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# Women in the Police: Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina

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## Women in the Police: Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina

### Abstract

We analyzed the status of women in the police organization through the gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity in order to show as clearly as possible what prevents women from integrating into this profession in the same way as men. The police maintain hegemonic masculinity through the use of authority, the glorification of the use of force, and the subordination of women. The gender division of jobs in the police profession is carried out in such a way that women are assigned jobs that are typically female (administration, administrative jobs, juvenile delinquency jobs, counter jobs, etc.). The authors used the method of selecting available literature and databases on women in the police in three countries: Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The data in this text refer to Serbia and two neighboring countries: Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The police of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro have very similar data on the proportion of women in their services, and on average they are less than a quarter. There is an internal informal division into "female" and "male" jobs. "Women's jobs" include legal, financial, analytical jobs, then jobs related to human resources management, communication, as well as logistics support jobs, since the majority of women are in the financial sector, the human resources sector and joint jobs, administrative jobs, etc. Women are still most represented in the lowest police ranks. Other barriers include gender discrimination and harassment, male-dominated selection boards (when it comes to hiring and promotion), and working conditions that are unfavorable to family and parental responsibilities.

*Keywords:* gender division of labor, hegemonic masculinity, women, police, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro

### Introduction

In the field of distribution of power, in this case public power realized through the authorization to use force, the police represent a field in which women have extremely limited access, inclusion and advancement, i.e. occupying a position of power.

We observed the police organization through two theoretical concepts: gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity, in order to show the obstacles that prevent women from integrating into this profession in the same way as men. Gender division of labor is a concept that explains how the sphere of work is formally and informally divided into professions and parts of professions that belong to women and men. The labor market is conditioned by strong mechanisms that classify certain professions as male or female dominant, based on the number of women or men in them. Thus, there are dominantly masculine professions such as the police and the army, where access and advancement are difficult for women. At the moment when a woman approaches a male-dominated profession, forces that are a combination of the gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity begin to act (Tomić & Mićović, 2016).

The police organization as a place of hegemonic masculinity is proven by the division of labor that shifts women in the police to "women's issues", on the one hand, and on the other hand the official organizational policy that values competitiveness, aggressiveness, persistence and emotional detachment, which is reserved for men. Female police officers may simply be "police officers", upholding the

expectations associated with the prescribed behavior of a police officer. This pattern is evident in the description of female police officers and implies that women are expected to behave in socially prescribed ways i.e. compassionate, to talk more easily, and to be comforting to victims of crime. This practice is a means of reproducing cultural patterns and reaffirming stereotypes, justifying gender divisions in the police and leaving strong hegemonic masculinity (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

We have singled out some recent research on gender equality in the police from our areas, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, in order to show that these theoretical concepts are grounded in practice in police organizations.

## **Methodology**

The authors used the method of selecting available literature and databases on women in the police in three countries: Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The theoretical framework of our data analysis from available literature and databases included theoretical concepts of the status of women in the police organization through the gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity in order to show as clearly as possible what prevents women from integrating into this profession in the same way as men. The police maintain hegemonic masculinity through the use of authority, the glorification of the use of force, and the subordination of women. The gender division of jobs in the police profession is carried out in such a way that women are assigned jobs that are typically female (administration, administrative jobs, juvenile delinquency jobs, counter jobs, etc.).

The national and regional context of our work includes data from Serbia and two neighboring countries: Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **Gender division of labor**

Almost all societies know a gendered division of labor (Abbott, Wallace, Tyler, 2005) through jobs that are seen as typically female jobs and those that are typically male. Historically, this division has changed, so some jobs have become less gender-recognizable in different societies. Ann Oakley (Ann Oakley, according to Acker, 2009) defined the gender division of labor as a social construct and not something that is conditioned by biological differences between women and men.

