Enhancing Security

Women's Participation in the Security Forces in Latin America and the Caribbean

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WIIS

WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
GENAD	Gender Advisor
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GIWPS	Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States
USAF	United States Air Force
US SOUTHCOM	United States Southern Command
WIIS	Women In International Security
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Executive Summary

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, launched by UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) adopted in October 2000, brought renewed attention to the importance of the integration of a gender perspective for the effectiveness of military and police operations. It also pointed to the importance of increasing the participation of women in security (military and police) forces.[1]

This report examines to what extent the WPS agenda, and more generally the principles of gender equality, have been integrated in the security sector (military and national police) in 14 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The research was commissioned by the Women, Peace and Security Program at the US Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), with the objective: (a) to establish a baseline of data and best practices with regard to the integration of the WPS agenda in security forces in Latin America and the Caribbean; and (b) to provide a framework for future partnerships between US SOUTHCOM and security forces in the region. While US SOUTHCOM commissioned the research, the authors bear sole responsibility for the content of this report and any errors or omissions.

Our research draws on an assessment tool developed by Women In International Security (WIIS) that examines how countries have integrated the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in security institutions and operations.[2] More specifically, the tool defines indicators that measure: (1) the level of political commitment to gender equality and the WPS agenda; (2) how that commitment is translated into practice; and (3) what accountability measures have been adopted—that is, how well policy and practice are monitored and evaluated.

This report is based on desk and literature research in Washington, DC and field research conducted by 14 volunteer country research teams composed of active and retired members of the police and the military, academics, government officials, policymakers, and members from civil society organizations.

The findings of our assessment examining the level of integration of the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in the security forces in Latin America and the Caribbean are outlined below.

Overall Regional Assessment

The overall integration of the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in security forces in the region (all countries combined) is robust, with an average score of 64.6 (on a scale of 1-100).

Many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have strong normative frameworks for gender equality in place, are party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and have professed support to the WPS agenda. It provides a strong backdrop for the integration of the gender equality and WPS agenda in the security sector. That said, in most countries political rhetoric is often not matched by consistent implementation. In addition, most countries lack systematic monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (see Figure 1).

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1   In this project we are examining military forces and national police forces (police that operate at the national level not at the local or municipal level).

2   The methodology was developed by Women In International Security (WIIS) in the context of a NATO sponsored project that sought to assess how well NATO member and partner states had integrated the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in their military institutions and operations. See Chantal de Jonge Oudraat et al., *Gender Mainstreaming: Indicators for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its Related Resolutions- the 1325 Scorecard: Preliminary Findings* (Brussels: NATO, 2015).
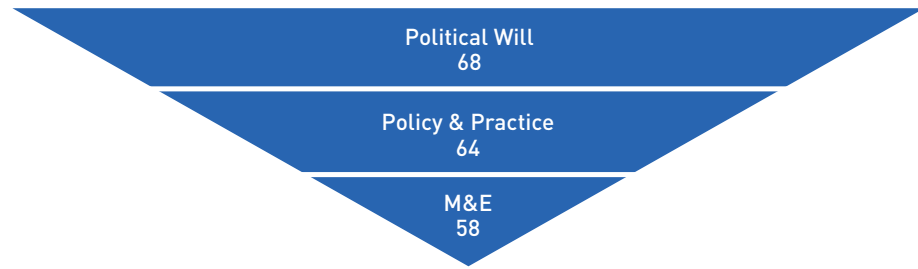
Of the 14 countries examined for this report, four countries scored above the average regional score. Four countries scored around the regional average, and six countries fell below the regional average. What is common to the countries that scored high is that they have strong scores across all 3 categories of assessment. (See Table 1)

For many police and military organizations in the region, gender equality and the integration of the WPS agenda is focused on the number of women in the forces. That said, gender mainstreaming and the integration of the WPS agenda in military and national police forces requires more than just adding women; it also requires the integration of a gender perspective in operations and addressing gender norms and gender stereotypes in the organizations themselves. Military and police organizations are highly gendered—masculine—constructs. Introducing gender perspectives and increasing the number of women does not come naturally to these institutions. Change only comes about with strong leadership from the top and continuous and systematic attention at all levels of military and police organizations.

Table 1: Average National Scores by Category

Country	Political Will	Policy & Practice	Monitoring Reporting & Evaluation	Total Score
Argentina	98	90	68	90
Brazil	44	51	48	49
Chile	85	75	64	76
Colombia	51	47	68	50
Costa Rica	80	88	100	87
Dominican Republic	63	58	48	58
Ecuador	72	56	60	60
Guatemala	78	52	36	55
Mexico	60	59	40	58
Panama	62	63	60	66
Paraguay	67	68	44	66
Peru	58	57	60	57
Trinidad & Tobago	55	64	36	60
Uruguay	78	70	76	72
Region Average	**68**	**64**	**57.70**	**64.60**

Main Findings by Category

All countries were assessed using simple sets of indicators that measure political will, the institutionalization of WPS principles in policy and practice, and, whether monitoring and evaluation mechanisms have been put in place.

Political Will

The most important measure of political will is whether countries have adopted WPS National Action Plans (NAPs).

- Of the 14 countries surveyed in our report, five have developed WPS National Action Plans and five are in the process of developing a WPS NAP.

- In most countries the WPS agenda and WPS NAPs are seen in the context of external engagements, most notably UN peacekeeping operations. While most countries see the WPS agenda as applicable only to armed conflict, some countries in the region have integrated human security challenges, such as human trafficking (Argentina) or rights of refugees (Brazil).

Institutionalization (Policy and Practice)

NAPs are most effective when they are accompanied by detailed implementation plans.

- Most countries lack specific implementation plans with clearly defined goals and resources for implementation.

- In all countries in the region, women remain under-represented in the military and the police. Even fewer women reach senior ranks. Many security forces have policies that exclude or limit (through the imposition of caps) women's participation in the police or military. Few countries have well-defined recruitment strategies or set targets to increase women's participation in the security forces.

- The prevention of sexual harassment and abuse is critical to create a women-friendly work place, but few countries have programs to address harassment or abuse in the ranks.

- Knowledge about the WPS agenda remains limited, and training on gender and the WPS agenda is ad-hoc and unsystematic.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and reporting are critical for learning and identifying progress. Monitoring and evaluation practices must be an integral part of any NAP and implementation plan and include all stakeholders, including civil society organizations in the planning and implementation stages.

- Few countries in the region have robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that involve civil society.

- Sex-disaggregated data about women in the military and police are not systematically collected or published.

Main Recommendations

The report concludes with two sets of recommendations. One is for governments in the region and their military and police forces. The other is for the region as a whole and identifies specific actions countries in the region and the US government (including US DoD and US SOUTHCOM) can take to advance the WPS agenda and solidify partnerships in the region.

National Actions:

All countries in the region have strong normative gender equality frameworks in place. This should provide a solid basis for governments in the region to apply the political will necessary to develop WPS NAPs. The most effective NAPs are whole-of-government efforts that engage all governmental and non-governmental stakeholders and cover the entire range of security challenges, including human security and non-military security challenges.

- All government agencies, including military and police forces, should develop implementation plans with clear goals and benchmarks for measuring progress.

- Governments must back up their commitment to NAPs and implementation plans by pledging the necessary resources—personnel and financial—to ensure effective implementation.

- Legislatures must become actively involved in the development of WPS NAPs. They should require the executive to present NAP updates at regular intervals and pass budgets with dedicated funding streams for NAPs and implementation plans.

- Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should be transparent and include members of civil society. Civil society actors are critical to ensuring transparency and providing expertise in the effective implementation of WPS NAPs.

The increase of the number of women in police and military organizations and the integration of gender perspectives in operations require actions at different levels.

- Military and police organizations should develop organization-specific WPS implementation plans. This can be accomplished even in the absence of a nation-wide WPS NAP. Countries, such as Argentina and Colombia, have developed and effectively implemented military implementation plans before NAPs were developed.

- In terms of gender balance, the military and police should remove all exclusions and caps that limit women's full participation in the security forces. They should also develop recruitment programs and establish targets to increase the number of women in the ranks. Military and police should regularly collect and publish sex-disaggregated data on women in the ranks.

- In terms of integrating gender perspectives in operations, and more generally the development of a gender mainstreaming strategy, the military and police should appoint Gender Advisors (GENADs). GENADs help with the development of organizational gender mainstreaming strategies, make sure that police and military exercises and operations have integrated a gender analysis, and advise on the education and training of soldiers and officers with regard to the WPS agenda. To be effective, GENADs should be located at the highest command level. In addition to GENADs, military and police organizations should appoint Gender Focal Points (GFPs) at lower levels of the organization. GFPs are key to ensuring that implementation takes place at all levels.

