## WOMEN IN THE ARMED AND POLICE FORCES

RESOLUTION 1325 AND PEACE OPERATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA



Project GPSF Nº 07-814: Women in the Armed Forces and Police in Latin America: A gender approach to peace operations

#### Donadío, Marcela

Women in the armed and police forces: resolution 1325 and peace operations in Latin America / Marcela Donadío y Cecilia Mazzotta; con colaboración de Ivette Castañeda García; coordinado por Marcela Donadío y Cecilia Mazzotta. - 1a ed. - Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2010.

152 p.; 26x21 cm.

ISBN 978-987-25167-2-7

1. Fuerzas Armadas Internacionales. 2. Personal Militar. 3. Mujeres. I. Mazzotta, Cecilia II. Castañeda García, Ivette, colab. III. Donadío, Marcela, coord. IV. Mazzotta, Cecilia, coord. V. Título

CDD 355.357

#### Project Management:

Marcela Donadio Cecilia Mazzotta

With the collaboration of:

Ivette Castañeda García

#### Local researchers:

Alejandra Marzuca (Uruguay)

Ana Laura García (Argentina)

Dina Marbely Martinez (El Salvador)

Edgar Lopéz (Paraguay)

Fabricio Herrera (Honduras)

Katherine Ross Silva (Chile)

María Belén Cuesta (Ecuador)

María Teresa Álvarez (Guatemala)

Renata Giannini (Brazil)

Rosario Peréz Ponce (Bolivia)

Rossy Salazar e Ivette Castañeda García (Peru)

#### Sub-regional coordinations:

Carmen Rosa de León Escribano

Loreta Tellería Escobar

Suzeley Kalil Mathias

#### Translators:

Clarisa Korovsky

Leonardo Nacimiento

Graphic design:

Rubén Longas

#### Cover photo:

Female personnel from the V Uruguayan Battalion in MONUC performing operational reconnaissance tasks (March 12, 2003). National Support System to Peacekeeping Operations (SINOMAPA). Eastern Republic of Uruguay

#### RESDAL

Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina

http://www.resdal.org

Executive Secretariat:

Av. Corrientes 1785 – 5J

(1042) Buenos Aires, Argentina

Tel: (5411) 4371-3822

Fax: (5411) 4371- 5522

ISBN 978-987-25167-2-7

#### © Copyright RESDAL

Legal deposit has been made as provided by law

All Rights Reserved. Printed in Argentina

The articles published are based on the authors' criterion. Their content does not necessarily represent RESDAL's opinions.

This publication received the support of Canada

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Presentation	. 5
Preliminary lessons	. 9
Part 1: The context	
Chapter 1: Peace operations and the gender perspective in conflicts	14
Chapter 2: Women in the regional scenario	32
luan Rial: Women in the military organizations	38
Part 2: The assessment	
Chapter 1: Women in the armed forces	50
Chapter 2: Women in the police forces	82
Chapter 3: Latin America and Resolution 1325	03
Ohanna Mendelson Forman: Latin American peacekeeping: A new era of regional cooperation	30
Annexes	
Resolution 1325 (2000)	43
Resolution 1820 (2008)	47

### **PRESENTATION**

Latin-American countries are important contributors within the peace operations scenario. In regional terms, contribution has increased by 725% throughout the last decade and this trend is not showing any prospective signs of change towards the near future. Congresses' yearly approvals and the involvement of Ministries such as the Foreign Affairs and Defence show how the presence in MINUSTAH is politically supported. However, for many decision makers and actors who are directly involved in peace operations some questions remain unsolved: the mission's action limits, the steps to follow in the institutional reconstruction process, and the links between security and development.

The United Nations - along with other organizations and actors from the international community - constantly promotes doctrines and experiences aimed at considering and implementing appropriate national contributions, in line with the future challenges within the field. *Women in the armed and police forces - Resolution 1325 and peace operations in Latin America* is a contribution for the promotion and reflection upon one of the most significant and paradoxically unknown resolutions: Resolution 1325, passed in the year 2000 by the Security Council, with the purpose of promoting women's participation at all levels within the scope of peacekeeping operations.

Our approach to the topic started while working on another publication of RESDAL: the *Comparative Atlas of Defence*. Within this publication, one of the most difficult pieces of information to obtain was the year in which women joined the command corps of the armed forces; an issue which remains under consideration, as there are no criteria in common among the countries of the region. The contrast between the growing regional interest and the low participation of women in peace operations was clear. We assumed that it was

more due to invisibility and lack of information rather than the lack of political will to take the thrust provided by Resolution 1325 to practice. Because of that we decided to spread this Resolution and help the consideration of sending women to peace operations through this research.

Therefore, the motivation was clear from the beginning: to reinforce regional participation in peace operations through the promotion of a gender perspective in security and defence institutions. Bearing this in mind, the first step was to survey the incorporation of women in the armed and police forces.

The information presented is the result of a project initiated by the end of 2007 with the support of the Global Peace and Security Fund from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada. The project "Women in the Armed Forces and the Police in Latin America: a gender approach to peace operations" had two components: the promotion and debate on this topic at the regional level through seminars, and the analysis of domestic cases from eleven countries. The team was made up of a head office, subregional coordinations (Loreta Tellería in the Andean region, Carmen Rosa de León Escribano in Central America, and Suzeley Khalil Mathias in the Southern Cone; Lilian Bobea was in charge of the Caribbean region over the first stage of the sub-regional diagnoses), and the supervision of two renowned regional experts such as Johanna Mendelson Forman and Juan Rial. Ivette Castañeda García - who left her homeland Peru, to work particularly on this project -, and Ana Laura García from Argentina, have both been of paramount significance.

There has been a local researcher working in each country surveyed, carrying out interviews and gathering data from different institutions. The selected cases were those which had a significant participation in United Nations peace operations throughout 2008: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. The reports, rich in information, are available on RESDAL'S website. During 2009 while the results were being processed, we collected and included data from Colombia.

The working methodology set up two ways of gathering information: the work of local researchers and, when it was considered necessary, complementary visits from RESDAL'S main team to different countries, in order to carry out field work with the directors of the training centers; officers of the armed and police forces; representatives of the Women's, Defence and Interior Ministries; officers of parliament; female officers from academies , as well as military and police women who had experience in the field of peace operations.

An initial diagnosis about women's situation in the armed forces in different sub-regions was presented in Antigua, Guatemala in March 2008, as an input debate among representatives of the main peace operations training institutes, ministerial authorities and scholars, sharing their own experiences. The need for information, in conjunction with the recommendations agreed upon, led us to spread the issue in order to be dealt by the next Conference of Ministers of Defence (which was eventually held in 2008). Effective progress on this matter was achieved when different governments agreed to include Resolution 1325 into the Final Declaration of this Conference.

Two new international meetings were held under the name of "Women, Peace and Security" in Bolivia (June) and in Argentina (August) over 2009, with the support of the Ministries of Defence and the Presidency of Bolivia, and the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs of Argentina. Representatives of several units involved in the United Nations gender policies, heads of peace operations training centers, and civil and military women vastly experienced in peace operations where present, among other renowned participants. The main objective was to further the progress made by building a space for debate and sharing lessons learnt about women's situation within security and defence institutions, and to analyze the prospective inclusion of more women into the configuration of national peace operations contingents. A similar meeting will take place in Central America in 2010.

This project's highest challenge was to include the topic in the regional agenda. The outcome of our analysis today is that we have discovered along the process new conceptual developments, efforts and initiatives that render the gender issue in peace operations an unexplored sphere in our region. People and organizations from the United Nations have provided us with unbiased and continual support and guidance; we would like to specially thank the Department of Peacekeeping Operations for all their support and generosity. Also, our thanks to the peace operations training centres from the entire region and to the ministries, who have collaborated and participated in the different activities. Sharing experiences with those actors who are directly involved has enabled us to approach the complex dynamics in current peace operations and the dilemmas and critical needs of conflict situations. Specially, we would like to thank all the military women who agreed to share their experiences. All of them have made a contribution that goes beyond the mere delivery of information as they helped us bring down our own stereotypes and come nearer the real context.

As far as RESDAL is concerned, the possibility to meet, approach and relate to all these actors has meant a major benefit for this work. We carried out summarizing and analyzing tasks, while the real makers of this work are the

members of the whole team and the countless people from the entire region who brought information, corrected mistakes, gave ideas and showed the existing richness and courage behind the regional contribution to peace operations. This has been in fact the foundation stone of this publication.

The treatment of this issue comes at the right time: the manifest need to receive diagnoses on the prospective development of women in the peace and security field comes across responsive political wills and committed societies. This book is a tool intended for all those who are interested in acquiring knowledge in an area still unexplored within the region, and for the promotion of a joint collaboration among civilian, military and police forces, in order to boost gender equality within democratic institutions.

Marcela Donadio Cecilia Mazzotta

### PRELIMINARY LESSONS

The boost given by the Security Council Resolution 1325 regarding the incorporation of gender considerations before, during and after the deployment of a peace operation, conducts troop-contributing countries to renew their commitment to international peacebuilding and peacekeeping processes. The first step towards the alignment between international demands and the actual capacities of our institutions is bringing the involved actors closer to the multidimensionality of peace operations.

Several conclusions and recommendations will appear troughout the publication. In a short and medium term, the perspectives of Resolution 1325 for the countries of the region, may be highlighted as follows:

- Participation of Latin America in peace operations has risen exponentially over the last decade. This shows the existence of a strong political will and social support towards the participation of countries in the solution of international conflicts.
- The region shows good conditions to work on the conceptual and practical development of peace operations. The experience of democratization after internal conflicts and the peace achieved within international relations, support and enhance the quality of personnel's assistance in conflict situations.
- The increased level of participation was not necessarily the result of a planned process and has developed without any significant obstacles. Partly, it has been the consequence of internal circumstances forcing to assign new missions to military forces. In order to achieve its consolidation as a medium and long term policy, wider views on the importance of peacebuilding to a national policy will be necessary.

- In this sense, the contribution to peace operations is still usually interpreted as the delivery of force members. The region faces the challenge to grasp a better understanding of the multidimensional concept, and the resulting police and civilian partaking needs. The limited number of police staff delivered, the lack of knowledge of Resolutions 1325 and 1820 and the absence of a debate and consideration of urgent matters such as civil-military cooperation and the relationship with the humanitarian agenda, are part of this context.
- Institutional issues are the essential context of the current participation trends: the joint inter-agency coordination is a concept on the horizon, but, in practice, there is a long way to go yet. As part of the development of institutions within the framework of young democracies, this appears as a natural problem. However, in order to avoid the crystallization of practices related to autonomous decision and action spheres, it is important to focus on the interaction of the key actors: ministries, congresses, training centers, commands of the police and military forces, as well as the academy and civil society.
- -The gender issue gets caught in this democratization context, where reforms over security and defence sectors may be carried out or not. In general, the sub-regional differences show how the development of gender policies is related to the progresses in democratic institutionality and legislative reforms. Security and defence sectors are not exempt from this trend, which is enhanced by a traditional view of military and police careers, where the male image prevails. The higher or lower incorporation of women in military careers is associated with the wider concepts societies are developing. Basically, what kind of armed forces they want for the future.
- The low number of women among staff shows the weak implementation of a gender approach in the regional contribution to peace operations. But actually, it also has a close relationship with the levels of incorporation of women in the armed forces, and with the fact that incorporation in military careers is still recent. It will take years to have female personnel available with the skills required by the United Nations. A period over which work should be steady, allowing that the progress made on gender policies round out the professional growth of those women who can join and serve in the future.
- Regarding the police forces, the situation is different. In some countries, women have even managed to take on decision-making positions and

reach - in most cases - the highest ranks within the police hierarchy. The highest limitation goes beyond the scope of the 1325: the participation of police forces in peace operations is practically absent from the regional agenda. This is not only a consequence of the internal needs of countries but also of the limited circulation of this kind of police mission, at the political and general public levels.

- The fact that the institutions' doors are open does not necessarily mean there is a cultural change in progress. As long as institutions develop gender policies, men and women will be included in a personnel policy that will allow them to foster their abilities to their utmost. In this sense, interviewees and participants from several events coincided on the fact that the ultimate goal must be to achieve better working conditions for everyone and not only for women.
- In many countries, women still face various obstacles towards being included in military careers. The limitation on vacancies to join the military schools or even the lack of possibilities to access them, along with the restrictions to reach other specialization areas and professional promotion are some of the clearest restraints in this sense. For many women who have served in peace operations, this has meant the existence of professional alternatives and experiences not usually found in their countries.
- The current presence of women in operations, except in a few cases, is restricted to administrative and logistic areas. That is due both to cultural issues and the limited number of people who could currently fulfill the requirements for participating in the operational field.
- As regards the United Nations, the presence of gender advisors in the missions implies an important practical progress. A direct unit of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General would help to empower this action.
- The requirements for fulfilling job positions and the confirmation that announcements of vacancies reach all the potentially interested people will be key aspects in the medium term. Likewise, and based on the experiences researched, the cultural aspect of the operations should be improved (as to the mission area and the composition of contingents) when promoting a higher participation of women.
- The foundation of a joint observatory in order to follow up the professional progress of women in the armed forces of the region, in a context of equality, inclusion and democracy -, has been proposed by members

- of the activities as a contribution to increase female participation into peace operations.
- The fact that the Resolution 1325 has been included into the process of the Conference of Defence Ministers of the Americas implies a window of opportunity for the defence sector in the near future. Likewise, the need to achieve higher integration among government agencies would create conditions to promote the development of Action Plans in the regional agenda.
- Promoting discussions on gender-based violence issues during armed conflicts within the regional agenda, and particularly the presumptions of Resolution 1820, will be a significant challenge in the future.

# PART 1 THE CONTEXT

## CHAPTER 1: PEACE OPERATIONS AND THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN CONFLICTS

#### PEACE OPERATIONS WITHIN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

"To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security..." <sup>1</sup> Peace missions, peacekeeping operations, peace operations, are in essence, different names referring to the same issue: the role of the international community in conflicts. Since 1945, through the creation of an international community that binds the States under the mandate of peace preservation and international security, the range of conflict situations goes beyond the action and decision-making of national States. Be it through the United Nations, other multilateral organizations, or even ad hoc coalitions, the political conception spread towards the cultural sphere is that the international community plays a role in conflicts among parties.

United Nations intervention, via the establishment of *missions*, has been the main instrument in the development of the mandates of the Charter as far as security is concerned. Naturally, the transition from conception to action was not easy. The establishment of the Middle East Operation came into being shortly after the creation of the Organization - with the purpose of monitoring the Armistice Agreement still in force among Israel and its Arabian neighbours (UNTSO) in 1948. However, it was not until 1965 that the reports of the Organization started to depict *peacekeeping operations* in a special section, when the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations was created.<sup>2</sup>

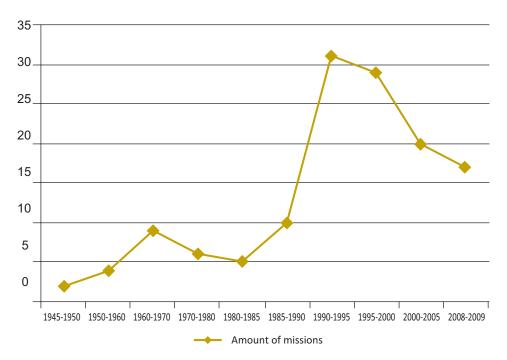
<sup>1</sup> United Nations Organization, Charter of the United Nations, (San Francisco: UN, June 26th, 1945), Preamble.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Organization, *Yearbook of the United Nations 1965*, (New York: UN, 1965), Section I, <a href="http://unyearbook.un.org/unyearbook.html?name=1965index.html">http://unyearbook.un.org/unyearbook.html?name=1965index.html</a>.

As of 1945 to these days, 63 peace operations have been deployed in different parts of the world. In post Cold-War, the release from the permanent veto in the Security Council resulted in an exponential growth in the number of missions. Besides, this affected the expectations for the role of the Organization, and the renewed belief that conflicts could be stopped and controlled through international action. The 18 missions that took place over 1945-1989, amounted to 45 missions from 1990 to 2009. These days, there are mission deployments in 16 parts of the planet, considering only those which are under the direct mandate of the United Nations.

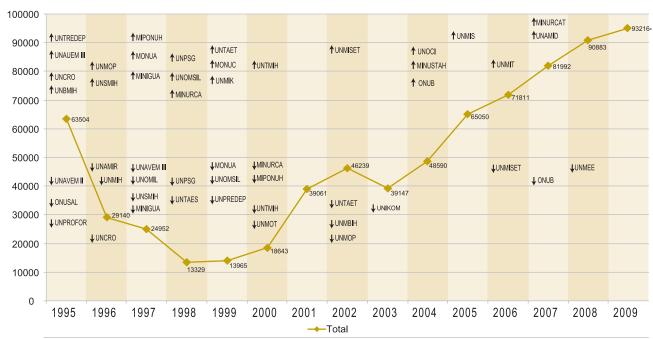
Chart N° 1 Progress in number of missions deployed by the UN (1945-2009)

**Source:** Elaborated on the basis of documents from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp).



The progress in the number of missions through the decades shows the changes that have also occurred in the doctrines. The international security context itself and the characteristics of conflicts have progressively led developments in the conception of the role of the Organization and the member States, in front of situations that threaten peace and security. Having reached its top expectations in the early 90s, the amount of operations reaches an average of 16/17 missions underway every year after 1995 (where it seems to have occurred a breaking point in the expectations on account of the conflict in ex- Yugoslavia). Since then, the trend seems to have settled: a regular number of interventions growing in amount of staff, financial resources, and degree of complexity.

Chart Nº 2
Number of troops deployed and peace operations underway (1995-2009)



Peace operations until 1995: UNTSO, UNMOGIP, UNFICYP, UNDOF, UNIFIL, UNAVEM II, MINURSO, ONUSAL, UNPROFOR, UNOSOM II, UNOMIG, UNOMIL, UNMIH, UNAMIR, UNMOT

Current peace operations (June 2009): UNTSO, UNMOGIP, UNFICYP, UNDOF, UNIFIL, MINURSO, UNMIK, MONUC, UNMIL, UNOCI, MINUSTAH, UNMIS, UNMIT, UNAMID, UNOMIG, MINURCAT

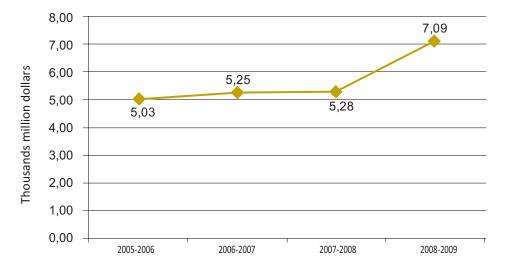
**Source:** Elaborated on the basis of data provided by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (<a href="http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/">http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/</a>). Updated April 2009.

#### Chart Nº 3

Resources allotted to peacekeeping operations

Note: periods go from June 30 to July 1 of the following year.

**Source:** United Nations General Assembly. Administrative and budgetary aspects of the financing of PKOs.



#### Integrated missions

The current doctrine promotes the conception of integrated missions, where there is "A shared vision by all United Nations actors of the strategic objectives of the United Nations presence at country-level."

"Integration is the guiding principle for the design and implementation of complex UN operations in post-conflict situations and for linking the different dimensions of peacebuilding (political, development, humanitarian, human rights, rule of law, social and security aspects) into a coherent support strategy. An integrated mission is based on a common strategic plan and a shared understanding of the priorities and types of programme interventions that need to be undertaken at various stages of the recovery process. Through this integrated process, the UN system seeks to maximize its contribution toward countries emerging from conflict by engaging its different capabilities in a coherent and mutually supportive manner."<sup>2</sup>

In the MINUSTAH, for instance, the integrated conception is expressed through a structure that is based upon four components: the political, the military, the police and the civil.

#### Sources:

- 1 Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines, (New York: UNO, January 2008), 15.
- 2 United Nations, Guidance on Integrated Missions, Note from the Secretary-General, (New York: UNO, February 9TH . 2006).

The year 2000 was crucial to a decade that finally brought about relevant developments for the conception of peace operations. The so-called *Brahimi Report*, and the *Declaration of the Millennium*<sup>3</sup>, laid the foundations for the debate on the organizational structure, the current challenges, the requirements made to member States to cater for the Organization demands, and the urgent international peace and security realities. Thus, a more accurate view was developed on the characteristics of conflicts, which attempts to illustrate the dilemmas when sovereignty, the role of non-state actors, and the participation of mission components - beyond the use of military forces are involved. The missions, from their first implementation, had followed an inter-States model of conflict, where the United Nations intervention stemmed from the conflicting parties request. The agreement spawned, even tacitly, a political base for action, which was ratified by the Security Council. However, these lines had been gradually blurring since the 90s, and the Security Council had been acquiring a higher relevance.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Organization, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, A/55/305 - S/2000/809, (New York: UN, August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2000). General Assembly, Declaration of the Millennium A/RES/55/2\*, (New York: UN, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 2000).

#### **Hybrid Operations**

A hybrid operation is a peace operation involving the deployment of military, police or civilian personnel from two or more entities under a single structure.

*Coordinated*: the UN and other organizations operate side-by-side, under separate command structures, but closely coordinate their policies and actions.

*Parallel:* the UN deploys alongside another organization's force without formal coordination.

Sequential: the UN precedes or follows a multinational, regional or bilateral force.

#### General characteristics:

- It is a joint and/or multidimensional operation, deployed within a specific area of operational responsibility.
- Conducted by forces from different organizations and/or States, each with its own mandate (objectives, missions, tasks, composition, and so forth).
- It has different Status of Forces or Mission Agreements (SOFA/SOMA) and hosts national agreements.
- It has different rules of engagement.
- Each organization is under the command and control of its respective mandating authority.
- The common purpose is to work in favour of conflict resolution.

#### Sources:

Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, (New York, UN, January 2008), 58. The Challenges Project, *Meeting the Challenges of Peace Operations: Cooperation and Coordination*, (Stockholm: Elanders Gotab, 2005). Festus Aboagye, The *AU/UN Hybrid Operation In Darfur: Challenges*, *Lessons and Implications for Regional Peacekeeping Training*, (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, November 2007).

Conceptual developments somehow illustrate the gathering concerns: the Brahimi Report in 2000 (along with its institutional baggage and the request for a stronger emphasis on the police issue), the debates on the responsibility to protect<sup>4</sup>, and the multidimensionality acknowledged in the Capstone Doctrine (2008). There is progress in the doctrinarian complexity, though it is worth mentioning that the process of political agreements on this issue is fully underway. The central topics of the debate on peace operations converge upon five important issues/matters:

<sup>4</sup> From a specific human security approach, the responsibility to protect summarized the terms of a debate that was harming the international community. This debate focused mainly on determining when and how to intervene in favor of the defence of conflict-affected populations human rights, and on the necessity to legitimate military interventions and their limits. The core principles underlying this conceptualization were that the primary responsibility to protect the population lies upon States, and that – in diverse internal conflict situations - the non-intervention principle gives way to the international responsibility to protect, when a State is not able or refuses to stop the damage being done on people.

- the conflicts' nature, and their multidimensional character.
- the role of international community and the *responsibility to protect*.
- the necessary *integration* among various operation components.
- a view beyond the use of force, considering the general process of the conflict, expressed through the *civil-military cooperation*; and
  - the action of United Nations with other organizations: *hybrid operations*.

#### UNAMID: United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur

- -It is the first and most important hybrid operation at present.
- -Authorized by the Security Council in July 2007, under chapter VII of the Charter.
- -Authorized Total Strength (the largest in history):
  - Military: 19,555Police: 6,432Civilian: 5,557
- -Deployed Forces (up to May 26, 2009):
  - Military personnel: 13.455 including 12,814 troops, 378 staff officers, 179 military observers and 84 liaison officers.
  - Police personnel: 2,877 including 1,902 police advisors, and 7 former police units totalling 975 personnel.
  - Civilian personnel: 3,497 including 985 international personnel, 2,195 national and 317 UN volunteers.
- It has met some difficulties to gather authorized personnel.
- -Approved budget: (July 1st , 2008 –June 30th , 2009): 1,569.26 million dollars, the most expensive in the history of peace operations.
- -Main donor countries: Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, the European Commission, Sweden, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Iceland, Greece, Canada, Egypt, Saudi Arabia.

#### Sources:

Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Darfur-UNAMID- Facts and Figures, (New York, DPKO, July 2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unamid/facts.html. Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on the deployment of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, S/2009/297, (New York: UN, June 9th , 2009).

The definition of the multidimensional nature of conflicts explains in some way the other big debates in progress. The concept was known in the American Hemisphere and adopted in October 2003, during the Special Conference on Security held in Mexico: "Our new concept of security in the Hemisphere is multidimensional in scope, includes traditional and new threats, concerns, and other challenges to the security of the states of the Hemisphere, incorporates the priorities of each state, contributes to the consolidation of peace, integral development, and social justice, and is based on democratic values, respect for and promotion and defence of human rights, solidarity, cooperation, and respect for national sovereignty."<sup>5</sup>

This conception of security finds its echo in one of the most recent developments of the United Nations: the *Capstone Doctrine*, presented in January 2008. This doctrine acknowledges that "the transformation of the international environment has given rise to a new generation of 'multi-dimensional' United Nations peacekeeping operations". They are typically deployed in the dangerous aftermath of a violent internal conflict and may employ a mix of military, police and civilian capabilities to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement.<sup>6</sup>

Due to such multidimensionality, operations assume as part of their main functions - apart from the traditional monitoring and ceasefire functions -, the following:

- "Create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the State's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights".
- "Facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions of governance".
- "Provide a framework for ensuring that all United Nations and other international actors pursue their activities at the country-level in a coherent and coordinated manner."

<sup>5</sup> Organization of American States, *Declaration on Security in the Americas*, OAS/Ser K/XXXVIII CES/dec.1/0,3 (Mexico DF: Special Conference on Security, October 28th, 2003), item 2.

<sup>6</sup> Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, (New York: UNO, January 2008), 13 and 14.

<sup>7</sup> Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, 14.

#### Civil-Military cooperation

- It is the system of interaction, involving exchange of information, negotiation, de-confliction, mutual support, and planning at all levels between military elements and humanitarian organizations, development organizations, or the local civilian population, to achieve UN objectives.
- In peacekeeping operations, Civil-Military cooperation takes place among the military component and all civil components of the mission, other members of the UN system and actors involved in the field.
- Its success is closely related to the quality and quantity of shared information.
- Although the DPKO has had a Civil-Military coordination policy since 2002, there are no specific guidelines on what the organizational structure of the coordination should be like in a peace operation.
- Most of the operations that have set up Civil-Military cooperation units have different structures and use various doctrinarian concepts and approaches.
   Some of the operations that have this component are the MINUSTAH, UNA-MID and UNMIT, among others.
- At present, it is not usual that troop-contributing countries from Latin America deploy this kind of units with this power.

Source: Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Civil-Military Coordination Policy, (New York: UN, 2002).

#### GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN CONFLICTS

Together with the aforementioned conceptual developments, peace operations have also been the recipients of elements and actions regarding an issue that is crucial to human, political, social and economic development: gender.

Female participation in peacekeeping operations has gained significant relevance over the last decade, through the intervention of the Security Council in this issue, and an active policy from the Secretary-General and the system's organizations. The turning point was one of the Security Council's resolutions, the 1325, on Women, Peace and Security, passed in 2000. More recently (June 2008), another resolution tackled the spreading of the use of sexual violence against civilians as a tactic of war in armed conflicts. Among others, Resolution 1820 requested troop-contributing countries to take measures that heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel in

order to increase the capacity to protect women and children in the field. Both resolutions are central to participation in peace operations.

The closest background to gender equality is the Preamble of the United Nations Charter itself, when it claims to reaffirm its faith in the equality of rights for men and women. Subsequent conventions, regarding declarations, policies and programmes referring to women's empowerment have been quite abundant. Enormous efforts have been made through time in order to achieve a strong and operative framework that could cater for the necessities and priorities of women and girls in conflict situations. Some of the most outstanding tools (that also supported the subsequent approval of Resolution 1325) are:

- The Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948).
- The Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (1974).
- The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, CEDAW (1981).
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).
- The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993).
- The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1999).
- The Special Session of the General Assembly "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the XXI Century" (2000).

Likewise, the celebration of world conferences on women has granted the inclusion in the agenda of the necessity to work in those areas where higher degrees of inequality between women and men were evident. Even though in the beginning conferences conferred more priority to the analysis of women's political participation, as time went by and new armed conflicts arose in the international scenario, the debate began to focus on the impact of those on civilians, especially women and girls. The need to reach a vital participation of women in peace and security related spheres, constituted the common core to all of them. For instance, just when the first conference took place in Mexico in 1975, it was stated that women were predestined to play a paramount role in the promotion, achievement and peacekeeping ever since their

<sup>8</sup> United Nations Organization, Charter of the United Nations, Preamble.

involvement in national and international organizations. One of the results, back then, was the creation of the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

	I Conference. Mexico	1975
World Conferences	II Conference. Copenhagen	1980
on Women	II Conference. Copenhagen	1985
	IV Conference. Beijing	1995

Perhaps the most important of all has been the Beijing's conference in 1995, which shifted the centre of attention towards the concept of gender, acknowledging that the whole social structure and relations among men and women had to be reassessed to fully promote the role of women. Decifically, the concept of *gender mainstreaming* was established as a main strategy to finally foster to the attainment of gender equality. This concept appeared later in the proposals of the Organization, where the appeal of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC, in 1997) to adopt a gender perspective in all policies and programmes of the United Nations system stood out. Similarly, the Conference identified the issue of "women and armed conflicts" as one of the twelve spheres of action to be worked in the Beijing Platform for Action. The Platform agreed by the international community, reflected the commitment of the States to reach the goals of gender equality, development and peace at the global level.

The process of reformulating the Organization's role in terms of security, encouraged since the year 2000, also reflected the gender issue. Women's participation in peace operations was placed in the centre of the scene. The

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Organization, *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace*, (Mexico DF: I World Conference on Women, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1975).

<sup>10</sup> United Nations Organization, *Beijing Declaration*, (Beijing: IV World Conference on Women, September 15th, 1995).

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." United Nations Organization, *Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997*, *A/52/3*, *28*, (New York: UN, September 18th, 1997).

main instruments, which constituted the basis for the approval of Security Council's Resolution 1325 in October this year, were:

- The Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action.
- The 23<sup>rd</sup> Special Session of the General Assembly.
- The Brahimi Report on peace operations.
- The Millennium Declaration.

In May 2000, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues organized a seminar in Windhoek, Namibia. There, the application of the gender perspective to peace operations was first addressed, giving the first directions to put it into practice. It was established that in order to ensure its effectiveness, gender equality principles should permeate the whole mission, at all levels, guaranteeing women and men participation as partners and equal beneficiaries in every aspect throughout the peace process.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> Special Session of the General Assembly "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the XXI Century" (also known as "Beijing + 5) was held in June. There, the advances and obstacles in the fieldwork of the action spheres proposed in 1995 were reviewed. Regarding the central theme of *women and armed conflicts*, there was an emphasis on ensuring and supporting women's participation at decision-making levels and those peace process-related activities, reaching a gender balance in the hiring of personnel, and providing adequate training, among others.<sup>12</sup> The *Millennium Declaration*, stemming from the General Assembly in September, reaffirmed the egalitarian principle for men and women, and acknowledged the need to include the recommendations of the Brahimi Report, thus reinforcing the international commitment to progress in this area.

Resolution 1325 was passed within this context. The Security Council endowed it with an obligatory character for all Member States. But, the issue of women's participation is also considered in the process of the reformulation of characteristics and needs of peace operations. The main considerations deriving from the discussions held so far pose, for instance, that:

- A mission composed of both men and women better represents the population of the host country where it is deployed, thus favouring the legitimization and acceptance of the mission by local population.
- Women peacekeepers can far more easily support conflict-affected women, who, due to questions of embarrassment or fear, cannot talk to men as they would to other women.

<sup>12</sup> General Assembly, Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, A/S-23/10/Rev.1- A/RES/S-23/3, (New York: UN, June 10th, 2000), 33.

- It improves access to social services, advising and spreading of information on gender-based violence.
- It reduces the amount of sexual abuses and rapes, mostly in displaced persons and refugees camps.
- It promotes and encourages the participation of local women and their organizations in the post-conflict political processes.
- Limits the lack of discipline of male colleagues.

#### THE NAMIBIA PLAN OF ACTION

A comprehensive database with information specifically on female candidates with their qualifications, both military and civilian, should be maintained.

Lessons learned from current and prior missions on gender should be incorporated at the planning stage of a new mission. To this end, the compilation of good practices on gender mainstreaming should be constantly updated.

The United Nations must set an example by rapidly increasing the number of senior female civilian personnel in peace support operations in all relevant Headquarters departments, including DPKO, and in the field.

Member States should be asked to increase the number of women in their military and civilian police forces who are qualified to serve in peace support operations at all levels, including the most senior. Requests to troop-contributing nations could be tailor-made to nations that are known to have suitable female staff, while other potential troop-contributing nations could be encouraged to develop longer-term strategies to increase the number and rank of female personnel in their respective forces.

Contingent-contributing countries should train a higher percentage of women.

All possible means should be employed to increase public awareness of the importance of gender mainstreaming in peace support operations.

