

“Always A Woman, Never A Colleague”: Police Women In Serbia

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Abstract: Gender issues within the police organisation, personnel structure and police culture have only recently become the subject of detailed academic research. Despite numerous analyses that deal with issues of organizational culture within the institutions of the security sector, there are still relatively few cross-cultural studies that deal with issues of equal opportunity, position, role, perspective, and barriers to the integration of women police officers.

This work aims to help in getting better perspective of the current situation, i.e. a gender perspective within the police organization in Serbia, taking into account the current situation and opportunities provided to women working in the police. The paper also interprets official records of the appropriate authorities concerning the status of women within the territorial distribution and line police work. The central topic of this analysis is related to the equal opportunities policy, issues of discrimination, and harassment cases. In a hypothetical basis it starts from the conceptual definition of the term police culture, and objective and subjective obstacles to the integration of a gender perspective within the police system. The results of analysis are presented as illustrative trends, not as definitive findings.

Keywords: police, gender equality, gender perspective, discrimination

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Gender Equality in the Security Sector – Theoretical and Conceptual Glossary

Consideration of issues related to the introduction of the concept of gender equality, i.e. equality of possibilities and provided opportunities, in the security sector institutions is an essential determinant of an analysis of the wider concept - the relationship of gender equality and security sector reform. The debate on this issue in Serbia has come into focus in last ten years, since the UN Security Council adopted, among other documents, Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security”. Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) was adopted in October 2000 at the 4213th meeting of the Security Council. It recognizes the specific impacts of armed conflict on women and the significant contribution that women can make to security and reconciliation. SCR 1325 is committed to increasing the representation of women in conflict prevention and conflicts management.

In the theories of gender studies, the term *gender equality* does not simply mean the inclusion of equal numbers of women and men in all social activities, or the treatment of women and men in the same way. It involves a strategy for inclusion of women’s and men’s interests and experiences in development programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that the benefit for both, men and women is equal, and inequality is not restored (Spasić and Radovanovic, 2012). The introduction of a *gender perspective* (gender mainstreaming), means “the (re)organization, development and evaluation of policy processes, by the actors usually involved in decisions making so that gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and all stages” (Europe Council, 1998). Behind this seemingly complicated definition, lies a simple principle that a gender perspective should be introduced into the main institutional developments and policies, which means that during creation of new strategies and policies, and their implementation, their different impact on women and men must be taken into account.

The Council of Europe defines introduction of the principle of gender equality as “the reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of processes and policies so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies and at all stages by the actors usually involved in decision-making”. Basic principles of gender mainstreaming are:

- initial identification of issues and problems in all areas should include an analysis of gender differences and inequalities;
- never should be made the assumption that the issues and problems are gender-neutral;

- regularly conducting gender analysis;
- the implementation of this concept requires political will, and often additional financial and human resources;
- gender mainstreaming requires effort to be made to extend the equitable participation of women at all decision-making levels (Spasić and Radovanović, 2012).

Gender mainstreaming is not simply adding “women components” or adding “gender equality component” into existing activities. It goes beyond increasing women’s participation and means the introduction of experience, knowledge and interests of women and men in the developmental programs.

2. Police Culture and Gender Equality in the Police

The police is traditionally a male profession. The following are recognised as the objective barriers to the entry of women primarily into the uniformed police, which has traditionally been destined for men: the determination of the police as an organisation and human resource system, which, performing its functions, can also use the means of coercion, and the basic characteristics of police (masculine, macho) culture which has been formed for centuries. Today there are a number of unexamined assumptions underpinning beliefs about the roles of men and women, their abilities and values. Preserving these beliefs is also helped by the prevalent stereotypes of the dominant characteristics of the two sexes according to which men are rational and women are emotional; men cope with crisis situations better than women and are able to perform difficult and dangerous tasks, while women are content with simple repetitive tasks; men are active, and their superiority commands respect, while women are passive and can not command. In addition, these beliefs are learned and are the consequence of generational transmission.