International and Regional Actions:

There is a great deal of expertise in Latin America and the Caribbean that should be capitalized on for the good of the entire region. Unfortunately, the exchange and learning among security forces in the region is ad-hoc, uneven, and non-systematic. Countries in the region, including the United States government (US DoD and US SOUTHCOM), should create a WPS Center of Excellence for security forces (military and police) that can support the integration of the WPS agenda throughout the region. The Center—a multilateral governmental venture—should seek to actively engage non-governmental stakeholders. The Center would function as a regional hub to support military and police forces in the region. Areas of responsibilities would include:

- *Research:* encourage national and regional collaborative research efforts and focus on topics supporting the integration of the WPS agenda into security forces, such as measures to eliminate barriers for women's participation in military and police forces, monitoring and evaluation practices, collecting and publishing sex-disaggregated data on gender balances in the forces;

- *Education and Training:* facilitate the development and delivery of WPS and gender curriculum and training for the military and police;

- *Convening of stakeholders:* exchange best practices;

- *Technical support:* for the development of WPS NAPs and implementation plans, particularly implementation plans for the military and police.

More specifically, the US government (US DoD and US SOUTHCOM) should embed WPS discussions in all engagements, including in all security and military senior leader engagements. They should also incentivize women's participation in any externally funded training programs they provide to regional partners by requiring that a certain percentage of military and police women participate in the training.

Preface

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda launched in October 2000 by the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 has been a key instrument in advancing the role of women in the peace and security arena.

The United States, including the US Department of Defense, has been engaged with the WPS agenda since 2011, when President Barack Obama launched the first National Action Plan (NAP) on WPS.[3] The US Congress adopted the WPS Act in 2017, which directed the US government to develop a national WPS Strategy.[4] The US WPS Strategy was released in 2019.[5] Subsequently, in mid-2020, the US Department of State, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the US Department of Homeland Security, and the US Department of Defense published agency-specific implementation plans.

In its 2020 Implementation Plan, the US Department of Defense outlined the following lines of effort:

- Seek and support the preparation and meaningful participation of women around the world in decision-making processes related to conflict and crises;

- Promote the protection of women and girls' human rights, their access to humanitarian assistance, and their safety from violence, abuse, and exploitation around the world;

- Adjust US international programs to improve outcomes in equality for, and the empowerment of, women; and

- Encourage partner governments to adopt policies, plans, and capacity to improve the meaningful participation of women in processes connected to peace and security and decision-making institutions.[6]

The advancement of the WPS agenda is a key objective of US military partnerships, including in the Southern Hemisphere.[7] Yet there is very little data on how military and police forces in Latin America and the Caribbean have integrated women and gender perspectives in their operations and activities. As a result, the exchange and learning among security forces in the Western Hemisphere on how best to integrate gender perspectives in operations and activities is ad-hoc and non-systematic.

In the summer of 2020, WIIS was approached by the Gender Advisor of US SOUTHCOM, Lt. Col. (USAF) Duila M. Turner, to develop a tool that would provide baseline data on where security forces in the region stand with respect to the integration of the WPS agenda. The idea was to develop a tool that could structure and frame discussions on these issues with partner nations.

In consultation with the US SOUTHCOM Gender Advisor, we defined three main objectives for the WPS assessment tool:

Learning: Numerous studies show that there is still little awareness and understanding of the WPS framework. While there is an increasing awareness within security establishments that conflict affects men and women differently, military and police establishments have a hard time determining what

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3   See Executive Order, *Instituting a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Washington, DC: The White House, December 19, 2011). This Plan was subsequently updated in June 2016.

4   See *Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017*, Public Law 115-68-October 6, 2017 (Washington, DC: GPO, 2017).

5   See *US Strategy on Women, Peace and Security* (Washington, DC: White House, 2019).

6   See US DOD, *Women, Peace, and Security: Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan* (Washington, DC: US DoD, June 2020), p.7.

7   Ibid.

this reality means for them in terms of operations and how to convey this to their security forces. By collecting data and examining best practices, the assessment tool should become a powerful analytical and hence educational and learning tool that helps develop a greater understanding of gender mainstreaming within military and police structures.

Partnerships: Many security challenges require regional and international cooperation. The development of military partnerships is a key objective of the US Combatant Commands. For states to work well together they need to share common standards. By exchanging data and best practices on gender mainstreaming, states will be able to work together in a more efficient and effective way across the region.

Monitoring and evaluation: The assessment tool should encompass a simple set of indicators that will allow states to evaluate how well they are implementing the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in their security structures and operations.

To develop the assessment tool, WIIS drew on its experience with the *1325 NATO Scorecard* project.[8] WIIS adapted the tool from the NATO project to reflect the reality in Latin America and the Caribbean. Given the broad tasks of the military and the police in most countries in the region, and the fact that police in the region are sent to UN peacekeeping operations, we decided to include the police—that is, police that work at the national level and may be called upon to respond to cases of civil unrest, to protect the borders, or deal with in-country humanitarian emergencies.[9]

We organized three workshops between August and November 2020. The objectives of the workshops were threefold:

- Identify people in the region interested in the integration of the WPS agenda in national security forces;

- Create volunteer research country teams; and

- Review progress, identify gaps, and develop national and regional recommendations for how best to advance the WPS agenda in security forces.

Our initial invitation to join this project and our first workshop led to the development of a diverse list of over 100 participants from government (military, police, defense, foreign affairs, women's and gender equality ministries), academia, and civil society from 16 countries and the creation of 14 country research teams.

In total, over 90 people from 16 countries have participated in this project at various points. Initial findings were presented at the third workshop in November 2020. At this workshop, Ambassador Jean Manes, Foreign Policy Advisor and the Civilian Deputy to the US Southern Command Commander, made remarks. In her remarks, she signaled the strong commitment of US SOUTHCOM to this effort.

Over the course of the project, WIIS created a listserv for people involved and interested in the project. The listserv was formalized into a WIIS WPS Latin America and Caribbean network at the end of the third workshop.[10] For more information or to become a member of the network, visit: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/GLSS6S8.

As societies and nations across the world face unprecedented challenges to gender equality, human security, and lasting peace, implementation of the WPS agenda is more important than ever. Indeed, research shows that societies are more peaceful and prosperous when women and men enjoy the same rights, liberties, dignities, and access to resources.[11]

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8   See Chantal de Jonge Oudraat et al., *Gender Mainstreaming: Indicators for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its Related Resolutions - The 1325 Scorecard: Preliminary Findings* (Brussels: NATO, 2015). For a description of the NATO project and our country scorecard reports, see: https://www.wiisglobal.org/programs/unscr-1325-nato/.

9   The term "police" in this tool does not include local or municipal police. The police agencies that are included are those police agencies that also send police officers to UN peacekeeping operations.

10   For more see wiisglobal.org.

11   This is a statement that has also been recognized and subscribed to by the US Department of Defense. See US DOD, *Women, Peace and Security* (2020), p.10.

Policymakers around the world have made gender equality a top policy priority. This WPS assessment report highlights steps Latin American and Caribbean countries have taken to implement the WPS agenda and ensure gender equality. The need is to expand these efforts in the face of growing evidence of the strategic and operational advantages such an agenda presents to military and police forces in a country. However, the report also shows that while there is much rhetoric, there is little follow-though in implementation. The time to match rhetoric to action is now.

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Gender equality has been recognized as a core principle of human rights in foundational international, regional, and national legal texts. The UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) set human rights standards that explicitly apply to every human being "without distinction of any kind, such as (…) sex." [1] Latin American diplomats, legal scholars, and activists have been at the forefront of the development of these global human rights frameworks. [2]

These legal instruments, as well as the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the 1994 Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Belem do Para Convention), have been the basis for the economic, social and political empowerment of women, including their entry in national security forces—defined here as constituting the military and the police. [3]

Support for the increased participation of women in the security sector received an important boost in 2000 when the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325). The resolution called on all UN member states to:

- Increase the representation and participation of women in conflict prevention and conflict resolution processes, including in security institutions (military and police);

- Integrate gender perspectives in the analysis of peace and security issues; and

- Adopt special measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict settings.

Since 2000, the UN Security Council has adopted nine more resolutions that have reinforced and refined what is now known as the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. [4]

Regional and security organizations as diverse as the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) have developed organization-wide policies and action plans to incorporate guidance from the WPS agenda into their deliberations and actions. [5] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was an early adopter of the WPS agenda and issued Action Plans and Strategic Directives that committed to the WPS agenda. [6] For the Americas, the Organization of American States (OAS) has not yet formally adopted the WPS framework. However,

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1   In the Southern Hemisphere the legal framework for human rights even predates the UDHR. The American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, (adopted in May 1948 in Bogota, Columbia) was the first human rights instrument that recognized equal rights for all people. It was followed in 1969 by the American Convention on Human Rights. The 1969 American Convention on Human Rights requires states to adopt domestic legislation to give effect to these rights.

2   They were particularly important in integrating Human Rights in the UN Charter and the UDHR.

3   For more see Marcela Donadio et al., *Women in The Armed and Police Forces: Resolution 1325 and Peace Operations in Latin America* (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2010). More generally see also Ellen Haring, "Gender and Military Organizations" in Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Michael E. Brown, eds., *The Gender and Security Agenda: Strategies for the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 90 - 112.

4   In October 2015, the UN Security Council, in Resolution 2242, called for the doubling of the number of female peacekeepers (military and police) within five years. In August 2020, the UN Security Council also adopted Resolution 2538 which recognized "the indispensable role of women in increasing the overall performance and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations." It also stressed the need to increase the participation of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations.