And observations on the state of gender inequality in professions in Serbia (Kolin, 2009; Tomić, Spasić, 2010; Tomić, 2019; Blagojević, 2012, etc.), indicate that the position of women in key aspects such as promotion and salary, less favorable than men. Some of the most important problems faced by employed women are obstacles in advancing to management positions in companies, lower pay for the same or jobs of equal value, as well as a lower representation of women who are only employed or engaged in entrepreneurship, compared to men (Babović, 2010).

Feminist discourse advocates recognizing women's work in the household as an important part of maintaining and caring for the family, and equates it with paid work in the public sphere. Women's work in the household has created a certain solidarity among women, and they perceive it as voluntary work based on giving love. Marxist theoreticians (see: Abbot et al., 2005) believe that men appropriate women's work in the household as something that belongs to them on the basis that it is work in the private sphere and that it is connected with feelings, so it does not have to be paid as work in the public sphere, whereby they also allow a woman to work in a paid job on the labor market. To this approach can be added the fact

that not only men benefit from women's work in the household, but also other actors (children, the elderly, the sick, etc.), and thus society as a whole.

According to Blagojević (2012), feminist theorists also pointed to the division of professions horizontally and vertically. The horizontal division is reflected in the fact that women enter a small number of certain professions on the labor market, while the vertical division is reflected in their small number within the professions themselves in places that are paid more and have a higher social status. Feminists have also noticed that the role of a woman in the household, where she performs unpaid work, is crucial for her position on the labor market. It is considered that this work is necessary to maintain the well-being of household members and achieve psychological, emotional and physical benefits for the spouse, children and the elderly, and Marxists add that women with their unpaid work in the household are necessary for the reproduction of the labor force in capitalism (Abbott et al., 2005, p.285).

In order to explain the position of women in the labor market, many theorists offer the concept of how combined capitalism and patriarchy functionally maintain the situation of exploitation and subjugation of women. Silvia Walbi (according to: Tomić, 2019) says that it is in the interest of the patriarchy for a woman to remain in the private sphere subordinate to a man in order to provide him with all services, including sexual ones, and that, on the other hand, it is in the interest of capitalism for a woman to enter the paid labor market as would work in lower-paid jobs and jobs that do not have a high level of social influence, i.e. to do typically female jobs and thus contribute materially to the household.

Gender-based institutions are based on hierarchy, segregation and sometimes exclusion based on gender (Acker, 2009.; Tomić et al., 2023) Efforts to keep women out of typically male professions are supported by social norms that support gender distinction, and all result in women's infrequent engagement and failure or difficulty surviving in male professions, with the explanation that this is due to their incompetence (Garcia, 2003).

The gender division of labor in the police profession is carried out by assigning women jobs in administration, administrative jobs, juvenile delinquency jobs, counter jobs, etc., which as a rule follow the wider social division of labor and are typically women's jobs. In this way, we observe that the division of labor in the police organization follows the division of labor in the labor market (Garcia, 2003). This phenomenon indicates a stubborn process of job segregation in the police organization, which is under the influence of social gender inequalities in the labor market and under the influence of the internal structure of the police organization, which is predominantly male. Based on the division of labor in the police, in which women are assigned a subordinate position, it follows that they have less power, are in lower positions in the hierarchical structure, and have less control over the work they do (Tomić, 2019).

### **Hegemonic masculinity**

The privileged position of ideal-typical male behavior is occupied by "hegemonic masculinity". Hegemonic masculinity varies from country to country and between different historical periods, however, as such, it strongly influences the process of gender self-understanding and the role they play in social organizations (Frehill, 2004). Hegemonic masculinity is not normality in the statistical sense, because only a minority of men practice it. It is reflected in the fact that men regard him as the essentially true being of masculinity, and demands that all other men position themselves in relation to him. It ideologically legitimizes the global subordination of women to men. The concept of hegemonic masculinity refers to

subordinate men and women, whereby hegemony does not imply violence, although it may be supported by force; it meant dominance achieved through culture, institutions and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

In contemporary Western culture, the ideal of a dominant man is a man who is independent, not afraid of risks, aggressive, heterosexual and rational (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The ways in which men respond to the demands of femininity to be accepted on an equal footing with masculinity are reproduced in the culture of modern societies very persistently to the detriment of women (Jewkes et al., 2015).

