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The Bush School
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Increasing Women's Participation in Uniformed Law Enforcement

Police, Military, and Peacekeeping Operations

CAPSTONE PROJECT

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Table of Contents

I. Introduction…… 3
II. Literature Review…… 4
III. Methodology…… 15
IV. Liberia: A Successful Case?..... 20
V. Colombia: A Successful Case…… 31
VI. India: A Failed Case…….. 39
VII. Discussion and Revision of the Conceptual Map…… 48
VIII. Bibliography……... 57
IX. Appendix……... 81

List of Acronyms

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
BG	Brigadier General
CCS	Cabinet Committee on Security
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil society organization
ESP	Education Support Program
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GBV	Gender-based violence
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
GTF	Gender Task Force
LIFLEA	Liberian Female Law Enforcement Association

LINLEA	Liberia National Law Enforcement Association
LNP	Liberian National Police
MoGD	Ministry of Gender and Development
MINURSO	UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MINUSTAH	UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NAP	National Action Plan
NCO	Noncommissioned officer
NCWP	National Conference of Women in Police
SANDF	South African National Defense Force
SEA	Sexual exploitation and abuse
SSC	Short Service Commission
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNIPEP	Police Unit for Peacebuilding
ULE	Uniformed Law Enforcement
UNMIL	United Nations Missions in Liberia
UNPKO	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
WCPU	Women and Children Protection Unit
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

I. Introduction

Despite making up 50 percent of the world's population, women make up less than 15 percent of the world's police forces; around 6 percent of all uniformed personnel in United Nations field missions; and an overall very low percentage of all state armies. Participation is also strikingly low across six of the world's largest armies: in China, women make up only 9 percent of the armed forces; in India, they make up only 3 percent, in Pakistan—0.6 percent, in South Korea—6.8 percent, in the U.S.—16.5 percent, and in Russia, only 4.26 percent[1].

Two decades after the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), women's involvement in matters to global security, including their participation levels in security forces, remains low. These low numbers may handicap nations, as the literature suggests that increasing the number of women in the security sector is associated with positive cascading effects across societies. Policymakers and development planners are starting to understand that the process of building lasting peace and security requires the participation of half of the world's population—women. Specifically, by increasing women's participation in the security forces, the research literature suggests that we can expect to experience reduced rates of corruption, rape, and prostitution; an expansion of women's economic opportunities; as well as greater prospects for sustainable peace in post-conflict and post-disaster societies.

Given the important benefits that can arise in a society when women's participation increases in the security forces, juxtaposed against the consistently low levels of women's participation in these forces, our research study aims to analyze contextual, facilitative, and obstructive factors associated with increasing women's participation in uniformed law enforcement (ULE)—the police, military, and peacekeeping operations. Our goal is to provide a tool for policy and development planners to analyse factors that may catalyze or inhibit their work in improving women's participation in a given country. For the purposes of this study, our primary indicator of the success of programs concerning women in uniformed law enforcement will be a more-than-trivial increase in the participation of women across time.

We begin with a literature review, seeking to understand what scholars have found to be the factors that appear to facilitate greater participation by women in the security forces, as well as those that seem to hinder greater participation. It should be noted that the study of women's participation in the security sector is thus far comparatively limited, and research within the relevant literature

[1] Mary Chesnut, "Women in the Russian Military," *Center For Strategic and International Studies*, September 18, 2020, https://www.csis.org/blogs/post-soviet-post/women-russian-military; "Data Brief: Toward Gender Parity in Police Forces," *50x50*, October 13, 2020, https://www.50x50movement.org/article/data-brief-toward-gender-parity-police-forces/; "Women in Peacekeeping," *United Nations Peacekeeping*, accessed December 6, 2020. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/women-peacekeeping; "Female Soldiers Account for 6.8 Percent of S. Korea's Armed Forces," *최수향*, January 29, 2020, https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20200129008600325; "Women in the Army: The Percentage of Females in the World's Biggest Armies," *Army Technology*, November 30, 2018, https://www.army-technology.com/uncategorised/women-in-the-army/; Soutik Biswas, "India's Soldiers 'Not Ready for Women in Combat,'" *BBC*, February 8, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-51385224.

tends to be separated by sector, that is the police force, military, or peacekeeping operations. Within this literature review, we identify and describe several important contextual, facilitative, and obstructive factors related to women's participation in the security forces. We then use the literature review to create an initial conceptual map of factors important to women's participation in uniformed law enforcement.

With the initial conceptual map in hand, we then examine in great detail three case studies: Colombia, India, and Liberia. We use these cases to probe the adequacy of the initial conceptual map derived from the research literature. As a result of these case investigations, we then revise the conceptual map by adding newfound factors that appear to be associated with success and failure in efforts to increase women's participation in ULE institutions, and offer recommendations based on our findings.

II. Literature Review

A. Roadmap

In this literature review, we seek to identify factors that affect women's participation in the security sector worldwide. It is important to note that countries and contexts examined in the literature differ widely, but we believe that the contextual, facilitative, and obstructive factors identified in the literature will provide a solid starting point for our case study investigation. As noted previously, factors have been designated as facilitative or obstructive based on their positive or negative impact on the participation rate of women in the security sector. This literature review will be broken down into four sections: a) contextual factors that influence program outcomes but are not directly related to the quest to improve women's security sector participation, b) facilitative factors that encourage program success, c) obstructive factors that contribute to program failure, and finally, d) we also search the literature for implications and secondary effects of women's participation beyond simple numbers.

B. Contextual Factors

Before discussing programming considerations that can affect success or failure in women's security sector participation, it is important that prospective planners investigate contextual conditions that may affect a program's success before it even begins. Background and contextual factors are defined as those that make up the broader societal environment within which program and policy decisions must be made. These are factors that may be difficult or impossible for planners to control at the time of planning, but that must still be taken into account due to their predictable effect on women's participation programming. Likewise, if such contextual factors present too large of an obstacle, planners must consider addressing these issues before beginning their programs. In the research literature, four primary contextual factors are identified as affecting women's security sector participation: 1) restrictive gender roles/stereotypes that shape women's perception of the security forces, 2) the organizational cultures of hegemonic masculinity that may be present in the security forces, 3) women's baseline levels of participation in both the government and the security sector, and 4) whether there are existing laws protecting and encouraging women's participation.

Some of the most frequently discussed contextual factors impacting women's participation in security forces are a society's system of gender roles and stereotyping, as well as its gendered perceptions toward particular employment fields. Specifically, gendered perceptions of the security sector have resulted in policing, military work, and peacekeeping being viewed as predominantly men's work.[2] These perceptions, linked with stereotypes related to women's overall physical fitness and suitability for combat positions, negatively impact women's attitudes toward their ability to work in the security sector.[3] In the case of Estonia, Resetnikova states that "many Estonian women still do not question the justice of "men's work" and "women's work" based on biological and psychological stereotypes," and suggests that "cultural views of the proper attitudes and behavior for each sex are communicated to boys and girls through the messages of their parents, the images provided by media and the communications of teachers and friends." Resetnikova concludes that "these messages are internalized, with consequences for adult life," illustrating the impact of these messages on women's belief in their ability to join the security field.[4] Likewise, as a result of these culturally transmitted attitudes, the men who make up the majority of the workforce in these fields may be less accepting of their female coworkers.[5] Together, these negative attitudes held by both men and women toward women's suitability to the security sector typically result in decreased participation in policing, peacekeeping, and the military.

The preference for male dominance in the security sector often manifests in an important background factor at the organizational level known as hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the situation where a security sector's organizations and cultures are structured in a way that perpetuates societal gender stereotypes by promoting hyper-masculine ideals, such as toughness and aggression, while either shunning feminine traits or partitioning their usefulness into small, specific tasks such as secretarial duties or operational support positions.[6] In some cases, these cultures of hegemonic masculinity may prevent women from attempting to join at all, as illustrated in India, where beliefs that "combat, by nature, is a male occupation," and that "the police force is a male domain and therefore unsuitable to the female physique and temperament" prevent women from considering the security field for employment.[7] Within organizations like militaries and police forces, the negative effects of these cultures can manifest in outcomes where cases of gender discrimination and sexual abuse are silenced and where women are siphoned into jobs deemed acceptable for their gender.[8] Matusiak & Matusiak explain that, in security forces, "women often believe that they are better-suited for jobs that require greater

[2] Aigi Resetnikova, "Women in Policing in a Transforming Organization: The Case of the Estonian Police," *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies* 4 no.5 (2006): 8.
[3] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018).
[4] Aigi Resetnikova, "Women in Policing in a Transforming Organization: The Case of the Estonian Police," *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies* 4 no.5 (2006): 8.
[5] Gerard J. DeGroot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 8 no. 2 (2001): 23; Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018), pg.
[6] Randa Embry Matusiak and Matthew C. Matusiak, "Structure and Function: Impact on Employment of Women in Law Enforcement," *Women and Criminal Justice*, 28 no. 4 (2018): 316; Cara E. Rabe-Hemp, "POLICEwomen or PoliceWOMEN? Doing Gender and Police Work," *Feminist Criminology* 4 no. 2 (2009): 116.
[7] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police Adequacy and Working Conditions," *Common Cause & CSDS* (2019), 118.
[8]Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018).

emotional endurance and care, which leads to assignments in the specialized units that seemingly align with these skill sets (e.g. domestic violence, child abuse, or juvenile units)."[9] These outcomes may not only reduce the numbers of initial women recruits, but also affect the overall numerical effect of the program by reducing the retention of women already in security forces.[10]

Negative perceptions toward women working within certain fields are linked to another contextual factor, i.e., the lack of examples of women's representation in past conflict resolution efforts, as well as overall in positions of societal power. Essentially, historical representation of women in these areas would provide the women of today with role models and advocates, allowing prospective recruits to visualize how they may fit into the security sector while being more sure their needs will be met.[11] Without these representations, women may feel that the doors to particular fields are socially closed off to them or that something about their womanhood does not make them suitable to the jobs within them.[12] The cyclical relationship between lack of representation and perpetuation of the negative gender roles and stereotypes discussed previously create a powerful barrier to women's participation in the security sector. While this factor may be overcome by a successful women's program increasing women's participation and thereby providing role models, it is important to understand how it may affect budding programs as they begin their work.

Alongside historical representation of women, whether laws and protections have already been put into place to improve women's access to the workforce or increase their participation in the security sector must also be taken into account. For example, Equal Employment Opportunity Policies in a particular country allow for an environment more conducive to women's participation in a variety of sectors, as they work to protect women's equal access to employment and support in the security sector.[13] Likewise, pre-existing national family-friendly policies such as maternity leave and allowance of part-time work can improve the outlook for recruitment and retention of women in the security sector.[14] It is important to note also that pre-existing laws, regulations, and policies can also negatively impact recruitment and retention of women; for example, regulations barring married women from joining the military provides an obvious barrier to women's participation in the security sector.[15]

Such background factors collectively create a strong argument for the importance of understanding the history and context of women's participation in security roles before planning begins. Through the identification of these factors, the overall success or failure of particular programming or policy decisions can be better anticipated from the influence of preexisting contextual factors. Likewise,

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[9] Randa Embry Matusiak and Matthew C. Matusiak, "Structure and Function: Impact on Employment of Women in Law Enforcement," *Women and Criminal Justice*, 28 no. 4 (2018): 316.
[10] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018).
[11] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 1.
[12] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 1.
[13] J. Brown , A. Hazenberg, and C. Ormiston, "Policewomen: an International Comparison," *Policing Across the World: Issues for the Twenty-First Century,* ed. by R. I. Mawby (London: Routledge, 1999), 211.
[14] Kathy Newton and Kate Huppatz, "Policewomen's Perceptions of Gender Equity Policies and Initiatives in Australia," *Feminist Criminology* (June 24, 2020).
[15] Tim Prenzler and Georgina Sinclair, "The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review," *International Journal of Law, Crime, and Justice* 41 no. 2 (June 2013).

a deeper look at the context within which a program is being planned may highlight important obstacles that must be addressed first before women's participation programs can be developed.

C. Facilitative Factors

In this section, program and policy factors that lead to success, defined as an increase in the number of women in militaries, policing, and peacekeeping, are identified. Facilitative factors focus on addressing issues that may inhibit women's access to the security sector, their retention within these organizations once they are recruited, and the sustainability of women's participation efforts.

One aspect commonly identified as crucial to successful efforts to increase women's participation is the incorporation of gender balancing initiatives. Gender balancing initiatives entail measures that work to better balance men and women's representation and meaningful participation within an organization.[16] It is important to note that evaluation of this factor in a particular case can be situated upon a scale, with positive outcomes defined as higher degrees of distribution, and negative outcomes as lower degrees of distribution. Gender-balancing initiatives are often pointed out in the literature as being vital to success, allowing more opportunities for women's voices to be heard, their needs to be met, and feelings of isolation to be avoided.[17] Quotas constitute one such successful method for increasing women's representation in security roles, stipulating a minimum requirement of female representation within an organization, unit, or operation. Benschop and Van den Brink contend that quotas are a powerful strategy for gender equity because they do not allow for compromises that diminish effectiveness and they create swift and discernible change, all the while making ground in breaking male monopolies in security organizations.[18] This idea is illustrated by the progress made by the Dutch police force in the late 2000s and early 2010s. After instating a 2007 quota plan calling for at least 25 percent of police positions to be filled by minorities and women by 2011, the Dutch police force was able to increase the participation of women in their organization significantly. To do this, the police force reserved 50 percent of vacant top-level positions for women and minorities. Following this policy, "women and ethnic minorities took up half of the top appointments between 2008 and 2011, whereas earlier attempts to change the inclusiveness of the police culture did not result in a change in numbers."[19] Other gender balancing programs include offering competitive salaries in job listings targeting women and increasing training opportunities for women to grow the prospective recruiting pool.[20] These types of programs place women's participation as a necessity for the planning of police, military, and peacekeeping activities.

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[16] Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" *International Interactions*, 39, no. 4 (2013).
[17] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 1.
[18] Yvonne Benschop and Marieke van den Brink, "Power and Resistance in Gender Equality Strategies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*, ed. Savita Kurma, Ruth Simpson, and Ronald J. Burke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 342.
[19] Yvonne Benschop and Marieke van den Brink, "Power and Resistance in Gender Equality Strategies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*, ed. Savita Kurma, Ruth Simpson, and Ronald J. Burke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 12.
[20] Kealeboga Maphunye, "Towards Redressing Historical Inequalities? Gender Balancing in the Southern Agrican Civil Service," *Public Management Review* 8 (2).