5   In 2013, CEDAW adopted General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict, and post-conflict situations. This strengthened the links between the WPS agenda and CEDAW.

6   NATO/EAPC Women, Peace and Security Policy and Action Plan, 2018. NATO committed to the three "I"s: *Integration*: making sure that gender equality is considered as an integral part of NATO policies, programs, and projects guided by effective gender mainstreaming practices; *Inclusiveness*: promoting an increased representation of women across NATO and in national forces to enhance operational effectiveness and success; and *Integrity*: enhancing accountability with the intent to increase awareness and implementation of the WPS agenda in accordance with international frameworks."

the Inter-American Commission of Women has worked on all aspects of the WPS agenda, most notably the participation of women in political life, women's human rights and gender violence, women's economic empowerment, and a gendered approach to human or citizen security.[7]

At the national level, some 86 countries have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) and legislation to implement and advance the WPS agenda. In Latin America and the Caribbean, six countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Paraguay) have developed NAPs.[8] Chile was an early adopter and global leader when it published one of the world's first NAPs in 2009 and a second NAP in 2015. Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay are in the process of developing a NAP.

Military and police security forces are important partners in the implementation of these NAPs. Indeed, the spread of NAPs in Latin America and the Caribbean has been spurred by increasing participation of countries in the region in UN Peace Operations.[9] Many countries and military leaders, particularly those who have been deployed in UN missions, have recognized that a more diverse force in terms of gender and gender perspectives increases operational effectiveness and readiness.[10] For many countries in the region, the adoption of the WPS framework has also meant greater attention to the role of women in their own security forces from both an operational and a rights points of view. In addition, many civil society organizations have advocated for NAPs that reflect a more inward-looking approach. This is particularly important in a region that no longer has traditional armed conflicts, yet faces high rates of violence, particularly against women and girls.[11]

Gender Balance, Gender Perspectives and Gender Mainstreaming

When considering gender equality and the WPS agenda within the security sector, three issues are key:

First, *gender balance*—that is, the equal representation of women within the force. Research has shown that more diverse organizations are more effective organizations.[12] Military organizations are no different.[13] Yet, women remain grossly under-represented in security forces around the globe, including in Latin America and the Caribbean. The United Nations has repeatedly lamented the lack of women soldiers and police in its peacekeeping operations.[14] It is important to recognize the cultural and institutional barriers women may face in military and police forces.

Second, *gender perspectives*—that is, overlaying a lens that reveals gender differences when planning, executing, or evaluating military and police security force activities. The integration of a gender perspective involves the systematic and continuous process of assessing gender-based differences of men and women as reflected in their social roles and interactions. As explained by a commanding officer in the multi-national force deployed in Afghanistan, "a gender perspective is much more than female members in the team. It is about having and using knowledge about the gender roles and

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7   See Mary K. Meyer Mcaleese, "WPS and the Organization of American States," in Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace and Security* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 413 - 427.

8   See, for example, Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo, "Global Pathways or Local Spins? National Action Plans in South America," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (2020), pp. 462 - 484; See also Donadio, *Women in the Armed and Police Forces* (2010). In 2019 Brazilian Navy Lieutenant Commander Marcia Braga received the UN Military Gender Advocate of the Year award for her work in the UN operation in the Central African Republic.

9   See Drumond and Rebelo, *Global Pathways or Local Spins?*

10   See for example, Fabiana Sofia Perera and Lieutenant Colonel Duilia Mora Turner, eds., *Twenty Years, Twenty Stories: Women, Peace and Security in the Western Hemisphere* (Washington, DC: William J. Perry Center for Hemsipheric Defense Studies, 2020). See also Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations, *Whose Security? Practical Examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations* (Stockholm: Nordic Centre for Military Operations, 2015).

11   See Renata Avelar Giannini et al., *A agenda sobre mulheres, paz e segurança no contexto latino-americano: desafios e oportunidades, Hemisphere* (Rio de Janeiro, Brasil: Instituto Igarapé, March 2018).

12   See, for example, studies by the McKinsey Institute and the World Economic Forum.

13   For many practical examples see Nordic Centre for Gender in Military Operations, *Whose Security? Practical Examples of Gender Perspectives in Military Operations* (Stockholm: Nordic Centre for Military Operations, 2015).

14   The UN's 2028 target for women in military contingents is 15% and 25% for military observers and staff officers. The 2028 target for women serving in formed police units is 20% and 30% for individual police officers. In 2020, women constitute 4.8% of military contingents and 10.9 % of formed police units in UN peacekeeping missions. See Peacekeeping.un.org.

situation of both men and women in all activities of the mission."[15] A good gender analysis before activities start will greatly enhance situational awareness that, in turn, will enhance operational effectiveness.

Third, *gender mainstreaming*—that is, an integrated strategy by which organizations implement the concepts of gender balancing and gender perspectives across their organizations and operations. NATO, for example, has defined gender mainstreaming as "a strategy to achieve gender equality by assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programs in all areas and at all levels."[16] In other words, "gender mainstreaming is a set of specific, strategic approaches as well as technical and institutional processes adopted to achieve the goal of gender equality."[17]

The Latin American and Caribbean WPS assessment tool helps to measure how security forces are doing along those three axes. More specifically, it measures gender balance, gender perspectives, and gender mainstreaming at two different levels: the political level and the institutional and operational level. Lastly, it measures to what extent practices of good governance—that is, monitoring and evaluation—have been integrated.

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15 Cited in Chantal de Jonge Oudraat et al., *Gender Mainstreaming: Indicators for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and its Related Resolutions - The 1325 Scorecard: Preliminary Findings* (Brussels: NATO, 2015), p. 7.

16 This definition is based on the UN ECOSOC definition of 1997. See also Helene Lackenbauer and Richard Langlais, eds., *Review of the Practical Implications of UNSCR 1325 for the Conduct of NATO-led Operations and Missions* (Stockholm: Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOA), 2013), p. 55.

17 See UN Women website unwomen.org "Gender Mainstreaming."

The Latin American And Caribbean WPS Assessment Tool

The Latin America and Caribbean WPS assessment tool measures progress along three main levels: political will, institutional policy and practice, and monitoring and evaluation. For each we defined a limited set of key indicators.

The political level is a necessary first step. Is there political will and commitment to integrate the principles of the WPS agenda in the security forces—that is, is there political will to advance gender equality and gender perspectives in military and police forces? Political will can be measured in several ways. A first indicator is whether principles of gender equality have been incorporated in a country's laws and regulations. In addition, we can measure to what extent political leaders refer to the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda in their speeches. For the purposes of our project, a critical indicator of political will is whether a country has adopted a WPS NAP and whether implementation plans for the security sector have been drafted. From our research on the integration of WPS principles in NATO countries, we know that countries that mention the defense department as a principal actor and those who outline clear lines of responsibility through an action or implementation plan generally score higher on implementation than countries whose plans fail to specifically call out the military as an implementing agency. Lastly, we examine whether any resources have been allocated. Indeed, the allocation of resources is often a good measure of political intent.

The operational level is about gender mainstreaming and institutionalization, that is, how gender equality and WPS principles are integrated in institutional and bureaucratic processes. Institutionalization is critical, in that it safeguards gender equality and WPS initiatives from political turn-over and turmoil.[18] Gender mainstreaming is about gender balance and gender perspectives. To what extent is women's equal participation and integration in military and police forces a priority, and to what extent are institutional processes in place that are conducive to the integration of women in the military and police? This requires collecting baseline data about gender in the ranks. It also means examining measures taken to address gender imbalances, including the lifting of structural barriers and barriers related to the work environment. Three types of indicators are particularly important in this respect: first, whether all jobs are open to women; second, the existence of policies that deal with family issues (in particular, pregnancies and child care); and third, the existence of policies that deal with harassment and abuse. To what extent gender perspectives are integrated in operational policies and plans can be measured by examining strategic operational documents, field manuals, and other similar publications. The appointment of Gender Advisors (GENADs), as well as their standing and position in the force, is an important indicator for institutional support for gender mainstreaming. From our research on gender mainstreaming in NATO militaries, we know that a Gender Advisor is a commander's best resource for ensuring the integration of gender perspectives into the planning, execution, and evaluation of military operations.[19] Lastly, gender mainstreaming requires attention to training and education. Are soldiers and senior leaders being taught how to do a gender analysis, and are they aware of the national and international legal frameworks?

The last step in ensuring institutionalization of gender equality and WPS initiatives is monitoring and evaluating progress over time. The WPS assessment tool measures to what extent policies and operations

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18 For example, in the United States and Brazil, the WPS agenda and gender equality efforts were not supported by the Donald J. Trump and Jair Bolsonaro administrations. Yet in both cases, the WPS agenda had gained some champions within the foreign affairs and defense establishments. These establishments had also put in place certain processes to integrate gender perspectives. Together, the champions and the institutional processes were able to safeguard some of the efforts that had been started before the advent of the new administrations. In addition, in the United States the US Congress had adopted the WPS Act in 2017, which had broad bi-partisan support. It was a big factor in safeguarding some of the WPS capacities that had been developed earlier. The Act also allowed the expansion of WPS activities in the military with regard to training and the appointment of GENADs in the Combatant Commands. The US Congress even set aside some money for the latter.