In the masculinity profession, there is an understanding that a woman's success is marked by the loss of her feminine qualities, because for promotion and advancement in typically male professions, it is necessary to possess a certain amount of aggressiveness, coldness and dominance (Jewkes et al., 2015). It goes without saying that a man who is successful and dedicated to his profession is exactly that because he has enough time and ability for it, he, as a man, is characterized as someone who is in charge of "outside" life, the public sphere, while a woman is responsible for integration, support and "private". When a woman is at work outside the family sphere, such stereotypes are very important in understanding why she is perceived as someone who, in fact, does not belong there in a masculinity atmosphere at work (Tomić & Spasić, 2010).

Police culture determines the behavior of police officers on and off the job. It represents a certain system of values, attitudes and beliefs that police officers adopt in relation to their work, leadership, certain categories of citizens, courts, law and various phenomena in society that affect their work. They characterize the police culture social isolation, job risks, specific powers and responsibilities, the necessity of mutual solidarity in joint actions, frequent contacts with antisocial behavior and certain types of people, the internal system of training and professional knowledge acquired in practice, the nature of information used in work and the like (Milosavljević, 2004).

Formal obstacles to the admission of women into police services are defined through selection standards, that is, through requirements regarding height, weight and physical abilities for male and female candidates, based on the stereotype of physical strength as one of the key prerequisites for police work (Balkin, 1988). Similar things happen during police training and trial work, during which, by constantly reminding that the police is a male profession, future female police officers are constantly intimidated (Tomić, 2019).

Many men in the police force still maintain a very negative attitude towards female police officers, considering them to be physically less capable, not aggressive enough, too emotional, mentally weak, too naïve, and finally, unable to gain the trust of citizens (Brant, 2008; Brown, 2007).). Due to the persistence of a paternalistic and protective attitude towards women, they are assigned administrative jobs in the police, in which admission requires the fulfillment of high standards (clean record and personal biography, excellent health, high psychological and intellectual grades, etc.), which are lower paid (analytical jobs, jobs in which field operative work is not performed, jobs related to the suppression of juvenile delinquency, or jobs of prison guards) (Tomić, 2019).

## Results

The police of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro have very similar data on the proportion of women in their services, and on average they are less than a quarter. There is an internal

informal division into "female" and "male" jobs. "Women's jobs" include legal, financial, analytical jobs, then jobs related to human resources management, communication, as well as logistics support jobs, since the majority of women are in the financial sector, the human resources sector and joint jobs, administrative jobs, etc.

The police maintain hegemonic masculinity through the use of male authority, heterosexism, the ability to show force, and the subjugation of women. This practice has a profound effect on the work of male and female police officers. Studies indicate that the police subculture is hypermasculine, reproducing traditional gender roles and stereotypes in order to maintain male dominance, leaving women at a distinct disadvantage (Bikos, 2016).

In Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the past two and a half decades, women have been given the opportunity to be employed in the police to a much greater extent than before. In addition, in the last few years, legal and institutional measures on gender equality and protection against discrimination have been established in these countries. Despite significant reforms, women in the police are still much less represented in operational jobs, as well as in higher management positions (Bikos, 2016).

The challenges they face in a traditionally male professional environment are numerous and include restrictions related to employment, training and professional advancement. They face difficulties in balancing their professional and private lives, as well as expressing offensive and hostile attitudes about women through verbal and non-verbal communication.

Although the data for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro are of a different character and uneven, they are nevertheless comparable and rich in content. The data refer to the composition of the police by gender in the most important aspects such as the share of women in the police, the share of women in leadership positions, the share of women in police administrations and services (statistics). The data collected through the interviews are not uniform thematically, but they provide interesting and key data for this text.

