

MAPPING NON-DISCRIMINATION DISCOURSE IN MILITARY EDUCATION in the Republic of Serbia



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INTRODUCTION

The legal framework of protection against discrimination in the Republic of Serbia was established in 2009 and has since been upgraded by adopting appropriate legislation and the establishment of independent institutions for the protection of citizens' rights. However, improvement of institutional arrangements does not necessarily lead to integration of anti-discrimination policies and norms in political and social life. The lack of consistent implementation of adopted "European laws" is a chronic problem. This problem is regularly emphasised in the reports of the European Union on 's progress in the accession process, and many citizens experience it in their daily contact with the institutions.

Several legal acts highlight the importance of equal access to education for all, as well as an obligation to create a curriculum that encourages a spirit of tolerance and equality.¹ Among the fundamental principles of higher education is the respect for human rights and civil liberties, and the prohibition of discrimination based on race, gender, ethnic origin, religion, sexual orientation etc.² There is also a legal requirement that the content of textbooks and teaching materials must not be discriminatory on any grounds, and compliance with this requirement is also one of the criteria within the professional assessment of the quality of the textbook manuscript.³ However, in practice this dimension is not the subject of attention; nor have the editors of the publishing houses and professional reviewers been sensitive enough to take it into consideration. It is the integration of anti-discriminatory norms in the education system that would have the key role in internalisation of anti-discriminatory politics and in long term it would lead to adoption of value system that respects specificity of the so called "vulnerable groups", showing a sensitivity to them, and thus represent a valuable contribution to Europeanisation of social and political space of Serbia.

The reform of the security system has great importance in establishing the rule of law, citizen participation in the process of transformation and democratic control, as well as strengthening the trust and cooperation in the region of Western Balkans. As for the defence system, the so-called first phase ("first generation") of reforms is considered to be complete, which involves the establishment of strategic framework, laws and regulations that regulate civil and parliamentary control, and "rightsizing" and professionalization of armed forces, i.e. "structural reform". The second generation of the defence system reforms are concerned with consolidating the established democratic frameworks for civil-military relations, and value content of those reforms. In this context, it is necessary for the defence

¹ Law on Higher Education, Article 4, Gender Equality Act, Article 31, Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities, Article 13. The Constitution of the RS in the Article 48 also encourages respect for differences through measures in culture, education and public information systems.

² Law on Higher Education, Articles 4 and 8.

³ Law on Textbooks and Other Teaching Materials, Article 4 and 17.

sector to adopt policies that would indicate a high level of commitment to respecting the highest standards of human rights, and not only the respect of formal mechanisms. Improved policies in the field of planning and implementation of national security and defence strategy, recruitment and staff training and education of future officers and non-commissioned officers who would recognize and take into consideration the uniqueness of vulnerable groups (women, Roma and other ethnic and national minorities, religious minorities, lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender (LGBT) community), would equip the defence system to respond to diversity of security needs of different social groups. This, first, content analysis of selected textbooks used in military education should contribute to harmonisation of military educational content with the positive legislation in the area of discrimination.

Two important recent developments in the reform of the defence sector are the professionalisation of the armed forces and establishing of the University of Defence (UD), in other words an attempt to modernise the military education system. The greatest concern of those who implemented the changes into the military schooling system to date has been the linking of military and civil education. The main result of this process is the recognition of diplomas obtained in the Military High School and the Military Academy by the civic education system. Regarding the training system, for some time the priority has been moving closer to NATO standards. Center for Public Policy Research noted significant changes in the curriculum of the Military Academy conducted in 2009, while there will be discussion on further reforms in 2013, so the changes of the curriculum are introduced in 2014. This is why the announced process is seen as the opportunity to timely influence the changes of the content related to non-discrimination.

The study begins with the analysis of the existing legal solutions in the area of prohibition of discrimination.⁴ It aims to critically review the chosen teaching material and begin the evolution of the military textbooks content in the context of the overall reform of the Serbian schooling system and teaching contents, as an important part of the efforts of the society to influence the current state of the society, regarding the level of discrimination. The study includes the analysis of the existing legal solutions, independent bodies' reports, published professional studies on the subject of Security Sector Reform, discrimination and educational content in Serbia, the chosen teaching material content at the Military Academy, Military High School and of the training of professional members of Serbian Armed Forces, as well as additional interviews and discussions within focus groups. Concretely, qualitative content analysis covers the content of twelve textbooks and handbooks used in the Military Academy; three textbooks of key social subjects in the Military High School, two handbooks from humanitarian law that are being used in the basic training for soldiers and commanders, in addition to material from one of the training courses for the future members of multinational operations.⁵ The research sought to determine whether the selected textbooks and handbooks deal with issues of human rights and vulnerable groups; point out the context that mentions vulnerable groups (positive, negative, neutral, relativising); and provide a description of concrete good examples or parts of the text that could be considered in some way discriminatory against women, ethnic and national minorities, members of other religious communities or atheists, as well as the members of the LGBT population.

⁴ This broader background analysis is available in Serbian only.

⁵ Tables containing the textbooks titles' translation, basic information on analysed textbooks, handbooks and materials are in annex, at the end of the publication. The focus was on the materials that are being used in the Military Academy, considering they are educating commanders, and that the curriculum of the Military High School has been harmonized with other High Schools (traditional Grammar Schools) programs in Serbia, while regarding the materials that are being used for training of the professional soldiers General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces has offered very little content relevant for this research.

It is necessary to emphasise the peculiarity of the military education system: on the one hand, military is by nature socially traditional, conservative structure, so it would not be realistic to expect that it will be more advanced than the civil structures in the areas that do not fall within its proper expertise. On the other hand, since it is a hierarchically structured institution that constantly monitors the updating of laws and regulations and it has a small educational system whose reform is in progress, military system education has an opportunity to be more flexible and faster to integrate the current changes in the normative sphere. In this sense, the Centre for Public Policy Research has offered recommendations for decision makers.

This research should contribute to raising awareness regarding the importance of appropriate curriculum in military education and to serve as additional indicator of the achievements of the defence system in the “second generation of the Security Sector Reforms”. Carrying out the research is an important contribution to independent evaluation of the security sector reform from the human rights standpoint, while at the same time it represents a first analysis of a certain aspect of military schooling in conducted by the civil society organisation. No less important fact is establishing of cooperation with the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in conducting the analysis which has contributed to easing relations and development of trust between state institutions in the security sector and citizens interested for democratic control and acceleration of European integration.

This research represents a certain upgrade of the existing analysis of the primary and secondary school teaching materials from the point of gender equality, for the Civic Education subject, as well as the analysis of the gender dimension in education materials within the “civil” higher education system. It is also complimentary with the efforts of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality to influence the Ministry of Education and National Council of Education to readjust educational content so to eliminate the outdated viewpoints that could be interpreted as discriminatory, as well as with the requests that have been presented by the Ombudsperson and part of the professional public.⁶

The Centre research team is grateful to all the representatives of the MoD educational institutions that have contributed to realisation of this project which might be seen as a joint endeavor, the donors - the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), and the Fund for an Open Society, Serbia, representatives of the Government’s Office for Human and Minority Rights, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and the Ombudsperson, the reviewer Amadeo Watkins PhD, the Military High School students, and cadets of the Military Academy who participated in the discussions, Branka Andjelkovic, Tanja Jakobi, Marija Radoman and all other associates in the implementation of the project.

⁶ A comprehensive bibliography is available as an appendix of the Serbian version.

MILITARY EDUCATION REFORM

Military education reform is of crucial importance for the quality of human resources management in defence system, as well as for strategic issues such as defence diplomacy and civil-military relations.⁷ Consequently, as one of the most important elements of security sector reform, military education reform has been conducted in Serbia since 2006, and its main goal is to harmonize civil and military education, and to adapt military education to the requirements of the reformed defence system.⁸ In the initial part of the reform, one of the most serious problems was non-recognition of the military diplomas outside of defence system, so it was impossible for the Military Academy's cadets to pursue a career in the civil sector.

Higher military education reform was implemented throughout three stages.⁹ In the first stage closer cooperation between the Military Academy and the University of Belgrade was made by establishing joint study programs. In the next stage the study programs of the Military Academy and the Faculty of Medicine of the Military Medical Academy were accredited, and finally in the third stage the integrated University of Defence was founded and accredited.¹⁰ Alongside undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the fields of social sciences and humanities, engineering, technology, and medical sciences, The University of Defence conducts scientific and research work, as well. Additionally, The University of Defence develops international cooperation with various foreign universities, especially with the University of Defence of the Czech Republic, while the strengthening of cooperation with the universities from the USA, Russia, China and Turkey was announced.¹¹

⁷ Amadeo Watkins, "Officer Education in Serbia: Balancing Tradition with Modernity", in: *Western Balkans Security Observer*, no. 6, 2007, pp. 91 – 99.

⁸ Speaking at the celebration of the Serbian Armed Forces Day, the President of the Republic of Serbia Tomislav Nikolic highlighted that the biggest improvements in building modern Serbian Armed Forces has been made so far in military education and training reform, in formulating modern doctrine, and in professionalization of the armed forces and developing capabilities for participation in multinational operations. Internet: http://www.b92.net/eng/news/society.php?yyyy=2013&mm=04&dd=20&nav_id=85809.

⁹ Jan Marcek, Radun Jeremic, „Reforma visokog vojnog školstva u Republici Srbiji – misije Vojske Srbije i bolonjski proces“ (“High Military Education Reform in the Republic of Serbia – The Serbian Armed Forces Missions and the Bologna Declaration Process”), in: *Vojno delo*, 4/2009, pp. 129 – 185.

¹⁰ The University of Defence was founded in 2011 as the first higher education institution of that kind in the Western Balkans region. The Faculty of Medicine of the Military Medical Academy has been conducting graduate studies since 2009.

¹¹ In his speech regarding the anniversary of the University of Defence, Rector Miodrag Jevtic stated the University of Defence of the Czech Republic was a model for establishing Serbian University of Defence. Internet, <http://www.uo.mod.gov.rs/sr/o-univerzitetu/beseda-rektora-2012#.UcLY7dhjFAY>, <http://www.uo.mod.gov.rs/sr/o-univerzitetu/beseda-rektora-2013#.UcghM5xklwQ>.

By the reform processes the entire military education in Serbia was integrated in an unified military-educational institution involving the Military Academy (higher education), the National Defence School (the highest level of specialization of state and military leaders in defence sector, which includes the Command and Staff Course and Basic Command and Staff Course, the General Staff Course, and the Advanced Security and Defence Studies), and the Military High School (secondary education). Furthermore, in the new study programs education is separated from training, which is a notable improvement.¹²

The curriculum is identical to one at civil high schools. Hence, Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development is in charge of educational process at the Military High School, while Ministry of Defence is responsible for the selection and accommodation of students.¹³

According to the article 17 of the Law on Higher Education, all higher education institutions in Serbia (The University of Defence included) are obliged to carry out self-evaluation and evaluation of all study programs, teaching and working conditions, simultaneously taking into account the results of students' evaluation.¹⁴ Representatives of teaching staff and cadets are members of the Commission for Quality Provision, a special body in charge of evaluation process at the University of Defence.¹⁵ The Commission is responsible for formulating a proposal of the Quality Provision Strategy and action plans for it's implementation. Quality of the study programs, teaching process, textbooks and used bibliography are among domains that are continuously monitored.¹⁶ Thus content of the textbooks must not be discriminatory towards specific social groups, and on the basis of race, sex, ethnicity and nationality.¹⁷ In addition, work on the particular law, designed to adress all standing issues related to military education, is currently ongoing.¹⁸

¹² Zoran Jeftic, Mladen Vuruna, „Reforma vojnog obrazovanja u Republici Srbiji – mogućnosti, izazovi, pravci razvoja“ (“Military Education Reform in the Republic of Serbia – Opportunities, Challenges, Courses of Development”), in: *Vojno delo*, 1/2009, p. 164.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁴ The Commission for Accreditation and Monitoring is in charge of “external” quality monitoring, and is formed by the National Council for Higher Education. (Law on Higher Education, article 13).

¹⁵ Rule Book on Quality Provision, articles 3 and 56.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, article 9.

¹⁷ Rule Book on Textbooks, article 4.

¹⁸ Draft Law on Military Education was adopted by the Working Group within the Ministry of Defense in June 2013. Internet, <http://www.uo.mod.gov.rs/vesti/18-06-2013/sastanak-posebne-radne-grupe-za-izradu-nacrta-zakona-o-vojnomo-obrazovanju.html#UckXw5xklwR>.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Given the context in which the military education reform in Serbia is taking place, which is the process of second generation of security sector reforms, as well as the broader framework of anti-discriminatory policies, this research was concerned whether, how and in what manner are the themes concerned with discrimination of vulnerable groups represented in the military education system and in one part of the training. The research is focused on the content of selected textbooks and handbooks of the Military Academy, in the Military High School, and the content of the materials that is being used in training of the soldiers and officers under the jurisdiction of General Staff. As the main theme within the human rights problematique it analysed the treatment of women, ethnic-national minorities, the members of various religious communities and atheists, as well as the LGBT population. Content analysis is a common method used when dealing with extensive empirical material (press, propaganda material, school textbooks, internet sites), created as a result of practical and theoretical needs to obtain more complete and objective data regarding certain forms of social communication.¹⁹ The teaching material has been selected based on the expected proximity of the content regarding themes human right and discrimination, thus it includes textbooks and handbooks used during the courses such as Military Ethics, International Humanitarian Law, Sociology, Military Psychology, Military History – courses from the area of social studies that are not highly specialised. Qualitative content analysis covered twelve textbooks and handbooks used in the Military Academy and three textbooks used in key social subjects in the Military High School. The content of two humanitarian law handbooks used for the basic training of soldiers and commanders has also been analysed, as well as the material from one of the courses used in training of the future multinational operations members. Focus was primarily on the teaching material used at the , taking into account that it educates the commanding staff, and that the is in the process of improving its own organisation and accreditation of curricula.²⁰ The research was limited to the analysis of officially registered textbooks and handbooks for selected subjects and courses in the field of humanities that are in use in the Military High School and the Military Academy.²¹ Also,

¹⁹ See Vojin Milic, *Sociološki metod*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Belgrade, 1996.

