreading of the papers. The proofread papers have to be approved.
- Translating** The translation of the papers or abstracts is provided by the organizational unit competent for translation or the School of Foreign Languages, Military Schools Centre.
- Indicating the authors of the paper** The authors' name should be written in the upper left corner, aligned left.
Example:
Name 1 Surname 1,
Name 2 Surname 2,
In the footnote, Slovenian authors should indicate the institution they come from. Foreign authors should also indicate the name of the state they come from.
- Title of the paper** The title of the paper is written below the listed authors. The font in the title is bold, size 16 points. The text of the title is centrally aligned.
- Abstract** The paper should have an abstract of a maximum 1,200 characters (20 lines). The abstract should include a short presentation of the topic, particularly the results and the findings. General findings and reflections do not belong in the abstract, but rather in the introduction.
- Abstract in English** The authors must also submit the translation of the abstract into English. The translation of the abstract is likewise limited to a maximum of 1,200 characters (20 lines).
- Key words** Key words (3-5 also in the English language) should be bold with a justified text alignment.
- Text** The authors should submit their papers on an A4 paper format, with 1.5 line spacing, fontArial size 12 points. At the upper and the bottom edge, there should be approx. 3 cm of space; the left margin should be 2 cm wide and the right margin 4 cm. Each page consists of approx. 30 lines with 62 characters. The text should have a justified alignment, without indents at the beginning of the paragraphs.

¹ Co-operative Online Bibliographic System and Services

A brief presentation of the authors

The authors should prepare a brief presentation of their expert or scientific work. The presentation should not exceed 600 characters (10 lines, 80 words). If there are several authors, each should be presented individually, as shortly and as comprehensively as possible. These texts should be placed at the end of the paper, after the cited literature.

Text structuring

Individual chapters should be separated with independent subtitles and adequately numbered.

Example:

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Title of the chapter (1st level)
- 2.1 Subtitle (2nd level)
- 2.1.1 Subtitle (3rd level)
- 2.1.1.1 Subtitle (4th level)

Referencing

In the bibliography, only the authors of references one refers to in the paper should be listed, in the alphabetical order. The entire reference has to be in compliance with the Harvard citing style.

Example:

Surname, name (can also be the initial of the name), year. *Title of the work*. Place. Publishing House.

Example:

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

With certain papers published in journals, the author should indicate, at the end of each reference, a page on which the paper can be found.

Example:

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 45-100.

Referencing internet sources

All references start the same as the references for the printed sources, only that the usual part is followed by the information about the Internet page on which the document was found as well as the date on which it was found. The information about the time that the document was found on the Internet is important, because the WWW environment changes constantly.

Urlich, W., 1983. *Critical Heuristics of Social Planning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 45-100. <http://www.mors.si/index.php?id=213>, 17 October 2008.

When referencing interesting WWW pages in the text (not citing an individual document) it is enough to state only the Internet address (<http://www.vpvs.uni-lj.si>). A separate reference at the end of the text is therefore not necessary.

Citing

When citing sources in the text, indicate only the surname of the author and the year of publication. *Example:* (Smith, 1997) ...

When making a direct reference to a text, the cited part should be adequately marked with quotation marks and followed by the exact page of the text which the citing is taken from.

Example: ...(Smith, 1997, p.15) ...

Figures, diagrams, tables

Figures, diagrams and tables in the paper should be prepared in separate files which allow for proofreading corrections. The place in the text where the picture should be inserted must be clearly indicated. The total length of the paper must not surpass the given limitation.

Should the author not be able to submit the graphical supplements in the electronic form due to technical reasons, it is exceptionally acceptable to enclose the figures to the text. In this case the author must write a sequence number and a title on the back of each picture and leave enough space in the text to include it. The text must likewise contain the title and the sequence number of the figure. Diagrams are considered figures.

All figures and tables are numbered. The numbering is not uniform and not linked with the numbering of the chapters. The title of the figure is stated beneath it and the title of the table is stated above it.

As a rule, the paper should include at least one reference to a figure or a table..

Reference to a figure or a table is: ... (Figure 5) (Table 2)

Example of a figure:

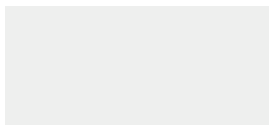
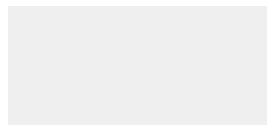


Figure 5: Title of the figure

Example of a table:

Table 2: Title of the table



Footnotes

The numbering of the footnotes is not related to the structure of the text and starts with number 1 in each paper. We want to stress that the aim of the footnotes is to explain the thoughts written in the text and not to reference literature.

Abbreviations

When used for the first time, the abbreviations in the text must be explained in parenthesis; therefore no additional list of abbreviations is needed. If the abbreviations or terms are written in English, the appropriate Slovenian term should be written along with the English original and possibly the English abbreviation in the parenthesis.

Format type of the paper

The Editorial Board accepts only the texts written with a MS Word text editor and only exceptionally those in the 'text only' format.

Author's address	Each paper should include the author's address, e-mail or a telephone number, so that the Editorial Board can reach him or her.
Sending the paper	A print or an electronic version of the paper should be sent to the address of the Editorial Board or the members of the Editorial Board.
Confirmation of the reception of the paper	The Editorial Board sends the author a written confirmation regarding the reception of the paper. The authors who also list their e-mails receive the confirmation via e-mail.
Corrections	The author makes corrections to the paper within three days.
Editorial Board address	Ministry of Defence Slovenian Armed Forces General Staff Contemporary Military Challenges Editorial Board Vojkova cesta 55 1000 Ljubljana Slovenia Electronic address: Editor in Chief: liliana.brozic@mors.si

The Editorial Board will not accept papers, which will not be in compliance with the above instructions.

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