Current data for Serbia is not available because the Ministry of Internal Affairs treats it as an official secret, however there is data from earlier research that we have used to present in this text. Available data on the representation of women in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, according to the Ministry's report from November 2012, show that the percentage of women in relation to the total number of employees in the Ministry of Internal Affairs is continuously growing (2000 – 15.2%; 2005 – 19.1%, 2010 – 21.7%, 2012 – 21.8%). In 2010, 7.76% of employed women from the total number of employees in this status had the status of uniformed authorized official (UOSL), and 21.5% of women had the status of authorized official (OSL) in the operational composition of the total number of employees in this status. Of the total number of employees with OSL and UOSL status, 11.6% are women. In the uniformed composition of the police (UOSL), women mostly perform border police duties (18%), security duties (11%), followed by general jurisdiction police (8.3%), traffic safety (5.5%) and the smallest percentage work in the gendarmerie (2%). In the operational staff (OSL), there are the most women in jobs related to emergency situations (25%) and in crime prevention jobs (19%). Contrary to the increase in the representation of women in the overall composition, the number of women in leadership positions in the ministry decreased from 11.4% in 2010 to 9.9% in 2012. Despite this negative trend, the number of women at higher management levels has increased, e.g. heads of administration - now they make up 23.1%,

heads of departments 25.5%. The number of women in senior management positions at the operational level is still small. Of the 27 police administrations, only one is headed by a woman, then 2 women are commanders of police stations and one is the deputy commander of a police station, while 6 women are commanders of police departments. Women are not represented among the heads of administrations, departments of the criminal police and police of general jurisdiction (Bjeloš et al., 2012).

Data from 2016, based on the Report for the Police Administration for the City of Belgrade, show that the situation remained similar (Tomić, 2019). In relation to the police status, women were represented by 85%, compared to men, in the OD status (on specific duties), which by definition is lower than the OSL and UOSL status, with an even lower PD status (special duties) of 61 % and there were 77% of women without status. In terms of percentage, women were the most represented in the Administration for Administrative Affairs, 89%, and the least in the Police Brigade, 5%. Of the total number of employees in PU for the city of Belgrade, women represented 25%. This percentage is lower than the recommendations of European countries, which should reduce gender inequality in the security services of Serbia, and according to which it is necessary for women to be represented by 30% in the security services. The participation of women in jobs of a police nature was extremely low: the fewest women were employed in general police jobs, 11%, and in criminal police jobs, 26%, which are actually typically police jobs, i.e. supporting jobs that give the police profession the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity. The jobs of the general jurisdiction of the police are the jobs of the uniformed police and are highly ranked in the police ranks. The small number of women in these jobs indicates that women still lack legitimacy in the police profession. The jobs of the general jurisdiction of the police, as well as the jobs of the criminal police, are central police jobs that carry status (formal and informal), influence, and in some way represent the police service. There are very few women in these jobs, ie. less than two thirds compared to men. Men are still dominant as a group in these workplaces. This can be explained by the fact that these jobs are typical police jobs for which men are traditionally considered suitable and women less suitable, i.e. less competent. The highest percentage of women, as much as 88% with a university degree, are assigned to jobs with the status of OD (certain duties), which is also the lowest status in police jobs. This points to a direct systemic inability of women to advance to higher management positions (Tomić, 2019).

Women and men from the MUP agree that there is still an internal informal division into "women's" and "men's" jobs. "Women's jobs" include legal, financial, analytical jobs, then jobs related to human resources management, communication, as well as logistics support jobs, since there are the most women in the Finance, Human Resources and Joint Affairs Sector, the Administration for Administrative Affairs, the Secretariat ministries, Bureau for cooperation with the media. The largest number of women are employed in the Directorate for Human Resources and the Directorate for Administrative Affairs, which are essentially administrative departments. Even when a woman is an operative and there are a lot of bureaucratic and administrative tasks in her job, they are always, according to women, assigned to them. Also, men believe that women are good negotiators due to their communication skills and good at working with children, women victims of violence, communicating with citizens and that it is necessary to increase their representation in these jobs. All those jobs that require a high level of physical and mental endurance and the application of coercive means are perceived as "men's jobs", such as work in special units, work in the criminal, traffic police, general jurisdiction police, etc. Women are employed in those organizational

positions, but in jobs that involve help or support. For example, in special units, women work in analytics and logistics. There are very few women in the Traffic Police.