**Source:** United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Windhoek Declaration and Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations, A/55/138-S/2000/693, (Namibia: Lessons-Learned Unit of UN DPKO, May 31st , 2000).

Since the approval of the Resolution, many initiatives have proliferated. Mostly they seek to promote the Resolution application in the entire United Nations sphere, and to let Member States take part in it, as long as awareness of their responsibility in this regard is introduced. In response to the request of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General prepared a report called "Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping activities", where the following definition was established: "Mainstreaming Gender in peacekeeping

activities is the full incorporation of gender perspectives in all peacekeeping activities, from the initial stages to ceasefire negotiations, and the establishment of mandates for peacekeeping operations, to post-conflict situations". <sup>13</sup> In this context, two responsibilities were posed for the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO):

- Integrating the gender perspective into its own work.
- Assisting the efforts of the population affected by post-conflict situations in the incorporation of the gender perspective to national structures.

#### Resolution 1325

In October 2000, the Security Council approved Resolution 1325, a landmark in the recognition of women's contribution to peace processes, conflict prevention, reconstruction and consolidation activities.

The Resolution urges the *Member States* to:

- Increase representation of women in:
  - Decision-making levels.
  - Special representatives and envoys.
  - Personnel in peace operations.
  - Increase financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training.
  - It urges the Secretary-General to:
  - Appoint more women as special representatives and envoys.
  - Expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations.
  - Ensure that field operations include a gender component.
  - Provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the issue.

Source: Security Council, Resolution 1325 of the Security Council, S/RES/1325, (New York: UN, October 31st, 2000).

Over the next years, the DPKO started a direct action on the issue. In March 2006, it organized a dialogue with troop and police contributing countries. <sup>14</sup> On that occasion, representatives from 55 countries concluded that the question of increasing female deployment in peace operations has ceased to be something desirable, to become operative. They assumed that the chances

<sup>13</sup> United Nations Organization, Report of the Secretary-General: Gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping activities, A/57/731, (New York: UN, February 13th, 2003), 6-9, 15.

<sup>14</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Policy Dialogue to Review Strategies for Enhancing Gender Balance among Uniformed Personnel in Peacekeeping Missions: Final Report,* (New York: UN. March 28<sup>th</sup> - 29<sup>th</sup>, 2006).

to fulfil the mandate of a mission and to reach a durable and stable peace depend on their presence. Therefore, they elaborated suggestions regarding the design of mechanisms to increase recruitment and deployment, and committed to further the political dialogue. That same year, a *Policy Directive on Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations*, was published by the DPKO. This was a guideline to incorporate and ensure the equal participation in all activities related to peacekeeping. The Directive targeted both peacekeeping personnel as well as Member States, seeking collaboration and support from them in its implementation.<sup>15</sup>

A new dialogue with troop-contributing countries started in Pretoria, South Africa, in 2007. This *Workshop* represented, in practice, a step forward that leads, up to these days, a sustained impulse for the elaboration of national political practices aimed at setting off the recommendations of the international Organization:

- —Establish at the national level an Inter-Ministerial Task Force on Gender and Peacekeeping, chaired by the ministry responsible for women's affairs or an equivalent entity.
- —Consult, inform and seek the partnership of women's groups and relevant civil society organizations in taking forward the outcomes of the strategy meeting.
- —Facilitate an on-going dialogue on gender and peacekeeping among the sectors of government responsible for military and police affairs, those responsible for women's affairs and others as appropriate, addressing, inter alia, the issues set out in this report.
- —Enhace the accountability reports and control mechanisms.

Four countries were selected in Pretoria to participate in a pilot process, with the aim of documenting and sharing the lessons learned: Argentina, Nigeria, Pakistan and South Africa.<sup>17</sup> Those commitments, and the agreements achieved during the past two meetings gave way to the first "National Action Plans for the Implementation of SCR 1325".

The United Nations have fostered this kind of initiatives, designing and developing in turn, their own action plan, which permeated all their agen-

<sup>15</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *DPKO Policy Directive: Gender Equality in UN Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: UN, November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, A Strategy Workshop with Women's Constituencies from Troop and Police Contributing Countries, for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping Contexts: Final Report, (Pretoria: UN, February 2<sup>nd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, A Strategy Workshop with Women's Constituencies from Troop and Police Contributing Countries, for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping Contexts: Final Report.

cies. For the 2005-2007 period, the first plan was set off. Main spheres of action revolved around conflict prevention and early warning, the peacemaking and peacebuilding, peacekeeping operations, humanitarian response and the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping personnel, among others. Through this initiative, it was sought to ensure a more efficient support to Member States in the national and regional application of the Resolution; to reinforce the organization's commitment and accountability, and to intensify inter-institutional cooperation.<sup>18</sup>

Since 2008, the second plan is in effect and will be assessed during 2009. The experience of execution of the first plan showed that on this occasion it was necessary to elaborate tools that could successfully measure efficiency in the achievement of goals, improve financing and reinforce linking efforts among governments, civil society and the United Nations. More concretely, though not less ambitiously, the second plan identified as main objectives: the formulation of policies directives for project design, reporting, monitoring and evaluation; mass media campaigns; the support to national capacities to implement the resolution, the provision of related technical assistance, and the development and strengthening of partnerships with the involved actors.

The annual Secretary-General's reports illustrate how the theme of women in peace and security has become one of the main central themes promoted by the Organization. Every year, the Presidency of the Security Council issues a declaration, where it requests annual accountability reports to the Secretary-General.

There is a second landmark when it comes to considering this subject: Resolution 1820 (2008). It gives special attention to the use of gender-based violence as a tactic of war in armed conflicts. This type of violence includes sexual violence, rape, mutilation, humiliation, forced marriage, forced abortions, denegation of contraceptives, sexual slavery, among others. During armed conflicts, gender inequalities tend to increase, and the existing violence patterns become more serious. Women are used as strategies and weapons of war, to break family and community balance, to carry out ethnic cleanse, rewards for soldiers, breakers of community resistance, political lobbying, and so on.

The Security Council has manifested its condemnation to such practices on several occasions, urging the parties to put an end to those acts and respect international regulations regarding the civilian's protection during armed conflicts. The labour of UNIFEM was noteworthy in this respect. A

<sup>18</sup> Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security, S/2005/636, (New York: UN, October 10th, 2005).

Main organizations working on Women, Peace and Security							
Organizations	UN Agencies						
PeaceWomen	United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)						
WomenWarPeace.org	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)						
WomenWatch	Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI)						
Women in International Security International Alert	Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE)						
Forum For Women and Development (FOKUS)	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)						

seminar held in England in June 2008 under the indicative title of "Women Targeted or Affected by Armed Conflict: What Role for Military Peacekeepers?" herew on the table a deep and necessary debate, mainly for troopcontributing countries, due to its impact on the field, though also on training and personnel instruction.

Reports of the Secretary-General 2002-2008									
Year	Year Main Items								
2002	Focuses on the challenges that must be addressed if progress is to be made in the achievement of the goal of gender equality in relation to peace and security.								
2004	Points out the progress achieved thus far and identifies gaps and challenges in the implementation of Resolution 1325.								
2005	Presents the system-wide Action Plan for the implementation of the Resolution.								
2006	Updates, monitors and reviews the implementation and integration on an annual basis of the System-wide Action Plan.								
2007	Updates the Plan for the period 2008-2009. It collects and compiles good practices and lessons learned, and identify the remaining gaps and challenges.								
2008	Highlights the global, regional and domestic advances, as well as the growing number of Member States which developed national action plans. It encourages continuing the work in favour of the application of Resolution 1820.								

**Sources:** Reports of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace and Security, S/2002/1154, S/2004/814, S/2005/636, S/2006/770, S/2007/567 and S/2008/622.

<sup>19</sup> UNIFEM, Women Targeted or Affected by Armed Conflict: What Role for Military Peacekeepers?, (United Kingdom: UNIFEM/DPKO, May 27<sup>th</sup> -28<sup>th</sup>, 2008).

Along the same line of concern are allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping personnel. United Nations have exhorted troop-contributing countries to take the necessary preventive action, including training prior to deployments, and disciplinary measures. As a result of a report made in March 2005, revealing an important amount of allegations against the Organization personnel in Congo, the Secretary-General openly acknowledged the problem and established a zero tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and abuse, with the aim of radically changing the approach on the question and the measures to fight it.<sup>20</sup> In this respect, the General Assembly approved a model memorandum of understanding. The model, upon the signature of the organization and the troop-contributing country, established the code of conduct that blue helmets have to comply with in the field, as regards sexual exploitation and abuse, the securing of order and discipline, and the investigation of rapes and their sanctions. <sup>21</sup>

#### Resolution 1820 (2008)

It stresses that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security.

- It demands the immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians with immediate effect. It demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls
- It points out that rape and other forms of sexual violence may constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity or a genocidal act.
- It stresses the need to exclude sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes.
- It requests the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance towards sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations. It urges troops and police-contributing countries to take appropriate preventive actions.
- It urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding.

Source: Security Council, Resolution 1820, S/RES/1820, (New York: UN, June 19th, 2008).

<sup>20</sup> General Assembly, A comprehensive strategy to eliminate future sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations, A/59/710, (New York: UN, March 24th, 2005).

<sup>21</sup> General Assembly, Revised Draft Model Memorandum of Understanding Between the United Nations and [Participating State] Contributing Resources to [the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation], A/61/494, (New York: UN, October, 2006), 4.

The slight though continual increase in women's incorporation to peace operations reflects the effect of the UN action. According to the DPKO, there were 83 women working as military observers, 48 as staff officers, 1,711 as troops and 859 as police up to June 30, 2009: the full amount of women represents 2.89% of contingents.

#### GENDER UNITS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Shortly after the approval of Resolution 1325, the first Gender Units were created in peace operations. In them, gender advisors and gender focal points fulfil the function of:

-Ensuring the integration of the gender perspective throughout the mission development.

-Working side-by-side with the Ministry of Women, the United Nations Country Team, and the governmental institutions and civil society, in order to ensure that gender be a priority and part of national politics and legislation.

Currently, full-time Gender Advisors are present in ten countries: Burundi, Haiti, Iraq, Kosovo, Liberia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, Sudan and East Timor. In the case of those missions having no full-time Gender Advisor, the United Nations has created the figure of Gender Focal Points, where permanent staff members of the mission execute, among other assigned tasks, activities related to the implementation of the gender perspective. Those can be found in Cyprus, Western Sahara and Middle East.

On the other hand, three women were holding the position of Head of Mission in Nepal, Liberia and Central African Republic in July 2009.

**Sources:** Department of Peacekeeping Operations, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp; Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security, S/2009/465, (New York: UN, September 16th, 2009).

#### Creation of a new super agency in United Nations

The General Assembly passed in September a resolution that proposes the consolidation of the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), into a composite entity focused on the promotion and defence of woman's rights. This future agency will be led by a Deputy Secretary-General, who will directly report to the Secretary-General.

Source: General Assembly, Resolution 63/311 System-Wide coherence, (New York: UN, September 11th, 2009).

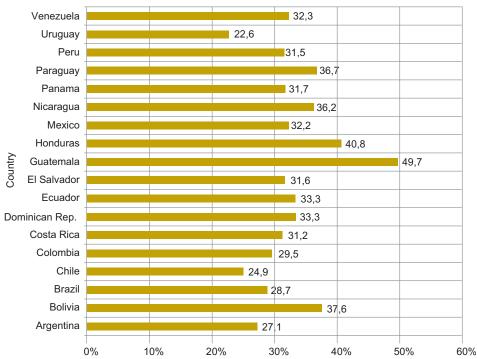
## CHAPTER 2: WOMEN IN THE REGIONAL SCENARIO

Over the last decades, important institutional spaces have been opened both at national and international levels to discuss the situation of women, the State's role on this regard, and the monitoring over progresses made. As a result of this process, female participation and incorporation in several aspects of social and political life is expressed through indicators such as demography, economy, legal framework and institutions, among others, which allow us to gain a fuller understanding of the current situation of women in Latin America.

#### FEMALE POPULATION

From a demographic perspective, women represent between 49 and 51 per cent of the population in countries of the region. Notably, *young women* are playing an important role as a population sector. According to the last national census, women under 14 years of age represent between 23 and 50% of the total female population. It means a considerably high range including cases like Guatemala (with 50% of women under 14 years of age), Honduras (41%), Bolivia (38%), and Paraguay (37%). In the next 3 to 17 years, this group will have the option to join the police or armed forces as an attractive labor alternative.

Chart Nº 1 Percentage of women under 14 years of age out of total women



Sources: Compilation based on the 2001 National Census of Population and Housing, National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC)(Argentina); 2000 Census, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Administration and Control (Brazil); National Census of Population 2001, National Institute of Statistics (INE) (Bolivia); Census of Population and Housing 2002, National Institute of Statistics of Chile (Chile); 2005 Census, National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE) (Colombia); National Census of Population and Housing 2000 (Costa Rica), Eighth Census of Population and Housing 2002, National Office of Statistics (Dominican Republic); Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics and Census (INEC) (Ecuador), Sixth Census of Population and Fifth Census of Housing 2007, Ministry of Economy (El Salvador); Eleventh Census of Population and Sixth Census of Housing 2002, National Institute of Statistics (Guatemala); Sixteenth National Census of Population and Fifth Census of Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Honduras); Census of Population and Housing of Panama 2000, Comptroller's General Office of the Republic (Panama); Twelfth Census of Population and Housing 2000, National System of Statistic and Geographic Information (SNIEG) (Mexico); Eighth Census of Population and Housing 2002, National Directorate of Statistics, Surveys and Censuses (Nicaragua); National Censuses; Eleventh Census of Population and Sixth Census of Population and Sixth Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Unruguay); Census of Population and Housing Censuses; Eleventh Census of Population and Sixth Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Unruguay); Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Unruguay); Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Unruguay); Census of Population and Housing 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Unruguay); C

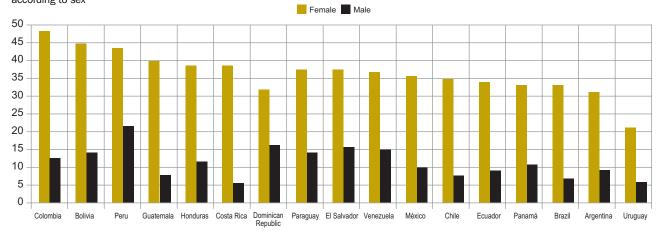
#### Women in the economy

Currently, there is consensus over the relevance of female participation in the labor market as a condition of their social and economic independence and consequently a possibility to influence the restructuring of traditional relations of power between men and women. In that sense, one of the commitments of the countries participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women and subscribing the Beijing Declaration was to promote the economic independence of women, including their employment.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> United Nations, Beijing Declaration, (Beijing: Fourth World Conference on Women, September  $4^{th}$ - $15^{th}$ , 1995), sec. 26.

Female participation in regional economy has grown. Unlike previous decades, their participation in economic activity represents an important percentage, mainly in urban areas, where this process has been accompanied by a gradual access to basic education and professionalization. In fact, there are figures currently showing a higher amount of women with access to basic and higher education, which to a large extent has helped them join the labor market easily. Despite all these changes, Latin America was ranked last in 2005 according to the World Economic Forum. If the situation of each country is analyzed, the figures reaffirm the inconvenient situation in which women find themselves within the economic scenario. Likewise, women face tougher conditions to join economic life and to earn incomes compared to men. ECLAC statistics on male and female population without own incomes and who were not studying during 2007, show that in all countries, and compared to men, women constitute a sector with lower access to monetary incomes.

Chart Nº 2
Percentage of population without monetary incomes according to sex



**Source:** Economic Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, Observatory on Gender Equality in Latin America and the Caribbean.

\*In Argentina, information does not include the rural sector.

pertain to year 2005.

There are no figures available from Nicaragua.

Generally speaking, the international regulatory framework on gender focuses on the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and as part of it, there are three relevant international instruments upon which most of the countries have ratified their commitment: *the Convention on the Political Rights of Women*, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UN) and open for membership since 1952; the *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*, also adopted by the General Assembly and open to membership since 1979, and *the Convention of Belém Do Pará* adopted by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) and open to membership since 1994.

<sup>\*\*</sup>In Peru and Colombia the figures

<sup>2</sup> World Economic Forum, Women's Empowerment: Measuring the Global Gender Gap, http://www.weforum.org/pdf/Global\_Competitiveness\_Reports/Reports/gender\_gap.pdf, 12.

**Table Nº 1**Latin America: Ratifications of the Convention of Political Rights of Women (1952), CEDAW (1979) and Belém Do Pará (1994).

**Source:** Compilation based on the information available in the homepages of United Nations and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

		Decade									
Country	40s	50s	60s	70	0s	8	0s	90s			
Argentina			61			85					96
Brazil			63			84				95	
Bolivia				70				90	94		
Chile			67				89				96
Colombia						82	86				96
Costa Rica			67				86			95	
Dominican Republic		53					82				96
Ecuador		54				81				95	
El Salvador						81				95	
Guatemala		59					82			95	
Honduras							83			95	
Mexico						81	81				98
Nicaragua		57				81				95	
Panama						81				95	
Paraguay							87	90		95	
Peru					75		82				96
Uruguay						81					96
Venezuela						83	83			95	

Convention of Political Rights of Women CEDAW Convention of Belém Do Pará

The countries of the region took several years to ratify the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, indeed the only countries which ratified it five years later were the Dominican Republic and Ecuador. Despite it has been a long time since then, Panama and Honduras haven't subscribed or ratified this Convention yet, while El Salvador and Uruguay only subscribed to it in 1953. On the other hand, in the case of CEDAW, most of the countries showed a political will to ratify their commitment just along the three years after its creation. Finally, the Convention of Belém Do Pará was subscribed by all the Latin American States in just four years. Likewise, the shortening of times shows how there has been an increased awareness of the States regarding this kind of instrument throughout the last decades of the 20th Century.

#### Institutions in charge of gender issues

In most countries of the region, the gender and women's rights issue have not been considered as a priority in the national political agenda. However, in a progressive manner, specific state institutionalism focused in promoting, monitoring and evaluating aspects related to women situation, has been implemented. This was possible thanks to the impact of international trends as well as the pressure of specialized civil organizations. Therefore, we can find at least one public institution in each country in charge of women's issues.

**Table Nº 2**Public Organisms in charge of gender issues

Country	Organisms	Organic Dependence	Year of Creation
Argentina	National Women Council	Presidency of the Republic	1992
Brazil	Special Secretary of Policies for Women	Presidency of the Republic	2003
Bolivia	Vice-ministry of Gender and Generational Matters	Ministry of Justice	1993
Chile	National Service of Women	Presidency of the Republic	1991
Colombia*	Presidencial Advisorfor Women Equity	Presidency of the Republic	2001
Costa Rica*	National Institute of Women	Presidency of the Republic	1998
Dominican Rep.	Secretary of State of the Woman	Presidency of the Republic	1999
Ecuador	National Council of Women	Presidency of the Republic	1997
	National Secretary of the Family	Presidency of the Republic	1995
El Salvador	Institute of Women Development	Presidency of the Republic	1995
Guatemala	Presidencial Secretary of Women	Presidency of the Republic	2000
Honduras	National Institute of Women	Presidency of the Republic	1999
Mexico	National Institute of Women	Secretary of Government	2001
Nicaragua*	Nicaraguan Institute of Women	Ministry of the Presidency	1987
Panama*	National Institute of Women	Ministry of Social Development	2008
Paraguay	Secretary of the Woman	Presidency of the Republic	1992
Peru	Ministry of the Woman and Social Development	Presidency of the Republic	2002
Uruguay*	National Institute of the Woman	Ministry of Social Development	2005
Venezuela*	National Institute of the Woman	Ministry of People's Power for Women and Gender Equality	1999
7011024014	Ministry of the People's Power for Women and Gender Equality	Presidency of the Republic	2009

**Source:** Compilation based on the homepages of the above mentioned institutions.

#### National Constitutions

Regarding women and gender issues, the political constitutions of countries from the region include to a greater or lesser extent certain related aspects, especially the ones based on an equality principle. This principle arises from the debates on gender with the feminist movements, which aimed to spot the gap between men and women regarding their access to rights. The principle of equality focuses on the need to take an ac-

<sup>\*</sup> In Colombia there are some records from 1990 with the creation of the Presidential Council for Youth, Women and Family; in Costa Rica the records refer to 1990 with the creation of the National Center for the Development of Women and the Family; in Nicaragua, in 1982 with the creation of the Office of Women, Division of the General Secretary of the Governing Board for the National reconstruction; in Panama, by 1997 with the creation of the Ministry of Youth, Women, Childhood and the Family; in Uruguay, by 1987, with the creation of the National Institute of Women and, in Venezuela, by 2008, the State Ministry for Women Affairs.

tive position on the difference between individuals of different gender, so as not to lead to social inequality. Another approach is the one of human rights, which recognizes the innate dignity of a human being, and then, a set of inalienable rights.

Later, the debates on the issue of gender have gone further and developed an *equity* focus or principle. Here, the reflection is about the differences between sexes and the factors determining inequality regarding access to rights: not only is it necessary to establish equality between men's and women's rights but to understand that women, in their condition as a vulnerable group, need to have special or compensatory measures aiding the effectiveness of their rights. This is to a greater extent the origin of the positive discrimination measures already being discussed in many countries, and implemented in a few others.

**Table Nº 3**The gender perspective in the Political Constitutions

Countries	Fundamentals	s developed
Countries	Equality	Equity
Argentina	Sec. 37	Sec. 75
Brazil	Sec. 5	Sec. 7
Bolivia	Sec. 14, 15, 48, 58, 66, 104, 147, 210	Sec. 45, 300, 302
Chile	Sec. 7, 19	
Colombia	Sec. 13, 43	Sec. 40, 53
Costa Rica	Sec. 95	
Dominican Republic	Sec. 12	Sec.8
Ecuador	Sec. 57, 61, 108,116, 171, 176, 324, 331, 332	Sec. 35, 42, 43, 65, 70, 179, 183, 210, 224, 334
El Salvador	Sec. 38	Sec. 42
Guatemala	Sec. 4, 102	
Honduras		Sec. 128
Mexico	Sec. 1, 2, 4	Sec. 2
Nicaragua	Sec. 48, 49, 73	Sec. 39, 74
Panama	Sec. 19, 133, 295	Sec. 68
Paraguay	Sec. 48, 89, 117	Sec. 27, 53, 115
Peru	Sec. 2	
Uruguay		Sec. 42, 54
Venezuela	Sec. 21, 54, 89	Sec. 88

**Source:** Compilation based on Political Constitutions.

# WOMEN IN THE MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

JUAN RIAL PEITHO, Uruguay

The issue of women in the military uses to be observed as part of a gender equality problem, but not from the perspective of the military profession. Women who are willing to enter the military forces have to deal with of working in a historically male institution.

We have witnessed the times when the United States was capable of forcing its will with no restrictions - considering Russia's loss of relevance as a heir to the forgone USSR -, the great turn taken by China - in order to create an authoritarian capitalist regime under the communist party control-, and the process of expansion of the European Union seeking to absorb central and eastern Europe. As a consequence, we find ourselves today in an unsafe world, where it is not so clear-cut who holds real capacity and political power.

We do know that technology continually changes the scene, originating that *hansa* of cities with *hubs* where the flow of transport, finance, research and development concentrate, a condition that new centres are trying to reach. But the existence of speculative cycles, distinctive of the capitalist functioning, is still worrying. The same occurs with the problem of energy, which affects almost the entire world, because of the restrictions to - or the price of - necessary consumables. The financial and economic circumstances of a country can dramatically change in the short term.

Important social changes take place within this framework, mainly, the expansion of social inequality. State predominance has been strongly reduced in all those processes. The great theories justifying social change have failed to successfully endure the test of time. Despite the never-ending variety and origin of theories - which may stem from marxism, anti-imperialism, indigenism, radical militant islamism, the defence of neo-liberal positions, or any

other features -, States eventually choose to be pragmatic; capitalism rules in almost every part of the world, with the consequential abovementioned shortfalls.

Politically speaking, formal democracy rules in much of the world. More often than not, it is not politically liberal; instead, the legitimacy achieved through electoral processes is attached to an authoritarian administration, normally based on a strong popular support that ends up leading to a "tyranny of the masses". Intra-state domestic conflicts are predominant and have quite different characteristics. Many of the States are really weak, and their regimes go through repeated hurdles.

That is the context where the armed forces have to operate today. Normally, they served the political regime they had stemmed from, frequently being the key actor for its surge; they also disappeared if that regime collapsed. However, over the last segment of the XX Century, with great political cataclysms having occurred irrespectively of wars and defeats, the military forces have survived and continually transformed their legitimization framework, though at all times struggling to keep their *ethos*. In a world where democratic definitions prevail, the military accepted institutional subordination, in line with constitutional regulations. They normally acknowledge the President of the Republic as their commander, and justify their action through the enforcement of the institution of Presidency, irrespective of the person circumstantially holding the position. Thus, they accept the predominance of a civilian chain of command by means of a Ministry of Defence, if regulations and practices institute it so.

The legal framework has changed. The predominance of civilian authority has been clearly established in many countries, giving the military exclusive competence in the military field. Some countries have abolished or substantially restricted the scope of military justice; in others, courts of honour which passed judgements on intentions, based on their principles though not on the facts - have been also removed. In some countries, constitutional and legal dispositions have been modified, and the tutelary or guarantor character of the constitutional order has been withdrawn from the armed forces missions. In those countries where they did not vote (in order to be above the citizenry, and assuming the tutelary character), this right is being spread to all the military. Military education has expanded in such a way that it has a strong civilian and citizen content.

The debate on making use - or not - of the military forces in public security and domestic order tasks is not over. It is precisely one of the central points in current politics. Many countries make a distinction between military action within a national defence framework, and police action. Only in very

exceptional circumstances - for short periods of time and under continual supervision - will the military forces be used for police-like actions. Nor has the debate finished on the use of the military in civil-like actions, such as those related to health, transport, the management of isolated or conflictive areas within the national territory, or the production of certain goods.

It is clear though, that the military organization is still hierarchical and based on the principle of obedience. Although technology has somehow "flattened" and rendered the organization more complex - thus forcing the coordination among equal hierarchical components - it still keeps its pyramidal base. Although the trend goes against the high hierarchy, the traditional approach still prevails.

The military profession has features that distinguish it from the civilian ones. Military members know that they are part of an organization that typically transmits the prospective use of violence towards potential enemies, and can eventually make use of it. A notable background underlies the profession, and its evolution has been intensely discussed so far, seeking to achieve a progressive convergence with the other professions, thus moving away from the traditional heroic-like specific model.<sup>1</sup>

More and more, the legal regulations that square up the military forces tend to equal most of the tasks they do with those addressed in the civilian sphere. The complexity of logistics and administrative management requires a large amount of personnel, much of which is regulated very similarly to private business. The more rigid disciplinary component sets them apart – not much, though - from their civilian counterparts in complex organizations. Only a minority sector – often crucial - entails a completely different organization and *ethos*.

For almost every member of the military forces it is about a job. As such it is relatively transient, like most of jobs in the advanced areas of the civilian world, and with few probabilities of having a lifelong occupation within that field. This clearly clashes against the traditional and historical idea that the mere admission to the military institution involves an all-time engagement, and a lifestyle in line with that idea. It could be pointed out that various *ethos* coexist among those who can put violence into practice. The most ancient is

<sup>1</sup> We refer to the concepts made popular by Charles Moskos, when he compared that traditional model with a modern one, where the military profession did not differ much from any other job in the capitalist world. However, Moskos tinged this position later. See Charles C. Moskos and Frank R. Word, *The Military: More Than Just a Job?* (Washington DC: Pergamon Brassey`s, 1988). In 2001, Moskos proposed to restore the military service as a way of renovating trust in the country and avoiding the inequalities that the existence of a purely professional force – whose base comes from socially underprivileged sectors – involves. See Charles C. Moskos and Paul Glastris, "Now do you believe we need a draft? We're in a new kind of war. Time for a new kind of draft." *Washington Monthly*, November (2001), <a href="https://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2001/0111.moskos.glastris.html">https://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2001/0111.moskos.glastris.html</a>.

the ethos of the warrior, who often combats individually, in spite of being part of a community, a clan or a tribe: a minimal organization, with small differences among its members, and a purely charismatic leadership. Today, this is kept within very diverse organizations, especially the ones acting on the fringes of law.

Later, the soldier came along, as part of a hierarchical and disciplined organization. The Persian and Spartan armies, and the Athenian seamen, are some old examples. Precisely, the name soldier comes from *soldat* - in Old French, the payment received by those who served in an armed force, derived from the Latin *Solidarius*, a word applied to the professional Legionaries of the Empire, who were paid in *solidi* -, as opposed to the obligation without payment, typical of tribal warriors. All military forces today are made up of soldiers. They can be conscripted mass armies (of citizens or mere inhabitants), professionals only committed to this activity, military or political-military organizations (in general, subversive organizations that may include warriors along with soldiers), or mercenaries.

Certainly, the incorporation of activities that belong to the sphere of rescue organizations into the military component should be noted as an important change. Thus, a soldier may operate today in emergency units that address diverse natural disasters, and solve humanitarian emergency situations, watching over conflict-displaced people, supplying fresh water, food and shelter, acting in subsidiary missions to give support to the community, managing public health issues, rebuilding infrastructure, or similar tasks. Wittily, a writer has spoken about "marines or soldiers without frontiers", in order to depict some of the forces in the present day.<sup>2</sup>

However, irrespectively of these changes, the military are still alive. There is another *ethos*: the *professional military* characteristic of the officer corps. We are not going to ponder here the historical process that created the permanent corps, armies and navies, but the officers' own *ethos*, which comes from the principles that guided the medieval knights in the West (the origin of the essential meaning of honour). That framework was imitated, to a lesser or

<sup>2</sup> In an article published in XL Semanal, Arturo Pérez-Reverte, an enfant terrible of literature, has said so; Arturo Pérez-Reverte, "We are the wonder of Europe", XL Semanal, Issue 960 (2006), <a href="http://xlsemanal.finanzas.com/web/firma.php?id\_edicion=847&id\_firma=811">http://xlsemanal.finanzas.com/web/firma.php?id\_edicion=847&id\_firma=811</a>.

In Spain, an ad hoc unit called EMU (Emergency Military Unit) has just been created. However, according to recruitment advertisements, the United States Navy shows, for instance, that most of the tasks of a marine are not exactly related to the military area. In the recent past, from 2001 and until shortly after the beginning of Iraq's war, the United States Army called for candidate soldiers, saying that they were "the Army of one", stressing the individual aspect of the prospective personnel and taking a 180° turn in comparison with what is usual in a military force, where the individual blends with the collective and is subordinated to it. Likewise, it used to be said that in the Army, you could "be all you can be".

greater extent, by all military forces. It is about an organization of classes,<sup>3</sup> which along with the industrial revolution and the consequential change in the technology of war, was forced to include people from middle sectors in the corps of command, who were imbued with the same corpus of traditional values. This occurred mainly through military academies, where a homogeneous instruction in shared values is achieved after years of training. A member of the officers' corps is above the rest of the members in the force. The officer is the only one bearing "honour", which is not the case of basic personnel, soldiers, seamen and all non-commissioned officers, in spite of the fact that technological change has demanded an important degree of professionalism from all of them. They also rank soldiers, and manage the practices and values deriving from a hierarchical, disciplined institution, where the upper command and due obedience are never disputed. A special forum protects the officer corps and the whole institution, to which military justice is applied.

This is the framework of the issue of women in the armed forces and the police, the latter being an institution that acquired military structures and practices all along its history in Latin America.

The incorporation of women not only requires military infrastructure (dormitories, restrooms, and so on) but also changes in daily rules, which involve a different use of language, and a change in certain rituals and forms. Rituals reaffirm the homogeneity and sense of belonging, aim at the consolidation of the idea of "us", and mark in turn the differences in any military force, which have to be imbued by commissioned and non commissioned o-fficers. That explains the existence of rigid regulations, greetings, formations, reveilles, introductions, uniforms – which in many cases need to go together with a necessary use of informality and innovation in uncertain combat situations, or in the mere institutional survival within any complex bureaucracy. Despite the existence of a set of standard rituals, these are supplemented by others emphasizing the differences among forces, or among the corps and units.

The changes in technology in the conformation of today's complex social strata and in the media-affected perceptions, have worn away the traditional landscape of the military profession.

Generally, men are prejudiced against women in the armed forces and, there are two polarized models of this prejudice. Many claim that women are fearless and hardly manageable during combat. Paradoxically, others claim

<sup>3</sup> The situation is similar to that between doctors and health auxiliary personnel. The higher hierarchy is made up of doctors; nurses and technicians are in an intermediate situation, and those performing a nursing and auxiliary labour are at the base of the pyramid. As to other professions of university origin there are also similar hierarchical levels, all of them derived from the existing (collective) imaginary in western Middle Ages.

that women do not have the physical capacity to complete the tasks that the military demands. Military institutions have to make adjustments for gender equality while juggling these two confronting positions. In Latin America, while there are growing demands for equality between sexes, the more global issue of gender is far from being addressed.