Gender balancing can be used in tandem with another method often identified in the literature, gender mainstreaming, to situate women's needs and representation at the forefront of the decision-making process through integrated planning and most importantly, assessment. Gender mainstreaming is defined by Karim and Beardsley as 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 so that the perceptions, experiences, knowledge, and interests of women are at the forefront when making policy decisions and implementing them."[21] Processes of gender mainstreaming support the success of women's participation programs because the active consideration of how actions will affect not only women in the service, also improves outcomes for the women of a program or policy's target population—the source of future female recruits. Norville identifies "intentional solicitation of the input of women at the community level on priorities for national budgets and international programs" as a best practice in increasing participation of women, and the lessons from these practices can be applied to the security sector.[22] For example, actively considering women's needs during planning phases can better ensure that they are met, possibly changing the image of security sectors as one that is breaking from their male-centered histories. Likewise, programs that acknowledge the needs of prospective and long-time female operatives can help improve women's recruitment and retention.[23] Within UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO), the concept of gender mainstreaming, defined by these operations as "the constant assessment of how policies affect men and women", have been introduced. Karim argues that these reforms help to promote gender equity in host countries.

Two other important factors for success in increasing women's participation identified in the literature are governmental support and leadership accountability. These factors work to support women's participation by ensuring that first, women's voices are being considered at high levels of organizational decision making and, second, because continuous support by governmental and organizational leadership improves the sustainability of the program.[24] In the case of the quota system put forth by the Dutch police force mentioned previously, the system was heavily pushed for by the female Minister of Internal Affairs.[25] This provided the continuous upper level support needed to get the program started and keep it at the forefront of policy considerations. Furthermore, if a government official or organizational leader is explicitly evaluated on their commitment to women's participation, then long term, intensive support for the program by institutions and donors is more likely. This often manifests in pro-women's participation actions such as equitable funding distribution and the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the planning of programs. In

[21] Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" *International Interactions*, 39, no. 4 (2013).
[22] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 1.
[23] Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" *International Interactions*, 39, no. 4 (2013).
[24] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 1; Sahana Dharmapuri, "Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping," *International Peace Institute,* Providing for Peacekeeping no. 4 (July 2013).
[25] Yvonne Benschop and Marieke van den Brink, "Power and Resistance in Gender Equality Strategies," in *Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*, ed. Savita Kurma, Ruth Simpson, and Ronald J. Burke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

South Africa, the value of this organizational support was shown through their female police minister's pushing of an equity agenda.[26]

Along with measures that improve the sustainability of women's participation programs, two additional facilitative factors identified in the research literature help improve the retention of women in the security forces after recruitment: mentoring programs and designated reporting mechanisms for issues encountered by women in the security sector. Mentoring has been cited by several interview programs and research studies as being vital to breaking down the "boys club" of security organizations, providing women with support as they learn duties and take up new responsibilities, and a guide in identifying and understanding "bureaucratic structures, processes, and players."[27] Designated reporting mechanisms also assist in keeping women in their security positions by reducing retribution, social stigma, and lack of responses to women complaining of acts of discrimination or harassment made against them.[28] The creation of these separated reporting measures is vital in the military in particular. The negative impacts of the lack of these separations is illustrated in studies of the United States military, which show that unseparated reporting measures put personnel at risk of being targeted in sexual harassment or assault by those in their chain of command, and as a result, not reporting their assault out of fear of repercussions. Separating the judicial process from this chain of command is necessary to creating a fair and safe reporting process.[29] These reporting mechanisms, along with mentorship programs, can provide women with a more safe, welcoming, and equitable space in the security sector.

Through this discussion, several facilitative factors in past women's participation efforts that tend toward successful programs are revealed. These factors focus on addressing issues that may inhibit women's access to the security sector, their retention within these organizations once they are recruited, and the sustainability of women's participation efforts. Moving forward, factors that tend toward failure in increasing women's participation will be identified.

D. Obstructive Factors

If failure in programming is defined as implementation that does not lead to increase participation by women, then we define obstructive factors as those that actively hinder the participation of women in the security sector, including laws, customs, or procedures. There are numerous factors which lead to a failure to increase women's participation, but three of which are the most commonly reported in the literature include physical standards, physical safety and provisions, and unfriendly family policies.

First, physical fitness is a key component of recruitment and job performance for police officers, soldiers, and peacekeepers. For women, physical tests and standards pose a complex barrier for entry into the security sector. On one hand, women's physicality has long been a point of

[26] Kealeboga Maphunye, "Towards Redressing Historical Inequalities? Gender Balancing in the Southern Agrican Civil Service," *Public Management Review* 8 (2).
[27] Jolynn Shoemaker and Jennifer Park, "Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security Careers," *Women In International Security* (2014), 39-42; "Women in Policing: Breaking Barriers and Blazing a Path," *National Institute of Justice* (July 2019), 4.
[28] L. Jana Pershing, "Why Women Don't Report Sexual Harassment: A Case Study of an Elite Military Institution," *Gender Issues* 21 (2003).
[29] L. Jana Pershing, "Why Women Don't Report Sexual Harassment: A Case Study of an Elite Military Institution," *Gender Issues* 21 (2003).

discrimination, excluding women from many sectors of the workforce, security included. The issue, however, is whether or not these physical fitness tests "justifiably or unjustifiably exclude a disproportionate number of women."[30] Women are biologically different than men, and that reality, added to social contexts, may limit women's access to opportunities to become physically fit and ultimately inhibit their entry into the security sector. In South Africa, for example, women going through training to become a part of the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) are tested using the same standards and in the same training groups as their male counterparts. In these situations, even if a woman meets the standards, she usually is not seen as an equal, because she is generally less physically able than men. Within merit based organizational cultures, this can lead their male colleagues to believe they are not worthy of their acceptance into the organization, despite women meeting the same standards. Women in the SANDF explain that these expectations often lead them to conform their identities and behaviors to the masculine ideal of their organization. As recorded by Heinecken, one female peacekeeper, when asked about her experience as a woman in the SANDF, stated "if those rebels see you... you must walk like a man, you talk like a man... behave like a soldier, not a woman and must always be aggressive", highlighting the pressures women face because of physical expectations in their organizations.[31] The literature agrees it is hard to quantify at what rate and to what extent physical fitness tests are a barrier to women's participation, but it is widely accepted that it is a significant obstacle to the recruitment of women.[32]

Another deterrent to women entering the security sector is the issue of physical safety and lack of women-specific provisions. Because the police, military, and UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) are male-dominated institutions, there is a long history of sexual harassment and discrimination against women. Without clear and separate reporting mechanisms, as mentioned previously, and if there is no strict enforcement of harassment policies, women are disincentivized to join the security institutions and disproportionately drop out.[33] In addition to physical safety, physical provisions based on sex are important to recruitment and retention of women in the military. This includes gender-based accommodations, facilities, and equipment. The lack of separate barracks or bathrooms are significant barriers to the increase of women in the security sector and is often the result of budget priorities.[34] The same can be said when it comes to uniforms and equipment which are not adapted to fit women properly.[35] Ill-fitting uniforms designed only for the male physique may not be a factor preventing women's participation, per se, but it is indicative of the male-dominated space that fails to create physical provisions for women. Lack of

[30] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018), 29.
[31] Heinecken, Lindy. "Transitions and Transformation in Gender Relations in the South African Military: From Support in Warfare to Valued Peacekeepers." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military*, pp. 355-368. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2017.
[32] Ghittoni, Lehouck, and Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," 29; Gary Cordner and Annmarie Cordner, "Stuck on a Plateau? Obstacles to recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police," *Police Quarterly* 14 no. 2 (September 2011): 209.
[33] L. Jana Pershing, "Why Women Don't Report Sexual Harassment: A Case Study of an Elite Military Institution," *Gender Issues* 21 (2003).
[34] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018), 32.
[35] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018), 32.

attention to physical safety and physical provisions create a difficult barrier for women's participation.

Last, policies unfriendly to women's family lives hinder women's participation in the security sector. Unfriendly family policies include a lack of flexibility, maternity leave, and child support. Flexible schedules and part-time work, when the occupation allows it, are especially important for mothers who disproportionately carry the burden of competing familial demands. The lack of flexibility not only discourages women from joining the ranks, but also diminishes the retention rates of women police officers, soldiers, and peacekeepers.[36] In a study about policing, Shelley, Morabito, and Tobin-Gurley discuss the institution as a "leaking pipeline." In other words, there are points in a policewoman's career where she is more likely to resign. These points include academy training, field training, patrol, marriage, parenting, early retirement, or following an injury.[37] [38] Similarly, the lack of maternal leave or gender-neutral parental leave adversely affects the recruitment and retention rate of women in the security sector. Motherhood is contrary to the traditional, masculine image of a police officer who is "unencumbered by familial responsibility,"[39] and traditional policies within the institutions which mirror this attitude hinder women's participation and access to equal employment opportunities.[40] Furthermore, child care responsibilities can be a barrier to the participation of women in the security sector, especially in countries where there is no national mechanism or institutional support for working parents. In order to address both issues, both women and men must be consulted regarding their familial needs and what policy changes would help facilitate the deployment of women.[41] Inflexibility, lack of parental leave, and lack of child care disproportionately affect women, resulting in higher turnover rates and a general lack of participation of women in the security sector. In the case of the U.S. police force, Cordner and Corder argue that the general lack of "flexible hours, part time positions, leaves of absence, job sharing, and other accommodations designed to help parents (especially mothers) meet competing demands… may contribute to a higher turnover rate among women officers compared to male officers as well as discourage some women from applying in the first place."[42]

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[36] There is a higher turnover rate of female officers than male officers which can potentially be explained by the lack of family friendly policies. Gary Cordner and Annmarie Cordner, "Stuck on a Plateau? Obstacles to recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police," *Police Quarterly* 14 no. 2 (September 2011): 210.

[37] Tara O'Connor Shelley, Melissa Schaefer Morabito, and Jennifer Tobin-Gurley, "Gendered Institutions and Gender Roles: Understanding the Experiences of Women in Policing," *Criminal Justice Studies*, 24 no. 4 (December 2011): 352.

[38] A study of policewomen in Peru cited three key reasons for their desire to find other jobs: inflexible work schedules, low pay, and the "double responsibility" of being a mother and a policewomen. Sabrina Karim, "Madame Officer," *Americas Quarterly* (August 9, 2011).

[39] Kathy Newton and Kate Huppatz, "Policewomen's Perceptions of Gender Equity Policies and Initiatives in Australia," *Feminist Criminology* (June 24, 2020).

[40] Tim Prenzler and Georgina Sinclair, "The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review," *International Journal of Law, Crime, and Justice* 41 no. 2 (June 2013); Kathy Newton and Kate Huppatz, "Policewomen's Perceptions of Gender Equity Policies and Initiatives in Australia," *Feminist Criminology* (June 24, 2020).

[41] Marta Ghittoni, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson, "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study," ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres, *DCAF* (July 2018), 34-35.

[42] Cordner, Gary and AnnMarie Cordner. "Stuck on a Plateau?: Obstacles to Recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police." 210,

There are many factors which obstruct women's participation in the security sector. The literature formulates these barriers into three broad categories, that is physical standards, physical safety and provisions, and unfriendly family policies, all of which deter women from seeking careers in the police, military, and UNPKO.

E. Implications and Secondary Effects of Increased Participation by Women in the Security Sector

In the literature, increasing the number of women in the security sector is hypothesized to have ripple effects across culture and society. There is a general understanding of a two-way causal relationship between culture and the security sector. That is, authors largely assume and suggest that culture affects the sector and the sector likewise affects culture. A report filed by the National Institute of Justice concurs, asserting that "many of the barriers to women in policing are not specific to policing; rather, they are reflective of larger societal issues."[43] [44] Thus, the position and perception of women in the security sector not only reflect the culture of a country at large, but also have the potential to change it.

The literature suggests the positive repercussions of an increased female participation in the security sector are multidimensional, resulting in reduced corruption, rape, and prostitution. For example, Miller and Segal empirically evaluate the effects of women on the quality of law enforcement, and conclude that women have their own distinctive approach to policing, and that an increased number of women officers increases the reporting rates of violent crimes against women, prevents domestic violence escalation, and corresponds with lower rates of partner homicide.[45] Countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, and Nicaragua are among the many countries implementing policies to increase the number of policewomen in order to reduce corruption and restore the institution's legitimacy.[46] In a survey, Karim confirms the legitimacy of this policy. She records that 95 percent of women surveyed agreed that female transit officers have helped reduce corruption, a statistic confirmed by the 67 percent who think women are naturally less corrupt than men and the 87 percent who confirm women are stricter than men.[47] This perception may have the power to dissuade persons from offending the law and ultimately decrease rates of corruption. Additionally, the presence of women decreases incidences of rape and prostitution within peacekeeping operations. Likewise, DeGroot summarizes, "men behave better when in the presence of women from their own culture."[48] Karim and Beardsley further support the idea through their findings that state "missions that consist of more military personnel from countries with better records of gender equality– better records on primary school education for

[43] "Women in Policing: Breaking Barriers and Blazing a Path," *National Institute of Justice* (July 2019), 4.
[44] Brown, Hazenberg, Ormiston also supports this conclusion when they wrote, "...it should be noted that the police must be considered against the wider frame of reference of social, cultural and political influences that affect the style of policing and rates of organizational change. Societal attitudes are an important factor when considering the role of policewomen and the speed of their full integration into the whole spectrum of policing activities." J. Brown, A. Hazenberg, and C. Ormiston, "Policewomen: an International Comparison," *Policing Across the World: Issues for the Twenty-First Century,* ed. by R. I. Mawby (London: Routledge, 1999), 205.
[45] Amalia R. Miller and Carmit Segal, "Do Female Officers Improve Law Enforcement Quality? Effects on Crime Reporting and Domestic Violence," *The Review of Economic Studies* 86 no. 5 (October 2019): 2220, 2222.
[46] Tiffany D. Barnes, Emily Beaulieu, and Gregory W. Saxton, "Restoring Trust in the Police: Why Female Officers Reduce Suspicions of Corruption," *Governance* 31 no. 1 (2018).
[47] Sabrina Karim, "Madame Officer," *Americas Quarterly*, August 9, 2011.
[48] Gerard J. DeGroot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 8 no. 2 (2001): 36-37.

girls and women's labor force participation– tend to experience fewer counts of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) allegations."[49] An increase in the number of female police officers, soldiers, and peacekeepers positively affects society as a whole, according to the literature.