It should be noted that, in addition to the official number, there is also a dark number of women and men with higher and higher professional qualifications who do not work in positions with the prescribed professional qualification, but in lower positions. The obvious marginalization of highly educated women in the Administration for the City of Belgrade is the result of mechanisms of a systemic nature. The displacement of highly educated women in the Administration's administration, assigned to jobs that are logistical and auxiliary, and the apparent lack of female personnel in central police jobs, such as the uniformed and highly trained criminal police, is a clear indicator of the gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity (Tomić, 2019).

Women believe that the admission of women and men to the service is done without proper selection. From the perspective of the majority of women, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, when admitting women to the police in the first years after 2000, paid more attention to quantity, that is, to admit as many women as possible, and less on the quality of candidates - their motivation for work, ability to perform police work, etc. (Bjeloš et al., 2012).

For the police of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are the following data, collected in 2021 (Plevljak & Kržalić, 2021): In 16 police agencies, as many as there are in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), almost 20% of the total number of employees were women. However, the situation was significantly less favorable, if we consider the participation of women in the status of police officers. Out of the total number of police officers, in 16 police agencies, only about 8% were women. Most of them were in the ranks of policewomen and senior or senior policewomen, that is, in the lowest police ranks. There were none in the ranks of general and chief inspector general, ranks that denote deputy managers or managers in police agencies.

The status of police officer is held by 7.2% of women out of the total number of police officers. So, 85% of women are, to put it simply, in administration, while 15% of them are in police officer status. Looking at the level of all 16 police agencies, the majority of women (66%) are employed in administration and this shows that serious efforts are needed to increase the representation of women in the status of police officers.

The findings of a similar study from 2020, which was carried out as part of the "Police and respect for human rights in BiH" project (Ždralović et al., 2020), show that the situation has remained almost unchanged in terms of the representation of women in the police ranks. There was an increase in the total number of employees in 16 police agencies by almost 3%. The representation of women remained almost identical at 20%. Difficulties in the professional advancement of female police officers are also reflected in their representation in managerial police positions. According to available data, 10 out of 15 police agencies had female police officers in management positions. Of the total number of police officers in all management positions in 10 police agencies, 7% were women. In addition, women are still the most represented in the lowest police ranks. In ten cantonal ministries of interior affairs, 45% of female police officers held the lowest police rank of policewoman. Again, they were not in the ranks of general and chief inspector general of the police. For example, if the MUP of the RS is excluded, in the remaining 15 police agencies, 62% of female police officers are in the two lowest police ranks - the rank of policewoman (45%) and the rank of senior policewoman (17%). The third police rank, in which female police officers are the most represented in these 15 police agencies, is the rank of junior inspector (16%). Interestingly, the ranks

of policeman/junior policeman and junior inspector are the initial police ranks that are applied to the police agency, that is, the only ranks for which public competitions are announced for the recruitment of new police officers. In these 15 police agencies, it is noticeable that the representation of female police officers drops drastically in the category of higher police ranks.

Although some research findings suggest that the police sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina could be said to be in the middle of the road to achieving gender equality, a deeper analysis shows that it is still necessary to make serious efforts to achieve those standards. This is best confirmed by the research findings that 9% of police officers in BiH are female and that the majority of employed women in the police sector are in the administration (66%). At the same time, these research findings indicate that prejudices about the police profession, as a predominantly male profession, are still prevalent and strong in society.

The OSCE (2021) study for Montenegro, conducted in the period from July to December 2020, investigated the attitudes and experiences of male and female police officers employed at different levels in the Montenegrin police. The purpose of the study was to identify cultural, social and institutional obstacles in the field of employment, retention and advancement of women at all levels of the Montenegrin police, as well as ways to solve and overcome these obstacles.