19 See de Jonge Oudraat et al, *Gender Mainstreaming* (2015), p. 10-11.

are subject to monitoring and evaluation processes. Monitoring and evaluation are key to capturing best practices, establishing realistic benchmarks, identifying gaps in resources and structural challenges, framing strategic planning efforts, and supporting accountability measures. Two key indicators include the systematic collection of sex-disaggregated data and to what extent outside actors, including civil society organizations, are involved in assessment efforts.

The WPS assessment tool, by examining military and police forces from the political to the operational and from the strategic to the tactical levels, measures the progress of military and police organizations comprehensively. Assessments like these work best when they become part of iterative processes that allow for dialogue and learning among countries in the region.

Methodology

In early August 2020, WIIS held its first Latin America and Caribbean WPS research workshop to assess interest in applying the assessment tool to countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. The workshop also allowed us to review the draft assessment tool. Over 70 people from the region joined the workshop and eventually formed 14 volunteer research country teams. These research teams were composed of active and retired members of the security forces (military and police), government officials (foreign affairs, defense ministries, women's agencies), the legislative branch, academics, and civil society. Each team elected a team coordinator who served as the main point of contact with WIIS.

As a result of the discussions at the workshop, the WIIS team further refined and adjusted the indicators of the assessment tool. (See Figure 1 and Annex 1) The revised assessment tool, containing 51 indicators, was subsequently sent to each of the country teams.

Figure 1: WPS Assessment Tool for Security Forces in Latin America and the Caribbean

WPS Assessment Tool for Security Forces In Latin America and the Caribbean		
Category		Indicators
I:	National Importance and Political Will	11
II:	Institutional Policies and Practice	
	A. Strategy, Plans and Policy	14
	B. Gender in the Ranks	6
	C. Training, Education and Exercises	6
	D. Work Environment	8
III:	Monitoring, Reporting and Evaluation	6

By the end of September 2020, we had received data from 14 country teams. With that data, we were able to generate a scorecard for each country. That is, responses to the questions on the assessment tool received a predetermined numerical value following a scoring protocol.[20] These scores were then used to evaluate the relative importance attached to certain issue areas and to establish regional and national averages.

In addition to the quantitative assessment, we also prepared a qualitative assessment for each country. The qualitative assessment allowed us to contextualize the collected information. It also offers an overall assessment of where the country stands with regard to implementation of the gender equality and WPS agenda. Lastly, the qualitative reports contain a set of country specific recommendations detailing how the country and its security sector might move forward. The elaboration of quantitative and qualitative reports included many follow-up interviews with the country teams to ensure that we were accurately interpreting the data they provided. All country teams reviewed final country quantitative and qualitative reports.[21]

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20 See scorecard template in Annex 2 and the scoring protocol in Annex 3.
21 See country scorecards and narrative reports at the WIIS website (provide link here).

Figure 2: Sample Quantitative Assessment Tool

Latin America and the Caribbean WPS Assessment Tool					
CATEGORY	EXPECTED OUTCOME	INDICATORS	YES	NO	SCORE
Country: __Trinidad & Tobago__	Date Completed: __10/16/2020__				

I. **National Importance/Political Will**					
	There is strong political support at the highest levels of government to achieve gender equality and integrate gender perspectives in the nation's foreign, defense and police policies. National laws support gender equality and women's rights. The principles of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and its related resolutions [1820 (2008); 1888 (2009); 1889(2009); 1960 (2010); 2106 (2013) 2022 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019)]—also known as the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda —are recognized, integrated and mainstreamed in foreign and security sector policies. In other words; foreign, defense and national police/law enforcement officials recognize the importance of: • Women's participation at all levels of decision-making; • Protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence; • Prevention of violence against women through the promotion of women's rights;	**I.1** - Are the principles of WPS mentioned in major foreign policy documents?	YES		4
		I.2 - Are the principles of WPS mentioned in national security documents?	YES		4
		I.3 - Does the national constitution support gender equality?	YES		4
		I.4 - Does the country have a WPS National Action Plan (NAP)?		NO	3[i]
		1.5 - Does the country have other forms of national gender equality documents or departments?	YES		3
		I.6 - Does the NAP or other gender equality documents mention the Department/Ministry of Defense (D/MoD) as a principle actor?	YES		3
		1.7 - Does the D/MoD have its own action/implementation plan in order to meet its NAP or other WPS or gender equality objectives?		NO	0
		1.8 - Does the NAP or other WPS or gender equality documents mention the national police as a principle actor?	YES		3

Figure 3: Sample Qualitative Report

WIIS
WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Colombia - Summary Report

WPS National Action Plan (NAP) Status:
Colombia has not developed a NAP. That said, the November 24, 2016 peace agreement includes many gender provisions. Additionally, in 2018 the Ministry of Defense (MoD) published its own transversal (intersectional) gender implementation plan for uniformed personnel in Colombia.

Overall Assessment: Colombia has a robust civil society network dedicated to advancing the WPS agenda, and many are lobbying the Colombian government to adopt a WPS NAP.[1] Although the national government has made statements in support of gender equality and the MoD recognizes UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda, no NAP has been developed.

National Importance/Political Will:
Gender equality is enshrined in the Colombian Constitution (See Articles 40 and 43).[2] Colombia also has a Presidential Council for Women's Equity, which collects and analyzes information related to the situation of women in Colombia. Gender equality, women's rights, and the empowerment of women are also referred to in the 2018-2022 National Development Plan, an all-inclusive policy document that addresses foreign and domestic security policies.[3]

In Colombia, the army, the air force, the navy, and the national police all fall under the authority of the (MoD). The MoD guidelines and policies apply to all four services. Its 2018 report, *Public Policy for a Cross-Gender Approach for the Uniformed Personnel of the Public Force,* explicitly refers to UNSCR 1325 and its related resolutions.[4] The report, developed as a requirement of the 2016 peace agreement, is referred to as the military's WPS implementation plan, and it includes the police under the umbrella term "public force." It calls on the military and the police to make sure that women have equal access and opportunities. It also sets up Gender Observatories at the level of the MoD and General Command, as well as inside each military branch and the police.

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[1] See Humanas Colombia, *20 Años Exigiendo que el Gobierno Colombiano se conecte con la Paz y la Seguridad de las Mujeres*, Pronunciamiento (Bogotá, Colombia: Humanas, July 2020), at https://www.humanas.org.co/alfa/dat_particular/arch_contenidos/i_e_73153_q_PRONUNCIAMIENTO_R1325.pdf; Also from Humanas Colombia, see Observatorio Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad (a group actively lobbying for a WPS NAP), *Cumplimiento del Estado Colombiano con la Resolución 1325 de 2000: Informe de monitoreo del año 2017 y primer semestre de 2018*, (Bogotá, Colombia: Humanas, December 2018), at https://www.humanas.org.co/alfa/dat_particular/ar/ar_9042_q_R1325informe.pdf..
[2] See Corte Constitucional, *Constitución Política de Colombia 1991, Actualizada con los Actos Legislativos a 2016*, (Bogota: Corte Constitutional), at https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/inicio/Constitucion%20politica%20de%20Colombia.pdf
[3] See Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP), *Colombia en la Escena Global: Política Exterior Responsable, Innovadora y Constructiva*, (Bogotá: DNP, May 2019) at https://www.dnp.gov.co/DNPN/Plan-Nacional-de-Desarrollo/Paginas/Pilares-del-PND/Legalidad/Colombia-en-la-escena-global.aspx; and also from DNP, *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2018-2022* at https://www.dnp.gov.co/DNPN/Paginas/Plan-Nacional-de-Desarrollo.aspx
[4] Ministerio de Defensa, *Política Pública Sectorial de Transversalizacion del Enfoque de Genero para el Personal Uniformado de la Fuerza Pública 2018-2027*, (Bogotá: MinDefensa 2018), at https://www.justiciamilitar.gov.co/irj/go/km/docs/Mindefensa/Documentos/descargas/Prensa/Documentos/politica_genero.pdf

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WPS In Latin American And Caribbean Security Forces: Main Findings

In terms of the overall implementation of gender equality and WPS principles in the security forces, the region (all countries combined) had an average score of 64.6 (on a scale of 1-100). This robust showing is not surprising given the region's strong adherence to international and regional legal human right instruments, such as CEDAW and the Belem do Para convention. The region has also been a strong supporter of the Beijing Platform of Action and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Particularly important in this regard is the Montevideo Strategy for Implementation of the Regional Gender Agenda within the Sustainable Development Framework by 2030, adopted in 2016 by countries of the region.[22] In the last five years, countries in the region have also prioritized access to political participation. Most countries in the region have instituted political quotas, which has increased women's participation in decision-making institutions throughout the government.[23] Lastly, many countries in the region have established women's or gender equality government agencies; in some cases, these agencies function at the ministerial level.