Successful participation also increases the status of women and the likelihood of sustainable peace and development, according to the research literature. Women's employment in the police "contributes to economic independence and freedom for women, in both developed and developing countries."[50] The same can be said about careers in the military and UNPKO, because each job likewise provides women with stable employment and long-term career opportunities.[51] The social effects of an increase in a woman's economic independence and freedom are plentiful and well-documented. Direct results of this include an increase in family nutrition, education, and overall well-being, and as the units of society, this creates a better community as a whole. Additionally, increasing women's participation in the security sector improves the sustainability of security initiatives, especially in post-disaster situations. It is vital that women are included in discussions related to disaster and conflict because their leadership and influence can potentially "change the gender dynamics and attitudes of their society."[52] In Bangladesh's 2010-2015 National Plan for Disaster Preparedness, a gender focus and the inclusion of women's provisions were seen as vital to the success of the plan. Because of the use of gender mainstreaming in this new national plan, the improvement of gender equality and the empowerment of women as a pillar of national disaster management was concretized in Bangladesh's plan. Through this lens, specific women-focused provisions including the need for separate latrines to keep women safe and special attention to the needs of and support for elderly women were also added. The example of Bangladesh's disaster readiness plan illustrates the importance of the inclusion of women's voices in disaster planning.[53] In addition to the positive influence of local women, international peacekeepers can have a profound impact on peace and cultural shifts as well. Women peacekeepers are "positive female role models, [facilitate] good relations between traumatized civilians and security services, [give] authority a female face, and [offer] an alternative perspective on conflict resolution."[54] This effect is exemplified by the secondary results of an all female peacekeeping unit from Bangladesh sent to Haiti for a stabilization mission. On their patrols through UN built camps, Haitian women reported that they felt safer with female officers on duty, and research on the peacekeeper's influence reported that female officers increased feelings of security in camps where gender based violence are present. Likewise, mission authorities stated that the presence of female officers influenced Hatian girls who insist upon their own rights in the realm of the law.[55] This case

[49] Karim, Sabrina, and Kyle Beardsley. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries." *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (January 2016): 100–115. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315615506.

[50] (Good practice case studies in the advancement of women in policing Aiyana Ward, Tim Prenzler, Anita)

[51] The rationale for women's economic independence and freedom was because policing gives women a "stable employment field and long-term careers." Aiyana Ward and Tim Prenzler, "Good Practice Case Studies in the Advancement of Women in Policing," *International Journal of Police Science and Management* 18 no. 4 (September 20, 2016).

[52] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 7.

[53] "National Plan for Disaster Management, 2010-2015," Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Disaster Management Bureau, April 2010.

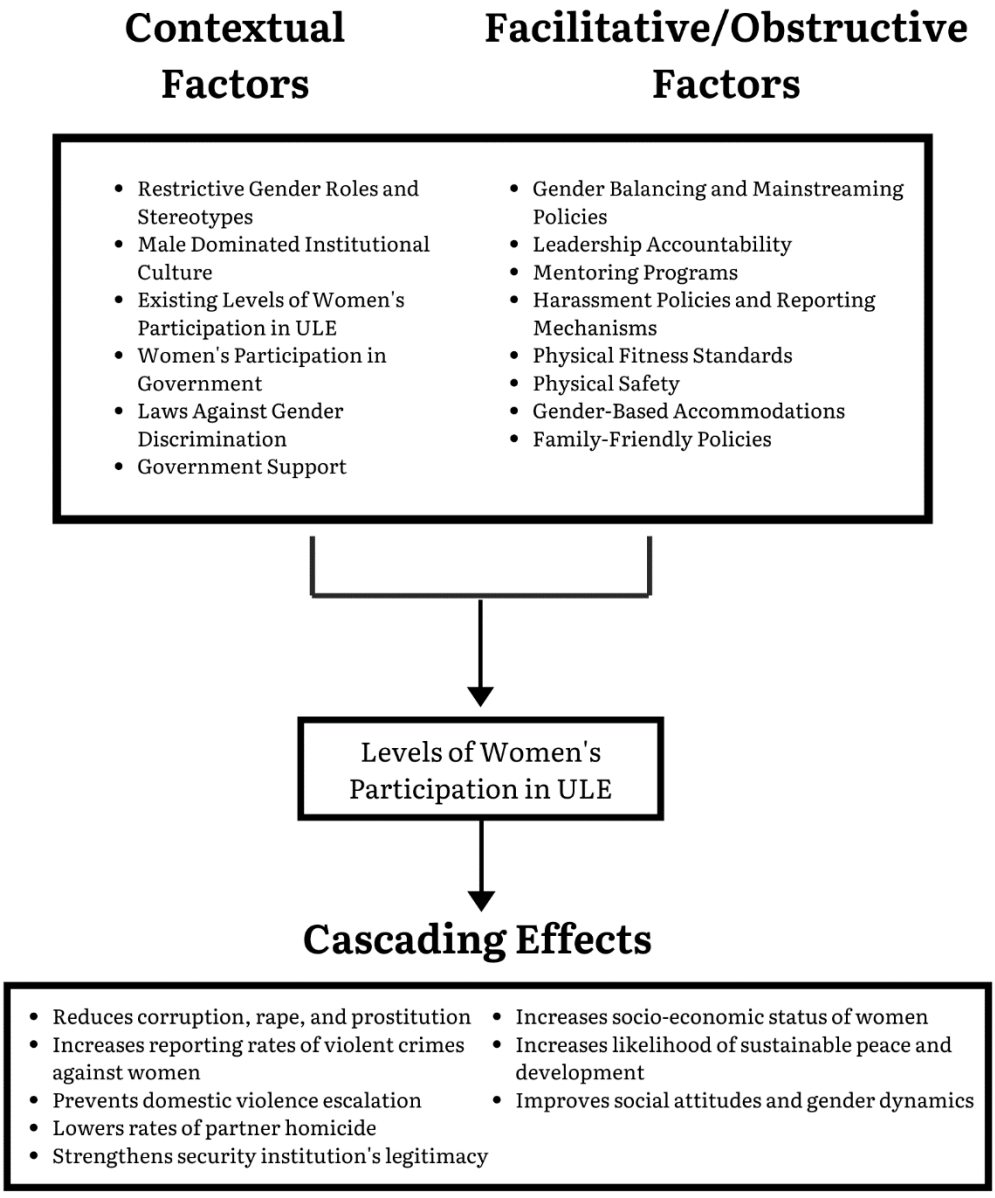
[54] Valerie Norville, "The Role of Women in Global Security," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 264 (January 2011): 3-4.

[55] Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy and Greeta Gandbhir, *A Journey of a Thousand Miles: Peacekeepers* (2015).

provides an interesting illustration of how women can change the feelings toward and success of peacekeeping operations.

Increasing the number of women in the security sectors of a country ultimately has positive secondary effects. A society can expect to experience reduced rates of corruption, rape, and prostitution, an expansion of women's economic opportunities, as well as a more sustainable peace in post-conflict and post-disaster settings.

Fig 1. Conceptual Map



III. Methodology

Due to the multifaceted nature of this project, the degree of variation across contexts and country policies, and the ability of case studies to isolate contributing and obstructive factors toward an outcome, qualitative research using the comparative case study approach was deemed the most appropriate approach. Within international relations, case studies are frequently used due to the method's "advantages in studying complex and relatively unstructured and infrequent phenomena that lie at the heart of the subfield."[56] Within this type of study, conclusions concerning the impact of a particular factor on an outcome, which, in this case, were the factors described above on increased women's participation, are made possible through the use of a comparative study associating particular factors with an associated outcome. Specifically, we have selected a least-similar case study design as the variation of contextual, facilitative, and obstructive factors will allow us to identify which of these factors appear in cases of success and which factors are missing in cases of failure.[57] Through these case studies, our framework will be further developed, and its ability to inform will be determined.

The cases selected for the research include countries in all stages of implementing WPS strategies in the security sector. These countries include one case which led to success, one which led to failure, and one that has been successful but now seems to have stagnated. Cases were chosen based upon their variation in final outcome, variation in region and culture, and their importance to the interests of the United States as determined by the subject's receiving aid from the US. To best draw conclusions on facilitative and obstructive measures affecting women in security, one case of success in increasing women's participation in security, Colombia, one case of failure, India, and one case previously successful but on its way to failure, Liberia, were selected. Colombia presented an interesting prospect for its post-conflict decision making, while Liberia was chosen for its extensive interaction with gender-focused international peacekeeping initiatives and large body of associated literature. Finally, India was chosen due to its relatively early introduction of women in security roles but notably stagnant participation rates. Through differences in geography, background, and history concerning women's issues, the least-similar case study design allows us to identify which common factors appear to be the most contributory to success or failure across cases.[58]

The data and information necessary to analyze these cases were found through a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research. Information regarding our independent variables, or explanatory factors, was gathered through the determination of the presence or lack thereof a particular type of program or legislation, and this information included social and political indicator data points from country and international databases, results drawn from previous

[56] Andrew Bennett and Colin Elman, "Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (February 2007): 170–95.
[57] Andrew Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage," in *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, ed. by Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmais (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 30-37.
[58] Andrew Bennett and Colin Elman, "Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (February 2007).

literature, and interviews with subject experts. The dependent variable, in this case the increase or decrease in women's participation in a country's security sector, was gathered through delving into national reports and international databases. All of this information was then compiled, compared, and triangulated for use in our comparative case study to determine which factors contributed to the outcome of significant increases (or lack thereof) in women's participation across these cases.

Within-case analysis was accomplished through the use of process tracing, a common method of investigation within social sciences that "focuses on whether the intervening variables between a hypothesized cause and observed effect move as predicted by the theories under investigation."[59] As clearly described by Bennett, "The power of process tracing arises from the fact that it requires continuity and completeness in explaining a case (although there are pragmatic limits on the ability or need to examine the infinite 'steps between steps' in a temporal process). If even a single step in a hypothesized process is not as predicted, the hypothesis must be modified, sometimes trivially and other times substantially, if it is to explain the case. If, for example, the 98th of 100 dominoes does not fall or strike the final domino, we need a separate explanation for why the 100th domino has fallen."[60] This method holds value in comparison to the use of statistical methodologies for discerning evidence for the reasoning behind a certain outcome because it focuses on continuity and completeness and works to create a fuller historical explanation of a case. To illustrate this idea, Bennett states that "The distinction [between statistical pattern matching and process tracing] is analogous to the difference between finding common short sequences in a long strand of DNA that may offer clues to its operation (pattern matching) and attempting to explain how the full strand operates to express itself in the life form to which the DNA belongs (process tracing)."[61] We chose to use process-tracing in order to take advantage of this completeness and continuity.

When using the comparative case study approach, however, it is important to acknowledge common preconceptions and limitations surrounding the method. The most common critique of case study research is its lack of conventional generalizability.[62] That is precisely why we undertook a comparative case study, which helps mitigate this issue by varying key dimensions and examining what factors appear to be determinative despite those differences. In addition, both quantitative measures and qualitative measures are used to develop a more holistic approach to our research question. Of course, our research should be seen and used as a jumping-off point, and not as the final word on this topic. Additional cases could be analyzed using this framework, and a larger N-size might permit aggregate statistical testing.

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[59] Andrew Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage," in *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, ed. by Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmais (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 22.

[60] Andrew Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage," in *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, ed. by Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmais (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 22-23

[61] Andrew Bennett, "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage," in *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, ed. by Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmais (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 23.

[62] Phil Hodkinson and Heather Hodkinson, "The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study Research," In L*earning and Skills Development Agency Conference at Cambridge* 1, no. 1 (2001): 5-7.

One last limitation is that we did not have access to all the information or individuals which together might have given us an even more in-depth understanding of each case. Several key individuals we hoped to interview did not respond to our emailed invitations. In addition, granular information of important factors, such as the degree to which harassment reporting mechanisms work in reality, is sensitive information and was not available to us. Again, we see this research as a starting point for those who might have greater access than we.

A. Scoring Matrix

To conduct this comparative case study design, it was important to create a scoring matrix that would assess each of the factors in our conceptual map in a consistent and rigorous fashion.

The literature review defined several factors related to women's participation in the security sector. The factors were separated by type: contextual, facilitative, and obstructive. These factors created the basis for the conceptual map used in the case study analysis (Fig. 1) and the resulting scoring matrix (Fig. 2).

However, due to a lack of information or the inability to accurately measure and assess, some factors were—unfortunately—cut from the scoring matrix. These factors included leadership accountability and physical safety. Teams were unable to gather information regarding leadership accountability, which should be a focus in future research. Physical safety of women in uniformed law enforcement was in part addressed by a few other factors. The presence, extent, and enforcement of harassment policies and reporting mechanisms are indicators of how women are seen in the security institutions and are at the periphery of a discussion about safety within the institutions. Gender sensitive accommodations, facilities, and equipment are another factor scored that addresses physical safety for women. Sex-separated facilities and accommodations increase the security of women by decreasing predators' access to women in times they are most vulnerable (i.e. sleep or going to the bathroom, especially at night). However, safety concerns about deployment or missions was not addressed in the matrix. Future research should include factors associated with leadership accountability in the security institutions, and possibly a direct factor associated with the level of physical security a woman officer or soldier enjoys.

B. Elements of the Scoring Exercise

The scoring matrix is presented in Fig. 2 as a chart and includes the following elements: *factor number*, *factor*, *country*, *sector*, and *score*. *Factor number* has no intrinsic value but is a way to identify and group the factors according to their type. Factors 1-6 are contextual factors and 7-13 are facilitative/obstructive factors. *Factors* are the concepts and policies derived from the literature review which affect women's participation in the security sector. They will be scored by sector (if appropriate and possible) and by country. The scale is explained in section C. *Country* represents

the three countries chosen for the case study: Liberia, Colombia, and India. Each country will be scored individually and by sector when appropriate and then compared to each other. *Sector* refers to the security institutions researched in the case study. They are police, military, and peacekeeping operations. Finally, *scoring* is the numbers assigned to each factor in each institution for each country. There will be *factor scores, institution scores, factor-country scores,* and *country scores*. The scoring system and outcomes are further explained in section C, and terms are further explained in the codebook found in the appendix.