²⁰ Additional reasons for this choice was the fact that the curriculum of the Military High School is harmonized with civilian high school program in Serbia, as well as that regarding the material used for the training of professional soldiers the General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces offered the Centres' researchers very little content relevant for this study.

²¹ Interviewed professors stated that they use in teaching also additional material, but the research team has not received it from subject professors.

the study included a part of the material used in professional training under the auspices of the General Staff which has been made available for this research.

Content analysis sought to determine whether teaching material touch upon the issues of human rights and discrimination of the above mentioned vulnerable groups; point out the context that mentions vulnerable groups (positive, negative, neutral); and provide the description of the concrete good examples or parts of the text which explicitly and implicitly have elements of discrimination.

Discrimination and the human right issue is operationalized, starting from four dimensions and indicators that have been chosen.

They include:

- Gender discrimination (women reproductive rights, gender based employment, women as the weaker/vulnerable sex, naturalness of gender/sex, concept of femininity and masculinity, women as a mother, feminism and women rights, emancipation of women, women equality, etc.);
- Interpretation of problems of ethno-national minority (their role in social and political life, citizen equality, selection of historical events, interpretation of the role of ethno-national minorities during wars and conflicts);
- Interpretation of problems of religious minorities (Islam, Catholicism, Judaism, sects), as well as atheists; and
- Discrimination of LGBT population (homosexuality as illness, homosexuality as deviant pathological phenomenon, homosexuality as unnatural behaviour, sexual relations and marriage, curing the homosexuals, etc.).

The findings from the written material are updated and deepened with methods of individual and group interviewing (focus group). This method has been chosen to perceive the views in the concrete surroundings and attain certain picture on the transfer of the knowledge and the value system in the area of human rights that has been supported in the textbooks and in the social science classes at the military educational institutions. Concretely, the issues of the groups that in some form suffer from discrimination: women, Roma and other ethnic minorities, the members of different religious communities and LGBT community, and the knowledge that is offered on these groups through military system of schooling have been viewed also through conversations with the Military High School graduates, and the cadets of the first and fourth year of the Military Academy.²² Also a certain number of consultation interviews have been conducted with managers and professors of the Military High School and Military Academy. Based on the initial findings of Centres researchers it was additionally discussed at the round table with the members of military educational institutions, as well as the members of the key institutions that deal with human rights and protection from discrimination.²³ Interviewed members of the military educational system have been delivered the draft of the findings, with the possibility to comment on it at the round table, as well as to submit all their suggestions and remarks in writing.²⁴

It is important to note that the students entering the military education system at the high school level or at university level had been previously under the influence from the family and other formative

²² There were 10 students and 30 cadets involved in discussions; four focus groups were organized in the period from May to July 2013.

²³ Office for Human and Minority Rights of the Republic of Serbia, the Ombudsperson, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality. The roundtable was by invitation only, held on the 27th of June 2013, with 17 participants.

²⁴ Opportunity to submit written suggestion was not used.

factors that have contributed to creation and maintenance of certain knowledge and value judgment. This research does not cover the possible preconceptions that the participants of the Military High School and the Military Academy acquired themselves in the family and previous education, or to what degree have the existing military contents affected the deepening/lessening of these prejudices and in which domain. This research seeks to provide the report on the existing condition regarding the representation of (anti)discriminatory formulations in the selected textbooks, and indication on awareness of the students of MHS and MA, as well as the social subjects lecturers, on the advanced legal framework in this area, including the legal and regulatory documents which obliges the educational process to non-discriminatory treatment.

ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED TEACHING MATERIAL

Analysis of the Military Academy textbooks

Selected textbooks used in teaching at the Military Academy represent the largest part of the analysed material in this research for a number of reasons.²⁵ First, it is practically the central military educational institution that develops commanding staff for the Serbian Armed Forces who adopts and further disseminates at the Military Academy acquired knowledge and attitudes. The authors and reviewers of most of the analysed social science textbooks in use at the Military Academy are military personnel, in other words the members of defence system, which gives us a direct insight of their understanding of relevance of thematic of (non)discrimination.²⁶ In addition, the Military Academy in its education system includes secondary education – the Military High School.²⁷ It is very important, as mentioned above, that the University of Defence is in the process of improving their own organisation, accreditation and re-accreditation of their curricula, so it is the assumption of the Centre that there is the possibility for improving the existing content in relatively short period of time.

The course Military Psychology, mandatory on all study programmes except Military Mechanical Engineering, uses textbook and handbook of the same name.²⁸ In terms of gender issues and gender identity, there are examples in the **Military Psychology** textbook of pronouncedly stereotypical relations. Thus, for example, chapter *Psychological factors of observing. Motivation and observation*, states that “the man differently observes physical characteristics of the woman before or after satisfying of his sexual motives”²⁹, as well as “if the young man is in love with a girl, he won’t be able to observe some of her imperfections, even physical – everything that belongs to that person and everything that

²⁵ Translation of the titles, information on reviewers, editors, courses in which textbooks are used, and the age of sources that are mentioned are available in the table in the Annex.

²⁶ For the editions published within the defence system, the date of publishing might be taken as an indicator of the importance that is given to modernisation of teaching content.

²⁷ See the official internet presentation <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/cms/view.php?id=600> (accessed on the 25.8.2013.)

²⁸ Desimir Pajević, Ljubomir Kasagić, *Vojna psihologija*, Sektor za školstvo, obuku, naučnu i izdavačku delatnost, Uprava za naučnu i izdavačku delatnost, Vojna akademija, Belgrade, 2001, and Ljubomir Kasagić Desimir Pajević, Nada Danić, Radoslav Jocić, *Vojna psihologija – praktikum*, Generalštab Vojske Srbije i Crne gore, Uprava za školstvo i obuku, Vojna akademija, Belgrade 2003.

²⁹ D. Pajević i Lj. Kasagić, *Vojna psihologija*, 2001, op.cit. p. 73.

she does is nice to him.”³⁰ The chapter *Adolescence* states that the “basic characteristics of the adolescents are the following: interests are specific and there is more of them than in adulthood; boys and girls differ regarding the type of interests; the boys are more concerned with their personal health, security, money and sex, and the girls with personal attractiveness, attitude to life, mental health and relations in the family”.³¹

From the standpoint of treating ethical issues, the part on the *Attitude types* is relevant where the process of forming stereotypes is explained in a neutral way pointing out that “simplified and misleading images of some nations and people are called stereotypes.” It was pointed out that “in particular the armed conflict contribute to attaching negative traits to the members of the aggressor nation, as the forming of the stereotype is in great dependence with international relations.”³² “Prejudices are the attitudes that are not grounded in logic, they are very emotionally coloured and they are hard to change. They may arise as a result of national attachment, due to the human tendency to generalise and simplify their individual experiences, or to react aggressively when hampered from fulfilling their individual needs and wishes. Aggression is very easily directed towards certain ethnic, racial or religious groups”.³³ The positive example is that as a way of combating prejudices it suggests the use of legal sanctions against the prejudice holders, and systematic informing on the nations, so their positive characteristics and direct contact with those groups would be accentuated.

In this textbook the relations towards homosexuality is in the domain of treating it as psychopathic phenomena.³⁴ Homosexuality is presented as one of the sexual deviancies that has been medically treated by Aversion therapy, a method that has been abandoned in modern times.³⁵ Also, there is pronouncedly negative mention of homosexuality in the context of prostitution and sex work, as well as the problem in the functioning of the military organisation. So, it states that “for the military the problem are not the individuals that in exceptional circumstances (for example, alcoholic intoxication) resort to homosexual fulfilment of their sexual need, while in the normal circumstances they vigorously fight against this pathological tendency; the problem are the psychopathic personalities that resort to homosexuality as the permanent means of solving sexual frustrations and abstinence in the military, while also acquiring money and other material benefits”.³⁶

As in *Military Psychology* textbook, the *Military Psychology Practicum* contains examples of stereotypical attitudes on gender identity and stereotypical relation towards women.³⁷ Thus, in the chapter *Theoretical foundations of the social perception* there are quoted verses from Jovan Dučić which in fact represents the stereotypical view of the women: “Nothing can make a man more appealing

³⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

³¹ Ibid., p. 239.

³² Ibid., p. 271.

³³ Ibid., p. 271.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 47. Central nervous system: “The illness or injury of certain parts of the limbic system (...) lead to a sharp increase in sexual motives, so that patients uncontrollably, ignoring the moral standards and restrictions seeks sexual intercourse or reverts to masturbating. Sometimes the odd satisfying of these requirements takes place, such as homosexuality, sadism and exhibitionism. “

³⁵ Ibid., p.106. Instrumental learning: “A special group of behavioural techniques represent the so called, aversive stimulation techniques. Behaviour that aims to be eliminated is associated with aversive stimuli such as electric shock, unpleasant chemical substances to taste or smell or similar. This technique has been successful in eliminating gambling, alcoholism, exhibitionism and other sexual deviations. “

³⁶ Ibid., p. 412.

³⁷ Lj. Kasagić et al., *Vojna psihologija - praktikum*, 2003, op. cit.

like a nice smile. Women rather give themselves to the man that can make them laugh.”³⁸ When authors talk about the conformism it is said: “Women are more conforming than men.”³⁹

It also explains the mechanisms and patterns of occurrence of stereotypes based only on racial and/or ethnicity. In chapter *Principles of Assimilation and contrast* there is a discussion on the existence of national stereotypes: “When evaluating the members of a group, nation, there is a tendency to see them as “uniform, homogenous” according to some characteristics. The characteristics of the wider group members or the nation we tend to attribute to each individual, although it is psychologically ungrounded. Based on this principle national stereotypes are formed. We know of them during enemy propaganda in the recent and distant past when characteristics were attributed to Jews, Serbs, Roma... Incorrectly, but unfortunately it is misused in the political marketing.”⁴⁰ “Preconceptions and stereotypes very negatively affect the accuracy of assessment and evaluation of others. In particular this applies to negative preconceptions, and amongst them ethnic and racial, that highly distort the assessment of people and social groups towards which these preconceptions are directed.”⁴¹

This practicum contains a number of examples from practice, descriptions on how to act in certain situations (war operations, psychologically risky situations, relationship between superiors and the soldiers and similar). “Respecting the principle of subordination determines the superior-subordinate relationship and unconditional obeying of orders (an element of autocratic leadership), while the initiative and independence of the subordinates, in the scope determined by the superior command, indicates that there are elements of democracy in commanding and controlling.”⁴²

The Sociology course is mandatory for most of the study programmes, with the exception of the Military Aviation. There are two textbooks in use, one of which is ***Sociology for the Military Academies***, dating back to 1980’s.⁴³ It was written in the spirit of Marxism when the problems like the women’s rights, arrangement of gender relations, international and interethnic relations, were seen from Marxist sociological theory of society and the Cold War perspective. According to the authors, the textbook differs from the general sociology in the sense that apart from classical themes that sociology deals with it contains numerous pages (100 from 400 pages) that are devoted to “war as a form of social conflict”, and questions regarding the creation of the army, the social role of the army, the development of war technique and generally military organisation. The textbook is for today’s circumstances expectedly outdated, but the period to which it covers sociologically important issues is quite clear and theoretically richly conceived, although with greater emphasis on the socio-economic themes than on the contents that appear today within the sociology of culture, sociology of youth and similar.

Given the Marxist orientation of the authors, texts represent views on emancipation of women as one of the important achievements of socialist society. Analysed from the perspective of gender relations, textbooks contain an abundance of examples of critical attitudes towards authoritarian, patriarchal model of family: “Patriarchal family ... has its own class structure that creates a system based on discrimination

³⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 106.

⁴² Ibid., p. 73.

⁴³ Dimitrije Baucal, Ejub Kućuk, Vladimir Gospić, Milivoj Oreb, Miladin Ilić, Marko Mladenović, Milan Gvero, Niko Pezelj, Mensur Ibrahimpašić, *Sociologija za vojne akademije*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 1981. Interviewed professor said that there is additional material that will be made available to the researcher, but the Center has not got it.

and segregation, on legal inequalities between man and woman and on absolute subordination of children to the family head. Therefore it is emphasised that it represents a model of oppressive, authoritarian, imposed rule of man within the “male civilisation” and “class society”. “Patriarchal family rests on supremacy of man over woman (husbands’ authority)”.⁴⁴ It is stated that within the patriarchal family “woman is considered as a lower rank being that has always to be taken care of”.⁴⁵

There is a criticism of social inequalities between men and women in numerous spheres of life: “It is very difficult for a woman to fight for her emancipation, not only because there are no objective social conditions (higher illiteracy of women, fewer numbers in employment – 34%, lower educational attainment, lower qualification, lack of institutions for mother and child etc.) but also because the social consciousness towards the woman as the human being and her values, is slow to change.”⁴⁶ There is also implicit critique of the relationship of church towards women: “Christian Church has declared a woman as a sinner and recommended to men not even “to touch a single woman”.⁴⁷ Also a male-female relation in modern society is problematised: “It is an interesting fact that the marriages in which women are not employed outside family are far less successful then the marriages where both spouses work. The reason is in the subordinated position of the woman, her dissatisfaction with her role, and often a disparaging attitude of the spouse towards her.”⁴⁸

From the viewpoint of national and ethnic discrimination, the textbook stands for equality of all nations in the former. The Second World War is seen as such that it specifies the enemies as occupation forces, as well as Chetniks and other collaborators, while the interests of the working class are put in the first place. Nation is viewed historically and neutrally.⁴⁹ Nations are viewed also as a tool of the ruling class in the homogenisation of the people so the conflicted class interests would be pacified.⁵⁰

Inter-ethnic and inter-national relations are explained through the relationship matrix valid in the official policy of SFRY and it was sublimated in the phrase “brotherhood and unity”. The terms that promote national equality can be interpreted as anti-discriminatory, taking into account that this was the official policy of SFRY where the slogan “brotherhood and unity” appears as self-evident.⁵¹ In line with the same discourse, in explaining policies at the time of the state towards inter-national relations there are certain terms in use like “relations of national equality”, “unity of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia – based on equality, brotherhood and unity”, “politics of national equality” and similar.⁵²

⁴⁴ D. Baucal at al, *Ibid.*, op. cit. p .214.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁴⁹ “The nation is a form of human unity.” “Here we use the term people for the purpose of labelling ethnic communities that preceded the nation, and with the term nation we mark a historically denoted social-ethnic community typical of the epoch of capitalism and socialism.” *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ “The nation is historically necessary phenomenon; it is not a subjective creation of the human spirit. It was created as a result of having to, through production that is based on capital, complete full integration within the nation and thus in that way open the possibility of the development of capitalist relations. Young bourgeoisie as a new class (...) through the constitution of the nation is intents to make a homogenization - to overcome objectively existing conflicts of interests and to promote the national interest as a general.” *Ibid.*, p. 143. It offers, therefore, a critical view of the nation.