The woman within the civic civilization is defined, accepted and recognized only to the extent in which she exists and acts as a bearer of her sexual and biological functions provided by the nature. So, a woman is convinced that the necessity of her position is natural. What is characteristic for professions dominated by men is the lack of women and their low numbers, and especially their exclusion from the highest positions on the professional ladder. Despite the increased participation of women in the labor market, over the past few decades most of them are expected to have a profession and not a career, which is reserved for men.

In order to maintain the masculine culture in a profession such as police, the processes that contribute to maintaining low rates of entry of women take place. There is no doubt that the elements of self-selection are present, because if the profession is seen as typically male, then a woman who wants to do that work is ready in advance for a number of difficulties and problems in the course of her career.

In accordance with the organisational and functional specificities of the police, police culture determines the behavior of police officers on the job and off the job (Spasić, 2011). It represents a certain set of values, attitudes and beliefs that officers adopt in relation to their job, management, certain categories of citizens, courts, law and various social phenomena relevant to their work. Police culture is particularly emphasized by the feelings of social isolation, job risks, specific powers and responsibilities, the necessity of mutual solidarity in the common actions, frequent contact with anti-social behavior and certain types of people, the internal system of training and professional knowledge acquired in practice, the nature of information used on the job and the like (Milosavljević, 1997).

According to Nickels, specificities related to the police profession and define its professional culture are identified as: danger, the possibility of legitimate use of force, discretionary power, detachment of police officers from the citizens and general public, the bureaucracy, shift work, routine contacts with "problem people" and antagonism between police officers and management (Nickels, 2008).

Current research on police culture tend to support one of the two theoretical schools. According to one, police culture is traditionally perceived as a professional phenomenon and includes all officers. However, other studies are focused on identifying different types of police officers and officials, and the forming of their subcultures, which are connected and as such form a professional police culture (Paoline, 2004). Regarded as specific professional phenomenon, the police culture in most studies is seen as a byproduct of some standard and largely unchanging aspects of contemporary policing (Niederhoffer, 1969; Westley, 1970; Prenzler, 1997).

Some other theoretical standpoints try to depict the police culture in a negative way, by looking at this concept through the lens of adaptation to hostile working conditions. In this regard, police culture is defined as a comprehensive set of beliefs and behaviours shared by all police officers, which is built through socialisation and professional solidarity (Crank, 1998). In these theoretical assumptions police officers are presented as an isolated group of cynical and authoritarian people who have low self-esteem and a sense of "receiving" little respect (Carter and Radelet, 1999).

Police culture is regarded here as a social problem incompatible with changes and progress, as institutional pathology of the innate human weakness and corrupt environment. This formulation was the

guiding idea of many early works and police studies (Crank, 1998), but also the basis for wider political pressures in the postwar period, to increase the degree of transparency, accountability and passing regulations governing the work of police.

The view according to which police culture prevents expression of emotion is important for the entry of women into the police system and their integration into professional police work environment.

Pogrebin and Poole (1991) list five reasons why they believe that the police inhibit personal and other expressions of emotion:

- 1) Emotions make people feel uncomfortable;
- 2) Police repress emotions for fear of being seen as incompetent;
- 3) Police repress emotions for fear that their partners do not think they are unreliable.
- 4) Police suppress emotions because of looking up to "macho man";
- 5) Police officers do not want to create a resemblance to the "social workers" prone to express emotions or to talk about them.

In other words, to be equated with the "social worker" means loss of status. Many researchers have recognized the tendency of police officers to suppress emotional expression as a coping mechanism (Violanti and Aron, 1993). However, Jermier et al., in a study about 208 police officers employed in small towns (96% of the total police force) found a very strong link between expecting violence (fear) and exposure to violence (Lennings, 1997).