Fig. 2 Scoring Matrix

			Liberia				Colombia				India			
	Factor Number	Factor	*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)												
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)												
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security												
	4	Women's Participation in National Government												
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)												
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)												
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)												
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)												
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)												
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms												
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)												
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and												
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)												
		Totals:												
			Institution Scores			*Country*	*Institution Scores*			*Country*	*Institution Score*			*Country*

Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater

C. Scoring

We use an ordinal scaling system to make cross-national comparisons. This ordinal scaling is subsumed under a scoring rubric which is standardized across cases. The goal of the scoring system is to minimize bias and maximize consistency and reliability across the country analysis teams. The ordinal nature of the numbers permits the scoring teams to assess the relative degree to which a given factor is present in the case.

The scoring consists of a 0-4 scale for each factor. 0 indicates the factor is non-existent in the country; 1 indicates the factor exists, but may not be funded or enforced at any level; 2 indicates the factor exists and is moderately enforced, funded, or achieved at some level; 3 indicates the factor is present, enforced, and has a budget but there is still room for improvement; and, 4 indicates the factor is present at every level, enforced, achieved, and has political or institutional will pushing the agenda. Generally, and when applicable, these can be thought of as nothing, below average, average, above average, and perfect. Binary code was also utilized for certain factors, 0 being no and 4 being yes. Finally, in factors is quantified by none, some, and major (like renorming physical fitness standards) the scores, respectfully, are 0, 2, and 4.

Concepts of presence, enforcement, and extent guided the scoring definitions discussed in the above paragraph. Detailed versions of the justifications, along with factor definitions and assessment tools, can be found in the appendix (*Fig. D Factor Justifications*). Teams used the Factor Justifications (*Fig. D*) chart to base their scores, discussing each factor together to maximize consistency, reliability, and validity. Additionally, these definitions will provide a basis to which the scores and process can be repeated in future studies. Justifications behind each score for the case studies is also included in the appendix (*Fig. E Country Justifications*).

There are many challenges in scoring qualitative research. In the present research design, a challenge of scoring is the inability of some of the contextual factors to be evaluated in the same way that laws or policies and their associated enforcement can. Therefore, 'strength' of cultural barriers or gender stereotypes will be evaluated based on how restrictive their nature is, based on customs, practices, and experiences. We also used existing databases. For example, The Woman-Stats Project has indicators that were utilized in the scoring process to increase accuracy, validity, and reliability for some of the contextual factors.

Higher scores indicate the country has more factors associated with an increased number of women participating in the security sector. There will be several scores resulting from the analysis: *factor institution score, factor country score, institution score,* and *country score*. These scores will be used to help evaluate the country's performance, determine factor relevance, and compare case studies within the research design.[63] Fig. 3 at the end of this section illustrate the framework's functionality and explains the variables further. The qualitative research will inform the success or failure of the case study, and the quantitative component will complement the research and emphasize the functionality of the factors.

[63] Incorporating quantitative data to qualitative research designs allow for internal generalization. Joseph A. Maxwell, "Using Numbers in Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 16 no. 6 (2010): 478.

Fig. 3 Example Country

	Factor Number	Factor	EXAMPLE COUNTRY *Factor Country Score*			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)	3			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	1			
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)	0			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	0			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	1	1	1.33
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	2	1	2	1.67
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	1	3	1.33
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)	0	1	1	0.67
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	1	1	0	0.67
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	1	2	0	0.67
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	2	3	1	2
		Totals:	**8**	**10**	**8**	**16.34**
			Institution Score			*Country Score*

Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

D. Application

The initial scoring of each country – Liberia, Colombia, and India – will be given at the end of the prose discussion of each case. After presentation of the cases and their scoring, we will perform a comparative analysis of the cases to see whether a revision of the initial conceptual map is in order. We will then discuss which factors appeared to play the greatest role in the outcomes of the three case studies and which did not. Finally, policy recommendations stemming from this analysis will be discussed.

IV. Liberia: A Successful Case?

The following case study is a shorter version of a 28 page-long case study on Liberia done in conjunction with this research.

A. Introduction

Located in West Africa, Liberia is the continent's first republic and elected the first democratically-elected female president in Africa, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in 2005—two years after its 14-year long civil war ended. Liberia has been a celebrated case over the past two decades concerning WPS in

the security sector, and in part, this is rightly so. Over a timespan of 15 years, Liberia boosted women's participation in the Liberian National Police (LNP) by 17 percent, landing just below their 20 percent target. The increase of women's participation in the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) has been lower; to date, the figure stands at only 4 percent despite their 20 percent target. While there have been many successes in this post-conflict society concerning WPS, there have also been failures and contextual barriers remain.[64] Our case study suggests a reevaluation of Liberia is necessary. The concern is that the gains made in the late 2000's and early 2010's in increasing the number of women in the security forces are now being undermined due to various factors explored in this case study. In the sections below, we analyze key factors that are associated with the promotion and inhibition of women's participation in the security forces as laid out in our initial conceptual map. Further, we discuss additional factors that we found to be crucial in the case of Liberia that were not originally included in our conceptual map. These factors are identified as important in facilitating women's participation in the security forces. Therefore, they are part of the recommendations, suggestions for future research, and are included in the revised scoring matrix.

B. Contextual Factors

Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes. At the national level, women in Liberia have comparatively less representation and fewer education opportunities, and there are extensive inequalities between the genders in reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market.[65] In the workforce, Liberia is ranked 4th worldwide for having the largest share of females, yet 74 percent of all female workers work in the informal economy—with limited social protection and lower and insecure wages.[66] Despite this high labor force participation, one of the biggest gender gaps is that of literacy. Women's lack of education has often been cited as a critical barrier to increasing women's participation in the security sector; therefore, it has been added to the revised scoring matrix and is discussed further below. Furthermore, high rates of GBV are often normalized by both genders and are manifested through sexual violence, male partner violence, rape and cultural practices such as child marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM).[67] This contributes to an underlying culture of violence against women that permeates all spheres of life.[68] Harmful cultural practices are more prevalent in the rural areas and less so in Monrovia that has the highest concentration of police forces. Thus, cultural practices play a larger role in hindering

[64] UNMIL cannot be separated from the LNP or the AFL because the mission was intimately involved in rebuilding the Liberian security sector. Karim concludes that there is a huge potential for Liberia to revert to its pre-peacekeeping status quo and all its gains thus undermined. She implies that the effect on women's participation in the Liberian security sector is not a finished narrative nor an assured one, but rather the legacy for women in these institutions is still to be seen. Sabrina Karim, "The Legacy of Peacekeeping on the Liberian Security Sector," *International Peacekeeping* 27 no. 1 (2020).

[65] "Liberia: Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS), 2019-2024," USAID, 2019, https://www.usaid.gov/liberia/cdcs.

[66] Janell Fetterolf, "In Many Countries, At Least Four-in-Ten in the Labor Force Are Women," *Pew Research Center*, March 7, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/07/in-many-countries-at-least-four-in-ten-in-the-labor-force-are-women/; Gayle Tzemach Lemmon and Rachel B. Vogelstein, "Building Inclusive Economies: How Women's Economic Advancement Promotes Sustainable Growth," Council on Foreign Relations, June 2017.

[67] Karen Barnes Robinson, Craig Valters, Tove Strauss, and Aaron Weah, "Progress in Small Steps Security Against the Odds in Liberia," (Overseas Development Institute, January 2015), 18.

[68] Robinson, Valters, Strauss, and Weah, "Progress in Small Steps Security Against the Odds in Liberia," 18.

county women's participation in the security forces.[69] At the household level, gender roles are clearly divided with men being the primary decision makers and the heads of households who have the right to control and use violence; whereas women are tasked with traditional feminine roles of taking care of the family and performing housework.[70] Conceptions of masculinity within the household are reflective of societal norms and behaviors, which are themselves indicative of society's views on women at large. Such hegemonic masculinities at the household level lay the foundation for how women and men are perceived in a society, and can eventually hinder women's ability to enter and thrive in a male-dominated sector such as the security forces. In regard to stereotypes, there is generally no taboo surrounding women's participation in the security forces.[71] However, another interviewee, Cecil Griffiths, the President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association (LINLEA), indicated that the perception of many regarding women's participation is not encouraging.[72] This is largely due to patriarchal gender norms embedded in Liberian society and the expectations of women within the household. It is worth noting that both men and women reinforce these stereotypes.[73]

Women's Participation in National Government. Despite high female political involvement during the peace-building process after the civil war, women's representation and involvement in Liberian political institutions has not been sustained.[74] According to the Women's Power Index, Liberia's political parity score is 20 out of a maximum score of 100—women comprise 22 percent of cabinet positions and 10 percent of seats in the national legislature.[75] These figures indicate that women are poorly represented in national politics. Further, they hold few leadership positions in political parties.

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. Liberia's existing laws support women's participation and protection in the security forces, but implementation is lacking and no one is being held

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[69] Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.
[70] Marie Nilsson, Francis Konyon, Joseph Howard, and Heather Tucker, "The Challenge of Unlearning: A Study of Gender Norms and Masculinities in Liberia," (Embassy of Sweden, March 2019).
[71] Sabrina Karim, Assistant Professor at Cornell University, interview by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 11, 2020.
[72] Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.
[73] In one instance, a man threatened to divorce his wife if she agreed to be deployed with the security forces. In another instance, a woman who was approached by the AFL about recruitment opportunities within the military, said that it would make her too muscle-y, and no man wants a muscular woman. While these views are not held by all Liberians, they are not uncommon in Liberian society. Sean McFate, "Building Better Armies: An Insider's Account of Liberia," Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College Press, November 2013; Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.
[74] Naomi Tulay-Solanke, "Where Are the Women in George Weah's Liberia?" *World Policy*, May 30, 2018, http://worldpolicy.org/2018/05/30/where-are-the-women-in-george-weahs-liberia/.
[75] The Women's Power index scores political parity as an aggregate measure of women's representation in a country's government on a scale from 0-100, with 100 indicating that women hold at least 50 percent representation in all levels of government. Women's Power Index, *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 18, 2020, accessed November 2020, https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index.

accountable for this failure.[76] Further, there are differences between the LNP and AFL; the former has a gender policy whereas the latter does not. This could help explain why the LNP has been more successful than the AFL in boosting women's participation. The LNP has committed to gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting issue and plans to integrate a gender perspective in all aspects of policing, including administration and operations, and it emphasizes equality of benefits and consideration of family needs.[77] In the AFL, gender issues were not a priority, nor was there any real effort to increase women's participation.[78] That is largely attributed to the notion of hegemonic masculinity; the institution traditionally has not served as a center of career aspirations for women, and there is a historical bias against women in the military.[79]

Male-Dominated Institutional Culture. Gender stereotypes are also extended into the security sector, and overt signs of male domination exist within these organizations.[80] One of the fundamental challenges to increasing women's participation within the ranks was that Liberia's security sector was traditionally male-dominated, and structures within the sector were geared towards men. Police leaders typically viewed women as support personnel, and new women recruits were regarded to be more fit for communications or office positions than for fast-action tactical operations.[81] Career incentives are lacking as women are relegated to lower-rank positions, therefore further discouraging women from applying.

Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector. Women's participation is higher in the LNP than the AFL. Fig. 4 shows the trends of women's participation in the LNP over three non-consecutive years. In 2003, women comprised only two percent of the LNP. Alongside gender mainstreaming efforts, political will demonstrated during Sirleaf's administration, and international assistance, the figure increased to 17.4 percent by 2013. These initial trends have thus stagnated; the percentage of women in the LNP grew by 1.6 percent for five years (2013-2018).[82]

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[76] Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association (LNLEA), said that "the gains that were made [in increasing women's participation in the security forces] have been gradually undermined"; Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.

[77] Jangai Lisa Gbemie (Gender Consultant), Martin C. Benson (Public Information Consultant), Eugene S. Nagbe (Administrative/Financial Officer), Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia, questionnaire by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020.

[78] U.S. assistance to the AFL sought to create a quality, light military, not to meet the UNSCR 1325 provisions. Sabrina Karim, Assistant Professor/Cornell University, interview by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 11, 2020.

[79] Jangai Lisa Gbemie (Gender Consultant), Martin C. Benson (Public Information Consultant), Eugene S. Nagbe (Administrative/Financial Officer), Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia, questionnaire by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020.

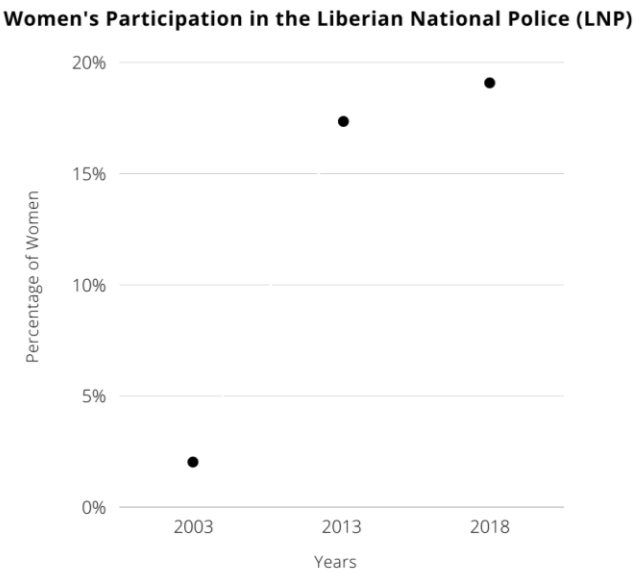
[80] Laura Bacon, "Building an Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service: Gender-Sensitive Reform in Liberia (2005-2011)," *Innovations for Successful Societies*, Princeton University, 2012, 4.

[81] Laura Bacon, "Building an Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service: Gender-Sensitive Reform in Liberia (2005-2011)," *Innovations for Successful Societies*, Princeton University, 2012, 4.

[82] Jangai Lisa Gbemie (Gender Consultant), Martin C. Benson (Public Information Consultant), Eugene S. Nagbe (Administrative/Financial Officer), Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia, questionnaire by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020; Laura Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," *Foreign Policy*, June 3, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/03/liberia-leans-in/.