There are strong myths woven around women in the military. Allusions are made on women's alleged *natural pacifism*, despite many historical examples that show the contrary. On the other hand, the military commanders are pressured to take on politically *correct standpoints*. As such, they are trying to include more women in their institution and spreading the world that they are doing so. *Tokenism*<sup>4</sup>, in this specific case, is constantly used in television and newspapers to convey that there are women in the military. Therefore, instead of just showing us the traditional feminine professions in the military – such as women doctors, social assistants, or lawyers – we are shown women parachutists, ship crew members, and cavalry officers.

There are different necessities that come into play when discussing this issue: individual's, society's, and the military's. Among the individual necessities, the shape adopted by strongly computerized labour markets is significant, where more money can be earned outside the formal market, but social support services lack. For women, to join a state bureaucratic force as the military, means a job opportunity with a fixed salary (though small), health insurance, retiring opportunities, and many other benefits. For society, there is a need for all institutions to have a gender equality approach and to put an end to discrimination. Also those who have unconventional social orientations have claimed the need to address the issue.

The military has growing difficulties recruiting personnel, given that the salary offers small pay. In the past, when there was a personnel dearth, women were recruited as administrative and logistics auxiliaries. This was done during World War II in England, the United States, and the former USSR. These women were also able to work in transport or training air services, but they were dropped as soon as male personnel were available. In countries like Germany, where ideological constraints were powerful, imprisoned women could be sent to do forced labour. Meanwhile, German female military personnel never reached beyond administrative and supporting functions. Exceptionally, few women from the Hitlerian youth, were seen handling firearms in the last days of war.

Nowadays, owing to the change in the labour market condition, recruiting women for logistics and administrative functions in the military is a natural fact. However, in some military organizations, there is still a refusal to recruit women

<sup>4</sup> This refers to policies and practices that reflect a symbolic effort for a change or inclusion. It comes from *token*, a current expression in the United Stated that means low-priced bus coin.

for potential combat positions. Generally, a military career takes into account physical fitness and young age. For combat, these recruits must be in their peak years. In women's case, they also have to take into account their maternal cycles, which coincides with their peak years. That is why women are not allowed to fight in some combat units, even when they are recruited in almost every armed force. This is the case, for instance, of the United States. Despite this, in conflicts such as Iraq and Afghanistan where there are no established front lines, an infantry combatant runs just as much risk as a female soldier driving a supply truck.

On the other hand, women's inclusion to police contingents is less contested. They can address a variety of situations, ranging from managing female detainees (including body-searching) and children, to jobs in domestic violence and sexual abuse. A growing number of women in the police hold high positions and ranks. In a few years, it is probable that the male-female ratio will reach a balance within the police.

Generally every military institution keeps a traditional *ethos* and values that are anti-feminist in essence. These institutions tend to be patriarchal and that attitude is established in their disciplinary code. They use to be *clientelist* in nature, though their rules do not tolerate that practice. The power structure revolves around those values, and it is within that framework where a change in the structure of opportunities should be sought, by taking advantage of the social conditions that impose changes in the labour market.

The recruitment of women as auxiliary and technical personnel is already customary and dates from past decades: lawyers, notaries, accountants, economists, medical doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, veterinarians, architects and so on. Secretaries, receptionists, nurses and cooks as well, have also been part of armed organizations for long now. In many cases they wear uniforms and hold rank. Nevertheless, because the auxiliary and technical personnel have a limit as to how high a rank they can reach, these recruited women also abide these same rank-ascending limits. This limitation is shared with their male colleagues. As to information and intelligence tasks, female personnel are usually recruited along with their corresponding ad hoc rank, which is different from combat personnel's.

The key issue is the incorporation of women within combat personnel. For a long time, several countries have recruited women as military police. However, their regular incorporation in combat units has been more sluggish. There are women holding subordinate ranks in some countries. They start off as seawomen or soldiers, and some of them fulfill normal barrack services. However, they are not always part of the combat units. Also, only a few can enter the non-commissioned officer ranks, whereas almost all the forces have shown off their tokenism through the incorporation of wo-

men to the corps of combatant commissioned-officers. Clearly, they are not always allowed to be part of habitual destinations after completing their studies. More often than not, women are posted to educational military schools or institutes, rather than to combat units. Similarly, several forces have established the maximum percentage of admittance of women in these corps, a figure that represents approximately 10% of the total.

A recurrent claim is the lack of facilities to lodge women, as dormitories and restrooms. However, this is not just a problem with military institutions. All one needs to do is look at how living together is like in the humanitarian organizations that function in emergencies or with refugees, such as Doctors Without Borders, to see that this is a distended problem. Normally, these places do not have ad hoc facilities for women. This represents a problem for naval units, especially in small ships. Despite these shortcomings, it is known that certain European navies incorporate female personnel. As a whole, the problem is about establishing regulations for living together. Among other rules, it is important to establish if friendly and loving relationships are allowed or not, and if so, up to which extent.

In many cases, as indicated before, when a woman finishes her academic studies to become an officer, it is displayed and intended to comment in the media. The problem lies in making sure that these women manage to have similar careers as their male counterparts. A problem that is far from being solved. It is also unsolved whether they can be part of certain combat units or not. In theory, there are not many hindrances to commanding artillery, communications or engineering units in the army. However, the issue of a woman being in charge of the command of military units is still being discussed. There should not be any barriers to participating in naval and aviation combat units.

Women are also part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces contingents. However, the amount of women incorporated is far from reaching the 10% desired by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), mainly if we consider that many of them are in fact non-combatant technicians or auxiliaries of the forces. Most of the women included in contingents are part of the sanitarian, military police, administrative and translator teams, or of the logistic support units.

If we examine how the MINUSTAH female force is constituted - the peace force in Haiti mainly made up of Latin American forces -, only 108 were women in a contingent of 7,030 military troops by the end of June 2009.<sup>5</sup> This means 1.53% of the whole. No woman was part of the Staff of the Force until

<sup>5</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Gender Statistics*, (New York: DPKO, June 2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/gender/2009gender/june09.pdf, (accessed in July 2009).

April 2009; there was only one in 2008, out of 101 officers. In 2006, there was one woman officer provided by the United States. Women represent 5.51% among civil police personnel, equivalent to 113 women out of 1,937 people. Within the Police Units that carry out order and riots control, and where there are no forces coming from Latin-America, the percentage of women is smaller: 3.88%, a total of 44 out of 1,134 people. There is no doubt that military men would not be quite willing to yield positions to their women colleagues in an activity that entails higher salaries than the ones obtained in the country of origin (900 dollars approximately for soldiers and seamen in the military units).

In MONUC, the mission in Congo where Uruguay, Bolivia and Guatemala took part, the total of women amounted to 328, 1.88% of the military contingent and, 62 police women out of 1,087.7 Uruguay alone has sent approximately some 70 women as part of that contingent, most of them holding auxiliary functions as translators and administratives; only a handful of women are enlisted as combatants. <sup>8</sup>

In general, being a part of a peacekeeping force is an important opportunity for women to exercise a sort of *diplomacy in uniform*. It allows them to do many activities tied with peacebuilding. Though that is not a task restricted to the DPKO - as it is in fact a concern of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through its Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery -, the idea that this field should be approached is gradually being considered, if the successful completion of the peace operation is sought after.

Within another framework, in a voluntary force as the one acting in Afghanistan, some tests have been conducted with the *Provincial Reconstruction Teams* (PRC), operations deployed today by the United States in Iraq. It is about local efforts to gather the military, international police forces, local security forces, municipal authorities, traditional tribal leaderships, as well as representatives of the basic services, seeking to speed up the reconstruction processes that lead to development. On average, international military officers in the area act as coordinators of these efforts. In practice, this type of activities is starting off within the framework of the MINUSTAH.

Likewise, women are considered to be able to comply very satisfactorily with police security missions, in countries where domestic violence and sexual abuse are especially widespread. Police contingents are scarce and hard to

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Organization, Report of the Secretary General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti - *S*/2009129, (New York: Security Council, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Gender Statistics.

<sup>8</sup> Information provided by the National Peacekeeping Operations Support System of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

recruit, whereas there are better chances to do it in the case of the military.

It is evident that, along with these missions, legal precautions often become blurred in the countries of origin, where the defence and security functions are so clear-cut. The problem is in essence that - despite the fact that the majority of peace operations are justified today by Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter -, its main tasks bear a police nature in practice, and constitute *Chapter six and a half* operations - as they are known in the jargon within international organization headquarters -, given that they do not typically enforce peace, but do keep the order.

In the case of natural disasters or humanitarian operations, it is clear that there is room for female contingents, as well as there is in all auxiliary, support and police activities. However, just like in the countries of origin, the challenge is about achieving full integration in combat organizations, where much remains to be done.

# PART 2 THE ASSESSMENT

# CHAPTER 1: WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

The incorporation of women in the armed forces of Latin American countries has not been a linear process. It is possible to list in every country diverse historical, social, political and cultural factors that have given a particular imprint to each process of incorporation. However, there are important stages that most of these countries share. These stages are marked by the disparities over the central debate concerning the question of women in the armed forces: whether they are part or not of the military career in its most traditional sense.

In the beginning, incorporation began because of the needs of the armed institutions for extra personnel within particular historical contexts. Records indicate that it was common during the independence wars to find women serving in auxiliary functions, such as administrative and sanitarian positions. The presence of nurses in deployed camps, aiding and giving assistance to soldiers, was a usual image over that period. The emergence of the first heroines – later vindicated by social movements – was also originated at that time. A similar situation took place in the Central-American Wars (1827-1912) and the War of Chaco (1932-1935). However, once the needs for extra manpower ended, women were immediately dismissed from their services and resumed their traditional activities.

So far, incorporation was not necessarily a policy in the Latin American region. The policy started as a late component of the professionalization of armed institutions, at the outset of 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The growing complexity of tasks and duties, as institutionalization evolved, laid the foundations for

the incorporation of female professionals in the institutional core. Thus, since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century the regional trend has been to incorporate women in the professional corps of the armed forces.

#### Two main corps

It can be said that there are two large corps within the military institution: the professional corps (people who develop a career in the civilian sphere and are then incorporated into the armed forces as *professionals*: medical doctors, lawyers, engineers, and so on), and the *line or command corps* - those who choose the military career as a main profession and are thus instructed in the military academies from the start.

Depending on each country, the corps of incorporated civilian professionals are called differently: assimilated (El Salvador, Honduras, Peru and Uruguay), service (Bolivia and Chile), specialist (Ecuador), incorporated (Paraguay), professional (Argentina and Brazil) and administrative (Colombia).

As to the command corps, the following names are used: branch (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador), professional (Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Uruguay), military (Peru and Paraguay) and line (Chile).

One of the first countries to incorporate women as non-commissioned officers in the professional corps was Chile, when the Navy allowed women to serve in the so-called *service rank* in 1937. Another country that stands out due to its early incorporation of women is Ecuador, who allowed their entrance, as officers of the Army in 1956, holding the rank of Second Lieutenant Health Specialist.

However, the possibility to develop the military career continued to be exclusively for men. The idea of women staying in the barracks to be full actors in military life was far from being accepted. The fact that the incorporated women were not granted a military status was a proof of that in some countries. In Bolivia, in 1950, when the Army allowed women to serve as administrative non-commissioned officers, they just did it as public servants.

Within this context, women were incorporated as staff employees. Professional women such as engineers, architects and nurses among others, were incorporated to the forces right after going through a short military instruction period, in order to work within their area of expertise. The first women commissioned officers were assimilated into the military personnel of a still budding command corps. In Honduras, for instance, the first incorporations were the outcome of the instruction that a couple of women received in foreign academies, such as West Point, in the United States.

This first stage of incorporation is not deemed as an inclusive entrance. Besides, the tasks developed by these pioneering women were closely related to the social role traditionally given to them. The prevailing cultural context as well as the typical military reticence, turned into a general disconcert of their male counterparts and into a lack of adequate policies to regulate and handle the first instances of gender coexistence.

The democratizing wave that shook the region over the decade of the '80s, along with the upsurge of social movements that vindicated equal rights and the approval of important international agreements favouring women's empowerment, deepened the trend towards the incorporation of women as commissioned officers. Chile led the way when in 1974 created the Army's Female Auxiliary Service School and the Female Military Service, with the aim of instructing women as service officers. The school closed in 1995 when, after a modernization plan, women were incorporated in military schools along with men.

In the case of Argentina, the fall of the military regime after the Malvinas War (1982) and the consequential return to democracy eased the launch of women to the professional corps in 1982. On the other hand, the incorporation of women in the Brazilian naval and air forces in 1980 and 1982 respectively, helped to reconstruct the unpopular image of the military.

In general terms, this opening was foreseen as an adequate formula for improving the position of military institutions before society. However, it was not the time yet to open the military career to women. The possibilities to enrol in the military academies and develop commanding positions arrived at a second stage.

By the end of the '90s and the beginning of the 21st Century, a change in the conception of the role that women could play in military institutions occurred, marking a turning point in the history of women's incorporation as they were allowed to access to command positions. Finally accepted in the military career, women broadened their professional horizon on having possibilities to develop commanding and planning capacities, and thus, aspiring to lead the military units and commands.

This paradigm change is closely related to cultural changes, due to the spaces conquered by women's organizations and social movements in political, economic and social life. As a part of this process, women's economic and political participation in society expanded drastically. In this context, the recognition of women in the armed institutions was just a matter of time.

In this new scenario, the existing generalization of the minimalist State conceptions pushes the defence sector to adapt to the new trends. Reforms

**Table Nº 1**Year of admittance of women as professionals into the armed forces

T I				Force			
	Arı	my	N:	avy	Air Force		
Country	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	
Argentina	1982	1981	1981	1980	1982	2006	
Bolivia*	1982	1950			2007	2004	
Brazil**	1992	2001	1980	1980	1982	1982	
Chile	1974	1974	2003	1937	1952	1974	
Colombia	1982	1983	1984	1997	1977	1992	
Ecuador***	1956	1958	1977	1953	2000	2008	
El Salvador	1971	1971	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Guatemala	1967	1967	2001	2000	2000	2002	
Honduras	1970	2004	1975	1999	1964	1997	
Paraguay****	1932		1970		1970		
Peru	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997	
Uruguay****	1973	1973	N/V	1992	1997	1990	

Sources: Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Argentina); Ministry of National Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Center, Acts No 6.807 (1980) and No 6.924 (1981) (Brazil); Personnel Directorates of the institutions and Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Equality, Ministry of Defence (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Ecuadorian Personnel Directorate and Training Schools of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Diagnosis on Gender and the Armed Forces IEPADES 2001 (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Air Force General Command and Navy General Command (Honduras); Military Forces Personnel Command (Paraguay); Directorate of Human Resources for the Defence, Vice Ministry of Resources for the Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army General Staff, National Army, Uruguayan Air Force and Navy General Staff (Uruguay).

N/V: Not Valid; N/A: Not Available.

related with the gradual derogations of compulsory military service, provoke the need to keep recruitment levels capable of maintaining the institutions with minimum operating conditions. Likewise, the emergence of new and non-traditional working opportunities, results in the need to offer the military career as an appealing alternative in the professional field. It is worth underlining here, that armed institutions are not strange to labour market fluctuations.

<sup>\*</sup>Women cannot enter the Navy in Bolivia.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In Brazil, Act No 9519 of 26/11/97 restructured the Navy commissioned and non-commissioned officers corps and ranks, integrating the female auxiliary corps.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In Ecuador, non-commissioned officers refer to the volunteer of the Army, the ship crew members in the Navy and the aero-technicians in the Air Force. All of them, along with the soldiers, are called "troop".

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> In Paraguay, women cannot enter as non-commissioned officers.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> In Uruguay, the expressions "troop" and "baggage corps" were mentioned within the Army, the Air Force and the Navy until the 1970s. Since then, all of the armed forces members, but for commissioned officers, were given instead the name of "subordinate personnel". The non-commissioned officers category corresponds to First Sergeants and Sergeants Major of the Army, Air Force and their peers in the Navy. The National Navy has no assimilated professionals.

### The first incorporation of women into the military career

It occurred in Bolivia, in 1979. It was the first country where women were incorporated not only into the armed forces, but also into the force that is more traditionally associated with a masculine image: the Army. These first classes were kept until 1985, when women's entrance was cancelled. Today, the graduates of that time are 30 women Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels that pride themselves on being the oldest ranks among all military women in the region. The doors of the Bolivian Army re-opened to female access in 2003, with two graduated classes so far.

In 1996, Brazil and Honduras' air forces took the first steps in the region in order to incorporate women into the military career. In the subsequent years, the forces from the other countries began to do the same. The opening of the Chilean Army took place in 1995, and the same happened in the Argentinean, Guatemalan and Peruvian Armies in 1997, as well as in the Colombian and Guatemalan Navies. The first groups of women entered the Army of Uruguay and the Chilean Air Force in 2000. Besides, the only military academy in El Salvador allowed women's access in 2003.

Bolivia returned to the pioneering initiative in the region just in 2003, when it reopened the access to the Army. That same year, Paraguay joined the initiative. The most recent cases are the Chilean Army and the Bolivian Air Force (2007). More recently, the incorporation of line officers in the Colombian Army took place in 2008.

Bolivia and El Salvador's navies are still closed to women, being the only ones in Latin America. On the other hand, non-commissioned officers' military schools remain closed for women in Paraguay; the few existing non-commissioned women officers were incorporated to the military personnel. Similarly, Colombia does not have academy-instructed non-commissioned women officers within any of the forces either, but they are administrative-type non-commissioned officers. As far as Brazil is concerned, the Army and the Navy do not allow the access of women to the command corps.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only technical, health, engineering, quartermaster and auxiliary ranks are allowed in the Navy. In the case of the Army, only administrative, technical, health and auxiliary ranks are allowed.

**Table Nº 2**Year of admittance of women into the military career (command corps)

Ī			F	orce			
	Arn	ny	Na	nvy	Air Force		
Country	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	Officers	Non-Commissioned officers	
Argentina	1997	1996	2002	1980	2001	1998	
Bolivia	1979-1985	2008			2007	2004	
BOIIVIA	/ 2003	2006			2007	2004	
Brazil*					1996	2002	
Chile	1995	1998	2007	2009	2000	2009	
Colombia	2008	1983	1997	-	1997	1997	
Ecuador**	1999		2001	1965	2007	2008	
El Salvador***	2003				2003		
Guatemala	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997	
Honduras	1998	2004	1999	1999	1996	1997	
Paraguay	2003		2003		2003		
Peru	1997	1998	1999	1998	1998	1998	
Uruguay****	1998	1972	2000	1992	1997	1997	

Sources: Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Argentina); Ministry of National Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Centre, Air Force Command, Acts No 6.807 (1980) and No 9.519 (1997) (Brazil); Personnel Directorates of the institutions and Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Equality, Ministry of Defence (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Ecuadorian Personnel Directorate and Training Schools of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador), Diagnosis on Gender and The Armed Forces IEPADES - 2001 (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Air Force General Command and Navy General Command (Honduras); First Department, Military Forces Command Personnel (Paraguay); Directorate of Human Resources for the Defence, Vice Ministry of Resources for the Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army General Staff, the Uruguayan Air Force and the Navy General Staff (Uruguay).

The main factors motivating the incorporation of women into armed institutions of Latin America comprise the wish to attach to a family tradition, the importance of being involved in areas normally disallowed for women, and the desire to serve their homeland.

"(...) I come from a riverside area in Chaco and have been in touch with the military unit since I was a little girl. It was the Navy, so I just knew about its existence; I did not even know the Air Force or the Army existed; their integrity, discipline and order always drew my attention. But what really impressed me was their devoted solidarity with us; one way or another, we all depended on the Navy."

(Interview with a female member of the Navy of Paraguay)

<sup>\*</sup>In Brazil, the time of the opening of military schools in each of the forces is regarded as the year of entrance.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In Ecuador, non-commissioned officers refer to the volunteer of the Army, the ship crew members in the Navy and the aero-technicians in the Air Force. All of them, along with the soldiers, are called "troop". In the Army's command corps, women have not been allowed to access as volunteers.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> In El Salvador, women are not allowed into the Navy. They do not have access as non-commissioned officers in the Army and the Air Force either.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup> In Uruguay, the expressions "troop" and "baggage corps" were mentioned within the Army, the Air Force and the Navy until the 1970s. Since then, all of the armed forces members, but for commissioned officers, were given instead the name of "subordinate personnel". The non-commissioned officers category corresponds to First Sergeants and Sergeants Major of the Army, Air Force and their peers in the Navy.

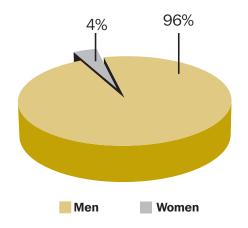
# Composition of the armed forces

Women represent today 4% of the military forces. Due to the recent processes of incorporation, the presence of women is notably limited if contrasted with their male counterparts. Even so, differences among countries show that, besides the year of admittance, other national elements that range from culture, labour market possibilities, the existence of informal vacancies, and the degree of opening to certain areas of expertise, may affect female participation.

Chart Nº 1
Distribution of military forces in Latin America sorted by gender

**Source:** Compilation based on data provided by the armed forces of the surveyed countries.

Note: This does not include men and women in the Air Force of Rrazil



**Table Nº 3**Number of force members sorted by gender (Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers and Troops)

Sources: Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Centre, Navy's Strategic Policy and Planning Division, Ministry of Defence and Decree No 6.549 of 26/08/08 (Brazil); Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Joint Command of the Armed Forces (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces, First Personnel Directorate (Paraguay); Personnel Directorate, Ministry of Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army General Staff, Air Force Public Relations Directorate and General Staff of the Navy (Uruguay). Updated December 2008.

Officers and Iroops)	Force IV	lembers		
Country	Men	Women	% Women	Total
Argentina	65,997	7,757	10.5	73,754
Bolivia	38,742	155	0.4	38,897
Brazil*	292	,623		292,623
Chile	58,507	3,553	5.7	62,040
Colombia	308,201	2,366	0.8	310,567
Ecuador	36,585	417	1.1	37,002
El Salvador**	16,694	1,176	6.6	17,870
Guatemala	12,297	1,224	9.1	13,521
Honduras	7,914	652	7.6	8,566
Paraguay	11,190	356	3.1	11,546
Peru	100,066	5,968	5.6	106,034
Uruguay	21,135	3,796	15.2	24,931

<sup>\*</sup>In Brazil, the data regarding the amount of women in the Air Force are not available. The composition of the Army and the Navy is shown on tables  $N^04$  and  $N^05$ .

<sup>\*\*</sup>Including administrative personnel.

**Table Nº 4**Military personnel sorted by gender and force\*

Country	Arn	ıy		Nav	vy		Air F	orce	
	Men	Women	%	Men	Women	%	Men	Women	%
Argentina	36,852	4,098	10.0	16,992	1,281	7.0	12,153	2,378	16.4
Bolivia	26,941	74	0.3	5,527	0	0.0	6,274	81	1.3
Brazil**	174,734	4,933	2.7	40,520	3,188	7.3	69.	248	
Chile	33,471	2,116	5.9	17,530	1,132	6.1	7,506	285	3.7
Colombia	256,212	1,417	0.6	37,937	467	1.2	14,052	482	3.3
Ecuador	23,515	160	0.7	6,904	198	2.8	6,166	59	0,9
El Salvador***	15,430	1,070	6.5	636	34	5.1	628	72	9.0
Guatemala	10,793	1,000	8.5	715	91	11.3	789	133	14.4
Honduras	5,930	537	8.3	918	76	7.6	1,066	39	3.5
Paraguay	7,172	261	3.5	2,766	61	2.2	1,252	34	2.6
Uruguay	14,400	2,133	129	4,246	1,159	21.4	2,489	504	16.8

Sources: Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Centre, Navy's Strategic Policy and Planning Division, Ministry of Defence and Decree No 6.549 of 26/08/08 (Brazil): Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and the Air Force (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia): Joint Command of the Armed Forces (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces, First Personnel Directorate (Paraguay); Personnel Directorate, Ministry of Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army General Staff, Air Force Public Relations Directorate and Navy General Staff (Uruguay). Updated December 2008.

About the presence of commissioned officers in the Army (see Table  $N^{\circ}$  5), Brazil is the country having the highest female presence: 16.4%. Next on the list comes Argentina, with 13.3%. According to available data, Bolivia is the country with the lowest amount of officers, where figures reach 2.5%.

As regards the amount of non-commissioned officers, and contrasting with officers, women represent in Brazil only 2.9%. Guatemala ranks first, with a total of 20.2 % of women, followed by Ecuador, with almost 14%.

Particularly in Ecuador, the nomenclature regarding military ranks and categories is different from what is commonly used in the rest of Latin American countries. In this country, the non-commissioned category is called *troop personnel*, and includes those military belonging to the ranks that range from soldier to sergeant major. Similarly, land, naval and air troops are called volunteers, crew members and aero-technicians respectively. Within this framework, and contrasting the Navy and the Air Force, the Army of Ecuador does not have voluntary women.

Concerning the composition of the troop, Argentina is the country having the highest percentage of women with 15.8%, followed by Uruguay with 14.2%. Some other countries, such as Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay do not have female personnel in their troops.

<sup>\*</sup> Data available on Peru are not disaggregated by Force. Out of the 5,968 women mentioned on Table N° 3, 550 are commissioned officers, 1,850 are non-commissioned officers and 3,568 are troops.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In Brazil, the data regarding the amount of women in the Air Force are not available.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Including administrative personnel.

**Table Nº 5**Military personnel in the Army sorted by gender

Country		Officers		Non-co	mmissioned	l Officers		Troop		Total
Country	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	IOLAI
Argentina	4,846	746	13.3	20,083	1,110	5.2	11,923	2,242	15.8	40,950
Bolivia	2,869	74	2.5	3,121	0	0.0	20,951	0	0.0	27,015
Brazil	17,874	3.499	16.4	47,814	1,434	2.9	109,046	0	0.0	179,667
Chile	3,413	301	8.1	18,347	763	4.0	11,711	1,052	8.2	35,587
Colombia	7,684	463	5.7	28,205	954	3.3	220,323	0	0.0	257,629
Ecuador*	2,518	102	3.9	362	58	13.8	20,635	0	0.0	23,675
El Salvador **	1,130	62	5.2	361	0	0.0	13,939	1,008	6.7	16,500
Guatemala***	1,338	65	4.6	2,364	598	20.2	7,091	337	4.5	11,793
Honduras	488	38	7.2	104	5	4.6	5,338	494	8.4	6,467
Paraguay****	1,661	101	5.7	4,165	160	3.7	1,346	0	0.0	7,433
Uruguay****	1,579	110	6.5	1,800	193	9.7	11,021	1,830	14.2	16,533

Sources: Army Personnel Directorate (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Centre (Brazil); Army Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Joint Command of the Armed Forces (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces, First Personnel Directorate (Paraguay); Third Department of the Army General Staff (Uruguay). Updated December 2008. Available data on Peru are not disaggregated by Force; hence, they do not appear on the Table.

In the case of women officers in the naval force, the country having the highest number - after Brazil - is Colombia, where they represent 14.8%. As to female non-commissioned officers, Guatemala has 32 women, what represents 13.1%; Uruguay follows, with 11.5%. On the other hand, Argentina has 1,012 women, who only represent 7% of the total of non-commissioned officers. Paraguay has the lowest percentage of women with 1.4%. As to the troops, the case of Uruguay is remarkable, where 1,098 women represent 25.6% of the total.

<sup>\*</sup>In Ecuador, the rank of non-commissioned officer refers to the volunteer ranks in the Army. All of them, along with the soldiers, are called "troop".

<sup>\*\*</sup> Including administrative personnel.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>In Guatemala, the category of non-commissioned officer is not applicable. Accordingly, the category of specialist is used in the case of non-commissioned officers.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>In the case of Paraguay, women are not admitted into the armed forces as career personnel at the non-commissioned officer level. Data refer to assimilated female non-commissioned officers.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>In the case of Uruguay, the non-commissioned and troop categories are not applicable. The category of subordinate personnel is made up of hired volunteers, who enter as soldiers and can reach the rank of non-commissioned officers through their passage and training in the Army's Non-Commissioned Officers School.

**Table Nº 6**Military personnel in the Navy sorted by gender

Country		Officers		Non-co	mmissioned	l Officers		Troop		
Country	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	Total
Argentina	2,230	152	6.4	13,409	1,012	7.0	1,353	117	8.0	18,273
Bolivia	942	0	0.0	1,180	0	0.0	3,405	0	0.0	5,527
Brazil	5,271	1,786	25.3	16,542	844	4.9	18,707	558	2.9	43,708
Chile	2,121	16	0.7	14,609	1,116	7.1	800	0	0.0	18,662
Colombia	1,636	284	14.8	6,865	183	2.6	29,436	0	0.0	38,404
Ecuador*	952	64	6.3	219	17	7.2	5,733	117	2.0	7,102
El Salvador**	137	0	0.0	46	0	0.0	453	34	7.0	670
Guatemala***	124	6	4.6	212	32	13.1	379	53	12.3	806
Honduras	150	13	8.0	50	4	7.4	718	59	7.6	994
Paraguay	337	46	12.0	1,083	15	1.4	1,346	0	0.0	2,827
Uruguay****	696	14	1.9	361	47	11.5	3,189	1,098	25.6	5,405

Sources: Argentine Navy (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); General Staff of the Navy, Strategic Policy and Planning Division (Brazil); Chilean Navy Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Joint Command of the Armed Forces (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces, First Personnel Directorate (Paraguay); General Navy Staff (Uruguay). Updated December 2008. Available data on Peru are not disaggregated by Force; hence, they do not appear on the Table.

Finally, female participation as commissioned officers in the Air Force shows contrasting variations. According to available data, it ranges from 9.4% in Argentina to 1.6% in Guatemala; in the case of Bolivia, it has no women officers, due to their current training process. As to Guatemala, only two women are officers.

According to gathered data, Colombia ranks first regarding the amount of women officers, with 15.5% of participation. In 2004 and 2006, the first female airplane and helicopter commander pilots graduated respectively. In all cases, the trend shows an increase, if we consider that the air force was the most recent branch to incorporate them.

<sup>\*</sup> In Ecuador, the rank of non-commissioned officer refers to the ranks of the ship crew members of the Navy. All of them, along with soldiers, make up the troop.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Including administrative personnel.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> In the case of Guatemala, the non-commissioned category is not applicable. Accordingly, the category of specialist is used in the case of non-commissioned officers.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>In the case of Uruguay, the non-commissioned and troop categories are not applicable. Subordinate personnel are divided into the categories of marines, corporals and non-commissioned officers .

**Table Nº 7**Military personnel in the Air Force sorted by gender

Country		Officers		Non-co	mmissioned	l Officers		Troop		
Country	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	Men	Women	% Women	Total
Argentina	2,176	225	9.4	8,594	1,568	15.4	1,383	585	29.7	14,531
Bolivia	753	0	0.0	1,351	81	5.7	4,170	0	0.0	6,355
Brazil*		7.457				61.	791			69.248
Chile	1,067	75	6.6	6,053	210	3.4	386	0	0.0	7,791
Colombia	1,656	304	15.5	2,780	178	6.0	9,616	0	0.0	14,534
Ecuador**	795	32	3.9	117	17	12.7	5,254	10	0.2	6,225
El Salvador ***	214	12	5.3	187	0	0.0	227	60	20.9	700
Guatemala****	126	2	1.6	258	28	9.8	405	103	20.3	922
Honduras	200	14	6.5	300	23	7.1	566	2	0.4	1,105
Paraguay	333	23	6.5	861	11	1.3	58	0	0.0	1,286
Uruguay****	463	46	9.0	239	13	5.2	1,787	445	19.9	2,993

Sources: Argentine Air Force (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); Ministry of Defence and Decree Nº 6.549 of 26/08/08 (Brazil); Chilean Air Force Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); /Joint Command of the armed forces (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces, First Personnel Directorate (Paraguay); Uruguayan Air Force, Public Relations Directorate (Uruguay). Updated December 2008. Available data on Peru are not disaggregated by Force; hence, they do not appear on the Table.

Is a worth mentioning factor, and is closely associated with the amount of women in the armed forces, the existence of limited vacancies for military schools. In Paraguay, female access into the Military Academy is limited to 20% of the total of vacancies for all specialties. Chile shows a similar situation, where the amount of vacancies available for women is lower, if compared with those assigned for men. Uruguay, in spite of being one of the countries with the highest amount of women on active service, also establishes limited vacancies that may vary according to the needs. Limited vacancies in the Army have been recorded, particularly in Base Units (10%), Brigade and Artillery Commands (15%) and Army Division Commands (20%). In the case of the Navy, vacancies reach 30%.

<sup>\*</sup>In Brazil, data on the amount of women are not available.

<sup>\*\*</sup> In Ecuador, the non-commissioned rank refers to the ranks of Air Force aero-technicians. All of them, along with the soldiers, make up the troop.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Including administrative personnel.

<sup>\*\*\*\*</sup>In the case of Guatemala, the non-commissioned category is not applicable. Accordingly, the category of specialist is used in the case of non-commissioned officers.

<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup>In the case of Uruguay, non-commissioned and troop categories are not applicable. The category of subordinate personnel is made up of non-commissioned officers and troop.