Considering the issues of gender equality, equal opportunities, advancement, and retention of women in the police force is conditioned by the specifics of police systems, organization, functions, and by identifying characteristics of the police culture as professional culture specific to the police organization, which greatly contributes to maintaining and fostering the traditional negative attitude to the reception and integration of women in the police. The determination of the police organization as an organization and personnel system which can use coercive means to perform its functions, on the one hand, and the basic characteristics for police (male, macho) culture which has traditionally been destined for men, on the other hand, created the objective barriers to entry of women in the uniformed police force. In addition, today there are a large number of untested assumptions that support the belief of the roles of men and women, their abilities and values.

Maintaining of these beliefs is helped by the ruling stereotypes of the dominant characteristics of the sexes which are learned and are consequences of intergenerational transmission (Spasić et al., 2015). According to them, men are rational and women emotional; men are better than women coping with crisis situations; they are able to execute more difficult and dangerous tasks, while women meet simple repetitive tasks; men are active and their superiority commands respect, while women are passive and cannot issue orders. As numerous studies have shown worldwide, the police profession implies an environment characterized by a large impact on the personality of the police officers, authoritarian orientation among officers, role conflict, alienation, and expressed awareness of the power over others (Verma and Das, 2002; Reiser, 1983; Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). Such an environment, traditionally male, is burdened by numerous forms of discriminatory behavior towards women employees. All forms of discrimination, be it verbal or physical, no matter if they are based on stereotypes and/or prejudices, have their origins in a deeply rooted understanding of gender differences and in defining gender identity through traditional patriarchal socialization. Gender mainstreaming of police organizations at the beginning of the new millennium was marked above all by the fact that women police officers make up about 15% of their total staff (Brown, 1997; Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000). At the same time, in all parts of the world and in all times, some issues are constantly crawling through the functioning of the police: concerns with regard to equal opportunities, discrimination and sexual harassment (Walklate, 1995). Although police systems and organizations are changing their structure, organization and personnel, there has been relatively little research on the experiences of women in the police force, with the exception of researches of the United States and Great Britain (Spasić, 2011). Reports indicate that women police officers, compared to their male counterparts, are more exposed to sexual harassment, violent and threatening situations at work, domestic violence at home (Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000).

Slightly less extreme refusal is expressed through various forms of labeling women as outsiders, including the relationship full of sexual insinuations, paternalistic attitude and other types of degrading attitudes (ridicule, distrust, etc.). In the paternalistic relationship women suffer negative consequences of subordination: although they perform the same jobs as men, although they are qualified as man, and although they invest the same effort and knowledge in business as men, masculinity does not allow women to progress, because they are perceived as less capable and less valuable (Spasić et al. 2015). Characteristic of a profession dominated by men is the lack of women, especially their exclusion from the highest position in the professional rankings. Despite the increased participation of women in the labor market in recent decades most of them are expected to have jobs, but not successful careers which are reserved for men. With the aim to maintain masculine culture of a

particular profession such as the police, there are established processes that contribute to maintaining low rates of women entry. There is no doubt that some elements of self-selection are also present, because if the profession is seen as typically male, then the woman who wants to be in that business is prepared for a series of difficulties and problems in the course of her career (Spasić et al. 2015).

During the study of gender and ethical aspects of social interaction of police officers, women reported more negative interactions, especially with regard to verbal harassment, sexual harassment and gossip. Women reported that they also participate more in social networks, especially when it comes to members of related organizations. However, data indicate that they have in a lower percentage of close friends who work in the police. Finally, women haven more support within the family to perform police work. Research on the number of suicides among police officers, that nineteen years – 1977–1996, established that out of the total number of 80 suicides, men had committed suicide more often than women (73 vs. 7). The suicide rate of women officers was almost four times higher than the suicide rate in the general population during this period (13.1% on a sample of 100,000 respondents compared to 3.4% of suicides on the same sample). Thus, we can conclude that “there is a much greater probability that women police officers will commit suicide, than that women in general will do it” (Spasić and Vučković, 2013). Almost everywhere in the world, women employed in the police force have accepted work segregation, that is, the division into typically male and specific “women’s jobs” as realistic.