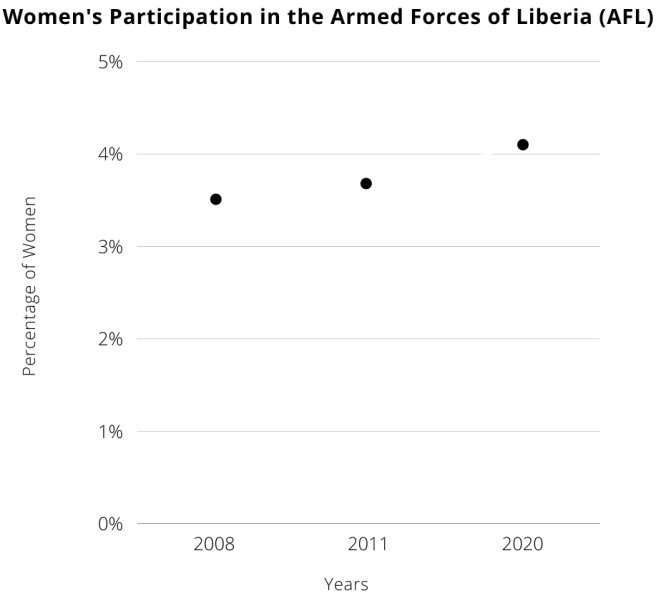
In the LNP, women occupy only a few of the top-ranked positions and are more present in positions such as inspector, sergeant, corporal, and patrol officer.[83] Fig. 5 shows the trends of women's participation in the AFL over three non-consecutive years. In the AFL, women comprised 3.5 percent in 2008, then 3.67 percent in 2011, and to date, the figure stands at 4.1 percent. For twelve years (2008-2020), women's participation has increased by only 0.6 percent—an incredibly minor difference. The recruitment drives in the AFL have been unsuccessful due to substantial cultural and gender biases against women's participation in the military and women's low levels of education.[84] In 2018 the AFL promoted the first female, General (BG) Geraldine George, to the position of Deputy Chief of Staff. She has inspired many women in the AFL and throughout the country as they see a female "breaking the ceiling" in a position never before held by a woman.[85]

Fig. 4 Women's Participation in the LNP



*Data depict three non-consecutive years. This chart is compiled using data from a questionnaire received from the Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia (GSSNTF) and Laura Bacon's Foreign Policy article "Liberia Leans In."

Fig. 5 Women's Participation in the AFL



*Data depict three non-consecutive years. This chart is compiled using data from Cecil Griffiths' Mapping Study on Gender and Security Sector Reforms Actors and Activities in Liberia, an interview with Major Thomas Armstrong, and the report "Liberia: Uneven Progress in Security Sector Reform" by the International Crisis Group.

C. Facilitative Factors

Gender balancing policies. One of the most effective and straightforward factors responsible for boosting women's participation in Liberian security forces, namely the LNP, has been that of

[83] Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.
[84] "Liberia's Post-War Development: Key Issues and U.S. Assistance," Congressional Research Service, May 25, 2010; Thomas Armstrong, Maj., U.S. Army and Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, October 27, 2020.
[85] Thomas Armstrong, Maj., U.S. Army and Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, October 27, 2020.

quotas. In 2008, Liberia instituted a 20 percent quota for both the LNP and AFL, and there was swift initial success.[86] However, current rates of women's participation in the security sector point to stagnation. Therefore, while quotas can be an effective measure to increase women's participation, they are not a sufficient condition in maintaining the progress. To be effective, quotas need to be backed by other efforts that are explored in our case studies.

Gender mainstreaming policies. The most notable gender mainstreaming policies have been those in the LNP. Women's low levels of education and high illiteracy rates have often been cited as one of the key barriers to their participation in the security forces. In response to this challenge, Liberia established the Education Support Programme (ESP), where women who had completed the ninth grade would earn a 'fast-track' high school degree so that they could qualify for police training and if successful, join the LNP, which requires a high school diploma.[87] The ESP dramatically increased the number of female police recruits—by 2013, 17 percent of LNP's officers were women, marking a 12 percentage point increase within six years.[88] It is important to note that the program was only successful in increasing women's numbers within the LNP, and ineffective in increasing their meaningful participation. Several security experts and also an LNP representative have regarded the ESP as a failure because it did not not effectively prepare the women for LNP tasks. They were stigmatized by fellow LNP officers, both male and female, who were recruited based on the usual criteria (i.e., had regular high school degrees). Further, male police officers used the examples of the women recruited via the ESP to push back against all women's participation in the LNP, deeming them all as incompetent. Therefore, such programs of reducing the entrance requirements appear to not be effective if participants in these programs are not effectively equipped with the necessary skills and know-how to perform their duties. Moreover, the LNP established gender offices such as the Women and Children Protection Unit (WCPU) to respond to gender-based violence, domestic violence, and crimes against children.[89] The LNP also established the Gender Task Force (GTF), and has gender advisors and focal points—all mechanisms serving to strengthen and support gender mainstreaming initiatives in the LNP.

Mentoring Programs. Following the civil war, the U.S. helped rebuild and restructure Liberia's security sector. Part of this continued assistance involves training exchanges between the countries. The AFL sends soldiers to the U.S. for training courses at U.S. military bases and the U.S. sends soldiers to mentor and train Liberian military forces.[90] This enables AFL members to be exposed to women in higher ranking positions and to learn from their experiences. Based on our research, this is the only mentoring program available to AFL personnel.[91]

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[86] Laura Bacon, "Liberia's Gender Sensitive Police Reform: Improving Representation and Responsiveness in a Post-Conflict Setting," *International Peacekeeping* 22 no. 4 (2015).
[87] Daniel de Torres, Director of Small Arms Survey, interview by Vesa Bashota, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 20, 2020.
[88] Laura Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," *Foreign Policy*, June 3, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/03/liberia-leans-in/.
[89] Sabrina Karim, "The Legacy of Peacekeeping on the Liberian Security Sector," *International Peacekeeping* 27 no. 1 (2020), 61.
[90] Thomas Armstrong, Maj., U.S. Army and Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, October 27, 2020.
[91] Rick Scavetta, "Mentoring in Liberia Leads to Respect for Female NCOs," *NCO Journal*, Army University Press, 2014.

D. Obstructive Factors

Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms. According to the LNP Gender Policy, sexual harassment is unacceptable, but there is no official framework for enforcing this provision. While the Liberian Female Law Enforcement Association (LIFLEA) acts as a forum for complaints of sexual harassment for members, a formal mechanism for reporting does not exist.[92] The AFL has a specific policy stating "sexual harassment is inappropriate and unacceptable conduct" and detrimental to the effectiveness of the military.[93] The policy provides a roadmap for responding to sexual harassment such as filing a complaint and reporting it through the respective chain of command. All of these crimes are punishable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice and civilian laws. Charges can result in a maximum penalty as well as confinement, dishonorable discharge, and forfeiture of all pay.[94] Currently, no internal oversight mechanisms exist; however, the unit commander has the responsibility to enforce discipline.[95]

Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards. With the help of the US military, Liberia rebuilt its military based on US military standards, which include the use of physical fitness tests. According to a survey, the physical fitness and aptitude tests caused around 80 percent of female candidates who applied to be rejected. The survey revealed that women in rural areas scored well on physical fitness tests but did not do as well on the aptitude test, while the opposite was true for women from urban areas.[96] In response, the army decided to offer a four week pre-recruitment training course that would help prepare women to pass entry exams.[97] The four week pre-recruitment training program was implemented earlier this year so the effects of the program have yet to be seen.

Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment. In most cases, men and women have separate bathrooms and housing facilities. Issues arise when women are deployed to one of the 14 rural counties that have limited infrastructure such as roads, schools, and hospitals. According to Griffiths, the LNP has a centralized structure based in the capital, Monrovia, which deploys officers to the counties. While the LNP is supposed to provide housing for officers and their families in areas where they are deployed, budget constraints make it difficult to follow

[92] Jangai Lisa Gbemie (Gender Consultant), Martin C. Benson (Public Information Consultant), Eugene S. Nagbe (Administrative/Financial Officer), Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia, questionnaire by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020.
[93] Cecil Griffiths and Kristin Valasek, "Liberia," in "The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: a survey of police, defense, justice and penal services," edited Miranda Gaanderse and Kristin Valasek (Geneva: DCAF, 2011), 145.
[94] Griffiths and Valasek, "Liberia," 145.
[95] Ibid., 146.
[96] Abdur Rahman Alfa Shaban, "Rigor, Aptitude: Why 80% Liberian Women Failed Military Entry Exams," *Africanews*, February 12, 2020, https://www.africanews.com/2020/02/12/rigor-aptitude-why-80-percent-liberian-women-failed-military-entry-exams/.
[97] Shaban, "Rigor, Aptitude: Why 80% Liberian Women Failed Military Entry Exams," *Africanews*, February 12, 2020.

through with the promise, and most provisions are substandard.[98] As a result of this structure, women face challenges when deployed from their homes to rural counties.

Family-friendly Policies. Within the LNP and the AFL, servicewomen are provided 14 weeks of paid maternity leave. The LNP provides servicemen with 10 days of paid paternity leave, while the AFL provides 5 days of unpaid paternity leave.[99] The LNP provides further provisions for pregnant women regarding doctors' appointments and breastfeeding.[100] According to these two family policies, the LNP is more conducive to service women with families than the AFL. While both provide paid maternity leave, the LNP provides flexible work schedules for pregnant staff, and they may apply for additional leave on medical grounds.[101] Moreover, the AFL places restrictions on when and which women can get pregnant, which restricts women from being able to meaningfully participate.

E. Implications and Secondary Effects of Increased Participation by Women in the Security Sector

The Liberian people have a long and troubled relationship with their security institutions. One of the major challenges for Liberia and the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) after the civil war was to rebuild trust in the security sector and foster security. According to Dr. Sabrina Karim, the inclusion of women into the police force allowed for a renewed trust in the security sector due to preconceived gender stereotypes of women as less abusive and more inclusive, and helped improve the perceptions of the police in the community.[102] We expected that women's increased participation in the LNP will contribute to an increase in reporting of GBV cases. There is no hard empirical evidence to support this assumption. According to a study by Karim et al. there was "no evidence that the integration of women into groups affects sensitivity to sexual and gender-based violence, contrary to their original hypothesis that it did in fact affect sensitivity." In fact, the LNP women in the study were "no more sensitive to sexual and gender-based violence issues than men, all things being equal."[103]

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[98] Cecil Griffiths and Kristin Valasek, "Liberia," in "The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: a survey of police, defense, justice and penal services," edited Miranda Gaanderse and Kristin Valasek (Geneva: DCAF, 2011), 146.

[99] Griffiths and Valasek, "Liberia," 146; Thomas Armstrong, Maj., U.S. Army and Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, October 27, 2020.

[100] Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association, emails and questionnaire, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, November 2020.

[101] Cecil Griffiths and Kristin Valasek, "Liberia," in "The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: a survey of police, defense, justice and penal services," edited Miranda Gaanderse and Kristin Valasek (Geneva: DCAF, 2011), 141.

[102] Sabrina Karim, "Restoring Confidence in Post-Conflict Security Sectors: Survey Evidence from Liberia on Female Ratio Balancing Reforms," *British Journal of Political Science* 49 no. 3 (2017): 800.

[103] Sabrina Karim, Michael J Gilligan, Robert Blair, Kyle Beardsley, "International Gender Balancing Reforms in Post Conflict Countries: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from the Liberian National Police," *International Studies Quarterly* 62 no. 3 (September 2018): 629.

F. Additional Factors

The following factors were not included in the initial scoring matrix and given their role in increasing women's participation in the security forces, they have been added to the revised scoring matrix.

Women as Combatants. During both Liberian civil wars, women were forcibly and voluntarily recruited into rebel and government forces, therefore Liberians are, to some degree, accustomed to having women fighters.[104]

Education Gaps. Women's literacy rate is 34.1 percent, compared to 62.7 percent for men.[105],[106] Low levels of education directly prevent women's participation as applicants are required to have a high school diploma to join the LNP, AFL, and Liberia's peacekeeping missions.

Women in Power with a WPS Agenda. Following the 14-year long civil war (1989-2003), women's organizations were extensively involved in the peace-building process. Their engagement led to the creation of gender-specific institutions such as: the Ministry of Gender and Development (MoGD)—the institution responsible for the implementation of the UDHR, CEDAW, and UNSCR 1325.[107] Further, the election of President Sirleaf in 2005 marked a turning point for women's participation in the security forces. Sirleaf was committed to promoting the WPS agenda; she took concrete steps to increase women's participation not only by instituting the 20 percent quota in the LNP and AFL, but by also appointing women in leadership positions in the LNP.[108] According to several of our interviewees, George Weah's new administration is not as attuned to increasing women's participation in security forces or ending harmful cultural practices targeting women. While there is still lip service given to the issue, a real possibility of regression exists now that there is no longer a female head of state invested in these issues. To reach WPS

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[104] While this factor has contributed to breaking taboos surrounding women in the security forces, it has also affected people's perceptions about women in uniforms. During the civil wars, women developed a reputation for killings and violence, and that memory still lingers in people's minds, thus there is sometimes confusion in the public about how women in uniform are perceived. Sabrina Karim, Assistant Professor at Cornell University, interview by Vesa Bashota and Mary Bowman, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 11, 2020.

[105] "Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia," World Bank, accessed November 30, 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO; "Literacy Rate, Adult Male (% of Males Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia," World Bank, accessed December 30, 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.MA.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO.

[106] The Ebola outbreak and the Covid-19 pandemic risk further exacerbating this issue. These pandemics have especially disrupted girls' education because families prioritize boys' education over that of girls in face of economic hardship. Kieran Guilbert, "Poverty and Work Means Girls Miss Out on School in Post-Ebola Liberia," *Theirworld*, May 16, 2017, https://theirworld.org/news/liberia-girls-miss-education-through-poverty-and-work; Danielle Paquette, "Kids Around the World Are Out of School. Millions of Girls Might Not Go Back," *The Washington Post*, June 13, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/coronavirus-girls-education-west-africa/2020/06/12/84a23c44-a5a8-11ea-b619-3f9133bbb482_story.html.

[107] "Liberia (2003-2011)," *Case Study Series: Women in Peace and Transition Processes* (Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, The Graduate institute of International and Development Studies, April 2018), 14; "Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection (Liberia)," Devex, 2020, https://www.devex.com/organizations/ministry-of-gender-children-and-social-protection-liberia-127496.

[108] Daniel de Torres, Director of Small Arms Survey), interview by Vesa Bashota, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 20, 2020.

commitments, the government needs to pass a sufficient budget that can sustain recruitment or retention programs focused on women in the security forces.