⁵¹ “The struggle for brotherhood and unity has become one of the main political objectives of the national liberation struggle.” *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 398.

The relationship towards the religion is in line with Marxist theory, where religion *per se* is seen as negative, without distinction in regard to specific religious communities. There are more examples of this viewpoint in the textbook: "Religion is predominantly illusory consciousness and represents an extension of primitive mentality, in other words primarily undeveloped human consciousness."⁵³ "Religion is the oldest form of social consciousness and it is ... the extension of the illusory human view of the world."⁵⁴ Since there are no alternative sociological theories presented in the textbook, it is clear that the religious are discriminated in relation to atheists. There are no direct references to the members of sexual minorities.

General Sociology is the second textbook being used for the Sociology course.⁵⁵ The textbook barely addresses the issue of women and when discussing the family it (over)emphasises its importance: "Family is partial, but also the most complex social group. Numerous social functions and forms of social relations and processes are interlaced within it. It is difficult to find another group that satisfies as many different human and social needs. It is a social sphere that contains basic processes of human life and it is so connected to the life of each individual that it leaves a strong imprint on their development".⁵⁶

Neutral stance prevails in inter-ethnic and inter-national relations: "(...) in contemporary world, where increasingly the ideals of righteousness and equality are becoming the principles of international cooperation, recognition and respect of national equality has to become a reality in which people live and the manifestation of new humanistic relations amongst people, nations and states."⁵⁷

The textbook does not contain specific provisions that relate to minority groups, which could be attributed to the fact that the very form of the textbook is such that it represents a wide spectrum of sociological theories and courses, social phenomena and processes, which is more concerned with macro perspective and presentation of different viewpoints. Socialistic and Marxist theory of society prevails.

The **Military Ethics course** is optional on the study programmes entitled Management in Defence and Logistics of Defence, but not on the engineering courses, and the chrestomathy used is among the latest textbooks at the Military Academy, published in 2009.⁵⁸ Editor of the chrestomathy is also a lecturer of this course, who stresses that the textbook follows the structure present at foreign academies, and that the basic ethics approach is respect and appreciation of personality.⁵⁹

A positive example is evident from the chapter entitled *Ethics and human rights. Standards of human rights*. It discusses the basic standards of human rights, with reference to the most important international legal documents: Universal Declaration on Human Rights, European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, International Convention on Civil and Political Rights etc.⁶⁰ It mentions the right for respecting private and family life, home and correspondence,

⁵³ Ibid, p. 186.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 194.

⁵⁵ Danilo Ž. Marković, *Opšta sociologija*, 10th edition, Savremena administracija, Belgrade, 2003.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.263.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 262.

⁵⁸ Borislav D. Grozdić (ed), *Vojna etika*, hrestomatija, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 2009. There is intention for this course to be included into curricula of all study programs.

⁵⁹ Interview for the purpose of this research, 7th of June 2013.

⁶⁰ B. Grozdić (ed), *Vojna etika*, hrestomatija, 2009, op. cit. Source: M. A. Perović, *Uvod u etiku*, Savez pedagoških društava Vojvodine, Novi Sad, 2003, pp.101–110.

which forbids interference into the private life, and the right to protection against the invasion of privacy as well as the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and right to opinion and expression.

However, textbook is predominantly conservative in the domain of gender relations and relations towards religion which is given importance as the formative element of military ethos. It is possible to distinguish the general image of the soldier displayed through the texts that have been selected to be part of this collection - the chrestomathy favours an aggressive soldier with stereotypical male characteristics.⁶¹ All examples of the behaviour of soldiers refer to soldier as a man, while the woman does not appear as a military personnel. Women are referred to in other contexts and with other attributes, mainly as a life companions to male-soldier and/or object of male-soldiers attention.⁶² The most problematic part from the standpoint of gender equality is referring to woman as sexual objects⁶³ or the "weaker ones" that need help and protection of soldiers. For example: "Christian ideology has shown the weak ones to the knight, the ones that need protection: girls, widows, orphans".⁶⁴ In line with this, only the heterosexual male-female couples have been presented. The text *Applied Ethics*⁶⁵ gives the example of abortion as a relatively new phenomenon, which consequently requires a new approach to define it as such, without possibility of calling on some old traditional value judgments. It is stated primarily that "the easiest way to define it as infanticide". What has been brought about by availability and safety of abortion is "paradoxically a female imitation of male irresponsibility and egalitarianism in irresponsibility. All this has an interesting ideological connotation within one of the widespread movements like feminism: by access to the domain of acceptable irresponsibility, equality is achieved and principles of (distributive) justice are met."⁶⁶

In chrestomathy there are texts that emphasise the strong link between the military profession and morality based on religion and faith. Thus the text *Orthodox Understanding of Peace and War*, cites the views of Russian Orthodox Church, regarding the issue of military and moral principles of warfare: "Our Christ loving soldiers with the weapon in their hands protect the Holy Church, protect the emperor because in his sacred figure they respect the image of the Heavenly Father, they protect their motherland because its demolition would led to imminent falling of motherland power and the Evangelical faith would be shaken. "The war must be waged with righteous indignation, and not only malice, greed, lust and other vices."⁶⁷ Special emphasis is put on the link between the military and the church: "The church particularly cares about the military by teaching it in the spirit of loyalty to high

⁶¹ "Rationally speaking, the soldier can aspire to the title of super-man". Op. cit., p. 298.

⁶² "It is not surprising that woman always loved soldiers, though, it seemed that a dangerous profession should lower the attractiveness of a soldier as a potential husband." Ibid., p.298.

⁶³ "Traditionally it was believed that sexual partners, especially men, should have the moral virtues. Virtues can be different, but the heroic manner of their 'representation' to the ladies won universal moral status." Ibid., p. 298.

"To this day, 'chivalrous attitude towards women' means, among other things, that sexual energy is sublimated into an aesthetically shaped ritual of courtship." Ibid., p. 309.

"Compared to the previous tradition where a woman was not considered as a subject of morality, chivalrous ideology significantly raised the moral status of women. The woman did not become the subject of morality, but it became its object. The very act of her existence has awakened in a man 'sublime feelings.'" Ibid., p .309.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 306, from: J.B. Beljajev, Master of philosophy, lecturer at the Belarus State University, "Vojna etika, Vojni etos i univerzalije morala"

⁶⁵ Ibid., op. cit., from: Jovan Babić, Moral i naše vreme, Službeni glasnik, Belgrade, 2005, 317 – 324.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 164.

⁶⁷ Ibid., from: "Osnovi socijalne koncepcije Ruske pravoslavne crkve", Beseda, Novi Sad, 2007.

moral ideals.” Also, “...return of the military to orthodox traditions, established for centuries, of serving the motherland.”⁶⁸

From the standpoint of contemporary civil-military relations the part *Army* is problematic,⁶⁹ especially the part on “Christ loving Army”: “No, we can’t say that Christ has ‘blessed warfare’; but he hasn’t in any way condemned it completely, as for example, he condemned callousness of the soul, hypocrisy.”⁷⁰ “Yes, the war is an imminent and necessary thing (although generally not every war and never always). But there are wars that are spiritually justified and morally necessary. It is exactly these wars that Church has in mind when it prays for the Christ loving army.”⁷¹ There are also thematic units that cover the themes of Roman Catholic and Islam understanding of war and peace,⁷² and there is a reference to the right to freedom of religion.

The *Military History* course is compulsory on the study programmes Management in Defence and Logistics of Defence, while it is optional on the engineering programmes. A textbook that is older than three decades is still in use, therefore written without insight into the archive materials that have since become available.⁷³ There are examples of stereotypical observation of military careers, as well as the historical role of some actors, for example the Catholic Church. On the other hand the role of the women in National Liberation Struggle (NLS) has been emphasised. There are not many examples of discrimination, nor are there many examples of sensitivity towards vulnerable groups.

From the viewpoint of gender relations, a positive example is evident in the recognition of women as participants in NLS: “At Sutjeska battle there was over 7300 dead fighters, amongst whom were 603 or 19% of women.”⁷⁴ An example of Ana Kecman⁷⁵, the woman tank driver, is mentioned, as well as the number of woman soldiers in the Partisan ranks: “100.000 women were actively involved in NLS out of which 4000 had a rank and a position of the officer in the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NLAY).”⁷⁶ However, women are first mentioned on the page 190 in relation to their involvement in construction of defence zone of Moscow. There is a mention of the Anti-fascist women front, but without the explanation of its impact and significance, stating that it was one of the organisations under the auspices of Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which towards the end of the war had 20.000 members.

Great attention and space was given in the textbook to the Second World War, noticeably disproportionately in relation to the First World War. Certain qualifications and attitudes are in direct

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ Ibid., from: N. Danilović, *Moral vojske u građanskom ratu*, Zadužbina Andrejević and NIC, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 35-50.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 326.

⁷¹ Ibidem

⁷² Ibid., “Rimokatoličko shvatanje o miru i ratu”, pp.209 – 222. Source: Papsko veće za pravdu i mir, *Osnove socijalnog učenja katoličke crkve*, Fond Konrad Adenauer i Beogradska nadbiskupija, Belgrade, 2006, pp. 256 – 271. “Islamsko shvatanje o miru i ratu”, pp. 222 – 231. Source: Danko Tanasković, *Islam, dogma i život*, Belgrade, 2008, pp. 147 – 159.

⁷³ Gojko Miljanić, Mladenko Colić, Vojislav Subotić, Predrag Pavlović, Obrad Bjelica, Mirko Medić, *Vojna istorija*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 1980. The most recent historical event addressed is the Vietnam War (1960-1975), as the contemporary wars are studies in specialized subjects related to military tactics, technological aspects of modern conflict, asymmetric wars. Subject professors said they used an additional, more recent material, which was not submitted to the research team.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 428.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 482.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 507.

collision with current interpretations of history and social-political events both externally and internally. So the qualification of the Chetnik movement and their role in the Second World War is in contrast with the current process of rehabilitation of that movement,⁷⁷ while Israel is presented as a creation of Western powers and an aggressor.⁷⁸

The events described within the Second World War issue carry the implications for interethnic relations and relations with national minorities that live in the . Thus, for example, it emphasises that the occupiers (“associated occupying-quisling forces”: Germans, Italian, Chetniks, Ustashe, Domobrani and others) in their incitement of inter-national hatred, found “support, first among the members of German and Hungarian nationalities, then in some pro-fascist bourgeois organisations and in pre-developed fifth column, and also among the Ustashe, Ljoticevci, Catholic clergy and other traitors of the nation.”⁷⁹ Based on this it may seem that all the members of German and Hungarian minority as well as all members of the Catholic clergy were traitors.

There are no explicit examples of discrimination towards the members of certain religious groups, but on numerous places we find a negative outlook on the historical role of Catholic Church. Thus, for example, its activity is associated with the defeat of ,⁸⁰ as well as with the small response to the uprising in the Yugoslavian areas under the influence of the Catholic clergy.⁸¹ The textbook does not contain reference on sexual minorities.

Explicit anti-discriminatory regulations and explanations of relevant legal provisions in the Republic of Serbia that forbid discrimination are listed in the **Human Resources Management** textbook, which is of newer date and is used for the compulsory course on the Management in Defence study program.⁸² Interpretation of discrimination rests on the legal prohibition of discrimination against women, individuals of different sexual orientation, pregnant women in employment and ethnic and religious minorities. Thus, the following are examples of general discrimination: “Human resource experts have to follow and comply in accordance with laws and regulations whose number has increased, and that relate to the area of employments and health and social protection, gender and racial discrimination, unjustified dismissal, maternal rights, and union recognition and other.”⁸³

⁷⁷ “Chetnik movement was a political-military organization of the Serbian nationalist bourgeoisie.” From their first mention, the Chetniks are described as counter-revolutionary movement and collaborators of the occupiers. It is pointed out that they performed “mass atrocities and inhumane killing of people”, that they did “crimes and violence against women and children.” “The Chetniks were initially illegally and later openly in the service of the occupying forces in the fight against NLM which is why at the end of the war they suffered the same fate as the occupying forces and were destroyed ...” G. Miljanić et al., *Vojna Istorija*, op. cit., p. 321.

“By betraying of the people and running a fratricidal struggle with the support of the occupiers, Chetniks have created a difficult situation and caused heavy casualties of the Serbian people.” *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁷⁸ “Great Western powers have created the state of Israel according to their own liking. Through this state, as an expansionary impact fists, they have sought to ensure the impact of international imperialism in the Middle East, on the political, military and economic fields.” *Ibid.*, p. 515.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁸⁰ “The defeat of the Polish Army in the German-Polish war was a result of internal and external policies of the Polish ruling bourgeoisie that has, through support of the Catholic Church, introduced a military dictatorship in the country, has limited political freedom and ruthlessly exploited workers.” *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁸¹ “However, it can be noted that in the first months of the uprising due to the particular circumstances mostly Serbian people were involved, while under the influence of the Catholic clergy, HSS and Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO), and many Croatian and Muslim masses, except for the most advanced parts, for a certain time stayed aside”(p. 327).