### GLASS CEILINGS

To a greater or lesser extent, all armed forces of the countries of the region have women on active service. It is a fact that some spaces are still closed and that many women have come across a glass ceiling along their careers that limits them from reaching higher positions: the participation-inclusion of women in the armed forces constitutes a challenge in the process of opening and democratization of the armed institutions in the Latin American countries.

Analyzing the process of inclusion of women into the armed forces also implies mentioning the areas of expertise they can reach. The existing limitations and restrictions when choosing certain branches and services illustrate the opening levels, and the possible extent of the policy of inclusion. In this sense, Latin America follows the current international debate.

The existence of differences concerning the presence of women is closely linked with the concept of *tokenism*, always there when the incorporation of women is posed as a true inclusion, when is only an impression. A sign of this is the portrait of the achievements of military women in the mass media, thus creating a feeling of progress as to the equality of opportunities, whereas the possibilities to choose and advance in the same direction as their male counterparts are not equivalent in practice.

Regarding women's access to branches and services, these limitations are partial in some countries and are chiefly linked with the principles that armies and navies follow: in the case of the armies, limitations to serve in infantry and cavalry; in the case of the navies, limitations to serve in the marine infantry or specialties as divers and submariners. All of them are related to the debate on women participation in combat situations, infrastructure problems (in naval units mainly) and physical capacities.

In Brazil, the only force that allows women's access to combatant arms is the Air Force, though the branch of Infantry is closed. Neither the Army nor the Navy admit women in combatant arms. Similarly, women's access to these arms in the Air Force is restricted in Ecuador. Meanwhile, they have no access to the Army's Infantry and Armoured Cavalry. As to the Navy, one woman is currently attending the course of Marine Infantry, what seems to be a case study. Submarines remain closed for the time being. In other countries, such as Guatemala and Honduras, only the army shows restrictions to women's access to certain branches.

Colombia, Uruguay and Paraguay represent, in turn, the only cases among the surveyed countries that allow the total access of women to all branches and specialties within the armed forces. However, female presence is restricted in the last two cases, due to the limitation of vacancies, which result in a limitation to egalitarian participation. In Bolivia, total access to the Army and the Air Force is eclipsed by access restrictions to the Navy.

Thus, the women's incorporation process – despite its important advances in the opening process of military institutions -, presents several challenges in line with the possibilities of a significant and deep change in the culture of societies, where women can possibly fulfil physical and combat related positions and activities. Hence, the question is about achieving institutional autonomies and the opportunity for military institutions to propose changes affecting not only the institutional duties, but also the typical paradigms of the profession, and the images of the heroic military still kept within the collective imaginary. All of those debates - which have not taken place in the countries of the region yet -, exceed the issue of women's incorporation, and presuppose new plans for military missions, structures and reforms in line with the trends of conflicts and national policies.

The generation of clearly defined public policies by the Executive Branch, and the legal frameworks in charge of the Legislative Branch, establishing a political leadership that designs and intervenes in the institutional autonomy spaces is part of the institutional building path within the democratization context. Within this framework, the cases of Chile and Argentina stand out, regarding the design and implementation of a gender equality policy in the defence sector. In both cases, the possibility of female access to the branches that are currently closed is under survey. Besides, the Bolivian Executive Branch held the Second International Seminar on Women in the Armed Forces in July 2009, with the aim of promoting a women's inclusion policy (closely linked with the mandates of the new Political Constitution), and fostering the opening of the Navy.

**Table Nº 8**Admittance of women into military specialties (officers)

Sources: Compilation based on data gathered through interviews with Army Officers and the Ministry of Defence (Argentina); Report of the Seminar-Workshop "Women and the Armed Forces: an Inclusion with Rights" (La Paz: 2006) (Bolivia); homepages of the Armed Forces (www.mar.mil.br, www.fab.mil.br, www.exercito.gov.br) (Brazil); Personnel Directorates of the Army, Navy and Air Force (Chile); Ministry of Defence and National Navy (Co-Iombia); Chacón, Rosita. Mujer Militar: su inclusion en las fuerzas armadas (Quito: Publiasesores 2008) (Ecuador); Communications Unit, Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Diagnosis on Gender and the Armed Forces (City of Guatemala: IEPADES, 2001) (Guatemala); General Command of the Air Force, General Command of the Naval Force and Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Honduras (Honduras); Act No 1.115 of the Military Statute (Paraguay); Human Resources Directorate of the Ministry of Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army General Staff, National Army and Uruguayan Air Force Public Relations Directorate (Uruguay).

	Admittance le	evel sorted by arms	and specialty
Country	Army	Navy	Air Force
1. Argentina	Partial	Total	Total
2. Bolivia	Total	No access	Total
3. Brazil	No access	No access	Partial
4. Chile	Partial	Partial	Total
5. Colombia	Total	Total	Total
6. Ecuador	Partial	Partial	Partial
7. El Salvador	Partial	No access	Partial
8. Guatemala	Partial	Total	Total
9. Honduras	Partial	Total	Total
10. Paraguay	Total	Total	Total
11. Peru	Partial	Partial	Partial
12. Uruguay	Total	Total	Total

- 1. No access to infantry or cavalry in the land force.
- 3. No access to infantry or first class technician.
- 4. No access to infantry, armoured cavalry in the land force; to marine infantry and its specialties on material, submarines, tactical diving, rescue diving and lighthouses in the naval force.
- 6. No access to infantry, armoured cavalry or aviation in the land force, to submariners and naval aviation in the naval force, or to airborne infantry, helicopter pilot, special operation, air combat control or liaison officer positions in the air force.
- 7. No access to combat-related arms in the Army or Air Force.
- 8. No access to artillery, engineering or cavalry in the Army.
- 9. No access to artillery, infantry or cavalry in the Army.
- 10. No access to infantry, cavalry or artillery in the Army; submarines, infantry, special operations, diving or rescue in the Navy; or combat pilot, air defence or special operations positions in the Air Force.
- 11. No access to artillery, cavalry or religious services in the Army; to submarinism, intelligence or special operation forces in the Navy, nor to combat pilot or intelligence in the Air Force.

The presence of legal frameworks granting support to the incorporation of women is another sign of opening, as far as they show the existence of a political debate. In this sense, the participation of the Legislative Branch indicates a shared and higher impact policy. In Peru, for instance, Congress participation is prominent. Act N° 26.628 established the opening of commissioned and non-commissioned academies to women in 1996. Incorporation was also the outcome of Congress decision in Ecuador. The opening in the rest of the countries depended mainly on the Executive Branch decisions, as well as on internal resolutions of the forces.

Other countries do not have specific regulations that control the presence of women at the legislative level. Somehow, this has been counterbalanced through more definite resolutions or regulations, as in the case of those issues regarding maternity and breastfeeding leave entitlements. The labour of the Ministries of Defence and the forces commands has been intense in some countries of the region. The establishment of regulations controlling positive discrimination during certain periods – with the aim of ensuring equality and non-discrimination, seems to have been the element in use against institutional cultural resistance.

In this sense, the question of pregnancy is one of the issues that bears special relevance and is matter of debate and disagreement. The vast majority of countries in the region ban women's pregnancy over the military training period. When women enter academies, they usually sign a contract where they pledge themselves not to get pregnant. Many women agree on this, arguing that maternity is a matter of choice, though not of mere occurrence, and that, having they chosen the military career, family planning should be held back until professional and institutional conditions are suitable. Argentina is noteworthy in this respect; following the Spanish trend in matters of legislation, it establishes through Act N° 26.061 that no training institution can expel or hinder the access of pregnant women.² In these cases, women are able to fulfil their theoretical instruction until their pregnancy period allows; while physical assessments are deferred. The Ministry of Defence has also decided that family matters are not women's exclusive, establishing the possibility for men to have their paternity leaves as well.

Many of the women who took part in the interviewing process have agreed on the existence of specific regulations to address the different aspects regarding the maternity issue, such as schedules, permits, breastfeeding, guards, uniforms, and so on. On the other hand, they are against the use of their motherhood condition as a pretext of incapacity to carry out the assigned tasks, alleging that it is negative for their struggle to obtain equal opportunities based on capacities, though not on gender.

Other issues that have been matter of legislation include the control of domestic violent situations among military family members, and the spread of nursery schools in the military garrisons, as it is the case in Argentina. Speaking about Bolivia, the Command of Military Institutes has recently passed a regula-

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Argentina, *Ley 26.061 de protección integral de los derechos de las niñas, niños y adolescentes*, (Buenos Aires: National Congress, October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005).

tion over relations among cadets in the Army's Military School. Peru has modified the Disciplinary Regime Act, for the sake of including the crimes of rape and sexual harassment, whereas if cadets' pregnancy is a reason for dismissal in the military career or not is matter of debate at the constitutional level.

Other countries, such as Honduras and Guatemala have merely modified personnel-related acts, in order to regulate female presence. On the other hand, Chile has developed a fundamental policy of women's participation in the armed forces, including it in its White Book on Defence in 2005. Uruguay has taken a pioneering position within the region, regarding one of the taboo issues in worldwide military institutions: it established by decree of the Ministry of National Defence in 2009, that the sexual preference of applicants trying to enter commissioned officers military academies should not be considered as a cause of incompetence.

**Table Nº 9**Main regulations on gender within armed institutions

**Source:** Compilation based on the abovementioned documents.

Country and issue	
Argentina	Origin
Derogation of every administrative action of the forces prohibiting access and/or permanence of women in state of pregnancy, breast-feeding and/or with children in military education institutions. (Resolution 849, 28/08/06).	Ministry of Defence
The Commanders of the armed forces are instructed to abolish those regulations in force imposing entrance and/or permanence restrictions, regarding physical attributes or illnesses that imply exclusively aesthetic manifestations (Resolution 1.308, 30/11/06).	Ministry of Defence
The Commanders are instructed to examine the rules, regulations or criteria of entrance in effect, with the aim of abolishing the limitations to having children at the moment of entering the armed forces, or to becoming pregnant during their permanence in them (Resolution 1.435, 28/12/06).	Ministry of Defence
The Commanders of the armed forces are instructed to examine the rules, regulations or criteria of entrance in force, concerning the assignment of guard duties, with the aim of exempting pregnant or breast-feeding women from them (Resolution 113, 09/02/07).	Ministry of Defence
Access to the hierarchical structure of the armed forces, in equal conditions to male military personnel (Resolution 216, 16/02/07).	Ministry of Defence
Derogation of the formerly existing prohibition within the Air Force and the Navy on marriages between personnel members holding different hierarchies, and between these and security forces personnel members (Resolution 1.352, 31/08/07).	Ministry of Defence
Derogation of existing directives in the Air Force and the Army, which gathered data on "regular and irregular family situations" (Resolution 74, 28/01/08).	Ministry of Defence
National Plan for Mainstreaming the Gender Perspective within the framework of international peacekeeping operations (Resolution 1.226, 21/10/08).	Ministry of Defence

Bolivia	Origin
Regulations for Men and Women Cadets in the Army's Military School (Code 10 – L, 2008).	Military Institutions Command
Brazil	Origin
Creation of the Navy's Female Auxiliary Corps Reserve (Act 6.807, 07/07/80).	Executive Branch
Creation of the Army's Commissioned-Officers Complementary Ranks (Act 7.831, 02/10/89).	Executive Branch
Creation of the Air Force's Female Corps Reserve (Act 6.924, 29/06/81).	Executive Branch
Navy's Disciplinary Regulations (Decree 88.545, 26/07/83).	Executive Branch
Restructuring of the Navy's Female Auxiliary Corps Reserve Ranks (Act 7.622, 09/10/87).	Executive Branch
Regulations for the Navy's Female Auxiliary Corps Reserve (Decree 95.660, 25/01/88).	Executive Branch
Air Force's Disciplinary Regulations (Decree 96.013, 06/05/88).	Executive Branch
Regulations for the Army's Officers Complementary Rank (R-41) (Decree 98.314, 19/10/89).	Executive Branch
Defining of the number of officers and positions in the Navy's Female Auxiliary Corps Reserve (Act 8.194, 25/06/91).	Executive Branch
Structuring of the corps and ranks in Navy's commissioned officers (Act 9.519, 26/11/97).	Executive Branch
Army's Disciplinary Regulations (R-4, Decree 4.346, 26/08/02).	Executive Branch
Chile	Origin
Act establishing the armed forces health system (Act 19.465, 26/07/96).	Legislative Branch
Policy on Women's Participation in the Armed Forces (Update Addendum for the Book on National Defence, March 2005).	Ministry of Defence
National Action Plan for the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325/2000 "Women, Security and Peace", (03/08/09).	Executive Branch
Ecuador	Origin
Policies related to female personnel entrance into the armed forces (General Order 43, 05/03/02).	Army
Incorporation of Women in the Land Force as troop personnel (Directive 02-2005 and 01-2006).	Army
Created to regulate female personnel participation in the Air Force (Regulation 038-AE-3-0-05).	Air Force
El Salvador	Origin
Regulations on the Organization and Functioning of the Military Academy "Captain General Gerardo Barrios" (Executive Decree 91, 06/09/2001).	Executive Branch

Guatemala	Origin
Statutory Law of the Army of Guatemala (Decree 72-90, 13/12/1990).	Legislative Branch
Honduras	Origin
Personnel Act for Armed Forces Members (Decree Nº 231-2005).	Legislative Branch
Paraguay	Origin
Decree-Law derogating item d) in article 15 included in Decree-Law 14.222, which established lower salaries for women according to their performance, (Decree-Law 21.208, 09/07/75).	Legislative Branch
Military Personnel Statute (Act 1.115, 26/08/97).	Executive Branch
Peru	Origin
Maternity and breast-feeding needs (Decree 28/92, 23/01/92).	Legislative Branch
Act related to women's access to commissioned and non-commissioned officers schools (Act 26.628, 20/06/96).	Legislative Branch
Act supporting women's access to the National Merchant Navy School (Act 27.134, 04/06/99).	Legislative Branch
Act supporting female personnel prenatal and postnatal leave (Act 28.308, 29/07/04).	Legislative Branch
Act on military situation of commissioned-officer personnel (Act 28.359, 13/10/04).	Legislative Branch
Act acknowledging the right to vote for armed forces and national police members (Act 28.480, 30/03/05).	Executive Branch
Act on Disciplinary Regime (Act 29.131, 24/10/07).	Legislative Branch
Officers Promotion Act (Act 29.108, 30/10/07).	Legislative Branch
Uruguay	Origin
Regulation on troops and criteria for hiring female personnel (Directive D.6-6, 02/05/97).	Legislative Branch
It allows female cadets to attend courses and develop their military career in equal conditions to male personnel (Decree 434/997, 11/09/97).	General Command of the Army
Entrance of female cadets into the Air Force Military Academy (Decree 76/997, 1997)	Executive Branch
Internal regulation for authorizing engagements within the Military Academy (2001).	Army Order
Amendment to the admission into the Air Force Military Academy (Decree 36/002, 30/01/02).	Executive Branch
Modification of the Armed Forces Courts of Honour Regulations, including an article applicable to Higher Female Personnel (Decree 164/002, 09/05/02).	Executive Branch
It furthers the benefits of Act 17.242 for women working for the public sector (Decree 202/002, 05/06/02).	Executive Branch
Modification of the articles cited in the regulations for conditions of admission into the Military Academy (Decree 309/007, 27/08/07).	Executive Branch
It establishes that sexual preferences of applicants for officer schools will not be considered as a cause of incompetence (Decree 216 /009, 11/05/09).	Executive Branch

The inclusion also led to address sensitive issues such as sexual harassment and other sexual crimes. Two different grounds may be distinguished in this regard: one referring to the norms and the regulation of military discipline, - which goes along with daily practices, and the established allegations mechanisms -, and the other, regarding the transparency through which cases can be tackled. Just like it happens with other social and cultural aspects, the incorporation of normative transformations into current practices is a middle and long term process, which will eventually indicate – or not – the effective democratization of military institutions. The awareness of crime feasibility and the protection of women's human rights – conveyed through regulations – should be in this sense taken as the minimum obligation of state institutions, considering though, the strong "tokenism" around it.

As to regulations, sexual type crimes are in general part of the two most significant elements ruling the military institution: disciplinary and justice codes.<sup>3</sup>

Penal and disciplinary reforms have occurred, in general terms, over the last ten years; sexual harassment is often pondered as a misconduct and even gross misconduct. There are some specific references in some countries, within the scope of military regulations:

- In *Argentina*, "it is considered misconduct: the military having made a sexual type request, for their own or a third party benefit, under the threat of producing damage to the service or professional career of the victim". And, as a gross misconduct: "sexual harassment from a higher rank holder. The military, having made a sexual type request, through unfair use of their higher rank, for their own or a third party benefit, under the threat of producing damage to the service or professional career of the victim". (Act 26.394, Articles 10 and 13, Armed Forces Disciplinary Code, 06/08/08).

<sup>3</sup> Guaranteeing anonymity is one of the fundamental issues in the effective fulfillment of regulations controlling institutional practices when accusations take place. In some countries, women denouncers do not have such guarantee, which added to the lack of formal procedures and channels for the realization of denounces, render the level of denounces to the minimum. Some forces have attempted to make innovations in this respect: in the Uruguayan Air Force, for instance, there is a possibility to carry out anonymous denunciations through the so-called "red-line", a social assistant's phone number that is distributed among women in the force, for them to report and denounce cases of harassment. The efficacy and importance of these mechanisms decrease, given their low institutionalization levels. Another example of this issue is the case of Chile, where both the guarantees of confidentiality and the obligation to investigate the case in order to substantiate the guilt of the accused are proposed. The interviews revealed that those deeds were directly sanctioned, avoiding public knowledge about who the victim was, or any possible detriment to them.

- *Brazil* quotes in its Military Penal Code the crimes of rape and violent indecent assault ("To constrain someone, through violence or serious threat, to witness, practice or allow the perpetration of a lascivious act with them, diverse from sexual intercourse"), as well as other violence-related crimes (Articles 232, 233, 234, 236 of the Military Penal Code, Act-Decree 1.001, last reformed by Act 9.764, 17/12/98).
- The Code of Military Discipline of *Ecuador* declares that "it is an act of moral turpitude: to carry out persistent sexual harassment on military or civil personnel, or on family members". (Article 67, Ministerial Agreement 831 07/08/98).
- In *Guatemala*, "those who, holding a position or rank, forewarn subordinate personnel that their rights will be affected or favoured with the purpose of achieving sexual favours, are guilty of committing a gross misconduct". (Article 5, Regulation Disciplinary Sanction, Governmental Agreement, 24-2005 24/01/05).
- The Code of *Honduras* penalizes any crime "where the criminal abuse their gender superiority in such a way that the offended could not defend themselves" (Article 7 of the Military Code, Decree 76-06, last reformed by Decree 47, 22/01/37).
- In *Peru*, "The following are very serious misdemeanours: to formulate improper insinuations, suggestions, obscene gestures and/or use words carrying a sexual nature or connotation (verbal or written), that appear as intolerable and offensive to the offended. To take advantage of the position or rank in order to bestow, ambiguously or explicitly, a privileged treatment or benefits in exchange for sexual favours." (Annex III, Armed Forces Disciplinary Regulation Act, 29.131 -09/11/07).
- In *Paraguay*, "those found guilty of raping a minor through violent assault shall be punished by five to seven years of military prison, extendable up to the maximum according to the circumstantial location and rank of the person involved". Besides, "The violent kidnapping of a woman, irrespective of their rank, will be punished with no more than five years of military prison". (Articles 287 and 289, Military Penal Code, Act 843 19/12/1980).

# Resolution 1820 and military justice

UN Security Council's Resolution 1820 urges to adopt appropriate measures to protect civilians, particularly women and young girls, from all forms of sexual violence, including the use of suitable military discipline measures among other elements.

Through codes of military penal justice or disciplinary regulations, some of the military justice systems in the countries of the region typify the crimes or infringements committed by their personnel, including sexual harassment or rape. In other countries, the lack of legislation on this matter creates certain legal void; in those cases where a peace corps member is charged with committing some of these crimes while on duty and is repatriated to his country, the judicial process and the application of the corresponding penalties may remain unfinished.

It should be noted that military justice is based in most countries upon the need to judge "military infringements or crimes committed by active military". Yet, that leads to one of the most important existing debates on military justice: whether military jurisdiction is the right space for judging such ordinary crimes as sexual harassment or rape, or if those crimes should be matter of the civilian courts (irrespective of when or by whom they were committed) is still under discussion.

Aside from this debate, it is necessary that every peace operations personnel-contributing country have the proper regulations on this matter. This is essential for the adoption of effective measures to prevent and respond to sexual violence deeds where peace operations personnel might be involved.

Continually evolving, legislation has also been adapted to a higher presence of women in military schools, garrisons and barracks, through the incorporation of regulations in a similar way to those of any other working field. Despite this improvement, it is necessary to point out that in most cases, this regulatory corpus lacks a gender perspective. In order to reinforce the true inclusion of women, the debate and review of these frameworks still constitute a pending matter.

Another sign that shows the progress in the women's incorporation process is the existence of infrastructural changes in training schools and military units, to make possible the lodging of women. In this sense, most of schools and large military units in the countries have been adapted. The building of restrooms and rooms for women, the design of uniforms specially tailored to the female figure, and the incorporation of necessary health services, such as gynaecologists and changes in the diet of cadets – in order to establish a nu-

trition that is in line with physical needs of men and women -, are some of the aspects to be considered. According to gathered data, Argentina and Chile stand out as the countries having made the greatest infrastructural changes in their training schools for the entrance of women.

The rest of the surveyed countries present similar realities. Most of them show advances in the construction of rooms and restrooms exclusive for women, as well as the incorporation of health services and uniforms. The less considered aspect seems to be the change in the nutritional diet, however, that is counterbalanced through the presence of nutritionists advisors.

Although these changes represent advances in the treatment of women in the armed forces, it should be observed that the attainment of such benefits was, largely, the outcome of women's demands and of the initial paternalism of their male counterparts. It is evident that the transformations carried out during the first stages did not reflect the existence of a prior definite policy of incorporation. Therefore, many of the current shortfalls evidence the absence of full mainstreaming policies relating to military women.

## Some testimonies

"What each of us does is having it mended or fitted according to our size, though some pieces can not be fitted. That happens, for instance, with the rise of our trousers, which is generally bigger".

(Interview with an Artillery Second Lieutenant of the Army of Honduras).

"When I reached my destination unit, there wasn't even a bathroom for ladies in the place where I worked. If it was necessary, I had to go a fifteen minutes walk to finally reach the nearest bathroom for women. We were forbidden to lodge with male single officers and compelled to stay at a hotel, along with the families of the officers transferred to that unit. Our uniforms were specially designed for women; however, they were not handy at all at first. Besides, we could not use swords, as all officers did".

(Interview with a member of the Female Rank of Commissioned-Officers of the Air Force of Brazil).

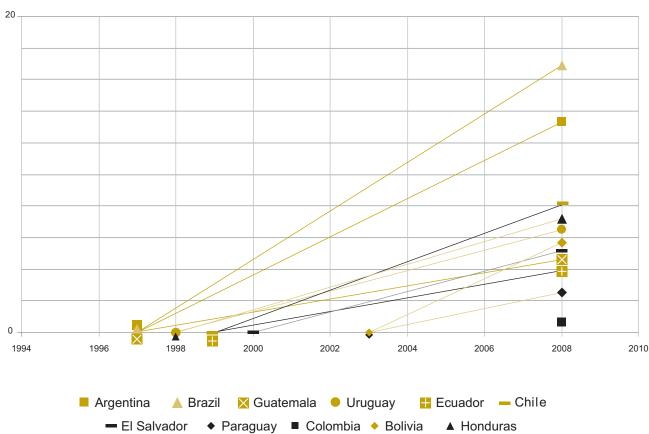
[The diet] "(...) is highly rich in calories; the disadvantage for women lies in that men burn more calories than women, so women tend to gain weight and they choose to eat less in order to avoid it, what affects their physical performance, be it for weakness or, in other cases, for excessive weight."

(Interview with a female commissioned officer of the Army of Bolivia).

## THE FUTURE

The incorporation of women in the armed forces is a recent and complex phenomenon in the region, ranging from the degree of opening of the military world to personal motivations. In order to analyze the chances of implementing Resolution 1325, current diagnosis and future projections should be taken into consideration: national political decisions will find an unavoidable point in the structural realities surrounding female presence in the forces. Among those circumstances, is the current and future number of women depending also on a recent incorporation, and on the necessary years to achieve certain positions in the military hierarchy.

Chart N° 2
Representation of rate levels of land force female officers considering year of admittance



**Source:** Compilation based on women's year of admission and proportional rate of effectives. In the case of Bolivia, the second instance of women's admittance in the Army was considered.

In order to illustrate the amount of women approaching the top of the military career, let us consider the example of the army, as a force where incorporation has been open to women for a long time now in all surveyed countries. If we observe the amount of women applying to military schools, - except for what the cases of Argentina and Brazil depict -, the amount of women that are effectively accepted is proportional to the amount of women who apply for a vacancy.

Army

Table N° 10

Women applying for and admitted into the military schools of the Army, 2009

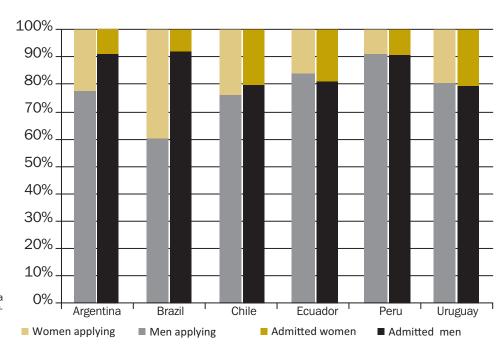
Sources: Argentine Army Personnel Directorate (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia); Army's Social Communication Centre (Brazil); Chilean Army Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence, Defence Human Resources Personnel Directorate (Peru); Army's General Staff, Third Department (Uruguay).

	Officers					
País	Car	ndidates	Admitted Candidates			
	N°	% over total	Nº	% over total		
Argentina	141	141 22.5% 34 8.9				
Bolivia	In 2009, enrollment at the military academy was not available to men or women.					
Brazil	2,328 39.9% 47 7.9					
Chile	302	24%	41	20%		
Ecuador	176	16.2%	30	18.8%		
Peru	133	9.3%	28	9.3%		
Uruguay	20	19.4%	15	20.3%		

Enrollment takes place through an only military school for all three forces in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Paraguay; hence, data have not been included.

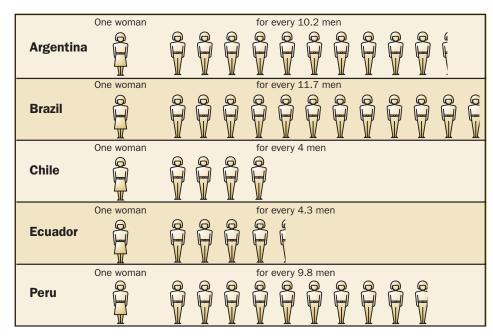
Chart N° 3

Proportion of men and women applying for and admitted into the military schools of the Army, 2009



**Source:** Compilation based on data provided by the armed forces of surveyed countries.

**Table N° 11**Ratio men/women admitted into the Army



Regarding the highest ranks women can reach within their military career, opportunities still show restrictions. Even when access to several branches and specialties has been allowed, hindrances to female access to combat arms presuppose in some cases a practical restriction to reaching the highest available rank. In Guatemala and Honduras, who have not opened female participation in the combatant arms, promotion is limited to the rank of Colonel, the highest available rank for those officers belonging to the service and support arms.

In other cases, even when female promotion to the highest military ranks is allowed, there are restrictions to the egalitarian access to some specialties, combat and service support arms. This reduces the possibilities of those women willing to reach the top of the hierarchical pyramid of the force they belong to. In Peru, for instance, only arms branch officers are eligible for the ranks of Major General, Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant General, but women access is quite limited, as they can only enter the specialties of Engineering and Communications in the Army, Surface War and Naval Aviation in the navy and transport pilot in the Air Force. In spite of the fact that women have been formally incorporated to the command corps, their participation is still far from being equitable. This is a frequent scenario in several countries.

Other countries, like Bolivia, show another types of contradictions. Even when women can aspire to reach the highest military rank, female access to

**Table N° 12**Highest rank available to both men and women officers in the armed forces (command corps)

	Aı	Army		Navy		Air Force		
Country	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Argentina	Lieutenant General	Lieutenant General	Admiral	Admiral	Brigadier General	Brigadier General		
Bolivia	Army General	Army General	Admiral	No access	Air Force General	Air Force General		
Brazil	Army General	No access	Squadron Admiral	No access	Lieutenant-Brigadier Lieutenant-Brigadi			
Chile	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	Air General Air General			
Colombia	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	General	General		
Ecuador	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	Air General	Air General		
El Salvador	Division General	Division General	Vice-Admiral	No access	Air General	Air General		
Guatemala	Division General	Colonel	Admiral	Navy Captain	Division General	Colonel		
Honduras	Division General	Colonel	Admiral	Navy Captain	Division General	Colonel		
Paraguay	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	Division General	Division General		
Peru	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	Air General	Air General		
Uruguay	Army General	Army General	Admiral	Admiral	Air General	Air General		

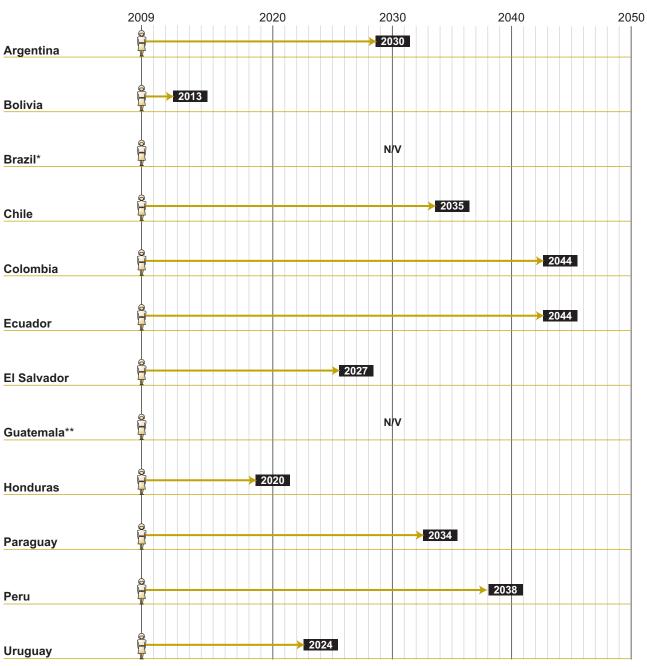
Sources: Army, Naval and Air Forces of Argentina (Argentina); Nation Organic Law of the Armed Forces 1.405 (Bolivia); homepages of the three Armed Forces (Brazil); Constitutive Organic Law of the Armed Forces (Chile); Ministry of Defence and National Navy (Colombia); Armed Forces Personnel Act (Ecuador); Decree 72 -90 and 476 of 30/11/1995 (El Salvador); Constituent Law of the Army (Guatemala); A Comparative Atlas of Defence in Latin America (2008) (Honduras); First Department, Commanding Personnel of the Military Forces (Paraguay); Defence Human Resources Personnel Directorate, Ministry of Defence (Peru); Armed Forces Law (Uruguay).

the navy is currently closed; they can only enter through the pre-military service. Meanwhile, there are no women officers in the Air Force. In the Army, Bolivian women colonels – who were incorporated over the 70s – still have to go a few years before becoming Generals. It is possible that some of those women eventually reach the highest ranks in the armed forces of the region. The same might happen in such other countries as Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay.

What are then the true possibilities women have to reach their highest rank? When can women expect to command a force?

The estimated projection of women officers in the command corps of the armies, and the amount of years that women will have to comply with in order to reach the highest allowed ranks, illustrates this issue. The estimation refers to the seniority criteria, because of the difficulty that considering all the factors influencing promotion implies - such as qualifications, courses approval, available vacancies, achieved merits and disciplinary behaviour.

Chart N° 4
Estimated year for women to reach the highest rank in the Army



**Source:** Compilation based on data provided by the armed forces of surveyed countries.

N/V: not valid

- \* do not have access to the command corps.
- \*\* have reached the highest rank they could aspire to.

**Table N° 13**Prospective promotion of women officers within the command corps (Army)

Country	Highest rank currently held (2009)	Highest reachable rank according to seniority criteria	Years to elapse before promotion to the highest possible hierarchy	Estimated year	
Argentina	First Lieutenant	Division General	21	2030	
Bolivia	Colonel	Division General	4	2013	
Brazil	N/V	N/V	N/V	N/V	
Chile	Lieutenant	Brigade General	26	2035	
Colombia	Second Lieutenant	Major General	36	2044	
Ecuador	Captain	Army General	35	2044	
El Salvador	Second Lieutenant	Colonel	27	2027	
Guatemala	Colonel	Colonel	N/V	N/V	
Honduras	Major	Colonel	11	2020	
Paraguay	Second Lieutenant	Brigade General	28	2034	
Peru	Lieutenant	Division General	29	2038	
Uruguay	First Lieutenant	Colonel	17	2024	

Sources: Compilation based onthe armed forces organic laws of each country and Argentine Army Personnel Directorate (Argentina); Ministry of Defence (Bolivia), Ārmy's Social Communication Centre (Brazil); Chilean Army Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ministry of Defence (Colombia); Army Personnel Directorate (Ecuador); Ministry of Defence (El Salvador); Ministry of Defence (Guatemala); Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces: C-1 Human Resources (Honduras); Command of the Military Forces - First Personnel Department (Paraguay); Ministry of Defence (Peru); Third Department of the Army's General Staff (Uruguay). Updated 2009.