Respondents from the study agreed that gender inequality is rooted in Montenegrin tradition and culture. Most respondents perceive Montenegro as a patriarchal society in which men still predominate in the role of leader and authority. This is reflected in the stereotypical and overly general roles and responsibilities of men and women, especially in traditional male-dominated institutions such as the police. Nevertheless, the positive developments regarding the prevailing gender norms have been slowly changing in the direction of diversity and gender equality in recent years. Some police officers and managers stated that the police force is mainly for men. Both men and women are mostly of the older generation. On the other hand, younger officers stated that working in the police is a job for both men and women.

The representation of women in the Montenegrin police is still low, as women make up 13.8% of the total number of employees. This percentage is significantly lower in some operational police units. There are 15% women in the Police Directorate, of which 12% perform police activities (police officers), while 67% perform administrative tasks.

All managers agreed that more women are needed at all levels of the police service, especially in operational units (shifts, patrols, traffic, investigations, etc.), and some stated that the small number of women in some operational units hinders police work. Furthermore, although some progress has been made towards promoting women to middle management, there are no women in senior management positions. The majority of male respondents (managers and employees) stated that the main obstacles to promotion are the lack of motivation of women themselves for promotion and the lack of higher education, which is a mandatory requirement for management positions. These opinions are contradicted by statistics provided by the Police Department, which show that, overall, the percentage of women with a university education is higher than the percentage of men with a university education. On the other hand, many interviewees stated that lack of motivation is not a real obstacle for promoting women to a higher rank and that this is a discriminatory argument. Instead, there are very few women in the operational police service and many female police officers seek administrative work due to the challenges of balancing work and family responsibilities, and therefore lack the operational experience to qualify for leadership positions. Women are most represented in the administrations for Analytics and improvement of police

work, 67%, Human Resources and Finances, 65%, while in the Special Police and the police of general jurisdiction, there are less than 8% women. In addition, managers also tend to assign women to administrative jobs instead of field work, which hinders their opportunities to acquire skills and experience in areas considered important to law enforcement, and therefore to advance (OSCE, 2021).

Many female police officers feel that they have to adapt to the masculinity culture and prove their abilities. Police culture with its gender substructures and stereotypes is not the only obstacle identified in this research. Other barriers identified include gender discrimination and harassment; candidate selection commissions dominated by men (when it comes to both employment and promotion) as well as working conditions that are unfavorable in relation to family and parental responsibilities (OSCE, 2021).

Data for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro show the position of women in the police, where less than a quarter of employees are women, most of them work in administrative services and administrations, and there are almost no women in high management positions.

## Conclusions

We observed police organization through two theoretical concepts: gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity, in order to show as clearly as possible the obstacles that prevent women from integrating into this profession in the same way as men. The police maintain hegemonic masculinity through the use of male authority, heterosexism, the ability to show force, and the subjugation of women. This practice has a profound effect on the work of male and female police officers. The gender division of labor in the police profession is carried out by traditionally assigning women a place in jobs that are typically female (administration, administrative jobs, juvenile delinquency jobs, counter jobs, etc.), which as a rule follow the wider social division of labor and are typically female jobs. In this way, we observe that the division of labor in the police organization follows the division of labor in the labor market. We have singled out some recent research on gender equality in the police from our areas, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, in order to show that these theoretical concepts are grounded in practice in police organizations. Data on the position of female police officers indicated a significantly lower representation in the police, a lower representation in operational police jobs, as well as in higher command and management positions. Women and men agree that there is still an internal informal division into "women's" and "men's" jobs. "Women's jobs" include legal, financial, analytical jobs, then jobs related to human resources management, communication, as well as logistics support jobs, since there are the most women in the Finance, Human Resources and Joint Affairs Sector, the Administrative Affairs, the Secretariat ministries, the Bureau for cooperation with the media. In addition, women are still the most represented in the lowest police ranks. Other obstacles include gender discrimination and harassment, male-dominated candidate selection committees (when it comes to both employment and promotion), and working conditions that are unfavorable in relation to family and parental responsibilities.