WPS NAP. Liberia is the first post-conflict country worldwide to have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP) on WPS.[109] The first plan was adopted for the period of 2009-2013, whereas the second is for the period of 2019-2023.[110] The NAPs have been developed under the leadership of the Ministry of Gender Development—a legitimate government body capable of supporting security forces in reaching the targets aimed at women recruitment. The NAPs provide a roadmap on gender mainstreaming and gender balancing efforts that all stakeholders can rely on when devising policies and interventions.

History of Purdah. Liberian women are expected to participate in the public sphere; there is no custom of the seclusion of women.

International organizations' and donors' involvement. The international community has played an indispensable role in supporting Liberia's state-building efforts by providing financial and technical assistance in various sectors in the country, including those in the security sector. The gains that have been made as of today in female participation in the security forces would have not been possible without the tremendous support received from UN organizations, particularly UNMIL and donor countries such as the U.S., Sweden, Italy, Austria and others. Literature on reasons for Liberia's increased female participation in the security forces has referred to India's all-women UN peacekeeping contingent that was deployed as part of UNMIL. There is limited evidence for this assumption, however.[111]

Sex-segregated Jobs in ULE. Women are represented in all positions within the military and police. However, women are more present in lower level or administrative positions than high ranking ones. There are no explicit policies preventing women from participating in any positions in the military or police.[112]

Integrated Units. All units in the LNP and AFL are fully integrated. There are no single sex units within the military or police.

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[109] "Liberia's Second Phase National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, 2019-2023," Government of Liberia, 2019.

[110] "Liberia's Second Phase National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, 2019-2023," Government of Liberia, 2019; "The Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Resolution 1325," Government of Liberia, 2009.

[111] It has become conventional wisdom that Liberian women's exposure to Indian policewomen have encouraged them to join Liberia's military and police forces. While the Indian all-women unit might have had a marginal effect, no study or survey has been conducted to evaluate whether that is true or not. In this regard, this conclusion should be taken into account with a grain of salt.

[112] Thomas Armstrong, Maj., U.S. Army and Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Liberia, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M, October 27, 2020; Cecil Griffiths, President of the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association and Coordinator of the Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform, interview by Vesa Bashota, Mary Bowman, and Sydney Harkrider, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 30, 2020.

G. Conclusions

Since the end of the civil war, Liberia has been the poster child for women's inclusion in peace and security. Yet, the participation of women in the security forces is still below the 20 percent target. While the LNP has been extremely successful in increasing women's participation, the AFL's percentage remains strikingly low—at just 4 percent. While we expect that many would agree that Liberia is a successful case in increasing the numbers of women in the security forces, the country still has a long way to go to reach a satisfactory level of meaningful female participation. Current gains may not be sustained if policies and programs initiated by the government or the international community do not address the root causes of women's low participation levels and do not take into account obstructive factors as laid out in this case study.

Fig. 6 Liberia Scoring Matrix

			Liberia			
	Factor Number	**Factor**	***Factor Country Score***			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)	0			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2			
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)	1			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	1			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilatative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	2		2
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	3	1		2
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	1		0.5
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)	2	2		2
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	0	0		0
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	2	2		2
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	3	2		2.5
		Totals:	**12**	**10**		**19**
			Institution Scores			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

V. Colombia: A Successful Case

The following case study is a shorter version of a 28 page-long case study on Liberia done in conjunction with this research.

A. Introduction

Colombia is the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid in the Western Hemisphere with an aid package of $516M, and it is the fifth-largest recipient of U.S. aid out of all upper-middle-income countries[113]. Colombia is also a post-conflict country that has set an example for women's involvement in peace processes. This background has generated a window of opportunity for the country to move toward more effective incorporation of both women and a gender perspective in Colombia's law enforcement and security institutions. Encouragingly, the presence of women has been slowly increasing in the Colombian Security Force. This slow, but steady increase leads us to consider Colombia a successful case.

In this case study, we will begin by discussing the contextual factors that affect women's participation in the Colombian security sector. Following this section, we will describe what facilitative and obstructive factors have contributed to women's participation, or lack thereof, such as mainstream initiatives and harassment in the armed forces. Finally, we will discuss the relevant secondary effects of increased women's participation in the Colombian security sector on the greater Colombian society. In our conclusion, we will determine how these findings contribute to our working conceptual map.

B. Contextual Factors

Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes. Most of the time women are perceived first as women and second as soldiers. The act of saying "military women" and always noting a woman's gender in their monikers reproduces stereotypes.[114] It diminishes their roles as equal members in the military. Likewise, there have been many factors that have contributed to the abundance of and preference for women in administrative roles and their limited participation in combat roles. First, there is a transferal of traditional gender roles from the household into the defense sector.[115] Second, women are perceived as passive; they are not considered to be strong, dominant, or masculine.[116] Third, women in the defense sector have been sexualized. For example, there are instances where some men have given women tighter uniforms to make their bodies "look nicer," an act that is degrading and reproduces stereotypes of women as individuals who must meet the

[113] "U.S. Foreign Aid by Country: Colombia, 2020," *USAID*, 2020, https://explorer.usaid.gov/cd.
[114] Maria Catalina Monroy, Professor at Universidad Externado de Colombia, and Catalina Chacon Santos, Student of Political Science, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 16, 2020.
[115] "Política Pública Sectorial de Transversalización del Enfoque de Género para el Personal de la Fuerza Armada," (Ministerio de Defensa, 2018), p. 20.
[116] Maria Catalina Monroy, Professor at Universidad Externado de Colombia, and Catalina Chacon Santos, Student of Political Science, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 16, 2020.

standards of the male gaze.[117] Fourth, there are hostilities and arguments about whether a woman can be deployed directly on the ground during combat or protection activities. Most of those objecting to women's participation refer to physical and physiological conditions that they feel would make women unfit to operate, for example, for a long time in jungle territory.[118] Also, male officers in the national military do not want women to occupy combat roles because women symbolize maternity.[119] Fifth, there are superstitions that surround Colombian women's participation in combat. For instance, there is a belief that a woman on a boat brings bad luck, which acts as a superstition that particularly affects positions for women in the Navy.[120]

Male Dominated Institutional Culture. The higher and more professional roles in the military are dominated by masculine expectations and preferences.[121] Displays of femininity in this sector, particularly in the military, are squandered. Women are surrounded by pressures to conform to the masculine environment of their field. That being said, some female military officers have advised women not to lose their femininity; therefore, many fight against these masculine expectations in order to maintain what they believe to be their feminine identity. [122]

Existing Women's Participating in the Security Sector. In 2017, female military personnel constituted 8.9 percent of the officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in Colombia's three military bodies: the National Army, the Republic of Colombia Navy, and the Colombian Air Force. Three years later, in 2020, there was an increase of one percentage point as female military personnel made up 9.9 percent. In regards to the Colombian National police, in 2017 women constituted 9 percent. By 2020, there was an increase of almost one percentage point as female police personnel made up 9.9 percent. For peacekeeping, in 2016 Colombia deployed 35 police officers to support the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), of whom 6 were women. As of October 2020, Colombia sent two female experts to the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

[117] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy, "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[118] "Military Missions and the Post-Conflict Environment: A Regional Perspective on Colombia," RESDAL, 2018, 30.
[119] Maria Catalina Monroy, Professor at Universidad Externado de Colombia, and Catalina Chacon Santos, Student of Political Science, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 16, 2020.
[120] Monroy, interview by Ortiz and Justynski, October 16, 2020.
[121] Ibid.
[122] "Documental Revista Ejército Edición 197: Mujer Militar," Ejército Nacional de Colombia, October 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZF_4XriLl8&ab_channel=Ej%C3%A9rcitoNacionaldeColombia.

Fig. 7 Women in the Colombian Public Force[123]

Women in the Colombian Public Force	*Army*	*Navy*	*Air Force*	*Police*
Year of integration	*1976*	*1979*	*1984*	*1953*
2017	*3.5%*	*7%*	*16.2%*	*9%*
2020	*3.7%*	*7.9%*	*18.2%*	*9.9%*

Women's Participation in National Government. According to the Women's Power Index, Colombia's political parity score is 39 out of a maximum of 100; women comprise 58 percent of the cabinet and 20 percent of the national legislature— indicating that women's representation in the cabinet is at a satisfactory level, but women are less represented in the national legislature.[124]

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. In regard to Colombia's existing laws that protect and encourage women's participation in security, at the highest level, Colombia's Constitution supports gender equality in politics and stands against every form of discrimination. These articles state that all Colombians have the right to participate in the formation, exercise, and control of political power.[125] In 1993, Colombian Law 48 explicitly authorized women to participate in military service only on a voluntary basis and exclusively in logistical, administrative, and social roles. This limitation of women's tasks was eliminated by Law 1861 in 2017, and women were then able to conduct all military tasks without legal barriers.[126] In 2016, the Constitutional Court ruled that the provision of military services does not depend on the sex of a person, but on their physical and psychological conditions at the time of incorporation.[127] Likewise, in 1999, the Colombian Constitutional Court, through Judgment C-50, mandated the defense sector to allow people from the LGBT+ community to be employed within its institutions.[128]

Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector. In 2020, according to an official statement, the Vice Presidency of Colombia, the Ministry of Defense, and the Military

[123] This table shows the year of integration and the percentage of women in each branch of the Colombian Public Force. "Cifras de Personal - Policía Nacional," Centro de Observación Prospectivo del Direccionamiento del Talento Humano, Policía Nacional de Colombia, August 5, 2020, https://www.policia.gov.co/talento-humano/estadistica-personal/cifras; "Política Pública Sectorial de Transversalización del Enfoque de Género para el Personal de la Fuerza Armada," (Ministerio de Defensa, 2018), 33-34; Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[124] "Women's Power Index," *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 18, 2020, accessed November 2020, https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index.
[125] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy, "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[126] "Military Missions and the Post-Conflict Environment: A Regional Perspective on Colombia," RESDAL, 2018, 29.
[127] "Military Missions and the Post-Conflict Environment: A Regional Perspective on Colombia," RESDAL, 29.
[128] "UNIÓN MARITAL DE HECHO-Protección," Corte Constitucional de la República de Colombia, Sentencia C-507/99, 1999.

Forces of Colombia aim to promote the involvement of more women in the Public Force.[129] The Vice-President Ramirez, referring to the police and military institution, said "there cannot be glass ceilings, there cannot be places that women cannot reach, and above all there cannot be impossibilities for women."[130]

C. Facilitative Factors

Gender Balancing Policies. There is no quota system in the Colombian security sector.

Gender Mainstreaming Policies. The peace process in Colombia is considered a global example of the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and the WPS agenda, as a significant percentage of women actively participated in the peace negotiations, and a remarkable number of gender stipulations were included in the peace agreement.[131]

The Colombian Public Forces developed the Sectoral Public Policy for a Cross-Gender Approach for the Uniformed Personnel of the Public Force in 2018. The objective of this policy is to prevent the violation of rights, inequality, discrimination, and the tolerance any form of violence within the Public Force and in its external activities; to strengthen national and international regulations on gender and human rights; and to guarantee a greater presence and recognition of women in the Public Force at all levels of decision-making, operational environments, and peacekeeping. Despite the progress this Policy represents, it appears that the implementation of this crosscutting public policy is very difficult, as there isn't wide political pressure for these efforts.[132]

Military forces are also advancing towards greater integration of women in their structure. In 2019, the first woman joined the Colombian Infantry - the toughest and most prestigious specialization in the Army.[133] In the Air Force, the participation of women has been particularly high compared to the other branches of the armed forces, with 18.2 percent of employees being women. Within the Air Force, women have not only occupied administrative positions but have also performed in combat roles. Likewise, military forces have created bodies to include gender in their operations. The Army created a Gender Office in 2016. This Office does internal work, attempting to issue

[129] "Vicepresidencia se Refiere a Servicio Militar Obligatorio para Mujeres," *El Tiempo*, July 26, 2020, https://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/servicio-militar-obligatorio-para-mujeres-vicepresidenta-aclara-el-tema-522330.
[130] "Discurso de la Vicepresidenta en el Juramento de la Mujeres Auxiliares de la Policía de Bogotá," October 22, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nJDIM6-0zk.
[131] "Special Report of the Kroc Institute and the International Accompaniment Component, UN Women, Women's International Democratic Federation, and Sweden, on the Monitoring of the Gender Perspective in the Implementation of the Colombian Final Peace Accord," (Bogatá: Keough School of Global Affairs at the University of Notre Dame, 2018), 11.
[132] Rosa Emilia Salamanca, Executive Director of Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica (CIASE), interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 26, 2020.
[133] "Que las Mujeres del Ejército Sepan que Todo es Posible: ST Angie Carolina Cely," *El Heraldo*, July 7, 2019, https://www.elheraldo.co/barranquilla/que-las-mujeres-del-ejercito-sepan-que-todo-es-posible-st-angie-carolina-cely-647655.

internal policies to open more spaces for women to join the Army.[134] While the Army's Gender Office exists in the organizational chart, it has no resources assigned to it and long-term initiatives are problematized by short tenures for office leaders. Also, Colombia's Military School started a Gender Observatory that is a research center for gender issues.

As a result of the peace negotiations, in 2016, the Colombian created the Police Unit for Peacebuilding (UNIPEP) to contribute with peacebuilding efforts. UNIPEP seeks to improve prevention mechanisms for and attention to gender-based violence in prioritized rural municipalities. According to Marcelo Diaz, a representative of the Folke Bernadotte Academy, UNIPEP is doing a good job educating police officers in gender-based violence and attending such cases in rural communities.

Mentoring. No official mentoring programs exist in Colombia for women in the military. There are informal mentorships that exist, but the number of role models women have is small and, when women have mentors, they are mostly men[135]. From a recent survey done inquiring from whom people prefer to receive orders, many women stated they preferred to receive orders from men.[136] This preference may be a result of a lack of precedents for female leaders in the military. This lack contributes greatly to not being able to relate conceptualizations of leadership to women.