They are mostly deployed on operations dealing with children and women as victims, or administrative duties, or jobs that make their status inferior (Spasić and Vučković, 2013).

II. GENDER PERSPECTIVE OF POLICE IN SERBIA - FORMAL CRITERIA

1. Methodological approach

General considerations of the status of a gender perspective in police organizations in the world, available in numerous research studies and findings, caused the need to, on the basis of official data and information of relevant services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, examine the concept of gender equality and equal opportunities in the police in Serbia. Research interests were directed towards answering the following questions:

1. a) What does *gender perspective* mean in the work of the police in Serbia; b) how to implement and enforce gender equality policies; c) to what extent and in what way are the representatives of the police involved in the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) 19 for the implementation of Resolution 1325 on “Women, Peace and Security” for the period 2010-2015 in Serbia?
2. Whether and how are gender equality, discrimination and protection from gender-based violence implemented in staff training?
3. Does the police education system apply a quota system?
4. Is the gender component introduced into the process of human resource management?
5. What is the percentage of women in leading and executive positions in the police, taking into account the uniformed police force, and specific lines of work?

The request for the submission of the required information has been submitted to the Department for Analytics, telecommunications and information technology of the Ministry of Internal Affairs – Directorate of Analytics, in December 2015. Responsible Directorate submitted its response in April 2016.

III. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Based on a secondary analysis of data and information received from the Directorate of analytics, we have established the following:

1. a) The phrase *gender mainstreaming in the work of the Ministry of Interior* implies – *including of gender component in police work due to more efficient response to the specific security challenges faced by women in society.*

Such an interpretation of a gender perspective is in its basic meaning narrow and limited. Firstly, without explaining the meaning of *gender component* and *the manner of its introduction into the work of the police*, the target has been set as *more effective response to the specific security challenges faced by women in society.* Assuming that, among others, specific security challenges faced by women are discrimination, gender-based violence, and also violence in general, the question is: are women employed in the police subject to the same security challenges and why the gender component in this case does not concern them?

b) In order to implement gender equality policies and accepted obligations from ratified international documents and obligations stipulated by domestic legislation governing this area, in the Ministry of the Interior has:

– *Established and functioning mechanisms of gender equality which should provide coordinated, systematic implementation of the activities on the elimination of formal and de facto barriers to equal participation and the increasing role of women in the Ministry of Interior* (advisor for gender equality in the Ministry of the Interior; Analytical Group for monitoring the implementation of activities on the realization of equal opportunities policies; program “Buddy support” - a mechanism to provide counseling, peer assistance and support to employees with certain problems in work which may arise from various forms of discrimination, among other and gender discrimination; coordinators for combating domestic violence; educators for antidiscrimination - with the aim of systematic integration of anti-discrimination policy in the training and work of all organizational units of the Ministry). Also, there is an established and functioning mechanism for protection of women against all forms of discrimination at work, as well as the protection of women from all forms of violence.

c) In addition to the mechanisms established in the Ministry, representatives of the Ministry of the Interior actively participate in interdepartmental bodies established with the aim of creating, directing and harmonizing the implementation of public policies in the field of gender equality and protection from discrimination. Some of those bodies are, for example: Multi-sector coordinating body for the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP)- the operational body of the Government of Republic of Serbia, chaired by a representative of the Ministry of the Interior, that takes care of the realization of the objectives and tasks envisioned by the NAP and the Political Council - the political body, with two representatives from the Ministry of the Interior, that guarantee political conditions necessary to achieve the goals and activities of the NAP.