⁸² Ranko Lojić, Živko Kulić, *Menadžment ljudskih resursa*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade 2009.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

A section relating to job interviews, states that “bad questions” should be avoided and “inappropriate questions (questions that are contradictory to the prohibition on discrimination, on the basis of national membership, age, family situation, political affiliation, marital status and similar, as well as the questions that are in collision with the rules of etiquette)”⁸⁴ fall within this category. When interviewing job candidates: “women should not be asked whether they are satisfied with their marriage, do they plan to have more children, are they able to perform their home duties next to work responsibilities and similar. Unfortunately, in practice these rules are not completely complied with. It is even asked of women, prior to starting the employment to sign a statement that in the following years (most often five) they will not marry or have children, which is almost unthinkable. These phenomena are rampant in our country also, especially in the banks, although it is well known that they are in direct collision with provisions of our labour legislations. It is obvious that state authorities, responsible for overseeing their implementation, are not doing their job responsibly. Many other subjects in our society have failed also, especially media, which should not last for long time.”⁸⁵

There are positive examples that specify what can be a basis for discrimination. Thus, in the part relating to the selection of candidates for a certain job the following is stated: “Unfortunately, the research shows that for evaluation of the candidates and their potential there are other important factors. In this context, the following particularly stands out: age, gender, ethnicity and other demographic factors, posture and physical appearance, communicative abilities, job perception and similar. It is assumed that these factors are related to the interviewers’ prejudices. In considering this, it should not be surprising that in many cases men do better than women, younger than older, prettier than less pretty, healthier than sick.”⁸⁶ In the part that deals with interviewers prejudices it is said that they can be “interviewers’ prejudices (mainly related to gender, age, national and religious affiliation, political affiliation, education and similar).”⁸⁷ A note on the legislative provisions prohibiting discrimination is essential: “The labour legislations of increasing number of states are being updated with provisions on strict prohibition of discrimination in employment, prohibition of asking a provocative and uncomfortable questions to candidates, and especially questions that relate to marital status, family situation, ethnicity, sexual orientation and similar.”⁸⁸

For the purpose of the course Management of Human resources another textbook, *Human Resources Management in Defence System*,⁸⁹ is also being used. Although recently published, in 2011, it does not deal with the subject of discrimination in a same way analysed within this research. The reason does not seem to be outdatedness or some other inadequacy, but the fact that it is conceived as such that it opts to deal more with the theory or theoretical methods than to reflect on real life practice.⁹⁰

The Military Andragogy course is compulsory for the second year study programme of the Management in Defence, thus to a minority of students, as it is not offered to the participants of the engineering programmes and Logistic of Defence. The textbook *Military Andragogy* addresses

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 153.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 159.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 160.

⁸⁹ Ranko Lojić, *Upravljanje ljudskim resursima u sistemu odbrane*, Medija Centar „Obrana“, Belgrade, 2011.

⁹⁰ Number of used sources cited in the textbook published before and after year 2000. is very approximate.

exclusively the students that are male.⁹¹ Although that is also a characteristic of other textbooks and also not unexpected as it was written at the time of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when there was not even a question of enrolling women in the Military Academy, here it is pronouncedly clear that the textbook is designed for or talks only about male gender. It is already evident from the chapter titles as for example: Characteristics of adolescents (young guy). Contents and forms of moral upbringing: “Morale is, therefore, mainly thought and adopted in social groups and gatherings in which a child, young man, soldier, student and grownup man spends most of his life where he works.”⁹²

In terms of possible national discrimination, it is relevant that the war events on the territory of former have been taken as illustration of the abuse of national belonging. A comment was given on the need of neutral approach to the problem of inter-national and inter-ethnic relations: “However, patriotic feelings can be misused if the authority is through force opposing people, if it holds power through force and if it oppresses other people. That is when the patriotism is transformed into nationalism and chauvinism. These phenomena have been used in the SFRY as the most powerful tool for secession and civil war, while the brotherhood and unity and Yugoslavian socialistic patriotism have practically disappeared or they have previously been greatest illusions. Given the multiethnic composition of SR of Yugoslavia, it is necessary to create such relations and values so it can be simultaneously a home for everyone that lives in it, regardless of religion, nationality, ethnic group and similar.”⁹³

Similar to the textbook, the *Military Andragogy Practicum* in the chapter Practice 5: *Moral Upbringing* claims that “the Military is entered by young men that are psychophysically healthy, committed to defend their country, and hence motivated for training and performing other tasks in the Army.”⁹⁴ In the practicum and the textbook there is no reference to the issues of religiosity and members of sexual minorities.

The International Humanitarian Law course is compulsory for the first year of undergraduate studies on all study programmes. The issue of relationship of Army members with and towards civil population is covered in the textbook *International War and Humanitarian Law* which is used in teaching of the above mentioned course.⁹⁵ It deals with the themes and problems that appear in the war circumstances and other exceptional situations that are subject to specific set of rules and norms of behaviour. Textbook recounts key documents from the area of war and humanitarian law – and Hague Conventions and supporting protocols, in other words, norms and postulates of international humanitarian law. It is written mainly in gender neutral language, with use of nouns in the third person plural, while using impersonal verb form.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Radosav R. Anđelković, Dragoljub Damjanović, Predrag Damjanović, Zdravko Kolar, Momčilo Lazović, *Vojna andragogija*, Centar vojnih škola Vojske Jugoslavije, Vojna akademija Vojske Jugoslavije, Belgrade, 1997.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁹⁴ Predrag Damjanović, Radosav R. Anđelković, Dragoljub Damjanović, Nedeljko Đenić, Momčilo Lazović, Veljko Lučić, Miroslav Milovanović, Budislav Suša, Lazar Rilak, Vlastimir Stojanović, Stevan Šegrt, *Praktikum vojne andragogije*, Belgrade, 1998.

⁹⁵ Zoran Vučinić, *Međunarodno ratno i humanitarno pravo*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 2001.

⁹⁶ It is regarding the use of the masculine gender, but in a context that gives the impression that whatever is said can apply to both women and men (such persons, prisoners, the wounded, medical personnel, civilians, etc.). Gender-sensitive language would involve agreement in gender and number, or use of feminine gender, and *gender-stereotyped* when the male grammatical gender, except 3rd person plural, is used to denote both men and women. On these definitions for more detail see: Stepanović-Zaharijevski et al., *Obrazovanje za rodnu ravnopravnost*, op. cit., p. 32.

Textbook contains parameters' that point out the general prohibition of discrimination in treatment of prisoners of war: "The side that holds them captive is obliged to provide them with free maintenance and medical care. It is also obliged to treat them all in the same way without any discrimination based on race, nationality, religion, political beliefs or any other similar criteria."⁹⁷ Also, in cases of occupation: "The side that holds prisoners' captive has to group them together based on the criteria of their nationality, language and customs."⁹⁸

The latest event that it refers to is NATO bombing of FRY in 1999 but without dealing with massive killing of civilians, cases of refugee attacks, mass rapes and similar, from the standpoint of international law of war and international humanitarian law. When it comes to gender based discrimination, the textbook as well as the practicum used in this course list numerous extracts from international legal acts that stipulate that women, either as combatants, prisoners, wounded or civilians, enjoy the right to special protection: "For the entire duration of captivity, personality and honour of all war prisoners have to be absolutely respected. In this respect women should be treated according to their gender, whereby they cannot be put in a subordinated position in relation to men."⁹⁹ Protection of women as a "special" category of civilians is also mentioned in the context of protection of pregnant women and women before or after childbirth together with the categories of wounded or sick.¹⁰⁰ In several places in the textbook there is a sporadic mention of prohibition of sexual violence: "crimes against humanity are...rape, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy, causing sterility or any other form of sexual harassment..."¹⁰¹ "Women are especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, coercion into prostitution, assaults on their shyness and similar actions."¹⁰²

Same attitudes and principles related to the area of international laws on war and humanitarian laws presented in the textbook are also in the ***Handbook on International Humanitarian Law in the Serbian Armed Forces***: "All persons that have been removed from the combat for whatever reason (war prisoners, wounded, sick, shipwrecked, stricken aircraft crew that save themselves through the means of parachutes, combatants who surrender) have to be treated humanely without any discrimination based on gender, nationality, race, religion, political beliefs."¹⁰³ "General protection of the population from the consequences of armed conflict applies to entire population of the countries involved in the conflict, without any unfavourable discrimination, especially with regard to race, nationality, religious or political beliefs."¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Vučinić, *Međunarodno ratno i humanitarno pravo*, 2001, op. cit, p. 278.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 281.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 278, Also: "In mixed camps for women - prisoners of war shall be provided with separate sleeping and sanitary facilities," p. 54

"The women will be treated with all the considerations." Ibid., p. 67.

"Women are placed in a separate room and are put under the supervision of women." Ibid., p. 103, 150.

"Women whose liberty has been restricted for reasons related to the armed conflict shall be separated from the men, and put under the immediate supervision of women - unless there is a family in question, when then should be together." Ibid., p. 381.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., It is repeated also on the pages 213, 270, 271, 308, 344.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 495.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁰³ Miodrag Starčević, *Priručnik iz međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojski Srbije*, Medija centar „Odbrana“, Belgrade, 2010. p. 39, 67. "Prisoners of war may be given special privileges regarding of their health status, age, gender, degree or rank", p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

Handbook repeats key findings presented in the book in a more concise and applicable way and gives more recent examples from modern military history. In a certain way it corrects a lack of discussion regarding the wars on the territory of former SFRY, whereas almost all the examples relate to modern wars. There is no reference to systematic, repeated or massive rape, neither in the textbook or the practicum.

Analysis of the Military High School textbooks

The curriculum of the Military High School has been harmonized with the programmes of other “civil” high schools (traditional grammar schools) in Serbia, so the textbooks that are used by the students do not differ.¹⁰⁵ Military High School is however specific considering the boarding nature of schooling that is under the control of Ministry of Defence, while teaching is also considered to be part of the Military Academy system.¹⁰⁶ It is stated that the Military High School pays special attention to “the acquisition of general knowledge of fundamental importance for the studies at the Military Academies, the formation and development of motivation, ethical personality, intellectual, mental and physical abilities needed for a professional officer.”¹⁰⁷

The textbook that is used in the Military High School for the subject of *Psychology* that students have in the second year is older than two decades.¹⁰⁸ However, when it comes to perception of the woman’s role in the modern society there are positive examples stating that “certain modern women-feminists claim that desire for motherhood hasn’t always existed, but the ‘myth of motherhood’ was created at the end of XVIII century, when the society needed many workers and soldiers.”¹⁰⁹ Textbook states then that social and historical conditionality are important when viewing gender roles, which indicate the complexity of social phenomena as being fluid and changeable.

Regarding national and ethnic discrimination, there are positive examples when discussing the reasons behind international and inter-religious intolerances and conflicts: “Ethnic stereotypes – unjustified attribution of certain characteristics to all of the members of certain nation...But, they can also an expression of hostility and prejudices, so all the nation members that we don’t love for some reason we see as aggressive and primitive. Such unjustifiable general evaluations of the members of some nations are called negative ethnic stereotypes.”¹¹⁰ “When there is such unfounded negative attitude towards certain nations, we speak about ethnic prejudices. Such prejudices are widespread. They are an important factor of social behaviour as they hinder relations between

¹⁰⁵ Officially, the final decisions on the selection of textbooks for the Military High School have subject professors by using the list of available textbooks used by other high schools. Some of the professors interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the existing textbooks used for the subject they are teaching, or even alleged that “the previous textbook was better,” leaving the impression that they do not feel compelled to monitor the quality of new editions and to propose changes of the textbooks for their subject.

¹⁰⁶ Military High School is under the authority of the Head of Military Academy, according to the scheme on the website of the Military Academy <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/cms/view.php?id=400> (accessed on 25/08/2013).

¹⁰⁷ Internet, <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/cms/view.php?id=15222> (accessed on 25/8/2013.).

¹⁰⁸ Nikola Rot, Slavoljub Radonjić, *Psihologija*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Belgrade 1992.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., “Roditeljski motiv”, p. 165.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., “Opažanje osoba”, p. 52.

people, while also being a powerful tool for inciting hatred and conflict among nations. Similar to ethnic prejudices due to their groundlessness and negative consequences are racial and religious prejudices.”¹¹¹

The same textbook contains stereotypical and challenged views on, for example, LGBT individuals whose homosexual relations are pathologised: “Unbalance ratio of androgens and estrogens, which is characteristic of members of a particular gender, creates predispositions to deviate from sexual behaviour which is normal for the members of one or the other gender (homosexual instead of heterosexual).”¹¹² However, the knowledge about obsolescence of such attitudes and altered perspectives on LGBT population is also covered. So there are examples in the text which indicate that homosexuality is much more complex than just the problem which puts it into a medical discourse and pathologises it within that discourse. It points out the fact that social and cultural circumstances are crucial for understanding sexuality, thus giving scope for change and cancelation of traditional and usual perception of sexual practices: “During the XX century, especially in the last 3-4 decades, there has been a tremendous development of sexual freedoms. Relationship towards homosexuality has also been changed. In one word, it isn't only an instinct for procreation, sex has become one of the sources of human pleasures.”¹¹³

The textbook *Constitution and Civil Rights*, used at the Military High School, dates from 2008 so it is missing information of recent legal acts essential in the fight against discrimination.¹¹⁴ General narrative on human rights is represented, but there is no detailed explanation of existing legal framework for protection of human rights in .