D. Obstructive Factors

Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms. In a protocal published in 2015, the Colombian Public Force stated it has a zero tolerance against sexual violence.[137] The Law 1719 of 2014 (Chapter VII, article 30) mandates that superiors exercise concrete measures that prevent sexual violence to their subordinates and it expects superiors to make sure their subordinates understand that sexual violence is unacceptable and intolerable in the public force.[138] The Resolution 3010 of 2020 establishes the strategic lines for the promotion of gender equity in the Colombian Public Force, one of them being the prevention and comprehensive care of gender violence within the institution.[139]

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[134] "Documental Revista Ejército Edición 197: Mujer Militar," Devanna De la Puente, Ejército Nacional de Colombia, October 2018,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZF_4XriLl8&ab_channel=Ej%C3%A9rcitoNacionaldeColombia.
[135] Alejandra Ortiz Ayala, Ph.D. candidate at the National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies at University of Otago, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 28, 2020.
[136] Maria Catalina Monroy, Professor at Universidad Externado de Colombia, and Catalina Chacon Santos, Student of Political Science, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 16, 2020.
[137] "Protocolo de la Fuerza Pública para la Prevención y Respuesta a la Violencia Sexual, Particularmente en Relacion
Con el Conflicto Armado," (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2015).
[138] "Protocolo de la Fuerza Pública para la Prevención y Respuesta a la Violencia Sexual, Particularmente en Relacion
Con el Conflicto Armado," Ministerio de Defensa Nacional.
[139] "Resolución 3010 de 2020 - Presidencia de la República," Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, November 10, 2020.

Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards. In the Colombian National Police, the specifications for physical tests vary according to the weight, height, and flexibility of the person.[140] In the military forces, physical tests are the same for women and men.[141]

Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment. The Colombian security forces have made some accommodations for women's integration. For example, military warships have separate cabins and bathrooms for women and in the police, women and pregnant women receive uniforms designed for their gender and measurements.

Family-Friendly Policies. Maternity leave in the military is compliant with national law (Article 236 of the 2017 Law 1822). Military mothers have 18 weeks of paid maternity leave and military fathers have 8 days of paid paternity leave.[142][143]

There is room for improvement in the security sector's policies toward families, due to their lack of institutionalized schedule flexibility, access to childcare, and breastfeeding policies.[144] [145] Women's obtainment of flexible schedules for family care is informal and depends on the woman's superiors. A generalized conclusion on this factor is difficult, as some superiors are more flexible than others, due to a lack of official regulations or rules integrated in the military. [146]

E. Implications and Secondary Effects of Increased Participation by Women in the Security Sector

The presence of Colombian military and police women has been key to handling the counseling of victims of sexual violence in the context of the armed conflict, as well as within the processes of demobilization and reintegration of women belonging to armed groups.[147] Women's increased participation provides better handling of the sexual crimes committed during the armed conflict, and thus, contributes to more comprehensive healing of the country moving forward.

Former General Guillermo León Diettes, historian of the National Police, recognizes that one of the most important roles of women in the institution has been in the fight against drug trafficking[148]. Women not only fought shoulder to shoulder with their other male colleagues, but

[140] Colonel Lurangeli Franco, Police Unit for Peacebuilding and Carlos Hoyos, International Organization for Migration, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 18, 2020.
[141] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[142] Luis Gabriel Fernandez Franco, "Asunto: Reconocimiento de la Licencia de Maternidad Radicado 201742301918152," (Bogotá D.C.: Ministerio de Salud, September 18, 2017).
[143] "Minimum Employment Rights," *DLA Piper*, January 9, 2020, https://www.dlapiperintelligence.com/goingglobal/employment/index.html?t=08-minimum-employment-rights.
[144] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy, "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[145] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.
[146] Pinto, interview by Ortiz and Justynski, November 6, 2020.
[147] "Política Pública Sectorial de Transversalización del Enfoque de Género para el Personal de la Fuerza Armada,"(Ministerio de Defensa, 2018), 20.
[148] "Una Monja, Clave en la Formación de las Primeras Mujeres Policía," *El Tiempo*, November 20, 2016, https://www.eltiempo.com/justicia/cortes/historia-de-las-mujeres-en-la-policia-de-colombia-33444.

they also carried out intelligence and investigation tasks. For example, several women managed to infiltrate drug trafficking cartels.

F. Additional Factors

Women as combatants. The increased number of military women can be attributed to the nature of the internal conflict between the government and the FARC and other insurgent groups. By the time of the conflict, almost 50 percent of the rebels were women.[149] A general of the Colombian Army commented that the inclusion of female soldiers during the conflict was a strategic need because the FARC had a very large number of women in its combat ranks that distracted and, consequently, led to the defeat of the soldiers of the national army.[150]

WPS National Action Plan (NAP). Although the Colombian government has made statements in support of gender equality, and the Ministry of Defense recognizes UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda, Colombia has not yet developed a WPS National Action Plan (NAP). However, around 57 civil society organizations (CSOs) actively engage, evaluate, and press the security sector.[151]

Women in Power with a WPS Agenda. The Vice President of Colombia, Marta Lucia Ramírez, believes that an increase of women in the military forces is "necessary".[152] Ramirez has successfully advocated for the inclusion of more women in the public force and for the prevention of gender violence within Colombian law enforcement institutions— through the opening of gender offices that will support the monitoring of criminal and disciplinary investigations; observatories of gender to follow up on the facts of gender violence and the Cross-Gender Public Policy; and inclusion of psychological tests in the recruitment of soldiers.[153][154]

History of Purdah. Colombian women are expected to participate in the public sphere; there is no custom of the seclusion of women.

Education Gaps. The literacy rates in Colombia are high. By 2018, 95.3 percent of female adults were literate and 95 percent of male adults.

Sex-Segregated Jobs in ULE. Colombian women are allowed and found in all positions, including combat positions, in the police and military forces. However, military women have few

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[149] "Women's Participation in Peace Processes: Colombia," *Council on Foreign Relations*, December 15, 2017, https://www.cfr.org/blog/womens-participation-peace-processes-colombia

[150] Maria Catalina Monroy, Professor at Universidad Externado de Colombia, and Catalina Chacon Santos, Student of Political Science, interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 16, 2020.

[151] Eva Maria Rey Pinto, Military Academy, "General Rafael Reyes Prieto," interview by Nereyda Ortiz and Ashley Justynski, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 6, 2020.

[152] "Vicepresidencia se Refiere a Servicio Militar Obligatorio para Mujeres," *El Tiempo*, July 26, 2020, https://www.eltiempo.com/politica/gobierno/servicio-militar-obligatorio-para-mujeres-vicepresidenta-aclara-el-tema-522330.

[153] "Resolución 3010 de 2020 - Presidencia de la República," Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, November 10, 2020.

[154] "Polémica por Propuesta Sobre Servicio Militar Obligatorio para Mujeres," *Semana*, July 25, 2020, https://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/polemica-por-propuesta-sobre-servicio-militar-obligatorio-para-mujeres/689207/.

opportunities for growth and promotion to senior levels due to the lack of experience in combat position. The first woman joined the Colombian Infantry just in 2019.[155]

Integrated Units. There are only gender-mixed police and military stations.

G. Conclusion

From this case study, we found that Colombia has been generally successful in improving the integration of women into its Colombian Public Force. The preponderance of evidence suggests that, although Colombia has been successful in increasing the number of women in all areas of the security forces, there is still much room for improvement in decreasing barriers for women in the Colombian Public Force. Specifically, more could be done to provide active participation and career opportunities; Colombian women in the armed forces are often relegated to administrative positions and there are no formal mentoring programs. Likewise, the Colombian Public Force has undertaken governmental and institutional endeavors to increase the participation of women in the security sector, although not all have been effectively implemented. These efforts are often overshadowed by the existing masculine security institutions, as well as restrictive gender roles and stereotypes, that leave Colombian women with persistent barriers to participation which will require time and significant change to lift.

[155] "Military Missions and the Post-Conflict Environment: A Regional Perspective on Colombia," RESDAL, 2018, III.

Fig. 8 Colombia Scoring Matrix

	Factor Number	Factor	Colombia			
			Factor Country Score			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)	2			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	1			
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)	2			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	2			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	0	0		0
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	2	2		2
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	0		0
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)	2	2		2
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	4	0		2
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	3	2		2.5
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	3	3		3
		Totals:	**14**	**9**		**22.5**
			Institution Scores			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

VI. India: A Failed Case

The following case study is a shorter version of a 28 page-long case study on Liberia done in conjunction with this research.

A. Introduction

India is the fifth largest contributor worldwide of uniformed personnel, including women officers, to UN Peacekeeping missions. It is also the world's first country to deploy an all-women contingent to the UN peacekeeping Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2007.[156] Despite these

[156] "India and the UN: Celebrating 70 Years of Invaluable Service to the Cause of Peace," *UN News*, August 3, 2018, https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/08/1016322.

achievements on the international stage, women make up a small portion of the police forces, and the Indian Army has not allowed women in combatant positions. As of 2019, women account for only 8.98 percent of the Indian Police Service, 3.8 percent of the Indian Army, 13 percent of the Air Force, and 6 percent of the Navy.[157] Although India has seen some improvement in women's participation in the security sector over the recent years, these numbers are still below the world average. Residual norms and traditions still significantly and disproportionately affect women, including those who pursue their career in the security sector. Additionally, women in India face a set of unique challenges, ranging from the widespread practice of child marriage to high levels of domestic and sexual violence.[158] In 2018, the Reuters Foundation declared India as the most dangerous country in the world for women.[159]

Fig. 9 Women in the Security Sector in India

Women in the Security Sector in India	*Police*	*Army*	*Air Force*	*Navy*
2019	*8.98%*	*3.8%*	*13%*	*6%*
2014	*6%*	*3%*	*8.5%*	*2.8%*

*Source: Ministry of Home Affairs & Ministry of Defense of India

In this case study, we will examine the contextual factors that affect Indian women's participation in law enforcement institutions. Moving forward, we will analyze facilitative and obstructive factors to understand India's successful and failed efforts in the recruitment and retention of women in police and military. Following this section, we will discuss the secondary effects in Indian society stemming from the increased number of women in uniform. In the conclusion, we will describe how the Indian case study connects to the overall findings of our research.

B. Contextual Factors

Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes. The most common and significant barriers for Indian women are gender stereotypes and what are perceived to be women's traditional roles in Indian society. Several sources including the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative report emphasized that deeply ingrained stereotypes of women as "unsuited" for the security sector are some of the

[157] "Data on Police Organizations," Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs of India, 2020, https://knoema.com/atlas/sources/BPRD?topic=India; Soutik Biswas, "India's Soldiers 'Not Ready for Women in Combat'," *BBC*, February 8, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-51385224#:~:text=India's%20armed%20forces%20began%20inducting%20women%20officers%20in%201992.,can%20accommodate%20them%20are%20ready.

[158] G. Prasad Rao, K. L. Vidya, and V. Sriramya, "The Indian "Girl, Psychology: A Perspective," *Indian Journal of Psychiatry* 57, no. 2 (July 2015); Sumedha Kirti, "Every Third Woman in India Suffers Sexual, Physical Violence at Home," *News 18*, February 07, 2018, https://www.news18.com/news/india/the-elephant-in-the-room-every-third-woman-in-india-faces-domestic-violence-1654193.html.

[159] "Thomson Reuters Foundation Annual Poll: The World's Most Dangerous Countries for Women," *Thomson Reuters Foundation*, 2018, https://poll2018.trust.org/.

decisive factors that greatly hinder women's participation in law enforcement.[160] Another issue is the notion of women's honor and as a result, women touching men other than their family members can be problematic. Given that the security sector's tasks often require physical contact and proximity to other officers, that will hamper Indian women from considering careers in the security forces. For these reasons, many parents are still reluctant to the idea of daughters in uniforms, which matters in a society where parents' approval plays an important role in a girl's occupational decisions.[161]

Male Dominated Institutional Culture. The male dominated organizational culture in India leads to a negative and biased perception of women in uniform among their male counterparts. Both men and women police officers consistently rated men as performing better in almost all police tasks except some that have been traditionally reserved for women officers, secretaries and office staff.[162] Another survey in 2019 also revealed that 41 percent of male police respondents expressed either a 'high' or 'medium' degree of bias against their female counterparts, believing that women police officers were less efficient and less hardworking.[163] These responses explain another survey result where more than half of police personnel, including men, answered that men and women in the police are not treated fully equal.[164] The situation in the military is even worse. Before the Indian Supreme Court released a ruling in February 2020 allowing women to serve as commanders, the Indian central government opposed the idea, arguing that Indian soldiers who are mostly men from rural backgrounds "are not mentally schooled to accept women officers in command."[165] Likewise, the Indian security institutions function largely based on male-centered cultures and practices.

Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector. The statistics show that in 2019, 8.98 percent of Indian police personnel are women, 89 percent of whom are in the lowest two ranks while less than 1 percent hold senior positions. Women are even less represented in the Indian military, with only 3.8 percent of women in the army of the world's second largest military.[166]

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[160] Aideen Gilmore, Devyani Srivastava, Aditi Datta, Gulmina Ahmad Bilal, Sundas Syed, and Yahya Ahmad, "Rough Roads to Equality: Women Police in South Asia," ed. by Maja Daruwala and Devika Prasad, (New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2015), 76.

[161] Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.

[162] Mangai Natarajan, "Police Culture and the Integration of Women Officers in India," *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 16, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 134.

[163] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2019), 93-102.

[164] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions," Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 101.

[165] Prerna Dhoop and Vandana Dhoop, "On Permanent Commission for Women Officers, the Army Continues to Drag Its Feet," *The Wire,* July 9, 2020, https://thewire.in/women/indian-army-women-officers-permanent-commission-delay; Shreshtha Das, "Equal Roles for Women in Indian Army is not a Feminist Victory," *Al Jazeera*, March 3, 2020, https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/3/3/equal-roles-for-women-in-indian-army-is-not-a-feminist-victory/#:~:text=On%20February%2017%2C%20the%20Supreme,to%20command%20entire%20military%20units.

[166] Soutik Biswas, "India's Soldiers 'Not Ready for Women in Combat,'" *BBC*, February 8, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-51385224#:~:text=India's%20armed%20forces%20began%20inducting%20women%20officers%20in%201992.,can%20accommodate%20them%20are%20ready.

Over the last few years, the government started promoting women's integration in the security sector, and some significant progress has been achieved during that time. However, women's representation in the India law enforcement sector still remains much lower than the world average.

Women's Participation in National Government. India struggles with women's participation at the national government level. According to the World Bank, women currently hold around 14 percent of seats in the national Parliament of India, which is much lower than the world average of approximately 25 percent.[167] In addition, the Women's Power Index indicates that women account for only 13 percent of ministerial positions in India's government as of today.[168]

Laws Against Gender Discrimination. As with all institutions in the country, the security sector is bound to guarantee its members' rights to equality, non-discrimination, and equality of opportunity as enshrined in the Constitution of India. Articles 14, 15, and 16 concretize these principles: Article 14 ensures equality before law; Article 15 prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them; and Article 16 ensures equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. These not only represent the rights to equality (in several aspects) and non-discrimination, but Article 15 specifically allows the State to "make special provisions for women and children".[169] Nonetheless, the high rate of GBV along with the continuing practices such as child marriage and female infanticide raise the question of actual enforcement of these laws.