2. *Established systemic education of employees on gender, discrimination issues, and protection of women from violence*, especially against family violence. This education is implemented through police education system (The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies - KPA and The Basic Police Training Centre - COPO), through a system of specialist training and professional development of police officers (through professional training on these topics by specially trained educators of the Center for specialized training of the MI - which is carried out in accordance with the annual programs of professional training of police officers); through various development programs and projects implemented in cooperation with other state bodies, civil society organizations, international partners – the OSCE, the Swedish Police Board, UNDP/SEESAC, UNWOMEN in support and assistance to the Ministry in the ongoing reform process (e.g. IPA 2011 project “Implementation of antidiscrimination policies in the Republic of Serbia”; the collaborative program between the Ministry of the Interior and the Swedish National Police Board /three projects/; Women police officers Network SEE - UNDP/SEESAC; The gender dimension of human security - with OCD and other similar activities).

3. It is significant that *there is no quota for enrollment of girls in courses implemented by COPO*. Their enrollment depends entirely on the results of entrance exam. These two facts have led to a permanent increase in both interest as well as receipt of girls into education program (in the period from 2007 to the end of 2014, 11 classes completed training at The Basic Police Training Centre – with the average of 21.5% of girls out of all students, with almost 25% in the last class). In the school year 2014/2015, *all quotas were cancelled for enrollment of girls for studying at the expense of the budget at the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies*, thereby removing the last remaining obstacle in the area of police education (there is no quota for self-financing students or for education at the COPO). The result of the cancellation of quotas was visible immediately after registration - 58.3% of girls were enrolled to basic academic studies that are financed from the budget, compared to 25% registered in the previous school year.

4. *The inclusion of gender component in all functions of human resource management* – through the reform of human resources management in the Ministry of the Interior, which should provide formal and actual changes in the planning, organization and management of human resources. These changes, among others, include the promotion of gender equality in all aspects of human resource management (selection, reception, training and specialized training, career monitoring and promotion, management, rewarding, etc.). This component is an integral part of the currently reform project within the Ministry of the Interior (“The modern concept of human resource management”). Also, through permanent analysis and subsequently amending legislation, particularly the Police Act, steps have been taken to remove the perceived legal barriers to women’s advancement in the service (e.g. absence of women due to pregnancy and child birth for more than six months is no longer an obstacle to performing evaluation and including that period of work experience as a basis for promotion to the next title or rank). However, it is expected that with the adoption of the new Police Act a new solution will be concretized, by defining precise criteria and competencies and that it will rectify factual obstacles to equal career advancement, or to minimize discretionary powers in deciding on the admission and progress of the work. This should result in the removal of possibilities for discrimination on any grounds.

III. GENDER EQUALITY IN SERBIAN POLICE - FACT (OBJECTIVE) SITUATION

1. Results and analysis

From the data of the Directorate for Analytics on the percentage of women in management and executive positions in the police, taking into account the uniformed police force, that is, the particular line of work, the following may be concluded:

Women constitute up to 22.7% of the total number of employees in the Ministry of the Interior. The Directorate of Police has 21.3% of women in the total number of employees (18.3% at the headquarters of the Directorate and 22.3% in the police Directorates (PD)). Participation of women in police Directorates is very uneven. In some police stations women's participation expressed in percentages is significantly above those in Ministry of the Interior, especially in the PD of Užice, where the participation of women in the total number of employees is 26.8%, PD of Bor - 26%, PD of the City of Belgrade - 25.5 %. However, in some of them participation of women is traditionally low: Leskovac - 13.2%, Vranje - 14%, Novi Pazar - 17% and Prokuplje - 18%.

In relation to the total number of employees in certain positions, women are mostly employed in the positions within human resources - 91%, followed by administrative tasks - 83.4%, analysts and records - 76.7%, food and accommodation business - 72.2% , joint services - 58% and information technology - 46.5%.