Although a starting point of this subject is the Constitution of Republic of Serbia from 2006, which offers a normative framework for gender equality, this textbooks overview of human rights in the context of guaranteeing equality of man and women is sporadic.¹¹⁵ Gender discrimination is not the subject of special attention, apart from mentioning that “work of equal value for both genders should be equally rewarded,”¹¹⁶ and that the institution called “gentlemen citizen voter” implies both genders.¹¹⁷ It is positive that it states to be illegal to terminate the employment of a mother during her maternity leave, but it is not positive that it came to this conclusion due to “importance of the family for the society.”¹¹⁸ Family is defined as a “unity of man and woman and their underage children, including also children born out of wedlock and adopted children,” so the state has to “regulate equality in the relations of spouses”, which is however not elaborated.¹¹⁹

Positive examples include an explicit reference – to the prohibition of discrimination and its propaganda: “Equality means equal rights for all people, ie. prohibition of discrimination due to gender,

¹¹¹ Ibid, “Predrasude”, p. 179. Unfortunately, some concrete examples are not listed that would better present a theoretical framework..

¹¹² N. Rot, S. Radonjić, *Psihologija*, 1992, op.cit. p. 26.

¹¹³ Ibid., “Seksualni motiv”, p. 164.

¹¹⁴ Slavko Tadić, *Ustav i prava građana*, Zavod za udžbenike, Belgrade, 2008. 3rd edition was printed in 2012.

¹¹⁵ Gender equality and discrimination are not even found among the definitions in the glossary of terms and phrases at the end of textbooks, unlike for example. Moloch, charisma, gerrymandering, or anti-politics.

¹¹⁶ Slavko Tadić, *Ustav i prava građana*, op.cit, p. 88.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

race, ethnos, religion, political beliefs, and the rights of minorities, which affects other rights such as free elections and participation in governance of the state.”¹²⁰ “Freedom of expression is limited by the state through prohibition of war propaganda and incitement of national, religious or racial hatred.”¹²¹ It is emphasised that not even during the state of emergency, measures adopted which deviate from constitutionally guaranteed rights “should not lead to differentiation based on race, gender, language, religion, nationality or social background.”¹²² “Culture of human rights is not a meaningless empty word, but a set of rules shaped in the international community to help the people. They should be used and they are required to be complied with by all, government and citizens.”¹²³

In terms of human rights and civil liberties this fields domestic legislation is not illustrated, but it is generally said to be “guaranteed by the Serbian Constitution from 2006 and the whole set of laws, conventions, charters and two Pacts”. The Charter on Human and Minority Rights and Civil Freedoms from 2003 is mentioned, as well as number of laws and international declarations that ratified. The persons with grievances are referred to the mechanism of protection: court protection, concluding with the Constitutional Court and constitutional appeal, and Ombudsperson.¹²⁴

The rights of the minorities are treated in the wider geographic and historical context, and it is stated that “at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 for the first time an international protection of minorities was established, considering that some unformed states had within their borders populous minorities.”¹²⁵ There is a reference to positive discrimination for minority collectivity that is becoming a standard in the countries of European Union,¹²⁶ but also that the United Nations “have opted against group protection of minorities, but instead guarantee individual rights to the members of minorities.”¹²⁷ National, religious and linguistic minorities are accentuated, as well as “other minority groups, such as people involved in the armed conflict, stateless persons and refugees, as well as sexual minorities.”¹²⁸

Positive examples in the textbook are warnings that the states have to deal in a balanced way towards ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities and to promote raising the spirituality of all its citizens without the thought of discrimination.¹²⁹ “It is very important to constantly keep in mind that the members of the minorities are domestic citizens and they have all the rights that other citizens have.”¹³⁰ It has also listed among the citizen obligations, respect of minority rights – “respect of the rights of national and other minorities so the society would be open, democratic and tolerant.”¹³¹

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 83. Also : “Freedom of association has some limitations; no association cannot propagate war or ethnic, religious and racial hatred.” Ibid., p. 85.

¹²² Ibid., p. 96.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 74.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 94.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 74.

¹²⁶ “European Constitution guarantees minorities the right to basic education in the mother tongue, as well as the legal possibility to cherish their culture and enjoy full equality.” Ibid., p. 66.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 96.

Under the heading, the *Spiritual freedoms*, freedom of religion is prominent.¹³² It is stated that in schools the choice between subjects of Civic Education and Religious Education be a matter of freewill of parent and child. However, attendance of the Religious Education is equated with the knowledge of religious studies necessary for general culture: "These classes should not be imposed, nor inhibited, as without knowing religious teachings general culture of bearers of school diploma is significantly curtailed."¹³³

Regarding discrimination in respect of religious beliefs and sexual orientation, stating the rights to respect private and family life represents a positive example: "The right to private life includes identity and integrity of the person, from the name to the appearance (looks, clothe, haircut etc), feelings, thoughts and religion which include intimacy, communication and sexual orientation."¹³⁴

The textbook touches on security sector issues. Regarding "the armed force (army and police)" it states that it must not be violent, and it is specific for the military that it is "very bad when it gets involved in politics" so it is "very important for every citizen that described apparatuses of force are under firm control of good laws."¹³⁵ This formulation is remarkably scarce because students were left without information not just on what might constitute a good law in this area and whether they exist in this country, but also regarding how these laws can be implemented, and what forms of security sector oversight are available.

Sociology textbook that the Military High School uses for the subject of the same name, has undergone several editions.¹³⁶ The textbook is designed for 3rd year students of specialised schools and 4th year students of grammar school. It offers a general introduction to Sociology as a science, explains its development, the subject of the study and it offers an overview of different theoretical approaches and authors who have contributed to its development. It also explains the key social phenomena, institutions and processes (culture, generation, religion, morality, social structure, property relationships, art).

Although gender relations and the position of women in society are not treated as a separate teaching unit, several articles and chapters indicates that with the change of social phenomena and processes the position and role of women in society has been changing as well. An example of this is in the part titled *Division of labour*: "Natural division of labour is based on gender and age, and it is division of labour between women and men and the division between the generations (children, adults in full force and old). It exists in all societies, but is a key characteristic of underdeveloped and traditional societies."¹³⁷ Also under the title *Social role* it is stated: "Some roles may promote or interfere with each other, or they might merge with each other. For example, it is common that the roles of parents and

¹³² Ibid., p. 82.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 82–83. This is not an adequate explanation, since this subject mostly represents the introduction to one particular religion, i.e. catechism of the Serbian Ortodox Church, so it can be said that such a formulation indirectly advocates preference of this subject.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 81. It is positive that it also mentions sexual orientation; One might say that they are negatively perceived only in the context of private life, but it is previously mentioned that "modern understanding allow individuals to express their personal traits and attitudes and to be different," Ibid., p. 80, while also that the state apparatus should not go into individual's sexual orientation.

¹³⁵ The involvement of the military in politics is only explained as such that it causes "damages like an elephant in a china shop." Ibid., p. 29.

¹³⁶ Milovan Mitrović, Sreten Petrović, *Sociologija*, 16th Edition, Zavod za udžbenike, Belgrade, 2008.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 35.

spouses merge into one, while others clash with each other and thus cause a variety of problems: a professional politician, a manager, a musician or an athlete usually neglects their role within the family for career success; employed women takes over new roles in society, and traditional system of values, which still prevail in most families, still place on her many responsibilities which she performed while she did not have to work outside the home.”¹³⁸

Family and marriage are presented and explained as the primary social community: “The family is the primary community because it is the first, most important and most intimate human group. It is the prototype of every other community, because the family establishes lasting, emotional, intimate, solidary and comprehensive ties between members... Family is created as a result of marriages between men and women, in which children are born.” “Marriage is defined as a socially recognised relationship between a man and a woman.”¹³⁹ “Modern Family: structure of authority (power and prestige) is changing and women are gradually equalised with their spouse and children with parents...” “That is why modern family is different from the traditional in their functions and structure: it reduces the social differences between the genders and generations.”¹⁴⁰ Although it shows the process of changing gender relations within marriage and the existence of also common-law marriage, explanation remains in the domain of male-female relationships. This textbook has been already criticized from the standpoint of the absence of gender-relevant content.¹⁴¹

It is positive that in the recommended and used literature, after the units that deal with the family, it includes titles and shows excerpts from the *Family as Human Community* by Zagorka Golubović; *Sociology* by Anthony Giddens; *Family in the Future* by Margaret Mead; *Sociology and Feminism* by Žarana Papić, which are the texts that in a positive way cover the theme of gender and gender relations in domestic and foreign sociology and anthropology.

In the chapter *Ethnic communities – global culturally historical groups*, terms of ethnic community, tribe, peoples and nations are explained in a neutral way.¹⁴² There are no references to recent historical events that problematize the meaning and the role of ethnicity, apart from the explanation of biological (racist) theories on ethnic communities: “This ideology was, unfortunately, three times at work in national conflicts between Yugoslavian nations during the 20th century. It was reflected in the efforts to establish ethnically “pure” states in the area where people have been mixing with each other for centuries.”¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 64.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁴¹ “Gender inequality is not seen within the context of social stratification (with classes and layers), the indicated problems of social organisation are not of reproductive type, with respect for the rights of women to decide independently on the birth, there is no reference to free and autonomous individuals as the basis of social organization, women make up less than 10% of all the celebrities that are mentioned and only 3.4% of all cited authors, subordination of women and patriarchal model explicitly appears, and the language in which the handbook was written is largely gender-stereotyped.” Dragana Stejpanović-Zaharijević, Danijela Gavrilović, Nevena Petrušić, *Obrazovanje za rodnu ravnopravnost: Analiza nastavnog materijala za osnovnu i srednju školu*, UNDP, 2010, pp. 95–104.

¹⁴² “Ethnic communities are the most universal and most important form of global social human groups in history In addition to race, which is a biological trait, ethnic groups differ in many social and cultural characteristics, among which the most important is the language.” Ibid., p. 74 “The nation is a group of a number of tribes, who after a long period of living together in the same territory, create a common state, organization and shape a common popular culture (language, religion, customs, morals, art).” Ibid. p. 75 The nations are the modern ethnic communities that arise within the modern institutions of civil society, ie. within the: sovereign nation-state; unified national market and standardized literary language as the basis of national culture.” Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 75.

In the chapter *Monotheistic religions*, etymology is explained in a neutral way, as basic characteristics and difference between Judaism¹⁴⁴, Christianity¹⁴⁵, Buddhism¹⁴⁶ and Islam.¹⁴⁷ There have been no references to the relations between different religious groups. The textbook does not contain references on the members of sexual minorities.

Materials for training of the Serbian Armed Forces' members

Part of the educational process and development of the members of the Serbian Armed Forces is conducted under the auspices of the General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces, and with the guidance of the Department for Training and Doctrine of the General Staff. It performs general military training, and military-expert training of the Serbian Armed Forces members, from soldiers to the highest officers. Only a small part of the material used in the training was made available for this research.

Materials used for training of professional soldiers in the field of international war and humanitarian law, transfers and repeats the same principles and practices in this area as they are presented to the cadets of the Military Academy. ***Methodical Handbook for International Humanitarian Law in the Serbian Armed Forces***¹⁴⁸ offers practical advice to those who may find the opportunity to apply the rules of international humanitarian law on how to apply the rules and procedures, as well as their responsibility. Content and concept of the Handbook is determined by the Department for Training and Doctrine (J-7) of the General Staff of the Serbian Armed Forces. The handbook, apart from explaining the concept, origin, development, sources of international humanitarian law as well as the relationship between this branch of the law and national legislation, reiterates the general norms of non-discrimination. In this way it states the obligation of impartial aid and prohibition of discrimination of the civilian population: "The wounded and sick must be treated humanely, without any discrimination based on sex, race, nationality, religion, political opinion or membership in the armed forces or any other prescribed criteria. Only urgent medical reasons allow priority in the provision of care and assistance."¹⁴⁹ "General protection of populations against certain consequences of armed conflict applies to the entire population of the countries in conflict, without any adverse distinction, especially with regard to race, nationality, religion or political convictions."¹⁵⁰

There is also a mention of the norms of women protection, as a particularly vulnerable group: "Women are especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, coercion into prostitution, assaults on their shyness and similar procedures."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 159 – 160.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 160 – 170.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 171 – 172.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 171 – 175.

¹⁴⁸ *Priručnik iz međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojski Srbije – Metodčki priručnik*, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 2010.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 67. It is stated in the chapter on the activities of the United Nations, p. 149.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 89 – 90.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 91. "The women will be treated with all the considerations." Ibid., p. 67.

"In mixed camps for women - Prisoners of war shall be provided with separate sleeping and sanitary facilities. Ibid., p. 54.

Implementation of the International Humanitarian Law in the Serbian Armed Forces is a handbook intended for the commanders of the Serbian Armed Forces and is an integral part of the Methodical Handbook.¹⁵² It was written with the intention to present to the commanders, according to their place in the chain of command, their responsibilities and obligations in accordance with the rules of international humanitarian law, in the form of short rules, without further explanation, which in turn can be found in the Handbook. It contains the already mentioned general principles of non-discrimination and protection of women.¹⁵³

Considering that the training material for the Serbian Armed Forces to participate in multinational operations could offer examples of good practice with regard to vulnerable groups, their needs and rights, the research team tried to include analysis and text used in this process. The analysis is however limited to the **Basic Course on Participation in Multinational Operations**.¹⁵⁴ The material consists of the Power Point presentations used during the course of lectures and examples of various UN and NATO documents for specific missions.¹⁵⁵

The basics of international humanitarian and international human rights law are presented. In the material it was emphasised that participants of the multinational missions do not only represent the UN, but also the country of origin, and that the protection of people is in the focus of each peacekeeping mission. Also it highlights the complexity of modern conflict and modern multi-dimensional operations, which places crucial importance on the respect of human rights. In many places it is emphasised that members of multinational operations must have developed a sense of acceptance (cultural and religious) of differences, both in relations with the local population, as well as with colleagues from the mission, coming from different parts of the world.¹⁵⁶ They must be sensitive to differences in national, institutional and professional culture, which means working in a multinational environment.