N/V: not valid

The projection is relevant to the analysis of the years and challenges that women will face all along their careers. In some cases, decades will pass before they can lead the armed forces of their countries. Likewise, the time factor will not be the only restraint for women's promotion to higher ranks. Other factors can also be crucial; the existence of assessment boards - exclusively made up of male general officers - and, the restraint or closure for women's access into certain branches and specialties, will certainly play an important part.

# **Argentina:**

The highest rank they can reach is that of Lieutenant General. These days, they hold the rank of First Lieutenant and, in order to reach the rank of Division General, they have to go 21 more years in their careers. Only Division Generals appointed to take the position of Chief of the Army General Staff will be promoted to Lieutenant General.<sup>4</sup>

# **Bolivia:**

Women officers in the Army currently hold the rank of Colonel. They are part of the first class that entered in 1979. The five women that are in the force today will be able to become Division General in four years' time. Women need to have reached the rank of Major General and preferably served as Army Chief of Staff, Army Inspector General or Undersecretary of the Ministry of Defence in order to aspire to the highest rank in the force (Army General).<sup>5</sup>

# **Brazil:**

Women cannot reach the highest rank in the force – Army General – as they are not allowed to enter the combat branches. However, those women following the engineering branch of the military profession can aspire to the rank of Division General.

#### Chile:

Army General is the highest rank. Currently, the seniorest women officers hold the rank of Colonel; however, they are the women officers from the Female Military Service that opened in 1974, whose highest available rank was, precisely, that of Colonel. Those women having entered the arms branch (Artillery, Engineering and Telecommunications) should be considered for the promotion to Army General.

Women commissioned officers entered the arms branch in 2003; after four years of instruction they graduated as Second Lieutenants in 2006. They hold today the rank of Lieutenants. In order to become Brigade Ge-

<sup>4</sup> Republic of Argentina, Ley  $N^e$  19.101 para el Personal Militar, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, June  $30^{th}$ , 1971).

<sup>5</sup> Republic of Bolivia, *Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas de la Nación Nº 1.405*, (La Paz: National Congress, December 30th, 1992).

neral, they will have to go through 26 years of career according to seniority criteria, and the same thing to become Army General, after being appointed Major General by the Commander in Chief of the force.<sup>6</sup>

#### Colombia:

Army General is the highest rank that women can achieve, as long as they come from the arms branch. The entrance of women officers to such branch only took place in 2008. Nowadays, they hold the rank of Second Lieutenant. They will have to go through 36 years of career in order to reach the rank of Major General, according to seniority criteria.

The national government will choose among those Majors General that fulfil the requirements established by law for the promotion to General.<sup>7</sup>

#### **Ecuador:**

Women reached the rank of Second Lieutenants of Service after finishing their studies in 2003. They still have to go through 35 years of career in order to reach the highest rank of Army General.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, opportunities are scarce, as they do not have access to all specialties, being only allowed for Combat Engineering, Military Intelligence and Communications.

# **El Salvador:**

The highest rank women can reach is Division General; a first group of women entered the school of officers in 2003 and graduated as Second Lieutenants in 2006. Considering the year of admission, 27 years should elapse for them to reach the highest rank (Division Colonel) in accordance with seniority criteria. Besides, they need to be appointed by the Executive Branch to reach their promotion to Division General. <sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Republic of Chile, *DFL-1 Estatuto del Personal de las Fuerzas Armadas*, (Santiago de Chile: Ministry of National Defence; Undersecretary of War, August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Republic of Colombia, Decreto  $N^{o}$  1790 de 2000 por medio del cual se modifica el decreto que regula las normas de carrera del personal de oficiales y suboficiales de las fuerzas militares, (Bogotá: Presidency of the Republic, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Republic of Ecuador, *R.O.5 Ley de Personal de las Fuerzas Armadas*, (Quito: National Congress, January 5<sup>th</sup>, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Republic of El Salvador, *Decreto Legislativo Nº* 476 Ley de Carrera Militar, (San Salvador: Legislative Assembly, November 30st, 1995).

# **Guatemala:**

Women officers currently hold the rank of Colonel and can only reach this rank, as they are within the branch of services. They have to be arms officers to aspire to the highest military hierarchy (Generals). If there were today any women branch Second Lieutenants, 24 years should at least elapse before their reaching the rank of Colonel.<sup>10</sup>

# **Honduras:**

The highest rank women can reach is Colonel, and they are only incorporated through the War Materials rank. There have been cases of women holding the rank of Colonel, because of their seniority, since they were the first women officers to be trained in Mexico and then incorporated into the forces. Women currently hold the rank of Major and will become Colonels in 11 years' time.

# Paraguay:

Army General is the highest rank women can aspire to. In 2006, the first Second Lieutenants graduated and after four more years of studies, in 2010, they will become Lieutenants. Considering the graduation year and according to their seniority, they will need to go through some 28 years of career in order to become Brigadier General, and some more years to be promoted to Army General.<sup>11</sup>

#### Peru:

Women officers in the Army hold today the rank of Lieutenant. According to the establishment of the Act on the Promotions in the Armed Forces<sup>12</sup>, they will reach the highest rank of Division General in 29 years, in line with their seniority. It's worth mentioning that they should come from the arms branch. Women only have access to the arms of Engineering and Communications, thus reducing the chances of promotion.

<sup>10</sup> Republic of Guatemala, Reglamento de Ascensos en el Ejército de Guatemala-Acuerdo Gubernativo 210-05, (Guatemala City: Presidency of the Republic, June 16th, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Republic of Paraguay, Ley Nº 1.115- Estatuto del Personal Militar, (Asunción: National Congress, August 26th, 1997)

<sup>12</sup> Republic of Peru, Ley № 29.404, (Lima: Republican Congress, September 9th, 2009).

# **Uruguay:**

Women can aim at the maximum rank of the force, Army General. The first time they entered the Military Academy was in 1998, graduating in 2002 as Second Lieutenants. In 2007, they became First Lieutenants and will reach the rank of Captain in two years' time (2011). They will have to go through 13 more years in order to become Colonels, according to their seniority. Once they have reached that position, those women will be able to reach the rank of General and Army General, by appointment of the Executive Branch with Senate's agreement.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Eastern Republic of Uruguay, *Ley Nº* 15.688 Ejército Nacional, (Montevideo: State Council, January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1985); *Decreto-Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas* 14.157, (Montevideo: State Council, February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1974), amended through Act Nº 15.808 on April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1986.

# CHAPTER 2: WOMEN IN THE POLICE FORCES

The presence of women in Latin-American public security institutions is the outcome of a gradual and sustained incorporation process, in the din of the configuration of national police institutions. The inherent characteristics of police work led to incorporate women under a functional perspective, so that they carry out tasks concerning social issues and give support to other women, children and the elderly. There was an underlying certainty that policewomen could get in touch and deal with the community in a distinctive way, through the construction of a pacifying and caring gender role.

The first female incorporations occurred through the creation of separate corps: brigades, stations or female auxiliary corps, which in the course of years started to vanish and merge into an only police corps, as we know it today. Some countries began to incorporate women after sending them to study abroad in a neighbouring country, or through the implementation of pilot experiences at the domestic level.

The women's integration and assimilation process in the police shows advances that are different from the ones observed in the armed forces: a higher proportion of female personnel, a more equitable access to professional specialties, logistical adaptations in police academies and, apparently, not so many promotion hindrances to achieve decision-making positions. The fact is that, even when regional police forces endured the burden of a historical militarization in our countries until a few decades ago – and the collective and political imaginary may tend to associate them – both the police and the military forces bear distinctive characteristics. These become evident in such areas as the assigned missions, instruction, equipment, doctrines, and in the concept of women's inclusion.

However, just as it happens in other labour fields, the spaces that women have won in the police institutions coexist with others that undermine a further progress. Aspects concerning limited quotas of vacancies, cases of discrimination and harassment are some of the pending matters to be solved by police institutions, through a full implementation of a gender approach in their development and functioning.

# Police and public security forces

The structure of public security has a centralized model in nearly all surveyed countries: a single national police force, subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior, Governance or Public Security. However, countries like Argentina, Brazil and Chile, present a different and more complex structure.

In the case of *Chile*, the country has two police forces: *Investigation Police*, whose mission is investigating crimes in accordance with what the Public Ministry prescribes, and the *Carabineers*, in charge of keeping security in the community through preventive action. Both institutions depended on the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior until September 2009. The Draft Constitutional Organic Law of the Ministry of Defence, modifies the organic structure of this body and definitively reassigns the police forces to the Ministry of the Interior. The latter, also going through a restructuring process, may eventually create the Undersecretary's Office of Public Security on which police forces might depend.

In *Brazil*, the security system presents a high degree of complexity in comparison with other Latin-American neighbours. Its characteristics refer to the federative system, - which confers considerable autonomy to state institutions -, and to the large number of police organisms, each of them having different functions and administrations. Thus, there is a division distinguishing the following police forces: <sup>1</sup>

- -The Federal Police, which is accountable for the crimes that are beyond the reach of state limits or are considered federal crimes by definition, and for those committed by national authorities or that threaten the State as a whole, as in the case of drugs and people trafficking.
- *The Civil Police*, whose function is the organization of the whole country's security system.

<sup>1</sup> Federative Republic of Brazil, *Constitucão da República Federativa do Brasil*, (Brasilia: Constituent National Assembly, October 5<sup>th</sup>,1988).

- *The Military Police*, which is accountable for overt and preventive actions, and includes a militarized corps. They are Army's auxiliary and reserve forces, subordinated to state governments and to the Federal District. A Military Police General Commander, who is appointed by each state government and approved by the Army's Command, leads the Military Police.
- *The Fire Corps*, who is in charge of Civil Defence activities. Most of their members are military, and just like the military police, constitute auxiliary forces and reserve from the Army, subordinated to governors in each State and the Federal District.
- *The Federal Highway Police*, trusted with patrolling federal highways, and the *Federal Railroad Police*, intended for federal railways.
- *The Municipal Guards*, which according to the Constitution can be created by municipalities themselves and are mainly aimed at protecting public property, services and facilities. In Brazil, there are approximately 200 municipal guards concentrated in the Southeastern region, particularly in the Sao Paulo State.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of *Argentina*, the public security sector has four different kinds of forces that operate at the federal level:

- *The Argentine Federal Police,* whose chief function is performing Security and Judicial Police actions in the country's provinces and the National Capital, within national government jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup>
- The National Gendarmerie, is a militarized and intermediate security force that
  has three spheres of action: security and judicial police within federal jurisdiction; infringements prevention and repression in accordance with special
  laws and decrees; and security police functions for frontiers surveillance.<sup>4</sup>
- *The Argentine Naval Prefecture* is a civil-police force. It is legally qualified to proceed in the seashores, rivers, lakes and other waterways, harbours and any places as required.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Brazilian Ministry of Justice, *Perfil das Organizações de Segurança Pública*, (Brasilia: National Department of Public Security, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Argentina, *Decreto Ley Nº 333/58 (Actualizada según Decreto Nº 1066/2004) Ley Orgánica de la Policía Federal*, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1958).

<sup>4</sup> Republic of Argentina, Ley  $N^e$  19.349 Orgánica de Gendarmería Nacional, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, January  $10^{th}$ , 1972), Article 1.

<sup>5</sup> Republic of Argentina, Ley Nº 18.398 - Ley General de la Prefectura Naval Argentina, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, October 28th, 1969).

- *The Airport Security Police* is a militarized security force that exercises airborne police functions and, security and judicial police tasks within national jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup>

Each Argentine province has, in turn, a provincial police force that is subordinate to the local Government. The Domestic Security Act N° 24.059 of January 6, 1992, organizes the system and regulates the relation among the nation and the provinces in this respect, and the structure and competences of the system's bodies.

**Table N° 1**National Police Forces sorted by country

País	Police Force	Organic Dependence			
	Argentine Federal Police				
Augontino	National Gendarmerie	Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Rights			
Argentina	Argentine Naval Prefecture				
	Airport Security Police				
Bolivia	National Police	Ministry of Governance			
	Federal Police	Ministry of Justice			
	Civil Police	State Agency			
Brazil	Military Police	State Agency			
	Fire Corps	State Agency			
	Municipal Guards	Municipal Agency			
Chile Carabineers Police		Ministry of Defence and Ministry of the Interior			
	Investigation Police	Ministry of Defence and Ministry of the Interior			
Ecuador	National Police of Ecuador	Ministry of Governance and Police			
El Salvador	National Civil Police	Ministry of Public Security and Justice			
Guatemala	National Civil Police	Ministry of Governance			
Honduras	National Police	Department of Security			
Paraguay	Paraguayan National Police	Ministry of the Interior			
Peru	Peruvian National Police	Ministry of the Interior			
Uruguay	National Police	Ministry of the Interior			

**Source:** Compilation based on the homepages of the abovementioned institutions.

In El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, the current police corps were born when the '90s appeasement process restructured the old domestic security policies. In those countries, reforms tended to redefine the concept of security, sorting out the police function from the military sphere and creating new conditions for the police profession. In *El Salvador*, after the 1992 Peace Accords, the public security bodies (the National Police, the National

<sup>6</sup> Republic of Argentina, Ley  $N^{o}$  21.521- Creación de la Policía Aeronáutica, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, February  $7^{th}$ , 1977); Decreto 145/2005- Policía de Seguridad Aeroportuaria, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, February  $23^{rd}$ , 2005).

Guard and the Treasury Police Force) fused into the *National Civil Police*. In *Honduras*, the police institution was set apart from the armed forces in 1998, as well as dissociated from the defence and security functions. The Criminal Investigations Department (CID) - now Criminal Investigations General Department (CIGD) -, and the Public Security Force (PSF) were combined to finally give birth to the *National Civil Police*. In *Guatemala*, the *National Civil Police* was a result of the disappearance of the National Police and the Treasury Police because of the 1996 Peace Accords. Within this process, the dissolution of militarized police forces such as the Civil Self Defence Patrols and the Military Police was proposed, as they had been used for repressing and struggling subversion on several occasions.<sup>7</sup>

# THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES

The creation of Women's Police Corps to perform tasks that involve direct contact with society, was the bottom line in most countries. The process of incorporating women into the police was much more sluggish and deliberate, than the first incorporations of commissioned women in the armed forces.

In *Argentina*, the Cadet School of the Federal Police first admitted women in 1978; they were incorporated through the so-called Female Rank Support Group. The need to adapt to the dispositions of the National Constitution was the main cause that led to the elimination of the Female Ranks in 2001. These modifications were pondered in the personnel's law and its regulations, to guarantee an effective incorporation and performance of women within the force.<sup>8</sup> The National Gendarmerie has been admitting non-commissioned women officers since 1992, while the entrance for commissioned officers is quite recent (2007): the first group of women commissioned officers from the Gendarmerie graduated at the end of 2009. The Naval Prefecture, on the other hand, opened female entrance at both levels in 2000, when, similarly to the Federal Police, it eliminated the female rank from its internal regulations.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gabriel Aguilera Peralta, "Guatemala. Democratización y Reforma del Sector Seguridad", (Presentation in the XXVII Assembly of the Latin-American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Republic of Argentina, Decreto Nacional  $N^{\circ}$  1.613/01 - Eliminase del Agrupamiento Apoyo el Escalafón Femenino, cuyo personal será transferido a los restantes, de conformidad con las respectivas especialidades. Procedimiento para la fusión escalafonaria, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, December 10<sup>th</sup>, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Republic of Argentina, *Decreto Nacional Nº* 1217/00- Modificación de la reglamentación de la Ley de la Prefectura Naval Argentina, (Buenos Aires: Presidency of the Nation, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2000).

# CHILE'S SCHOOL OF CARABINEERS TRAINS THE FIRST GROUP OF FEMALE OFFICERS

The School of Carabineers of Chile was created in 1908. Students coming from different places and in search of professionalization were appealed by its regional standing as a police training school.

The school launched halfway through the '70s a call for training women coming from different countries of the region, signing numerous agreements with countries in the Andean Region and Central America. Thus, the first groups of graduated policewomen from Bolivia, Ecuador and Honduras, among others, attended a two-year course and became the first police commissioned-officers in their respective countries.

In November 1988, a woman colonel was promoted to General of Carabineers, becoming in this way the first woman General of a police corps in Latin America.

**Sources:** Security and Defence Network of Latin America, *Project: Women in the Armed Forces and Police Institutions: a gender approach to peace operations*, (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2007-2009); Chilean Carabineers, Women in the Carabineers, <a href="http://www.carabineros.cl/sitioweb/web/verSeccion.do?cod=118">http://www.carabineros.cl/sitioweb/web/verSeccion.do?cod=118</a>.

In the case of *Bolivia*, the National Police Female Brigade was created in 1973, in order to make up a preventive and auxiliary operational unit. Female guards were in charge of cases related to minority and school police; they helped with traffic and cases of drug dealing and juvenile delinquency. The institution recruited in 1977 young women to instruct them at the School of Carabineers of Chile; however, after breaking relations with that country the selected women had to return to Bolivia. In 1979, women were allowed for the first time to be instructed as cadets at the Police Academy; this entrance was, however, closed in 1986 and reopened in 1999, in a similar process as the one within the armed forces.

Chile has had detective women since 1939, who graduated at the School of Police Investigation. Nevertheless, there are records from the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century that report they started to work as telephone operators and as agents of the Research Section (later called Security Section), the previous record of the creation of the Investigation Police. The institution opened instruction in 2003 for those women seeking to become non-commissioned officers. As to the Carabineers, women have been admitted to the corps of non-commissioned officers since the early '60s, and as officers since the '70s. The first course for Brigadiers opened in 1962, created to tackle such issues as child vagrancy and other family associated issues; the Supreme and Institutional

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of National Defence, *Política de Integración de Mujeres a la Policía de Investigaciones*, (Santiago de Chile: Investigation Police, 2008).

Appointment Female Rank was established in 1974. Despite the professional instruction given to women at police institutions in the early days, they were initially assigned to develop support tasks.<sup>11</sup>

**Table N° 2**Year of women's admittance to police forces as officers

Sources: Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Rights. Note D.D. N° 6144/09 (Argentina); Police General Command (Bolivia); National Department of Public Security (Brazil); Investigation Police Personnel Directorate and Carabineers Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ecuadorian National Police Personnel Directorate (Ecuador); National Civil Police (El Salvador); National Civil Police, Personnel Sub department (Guatemala); Department of Security (Honduras); Planning and Operations Directorate of the National Police Command (Paraguay); Ministry of the Interior (Peru) and Ministry of the Interior (Uruguay).

Country	Year
Argentina (Argentine Federal Police)	1978
Argentina (National Gendarmerie)	2007
Argentina (Naval Prefecture)	2000
Bolivia	1979 -1986/ 1999
Brazil (Sao Paulo Military Police) <sup>11</sup>	1955
Chile (Investigation Police)	1939
Chile (Carabineers)	1962
Ecuador	1977
El Salvador	1993
Honduras	1977
Guatemala	1997
Paraguay	1992
Peru	1992
Uruguay	1971

In *Ecuador*, three women were chosen in 1977 to attend a two-year course at the School of Carabineers, graduating as Second Lieutenants and becoming the first women officers of Ecuador. The only antecedent of instruction until then was a group of women that attended the first Coed Course on Criminal Investigation in the Regiment of Quito in 1975, to enter as first line policewomen to the Criminal Investigations Service of Pichincha. However, this course did not grant women with the officer status.

On the other hand, *El Salvador* has been admitting women in the Public Security National Academy since 1993. This training institution was created simultaneously with the National Civil Police, because of the 1992 Peace Accords. Since then, active women's participation in the police profession has been fostered through different informative campaigns.

In *Guatemala*, the National Civil Police Academy (NCPA) opened in 1997 to offer the police profession to men and women, after the reorganization of the old

<sup>11</sup> The Military Police of Brazil is the only police corps participating in United Nations peace operations. The Military Police forces from the Federal District, Goias and Sao Paulo are the ones having contributed the highest amount of personnel to such operations.

institution. However, women have been taking part in the police forces for decades: 118 women having over 20 years of seniority enlisted in the force until 2008.

The graduation of the first group of policewomen commissioned officers of *Honduras*, also took place in Chile. The FUSEP signed an agreement with the Carabineers of Chile in the '70s, and the first four Honduran women applicants (who were recruited through a public contest in the mass media), where trained in this institution. Those young women returned to their country as the first commissioned police officers in 1978. Nevertheless, there was a formal antecedent of women as police officers, at the time when the Honduran police used to be a branch of the armed forces. Thus, two Sanitarian Military Lieutenants – who were members of the first group of military women commissioned officers in the professional corps – were transferred to the police service, becoming in turn the first women officers within the institution. <sup>12</sup> On the other hand, their admittance into the corps of non-commissioned officers was deferred until 2001.

In the case of *Paraguay*, the incorporation of women in the Non-Commissioned Officers School began in 1990, and continued up to 1996. When the Branch Office N° 10 – "Area of Urban Security" - was created in 2006, the admittance to this corps was reopened. Women joined as commissioned officers in 1992, thanks to the enforcement of the new National Constitution, resulting in a new professional space.

The incorporation of women in *Peru* has precedents in the three police forces (Investigation Police, National Guard and Republican Guard) the country had before the creation of the current Peruvian National Police (PNP) in 1988. Investigation Police admitted women in 1995, in order to facilitate the investigation of cases where the presence of women contributed to the gathering of information or where direct contact with other women was required, as in the case of cross-questionings. The Civil Guard allowed their access in 1977, for those functions related to the prevention of deeds committed by minors, and for traffic, tourism and other tasks. Women entered the Republican Guard in 1984, to participate in the register and admission and egress control of human traffic in the institutions where this force provided security services. The Peruvian Non-Commissioned Officers Police School opened women's recruitment in 1991, as part of a pilot plan. As of this first experience, the oncoming enrolments were open to the general female public.

<sup>12</sup> Both female officers reached, one after the other, the position of Director of the Female Auxiliary Police between 1977 and 1982.

# Actions seeking to integrate women into police institutions

The *Meeting of Central-American and Caribbean High Ranking Policewomen* has been held periodically since 1998, with the aim of "contributing to the strengthening of the regional process of modernization and development boosted by Central-American and Caribbean police institutions, seeking to incorporate the gender perspective into both the internal sphere and the rendering of services". Through the exchange of experiences and debates, men and women representatives of police force commands from different countries congregate in order to put forward proposals concerning the participation, training and instruction of women in the police sphere, before the Commission of Police Chiefs of Central-America, Mexico and the Caribbean. On occasion of the 8th meeting (2008), some of the main debate issues were the identification and elimination of hindrances to the entrance and promotion of women; the holding of Police Academies meetings in order to endorse the curricula in questions of gender and the creation of statistical data bases disaggregated by gender, rank, position, academic level and age of female personnel in the various police institutions.<sup>1</sup>

In the scope of Mercosur, the 21<sup>st</sup> Special Meeting of Women took place on May 2009, where one of the workgroups pondered the issue of women's incorporation in the Public Forces. Participating delegations emphasized the fact that promotions, career interruptions owing to maternity issues and barriers to access because of race and sexual orientation, are not the only aspects to consider in the promotion of incorporation policies. The participation of women in police and armed institutions facilitates the modification of their belligerent character, the elimination of gender barriers and the overcoming of all kind of exclusions, thus cooperating with peace processes.<sup>2</sup>

Sources: 1 German Technical Cooperation, Resolución del V Encuentro de Mujeres Policías de Centroamérica y Caribe, (Honduras: GZT, July 28<sup>m-3</sup>0<sup>m</sup> 2004), http://www.gtzgenero.org.ni/\_publicacion/RESOLUCIONES%20V %20ENCUENTRO.pdf (accessed in July).

United Nations Development Programme, Mujeres Policía de la región evalúan avances y limitaciones en tema de género, (Nicaragua: UNDP, September 17<sup>m</sup>, 2008), <a href="https://www.undp.org.ni/noticias/403">http://www.undp.org.ni/noticias/403</a> (accessed in July).

2. National Women's Council, XXI Reunión Especializada de la Mujer del MERCOSUR, (Argentina: MERCOSUR/

2. National Women's Council, XXI Reunión Especializada de la Mujer del MERCOSUR, (Argentina: MERCOSUR/ REM/FCCP/ACTA Nº 01/09, May 28<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>, 2009), <a href="http://www.cnm.gov.ar/Cartelera/ActaFinal\_XXI\_REM\_%209\_06\_09.pdf">http://www.cnm.gov.ar/Cartelera/ActaFinal\_XXI\_REM\_%209\_06\_09.pdf</a>, (accessed in July).

The Female Rank was created in *Uruguay* in 1931, when women were incorporated as subordinated personnel. Women were incorporated as commissioned officers as late as 1971, when they entered the National Police School. Graduated women made up an autonomous police unit that was in charge of a woman, and grouped all women police officers from the country's capital city; this implied that they could not be transferred to other areas within the institution. Their labour focused on issues related with women.

boys, girls and adolescents. The Female Police Corps was closed just in 1988, and women started being incorporated in all Police Stations.

Like in the armed forces, the creation of a special normative framework in the police forces is an essential aspect. It somehow prints the characteristics that the process of incorporating women into those spaces has acquired. Few are the countries having a law or norm issued by the Legislative Branch that regulates the incorporation of women in the police. This might imply that female inclusion has, in most cases, developed within internal institutional frameworks and that such inclusion has occurred in a more natural and progressive way, due to the inherent characteristics of the police service.

Brazil is one of the few countries where there is a law that considers women's participation in the police through a female corps. Decree  $N^{\circ}$  24.548 of the Sao Paulo State, created the *Special Female Police Corps* in 1955, which is considered as one of the first antecedents of female police in that country. Likewise, Act  $N^{\circ}$  13.835 of 1970 regulated the creation of the Female Police in Uruguay.

The outstanding initiatives undertaken by Chile, Guatemala, Honduras and Peru have created institutional spaces for the implementation and monitoring of the gender perspective in situ. The Integration Committee of Women of the Chilean Ministry of Defence has worked all through 2008 to endorse and strengthen the armed forces and public security internal regulations, not only about sexual harassment, but also about the protection of maternity and against intra-family violence. The National Police of Guatemala created the Gender Equality Bureau in 2002, with the purpose of promoting equal opportunities during the police training, implementing gender equality institutional strategies, and promoting women's participation within the institution, among other issues. Concerning the National Civil Police of Honduras, the Department of Security and the Institute for Women signed in 2002 an agreement aiming at the institutionalization of gender equality and the prevention of intrafamily violence, to incorporate them both in the curricula of police academies and daily work relations.<sup>13</sup> As a result, the Department of Security created in 2003 the Gender Unit. On the other hand, the Peruvian Ministry of the Interior launched in 2008 the Observatory for Equal Opportunities of the Police and the Ministry of the Interior, to tackle the regulation of coexistence among men and women over the training and professional performance periods.

<sup>13</sup> The initiative stemmed from a regional project of the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) started in 2000 by the Committee of Commanders of the Central-American and Caribbean Police Force, called *Gender Approach in the Modernization of Police Institutions and Citizen Security*. Its goal was reducing the gender bias within Central America and Caribbean police institutions, and catering for the existing citizen security needs in the population.

#### Table N° 3

Main regulations on gender and equal opportunities in the police institutions

#### **Argentina**

# **Argentine Federal Police**

National Decree N° 1.613 of 2001: Elimination of the Female Rank Supporting Group in the Argentine Federal Police. Article 1 establishes that the requirements to be fulfilled by female cadet applicants are the same as those for male, with the exception of height.

National Decree N° 1.866 of 1983: Establishment of Act N° 21.965 for Federal Police personnel. Articles 142, 149, 159 and 171 establish height requirements for applicants to security, firefighters and communications ranks; agent or firefighter; security, firefighter and communications ranks; higher personnel of the legal health, musician, technical and veterinarian ranks; agents of the health, musician, arsenal, technician, veterinarian and clerk ranks. Article 177 ponders the female rank. Article 556 establishes the venue where sanctioned female personnel will serve arrest, indicating that if women are going through breast-feeding period, sanctions will be pending until the culmination of such period.

#### **National Gendarmerie**

National Decree No 980 of 2008: access requirements for the various rank groups and specialties in the National Gendarmerie. Article 6 specifies its complete scope for both men and women and indicates the opportunities that the institution should grant to pregnant women within training institutions.

#### **Argentine Naval Prefecture**

Decree No 1.217 of 2000: Amendment of the Act on Argentine Naval Prefecture. It facilitates the inclusion of women in police service tasks and various corps and ranks. It also adapts personnel instruction and learning.

#### Bolivia

#### **National Police**

Act No 734 of 1985: National Police organization. Article 46 establishes the creation of Female Police Units, which will eventually fulfil auxiliary functions within National Police Units. Article 132 establishes the age of 50 for women's retirement.

### Brazil

# **Sao Paulo Military Police**

Decree Law N° 52.655 of 1971: Disciplinary regulations of the Sao Paulo Military Police female rank.

Decree Law N° 217 of 1970: Creation of the Sao Paulo State Military Police.

Decree Law N° 168 of 1969: Female Police becomes part of the Superintendence of Civil Guard.

Act N° 5.235 of 1959 validates public use of the Female Special Corps.

Decree N° 2.454 of 1955 creates the Civil Guard and a female special corps.

# Chile

#### Carabineers

Women's Incorporation Policy in Carabineers, Ministry of National Defence 2007: it contains the main guidelines for the incorporation of women in the institutional structure and the development of their professional career, through instruction and planning of future activities.

Act No 20.034 of 2005 merges Female and Male Commissioned-Officers Ranks in the Carabineers of Chile.

Act No 19.941 of 2004 increases the list of Carabineers of Chile, extends the Official Career up to 35 years and creates the Bonus Payment for Continuance. It appoints the 21 seniorest women corporals – serving in Order and Security - to the rank of Staff Sergeant through provisional Article 3.

Decree  $N^o$  412 of 1992: Carabineers of Chile Personnel Statute. It establishes in chapter 7, Article 118, that the causes of female and male retirement are the same. It establishes through Article 121 equal rights for widows and widowers to obtain their pensions.

Act No 18.961 of 1990: Constitutional Organic Law of Carabineers; it establishes through Article 60 that there is no distinction between female and male pensions.

#### **Investigation Police**

Policy of Incorporation of Women in the Investigation Police, Ministry of National Defence, 2008: it establishes the principle of integration of men and women in the police career within the institutional structure and the development of the professional career.

#### **Ecuador**

#### **National Police of Ecuador**

Act No 123 of 1998: Regulation on the police career. Article 103 grants female personnel the right to pregnancy and maternity permits in accordance with working mothers' legal regulations.

#### **El Salvador**

#### **National Civil Police**

D.E. 72 D.O. 153, Volume 348, of 15/08/2000: Disciplinary regulation of the National Civil Police. Specific aspects concerning policewomen are not stated; however, Article 73 establishes that attempting against the sexual freedom of peers or subordinate personnel, as well as against those people under arrest or custody, will be considered as gross misconduct.

#### Guatemala

#### **National Civil Police**

General Order 003-2002- Mandate of the National Civil Police Human Rights Bureau: Article 2 indicates that the mission of the NCP's Human Rights Bureau is to coordinate and direct Human Rights policies within the institution. Article 3 keeps track of violations to Human Rights.

General Order 004-2002 – Mandate of the NCP's Gender Equality Bureau: Bureau in charge of establishing and promoting improvement and motivation in working conditions, and the rendering of services in egalitarian conditions, irrespective of gender.

#### **Honduras**

### **National Police**

National Police Organic Law, 1998: Article 13 - on admittance requirements - establishes that there will be no distinction between male and female applicants.

Decree N° 369 of 1976: Public Security Police Act, which creates the Female Auxiliary Police Station, in the framework of the FUSEP (Public Safety Force). Articles 51 and 52 point out that this station contributes with police services, especially those concerning the Land Traffic National Administration, and those assigned by the Commander General of the FUSEP. It will be made up of commissioned-officers, ranks, agents and auxiliaries considered in its structure.

#### **Paraguay**

#### **National Police**

Resolution N° 61 of 1996: regulation of female rank personnel labour regime, regarding such aspects as maternity permits, labour conditions over the period of pregnancy, arrest conditions in the case of sanctions, sexual abuse cases, and so on.

Act No 222 of 1993: The National Police Organic Law establishes in Article 179 that female rank will include special norms of service within its regulations.

#### Peru

#### **Peruvian National Police**

Act No 29.356 of 2009: Act on Peruvian National Police Disciplinary Regime. It comprises the specification of infringements and disciplinary sanctions concerning sexual harassment.

Vice-Ministerial Resolution No 003-2009-IN 0103: Creation of the Observatory of Egalitarian Opportunities for Men and Women within the Police Institution and the Ministry of the Interior.

Act No 28.308 of 2005: Act on Armed Forces and National Police female personnel's pre and post natal permit.

Supreme Decree No 001-05-DE-SG: Regulations of the act adjusting the Armed Forces and National Police female personnel's pre and postnatal permit.

Act N° 27.942 of 2003: Act on the prevention and sanction of sexual harassment. It comprises a special section aimed at regulating cases in the military and police spheres.