Despite a relatively strong score overall, many challenges remain. Indeed, this is a region where "patriarchal, discriminatory and violent cultural patterns remain in place, with gender stereotypes persisting in the education system, the media and political and cultural institutions."[24] The security sector is, of course, not devoid of these stereotypes. As Ellen Haring has noted in a recent publication, "national military organization are quintessentially masculine constructs that rely on notions of men as warrior-protectors and women as the protected. (…) National militaries are set up to optimize men's participation and rely on patriarchal social structures where women perform traditional family duties centered around caregiving while men go to war."[25] Nicole Jenne and Fiorella Ulloa Bisshopp, in their study on the effectiveness of Chile's efforts to promote a gender perspective in the military, emphasize how "resilient" gender stereotypes are in military organizations. For example, Chilean forces deployed in the UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti had a fair number of women. That said, the tasks these women were assigned hewed closely to traditional gender stereotypes: "Instead of performing the full range of peacekeeping tasks, women were often delegated to deal with issues concerning women and children and prevented from joining activities that were deemed to involve security risks."[26] Gender mainstreaming in security forces requires more than just adding women; it also requires cultural and organizational change.[27]

When we examine the average performance of the region as a whole at the different levels of our assessment tool, the region scores highest at the political commitment level, with a score of 68. The score drops at the implementation level to 64 and at the monitoring and evaluation level to 57.7. (See Figure 4)

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22 See ECLAC, *Regional Report on the Review of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Latin America and Caribbean countries, 25 years on*, LC/CRM.14.4 (Santiago: United Nations, 2019).

23 See IDEA, *Gender Quotas Database* (Stockholm: IDEA @idea.int).

24 See ECLAC, *Regional Report on the Review of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Latin America and Caribbean countries, 25 years on*, LC/CRM.14.4 (Santiago: United Nations, 2019), p. 17.

25 See Ellen Haring, "Gender and Military Organizations" in Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Michael E. Brown, *The Gender and Security Agenda: Strategies for the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2020), p. 90.

26 Nicole Jenne and Fiorella Ulloa Bisshopp, "Female Peacekeepers: UNSC Resolution 1325 and the Persistence of Gender Stereotypes in the Chilean Armed Forces," *International Peacekeeping*, (October 14, 2020), p. 21.

27 For strategies to increase women's participation in national military organizations, see Haring, "Gender and Military Organizations."

Figure 4: Overall Average Regional Scores

Political Will
68

Policy & Practice
64

M&E
57.7
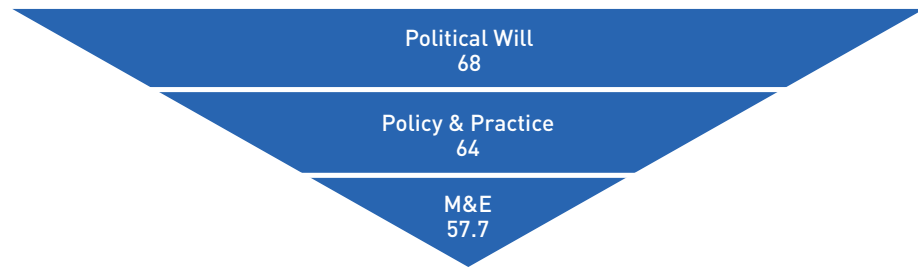
Figure 5: Overall Average National Scores

Country	Score
Argentina	90
Brazil	49
Chile	76
Colombia	50
Costa Rica	87
Dominican Republic	58
Ecuador	60
Guatemala	55
Mexico	58
Panama	66
Paraguay	66
Peru	57
Trinidad & Tobago	60
Uruguay	72
Average	**64.4**
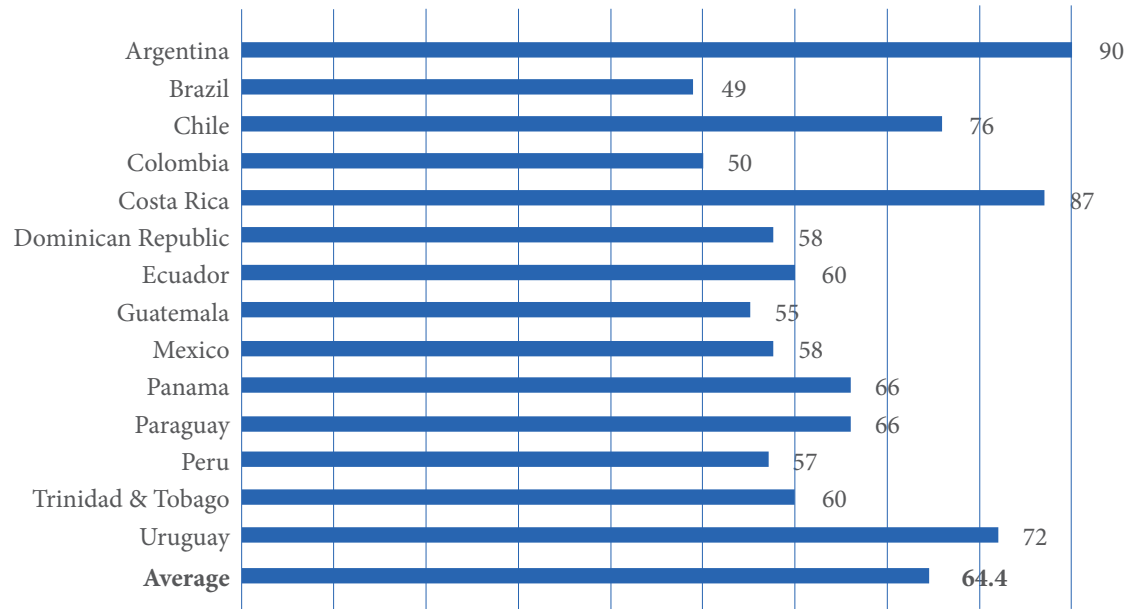
When we examine the overall performance of individual countries in the region, four countries scored above the average regional score. Four countries scored around the regional average, and six countries fell below the regional average. On the high side, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay significantly outperformed other countries. What is common to these countries is that they have strong scores across all levels. (See Table 1)

Table 1: Average National Scores by Category

Country	Political Will	Policy & Practice	Monitoring Reporting & Evaluation	Total Score
Argentina	98	90	68	90
Brazil	44	51	48	49
Chile	85	75	64	76
Colombia	51	47	68	50
Costa Rica	80	88	100	87
Dominican Republic	63	58	48	58
Ecuador	72	56	60	60
Guatemala	78	52	36	55
Mexico	60	59	40	58
Panama	62	63	60	66
Paraguay	67	68	44	66
Peru	58	57	60	57
Trinidad & Tobago	55	64	36	60
Uruguay	78	70	76	72
Region Average	**68**	**64**	**57.70**	**64.60**

Women's Participation in the Security Forces in Latin America and the Caribbean

Lastly, it may be noted that our results closely align with the scores of these countries in other gender equality indexes, such as the Women, Peace and Security Index published by the Georgetown University Institute on Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS) and the *Fighting Inequality in the Time of Covid-19: The Commitment to Reducing Inequality Index 2020*, published by Oxfam and Development Finance International.[28] (See Table 2)

Table 2: GIWPS and Oxfam Rankings

GIWPS Rank	Country	Oxfam Rank
41	Trinidad & Tobago	16
45	Costa Rica	3
48	Argentina	2
49	Ecuador	8
55	Chile	1
58	Uruguay	11
68	Paraguay	15
69	Peru	18
70	Panama	22
74	Dominican Republic	23
98	Brazil	13
103	Mexico	14
104	Colombia	10
106	Guatemala	24

In sum, while there is broad regional commitment to the principles and ideas of the WPS agenda, commitment to actual implementation and monitoring and evaluation is considerably less robust. Rhetoric, generally, does not match action.

National Importance/Political Will

National importance and political will measures three main issues: (1) whether gender equality is recognized in a country's main laws and regulations; (2) whether a country has adopted a WPS NAP; and (3) whether political leaders in their statements provide strong support to the principles of gender equality and the WPS agenda.

All countries in the region have enshrined gender equality in their constitutions, and many have also established gender equality and women's empowerment agencies. That said, an important indicator of political commitment is whether a country has adopted a WPS NAP. (See Table 3)

Table 3: National Action Plans – Status

Countries with NAPs	Countries with NAPs under development	Countries without NAPs
Argentina	Costa Rica	Colombia
Brazil	Ecuador	Dominican Republic
Chile	Mexico	Panama
Guatemala	Trinidad & Tobago	Peru
Paraguay	Uruguay	

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28 See Georgetown Institute for Women Peace and Security and the Peace Research Institute Oslo, *The WPS Index 2020* (Washington, DC: GIWPS, 2020); Oxfam and Development Finance International, *Fighting Inequality in the Time of Covid-19: The Commitment to Reducing Inequality Index 2020* (Oxford: Oxfam, 2020).

Argentina and Chile—both with top scores overall and at this level—have developed and implemented WPS NAPs. However, the presence or absence of a NAP is not necessary or sufficient to score high. For example, Costa Rica, despite not having a NAP, scored high overall due to the government's strong political commitment to advancing gender equality across the country and within its institutions.[29] On the other hand, Brazil fell below the regional average. Indeed, in the case of Brazil, a change in national level political leadership in 2019 resulted in diminished political will and commitment to gender equality and the WPS agenda.