The position of women in the police clearly indicates the dominance of hegemonic masculinity and the gender division of labor. Marginalization and segregation of women employed in police services is at work. However, women have been shown to perform better than men in certain policing tasks, including those involving the use of force, which is a quintessentially masculine characteristic of policing.

The police of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro have very similar data on the proportion of women in their services, and on average they are less than a quarter. Women are mainly

distributed along administrative lines of work, such as administrations for analytics, labor and legal affairs, finance. Women are predominantly found in administration jobs and in services that are of an operational type, that is, jobs in the general jurisdiction police, criminal police, patrol activities, traffic police, etc. The promotion of women to higher police ranks is not satisfactory, and the movement to management positions is almost imperceptible in the overall management staff.

The reasons for the low representation of women in certain police structures are: discrimination in the recruitment process, stagnation in lower positions, leaving the job due to underutilization of potential, discriminatory attitudes and regulations (i.e. the absence of regulations), paternalistic and humiliating behavior of men-colleagues and bosses, difficulties in combining work in the police and family obligations. Women are most often assigned positions that are perceived from a gender role as culturally and socially more appropriate, such as mostly jobs in administration, and in the field of operational jobs, it is work with women and children in the field of domestic violence and work in the field of juvenile delinquency.

There is an unwritten rule that the majority of women in the police can only advance to certain levels and ranks when their careers are stagnant rather than ascending. The main reason is the existence of stereotypes and prejudices that men are better managers than women. The police is shown to be an institution with pronounced gender inequality, because the criteria and practices are at work which, from the beginning of admission, allocate women to those lines of work that are not typically police and which are of an administrative nature, thus preventing them from achieving their full professional and personal work potential in the police. The presence of structural segregation and marginalization in the police is the action of the gender division of labor and hegemonic masculinity and results in the harmful treatment of women as a group.

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## Žene u policiji – Srbija, Crna Gora i Bosna i Hercegovina

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### Sažetak

Analizirale smo položaj žena u policijskoj organizaciji kroz rodnu podjelu rada i hegemonijski maskulinitet, kako bismo što jasnije ukazali na prepreke koje ženama onemogućavaju da se u ovu profesiju integrišu na isti način kao muškarci. Policija održava hegemoniju maskuliniteta kroz upotrebu autoriteta, veličanje upotrebe sile i podređivanje žena. Rodna podjela poslova u policijskoj profesiji sprovodi se tako da se ženama dodeljuju poslovi koji se tradicionalno smatraju „ženskim“ (administracija, administrativni poslovi, poslovi sa maloletnicima, rad na šalteru itd.). Autorke su koristile metodu selekcije dostupne literature i baza podataka o ženama u policiji u tri zemlje: Srbiji, Crnoj Gori i Bosni i Hercegovini. Podaci u ovom tekstu odnose se na Srbiju i dve susedne zemlje: Crnu Goru i Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Policije Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Crne Gore imaju veoma slične podatke o udelu žena u svojim službama — u proseku žene čine manje od četvrtine zaposlenih. Postoji interna neformalna podjela na „ženske“ i „muške“ poslove. „Ženski poslovi“ obuhvataju pravne, finansijske i analitičke poslove, zatim poslove vezane za upravljanje ljudskim resursima, komunikaciju, kao i logističku podršku, budući da se većina žena nalazi u sektoru finansija, sektoru za ljudske resurse i zajedničkim, administrativnim poslovima itd. Žene su i dalje najzastupljenije na najnižim policijskim činovima. Dodatne prepreke uključuju rodnu diskriminaciju i uznemiravanje, komisije za zapošljavanje i napredovanje u kojima dominiraju muškarci, kao i radne uslove koji nisu prilagođeni porodičnim i roditeljskim obavezama.

*Ključne reči:* rodna podjela poslova, hegemonijski maskulinitet, žene, policija, Srbija, Crna Gora, Bosna i Hercegovina