Participation of women *in the operational lines of work* is smaller, and most are represented in positions in Border Police - 23%, on combating crime - 22.3%, on traffic safety - 15.8%, on security jobs - 14.3% and general police operations - 11.6%. When it comes to special units (Special Anti-Terrorist Unit - SAJ, Anti Terrorist Unit - PTJ) and Helicopter Unit only 1.2% of women are in the workplace with the status of uniformed authorized officer – UOSL; the status of authorized official - OSL, and in Gendarmerie 2.3%.

Educational structure: Among women who are employed in the MI, most of them are with secondary education - 58.2%, then with high - 19.4%, higher - 14.7%, and with primary education - 7.8%. Educational structure of employees in the MI reflects the structure of work positions defined by the act on internal organization and systematization of positions (around 72% of jobs are with secondary education, which is understandable, given that most of the uniformed police force consists of general police, traffic and border police and gendarmerie with IV level of education). Also, a large number of jobs with the IV level of educational attainment is part of the administrative affairs, human resources, joint services, food and accommodation business, where most women work. In terms of educational attainment, among the employees of the Ministry of the Interior there is a greater number of women with university and college degrees, as well as with primary education, while among employees with secondary education there is the largest number of men. In relation to the total number of employees in the MUP - most women are with secondary education - 13.1%, followed by high - 4.5%, higher - 3.3% and with primary education - 1.7%.

1.1 Representation of women in management positions

The number of women in management positions at the beginning of 2015 was 363 (in 2014 there were 355 women) and it represents 11.1% of the total number of managers in the MI, or 3.6% of the total number of women. This means that 96.4% of women in the Ministry of the Interior work on the operational job positions.

- Of the total number of *chiefs of directorates* (a total of 35 systematized in the rank of major) only *seven are women* (since 2010 this number has been unchanged).

- *Five women are Deputy Chief of Directorates* (systematized a total of 30), which is 16.7% (compared to four in 2014).

- from a total of 50 *Assistant Chief of Directorates* only 10 are women, or 20% (compared to eight in 2014)

- of *seven heads of bureaus* in the Cabinet of Minister four are women (unchanged since 2014)

- out total of 291 *Chief of Departments* 51 are women (accounting for 17.5%)

- 187 women are *Chiefs of Section*, out of 684 systematized, which makes 27.3% (compared to 26.4% in 2014).

Position of **Chief of Section** is the managerial position in which **women are the most common**.

- One woman was Chief of Police Directorate

- two women are *counselors of the Minister*

- One woman is *Deputy Chief of Cabinet of the Minister*

- three women are *Assistant Chief of the Sector* (of a total of 10 assistants).

In the **uniformed police** there is very a low representation of women among managers:

- 44 leading positions, *only one woman* is the *Commander of Traffic Police Branch*

- from a total of 131 *Commander of Police Branch* women are found in three places,

- one woman is *Deputy Commander of Police Branch* and one is *Deputy Commander* of Station of the border police.

In the Directorate of Police only 2.9% of the total number of women are at the managerial positions and the total number of women managers accounts for 10%.

At the beginning of 2016, the average number of years of work of women employed in the MI was **17 years and 3 months**.

1.2 Engaging women - police officers in peacekeeping missions

Members of police forces have been engaged in peacekeeping missions since 2004. At the beginning of 2015, a small contingent (only 13 police officers) were engaged as part of UN peacekeeping forces. So far, among the police officers deployed in missions 13% were women. Currently, no woman is involved in UN peacekeeping missions in Liberia, Cyprus and Haiti. By June 2014, one woman was involved, from a total of 13 police officers deployed in Liberia, and she worked on the training of local police forces. Although the interest of women to go on missions is affected by many factors (security, accommodation, health, etc.), and in particular, the requirements of the UN (the length of police work experience, knowledge of English), it is important that all women who apply and meet the requirements, actually go to the missions. At the end of 2014, out of a total of 80 candidates eligible to go to the mission, *four* candidates were women. Like other candidates for peacekeeping missions, women undergo some training at the Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of the Army of Serbia, or in specialized training centers abroad. Otherwise, one woman police officer with experience in peacekeeping missions (Haiti and Liberia) continuously participates as a trainer - instructor in various forms of training important for deployment in the UN peacekeeping missions.