The NAPs of the countries in the region have many similarities, but also significant differences. For most countries in the region, the WPS agenda is an external, rather than an internal, agenda. In most cases, the ministries of foreign affairs have lead responsibilities for the implementation of a NAP.[30] The extensive gender equality machinery established under CEDAW, the SDGs, or regional gender equality commitments is often seen as distinct from the WPS agenda. Guatemala is the exception and has adopted a whole-of-government approach. In Guatemala, the Women's Ministry plays an important role in the development of a new NAP. In Costa Rica, the development of a NAP involves many government agencies, not just in the security sector, but also in the legislature. In addition, its National Institute for Women works at a ministerial level and has taken innovative steps to tackle structural gender inequalities at home, including machismo culture.

Most civil society organizations in the region advocate for whole-of-government efforts as well as a broadening of the agenda beyond traditional armed conflict.[31] They argue that the region grapples with many "gendered consequences of non-conventional armed violence," and they point to high rates of femicide in the region.[32] While several Latin American NAPs have integrated demands for a broader agenda, most remain very externally focused. Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo note that the Paraguayan NAP stands out with ambitious and long-term goals. The Paraguayan NAP defines one of its goals as "the elimination of cultural barriers that hinder the full participation of women in all areas of human society."[33] The Argentinian NAP includes issues related to human trafficking. The Brazilian NAP includes gender-sensitive initiatives focused on the rights of refugees and refugee seekers in the country. The Chilean NAP expanded the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) to include the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence.[34] The Argentinian, Brazilian, and Chilean NAPs all define protection as meaning not just physical security but also access to sexual and reproductive health.

Another positive driver for gender equality and the WPS agenda, including the development of a WPS NAP, is the extent of global—UN—engagements a country has. The participation in peacekeeping operations is particularly important in this regard. (See Table 4) For example, the Brazilian NAP expired at the end of 2018. Gender equality and the WPS agenda were not a priority for the new Brazilian administration that came to power in January 2019. Yet the administration decided to extend the NAP (developed under the previous administration) in March of 2019 for four years. Indeed, Brazil's participation in UN peacekeeping operations was considered important and, in that context, the continuation of a NAP became significant.[35]

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29 Costa Rica is unique in the region as one of only a few countries with no military. It was assessed based on the security provided by the national police.

30 See Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo, "Global Pathways or Local Spins? National Action Plans in South America," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (2020), pp. 462 - 484.

31 For more general analysis of NAPs globally see Caitlin Hamilton, Nyibeny Naam and Laura J. Shepherd, *Twenty Years of Women, Peace and Security National Action Plans: Analysis and Lessons Learned* (Sydney: Sydney University, March 2020).

32 Drumond and Rebelo, "Global Pathways or Local Spins?" p. 1. See also Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo, *1325 and Beyond: Moving Forward the WPS Agenda in Latin America*, WIIS Policy Brief (July 2020); and
Ana Laura Velasco Ugalde, *UNSCR1325 and the WPS Agenda: A Feminist Response to Authoritarianism*, WIIS Policy Brief (June 2020), p. 1. Velasco notes the Covid-19 crisis and the call for staying at home has exposed the violence at home.

33 Cited in Drumond and Rebelo, Global Pathways or Local Spins? p. 12. See also Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo, *1325 and Beyond: Moving Forward the WPS Agenda in Latin America*, WIIS Policy Brief (July 2020).

34 Ibid.

35 For more on Brazil's NAP see Renata Avelar Giannini and Perola Abrue Pereira, *Building Brazil's National Action Plan: Lessons Learned and Opportunities* (London: LSE, March 3, 2020 – blog); Paula Drumond and Tamya Rebelo, *Implementing the "Women, Peace and Security" Agenda in Brazil: An Assessment of the National Action Plan,* Strategic Paper 31 (Rio de Janeiro: Igarape Institute, August 2019). See also https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/2019-07-31_AE-31_Women-Peace-and-Security-National-Action-Plan.pdf.

Table 4: Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations by Countries from Latin America and the Caribbean-Military and Police Combined – August 2020

	UN Ranking	Total	Male	Female
Uruguay	17	1,138	1,055	83
Argentina	42	304	276	28
El Salvador	45	292	263	29
Brazil	47	282	270	12
Peru	52	233	198	35
Guatemala	57	176	155	21
Paraguay	80	31	28	3
Chile	82	30	27	3
Bolivia	83	27	20	7
Mexico	94	13	6	7
Honduras	97	11	7	4
Ecuador	98	10	4	6
Dominican Republic	107	5	3	2
Colombia	108	4	3	1
Totals Region		2,556	2,315	241
Global Totals		81,820	76,596	5,328

Source: United Nations

However, while UN peacekeeping involvement is positively impacting the military, it does not appear to have a similar impact on the national police. Indeed, the police generally scored lower in most countries than did the military regarding implementation of the WPS agenda.

The engagement of international actors in the Colombia peace agreements has also been an important factor in pushing forward a gender equality and WPS agenda. For example, the 2018 Colombian Ministry of Defense's report *Public Policy for a Cross-Gender Approach for the Uniformed Personnel of the Public Force* was developed as a requirement of the 2016 peace agreement. It is considered the military's WPS implementation plan. It calls on the military and the police to make sure that women have equal access and opportunities. It also sets up Gender Observatories at the level of the Ministry of Defense and General Command, as well as inside each military branch and the police.

Other examples of international engagements and commitments that advance a gender equality and WPS agenda at home include: Uruguay, which co-chairs, with Canada, the United Nations GFP Network and is currently working on a WPS NAP; the Dominican Republic, which during 2020, together with Germany, co-chaired the UN Security Council Informal Expert Group (IEG) on WPS; or Mexico, which, since 2019, co-chairs with France the Generation Equality Forum—a global civil society-centered gathering for gender equality. Its work on the Generation Equality Forum, and the fact that Mexico launched a Feminist Foreign Policy in January 2020 and is currently developing a WPS NAP, are certainly not unrelated. High-level international engagements also help civil society organizations at home to press their governments to progress on the gender equality and WPS agendas.

Policy and Practice

Policy and practice examines how political commitment to gender equality and WPS principles is translated into practical action in the security sector. We distinguish four main areas: (1) policy, planning, and staffing, in particular the appointment of GENADs and GFPs; (2) women's participation in the security forces (gender in the ranks); (3) policies and programs that support women's participation in the security forces; and (4) training and education on WPS principles.

Policy, Planning and Staffing

Although national level commitment is critical in advancing the WPS agenda, it is not sufficient to realizing better outcomes in terms of gender mainstreaming. Even in countries that have published NAPs, these NAPs do not always require the participating ministries and departments to develop detailed implementation plans. Without such plans, including bureaucratic procedures and processes that mainstream gender in security institutions, change will be fleeting and easily reversible with changing political leadership.

Our analysis found that countries that developed military implementation plans even before or in the absence of a NAP have generally made significant progress in terms of gender mainstreaming. For example, in 2008 the Argentine Ministry of Defense adopted a WPS Action Plan (long before their 2015 NAP was published). It was developed in response to Argentina's participation in UN peacekeeping operations and led to many "policy reforms in the field of defense and the armed forces."[36] Participation in UN peacekeeping operations helped to strengthen pre-deployment training on gender issues. It also required the military to establish GENADs and GFPs.[37]

Indeed, a major indicator of progress with regard to the integration of gender equality and WPS principles is the appointment of GENADs and GFPs. They are critical in helping to mainstream the principles of the WPS agenda in all aspects of the operations of security forces. The role of a GENAD is to provide guidance and advice to senior level commanders on how to integrate gender perspectives into operations and missions, crisis and conflict analysis, concepts, doctrine, procedures, and education and training. GFPs are similarly trained but work at lower levels in the organization to mainstream the WPS agenda across occupational positions.[38]

Only a few countries in the region are systematically appointing, training and employing GENADs and GFPs. (See Table 5) Argentina has a robust GENAD and GFP program. It also provides gender training through its regional peacekeeping center—trainings that are open to other countries in the region as well. Uruguay, a top regional UN troop contributor, co-hosts, with Canada, the UN GFP network. It has appointed GFPs in both the military and the police, but these GENADs are all double-hatted—that is, they have other responsibilities as well. Neither the military nor the police have appointed full-time GENADS. In some countries, for example in Mexico and Peru, the security institutions have established gender equality institutions that have certain GENAD functions. However, most often these institutions work more in the human resources sphere, rather than the policy and planning spheres. Most often, they do not report directly to the highest command levels.

Gender in the Ranks: Women's Participation in the Security Forces

All countries in our survey have low women's participation rates in their military and police forces. (See Table 6) The promotion rates for women are even lower. In general, women have made greater inroads in the police than in the military. In the national police forces, all positions are officially open to women. That said, some of our investigators also reported that the practice does not always align with the formal rules. In some countries, women are not assigned to work "on the streets." In addition, as women have made inroads within the police, some countries have begun to impose caps, thereby limiting women's access. Such is the case in Trinidad and Tobago, where no more than 30% of the force is allowed to be women. There is also a waiting list for women who want to join the police.