Ministerial Resolution N° 0720-2003-IN/PNP: It endorses Directive N° 002-2003-IN/DDP-0E MUJ on regulations and procedures for the protection of policewomen's human rights, regarding their maternity and breast-feeding.

Ministerial Resolution No 0186-2002/0102: Creation of the Legal Aid Office for the Police Staff including a Women's Bureau.

# **Uruguay**

#### **National Police**

Act No 13.835 of 1970: Creation of the Female Police.

Decree of June 30th 1968: Authorization for Female Personnel's admittance.

# Composition of the police forces

Although the amount of women in the police forces is not necessarily a sign of the effective existence of the gender perspective within institutions, it can be an interesting gauge of the progress made so far. That makes sense when we observe that Chile and Uruguay are the countries having more policewomen among all the surveyed regional countries; in effect, they pioneered the incorporation of women in the security forces.

The levels of female police personnel (including corps of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, subordinated staff or technicians) show significant figures. Uruguay is the country having the highest percentage of female police personnel: 7,131 women that represent 25.6% of total personnel. The Chilean Investigation Police ranks second with 23.4%. The Carabineers of Chile, Guatemala, Peru, Paraguay and Bolivia rank third, with an average of 10.7% of women in each of them.

The countries showing the smallest proportion of women in their police institutions are Ecuador with 8.7% and El Salvador, with 7.8%.

**Table N° 4**Police staff sorted by gender

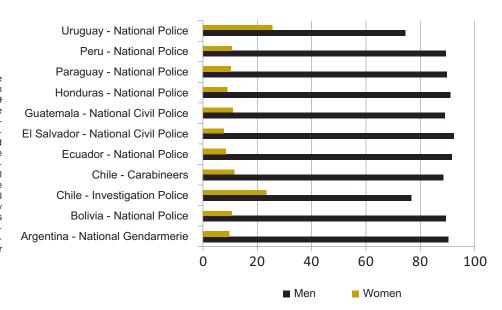
Sources: Compilation based on the Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Resources, Note D.D. N° 6144/09 and Budget 2008 (Argentina); General Command of the Police (Bolivia); Land Operations Command (Brazil): Investigation Police Personnel Directorate and Carabineers Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ecuadorian National Police Personnel Directorate (Ecuador); National Civil Police (El Salvador); Directorate General of National Police Personnel (Guatemala); Department of Security (Honduras); Planning and Operations Directorate of the National Police Command (Paraguay); Ministry of the Interior (Peru) and Ministry of the Interior (Uruguay). Updated December 2008.

		Men		Women		
Country	Police/security force	Nº	%	Nº	%	Total
	Federal Police *	28,860			28,860	
Argentina	National Gendarmerie	22,295	90.3	2,400	9.7	24,695
	Naval Prefecture *		17,	241		17,241
Bolivia	National Police	30,879	89.5	3,617	10.5	34,496
Brazil	Military Police **	386,454			386,454	
Chile	Investigation Police	5,547	76.6	1,694	23.4	7,241
Cilie	Carabineers	36,949	88.7	4,720	11.3	41,669
Ecuador	National Police	36,084	91.3	3,446	8.7	39,530
El Salvador	National Civil Police	15,884	92.2	1,339	7.8	17,223
Guatemala	National Civil Police	17,522	88.9	2,191	11.1	19,713
Honduras	National Police	13,505	91.1	1,327	8.9	14,832
Paraguay	National Police	18,198	89.8	2,064	10.2	20,262
Peru	National Police	77,727	89.4	9,250	10.6	86,977
Uruguay	National Police	20,698	74.4	7,131	25.6	27,829

<sup>\*</sup>Data disaggregated by gender were not available.

# **Chart N° 1**Percentage of police troops sorted by gender

Sources: Compilation based on the Ministry of Justice, Security and Human Resources, Note D.D. N° 6144/09 and Budget 2008 (Argentina); Police General Command (Bolivia); Land Operations Command (Brazil); Investigation Police Personnel Directorate and Carabineers Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ecuadorian National Police Personnel Directorate (Ecuador); National Civil Police (El Salvador); Directorate General of National Police Personnel (Guatemala); Department of Security (Honduras); Planning and Operations Directorate of the National Police Command (Paraguay); Ministry of the Interior (Peru) and Ministry of the Interior (Uruguay). Updated December 2008.



<sup>\*\*</sup> The most recent available data disaggregated by gender dates from 2007: 283,669 (90.8%) men and 28,856 (9.2%) women, adding up to 312,525 police troops. These data do not include troops in the States of Sao Paulo and Pará.

# CAREER PROGRESS

The levels of inclusion in the police profession are one of the main characteristics of the higher incorporation of women in the police. Broadly speaking, there are no major limitations to the professional development of women in the security forces. It is noteworthy that women do not find hindrances to access all the training spheres offered by commissioned-officers schools, concerning training specialties. This situation defines important conditions for their admittance to the institution, while it opens their access, within the same areas as their male peers.

A factor that has favoured this opening process is the role assigned to the police, as an institution responsible for keeping order and enforcing the law. Security forces - which are continually in touch with society in order to fulfill its mission - do not have to face the dilemma of whether it is right or desirable to assign a woman officer to a combat field. On the contrary, it is desirable and necessary to have women in certain police working spheres in order to carry out the labour effectively, as for instance, childcare, intra-family violent situations, and so on.

**Table N° 5**Incorporation of women in speciality training (officers)

Sources: Compilation based on the National Decree - Argentine Federal Police No 1.613/01 on the elimination of female ranks, National Decree Nº 980/2008 - National Gendarmerie, on the entrance into several rank groups and specialties and the Information Technology and Communications Department of the Naval Prefecture (Argentina); Police General Command (Bolivia); National Department of Public Security (Brazil); Investigation Police Personnel Directorate and Carabineers Personnel Directorate (Chile); Ecuador's National Police Directorate (Ecuador): National Civil Police (El Salvador); National Civil Police Directorate, Deputy Directorate General of Personnel (Guatemala): Department of Security (Honduras); Planning and Operations Directorate of the National Police Command (Paraguay); Public Relations Bureau of the Commissioned Officers School of the National Police (Peru); National Police School Directorate (Uruguay).

Country	Level of women's access to police specialty training			
Argentina (Federal Police)	Full			
Argentina (National Gendarmerie)	Full			
Argentina (Naval Prefecture)	Full			
Bolivia*	Full			
Brazil (Military Police)	Full			
Chile (Investigation Police)	Full			
Chile (Carabineers)	Full			
Ecuador	Full			
El Salvador	Full			
Guatemala	Full			
Honduras	Full			
Paraguay	Full			
Peru*	Full			
Uruguay	Full			

<sup>\*</sup>There are no specialties.

#### Some testimonies

"You may suddenly feel discriminated as men still bear in their minds that you won't be able to cope with it. For instance (...), I was in the Special Forces; it was complicated back then, as we had to, for instance, evict a school, and my division arrived — which was not entirely made up of women, though most of us were — and the chiefs were hesitant, "Well, poor little women ...". Do you get the picture? It was some kind of over-protective attitude towards women."

(Interview with a female Carabineer officer of Chile).

"We were supposed to obey all those holding a higher rank from the day we entered, though the time we reached the commanding level, they wanted us to give orders to women only, not men."

(Interview with a female officer of the Bolivian National Police).

"We have been commanding units for three years now (...). I have experienced up close that males are not prepared to see a much younger woman leading them. A member of personnel (a non-commissioned officer) having 20 years of service finds it reasonable to receive orders from a male officer, though if those orders come from a female officer, they find it hard to assimilate. So you demand a lot from yourself, much more than males, in order to exert the command on them (...). They see you as a younger woman and say "what's up with her? Why is she giving me orders?". The fact that you are a young woman, and that you are at the command, poses this problem."

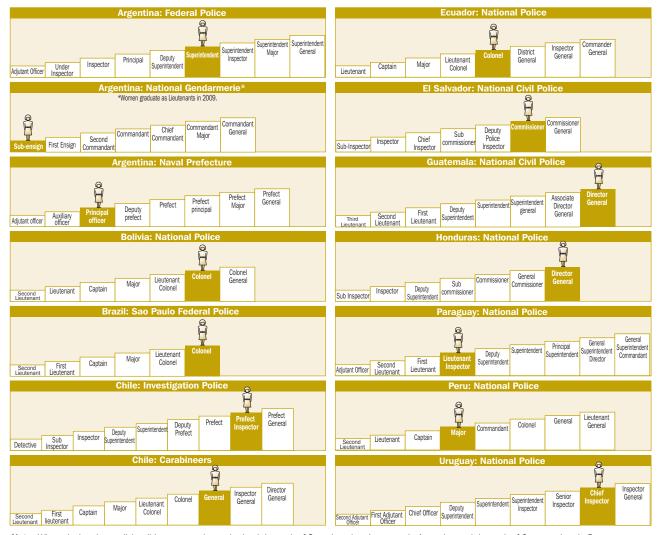
(Interview with a female officer of the Peruvian National Police).

As to the prospective promotion of women in the police forces, the long process of women's incorporation as officer personnel contributed to an active integration; this implies opportunities to aspire to leading positions in equal conditions to their male peers. In formal terms, women do not have restrictions as to their promotion. The existing regulations do not show any gender inequalities in the opportunities to access the highest ranking in these countries, allowing women to have the chance to obtain the highest hierarchical rank, and consequently, to assume managing and decision-making positions. This situation denotes an excellent prospect. There are examples of women having reached the highest hierarchies in the Chilean Carabineers, where a woman officer has finally attained the rank of General. She currently serves in the Welfare Department. On the other hand, two women officers that are part of the staff stand out in the Investigation Police: both hold the rank of Inspector - Prefect of Police - and are chiefs of the Crimes against the Family and Welfare areas within the institution.

There is also a woman in the National Police of Guatemala having reached the highest rank. She had previously worked as chief of the Gender Equality department, later, she assumed the direction of the Undersecretary of Crime Prevention and has been in charge of the National Police Directorate until June 2009.

# Chart N° 2 Highest ranking obtained by female officers

The Florida Police Department, in Uruguay, is in charge of a woman Inspector Principal, which is the highest position a woman has been able to reach. Likewise, the direction of the National Police School is in charge of a woman holding the rank of Inspector Major. This appointment is noteworthy, considering that the initial socialization process of future Uruguayan police officers is her responsibility.



Note: When closing the english edition, women have obtained the rank of Superinendent Inspector in Argentina and the rank of Commandant in Peru.

**Sources:** Compilation based on the Organic Law of the Argentine Federal Police. N° 21.965 of 27/03/1979, National Regulatory Decree N° 1669-2001 for the National Gendarmerie of 21/12/01 and National Gendarmerie, General Act N° 18.398 for the Argentine Naval Prefecture of 28/10/69 (Argentina): Organic Law N° 734 of the National Police of 08/04/85 and Cochabamba's Departmental Command http://www.policia.bo/ (Bolivia), Decree Law N° 667 on the Reorganization of the Military Police and the Military Frie Corps of the States, Territory and Federal District of 02/06/69 and Military Police and Gender Data Bank, CESeC/Ucam and Senasp/MJ (Brazili); Constitutional Organic Law N° 18.961 of Carabineers of 27/02/90 and Directorate of Carabineers Personnel, Chile's Investigation Police Personnel Statute of 15/05/80 and Investigation Police Personnel Directorate (Chile); Act N° 123 on National Police Personnel of 07/10/98 and Ecuador's National Police Personnel Directorate (Ecuador): Law on Police Career of 08/07/96 and National Civil Police Personnel Directorate (Guatemala); Decree N° 67-2008 Organic Law for the National Police of Honduras of 31/10/08 and Ministry of the Interior (Peru); Police Organic Law N° 15.098 of 21/01/81 and National Police School of the National Police (Uruguay).

One of the pending matters is about consolidating the acceptance by the rest of the personnel of the new roles and positions that women assume in the institution. That certainly constitutes a part of the existing challenges in the acquiescence of the gender approach within the institutional sphere.

# THE INCORPORATION PRACTICES

Just as in the armed forces, one of the aspects to assess the process of incorporating female police members is linked with the possibilities of access to Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Training Schools, as well as with the existence of infrastructural, administrative and service adaptations carried out, and the logistic implementations within police facilities in general.

In Uruguay, for instance, the Tabare Vazquez administration has allotted part of its efforts to counterbalance the gender inequalities within the police institutions through the elimination of restrictions to vacancy quotas. Although there are no regulations establishing limitations to admission vacancies for women in Peru, some informal infrastructural limitations come into view.<sup>14</sup>

In general, all the surveyed countries have gradually assimilated women in all training instances even as cadets (commissioned officers) and students (non-commissioned officers). Many times, by trial and error, schools made the necessary modifications to be better prepared for receiving women. The creation of separate blocks and exclusive restrooms, as well as the tailoring of uniforms are a proof of that.

# Testimony

"Changes were frequent. They wondered if they should cut our hair or not, or if we had to wear skirts, given that female officers wore them. Male officers wore trousers, so, what kind of a uniform should we dispense for women officers? (...) Male shoes have a round end, so should we provide women with rounded or pointed shoes? Should trousers be pleated or not? With or without a pocket? It was quite an issue, that one day they gave you a uniform, tomorrow another pair of trousers, the next day a different pair... That used to happen in the school". (Interview with a female officer of the first coed graduated group in the Peruvian National Police).

<sup>14</sup> According to an interview with a cadet from the School of Officers of the Peruvian National Police, the number of available rooms for women sets a relative limit of 50 candidates per year.

In Paraguay, for instance, police internal regulations proposed back then the logistic procedures regarding the special situation of policewomen in the professional work. The National Police regulations establish that "the Police Department shall own the necessary infrastructure for female personnel, such as dormitories, bathroom fittings and others, and women and men shall stay in separate blocks".<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, authorities have implemented the design of female police uniforms for the professional use of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. However, in the case of Uruguay and Bolivia, daily use uniforms show no modifications, though changes have been made in full dress and parade uniforms, where female garments are discerned through the wearing of skirts and other clothing (shoes and caps in the case of Uruguayan policewomen). As for Guatemala, men and women wear the same daily use uniform. This issue has been addressed by the National Civil Police's Gender Equality Department, which has proposed the implementation of uniforms in proportion to female physical characteristics.

The adjustment of nutritional diets is among the pending matters manifested through the interviews. No police training school offers a differentiated diet that caters for both men and women's dissimilar caloric and nutritional needs. This occurs even in those countries having undertaken deep reforms.

# Pregnancy and training

Many police training schools do not allow women to become pregnant over their training period. This tendency has started to change, as it represents in some cases a contradiction with those constitutional statements supporting equality and equity.

Female cadets or students who had become pregnant over their training process have been expelled from school in Peru until recently. In relation to this, the Constitutional Court - in response to the allegation of a female cadet, and the attention of the media and public opinion to the case -, made the authorities modify the internal regulation that endorsed this kind of measures.

**Source:** Republic of Peru, Exp. N°05527-2008-PHC/TC, (Lima: Constitutional Court, October 21st, 2008).

As to the rest of police facilities in general, it is necessary to have more and better conditions to welcome women, especially in those police stations and posts away from big cities.

<sup>15</sup> Republic of Paraguay, *Resolución Nº 61 Se aprueba el Régimen Laboral del Escalafón Femenino*, (Asunción: National Police Command, July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1996), article 11.

# SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Just as in the armed forces, sexual harassment and abuse situations within the police sphere started to surface along with the arrival of women at the institution.

One of the institutional measures regarding this issue has been the implementation of regulations that define the misdemeanours, administrative procedures and disciplinary sanctions to be applied on personnel found guilty. Sexual harassment constitutes in general a misdemeanour in the countries surveyed; allegations should be reported before a police jurisdictional agency, so they can take due administrative-disciplinary course.

Speaking about Brazil's military police forces, state military judicial systems do not include the specification of sexual harassment as a crime: allegations should be reported before the ordinary justice and within the scope of a state or national jurisdictional law<sup>16</sup>; limiting the anonymity guarantees for the accuser. Regarding this, some cases have taken a long and bureaucratic process in the ordinary justice; there is no record of previous positive results for victims. So far, none of the cases of sexual harassment that occurred within the military police turned out favourably to the victim in Brazil. <sup>17</sup>

A new law on discipline has been recently sanctioned in Peru, which addresses more precisely aspects that can be considered as sexual harassment against personnel, including also personnel going through training stages. The following are some of the deeds punishable from six to ten days of obligatory arrest: hints, gestures or proposals, body approaches or physical behaviour carrying a sexual character. As regards the possible cases within training schools, it is established that "having sexual intercourse or perpetrating acts against decency with (...) a cadet, student or any person under their care or responsibility will be cause of discharge". <sup>18</sup>

The Gender Unit of the National Police of Honduras drew up regulations in June 2002 with the aim of controlling the maternity rights for women in the police service, and the prevention and sanction of sexual harassment. Regar-

<sup>16</sup> That is the case of Act  $N^\circ$  12.250 of Sao Paulo State, which regulates sexual harassment in the sphere of state public administration, or national laws such as Act  $N^\circ$  8.930. Sexual rape is typified, if it occurs on duty, otherwise the allegation should be reported within the scope of ordinary justice. For instance, this should be reported within the scope of Act  $N^\circ$  10.224 in Sao Paulo State.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with the Director of Massacre das Minorias nas Polícias militares, - an Organization working on these cases.

<sup>18</sup> Republic of Peru, Ley  $N^e$  29.356 - Régimen disciplinario de la Policía Nacional del Perú, (Republican Congress, May 12th, 2009).

ding the latter, regulations establish the procedure for sexual harassment cases in horizontal-type relations, what implies an advance if compared with the Civil Penal Code, as the interpretation of the issue only concerns the scope of vertical working relations. The ministerial authority has not approved these regulations so far, or submitted them to Executive Agreement. If these actions are not taken, those regulations will not be able to reach the legal status or the necessary weight for their due application.

# FINAL COMMENTS

It is possible to assert that the advances on the situation of women in the police forces are many and meaningful. Some important changes for the professional development of women have been achieved in terms of access to the career and training specialties, logistic adjustments in officers schools, and promotions and decision-making positions according to performance. The efforts to work out the incorporation of a gender perspective in regional police institutions are evident. However, other aspects are still undeveloped, as for instance, the improvement of logistic conditions in the stations of national police institutions. Likewise, the delegation of police tasks to women – other than those corresponding to family and child protection duties— will be positive. On the other hand, regulations in favour of the protection from sexual harassment of peers or superiors are another aspect to work on within police institutions. All of those features together with the appearance of new initiatives fostering the incorporation of a gender approach will be reinforced if they go along with a greater institutionalization and legislative production.

Concerning the participation of policewomen in peace operations, its deeper inclusion in the institution - in comparison with the armed forces - counterbalances the scarce participation of security forces in this kind of operations. In fact, as we will see on the next chapter, multidimensional peace operations have the urgent need to include police personnel, but the assistance from contributing countries is meagre within this field. The promotion for a higher participation of security institutions is required, as there is an interesting opportunity for women to have a more active role in the processes of construction and consolidation of global peace and security.

# CHAPTER 3: LATIN AMERICA AND RESOLUTION 1325

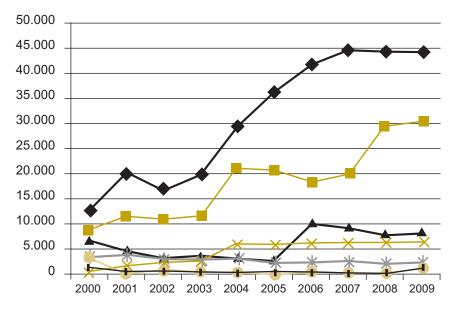
Chart Nº 1
Number of personnel in peace operations sorted by region,
December 2000 - June 2009



**Note:** Includes Military Observers, Troop and Police. The terms pertain to December of each year, except for 2009 in which they were taken in June.

**Source:** Compilation based on information provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures, (New York: DPKO, 2000-2009),http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/index.shtml.

The participation of Latin American countries in peace operations has grown exponentially during the last decade: 725%<sup>1</sup>, from December 2000 until June 2009. In less than nine years, from 800 force members deployed, the number grew to 6,500. Latin America is currently among the world regions, the fourth contributing area, and has developed an exponential percentage growing curve throughout that period, as shown on the following charts.

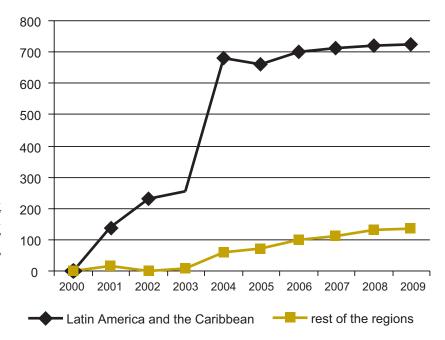


<sup>1</sup> Includes Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic and Uruguay.

# Chart Nº 2 Percentual rate of development of Latin America's contribution compared to the rest of the world, December 2000 - June

2009

**Source:** compilation based on information provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures, (New York: DPKO, 2000-2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/index.shtml.



Note: Includes Military Observers, Troop and Police. The terms pertain to December of each year, except for 2009 in which they were taken in June.

The participation process increased thanks to diverse favourable factors: the democratization progress of institutions, enhanced links between foreign policy and defence, the need to discuss and rethink military missions, and a growing vision on the fact that the region was expected to contribute with its own peace experience in conflict situations. Countries like Uruguay pioneered and were rapidly followed by others, in a kind of spillover effect which led at least 12 countries to be actively involved in this matter now-adays, not only regarding troop contribution but also in direct action on politics and development components as MINUSTAH's (Haiti) case shows.

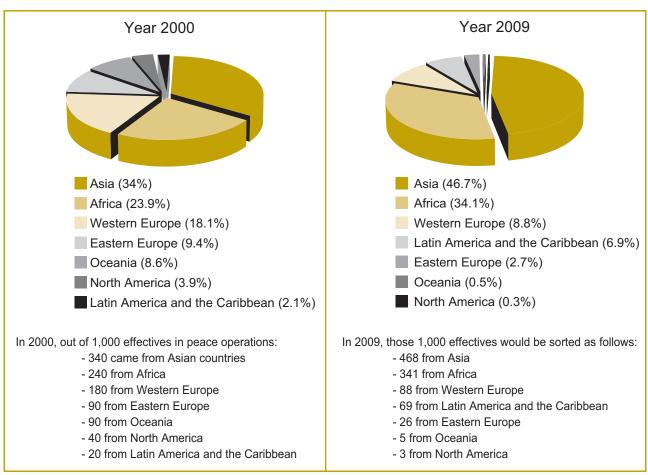
The Latin America contribution raises important windows of opportunity for the current situation of peace operations worldwide. In an inverse process to the one observed in other regions, there is a field yet to be covered by both the armed forces and the police. About the former, certain positive aspects could be highlighted: the potential to obtain some resources for the worn down forces without any budget for equipment; a solid opportunity to provide the military with an activity which could refresh their image and the way societies see them; the reference achieved by the region in the world's scenario (and therefore by the other participating countries); and the possibility to interact with other armed forces. The abovementioned has led to

#### Chart Nº 3

Force members deployed in peace operations sorted by regional origin, years 2000 and 2009 (in %)

**Note:** Includes Military Observers, Troop and Police

a significant participation of military personnel, but in the case of the police, it has been different, as the force had to address countries' internal public security issues, one of the citizens` main concerns. However, the chance to increase the Latin American police forces personnel implies fascinating challenges mainly regarding the political leadership of police institutions, and their higher insertion in the State's structure and general policies.



**Source:** compilation based on information provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures, (New York: DPKO, 2000-2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/index.shtml.

A basic aspect of the participation of countries in peace operations is the way in which it is institutionalized within national policies. A quick glance at the researched countries would show that few of them have a clearly defined policy on the matter. The majority started their participation dispatching military personnel on particular and specific occasions. Arising from these experiences, few of them made this task one of the goals of their foreign and/or defence

policy, let alone public security. In Argentina, the first contingent dispatched was to UNOGIL (Lebanon) in 1958.2 From the year 1983, along with the arrival of democracy, the Argentine State sought to re-establish diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries, and promote regional and international cooperation within the economic and political scopes. This policy became clearer in the earlier '90s. Currently, among the strategic objectives of foreign policy there arises that "a paramount objective of our foreign policy is to continue participating actively in peacekeeping operations of the United Nations".3 Recently, the Ministry of Defence celebrated 50 years of participation in peace operations, and created a General Directorate of Co-operation for Peace in 2008. The National Congress passed the Framework Law on the entry of foreign troops to the national territory, and deployment of national troops outside the country (Act  $N^{\circ}$  25.880 from March the 31st, 2004) which regulates the entry of foreign troops to the national territory and deployment of troops outside the country, specifying the procedure the Executive and Legislative Power must follow in order to approve the dispatch of troops to peace operations.

Brazil is one of the countries with the highest contribution of personnel. Up to now, they participated in 26 peace operations, mostly after the '90s. For the Brazilian foreign policy, a paramount foundation to participate in a peace operation is upon the country and the United Nation's request. This participation is reaffirmed in their National Defence Policy (1995)<sup>4</sup> and National Defence Strategy (2008).<sup>5</sup> In addition, according to the Federal Constitution, the country must develop its international relations based in the principles of preservation of peace, and the pacific settlement of disputes and non-intervention.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Brazil is one of the few countries sending police forces to peace operations, being these forces members of its states' military police. The first

<sup>2</sup> Speech of the Defence Minister, Dr. Nilda Garré at the closing ceremony of the first course for trainers within peace operations, General San Martín, Joint Training Centre for Peace Operations, 2007, <a href="http://www.mindef.gov.ar/discursos\_discursos\_garre.asp?Id=748">http://www.mindef.gov.ar/discursos\_discursos\_garre.asp?Id=748</a>

<sup>3</sup> Argentine Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship, Strategic Objectives, <a href="http://www.mrecic.gov.ar/">http://www.mrecic.gov.ar/</a>

<sup>4</sup> Federative Republic of Brazil, *Política da Defesa Nacional*, (Brasilia: Presidency of the Republic, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2005), http://www.defesanet.com.br/docs/LDN-2005.pdf

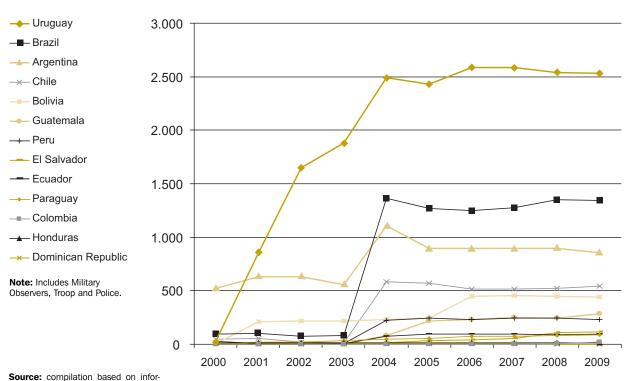
<sup>5</sup> Federative Republic of Brazil, *Estrategia Nacional da Defesa*, (Brasilia: Ministry of Defence, 2008), <a href="http://www.defesa.gov.br/eventos\_temporarios/2008/estrategia\_defesa\_nacional.pdf">http://www.defesa.gov.br/eventos\_temporarios/2008/estrategia\_defesa\_nacional.pdf</a>, 9

<sup>6</sup> Federative Republic of Brazil, Constitución de la República Federativa do Brasil, (Brasilia: National Constituent Assembly, October 5th, 1988), section 4.

operation in which police personnel were deployed was MONUA (Angola).<sup>7</sup> Since 1991, the number of Brazilian police members in peace operations has been increasing. The governing regulation on deployment of Brazilian troops outside the country (Act Nº 2.953 from November the 17th, 1956), establishes that the authorization of the National Congress is required.

Bolivia subscribed the first memorandum of understanding with the United Nations to participate in peacekeeping operations on May the 26<sup>th</sup> 1997. In accordance, the Bolivian army started participating in peace operations through the company "Pioneros" in MONUA (Angola), in April 1999. The institutional policy of participation in peace operations has been mostly developed at the army level. There is a Peace Operations Department in charge of the coordination and management of matters related to Bolivia's participation. The Political Constitution of the State of Bolivia (Section 158) establishes that the dispatch of national troops outside the country requires authorization from the Congress.

Chart Nº 4
Evolution of the number of personnel contributed by each country



ration provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures, (New York: DPKO, 2000-2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/. Information as of June 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Rosario Pérez Ponce, La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Bolivia, (La Paz: RESDAL, December 2008), 28.

In *Chile's* case, according to the definitions from the White Book on National Defence, a part of the permanent objectives of the participation in this class of operations is the contribution to the creation of the conditions for foreign security, the support of Chile's international growth and the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance to national interest. Chile has shown a proactive attitude towards the contribution to peacebuilding and peacekeeping operations, this being a political priority for the government. In the early nineties, the creation of Act  $N^{\circ}$  19,067 and its amendment, Act  $N^{\circ}$  20,29710 meant a landmark in this matter. The former rules the objective, term and manners Chilean troops are dispatched to the outside, and the latter establishes adjustments in dispatching troops to peace operations such as the creation of Inter-Ministerial Committee, in charge of providing permanent advice to the Foreign Affairs and National Defence Ministers. It also points out that the President of the Republic shall request the agreement of the Senate to dispatch Chilean troops to the outside.

Ecuador's participation in peace operations has been more recent. The memorandum of understanding between the Ecuadorian state and the United Nations was subscribed on September the 29th, 2004. Later, in October of the same year, the Ecuadorian state subscribed a memorandum of understanding with Chile, in order to agree on a joint participation through a combined company of engineers in the MINUSTAH. The first one was composed of 66 engineers and since then several groups have been dispatched to provide support in different destinations. One of the fundamentals of the foreign policy of Ecuador is to contribute to international peacekeeping and security. Regarding the management of affairs related to their participation, the Joint Command of the Armed Forces counts with an Inter-institutional Co-operation Directorate, in charge of the co-ordination of Ecuadorian contribution to these operations.

<sup>8</sup> Republic of Chile, *Libro de la Defensa Nacional de Chile*, (Santiago de Chile: Ministry of Defence, 2002), Part III: Defense Policy, http://www.defensa.cl/libro\_2002/index.htm.

<sup>9</sup> Republic of Chile, *Programa de Gobierno-Michelle Bachelet*: 2006-2010, (Santiago de Chile: Government of Chile, October 2005), 103.

<sup>10</sup> Republic of Chile, Ley  $N^a$  19.067, (Santiago de Chile: National Congress, June the 26<sup>th</sup>, 1991) and Ley  $N^a$  20.297, que modifica la Ley  $N^a$  19.067 y establece normas para la participación de tropas chilenas en operaciones de paz, (Santiago de Chile: National Congress, December 13<sup>th</sup>, 2008).

<sup>11</sup> Republic of Ecuador, Foreign Affairs, Trade and Integration Ministry, *Política Multilateral Ecuador en la ONU*, http://www.mmrree.gov.ec.

<sup>12</sup> María Belén Cuesta, La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Ecuador. (Quito: RESDAL, January 2009), 29.

**Table Nº 1**Training centres for peace operations personnel

Country	Name	Year of foundation
Argentina	CAECOPAZ – Argentinean Joint Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations (Armed Forces)	1995
	CENCAMEX – Training Center for members of peace missions abroad (Police Forces)	
Bolivia	COMPEBOL – Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of the Bolivian Army (Armed Forces)	1997
Brazil	CI OP PAZ – Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations (Army)	2005
Chile	CECOPAC – Chilean Joint Peacekeeping Operations Centre (Armed and Police Forces)	2002
Ecuador	UEMPE - Peacekeeping School Unit of Ecuador (Armed Forces)	2003
El Salvador	Peace Operations Training Institute (Armed Forces)	2004
El Salvador Honduras Guatemala Nicaragua	CREOMPAZ – Regional Peacekeeping Operations Training Command (Armed Forces)	2005
Paraguay	CECOPAZ – Joint Forces Peace Training Centre (Armed Forces)	2001
Peru	CECOPAZ - Joint Forces Peace Training Centre (Armed Forces)	2003
	ENOPU – Uruguay's National Peacekeeping Operations Training Centre (Armed Forces)*	2008
Uruguay	CICAME – Police Forces Instruction and Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations (Police)	2005

**Sources:** A Comparative Atlas of Defence in Latin America, (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, third edition, August, 2008) and Project: Women in the Armed and Police Forces: a gender perspective to peace operations, (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2007-2009).

In *Guatemala*, the state policy of contribution to peace operations is also recent and was basically developed after the Peace Agreements of 1996. The participation in an operation is established upon the request of the United Nations to the Guatemalan State, represented by the Foerign Affairs Ministry. For each operation an agreement is drawn, where the operation parameters are specified. Each one of them is approved by the Congress of the Republic and then, the pertaining deployments are authorized through Government Agreements.<sup>13</sup> On the subscribed agreement of the Guatemalan State it is specified which state institution shall perform the operation. Up to now, in most cases, it is the Army of Guatemala. In October 2003, the Department of Peace Opera-

<sup>\*</sup> As background of ENOPU there is the Army's Peacekeeping Operations Training Centre (CIOPE). It started functions in 1982 when Uruguay committed to the dispatch of Special Grouping of Transport and Engineers to the Sinai Peninsula. Years later, in 1998 this was replaced by the Army's School of Peacekeeping Operations (EOPE).