IV. PROCESS OF ACCEPTANCE AND INTEGRATION: BARRIERS AND LIMITATIONS

As numerous studies all over the world have shown, the police profession implies the environment characterized by a large impact on the personality of police officers, authoritarian orientation among officers, conflict of roles, alienation and emphasised awareness of power over others (Verma and Das, 2002; Gibbs and Phillips, 2000). Such an environment as traditionally male is burdened with many forms of discriminatory behaviour against women employed in it. All forms of discrimination, be it verbal or physical, based on stereotypes and/or prejudices, have their origin in the deeply rooted understanding of gender differences and defining of gender identities in traditional patriarchal socialization. In the research, through informal conversations with women working in the police force, mainly in uniformed police, two main sources of discrimination are identified: *hostile work environment* (which consists mostly of men) with a steady basis of police culture built for decades and *various forms of verbal and sexual harassment*.

1. Hostile work environment

Hostile work environment encompasses a wide range of verbal and nonverbal behaviour that favours offensive, hostile and degrading attitudes about women. It is manifested through inappropriate jokes by the colleagues, isolation, physical attacks, and denial of performed tasks, ie, the so-called female tasks. At the same time, the position and role of women is defined as the position of the "outsider" within the police culture (Martin, 1990). This is supported by the fact, confirmed in numerous studies around the world, that the police officers themselves - the vast majority of them (sometimes even around 95%), state that they, personally, would never have accepted the employment of women in the police if it was not for the political, that is, external pressure to do so (Balkin, 1988). Many of them justify this attitude stating that they are often in situations to have to help their female colleagues on patrol and to rescue them from the "dangerous situations" because they themselves are not capable of protecting themselves (Spasić and Vučković, 2013).

In addition to the resistance of male colleagues, women employed in the police are faced with the "glass ceiling" in terms of promotion and advancement, as a form of discrimination, ie, depreciation of their work and professional skills, qualities and achievements. This deficiency directly causes new barriers for younger women police officers and can stimulate their feelings of isolation in the police organisation. Even women who have achieved personal promotion in their careers, show little or no interest in achieving a better status in the police organisation. Most commonly stated reasons for this are: obligations to family and child care, intentional avoiding of the "glass ceiling" and negative experiences with previous attempts of promotion.

The potential for isolation and discrimination exist in greater extent in the rural police outposts, where the presence of women in the uniformed police is minor compared to police stations in urban areas. These conditions also refer to the lower levels of the structure of police ranks.

Women employed in the police force in the world have accepted working segregation as real, ie, the division into typical men tasks and specific "women tasks". They are, in great majority, allocated to jobs that deal with children and women as victims, or administrative duties, that is, the jobs that make their status inferior.

2. Verbal and sexual harassment

Various forms of verbal and/or sexual harassment include situations in which getting and/or keeping a job or some terms of employment are conditioned by the provision of sexual favors or other forms of sexual activity. One large study (Brown and Heidensohn, 2000), that involved 804 women - police officers from 35 countries in Europe and the Americas, found that 77 percent of women in the sample reported sexual harassment by male colleagues. The study also found that women officers considered harassment by male colleagues to be a larger problem than the violent encounters that they experienced while they were on patrol.

In these circumstances, many male officers in the research said they deliberately and consciously avoid to accept women into their working environment, for fear that they could be charged with some form of sexual harassment (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001).

3. Defense mechanisms and acceptance

In order to overcome various forms of discrimination and/or rejection, that is to acquire and maintain their status, in a situation where they do not use the existing legal possibilities, women police officers often have to affirm themselves in the implementation of power and authority in other ways:

- (1) by demonstration of force;
- (2) by achieving the titles or ranks which demanded respect.