In four out of 14 countries, women continue to be officially barred from some military occupations. (See Table 7) In addition, even if in theory all positions are open, women often face restrictions in practice, particularly in terms of where they are utilized. Many teams reported that data on military deployments reveal that women are far less likely to be deployed on operational missions.

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36 Argentine NAP: p. 10. Government of Argentina, N*ational Action Plan of the Argentine Republic for the Implementation of Resolution Nº1325/2000 of the Security Council of the United Nations*. (Argentina, 2015) at: https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Argentina%20NAP%202015%20(English).pdf and see the Spanish version at: http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/250000-254999/252151/Dto1895.pdf.

37 Today Argentina leads the region in WPS implementation.

38 See UN Secretary General, *Departmental Focal Points for Women in the Secretariat*, ST/SGB?2008/12 (New York: United Nations, August 1, 2008). See also UN Women, *Gender Focal Points and Focal Points for Women* @ unwomen.org; and United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations*, Policy: Gender Responsive United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* (New York: United Nations, February 1, 2018).

Country	The country has appointed Gender Advisors (GENAD).	The country has appointed gender focal points (GFP).	GENADs are assigned for pecific missions.	The country has gender equality offices/units.
Argentina	Yes	Yes		Yes
Brazil			Yes	
Chile		Yes	Yes	Yes
Colombia				Yes
Costa Rica				Yes
Dominican Republic			Yes	Yes
Ecuador				Yes
Guatemala				Yes
Mexico				Yes
Panama				Yes
Paraguay				Yes
Peru				Yes
Trinidad and Tobago				Yes
Uruguay		Yes	Yes	Yes

Country	Military	Percent of Women Deployed	Senior Military Women	Police	Senior Police Women
Argentina	17.3%	8%	nd	nd	nd
Brazil	7.6%	8%	nd	9%	nd
Chile	10%	10%	nd	34%	15%
Colombia	6%	1.5%	1%	9%	2%
Costa Rica	na	na	na	18.7%	di
Dominican Republic	20.8%	5.1%-8%	4%	15%	4.7%
Ecuador	2.7%	di	nd	15%	di
Guatemala	nd	8%	nd	16%	nd
Panama	na	na	na	16.2%	14.9%
Peru	10%	di	.5%	18%	.4%
Paraguay	nd	10%	nd	Nd	nd
Mexico	12.4%	1-3%	2.5%	10%	19%
Trinidad & Tobago	14.3%	na	nd	29%	nd
Uruguay	11%	7%	1.7%	25.6%	3%

nd=no data (data not provided or data not available)
na=not applicable (these countries have no military forces or they do not deploy)
di=data incomplete (not enough data to calculate percentage)

Working on "the streets" and military deployments are generally career enhancing assignments; the restrictions women face in this regard likely contributes to them being less competitive for promotions. These restrictions may explain why few women are represented at the highest levels in the military or police.

Lastly, in terms of long-term policy and planning, we found that only four countries have active recruitment programs or set targets to raise the number of women in the force.

Table 7: Policy and Practice

Country	Are all positions open to women in the military?	Are there recruitment targets? (military/police)	Do they provide uniforms & equipment adapted to women?	How much paid maternity/ paternity leave is provided?	Is WPS gender training provided ?	Is Monitoring & Evaluation conducted?
Argentina	Yes	Yes/UNK	Yes	90 days/10 days	Yes	Yes
Brazil	No	No. There are some caps/No. There are local caps	No	180 days/5 days	Yes	No
Chile	No	No/No	Yes	126 days/UNK	Yes	Yes
Colombia	No	No/No	Yes	126 days/8 days	Yes	Yes
Costa Rica	Yes	NA/No	Yes	120 days/2 days	Yes	Yes
Dominican Republic	Yes	Yes/Yes, but there are local caps	No	98 days/7 days	Yes	Yes
Ecuador	Yes	No/No	No	80 days/15 days	Yes	Yes
Guatemala	Yes	No/No	No	84 days/UNK	Yes	No
Mexico	Yes	Yes/No	No	90 days/10 days	No	No
Panama	Yes	NA/ No	Yes	98 days/3 days	Yes	Yes
Paraguay	No	No/No	Yes	126 days/UNK	Yes	Yes
Peru	Yes	No/No	No	98 days/UNK	No	Yes
Trinidad and Tobago	Yes	No, there is a 30% cap	Yes	90 days/3 days	Yes	No
Uruguay	Yes	Yes/Yes	No	91 days/10 days	Yes	Yes

NA=not applicable because they have no military forces
UNK=unknown-data was not provided during data collection

More generally, it must be noted that data on women's participation and promotion rates were elusive in many countries. Either the data are not being collected and tracked over time, or the country refuses to publish the data. One country indicated that data on women in the military were considered confidential and not publicly releasable.

Many organizations that track numbers and the composition of armed forces around the world, such as the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, generally do not collect sex-disaggregated data. The only known detailed survey of women in the armed forces and the police dates from 2010 and was carried out by the Argentine think tank RESDAL.[39]

Women-Friendly Policies and Programs

To increase women's participation in the security forces, it is also important to have policies and programs that make military and police service possible on a personal level. Women tend to leave the military and police at higher rates than men when they have children or encounter a hostile work

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39 RESDAL obtained much of its data through freedom of information mechanisms. See Marcela Donadio et al., *Women in the Armed Forces and Police in Latin America: Agender Approach to Peace Operations* (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2010). See Renata Avilar Giannini, Maiara Folly and Mariana Fonseca Lima, *Situacoes extraordinarias a entrada de mulheres na linha de frente das Forcas Armadas brasileiras* (Rio de Janieri: Igarapé Institute: 2017). We do not know to what extent the US government is collecting data on the number of women in military forces around the world and how it applies that data to its International Military Training and Education (IMET) programs.

environment. Therefore, it is imperative that the military and police implement policies that make it possible for women to have a fulfilling career by ensuring that their organizations are inclusive, free of harassment, and accommodate family needs for women who often remain primary caregivers.

In all countries reviewed, both the military and police provide paid maternity leave for women, although the length of time varies greatly—from 80 days to 18 weeks. Many countries also provide a few days of paid paternity leave. Some countries offer varying levels of childcare and family leave, while others offer none.

A healthy and productive work environment also requires that sexual harassment and abuse is not tolerated, that it is strictly monitored, and that offenders are prosecuted. Most countries, particularly those involved in peacekeeping, provide basic human rights training, with a portion of the training directed specifically toward preventing sexual and gender-based violence in the areas of operations. However, the same level of training and attention is not being given to eradicating sexual harassment and abuse within a country's own ranks. Data from countries that track and address harassment, including the US, Canada and Australia, show that sexual harassment and abuse of women in the ranks is pervasive in military organizations around the world.[40] Therefore, it is critical that military and police organizations address this behavior if they want to keep women in their organizations.

Finally, uniforms, equipment, and facilities must be adapted to accommodate women to optimize women's performance and retention. Only half of the countries in our survey provide women-specific equipment. (Table 7 above). Requiring women to perform in uniforms and equipment designed by and for men degrades women's performance, causes injuries, and can result in safety hazards. Furthermore, failing to provide bathrooms and safe billets also drives women out of military and police organizations.

In sum, security forces seeking to increase women's participation must ensure that there are family-friendly programs available to support women's long-term participation, address sexual harassment and abuse within the ranks, and provide uniforms, equipment, and billets for women. While countries in the region score well in terms of maternity and paternity leave policies, much work remains to be accomplished in the other areas.

WPS Training and Education

Applying a gender lens to military and police organizations and operations requires training and education. It is not an intuitive process. The countries that participate in UN peacekeeping operations receive human rights and WPS training during pre-deployment training. Indeed, when countries engage with the UN, particularly in the context of contributing troops to UN peacekeeping operations, they are expected to meet certain UN WPS training requirements. However, for many countries, gender and WPS training ends with UN missions.

Some countries have more systematically integrated gender training into their entry, mid- and senior-level training and education programs. That said, this training is more likely to be found in the military than the police. Police training generally focuses on responding to and preventing domestic, sexual, and gender-based violence.

GENADs and GFPs require specialized training. Such training remains limited. A few countries like Argentina provide WPS training for the military. Costa Rica has mainstreamed gender throughout police training programs. Costa Rica is unique in the region for creating a gender training program that addresses masculinity and machismo culture.

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40 The US DoD tracks the incidence rate of sexual harassment and assault in the ranks and publishes annual reports on their Sexual and Prevention Website. This is a Congressionally mandated annual requirement. https://www.sapr.mil/. See also Government of Canada, 2019 Sexual Misconduct Incident Tracking Report https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misconduct-tracking-report.html. In Australia, the Chief of the Army came out strongly against sexual harassment and abuse. See Australia's Chief of the Army addresses to soldiers on sexual assault in the ranks. https://vimeo.com/71028162.