<sup>13</sup> Republic of Guatemala, Constitución Política de la República de Guatemala, (Guatemala: Statutory Assembly, May 31st, 1995), section. 171 sub-section. f. and section 246 sub-section. a

tions was founded within the Directorate of Operations of the General Staff of the National Defence. In 2005, it became the Sub-Directorate of Peace Operations and finally, in 2006, the Directorate of Peace Operations for National Defence.

In *Honduras*, the participation in peace operations dates from the early '90s. From a legal-political framework, the Constitution establishes as one of the functions of the armed forces, "the participation in international peace missions, based on international treaties". In accordance with the White Book on National Defence, the contribution to these operations is developed within the linkage between foreign and defence and is one of the eight basic actions arising from this relation. The Constitution of the Republic (Sections 205, 245 and 274) and the Constitutive Act of the Armed Forces (Sections 3 and 23, sub-sections 3 and 15), state that only the armed forces shall serve in international humanitarian missions and peace operations. National Police is not part of these activities.

Paraguay has less experience than other countries in this issue although it has started developing and strengthening it. As an example, the Program on Bilateral Co-operation for the Defence of Paraguay-Argentina subscribed to by the Ministers of Defence in December 2008, has a regional and international security component which sets out "the reinforcement of recruiting and training capacities to participate in peacekeeping operations, and the creation of a cross-border co-ordination for the analysis and execution of international security activities". <sup>16</sup> Since 2000 it has been possible to identify the participation of Paraguay in peace operations. Nevertheless, the personnel involved is not commissioned under the national flag. The Paraguayan contingent is part of the Task Force of Brazil and Argentina by virtue of agreements held with these countries.

Despite the existence of experiences from the late '50s, Peru's most active participation in peace operations dates from the early 21st Century, after the return to democracy and the re-definition of diverse State policies. The contribution to peacekeeping in other countries is seen as an opportunity to play a different and relevant role within the international scenario. Since the beginning, Peru's participation has been exclusively focused on the dispatch of military person-

<sup>14</sup> Republic of Honduras, *Constitución de la República de Honduras*, (Tegucigalpa: National Statutory Assembly: January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1982), section 274 modified by Decree 245/1998 and ratified by Decree 2/1999.

<sup>15</sup> Republic of Honduras, *Libro de la Defensa Nacional*, (Tegucigalpa: Secretariat of National Defence, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Ministry of National Defence of Paraguay and Ministry of Defence of Argentina, *Programa de Cooperación Bilateral en Defensa Paraguay-Argentina "NOMOPETEΔ*, (Ministry of National Defence of Paraguay and Ministry of Defence of Argentina; Asunción, December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2008).

nel. The police institution does not have any power to participate in operations out of the country. Commissioned-officers of the three armed forces and non-commissioned-officers of the army have taken part in peace operations in conflicts worldwide.<sup>17</sup>. In this way, the Ministry of Defence and the armed forces have been the institutions involved in coordinating and promoting activities related to Peru's contributions to these operations. The participation is framed within the Ninth State Policy on national security of the National Agreement.<sup>18</sup> This establishes a foreign policy for peace, democracy, development and integration. The Peruvian State subscribed to a memorandum of understanding with the United Nations on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 2003. Through its representatives in the Multi-sector Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Peruvian armed forces were part of the United Nations negotiation to define the specific aspects of its participation (ships, helicopters, contingents, observers, transport, etc).<sup>19</sup>

#### **MINUSTAH**

Undoubtedly, the operation in Haiti (MINUSTAH), is where the majority of Latin-American countries converge: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. This has led to establishing bilateral and multilateral co-operation mechanisms such as the creation of a Joint Force between Chile and Argentina called *Cruz del Sur*, which was part of an initiative from 2005 and started being implemented in February 2007. These Stand-by Forces are part of the reserve forces the United Nations have for Peace operations. Likewise, the Peruvian and Argentine ministries of Defence are currently part of a Combined Peace Force which includes an engineer's company in the MINUSTAH. At a regional level, the establishment of the 2 x 9 Mechanism has allowed the coordination of actions and positions towards the identification of new forms of cooperation, particularly, in areas sensitive for the Haitian economic and social development.

*Uruguay* stands out for having a long and sustained participation in peace operations. However, the references to the first experiences providing support in international conflicts are prior to the creation of the United Nations: their first intervention was at the Chaco Boreal in 1929.<sup>20</sup> The consecutive

<sup>17</sup> Ivette Castañeda and Rossy Salazar, *La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Perú*, (RESDAL: Lima, January, 2009), 48.

<sup>18</sup> The National Agreement was signed in 2002 when representatives of civil society and the State participated.

<sup>19</sup> Republic of Peru, Libro Blanco de la Defensa Nacional, (Lima: Ministry of Defence, April 2005), chapter VII

<sup>20</sup> Alejandra Marzuca, La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Uruguay, (Montevideo: RESDAL, December 2008), 47.

government administrations of Uruguay committed themselves to keeping the participation of the armed forces in these operations. Later, the police institution joined what has become a consolidated foreign policy on the contribution to peace operations. Unlike most researched countries, it is clearly distinguishable in Uruguay, the establishment of a wide organizational synergy for the development and execution of the participation policy in peace operations including the negotiation process with the United Nations, the formalization of the requests of personnel and equipment, the subscription to agreements, their dispatch to the institutions involved, the call on personnel and their training, and the deployment and measures for personnel on their return from the operation. It is the country with the highest increase in participation over the last decade. Besides, considering the size of their military forces (24,931 members including commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and troops), that more than half of the Army personnel of this country took part in a peace operation some time.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, the personnel deployed by Uruguay accounts for 10.2% of the total armed forces, just as in January 2009. This is a much higher number if compared to the other countries, whose deployed personnel at that same date accounts for less than 1%, except for Argentina, Bolivia and Guatemala (1.2%).<sup>22</sup>

#### The regional commitment on Resolution 1325

The Conference of Defence Ministers of the

Americas is the hemispheric environment where, since 1995, the ministers of the sector have gathered every two years in a context of dialogue, commitment and strengthening of mutual confidence.

The VIII Conference was held in Banff, Canada. There, and for the first time in the history of those conferences, they referred to the issue declaring:

- Their will to carry on with the inclusion of the gender perspective in peace-keeping operations, as established in Resolution 1325 (2000) of the United Nations Security Council.
- Their commitment to continue promoting the inclusion of the gender perspective within the defence scope.

**Source:** VIII Conference of Defence Ministers of the Americas, Banff Declaration, (Banff: VIII CDMA, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2008), paragraphs 11 and 12.

<sup>21</sup> National Support System to Peacekeeping Operations (SINOMAPA). Information as from April 2009.

<sup>22</sup> Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations, *Facts and Figures*, (New York: DPKO, January 2009),http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/ and information provided by the countries' ministries of defence and forces as from January, 2009.

#### Personnel Contributions

Within the region, peace operations are still essentially seen as a military issue. In the case of police forces dispatched, Argentina, Brazil and Chile are special cases to be analyzed as they can provide militarized police forces such as the National Gendarmerie and Naval Prefecture of Argentina, Carabineers in Chile and the military police forces of the different Brazilian states. This participation, valued in the context of the missions, leaves on a pending status the debate on the inclusion of police forces, formed to protect the internal order and security and guarantee the fulfillment of rights and the normal development of activities.

The complexity of the international system, where the internal conflicts prevail, brings diverse challenges to be solved. Currently, one of the main issues is that related to the peace operations mandates, which hold as one of their powers the establishment of a civilian authority and criminal justice systems under a critical situation. In these scenarios, the reorganization of the public security system, together with its disciplinary rules and codes are essential for the stabilization of society and the reconstruction of civilian authority.

Regarding contributions of police personnel, El Salvador (who has sent a considerable number of National Police members over the last years) and Uruguay, who dispatches uniformed personnel from the National Police stand out.

**Table Nº 2**Personnel participating in peace operations sorted by country

**Source:** Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, Project: Women in the Police and Armed Forces: a gender perspective to peace operations, (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2007-2010).

Country	Personnel
Argentina	Armed Forces, Gendarmerie, Federal Police, Naval Prefecture
Bolivia	Armed Forces
Brazil	Armed Forces, Military Police
Chile	Armed Forces, Investigation Police, Carabineers
Ecuador	Armed Forces
El Salvador	Armed Forces, National Police
Honduras	Armed Forces
Guatemala	Armed Forces
Paraguay	Armed Forces
Peru	Armed Forces
Uruguay	Armed Forces, National Police

#### THE COLOMBIAN CASE

According to the United Nations, in September 2006, the Colombian State started contributing with personnel to peace operations (two police officers). Since then, although the figures are still small, the participation level of Colombian police personnel has grown. As from June 2009, Colombia has deployed 22 force members in Haiti.

Within the democratic security framework, the Colombian government has decided to increase personnel and support to MINUSTAH in two ways: on one hand, it will deploy specialized police members in such areas as the fight against trafficking in drugs and kidnapping. In a complementary way, a high level mission of the National Police will be sent in order to provide structural advice to the Police of Haiti regarding their institutional architecture so as to face the security challenges of the country. Among other activities, the Colombian police members are expected to provide coaching and specialized training, and to carry out common surveillance and patrolling duties with forces from other countries.

**Source**: Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations, *Facts and Figures*, (New York: DPKO, September 2009),http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2006/sept06\_3.pdf and Defence Ministry of Colombia. News and Documentation. Colombia reaffirms its commitment to United Nations' Peace Operations, <a href="http://www.mindefensa.gov.co/index.php?page=181&id=8891">http://www.mindefensa.gov.co/index.php?page=181&id=8891</a>.

Police institutions in other countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Paraguay and Peru) have not taken part in peace operations up to this day. In some cases, this is the result of a prohibition of their internal laws (like Honduras and Peru), in others, due to the lack of dissemination of this matter at national level. In Guatemala, for example, the police law establishes "the power to collaborate and provide aid to civil security forces of other countries, in accordance to the International Treaties and Agreements which Guatemala has subscribed to or is part of".<sup>23</sup> In Paraguay, there are considerable preceding experiences: some members of the National Police have voluntarily participated in CECOPAZ and CENCAMEX courses from Argentina, as well as in courses organized by the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECID) on peacekeeping operations of the United Nations.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Republic of Guatemala, *Decreto Nº 11-97 Ley de la Policía Nacional Civil*, (City of Guatemala; Congress of the Republic, March  $4^{th}$ , 1997), section 10, sub-section J.

<sup>24</sup> Edgar López Jiménez, La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Paraguay, (Asunción: RESDAL, December 2008), 36.

Police participation in peace operations is not only limited to some countries from the region but also to a minimum number of personnel assigned. As from June 2009, only 141 Latin-American police personnel were deployed in peace operations, versus 283 military observers and 6,153 force members.

**Table Nº 3**Breakdown of deployed personnel sorted by Latin-American countries

	Troop	Observers	Police
Argentina	822	9	26
Bolivia	410	31	0
Brazil	1,285	48	13
Chile	524	6	13
Colombia	0	0	22
Ecuador	72	23	1
El Salvador	52	16	48
Guatemala	270	18	0
Honduras	0	12	0
Paraguay	48	42	0
Peru	211	22	0
Uruguay	2,459	56	18
Total	6,153	283	141

**Source:** Compilation based on information provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures, (New York: DPKO, June 2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/index.shtml.

As to participation of the armed forces, public opinion from most of the countries approves the fact that military personnel can provide collaboration aimed at solving conflicts worldwide. In some Central American countries where the use of the armed forces in situations of civil insecurity is currently under discussion, the "exportation" of military personnel arises opposite opinions among those who approve it and those who would prefer them to focus on internal security issues. To a lesser extent, there is a critic of these operations, based on the idea that they mean unnecessary expenses aimed at justifying the existence of armies.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Carmen Rosa de León Escribano, *Participación de la Mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas de Centroamérica y México*, (Antigua Guatemala: RESDAL-IEPADES "International Seminar on Challenges and Opportunities within Peace Operations: incorporation of women", March 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup>, 2008).

**Table Nº 4**Recruitment for peace operations (Armed Forces)

Countries	Army	Navy	Air Force	
Argentina	Voluntary application. The Force informs the opening of calls. The volunteer shows his/her interest by subscribing a form. Training is carried out at CAECOPAZ.	Voluntary application. It is defined in accordance to merit and language skills. Training is carried out at CAE-COPAZ.	Voluntary application. Information is disseminated through air force mail. The admitted candidates carry out their training at CAECOPAZ.	
Bolivia	Voluntary application. The General Command technicians who comply with specific	nand of the Army issues a call at national level requirements can take part.	vel. Reservists, professionals, civilians	
Brazil	Voluntary application. The Personnel Department performs a profile-gathering and then sends invitations/calls. Applications are appraised based on good behaviour and language skills criteria. Training is carried out at CI-OPPAZ.	Voluntary application. Command Office of the Navy. Selection is made according to merit and professional performance. Training is carried out at the Peace Operations School of the <i>Cuerpo de Fuzileiros Navales</i> in CIOPPAZ.	Voluntary application. The Command Office of the Air Force co-ordinates the personnel selection, which is based on merit and professional performance. Training is carried out at CIOPPAZ.	
Chile	Voluntary application. Applicants must comply with specific requirements of rank, grade and experience as well as selection exams. Training is carried out at CECOPAC.	Voluntary application. Applicants can apply if they comply with the required conditions. Training is carried out at CECOPAC.	Voluntary application. Applicants must comply with specific requirements of rank, grade and experience as well as selection exams. Training is carried out at CECOPAC.	
Ecuador	Voluntary application upon call by each force. The Co-operation Directorate of the Inter-Institutional Joint Command appraises the applicant's profile and determines whether he/she can be deployed. The personnel are trained at UEMPE.			
Guatemala	Voluntary application. The call is targeted to all members of the armed forces through internal mail. The applicants must comply with certain requirements. Training is carried out at CREOMPAZ.			
Honduras	The Chairman of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces selects the contingent Commander prior to the personnel selection. This is performed based on merit, rank (higher than Captain is required) and specific skills such as language. Within the appraisal process training is an important factor to be considered. It is carried out at CREOMPAZ.			
Paraguay	Voluntary application. The Armed Forces call the members who are willing to participate and apply through particular order. There is a different training for officers, subordinate personnel and non commissioned-officers. As to military observes, the requirements to be complied with by applicants are specified within the request to Paraguayan authorities. Training is carried out at CECOPAZ.			
Peru	Voluntary application. The Chief of Staff is in charge of recruiting co-ordination by sending requests to the Forces, who, in turn start the internal pre-selection or pre-evaluation process. The selected members carry out training at CECOPAZ.			
Uruguay	Voluntary application. One of the requirements to be fulfilled is a minimum previous permanence of three years in the forces, besides passing physical, psychological, and medical tests, among others. In the case of the Military Observer, the minimum rank of Captain or its equivalent in other forces is required. Once the requirement is made, an assessment of the effect of personnel departure to the Mission is carried out. Training is carried out at ENOPU.			

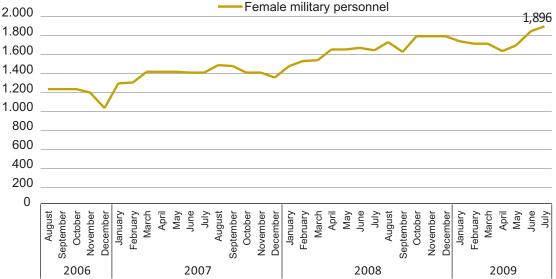
**Source:** Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, Project: *Women in the Armed Forces and Police in Latin America: a gender approach to peace operations*, (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2007-2010).

#### Women in peace operations: an analysis on the regional situation

Participation and role of female personnel in peace operations started being analyzed when Resolution 1325 was passed in 2000. However, it was not until 2006 that the United Nations began developing public statistics on the issue. As figures show, although the trend of personnel is mainly of a male composition, there is a slow and steady growth.

Generally speaking, participation of women in comparison with the total military personnel worldwide is minimal and over the last three years there has been a slight increase from hardly 1.88% in August 2006 to 2.37% in July 2009.

**Chart Nº 5**Evolution of the military female personnel deployed in peace operations worldwide between 2006-2009 (world total)



**Source:** Compilation based on information provided by the Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures: Gender Statistics (New York: DPKO, June 2009), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/gender.shtml.

Although there have just been statistics available since February 2009, it is possible to assert that participation of women against the total number of police personnel worldwide is scarce. In July 2009, there were 863 female personnel which means 7.5% of the total police personnel deployed.

The Latin American region is not away from this trend. Furthermore, consideration of Resolution 1325 is quite recent, and its existence is being practically ignored in most of the countries. That is part of a wider framework, related not only with gender but also with the opening of the military issue to democratization, inter-relations (in few occasions) between foreign affairs offices and defence institutions, and the recent experience within the scenario of the international community on this issue. Thus, the communication bonds between initiatives promoted by the United Nations and the State's institu-

tions in each country are not strong enough from the institutional point of view yet, and the developments and boosts do not always reach the actors.

The first experiences of women involved in peace operations are still recent or nonexistent in some cases. They are mainly concentrated on the participation from the armed forces, especially as part of the professional corps, where there is a higher number of women, with longer seniority and able to fulfill the requirements related to the minimum hierarchical rank.<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of female personnel from the command corps is scarce as they have joined the armed institutions not much more than a decade ago.

On the other hand, and given that police participation from the region is minimal, the restrictions to the incorporation of women are in fact political hurdles against the general participation of the police in peace operations. A dramatic rise in female personnel is not likely to happen in this case at a medium term.

In Argentina, since 1993, there has been participation of women in peace operations, but the most significant increase has taken place since 2001. As from December 2008, the historic total number of women deployed was 389: 213 belonged to the Army, 30 to the Navy and 146 to the Air Force.<sup>27</sup> The Navy dispatched the first woman to ONUSAL (El Salvador) in 1991, and she was a Medical Navy Lieutenant. Within the mission, she had the role of a Chief of the Military Health Department. The same year, the Air Force dispatched five women in the first contingent of the Military Mobile Hospital in ONUMOZ (Mozambique) with the ranks of First Lieutenant, Master Corporal, Corporal, Technician II and Service II (the last two categories belong to civilians from the force); they performed as Instrument Assistant, Operating-room Nurse, Intensive Care Unit Nurse and Cook. As for the Army, a female sergeant was sent to UNPROFOR (Croatia) in 1994. With regards to the National Gendarmerie, as it extended its international participation in 1991, three young members of the personnel were trained at the training center in 2008 and they are currently ready to be deployed. Recently, the first two argentine women from the National Gendarmerie were called to participate in UNMIL (Liberia).<sup>28</sup>

In *Bolivia*, the first military woman participating in a peace operation was as a Military Observer in MUNOC (Congo), within the period 2002-2003 with the rank of Infantry Lieutenant Colonel. An important point to highlight is the fact

<sup>26</sup> In most of the countries, the minimum rank of Captain is required to apply to the Military Observer position in a peace operation.

<sup>27</sup> Directorate of Personnel of Argentina's Army, Navy and Air Force Information as of December 2008.

<sup>28</sup> National Gendarmerie Training Center for Members of Peace Missions Abroad. (CENCAMEX). Information as of October 2009.

that the Bolivian Army was one of the first to admit women in the military career; being one of the few cases from the region where female personnel is able to fulfill the minimum grade requirements to become Military Observer in a peace operation. The historical participation of military women in these operations includes 187 members.<sup>29</sup> The police do not participate in these activities; therefore, there have been no cases of police women deployed.<sup>30</sup>

In *Brazil*, the first military police women to take part in a peace operation were sent to MONUA (Angola); they belonged to the military police of the Federal District. From 1991 to December 2008, 99 military police women were deployed. Out of this number, only five were women. Four of them participated in UNMIT (East Timor) and one in UNMIK (Kosovo).<sup>31</sup> During 2008, 21 military police women were deployed out of a total of 2,700 forces, this being 0.7% of the total of participants.<sup>32</sup> In the case of military contingents, as of March 2008, only 16 female members were deployed.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of *Chile*, participation of women in peace operations started in 1987 when the Air Force deployed a female commissioned officer of service from the Health Area. Between 1997 and 1999 four women of the Army who belonged to the Health Assistance Area were part of the Ecuador- Peru Mission of Military Observers (MOMEP), organized by the countries who guaranteed the agreement. They were civil personnel with military training and in both cases they performed duties related to their knowledge in the health area. By that time Carebineers from Chile sent women to UNMIBH (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and KFOR (Kosovo), where they carried out local security tasks and contributed with their experiences to the process that built police forces in those countries and the mechanisms aimed at integrating the community. The historical participation of Chilean women in the operations is 68 military members and 7 Carabineer members.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Department of Peace Operations of the Bolivian Army. Information as to September 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Department I of the General Command of Bolivia's National Police.

<sup>31</sup> General Inspectorate of the Military Police Forces, Brazilian Army's Land Operations Command.

<sup>32</sup> Brazilian Army's Social Communication Centre.

<sup>33</sup> Undersecretary's Office of Logistics of the Chief of the Defence Staff of the Ministry of Defence. Information as of March 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Ministry of Defence of Chile. Information as of December 2008. Official information sorted per mission shows ten women of Carabineers from Chile; that is due to the fact that one of them took part in three missions: UNMIB (Bosnia-Herzegovina), KFOR (Yugoslavia-Kosovo) and MINUSTAH (Haiti) and the other in two missions (UNMIB and KFOR).

#### Leading cases: Argentina and Chile's Plans

Institutions involved in participating in peace operations in Argentina and Chile have included the gender perspective as part of their policy. Over the last years, there has been progress about basic institutional and management measures towards a higher female contribution. The application of gender policies driven by the ministries of defence is one of the most essential steps. The fact that in both countries women managed to be in charge of the defence sector (Michelle Bachelet and Vivianne Blanlot in Chile, and Nilda Garré in Argentina) has been taken as a very positive factor towards the gender initiatives.

Argentina was chosen by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations for the development of a pilot plan to implement Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council at national level. Faced with this challenge, in Pretoria, South Africa, the country committed to founding an Inter-ministerial Work Group on the gender and peace maintenance. The Special Representation for Women issues in the International Scope of the Foreign Affairs Office then coordinated the different government fields. Likewise, the *First Regional Workshop for the development of a gender policy within Peace Operations* was held in May 2008.

A remarkable issue of this process is the *Gender Equality and Defence Policy* and within this framework, the creation of the Observatory on Women integration in the Armed Forces and the Council on Gender Policies of the Ministry of Defence. In 2008, the Ministry of Defence published the *Action Plan in the area of Defence for the effective application of the Gender Perspective within International Peacekeeping Operations*. The most relevant points of this plan are: status of women in the armed forces, an assessment of the relation between gender and peace operations and recommendations on actions to be implemented within its framework.

In Chile, the first Plan of presidential level in the region was launched in 2009: *The National Action Plan for the Implementation of the Resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations* 1325/2000: *Women, Peace and Security.* The way had started in 2004 with the creation of the Committee of Women Integration, the Policy on Women Integration in the Armed Forces and the Policy of Women Participation in Carabineros, including the the Investigation Police later. Since 2008 the Ministry of Defence together with the Foreign Affairs Office and the National Service of Women encouraged the discussion and preparation of the Plan with other players both from public and civil society.

The Plan is oriented to rights, gender, participation, coordination and inter-sector and sector actions with the Ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Education, Health, Planning and National Service of Women, being the only national plan of the region. As part of the monitoring system there have been established the Council of Ministers, an Inter-Ministerial Committee and an Observatory specialized in the issue.

Co-operation between both countries was not absent: on November the 4<sup>th</sup> 2008 a Bi-National Seminar was held between Argentina and Chile called *Gender Perspective and International Security: participation of women in peace operations* at Chile's Embassy in Argentina.

In *Ecuador*, only two women had gone on missions until 2008: one medical specialist commissioned officer of the Army with the rank of Captain who performed in MINUSTAH in 2007; and in 2008, a medical specialist commissioned officer of the Navy, with the same rank and mission.<sup>35</sup>

In *El Salvador*, the historical participation of military women is just one of a commissioned officer of the Army who is currently deployed in MINURSO (Western Sahara).<sup>36</sup> Being part of the professional corps she comes from the Medical School. As part of the police forces, six women have been deployed in peace operations of the United Nations.

Honduras has been part of missions of the Organization of American States and the United Nations since 1992, but until December 2008 there had been no women deployed on those. Some military women were sent to Iraq only while the coalition's government took place.<sup>37</sup> In Honduras, the police force does not participate in peace operations so there is no police woman involved in these activities.

As for *Guatemala*, the historical participation of women in peace operations reaches 98 military members among commissioned officers, specialists and troop.<sup>38</sup> Out of these, two were military observers at UNMEE (Ethiopia and Eritrea) between 2005 and 2008.<sup>39</sup>

Up to this date, participation of *Paraguayan* women has been limited: only six women from the armed forces were deployed. All of them were sent to UNFICYP (Cyprus), between 2004 and 2009 joining the Argentinean task forces  $N^{\circ}$  23, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32.<sup>40</sup> As the police corps has not participated in peace operations up to now, there are no cases of police women deployed.

In *Peru*, the nine women sent to peace operations until now were deployed in MONUC (Congo) as military observers.<sup>41</sup> Between 2004 and 2007 seven female commissioned officers took part, together with two commissioned

<sup>35</sup> Peacekeeping Unit School of Ecuador. Information as of December 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Ministry of Defence of El Salvador. Information as of December 2008.

<sup>37</sup> Secretariat of Defence of Honduras. Information as of December 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Regional Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations (CREOMPAZ). Information as of June 2009.

<sup>39</sup> Directorate of Peace Operations of the General Staff of the National Defence of Guatemala.

<sup>40</sup> Directorate of Peacekeeping Operations of the Command in Chief of the Military Forces of Paraguay. Information as of June 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Joint Training Centre for Peacekeeping Operations (CECOPAZ). Information as of June 2009.

ssioned officers from the Navy. In 2008 the intention to make and send a unit of 25 women was announced but it has not been confirmed yet.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, in *Uruguay*, the first two women from the Army participated in a peace operation in 1994. They were dentists, commissioned officers from the professional corps, not trained within the armed forces as at those times women were not allowed to join the forces. The record of the first woman from the National Police dispatched to a mission dates from 2006. She had the rank of Second-Adjutant Officer. Uruguay is the country with the highest number of female military personnel deployed historically: 1,368 women. There are eight female members from the police institution up to 2009.<sup>43</sup>

The last disaster where peace forces were involved took place in October 2009 in MINUSTAH when personnel from the Uruguayan contingent were affected. Among the 25 Uruguayans who fell there was a woman: *Yiyi Medina*, an Airborne Technician from the Air Force.

The small number of women in the contingents and the absence of gender issues at personnel training stages show there is a gender perspective missing in the contribution of these countries. The lack of female representation in the contribution of the region to peace operations does not only represent a gap between the doctrines the Organization is aimed at applying, and their actual implementation, but also means a lost opportunity for the first generations of military and police women of the region to have a profitable experience at professional level. The experiences recalled by women who took part in these activities are more than positive as it was very remarkable for them as such to join diverse teams and show commitment to the assigned tasks.

Regarding obstacles, from the interviews held with women and authorities involved in the organization of contingents, one of the main challenges faced was their limited insertion in the armed and security institutions. Even when the presence of women in these organizationshas grown over the last decade, there are still some restraints which do not allow them to fully join said institutions and thus fulfill the minimum conditions to apply for a place in a contingent. An example of this is the case of military observers for which the rank of Captain is required.

<sup>42</sup> For further information see: "El Perú enviará un contingente militar femenino a Haití en el 2010", El Comercio Journal, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2008 in http://www.elcomercio.com.pe/ediciononline/ html/2008-12-22/el-peru-enviara-contingente-militar-femenino-haiti-2010.html.

<sup>43</sup> National Support System to Peacekeeping Operations (SINOMAPA). Information as of June 2009.

As to conditions in which each woman must perform her duties at her arrival to the area of conflict, these vary according to the kind of operation and personnel involved. In the case of troop personnel, there are usually no proper or separate facilities to lodge female personnel. The troop personnel of a contingent usually live in facilities prepared by themselves and aimed at lodging all the members. In the case of military observers, the situation is different as there are teams that usually rent a place to live together. 44 On the other hand, although women are interested in the cultural aspect of the mission they took part, it also implies a challenge to them. According to some women interviewed, discrimination is present along the execution of a mission and is closely related to the different cultural contexts. In some cases, the male partners of other contingents, who come from societies where women have a different role, have discriminatory attitudes towards them. In spite of that, it is interesting to note that some women manage not to be personally affected or to keep their profe-ssional performance away from this situation, even though they recognize there are differences in the cultural and life styles patterns of personnel.

#### THE EXPERIENCES

"It has been one of the best experiences I have had professionally as I had the chance to join people from a different culture, with different beliefs, languages (...). Something I really appreciated while there, is that I was valued for my skills, my professional performance and for how professionally well trained you are. I felt very satisfied because nobody cared whether I was a man or a woman or what my condition was, but they gave me what I deserved according to my capacity."

Female Officer from the Bolivian Army, taking part in MONUC.

"I was really surprised at the integration of the entire troop on these occasions, when we were really a unique body, where each cell was extremely important and the trust between mates was an essential factor when it came to carrying out the duty of another partner. In those circumstances extremely close bonds are built, things for what words are not good enough to explain, as they have to be felt and experienced."

Medical Officer of the Brazilian Army, taking part in MINUSTAH.

"I appeared to like it and I had enthusiasm as they suggested that I stayed six more months and finally, I stayed for a year. It was a complete challenge as you have to be away from home for a long time and make a quick decision (luckily my family always supported me). I started being involved in other units, and I not only worked as a nurse but in other areas: arsenal for example."

Officer of the Argentine Army, participating in UNFICYP.

<sup>44</sup> Rosario Pérez Ponce, La mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policía: una aproximación de género a las operaciones de paz, El caso de Bolivia, 35.

Concerning situations of inadequate behaviours and/or contrary to women rights along the duration of a peace operation, it is important to outline that the United Nations has an available gender unit for the personnel of the mission. A claim received at this office implies the immediate repatriation of the accused and a subsequent lawsuit in the country. Therefore, there seems to be very few cases produced.

From the perspective of officers and non-commissioned officers, to take part in this type of mission means an opportunity to join people from different cultures, beliefs and languages. Likewise, and aside from the chance to provide important aid and services, it is also possible to carry values, concepts and practices which could improve the situations of the societies affected by the conflict.

#### The experiences

"It is on women where the enemy can humiliate the opponent most (...). Women are the worst victims (...). When Military Observers go to areas of conflict, the last thing (local) women are willing to see is a male officer. Many times they hide from them and don't talk to them; but the opposite happens with female officers, as women identify them as equals, which makes them have more confidence in them and provides them with information about certain facts; the same happens with children."

Officer of the Bolivian Army, taking part in MONUC.

"I worked as a community police officer, where there were many cases of domestic violence, so being a woman helped me a lot in that role."

Military Police Officer of Goiás, Brazil, participating in UNMIT.

In MINUSTAH, as of February 2009, out of 4,098 military members deployed, only 82 were women. Uruguay is the country with the highest number of female personnel deployed by then, followed by Argentina (ten female personnel), Brazil and Guatemala (six), and Bolivia and Chile (five). As to participation of police corps in MINUSTAH to that same date, only one woman from the Chilean police forces was part of the mission.<sup>45</sup>

By June of the same year, figures were more optimistic, as presence of Latin American women in the mission was of 95, which means an increase of 9.7% compared to February. As to the general total of female personnel deployed in this mission, the contribution of Latin American women implied 88% as of June 2009.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> United Nations Organization, Report of the Secretary General on the Stabilization Mission of the United Nations in Haiti, S/2009129, (New York: Security Council, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

<sup>46</sup> Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Facts and Figures: Gender Statistics, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/gender.shtml and Gender Unit of the MINUSTAH.

SECURITY FORCES
TRAINING: THE TRAINING
CENTER OF THE NATIONAL
GENDARMERIE OF
ARGENTINA (CENCAMEX)

At the early '90s, National Gendarmerie from Argentina furthered significantly their international participation by sending Police Observers to the *United Nations Angola Verification Mission* (UNACEM) and the *United Nations Mission Protection Force* in the lands of the ex Yugoslavia. That led to the creation of CENCAMEX in May 1992 aimed at training personnel of the Gendarmerie and other police and security forces, national and foreign in order to fulfill missions out of the country, and based on the United Nations training standards and rules of engagement.

Since then, the Centre offers the Courses "Training of Police Officers for Peacekeeping Operations" and "Police Officer for the United Nations" (among others). There are currently around 36 vacancies to train the candidates to automatically take over from previous officers of peace operations and the rest of them remain in the waiting list until the next call.

In 2008, for the first time there were three women subscribed to do the course. Two of them were deployed in the UNMIL mission. Two new female non-commissioned-officers were in class 2009. On the other hand, the increase of women applying to a vacancy in the Gendarmerie was significant. During 2009, the National Gendarmerie was actually training 220 women and 330 men at the Training Institute in the City of Mercedes.