Some of the participants of the survey confirm that only after ten or more years of working in an environment and constant resistance, they felt accepted by their male colleagues. They define acceptance as less open discrimination and harassment by male colleagues or other women, as the ability to achieve high ranks, but also through less visible signs of change, such as uniforms and vests designed specifically for women.

Absurdity also exists when it comes to relations between the tasks they perform and the marital status of women police officers. All those who have managed to do the so-called "male jobs", are mainly unmarried or have no children. By comparison, women without a family feel acutely isolated within the accepted police culture, many because of the relationships that are established only with colleagues at work. Outside these frameworks and the relationships they do not have friendly relations with persons of other professions. Women who have successfully fought off different types of resistance in a police environment, connect with others outside the police work environment and are less burdened by the values and norms of the police culture.

4. Promotion

The possibility of promotion of women, in their personal opinion, is directly correlated to various forms of discrimination, which is reflected in the work on the night shift, which requires a change in lifestyle, or to fear, that is, the risk of isolation and harassment. Promoting women is also in a negative relation with family responsibilities and child care. However, in urban police stations and outposts there is a greater potential for the promotion and advancement of women, since there already are a number of women officers and women in leadership positions, in positions of responsibility and administrative structures. It also means fewer opportunities and more restrictions on women working in rural law enforcement agencies. This "working environment" and a professional environment also cause a higher percentage of stress, depressive behaviour and other psychosomatic illnesses. Faced with this situation, many of them voluntarily "deprive" themselves of any promotion or advancement opportunities, suppressing personal enthusiasm.

V. INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

In the predominantly masculine environment most men show, at least at times, extremely hostile attitude toward women, manifested as inhospitality, withholding information, sabotage, mobing, sexual harassment, etc. Slightly less extreme rejection is expressed through various forms of labeling women as outsiders including the relationship full of sexual insinuations, a paternalistic attitude and other degrading relations (ridicule, distrust, mocking, etc.) (Tomić and Spasić, 2010).

Through paternalistic treatment women suffer the negative consequences of subordination, although they do the same tasks as men, even though they are qualified the same as them, and although they invest the same amount of effort and knowledge into work as men, masculinity does not allow women to progress, because they are perceived as less capable, and less valuable. Men in male-dominated collective tend to behave towards women through the lens of disguised sexual insinuations, either verbally or through open conditioning as the cost of affirmation, keeping the position or advancement (Padavic and Reskin, 1990). Propensity to exert dominance in the male collectives is a part of masculine cultural form, no matter whether the domination is manifested in relation to women or in relation to men. In almost all professions dominated by men, the desire to maintain the relationship of subordination is very firmly rooted. Although men tend to form an informal system

of relationships at work and outside it, constant presence of authoritarianism and subordination is, nevertheless, a part of the masculine structure of relationships.

Traditional patriarchal and culturally-set informal social relations, for centuries effectively excluded women from participating in decision-making in the institutions, even with formally achieved legal equality or equality in access to all functions and positions. Intensifying of informal circles of power is particularly evident when women penetrate traditionally male professions, including even the highest positions of decision-making through legally guaranteed equality, quotas or other affirmative mechanisms or simply by their own qualities on the basis of legitimate power of legal procedures. It is necessary, therefore, with the analysis of the relationship on the main stage of formally structured institutions and procedures, to observe the existence and operation of the process of masking power or relocation of power from formally structured institution into a gray, non-institutional zone where affirmative action measures cease to apply, as well as the constitution and the law guaranteed gender equality, including the elementary rules of decency.

Since equal rights of the unequal do not bring an end to inequality, but - on the contrary - they even maintain and enhance it, it is clear that different measures of affirmative action and policies of equal opportunities need to be applied, such as privileging those who have traditionally been discriminated against and excluded from public life. Therefore, future studies should be directed to the study of macro factors at the national level that affect the functioning of the police and the entire state administration. The focus of attention should be placed on the complex relationships and structural factors that shape the current social environment.

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