The material provides information on the entire set of value norms that are transmitted to the members of these operations. From the staff, among other things, it is expected to promote and protect human rights, observe and report on violations of human rights, protection of vulnerable groups from violence (especially children) and from all forms of abuse and sexual violence. A member of the peacekeeping operation must not violate human rights and international humanitarian law; UN personnel must promote and protect all human rights from the aspect of international law; personnel must be trained to recognise human rights violations and any abuse and to respond appropriately. The material includes basic instructions on what to do if a violation of human rights is noticed.

¹⁵² Miodrag Starčević, *Primena međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojski Srbije*, Priručnik za komandire, Vojnoizdavački zavod, Belgrade, 2010.

¹⁵³ „The wounded and sick must be offered any necessary medical treatment and care, without discrimination based on gender, race, nationality, religion, political opinion or membership in the armed forces or on any other similar grounds. “Ibid., p. 37. “Women are especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, coercion into prostitution, assaults on their shyness and other similar acts.” Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ It is regarding the material from the course held from the 2-12. April 2012, which, in another capacity, one of the team members of the Centre attended, and which is described in the table attached. General Staff of the SA, the Joint Operations Command, Centre for Peacekeeping Operations; Belgrade 2-12 April 2012. Other courses within the general training: Course on the law of armed conflict, Course of the unit commanding officers to participate in multinational operations, and so on; Courses in functional training: Course for staff officers in multinational operations, Course for UN military observers.

¹⁵⁵ Lecturers on the course are mostly former participants of the mission, so they explained the concepts with examples from their own experience.

¹⁵⁶ A cultural difference is dedicated to the teaching of the course.

Ethnic, religious and sexual minorities are not explicitly mentioned in the material, but it is certain that the material and course insist on the tolerant approach of the participants in the multinational operations and on their ability to accept differences of all kinds. Women are the only vulnerable group (relevant for this study), which is mentioned and to which there is a separate lecture devoted within the course (Gender issues in multinational operations). It was pointed out that the gender dimension is important in the multi-national forces: for the purpose of operational effectiveness of the mission, the need to understand the culture, customs, prejudices and religious myths that affect both women and men; since the war has a different impact on men and women, boys and girls; and to ensure that the mission will not enhance the discrimination that already existed.

One of the lectures is devoted to civil-military cooperation. It was emphasised that the relationship between the army and civil environment is essential to the success of modern operations, including that one of the personnel selection criteria for civil-military cooperation should be the candidate's awareness of cultural diversity and gender equality. There is a special attention given to the issues of child soldiers and HIV (it is highlighted that in this domain the problem remains the lack of knowledge of the participants in the mission). In a lecture on the rules of conduct in missions a large section deals with the problem of sexual exploitation.

SOCIALISATION OF (NON)DISCRIMINATION AND TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE

Findings obtained through content analysis of textbooks used in the Military High School and Military Academy were supplemented and deepened by focus groups - interviews with graduates of the Military High School, and cadets in the first and fourth year of studies at the Military Academy. Also, for the purpose of this study, consultative interviews were conducted with the management and professors of social sciences subjects and courses in the Military High School and the Military Academy that are the key for this research. Also, a roundtable discussion was held on the initial findings of the research team, with the participation of representatives of military educational institutions, and representatives of the Government's Office for Human and Minority Rights, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and the Ombudsperson.

The vast majority of students and cadets of the cadets with whom the research team spoke declared that *they have very poor knowledge or they are not familiar at all with the main anti-discrimination laws and regulations in place in the* . Despite the existence of the subject *Constitution and Civil Rights* in high schools, their knowledge of what is legally sanctioned behaviour in relation to women, members of the national and ethnic minorities and religious minorities, LGBT population, is more in the domain of intuitive perception and the logic of social relations, rather than knowledge of legal norms and principles, guaranteed by the Constitution and laws. Critical attitude towards the content of the textbooks, and the entire program of delivering the lectures in the subject *Constitution and the civil rights*, was expressed by the lecturer of this subject, primarily with regard to oversized and inadequate curriculum as well as the textbook being non-systematic, with discrimination not existing as separate teaching unit.

However, some cadets find that, depending on personal interest and approach to the matter, cadets can gain a solid knowledge of the constitutional and legal norms, and that the military officer profession is such that sooner or later during their career they need to acquire knowledge of the constitutional and legal principles and to manage them: *"The officer must respect the Constitution and laws, in private life and at work."*

The participants of the focus groups do not consider the problem of discrimination to be a topic that has been so far discussed in the military education system and they *do not recognise that this topic is of importance to the country's security system*. Cadets generally do not show pronounced interest in the general social problems. During the discussion, they have not expressed interest in the problem of discrimination in general as well as the issue of discrimination in the higher education system, which they are part of. This is mainly a consequence of the view that discrimination is not perceived as a problem in this area, and their belief that the military is a system in which there is no discrimination. Cadets as well as the students of the MHS feel that the military education system of boarding school type directly teaches tolerance and life within the group where the respect for diversity of personality is a condition of belonging to a group.

However, the students of the Military High School, with whom the research team talked to, expressed clear views on which social groups they consider vulnerable and discriminated against, regardless of which groups are most discussed in the media or in relation to which group's position practical policy measures are adopted. Primarily they consider vulnerable groups to be poor, women who suffer domestic violence, but also the disenfranchised and marginalised members of the major ethnic group to whom the measures of positive policies do not reach, which are mainly aimed towards the members of minority and ethnic groups.

Based on the discussion in four focus groups with students and cadets, and interviews with professors and teachers, it can be concluded that the discrimination of vulnerable groups and attitudes towards them are barely represented among the topics addressed during the learning process in these institutions. So most of the knowledge and their own attitudes that cadets poses is on the process of increasing the number of women attending a Military Academy, and generally their professional position in the Serbian Armed Forces. This is a consequence of their direct insights and experiences with the admission of women to education at this institution, rather than teaching contents that mostly do not address the presence of women in the armed forces.

However, the relationship towards national, ethnic and religious minorities is in domain of perception that there is no discrimination in the system of the Serbian Armed Forces and society in general. These views are the result of direct experience with minority members in the Military High School and the Military Academy. Attitudes about LGBT population are the result of created social discourse on the subject, but in the attitudes of Military High School students and cadets of the Military Academy there is no critical relation towards directly discriminatory attitudes towards LGBT population that have been presented in some textbooks.

The problem of discrimination against women in society, cadets do not perceive as a particularly pronounced and relevant, except in the case of domestic violence, as noted by the Military High School students, or as possible discrimination when acquiring employment. Attitudes toward women in the military and the process of increasing the representation of women in ministry and the Armed Forces, is such that it is believed to be a consequence of emulation of NATO model according to which the security sector reform is performed, as well as a result of accession to the European Union. The fact that according to the expressed views the increase in the representation of women in the military education comes from external factors does not necessarily mean delegitimation of the process. Students of the MHS believe that big interest of women to enrol in MA in the last few years is a result of their motivation to acquire secure employment and thus economic security, which is also the motive of their male counterparts.

During the discussions in the three focus groups at the Military Academy there was no expression of a single negative attitude towards the process of increasing the participation of women, but there has been discussions on the possible positive and negative consequences of the process. Also cadets are

in agreement that it is necessary “to determine the position of women in the Army,” i.e. “That not all occupations and divisions within the Army are for women,” while some of the duties, for example, logistics, they can perform more effectively than their male colleagues. As the main downside of increasing the representation of women in the Army, cadets (male and female) state that female cadets may intentionally misuse this process for the sake of obtaining benefits and easier tasks than their male counterparts. Cadets in turn notice occasional different treatment that female cadets have, which consists in exemption of certain physically demanding duties. This, according to the interpretation of male and female cadets with whom the research team spoke for the purpose of the research, undermines group cohesion and team spirit, which is very important for their vocation.

Understanding of the problem of possible discrimination against women in a system within which they are educated differs between male and female cadets who participated in this study. While male cadets do not recognise the problem of discrimination against women in the military education system, female cadets perceive possible forms of discrimination that occur or may occur in the system, which are the discrediting of the female cadets based on gender as incompetent or unfit for military ranks. Both male and female cadets, however, believe that women do not have identical physical features for specific tasks and positions as their male colleagues, but female cadets with expectedly more sensibility regarding the issues of gender equality in the security sector, believe that it should not be insisted on the commonality of the duties and tasks for male and female cadets.

Neither male nor female cadets considered it problematic or inadequate that textbooks refer to the reader only in the masculine form, believing that it was because the textbooks are old and were written at a time when a significant number of women were not represented in the sector. The values expressed as desirable for officers of the SA do not differ depending on whether they are attributed to the officers of male or female gender. This is regardless of the fact the military activity, military training, values on which military unit rests on and a desirable attitude of army members described in the textbook *Military Psychology* suggests that all these categories are inseparable from the principles of masculinity. In the narrative of the same textbook great attention is paid to unconditional respect for authority, whose legitimacy is not questioned, which is a clear feature of traditional authority and patriarchal vision of society. Subordination and obedience, on the other hand, were not among the primary characteristics that are desirable for future officers of the SA, according to the statements of those male and female cadets who participated in the focus groups' discussions. It was mentioned during the discussion that the subordination can be a basis for discrimination in the Armed Forces, as it means unquestionable obligation to obey orders issued by superiors.

Female cadets that participated in the discussions do not consider it problematic that superior refers to them during exercises in masculine form, nor consider it desirable for this practice to change. The researchers however did not conclude that the cadets have adopted particularly stereotypical representations of male-female relationships, as well as classifications of characteristics as supposedly male and supposedly female, that exists in the teaching materials used during the lectures.

There are two types of responses to questions about current and potential victims of discriminatory behaviour. The cadets do not perceive that there is a problem of discrimination in the current environment in the MA of any of the studied groups: women, ethnic and national minorities, religious minorities, atheists and LGBT. Such views are empirically formed in relation to women as well as national, ethnic and religious minorities whose members are already in the Serbian Armed Forces. From the previous experience the attitudes on discrimination within the military education system are not formed only in relation to the members of the LGBT population. In fact, when asked about possible discrimination and the supposed behaviour in the case of minority presence that is currently not represented at the MA, the participants in the focus groups expressed the view that members of all researched vulnerable groups, except LGBT,

would encounter non-discriminatory treatment. Regarding the treatment of LGBT population focus group participants expressed their expectation that they would not be accepted and integrated into the institution in which they are currently educated. This is not supported by previous knowledge or experience in a similar position, but rather the anticipation of possible responses of within the specific environment of the MA, and the expectation that the level of (in)tolerance of the society is reflected and multiplied within that specific institution. This expectation is also supported by the attitude of the majority of participants in focus groups that LGBT individuals could not be successful Serbian Armed Forces officers, because they do not correspond to the proposed model of the officer who is a role model and authority within a group.

Cadets who had the opportunity to comment on the claims from the *Military psychology* textbook consider that the presence of anachronistic attitudes in its content reflects the previous time when the security system worked by different mores in relation to the current system. So, for example, it is pointed out that the system was faced with various problems when the recruitment system was in place (as opposite to a fully professionalised army). They believe that the attitudes that do not meet the modern context are in response to the previous experiences of the defence system.

The impression from interviews with students of the MHS and cadets in the MA is that, when it comes to valuable relations, groups are more interested in the mutual relations in the direct military environment than the relationship between the military and civilian population. And when they express values such as “honesty, integrity, not to steal, not to lie, not to impute, to take responsibility,” from the reasoning it follows that the primary relationship that participants in the group are interested in are with their superiors in the system in which they are being educated. Thus, the “good soldier (especially the commander) is someone who knows how to work with people. *“You must be awe-inspiring, but not aggressive.” “The officer should be a humanist, and must be good with people.”*

Also, skills in human resource management, such as dealing with superiors and subordinates, the choice of an appropriate model of conduct in accordance with the personality of subordinates, etc., are high on the desirable properties of future officers. This is also confirms the concern of the members of the system with the rules of behaviour and relationships within the system. On the other hand, empathy and solidarity with the civilians, i.e. those who are outside the system and the group, are not highlighted as prioritised desirable features of the SA. When it comes to engaging with civilians in general, one of the first associations of the cadets who participated in the group is that they themselves represent the Army, and that this bounds them to a certain set of norms and behaviour, both within the military education and security system of the country and in relation to and with the civilian population: *“Everyone from the civil population looks at the officers as a mirror of the whole army.”*

Group cohesion, on which the students and cadets insisted on as a very important quality of the environment in which they are educated, can have a two-pronged effect on potential discrimination in the system. As a first consequence, according to the testimonies of those who took part in the group, there is an expectation for those members of a system which differ from the dominant groups whether on national, ethnic or religious affiliation, to adjust to the mores of the acceptable behaviour of the majority group. Thus, student of the MHS believe that diversity is possible and acceptable within the system in which they are educated as long as individuals respect the norms and attitudes of the majority group. Another consequence of strong group cohesion, as the students of the MHS understand, is that it is precisely this cohesion which eliminates possibility of discrimination against individuals, because the group would, through its own mechanisms, prevent discrimination of the individual and excommunicate those who discriminate.

Lecturers have great impact on the interpretation of the material and explaining the social context and dependency of observation of social phenomenon. This is particularly the case in areas such as

psychology, sociology, and related disciplines, as professors have the most scope for discussing social phenomena, and thus influence the value judgments of students and cadets regarding these phenomena. Most of the lecturers interviewed were dissatisfied with the existing textbooks, but did not react upon it (as they did not require textbooks to change, or offer new solutions, and texts). Some of them have during interviews stated that they use additional materials or their own scripts, but have failed to provide them later to researchers.