**Table Nº 5**Latin American military personnel deployed in the MINUSTAH sorted per country and gender

Country Men Women **Argentina** 525 24 **Bolivia** 195 10 **Brazil** 1.263 3 Chile 186 7 El Salvador **Ecuador** 66 **Honduras** Guatemala 99 13 **Paraguay** 31 Peru 204 Uruguay 1.088 38 **Total** 3.657 95

**Sources:** Department of Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, and Gender Unit of the MINUSTAH. Information as of June 2009.

Once again, Uruguay was ahead with 38 women deployed mainly in the Battalion. Argentina had 24 women deployed although they were providing services to the United Nation's personnel itself at the Mobile Hospital of the mission. Chile's case can be highlighted, as they had eight women spread in all units. In the future, it will be necessary not only to encourage the presence of women but also to include female commissioned-officers in MINUSTAH's positions, as although there is a growing distinguishable presence, up to now, no female officer of the region has performed as a Mission Staff Officer.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Gender Unit of the MINUSTAH. Information as of June 2009.

Aside from MINUSTAH, there seems to be no coincidence in the fact that those countries with fewer women deployed in some peace operation, are precisely the ones who have a longer way to go regarding equality of conditions in the armed forces There are two clear limitations in this sense: those related to the little time passed since women joined the armed forces as career personnel and the restrictions they have encountered along the military career. The last two impact on the promotion possibilities which are necessary to achieve the minimum conditions to apply for vacancies, even more if they wish to be in higher positions during the missions, where the applicants must comply with a minimum hierarchical rank. This is the case of many female officers from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay.

Several aspects can be mentioned as part of the challenges to increase the number of Latin American women in the contingents for peace operations. Beyond the logistic and cultural reasons already mentioned, some aspects appeared along the research project.

#### How far is...?

The Ministry of Defence of Argentina expects women will be able to have, among others, the following chief positions in peace operations by 2025:

- Chief of Staff- Chief of the Infantry Battalion Level I
- Sub-Unit Chief of Command and Service Company
- Chief of Infantry

**Source:** Republic of Argentina, *Plan de Acción en el Ámbito de la Defensa para la efectiva implementación de la perspectiva de género en el ámbito de las operaciones internacionales de mantenimiento de la paz – Resolución N^{\circ} 1.226, (Buenos Aires: Ministry of Defence, October 21st, 2008).* 

The first of them has to do with the need of a wider dissemination of calls. Many times, despite the existing interest in participating in a peace operation there is a lack of knowledge of the opportunities and requirements necessary. Widening the dissemination of calls among female military personnel is for example a simple but impacting way to enlarge participation.

Another challenge seems to appear at the time of the exam in front of the Committee of the United Nations. The few women who fit the profile requested face difficulties related to managing English language. Apparently, more than in the case of men, a higher number of applying women do not manage to pass the course due to this reason. According to one of the testi-

monials gathered: "I submitted my application and then sat for the physical, psychological and language exam. We were three women and I was the only one selected: the main limitation for my colleagues was their knowledge of English language". The same was proved in another case by the project researchers themselves. The dilemma between the knowledge of language and the 1325 seems to be one of the challenges to be solved.

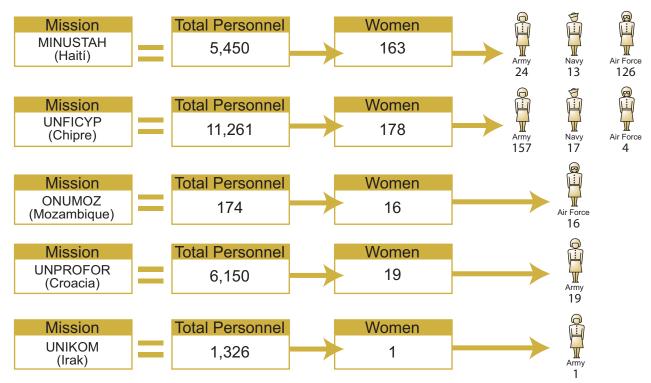
**Chart N° 6**Roles performed and number of women deployed in MINUSTAH and MONUC by the Army of Uruguay

MINUSTAH (Haití)	
Role	Number
Clerks	5
Psychologists	1
Dentists	5
Dental Assistants	1
Medical Doctors	3
Nurses	1
Nurses	5
Cooks	4
Communications Officers	1
Civil Affairs Officers	1
Supplies and Services Officers	1
English Interpreters	2
French Interpreters	2
English and French Interpreters	1
Superior personnel: 13	
Subordinate personnel: 20	
Total: 33	

Role	Number			
Clerks	17			
Psychologists	1			
Dentists	3			
Dental Assistants	2			
Translators	4			
Medical Doctors	2			
Nurses	5			
Cooks	3			
Lawyers	1			
Executive Lieutenant	1			
Subordinate personnel: 33				

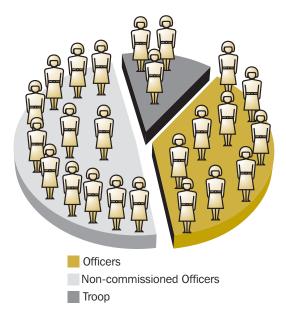
Source: Compilation based on information provided by the National System for the Support of Peace Operations of Uruguay.

**Chart N° 7**Historical participation in operations where women of the Argentinean Armed Forces were deployed



**Table N° 6**Roles performed by women of the Argentine Army in MINUSTAH:

Role	Number
Assistants	4
Water Purification Group, Auxiliary	1
Information Technology Auxiliary	2
Biochemist	1
Stretcher-bearer	1
Driver	2
Person in charge of Water Purification Group	1
Main Nurse	1
General Nurse	2
Evacuation Group, Medical Doctor	1
Miscellaneous Groups, Chief	4
Information Technology/Communication Group Chief	1
Veterinarian Group, Chief	1
Campaign Equipment Mechanic	1
Dentist	1
TOTAL	24



**Source:** Compilation based on data bases provided by Directorates of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Information as of December 2008.

Finally, an essential aspect is the roles which women perform. In most cases, those who manage to join peace operations perform auxiliaries and support positions. The availability of information from countries like Uruguay and Argentina for example, make it possible to have a view on the duties performed (see charts). However, there should be outlined that in most experiences gathered, whichever the role was, the possibility to be part of a mission was taken as a relevant step in their careers. There, they seem to find the possibility to widen their professional field, serve a conflict society through their services and be part of a decisive experience at a professional and personal level.

The possibilities to increase participation of Latin-American military women in peace operations imply facing challenges at different levels. On the one hand, these involve the political level and the Ministries of Defence and Public Security, where it is necessary to define and make gender policies operational in the entire sector. Likewise, at the institutional level, the measures to eliminate restrictions for women to join, be promoted and recognized will be key aspects. At the scope of planning and executing peace operation policies, it is necessary to establish the appointment of military and police women as a permanent objective, without setting aside the education to train male and female personnel to face the situations of gender violence which are frequent in areas of conflict.

## LATIN AMERICAN PEACEKEEPING: A NEW ERA OF REGIONAL COOPERATION

JOHANNA MENDELSON FORMAN, Ph.D.\* Center for Strategic and International Studies

#### Introduction

Latin American armies have been involved in United Nations Peacekeeping from the outset of multilateral operations in 1948. Beginning with the UN's operations in Lebanon, Latin American officers participated in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in 1948 and in the Indian-Pakistan observer mission in 1949 (UNMOGIP). In 1960 Argentine pilots helped support supply lines for the UN Mission in Congo (UNOC). In spite of continued troop contributions, Latin American militaries did not view peacekeeping as part of their obligation to the UN. Not one of the region's army's embraced peacekeeping as part of their defense doctrine during the Cold War.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, the global security environment changed, and Latin American participation in peace-keeping increased exponentially. Beginning in 1990, many Latin American militaries were deployed as part of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA). Before and after the 1992 peace accords in El Salvador, contingents from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela served in the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). By 1994 there were 2,816 Latin American military personnel from 10 different countries serving in 13 UN operations throughout the world. These missions helped to transform the view of the region's armed forces from being obstacles to democracy and good governance to being partners with civilian leaders. Latin American militaries now were deployed around the world as part of UN peace operations whose missions were to enforce peace accords, to prevent state failure, and to participate in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

<sup>\*</sup> The author would like to thank Ms. Cassia Paigen Roth, internscholar in the Americas Program at CSIS for her assistance in the preparation of this paper.

In April 2009 there were 6,509 Latin American troops participating in peace operations around the globe.¹ Several factors account for this expansion. On the geopolitical level, the increased troop contributions to multilateral operations represented the region's reemergence on the world stage as it reinserted itself into the international political system. The most specific manifestation of this situation was that many of the region's militaries revised their doctrine to include peacekeeping and peace operations as important components of their military missions. In addition, peacekeeping training institutes began operations in the Southern Cone (Argentina and Uruguay), and others followed. On June 2006 a new center opened in Guatemala.

Financial incentives also account for this increased involvement in peace operations. The UN pays the salaries of participating soldiers, thus relieving the burden of national governments to finance the total operation and maintenance of their armies. Most important, however, is that as Latin American militaries participate in peace operations, their presence in these missions reflects a maturing of civil-military relations in the Americas. Today the use of the armed forces in support of global commitments is considered a way for national governments to project their power both abroad and at multilateral forums.

The 2004 Brazilian-led UN Peace Operation in Haiti, MINUSTAH, put a regional face on an international mission. The military leadership of Brazil allowed the UN to bring in other states from the hemisphere to collectively provide security in Haiti after the departure of its president Jean Bertrand Aristide. Not only did Brazil help to stabilize the on-the-ground situation in Haiti, but also it assumed a leadership role among troop-contributing states in order to provide better support for security in the region through their respective roles as partners in Haiti. MINUSTAH also catalyzed a process of regional security meetings among defense ministers that ultimately led to the creation of a Brazilian-headed regional security council. Thus, the Brazilians parlayed their work in Haiti into a larger and more vocal body of defense experts that brought order to the regional security situation in the absence of U.S. participation or interest.

<sup>1</sup> Departament of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nation, *Facts an Figures*, (New York: DPKO, April 2009), http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/dpko/contributions/2009/april095.pdf.

#### After the Cold War: Transforming the Armed Forces

A new dynamic began as the UN expanded its peacekeeping agenda in the wake of the withdrawal of Soviet support in states around the globe. Africa, in particular, during the '90s was a region of multiple peace operations.

A concomitant set of events, including a decline in military funding and a concerted effort to change national and international opinion through a renewed effort in democratic governance, also spurred an interest in peace operations in the Americas. According to Antonio Pala, "the spread of democracy, the control of the debt crisis, and an increased focus on economic integration appeared to be at the apex of regional issues." Regional leaders turned their focus away from both financial and ideological authoritarian policies and aimed at routing internal enemies and concentrated their energy and funds on democratic governance and economic self-sufficiency.

A significant downsizing of military personnel accompanied the democratization of the Southern Cone after decades of military rule. This waning military involvement in national security sparked a reduction in military spending, creating a shortage of funds to support military operations. This situation laid a foundation for wider participation in peacekeeping operations since these missions provided both an economic and a social safety net for the armed forces of many South American countries. Latin American troops' continued dedication to peacekeeping operations highlights the changing nature of the region's armed forces. In a statement addressing late payment issues, Uruguayan delegate Santiago Wins remarked, "As you are aware, Uruguay is strongly committed to the difficult task of keeping and reestablishing peace in regions in conflict, which has been reflected in our permanent support since the creation of the United Nations, to the mechanism of peacekeeping operations. As is the case of most developing countries that are troop contributing countries, the participation of Uruguay depends on timely reimbursements, given our limited financial capacity." Money, especially after the neoliberal policies of the '80s and '90s, was an important factor in regional participation.

While finances often motivated regional participation, peacekeeping operations offered Latin American countries to use their armed forces for the common good. The first post-Cold War operations in the Central American

<sup>2</sup> Antonio L. Pala, "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and Challenges," *Airpower Journal*, (Special Edition 1995). <a href="https://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj95/spe-ed95\_files/pala.htm">https://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj95/spe-ed95\_files/pala.htm</a>

<sup>3</sup> Santiago Wins, Delegate of Uruguay, *Administrative and Budgetary Aspects of the Financing of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, (New York: Permanent Mission of Uruguay to the UN, 7<sup>th</sup> May 2003), <a href="http://www.un.int/uruguay/discursos/3-Comisiones/5-Quinta/omp%20ingles7mayo03.htm">http://www.un.int/uruguay/discursos/3-Comisiones/5-Quinta/omp%20ingles7mayo03.htm</a>

countries created opportunities for other Latin American countries to express their new commitment to peace. The ONUSAL in El Salvador, initiated in 1991, was a pivotal part of a rise in Latin American participation in peacekeeping. Claimed as a success by the UN, ONUSAL occurred at a crucial point in both the UN's peacekeeping agenda and Latin America's budding role in these processes. With a multi-dimensional base that centered on human rights, ONUSAL represented a mission, like MINUSTAH today, that not only focused on demilitarization but also incorporated goals of national reconciliation and infrastructure building. Its success after the failures of missions in Bosnia, Somalia, and Rwanda, legitimized both peacekeeping operations and regional participation. Latin American troops were fundamental to the mission's success. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela sent troops, and Uruguayan Police General Homero Vaz Bresque was pulled from his post in Western Sahara to head up the mission due to his expertise. After the end of ONUSAL, a new mission that worked in consolidating peace accords. MINUSAL began under the direction of the last ONUSAL director, Venezuelan Enrique Ter Horst, Special Representative to the Secretary-General.<sup>4</sup>

The UN's success in Central America redefined Latin American armed forces and commitment to peacekeeping operations. As Mexican analyst Raúl Benítez Manaut noted these regional UN operations in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala were as important as the democratization of the political systems that occurred after the conflicts in these countries ended.<sup>5</sup>

This two-fold positive reinforcement began a process of transformation for Latin American armed forces. Now, peacekeeping operations, according to Pala, helped "form new images for these historically controversial armed forces." While the Southern Cone had recently emerged from the same internal warfare now plaguing Central America, countries such as Argentina and Brazil solidified their new position as regional democratic leaders by participating in these operations.

<sup>4</sup> Tommie Sue Montgomery, "Getting to Peace in El Salvador: The Roles of the United Nations Secretariat and ONUSAL," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 37 no. 4 (Winter 1995): 140, 142, 146, 151, 160.

<sup>5</sup> Raúl Benítez Manaut, "América Latina y la seguridad internacional: el caso de Haití y las misiones de paz, *Revista Enfoques, Ciencia Política y Administración Pública*, VI no. 8 (First Semester, 2008): 13. http://www.cipolcentral.cl/documentos/enfoques8/SEPARATA2-N8.pdf.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio L. Pala, "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and challenges".

#### International recognition and improved morale

Regional leadership in peacekeeping operations gained international recognition as well. As Sir Brian Urquhart, former UN undersecretary said of Argentina's commitment in the region, "Argentina has provided hospitals, troops, engineers, police, and electoral observers. I wish that all countries would participate at this level and diversity." Favorable opinions were not kept to rhetoric and praise. During the presidency of Carlos Saúl Menem in Argentina, the US agreed to sell the country upgraded fighter planes due to their peacekeeping and regional arms-control participation. Similar transactions occurred in Uruguay and Chile.

Opinion within the troops also changed. The deployment of troops to other parts of the world expanded the worldview of soldiers who previously had not been exposed to other regions, not to mention other militaries, outside the Americas. Officers who previously had fought against their own countrymen were now asked to support and uphold conflict-resolution strategies in war-torn countries across the globe.

For many Latin American troops, this experience abroad marked their first exposure to different countries and expanded their view on international affairs and military operations. Troops interact socially with the population they work with. The cultural affinity that exists between Brazil and Haiti highlights this point. A soccer match in August 2004 between the two countries increased non-military relations. The majority of Haitians welcomed Brazil's involvement. According to Amélie Gauthier and Sarah John de Sousa, "the acceptance of the Brazilian presence by Haitians is positive and this facilitates the social legitimacy of the stabilization and peacekeeping process."<sup>8</sup>

Additionally, morale within the armed forces has risen. peacekeeping operations provide an alternate mission to the armed forces, one that entails international governance, a commitment to regional democracy, and a rejection of authoritarianism. The case of Argentina is case in point. According to Monica Hirst, "There is a clear contrast between the confidence derived from accumulated peacekeeping operations experience and the manifest sensitivity caused by degradation suffered by the military as a consequence of both the defeat in the Malvinas-Falklands War and the record of human rights abuse during the Authoritarian regime. For the Argentine troops the MINUSTAH experience represents an opportunity to leave behind a traumatic past and, more importantly, replaces former conflict hypothesis with neighboring countries with cooperation in the reconstruction of Haití."

<sup>7</sup> Tommie Sue Montgomery, "Getting to peace in El Salvador".

<sup>8</sup> Amélie Gauthier and Sarah John de Sousa, *Brasil en Haiti: Debate respecto a la misión de paz,* (Madrid: FRIDE November 2006), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Mónica Hirst, South American Intervention in Haiti, (Madrid: FRIDE April 2007), 10.

Through peacekeeping, troops can attempt to salvage their own views of their role in national and international security and move away from the past. Peacekeeping participation also changed national attitudes towards the armed forces. With dictatorships targeting internal enemies and violently crushing dissenting opinion, civilians fostered a large anti-military sentiment during the '70s and '80s. Mistrust, based on past human-rights violations and military involvement in civil democracy, was the overarching relationship between civil-military society. As Pala notes, "the region's newfound peace activism did not erase past atrocities, but it did lessen the animosity between the two arenas." <sup>110</sup>

#### Collaboration: The Evolution of the 2x4 Process

Resolution 1542 marked the first UN mission headed by Latin Americans.<sup>11</sup> Southern Cone countries have taken the lead on the MINUSTAH operation, especially after the pullout of the U.S and Canada. Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay are supporting what is termed 'diplomacy of security' in an effort to reposition themselves as geopolitical actors in the international security system.<sup>12</sup> Participation in MINUSTAH has provided the political space to create a more cohesive regional peacekeeping force among Latin American militaries. The ongoing commitment to support the UN operation has also led to the establishment of consultative processes in the hemisphere that have served not only as confidence building exercises, but also as genuine attempts to increase the independence of decision-making about peacebuilding in the Americas.

Starting in May 2005 with a meeting in Buenos Aires, the Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay met to discuss ways to strengthen the regional contribution to MINUSTAH. This meeting, known as the process 2x4, expanded in August 2005 to a 2x7 group, when Ecuador, Guatemala and Peru joined the group. This cohort reaffirmed its commitment to a democratic Haiti and to continued support of MINUSTAH. In a meeting in Lima in February 2007 the group expanded to 9 countries (2x9) adding Bolivia and Paraguay to the mix. All countries were also troop contributors. The absence of the United States from these consultations is significant, suggesting a new age of regional security.

<sup>10</sup> Pala, "The Increased Role of Latin American Armed Forces in UN Peacekeeping: Opportunities and challenges".

<sup>11</sup> Manuat, "América Latina y la seguridad internacional: Elm caso de Haití y las misiones de paz", 17.

<sup>12</sup> Manuat, "América Latina y la seguridad internacional: Elm caso de Haití y las misiones de paz", 10.

<sup>13</sup> Red de Seguridad y Defensa de América Latina, *Reunión de países latinoamericanos componentes de la MINUSTAH sobre Haití* ( 2 x 9), http://www.resdal.org/haiti/haiti-crisis-reuniones-up.html.

The timing of the Haiti crisis was actually a politically propitious moment for Brazil. As a regional leader in the Americas, Brazil has had a long history of support for the UN. Events in Haiti coincided with the emergence of a more aggressive regional policy on security where Brazil, using its leadership in MINUSTAH, was able to convene defense ministers of other Latin American nations to begin a process of collaboration and coordination for the Haiti mission. The 2X4 process described above led to improved regional coordination among the region's nine troop contributing defense ministers. Out of this process came the roots of what is now being proposed by Brazil, a regional defense council for the Americas.

Although regional military integration had been discussed in the past, the topic was recharged by Brazilian President Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva during the diplomatic crisis sparked by Colombian military incursions into Ecuadorian territory in March 2008. Brazilian Defense Minister Nelson Jobim officially reintroduced the idea of creating a regional defense organization, to be known as the South American Defense Council (CDS), and member states of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) signed a pact on May 23, 2008 in Brasília to establish judicial and political components for the limited yet emerging union.<sup>14</sup>

The Council, though not yet official, is intended as a forum for the increasingly divided South American continent to cooperate in security matters and as a response to the United States' waning influence in the region.

#### REGIONAL DEBATE

Another important outcome of the Latin American participation in MINUSTAH is that it truly integrates many facets of national security organization in a democratic framework. The decision to send troops to UN missions supports civilian control of defense policy. It also encourages defense efficiency through the requirement that budgets for troops participating in UN missions must be debated by Defense Committees in the legislatures of each nation. The impact of the Haiti mission has gone far beyond the ranks of the armed forces. Based on press reports from Chile, Brazil and Bolivia, it has stimulated important and open discussion among civilian leaders about the role of the military in Latin America and the costs associated with peacekeeping.

<sup>14</sup> Alex Sanchez, *The Brazilian Military is Back as it Fleshes out its Weaponry and Strategies*, (Washington DC: Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 9<sup>th</sup> September, 2008), http://www.coha.org/2008/09/the-brazilian-military-is-back-as-it-fleshes-out-its-weaponry-and-strategies/.

Participation in peacekeeping operations, and especially MINUSTAH, has not been without debate. Regionally, opposition has occurred in response to MINUSTAH. The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) initially opposed the operation. As MINUSTAH's positive presence grew, however, especially in the wake of natural disasters, CARICOM supported reconstruction plans and efforts.<sup>15</sup>

Internal debates in the ABC countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), as well as Uruguay, have been centered on the individual country's quest for greater presence in the international arena. At the same time, unique domestic concerns shaped the debate from one country to the next. These concerns are expressed by social scientist Mônica Hirst: "During the '90s, participation was motivated in large part by the need to re-define the role of the Armed Forces in the context of local re-democratization processes. In Argentina, due to the importance of civil-military subordination; in Uruguay, mainly as a [sic] economic source for the maintenance of the military; in Brazil, as a source for a renewed and prestigious engagement in international affairs." <sup>116</sup>

Debates in each country were shaped by different visions of international policy, domestic priorities, and past actions of the armed forces; nevertheless, they reflect regional similarities.

In Chile, popular opinion, influenced by foreign policy interests, supports Chilean support for local and regional peacekeeping missions to ensure stability in the hemisphere.<sup>17</sup> This debate argues for the need to stabilize global interest areas and contribute to the growth of strategic national policy in the international setting.

Argentina, however, was the least willing to participate in the mission. In large part, hesitation reflected popular opinion which linked peacekeeping operations to the Menem administration. It was under the now unfavorable Menem that Argentina participated in 22 peacekeeping operations in the '90s. Yet after these initial doubts, opinion shifted as Argentina's cooperation with neighboring armed forces changed opinion of past defense policy.<sup>18</sup>

Uruguay has seen debate with respect to international peacekeeping operations. The country seeks to prove worth in foreign policy talk and establish

<sup>15</sup> Mónica Hirst, The South American Intervention in Haiti, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Mónica Hirst, *The South American Intervention in Haiti*, 5. Like Uruguay, Peru's debate focuses on monetary conditions. See Enrique Obando, "Operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz en Haití: La participación peruana," *Security and Defense Studies Review Interdisciplinary journal of the Hemispheric Defense Studios*, Volume  $5 \, N^{\circ} \, 1$  (Spring 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Oscar Aranda Mora, "Operaciones multinacionales: ¿Mantención o imposición de la paz?" Revista de Marina en línea, 2000, http://www.revistamarina.cl/revista/2000/1/arando.pdf.

<sup>18</sup> Mónica Hirst, South American Intervention in Haiti, 8.

itself as a greater international actor while staying true to peacekeeping commitments and its desire to further democracy. One primary argument is that Uruguay, and any country for that matter, can further their own economic goals by way of peacekeeping, which gives them greater "positive exposure" to foreign actors.<sup>19</sup>

Due to its leadership role in MINUSTAH, Brazil has seen the most debate surrounding peacekeeping operations participation. In fact, the Lula administration faced opposition from the beginning of its involvement in MINUSTAH. Opposition leaders, including legislators, intellectuals, and union leaders focused on two key issues: the imperialistic nature of an occupying force and the economic cost of the operation. Even members of Lula's party, opposed deployment. As Amélie Gauthier and Sarah John de Sousa write, "According to opponents, the fact that Haiti suffered a coup d'état supported by American armed forces, which, along with French and Chilean forces, installed the transition government, made any foreign military mission in the country an occupation force."<sup>20</sup>

After Lula encouraged legislators to visit Haiti, however, key opponents changed their minds. The result was increased support for troop deployment. These visits also identified the need for cultural and educational programs between Haiti and Brazil. Nevertheless, opponents continued to complain that money spent on MINUSTAH would be better spent at home where social projects combating urban violence were needed.<sup>21</sup> Brazilian elites counteracted this position, citing that the training the Armed Forces received in Haiti was crucial to more efficient domestic policies that battled organized crime.<sup>22</sup>

#### Conclusions

The history of Latin American participation in UN Peacekeeping has evolved over the last sixty years from individual nations' troop contributions to UN missions to a cohesive regional phenomenon. The UN Stability Mission in Haiti, MINUSTAH, has served as a springboard for the hemisphere's security forces to discuss issues that go beyond the operation in Haiti. Thus, the role of Latin American armed forces in peacekeeping has benefited from this effort while bringing into public debate the importance of peace and stability in Latin America.

<sup>19</sup> Eduardo Ulery, "The Uruguayan Armed Forces and the Challenge of 21st Century Peacekeeping." Thesis. Naval Postgraduate School: Monterrey, California, December 2005.

<sup>20</sup> Amélie Gauthier and Sarah John de Sousa, Brasil en Haiti: debate respecto a la misión de paz, 3."

<sup>21</sup> Amélie Gauthier and Sarah John de Sousa, Brasil en Haiti: debate respecto a la misión de paz, 3."

<sup>22</sup> Hirst, "The South American Intervention in Haiti."

The growth of peacekeeping training centers since the end of the Cold War has served the region's armed forces well. While all centers have provided important courses to prepare militaries for UN operations, they also have reflected a shift in military doctrine around the region. Peacekeeping is now a central component of the regions military objectives. The most recent center in Guatemala is working to create a Central American peace contingent, something that would have been unheard up twenty years ago when those nations were in the throes of their own internal conflicts. These centers also benefit from external support in the form of training and technical assistance from the U.S., Canadian, and European governments.

MINUSTAH also has created a genuine Latin American dominated peace-operation in the Western Hemisphere under UN auspices. This is significant since the leadership of Brazil has shown a new dedication to peace operations while, at the same time, acknowledging the profound challenges to regional peace and stability that remain. This attitude has united governments around the tragic conditions of poverty and deprivation that characterize the situation in Haiti. MINUSTAH also has spurred a regional security consultation process comprised of defense and foreign ministers. This summit has built upon the situation in Haiti by using the forum to discuss a broader regional security agenda. The recent creation of the Defense Council and the emergence of UNASUR, reflect a deepening role by Latin American states in a regional geopolitical system that is independent of U.S. influence. Since efforts are in their formative phase, it is unclear how they will coordinate with U.S., Canadian, and European governments. There is evidence, however, that U.S. involvement in other parts of the world, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan, has provided an opening for regional actors to move into the space once dominated by the U.S.

Judging from the discussions in the region about troop commitment and financial support of MINUSTAH, a healthy public debate exists around the appropriate role of the armed forces in peace operations. On the one hand, the transitions to democratic governance in the late '80s and early '90s were successful in part due to the reintegration of the armed forces into peace-keeping missions. This not only provided the military with a new mission but also fit into the popular notion of civilian control of the armed forces. The increased use of the armed forces in UN operations provided an important outlet for soldiers at a time when there was pressure to downsize forces while also paying for the increased costs of maintaining security in a democratic society.

If MINUSTAH has been the driver of a wider agenda for peace and security in Latin America, also it still remains unknown whether or not it will continue to serve that purpose as the mission comes to a close (It is scheduled to leave in 2011). Haiti's problems will continue as the nation's ability to govern itself and provide security for its population will require external security presence for some time. Recent hurricanes devastated the island, undermining much of the economic progress that had taken root. Great challenges remain in the wake of these natural disasters. The UN presence, however, will facilitate recovery, though it might create a longer time-line for MINUSTAH.

What is important to take from this experience in Haiti is the capacity regional leaders hold to unite around a problem and to support a solution that works multilaterally with the UN. Whether this multilateralism will translate into the creation of a regional peacekeeping force to provide stability after the UN operation ends is unresolved. What is clear, however, is that collective security in the Americas will never be the same after MINUSTAH.

# ANNEXES



Distr.: General 31 October 2000

## **RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)**

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and recalling also the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

*Bearing in mind* the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

*Emphasizing* the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

*Recognizing* the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

*Recognizing also* the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

- 1 *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
- 2 Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
- 3 *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
- 4 Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
- 5 Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
- 6 Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7 Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8 Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

- (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
- (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
- (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9 Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10 Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11 Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12 Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13 Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14 Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15 Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16 Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17 Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18 Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.



Distr.: General 19 June 2008

## **RESOLUTION 1820 (2008)**

Adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting, on 19 June 2008

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005) and 1674 (2006) and recalling the Statements of its president of 31 October 2001 (Security Council/PRST/2001/31), 31 October 2002 (Security Council/PRST/2002/32), 28 October 2004 (Security Council/PRST/2004/40), 27 October 2005 (Security Council/PRST/2005/52), 8 November 2006 (Security Council/PRST/2006/42), 7 March 2007 (Security Council/PRST/2007/5), and 24 October 2007 (Security Council/PRST/2007/40);

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming also the resolve expressed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, including by ending impunity and by ensuring the protection of civilians, in particular women and girls, during and after armed conflicts, in accordance with the obligations States have undertaken under international humanitarian law and international human rights law;

Recalling the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning sexual violence and women in situations of armed conflict;

*Reaffirming* also the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and *urging* states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

*Noting* that civilians account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instil fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group; and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner may in some instances persist after the cessation of hostilities;

*Recalling* its condemnation in the strongest terms of all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children;

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict, including sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality,

*Recalling* the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

*Reaffirming* the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Deeply concerned also about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women's participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination, which erode women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life, and acknowledging the negative impact this has on durable peace, security and reconciliation, including post-conflict peacebuilding,

*Recognizing* that States bear primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

*Reaffirming* that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Welcoming the ongoing coordination of efforts within the United Nations system, marked by the interagency initiative "United Nations Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict," to create awareness about sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations and, ultimately, to put an end to it,

1 Stresses that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security, affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to, where necessary, adopt appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence;

- 2 *Demands* the immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians with immediate effect;
- 3 Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence, which could include, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, debunking myths that

fuel sexual violence, vetting armed and security forces to take into account past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence, and evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety; and *requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to encourage dialogue to address this issue in the context of broader discussions of conflict resolution between appropriate UN officials and the parties to the conflict, taking into account, inter alia, the views expressed by women of affected local communities;

4 Notes that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes, and calls upon Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and stresses the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth, and national reconciliation;

5 Affirms its intention, when establishing and renewing state-specific sanctions regimes, to take into consideration the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties to situations of armed conflict who commit rape and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict;

6 Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group and relevant States, as appropriate, to develop and implement appropriate training programs for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations in the context of missions as mandated by the Council to help them better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence and other forms of violence against civilians;

7 Requests the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and *urges* troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

8 Encourages troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including wherever possible the deployment of a higher percentage of women peacekeepers or police;

9 Requests the Secretary-General to develop effective guidelines and strategies to enhance the ability of relevant UN peacekeeping operations, consistent with their mandates, to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence and to systematically include in his written reports to the Council on conflict situations his observations concerning the protection of women and girls and recommendations in this regard;

10 Requests the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, inter alia, through consultation with women and women-led organizations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and internally displaced persons camps, as well as in all disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes, and in justice and security sector reform efforts assisted by the United Nations;

11 Stresses the important role the Peacebuilding Commission can play by including in its advice and reco-mmendations for post-conflict peacebuilding strategies, where appropriate, ways to address sexual violence committed during and in the aftermath of armed conflict, and in ensuring consultation and effective representation of women's civil society in its country-specific configurations, as part of its wider approach to gender issues;

12 Urges the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

13 Urges all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

14 Urges appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;

15 Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council by 30 June 2009 on the implementation of this resolution in the context of situations which are on the agenda of the Council, utilizing information from available United Nations sources, including country teams, peacekeeping operations, and other United Nations personnel, which would include, inter alia, information on situations of armed conflict in which sexual violence has been widely or systematically employed against civilians; analysis of the prevalence and trends of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict; proposals for strategies to minimize the susceptibility of women and girls to such violence; benchmarks for measuring progress in preventing and addressing sexual violence; appropriate input from United Nations implementing partners in the field; information on his plans for facilitating the collection of timely, objective, accurate, and reliable information on the use of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, including through improved coordination of UN activities on the ground and at Headquarters; and information on actions taken by parties to armed conflict to implement their responsibilities as described in this resolution, in particular by immediately and completely ceasing all acts of sexual violence and in taking appropriate measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence;

16 Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.