Eleven countries in the region host peacekeeping training centers. Many of these centers have not integrated gender and the WPS agenda in their curriculum in a systematic manner.[41] Helping these centers build up their WPS and gender equality curriculum and provide specialized courses for GENADs would be an obvious first step towards more robust training on WPS and gender equality in the region.

Monitoring, Reporting, and Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation are critical for learning and understanding whether progress is being made in implementing the WPS agenda. Monitoring and evaluation also had the lowest average scores. There are three main reasons for the low scores. First, even when countries have developed NAPs, strategies or implementation plans, they are often written without clearly defined and measurable goals and benchmarks. Second, countries generally do not appoint or support independent oversight bodies. Most governments are wary of such bodies and/or the involvement of civil society in the oversight of policies. Third, there is a dearth of sex-disaggregated data being collected or made available for evaluation.

The best monitoring and evaluation programs are independent, transparent, and involve civil society. Some country teams reported that monitoring and evaluation does occur, but the reports and data produced by entities in these countries can only be accessed by requesting them through government transparency programs, or they may not be available at all.

Costa Rica has the most robust monitoring and evaluating systems in the region. They are provided by Costa Rica's National Institute for Women, which functions as a ministry. This ministry-level Institute has a national council responsible for decision-making at the national level. Furthermore, the Institute provides advice and has oversight over gender mainstreaming in all of the government ministries, including the Ministry of Public Security.

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41 Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. See Adriana Erthal Abdenur, *Enhancing Peacekeeping Training Through Cooperation: Lessons from Latin America*, Policy Brief (Rio de Janeiro: Igarapé Institute, June 2018).

Some countries have robust independent civil society networks that provide some external monitoring and evaluation functions and keep pressure on governments to advance gender equality and the WPS agenda. For example, Colombia has a robust civil society network with 57 distinct organizations that promote the principles of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda. It also has a Women Peace and Security Observatory, a coalition of civil society organizations that is actively lobbying the government to adopt a WPS NAP.[42] In some countries, the think tank and academic community are important players. For example, in Brazil, the Igarapé Institute has a considerable amount of expertise with regard to the WPS agenda and women in the military. Similarly, in Argentina, RESDAL has undertaken important work in this regard. The analysis by these institutions are important in collecting best practices and advancing the WPS agenda in the region. More generally, the Gender Division of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC or CEPAL in Spanish) plays an important role in gender mainstreaming in the region and collecting data.

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42 See Humanas Colombia, *20 Años Exigiendo que el Gobierno Colombiano se conecte con la Paz y la Seguridad de las Mujeres*, Pronunciamiento (Bogotá, Colombia: Humanas, July 2020) at https://www.humanas.org.co/alfa/dat_particular/arch_contenidos/i_e_73153_q_PRONUNCIAMIENTO_R1325.pdf; Also from Humanas Colombia, see Observatorio Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad (a group actively lobbying for a WPS NAP), *Cumplimiento del Estado Colombiano con la Resolución 1325 de 2000: Informe de monitoreo del año 2017 y primer semestre de 2018*, (Bogotá, Colombia: Humanas, December 2018) at https://www.humanas.org.co/alfa/dat_particular/ar/ar_9042_q_R1325informe.pdf.

Recommendations and Concluding Remarks

To advance the gender equality and WPS agenda in the security forces in the region, the following actions should be taken at the national and regional levels.

National Actions

All countries in the region have strong normative gender equality frameworks in place. This should provide a solid basis for governments in the region to apply the political will necessary to develop WPS NAPs. The most effective NAPs are whole-of-government efforts that engage all governmental and non-governmental stakeholders and cover the entire range of security challenges, including human security and non-military security challenges. More specifically:

- All government agencies, including military and police forces, should develop implementation plans with clear goals and benchmarks for measuring progress;

- Governments must back up their commitment to NAPs and implementation plans by pledging the necessary resources—personnel and financial—to ensure effective implementation;

- Legislatures must become actively involved in the development of WPS NAPs. They should require the executive to present NAP updates at regular intervals and pass budgets with dedicated funding streams for NAPs and implementation plans;

- Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should be transparent and include members of civil society. Civil society actors are critical to ensuring transparency and providing expertise in the effective implementation of WPS NAPs.

The increase of the number of women in police and military organizations and the integration of gender perspectives in operations require actions at different levels.

- Military and police organizations should develop organization-specific WPS implementation plans. This can be accomplished even in the absence of a nation-wide WPS NAP. Countries, such as Argentina and Colombia, have developed and effectively implemented military implementation plans before NAPs were developed.

- In terms of gender balance, the military and police should remove all exclusions and caps that limit women's full participation in the security forces. They should also develop recruitment programs and establish targets to increase the number of women in the ranks. Military and police should regularly collect and publish sex-disaggregated data on women in the ranks.

- In terms of integrating gender perspectives in operations and more generally the development of a gender mainstreaming strategy, the military and police should appoint Gender Advisors (GENADs). GENADs help with the development of organizational gender mainstreaming strategies, make sure that police and military exercises and operations have integrated a gender analysis, and advise on the education and training of soldiers and officers with regard to the WPS agenda. To be effective GENADs should be located at the highest command level. In addition to GENADs, military and police organizations should appoint Gender Focal Points (GFPs) at lower levels of the organization. GFPs are key to ensuring that implementation takes place at all levels.

International and Regional Actions

There is a great deal of expertise in Latin America and the Caribbean that should be capitalized on for the good of the entire region. Unfortunately, the exchange and learning among security forces in the region is ad-hoc, uneven, and non-systematic. Countries in the region, including the United States government (US DoD and US SOUTHCOM), should create a WPS Center of Excellence for military and police security forces that can support the integration of the WPS agenda throughout the region. The Center—a multilateral governmental venture—should seek to actively engage non-governmental stakeholders. The Center would function as a regional hub to support military and police forces in the region. Areas of responsibilities would include:

- *Research:* encourage national and regional collaborative research efforts and focus on topics supporting the integration of the WPS agenda into security forces, such as measures to eliminate barriers for women's participation in military and police forces, monitoring and evaluation practices, collecting and publishing sex-disaggregated data on gender balances in the forces.

- *Education and Training:* facilitate the development and delivery of WPS and gender curriculum and training for the military and police.

- *Convening of stakeholders:* exchange best practices.

- *Technical support:* for the development of WPS NAPs and implementation plans, particularly implementation plans for the military and police.

More specifically, the US Government (US DoD and US SOUTHCOM) should embed WPS discussions in all engagements, including in all security and military senior leader engagements. They should also incentivize women's participation in any externally funded training programs they provide to regional partners by requiring that a certain percentage of military and police women participate in the training.

Concluding Remarks

It has been twenty years since UNSCR 1325 was unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council. In the subsequent years, there has been slow but steady progress in realizing the purpose and intent of 1325. Many nations around the world, and six in Latin America and the Caribbean, have adopted WPS National Action Plans.

The concepts and terms *gender balance, gender perspective and gender mainstreaming* are better understood and becoming embedded within the operational activities of security institutions. Nations that are further along with gender mainstreaming have begun to realize the value of adopting a gender perspective to achieve better security outcomes. That said, normative thinking and behavior on complex social issues is slow to change, but change does happen. It requires concerted, continuous and systematic efforts by all.

Lastly, the success of gender mainstreaming efforts is closely related to the involvement of civil society. Global studies have shown that the most successful WPS NAPs are those that have the active involvement of civil society organization at every step of the way. This finding is not surprising, since gender mainstreaming is ultimately about debunking regressive gender stereotypes that exist within our societies.

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Igarape Institute, https://igarape.org.br/temas/consolidacao-da-paz/

London School of Economics Centre for Women, Peace and Security, https://www.lse.ac.uk/women-peace-security/research/Rethinking-Policy-Advocacy-Implementation

NATO, Allied Command Transformation - Gender Advisor. The website contains on-line education and training modules and toolkits, https://www.act.nato.int/gender-advisor

Pass Blue Women, press agency, https://www.passblue.com/category/women/

Red de Seguridad y Defensa de America Latina, https://www.resdal.org/

UN Women, https://www.unwomen.org/es

UN Peacekeeping, Department of Peace Operations, https://peacekeeping.un.org/es/department-of-peace-operations

WILPF's Women, Peace and Security, https://www.peacewomen.org/

Women In International Security, https://www.wiisglobal.org/wiis-wps-scorecard-security-forces-in-latin-america/

The WomenStats Project at www.womanstats.org

Women's UN Report Network, listserve (also in Spanish, Portuguese, French), https://wunrn.com/

WPS National Action Plans, https://www.wpsnaps.org/

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* Project participants includes those who participated in at
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About Women In International Security

Women In International Security (WIIS) is the premier global network dedicated to advancing the leadership and professional development of women in the field of international peace and security.

WIIS (pronounced 'wise') sponsors leadership, training and capacity building programs as well as substantive events focused on current policy problems.

WIIS also supports research projects and policy engagement initiatives on critical international security issues, including the nexus between gender and security.

WIIS has members—women and men— in 47 countries on six continents. They work in international organizations, government, NGO's, think tanks, universities, corporations and media outlets.

WIIS is an active member and contributor to the US Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security.

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