Based on the findings from the group work with MHS students and cadets, who were previously students of the MHS, it was noticed that teacher of Religious Education has great influence, which the majority of students of this institution attend, unlike the subject of Civic Education, which by the number of participants is particularly marginalised. Teaching in the field of Religious Education in the MHS is performed based on the agreement that was signed in 2008, between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Military Academy, which established the cooperation between the two institutions in the field of education.¹⁵⁷ Students, who participated in the working of the group, do not consider that the members of other religions as well as atheists may be discriminated against on account of the Serbian Orthodox Church influence in relation to the content and teaching of this subject, and point out that declared atheists also attend this course. It seems that the teaching of the subject Religious Education has a strong educational dimension whose content is entirely dependent on the attitudes and value judgments of the lecturer in this subject. In several interviews with lecturers as well as in the discussion at the roundtable, one could hear the belief that it is legitimate in teaching to present their own experiences and personal beliefs, even when it is not part of the curriculum, or when it implies the attitude that is not entirely consistent with applicable laws.¹⁵⁸

In the process of transferring the value desirable behaviour to students and cadets there is a greater impact of teaching staff of the MHS in relation to students than is the case with the teaching cadre of the MA in relation to cadets. This is due to the fact that the MHS is smaller boarding type facility and the fact that teachers there spend more time with students. According to official statements, the Military High School pays special attention to “the acquisition of general knowledge of fundamental importance for the studies at the Military academies, the formation and development of motivation, ethical personality, intellectual, and psycho-physical abilities needed for a vocation of the professional officer.”¹⁵⁹ Among the interviewed there were views that, for example students of the Military High School are superior to their peers in civilian high schools, and they are made aware that they are elite because they have been carefully selected. This attitude was noticeable in the discussion with the students.¹⁶⁰

Norms of the desired behaviour are not transmitted through the system of written rules, of which there are only formalised scholarship contracts with and cadets, which contain provisions for the safety of

¹⁵⁷ This agreement at the time of the research had a clear and prominent place on the website of the Academy in the context of marking the fifth anniversary of cooperation: <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/cms/view.php?id=8879>. In an interview in the Directorate of Military Academy, however, emphasized that also dignitaries of other major religious communities are invited to speak occasionally.

¹⁵⁸ For example, one interviewed lecturer stated that he talked to cadets about his personal experiences during the NATO bombing, although it is not part of the curriculum, and other personally thought that abortion (abortion is legally permitted) is actually infanticide (which is a criminal offense relation to newborns). But this is a problem of the entire educational system which does not have a firm set of supervised practice and standards of conduct in relation to the input of personal attitudes to the educational process.

¹⁵⁹ Internet <http://www.va.mod.gov.rs/cms/view.php?id=15222> (accessed on 25/08/2013).

¹⁶⁰ This attitude is reflected in the view that students of the MHS should potentially be given an advantage over others who apply for admission to the Military Academy. However, there were opposing opinions as well, that the MHS students do not differ from their peers in civilian high school.

students and cadets and standards to which they must adhere. Knowledge of the desired behaviour and set of desirable values are in turn transmitted informally and in the form of "the implied" desirable behaviour. It relates to the acceptability of the dress style and other physical characteristics, but also to the expectation of the whole second set of desirable attitudes, based on which students of the MHS, for example, believe that the member of the LGBT population would not be able to be a pupil of the institution. Attitude of the MHS students view that candidates who apply and successfully pass the selection system for entry into the MHS correspond to the value desired form, since the candidates know very well what kind of institution they applied for. In addition, they consider the current selection system exists as such to ensure candidates who do not fit the model of MHS student are disqualified. Thanks to that selection system, participants of the focus group felt that, for example, the members of the LGBT population would not be successful candidates for admission into the institution.

Regarding the transfer of norms of the desirable behaviour cadets who participated in the focus groups believe that the important role has international military cooperation, both in the form of visits of cadets from other countries in the MA and in the form of participation of members of the SA in peacekeeping missions. They also consider that the presence and visits of other armed forces in the MA is an indicator that the SA is tolerant and open to other nationalities, races and religions. Transferred experiences of those members of the SA who participated in some peacekeeping missions have shaped the understanding of male and female cadets of the necessity of cooperation and tolerance of the members of other armies.

The discussion regarding the preliminary research results, conducted at a closed roundtable attended by representatives of the Military Academy and the Military High School, lecturers of social sciences in these institutions, as well as representatives of the Government's Office for Human and Minority Rights, the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and the Ombudsperson, confirmed some of the presented findings. According to the opinions expressed by several lecturers, discrimination and vulnerable groups are not in the focus of the military academy because these issues do not occupy a significant space in the curriculum. The military is, they point out, a strong traditional institution which cannot be expected to change faster than the rest of society. The greatest divergence within the system is shown in relation to the LGBT population, which also within that society faces the greatest social distance.

Other participants had the opinion that despite the traditional military ethos, the law binds anyone in the state, and textbooks have to be adapted to the newly adopted regulations and cannot contradict them. It specifically emphasised the need to respect the rights of children in the educational process, as well as the obligation to eliminate any discriminatory treatment in textbooks and during delivery of lectures when it comes to minorities.

The fact that the military, as a hierarchical institution, successfully implements various administrative and other requirements is stated as a reason to believe that this system has great potential for comprehensive integration of anti-discriminatory norms in the military schooling. In this regard, the cooperation with the Commissioner for Protection of Equality were the Ministry of Defence acts on the non-binding recommendations of this independent institution was praised. Since it is in the process of harmonizing standards, and military education system is much smaller and thus more flexible, it is the right time to consider the place for issues of (non)discrimination in the materials used in teaching within the system.

The impression is that this study, including the participation in the discussion of mentioned representatives of key institutions that monitor discrimination problem, has promptly provided a new perspective on teaching materials in military education system for the lecturers and administrators of these institutions, and, the authors hope, it has stimulated an increase in their awareness on the need and requirement of improving textbooks and the entire discourse from the standpoint of adopted norms of non-discrimination.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of the selected textbook used at the Military High School and Military Academy, as well as discussions in four focus groups with the students and cadets, and interviews with the lecturers, it can be concluded that discrimination of the vulnerable groups and the relation towards them are barely represented among the topics covered during the teaching process in these institutions.¹⁶¹ Although a normative framework regarding the discrimination in the Republic of Serbia is formally clearly established and practically complete since 2009, coinciding with time reforms carried out in the military education, including the enrolment of woman as students in the Military Academy, this research shows that there was no appropriate adjustment of teaching materials, nor a shift in the discourse that would mark these changes.

In the analysed textbooks there are declarative statements calling for the respect of rights of marginalised groups in referring to the official conventions and compliance with legal provisions. Discrimination is however usually only mentioned as a concept without reference to concrete examples and situations that illustrate what it might mean to certain groups of citizens. There are some good examples that show positive interpretation, but none of the selected textbooks contains positive anti-discrimination examples of all of the vulnerable groups.

Discriminatory examples exist, particularly from the standpoint of the number of women in the population and accurate normative framework to overcome the discrimination towards them, and it can be said to be particularly pronounced for women. Women are in the analysed materials almost unrepresented as the content of literature in general does not address the issue of women, let alone their specific position in the army. Apart from female discrimination, there are discriminatory statements against the LGBT population in which homosexuality is referred to as “perverse satisfaction” of sexual needs, as in military psychology textbook.

The results of this study confirm and complement earlier analysis of inadequate representation of the issue of human rights in high school textbooks, as well as the use of certain formulations that represent direct discrimination.¹⁶² While the textbooks in use at the Military High School are not particularly adjusted for the students of this institution, but are the same as those used in “civil” high

¹⁶¹ Due to the inability to talk with participants and lecturers involved in trainings about already limited number of available material for basic and advanced training of professional soldiers, researchers of the Centre do not have enough elements to assess the importance, context and the extent to which the issues of (non) discrimination have during these trainings.

¹⁶² Serbian version of the publication provides a review of published analyzes of particular aspects of this problem in the textbook literature.

schools, analysed teaching materials in the field of humanities utilised by the Military Academy does not offer the contents which provide cadets with information on different groups within the civilian population and their different security needs.

An important reason for this lack of anti-discriminatory discourse is certainly outdatedness of the significant number of textbooks in the field of humanities, including editions older than 30 years that are in use at the Military Academy.¹⁶³ The apparent slowness in the preparation of appropriate new books (for courses Military History and Military Sociology), despite the ongoing process of accreditation, might be considered as an illustration of the low priority given to the social subjects in this system, and as an unwillingness to offer new contents due to general prolonged wandering in the Serbian society when it comes to the interpretation of past and contemporary social processes. This is especially so because education is inherently political and an ethical act.¹⁶⁴

At the same time, a small number of some recent textbooks that were analysed contained elements of neo-conservatism, especially regarding the treatment of women and the role of religion in general and in particular in relation to the state and the army. So teaching materials for many reasons, including conflicting ideological approaches, provides examples of the outdated and contested attitudes on a number of social phenomena, in other words attitudes that are, interpreted in a modern context, discriminatory. There is a missing reference of the most recent literature and interpretation of contemporary events and phenomena, including the position of national and ethnic minorities and religious groups, and equality of religious citizens and atheists. Mass attendance of Religious Education at the Military High School and related activities carried out in collaboration with the Serbian Orthodox Church give the impression of military education system inclining towards Orthodox religion.

An additional element behind the minimum treatment of the issue of discrimination can be the fact that the interaction of professional members of the SA and the civilian population is not dealt with during the classes that students and cadets attended during their previous education at the MHS and the MA. By gazing into their own system, students, cadets and lecturers believe that the evidence of non-discrimination is the fact that they don't recognise it. Participants in this educational process do not consider the possibility that failure to recognise may be due to their ignorance about the types of direct and indirect discrimination, and fail to see the need to promote positive examples of non-discrimination. From this failure to recognise, the negation of the presence of discrimination is derived, which represents a vicious circle within which there is a transfer of model of knowledge that is filled with stereotypes. This is particularly the case regarding the gender stereotypes that support tying of women to private sphere, the traditional role of women in society, and reproducing of the hierarchy and the concept of power that always places men on top, as decision makers.

Undeniably, this approach is present in civil textbooks. The fact that the elimination of discriminatory content in civilian textbooks has not made much headway does not mean, however, that the harmonisation of textbooks used in military education with norms related to avoiding discrimination need to wait for all these issues to be resolved in the civil sector. On the contrary – repeating outdated stereotypes that reproduce inequality in military textbooks would be an undesirable accumulation of the values, which the Ministry of Defence of the RS seeks to eliminate, with its decisions such as admission of women to the military academy and involvement in the formulation and implementation of the National Action Plan on UN Resolution 1325 in Serbia.

¹⁶³ Certainly, it should be noted that the one-sidedness in the selection of facts and ideological interpretation, Marxist discourse includes an emphasis on gender and ethnic equality, while it holds a discriminatory treatment towards religious once.

¹⁶⁴ For more detail see, for example: Michael Apple, *Ideologija i kurikulum*, Fabrika knjiga, Belgrade, 2012.

Students of the MHS and cadets of the MA, do not consider the issue of discrimination a topic that is discussed in the military education system and do not recognise that this topic is of importance in the security system of the country, nor do they notice it in their environment. General attitude expressed during the focus groups was that the social discourse on discrimination, as well as its presence in the media and public debate, does not correspond to the actual extent of the problem, and that the discourse of discrimination against a particular group, usually minority, can be abused in order to achieve (some) benefits. Although both the MHS and the MA have a forum within which it can, in the formal and informal way, discuss social issues, discrimination or the associated social events that have not yet been the subject of such discussions. The exception is the "Pride parade" on which occasion the students and cadets received instruction for their own security reasons. The causes of negative attitudes toward LGBT population can be found in the general public's created social discourse of intolerance towards members of the LGBT population, but also in the teaching material used in the MA where there are examples of extremely negative characterization of the origin and characteristics of alternative sexual choices.

Cadets expressed criticism in relation to the content of the teaching material, but generally do not consider desirable any more courses and classes on humanities. Primarily, they want to be offered more technical military and highly specific content, with a few exceptions that consider necessary to enrich the teachings in the field of rhetoric, so that future officers have a foothold in the broader and better education to able to express themselves in an eloquent way.

Although the limited scope of this study does not allow for greater generalisation, and civil-military relations have not been the focus of the Centre's team, it is important to note that the material that was analysed does not have a rounded view of democratic and civilian control of the armed forces, and wider elaboration of civil-military relations.¹⁶⁵ This is especially important since completion of the transition from conscription to a professional system.

Besides mirroring of important problems in the education system of the Republic of Serbia, the military education system includes specifics such as different criteria for achieving employment and pension basis for lecturers - military personnel and civilians, the absence of a Parents Council in the Military High School, it practices textbook procurement from the "state" publishers only, and many other aspects. This is a very complex issue that requires further research, and rapid changes in the practice, to be achieved in cooperation of multiple actors. To this end, the research team presents certain recommendations.

¹⁶⁵ In chrestomathy *Military ethics*, there are parts of a well known text by Samuel Huntington, "The Soldier and the State", which is of great importance to civil-military relations, but it is written more than half a century ago and written in a different context. Also the obligations towards civilians during the war are shown in the handbooks of international humanitarian law.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The research indicates that government and nongovernmental actors, which are responsible and/or have expertise in issues regarding the respect of human rights, should continually, systematically, thoroughly, clearly and directly inform all the participants in the educational process, including also military educational institutions, on their responsibilities in respecting (non)discrimination in the educational contents. It is desirable that media gets involved in the process of informing.

It is also necessary to intensify the efforts of the institutions responsible for implementation of laws, strategies and action plans regarding (non)discrimination, as well as nongovernmental actors with the capacity to oversee their implementation, indicating the failings and opportunities to integrate non-discriminatory content into the educational system of military education. This especially relates to implementation of the National Strategy for Improving the Position of the Women and Advancing Gender Equality 2009-2015 (specifically in the part regarding education), National Action Plan for Implementation of UN Resolution 1325, and newly adapted Strategy for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination.

It would be extremely useful for institutions of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, Ombudsperson, Government's Office for Human and Minority Rights, in cooperation with Ministry of Education, Ministry of Defence and expert nongovernmental organisations, to prepare directions for the authors of textbooks, reviewers and publishers, including corresponding institutions in the system of defence, which would ensure that the new manuscripts of the textbooks and other teaching material, respect the principles of non-discrimination according to existing laws and, where it is appropriate, directly talk about discrimination, through presenting examples.

Findings indicate that it would be necessary that, in accordance with already existing regulations on quality, new editions of textbooks in use omit explicitly discriminatory formulations, and for all the revised editions of teaching materials, from the area of social and humanistic sciences, to take into account the need to include content related to non-discriminatory treatment of women, national and ethnic minorities, members of different religious communities and atheists, LGBT population and other minority groups. New editions should use gender neutral and desirably gender sensitive language instead of gender stereotyping language.

It is necessary to carry out the training of the teaching personnel, including those of the military education system, that is geared towards informing and sensitising them regarding the issues of human rights, (non)discrimination and vulnerable groups, to avoid the influence of personal views in the teaching process which could be contrary to existing laws in this area. It is desirable for the commanders of the classes in the Military High School and the Military Academy to be involved, in other words everybody directly involved with students and cadets in boarding schools.

Given the age of certain editions, it is necessary to make an action plan for the development of new textbooks at the Military Academy for the courses that still use the textbooks from the time of SFRY and FRY. To speed up the process, incentives should be established for lecturers that prepare

new manuscripts. Also, it would be useful for authors and reviewers from defence system and civilians to cooperate in preparing the new textbooks for social and humanistic sciences at the .

Authors recommend the inclusion of certain material used in training of participants in multinational operations, into the social courses textbooks of the Military Academy, specifically the parts that considers the following: gender dimension; problems of vulnerable groups; recognition of human rights violation and abuse and what constitutes an adequate response to it; development of awareness regarding the acceptance of difference both in contact with population (civil-military relations), and with colleagues that can have different ethnic, religious, or any other identity. Also, there should be consideration to include in the teaching material the translations of relevant recent studies from the area of history, sociology, psychology and ethics, which have been written in accordance with the principles of non-discrimination.

There should be a clear distinction between totally free personal decisions of individuals regarding the choice between attending Religious and Civic Education, and the entire teaching and educational process. Considering legal separation of church from the state, it should be avoided for the system to be lead by the large numbers logic (of students of the Orthodox religion that attend Religious Education) and to imply a special link between the military profession and religion. This is particularly important also in the context of the process of the introduction of military priests, which is in its early phase.

To overcome very limited knowledge of the issues of discrimination, it is desirable to include the issues of (non)discrimination into the thematic programmes of the boarding schools and similar extracurricular activities of the students of the Military High School and cadets of the Military Academy.

In order to overview possible changes, it is necessary to carry out new research at the end of 2015.

ANNEX: ANALYSED TEXTBOOKS, HANDBOOKS AND TRAINING MATERIALS

	Military Academy
1.	International War and Humanitarian Law (Međunarodno ratno humanitarno pravo)
	<p>Author: Zoran Vucinic, PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 2001 Reviewer: Gavro Perazic, Professor PhD Executive Editor: Mirko Bojanic Technical Editor: Slavica Djerić-Magazinovic Number of pages: 517 Course: International Humanitarian Law (compulsory for the first academic year of all study programs) Most of the cited sources were published before 1990. While there are female authors among cited authors, the presence of male authors is significantly larger.</p>
2.	Handbook on International Humanitarian Law in Serbian Armed Forces (Priručnik iz međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojski Srbije)
	<p>Author: Miodrag Starcevic, Professor PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: "Odbrana", 2010 Executive Editor: Dragana Markovic Technical Editors: Goran Janjic, Slavica Djerić-Magazinovic Number of pages: 196 Course: International Humanitarian Law (compulsory for the first academic year of all study programs) Most of the cited sources were published after 2000.</p>
3.	Human Resources Management (Menadžment ljudskih resursa)
	<p>Editors: Ranko Lojic, PhD, Zivko Kulic, PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 2009 Reviewer: Mladen Vuruna, PhD Technical Editors: Goran Janjic, Slavica Djerić-Magazinovic Number of pages: 401 Course: Human Resources Management (compulsory for the second academic year of the study program Management in Defence) While most of the cited sources were published before 2000, mainly between 1990 and 2000, a significant number of sources was published after 2000. Due to the fact that bibliography includes only full surnames of the authors, it is hard to say if there are any female authors.</p>

Military Academy	
4.	<p>Human Resources Management in Defence System (Upravljanje ljudskim resursima u sistemu odbrane)</p> <p>Author: Ranko Lojic Publisher, place and year of publishing: "Obrana", , 2011 Reviewers: Vladimir Grujic, Associate Professor PhD, Sladjan Djordjevic, Brigadier General Executive Editor: Dragana Markovic Editor: Snezana Djokic Number of pages: 485 Course: Human Resources Management (compulsory for the second academic year of the study program Management in Defence) The sources published before and after 2000 are equally represented among the cited sources. Due to the fact that bibliography includes only full surnames of the authors, it is hard to say if there are any female authors.</p>
5.	<p>Sociology for the Military Academies (Sociologija za vojne akademije)</p> <p>Executive Editor: Colonel Mihajlo Petrovic Authors: Dimitrije Bauca, MSc, Ejub Kucuk, PhD, Vladimir Gospic, MSc, Milivoj Oreb, MSc, Miladin Ilic, MSc, Marko Mladenovic, PhD, Gvero, MSc, Niko Pezelj, MSc, Mensur Ibrahimasic, PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 1981 Reviewers: Dragomir Draskovic, Professor PhD, Milivoj Oreb, MSc Executive Redactor: Mensur Ibrahimasic, Professor PhD Editor: Mihajlo Petrovic Editors: Milisav Djordjevic, Vidan Vujovic Number of pages: 409 Course: Sociology (compulsory for the first academic year of the study programs Military Mechanical Engineering, Military Electronic Engineering and Military Chemical Engineering, as well as for the second academic year of the study programs Management in Defence and Defence Logistics)</p>
6.	<p>General Sociology (Opšta sociologija)</p> <p>Author: Danilo Z. Markovic, PhD, Professor at the Publisher, place and year of publishing: Contemporary Administration, , 1994 Executive Editor: Vojislav Busarcevic Editor: Miodrag Vracarevic Redactor: Ljeposava Stankovic Number of pages: 550 Course: Sociology (compulsory for the first academic year of the study programs Military Mechanical Engineering, Military Electronic Engineering and Military Chemical Engineering, as well as for the second academic year of study programs Management in Defence and Defence Logistics) Most of the cited sources were published before 1990.</p>

Military Academy	
7.	Military Andragogy (Vojna andragogija)
	<p>Authors: Radosav R. Andjelkovic, PhD, Dragoljub Damnjanovic, PhD, Predrag Damnjanovic, MSc, Zdravko Kolar, PhD, Momcilo Lazovic, PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Schools' Center, , Yugoslav Armed Forces, , 1997. Redactors: Dragoljub Damnjanovic, Ljubomir Kasagic Executive Editors: Mirko Radojevic, Slavisa Savic Number of pages: 288 Course: Military Andragogy (compulsory for the second academic year of the study program Management in Defence)</p>
8.	Military Andragogy Practicum (Praktikum vojne andragogije)
	<p>Authors: Predrag Damnjanovic, PhD, Radosav R. Andjelkovic, PhD, Dragoljub Damnjanovic, PhD, Nedeljko Djenic, Momcilo Lazovic, PhD, Veljko Lucic, MSc, Miroslav Milovanovic, MSc, Budislav Susa, MSc, Lazar Rilak, Vlastimir Stojanovic, Stevan Segrt, MSc Publisher, place and year of publishing: , Yugoslav Armed Forces, , 1998 Redactor: Predrag Damnjanovic, Professor PhD Executive Editors: Mirko Radojevic, Slavisa Savic Number of pages: 214 Course: Military Andragogy (compulsory for the second academic year of the study program Management in Defence) Most of the cited sources were published before 1990. Due to the fact that bibliography includes only full surnames of the authors, it is hard to say if there are any female authors.</p>
9.	Military Ethics, Chrestomathy (Vojna etika, hrestomatija)
	<p>Editor: Borislav D. Grozdic, PhD, Colonel Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 2009 Reviewer: Ilija Kajtez, Assistant Professor PhD, Colonel Technical Editors: Slavica Djeric-Magazinovic, Goran Janjic Number of Pages: 418 Course: Military Ethics (elective for the first academic year of the study programs Management in Defence and Defence Logistics) The sources published before and after 2000 are equally represented among the cited sources, as well as domestic and foreign authors. Among the cited foreign authors, there are representatives of the Eastern and Western thought. Additionally, female authors are significantly underrepresented.</p>

Military Academy	
10.	<p>Military History – Textbook for the Military Academies (Vojna istorija – udžbenik za vojne akademije)</p> <p>Authors: Gojko Miljanic, PhD, Mladenko Colic, MSc, Vojislav Subotic, MSc, Predrag Pavlovic, Obrad Bjelica, Mirko Medic Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 1980 Reviewers: Savo Skoko, PhD, Viktor Kucan, Nikola Anic Redactor: Sekula Joksimovic Executive Editor: Mihajlo Petrovic Editor: Ivan Flegar Number of pages: 576 Course: Military History (compulsory for the first academic year of the study programs Management in Defence and Defence Logistics; elective for the second academic year of the study programs Military Mechanical Engineering, Military Electronic Engineering and Military Chemical Engineering)</p>
11.	<p>Military Psychology – Textbook (Vojna psihologija – udžbenik)</p> <p>Authors: Desmir Pajevic, Professor PhD, Ljubomir Kasagic, Professor PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: , Yugoslav Armed Forces, , 2001 Editors: Mirko Radojevic, Slavisa Savic Reviewer: Pero Sipka, Professor PhD Number of Pages: 455 Course: Military Psychology (compulsory for the second academic year of the study programs Management in Defence, Military Chemical Engineering, Military Aviation and Defence Logistics, as well as for the third academic year of the study program Military Electronic Engineering) Most of the cited sources were published before 1990. Due to the fact that bibliography includes only full surnames of the authors, it is hard to say if there are any female authors.</p>
12.	<p>Military Psychology Practicum (Praktikum vojne psihologije)</p> <p>Authors: Ljubomir Kasagic, Professor PhD, Desimir Pajevic, Professor PhD, Nada Danic, Psychologist, Radoslav Jovic, Psychologist Publisher, place and year of publishing: , , 2003 Reviewers: Predrag Damjanovic, Professor PhD, Radojko Milovanovic, Professor PhD Editors: Mirko Radojevic, Slavisa Savic Number of Pages: 219 Course: Military Psychology (compulsory for the second academic year of study programs Management in Defence, Military Chemical Engineering, Military Aviation and Defence Logistics, as well as for the third academic year of the study program Military Electronic Engineering) Most of the cited sources were published before 1990. Due to the fact that bibliography includes only full surnames of the authors, it is hard to say if there are any female authors.</p>

Military High School	
1.	Psychology (Psihologija)
	<p>Authors: Nikola Rot, PhD, Slavoljub Radonjic, PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Institute for Textbooks, , 1992 Reviewers: Nenad Havelka, PhD, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy (University of Belgrade), Ljiljana Milovanovic, MA, Educational Advisor, Draginja Lazarevic, Professor at the Fifth Belgrade High School Editor: Mirjana Isic Executive Editor: Milorad Marjanovic Number of Pages: 299</p>
2.	Sociology (Sociologija)
	<p>Authors: Milovan Mitrovic, Sreten Petrovic Publisher, place and year of publishing: Institute for Textbooks, , 2008 Reviewers: Milan Tripkovic, PhD, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy (University of Novi Sad), Nedeljko Kuljic, Professor at the "Koca Kolarov" High School in Zrenjanin, Milica Vukovic, Professor at the Ninth Belgrade High School Editors: Anka Jaksic, Dimitrije Dimitrijevic Executive Editor: Nebojsa Jovanovic Number of pages: 216 Most of the cited sources were published before 2000. While there are female authors among cited authors, the presence of male authors is significantly larger.</p>
3.	Constitution and Civil Rights (Ustav i prava građana)
	<p>Author: Slavko Tadic Publisher, place and year of publishing: Institute for Textbooks, , 2008 Reviewers: Miodrag Jovanovic, PhD, Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law (University of Belgrade), Dragica Klipa, Professor at the Legal and Business School "Belgrade" in Belgrade, Milica Vukovic, Professor at the Ninth Belgrade High School Editor: Dimitrije Dimitrijevic Executive Editor: Tatjana Kostic Number of pages: 125 While most of the cited sources were published before 2000, a significant number of sources was published after 2000. There are female authors, but the presence of male authors is significantly larger.</p>

Training for Professional Soldiers	
1.	Implementation of the International Humanitarian Law in the Serbian Armed Forces – Handbook for Commanders (Primena međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojsci Srbije – priručnik za komandire)
	Authors: Miodrag Starcevic, Professor PhD Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 2010 Editors: Goran Janjic, Slavica Djeric-Magazinovic Number of Pages: 80
2.	International Humanitarian Law in the Serbian Armed Forces – Methodical Handbook (Priručnik iz međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u Vojsci Srbije – metodički priručnik)
	Publisher, place and year of publishing: Military Publishing House, , 2010 Editors: Goran Janjic, Slavica Djeric-Magazinovic Number of pages: 196
Training for the Future Participants in Multinational Operations	
1.	“A Basic Course on Participation in Multinational Operations”
	Organizer: The Serbian Armed Forces’ Time and Place: April 2nd – 12th 2012, This is the initial and most general course for the future participants in multinational operations. Likewise, participation is allowed not just for the defence system members, but for representatives from Ministry of Interior and students of civil faculties, as well. Training material consists of the Power Point presentations used during lectures at the Course and examples of the UN and NATO documents for specific operations.