Government Support for Women Participation in the Security Sector. India has a National Commission for Women that advises the government on policies related to women. The Ministry of Women and Child Development also works to tackle women's issues and is committed to Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB). However, less than five percent of overall government spending is allocated to gender issues; the majority is invested in rural development, education, and health.[170] Currently there are no explicit government initiatives for women's increased participation in the security sector by neither of these government bodies created to address women's issues.

C. Facilitative Factors

Gender Balancing Policies. The Ministry of Home Affairs has issued several advisories to all state governments to increase women's representation in policing to 33 percent,[171] and in 2013,

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[167] "Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%)," The World Bank, retrieved November 8, 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS.
[168] "Women's Power Index," *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 18, 2020, accessed November 2020, https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index.
[169] Devyani Srivastava, "Model Policy for Women in the Police in India," ed. Devika Prasad, Aditi Datta Gupta, Pavani Nagaraja Bhat, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, December 2018, 1.
[170] Amit Kapoor, "Budget 2020: The Need for Gender Budgeting," *The Economic Times,* January 31, 2020, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/budget-2020-the-need-for-gender-budgeting/articleshow/73793600.cms.
[171] Rahul Tripathi, "Women Police Personnel Constitute a Meagre 8.98% of Police Force Across India: BPR&D," *The Economic Times*, January 30, 2020, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/women-police-personnel-constitute-a-meagre-8-98-of-police-force-across-india-bprd/articleshow/73736033.cms?from=mdr.

the same ministry recommended additional policies to increase women's participation in the police, including the provision of a mandatory women's help desk. Likewise, all-women police stations (WPS) have been established across India since their first introduction in the late 1970s.[172] Unfortunately, the WPS efforts were unsuccessful as they led to the segregation and isolation of women within the police.[173] Additionally, in 2020, the State Government increased the reserved spots for women's recruitment in the police from 20 percent to 25 percent.[174] Regardless, the 33 percent quota for women is far from being achieved. According to Tata Trust research, only two out of 36 states reached 80 percent of their quotas. The same research predicts that some of the states will need 300 years to achieve their declared quotas at their current pace of progress.[175] In the case of the military, there is neither a quota, nor any specific gender balancing policy. It was only after this year that women were given the choice of 'Permanent Commission,' allowing them to work until retirement. Before, women were only accepted for Short Service Commission (SSC).[176] To date, this change, as many others, is not adequately enforced.

Gender mainstreaming. The National Conference of Women in Police (NCWP) is a bi-annual conference held by the Bureau of Police Research and Development of the Ministry of Home Affairs of India since 2002.[177] Each conference issues recommendations after three days of discussions on the challenges and needs of women police personnel.[178] A wide array of measures have been suggested regarding the recruitment, retention, and empowerment of women personnel. However, there are no mechanisms that ensure their adoption and implementation.

Mentoring. There is no official mentoring program in India's police and military.[179] The NCWP serves as a networking opportunity for women personnel, but is only limited to those who attend the events. For mentoring and guidance, Indian women in uniform mostly rely on indirect exposure to successful role models like Major Suman Gawani of the Indian Army, who received the UN military Gender Advocate award in May 2020.[180]

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[172] Sofia Amaral, Sonia Bhalotra, and Nishith Prakash, "Gender, Crime, and Punishment: Evidence from Women Police Stations in India," (2019), 9.

[173] Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.

[174] "Quota up by 5% for Women in Police Force," *The New Indian Express*, February 18,2020, https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/karnataka/2020/feb/18/quota-up-by-5-for-women-in-police-force-2104898.html.

[175] "India Justice Report: Ranking States on Police, Judiciary, Prisons and Legal Aid," (New Delhi: Tata Trust, 2019), 28.

[176] Prerna Dhoop and Vandana Dhoop, "On Permanent Commission for Women Officers, the Army Continues to Drag Its Feet," *The Wire,* July 9, 2020, https://thewire.in/women/indian-army-women-officers-permanent-commission-delay.

[177] Central Reserve Police Force, National Conference of Women in Police, accessed November 1, 2020, https://crpf.gov.in/ncwp.htm.

[178] National Conference for Women in Police, Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, accessed November 2020, https://bprd.nic.in/content/59_1_NationalConferenceWomeninPolice.aspx.

[179] Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.

[180] "Women Peacekeepers from Brazil and India Share UN Military Gender Award," *UN News*, May 25, 2020, https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/05/1064872.

D. Obstructive factors

Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms. India adopted the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace Act in 2013. The Act makes it mandatory for all workplaces, including those in the security forces, to constitute a committee that deals with sexual harassment complaints. According to reports about Indian police, however, around 25 percent of women personnel were not aware that such a committee existed in their institution.[181] For this reason, sexual harassment reporting rates in the Indian police remain very low.[182] In addition, the male-dominated organizational culture contributes to discounting sexual harassment complaints as "frivolous" or "over-sensitive".[183] Likewise, despite the national legislation mandating the reporting mechanisms at the institution level, its actual implementation on the ground remains a serious issue in the Indian security sector.

Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards. Since 1996, India's police and military have required different physical fitness standards for men and women. The standards for women are renormed to match the equivalent level of men's.[184] Renorming physical fitness standards resulted in a six-fold increase in the number of women applicants for policing, according to the interview with a former police officer. As we discussed in the literature review, backlash to this policy was observed in many other countries, and therefore, we cannot make a hasty conclusion of its long-term effects on women's participation in law enforcement. However, a retired Indian policewoman strongly asserted that the policy effectively expanded the pool of potential personnel, and so was useful. Given that Indian girls and women have limited access to physical activities in their daily lives in comparison to boys and men, this might explain why the renormed physical fitness standards seem to increase women's recruitment in India's security sector.[185]

Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment. The Indian security sector still lacks accommodations for women personnel, including gender-segregated restrooms. According to a survey in 2019, 22 percent of women police personnel do not have separate toilets at their police stations.[186] In rural or underprivileged areas, the basic infrastructure is even worse; 96 percent of policewomen interviewees reported a lack of separate restrooms and break rooms.[187]

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[181] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2019), 100.
[182] Aideen Gilmore, Devyani Srivastava, Aditi Datta, Gulmina Ahmad Bilal, Sundas Syed, and Yahya Ahmad, "Rough Roads to Equality: Women Police in South Asia," ed. by Maja Daruwala and Devika Prasad, (New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2015), 60.
[183] "Second Report: 'Working Conditions of Women in Police Force,'" (New Delhi: Committee on Empowerment of Women, Lok Sabha Secretariat, December 2014), 25.
[184] Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.
[185] "New BBC Research Shows Less than 30% of Indian Women Play Any Sports," *BBC*, March 6, 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2020/indian-women-play-any-sports#:~:text=New%20BBC%20research%20shows%20almost,of%20sport%20or%20physical%20activity.&text=The%20research%20shows%20these%20figures,compared%20to%2029%25%20of%20women.
[186] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2019), 99.
[187] "Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2019), 126.

Given that gender-based infrastructure is not only about convenience, but is more related with the safety of women in uniform, Indian women in the security sector are being forced to work in a substandard working environment.

Family Friendly Policies. Women in Indian police and military are entitled to 26 weeks of paid maternity leave under the Maternity Benefit Amendment Act adopted in 2017. This is the third longest paid maternity leave provision in the world, and that marks a significant progress for India. Unfortunately, women in the security sector are reluctant to use the leave due to fears of resentment from male colleagues.[188] Likewise, although India has an exemplary policy for maternity leave, its actual implementation remains an issue that further hinders women's participation in the security sector.

E. Implications and Secondary Effects of Increased Participation by Women in the Security Sector

Women's Increased Access to Justice. Traditionally, patriarchal attitudes and harsh treatment of women by male police personnel in India have made women less likely to visit police stations by themselves and more likely to be escorted by family members.[189] As women often feel more comfortable and safer encountering women police as their first point of contact, women's presence in police stations allows women greater access to the police.[190] At least in part as a result of increased women's participation in policing, the number of crimes against women reported in India has increased by 22 percent, especially for female kidnapping and domestic violence cases.[191]

Public Attitudinal Change Toward the Law Enforcement Sector and Women in General. Women in uniformed law enforcement catalyzed more positive public attitudes toward the Indian police force. According to a 2018 survey, Indian citizens considered female police more honest than male police.[192] Additionally, in states with higher representation of women in uniform, public satisfaction with the police force was much higher, especially among women.[193] Indian experts affirmatively stated the enormous respect that women in uniform have gained in Indian society, and how they are featured as successful working women and role models, which, in turn, attracted

[188] Radhika Jha, Research Executive of Common Cause, interview by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, October 21, 2020.
[189] "Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2018), 39; Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.
[190] Devika Prasad, Aditi Datta, Devyani Srivastava, "Audit Report: Delhi Police Pilot Project, All-Women Police Control Room Vans," ed. Sanjoy Hazariki and Maja Daruwala (New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2017), 35.
[191] Sofia Amaral, Sonia Bhalotra, and Nishith Prakash, "Gender, Crime, and Punishment: Evidence from Women Police Stations in India," (2019), 3.
[192] "Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions," (New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2018), 119.
[193] "Status of Policing in India Report 2018: A Study of Performance and Perceptions," Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 68.

more women to the uniformed law enforcement sector.[194] The Indian media, in general, is also in favor of women joining all kinds of jobs including the security sector; an important factor in encouraging changes in traditional families and society that are still hesitant to adhere to the idea of women in uniformed law enforcement.[195]

F. Additional Factors

Women as Combatants. The Indian public was never exposed to the women combatants, since women are not legally allowed to serve as combatants and they make up only less than four percent of the military staff. The former Army Chief and current Chief of Defense has also said that "a woman would feel uncomfortable at the front line".[196] Likewise, the perception of the Army being the national pride of India, coupled with the patriarchal idea of men as protectors, always marginalizes women in the security sector.[197]

WPS National Action Plan (NAP). India does not have a National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325, nor any equivalent national framework for Women, Peace, and Security. This contradicts with India's vocal commitment to the resolution as well as to the global WPS agenda. An Indian expert during the interview raised concern about the lack of a NAP, stating that it can translate into the lack of any systematic efforts to increase women's participation in the security sector.[198]

Women in Power with a WPS Agenda. Currently the Indian Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS), which is the highest decision-making body for the Indian national security matters, has only one female member, Nirmala Sitharaman, who is the Minister of Finance and Corporate Affairs. In fact, she previously served as the first full-time female minister of defence from 2017 until 2019. However, she has not publicly shown any specific interest in advancing the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, neither when she was a defence minister, nor as a current member of the CCS.

History of Purdah. In many parts of India, particularly in rural areas, women follow rules of veiling the body and avoiding public appearance, especially in the presence of relatives linked by marriage and also in the presence of strange men.[199] This cultural practice prevents women from active social life and economic participation.

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[194] Sanya Seth, Programme Analyst of UN Women India, interview by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 2, 2020.
[195] Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D., Former Director General of Bureau of Police Research and Development of India, interview and emails by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 4, 2020.
[196] Lauren Wolfe, "Indian Government Embarrasses Itself to Keep Ban on Women in Combat," *Women's Media Center*, February 9, 2020, https://womensmediacenter.com/news-features/indian-government-embarrasses-itself-to-keep-ban-on-women-in-combat.
[197] Akanksha Khullar, Researcher at the Centre for Internal and Regional Security at Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, interview by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020.
[198] Khullar, interview by Mitic and Noh, November 10, 2020.
[199] James Heitzman and Robert L. Worden, "Veiling and the Seclusion of Women," in *India: A Country Study*, Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1996.

Education gaps. India has a significant gender gap of 17 percent in literacy. According to the World Bank Database, in 2018, around 34 percent of adult women in ndis were illiterate, compared to around 18 percent of adult men.[200]

Integrated Units. Women in the police are integrated in the police units with male colleagues, but there are also separate only-women police stations. In the case of the military, they only have separate units for men and women personnel.

Sex-segregated Jobs in ULE. Women in Indian police forces make up the highest percentage of positions in lowest ranks, and in in-house tasks or desk jobs due to cultural norms and social barriers. Further, Indian women are not allowed to serve as combatants in the army, and therefore, women are restricted to non-combatant positions including but not limited to administrative roles.[201]

G. Conclusion

The current government of India has publicized its consistent drive to promote women's integration across the society.[202] However, the lack of a NAP along with any concrete governmental policies aiming to facilitate the implementation of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda raises doubts about political willingness in this regard. At the same time, it is also striking that India has undertaken many initiatives and removed legal barriers to women's participation, but has yet to reap any major improvement in women's participation rates, or even improvement in terms of how meaningful the participation of women in uniformed law enforcement is in reality. A series of facilitative policies such as non-discriminatory laws, quotas, sexual harassment committees, and maternity leave have all been adopted, but the issue of implementation remains India's most significant challenge that makes it difficult to acknowledge that these well-intended efforts have actually been facilitative.

It is our conclusion that deeply-rooted social norms and gender stereotypes still overshadow the efforts to increase women's participation that the Indian security sector has undertaken. The patriarchal society and the contextual factors associated with it present seemingly unbreakable barriers for women to join the security sector. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity within the sector hinders women's retention and meaningful integration. The overwhelming influence of contextual factors seems to explain the low rates of women's participation in India's uniformed law enforcement forces.

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[200] "Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia," World Bank, accessed November 30, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO; "Literacy Rate, Adult Male (% of Males Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia," World Bank, accessed November 30, 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.MA.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO.

[201] Prerna Dhoop and Vandana Dhoop, "On Permanent Commission for Women Officers, the Army Continues to Drag Its Feet," *The Wire,* July 9, 2020, https://thewire.in/women/indian-army-women-officers-permanent-commission-delay.

[202] Akanksha Khullar, Researcher at the Centre for Internal and Regional Security at Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, interview by Anita Mitic and HyounJung Noh, The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, November 10, 2020.

Fig. 10 India Scoring Matrix

	Factor Number	Factor	India			
			Factor Country Score			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)	0			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	1			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	1			
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)	1			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	0			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	1			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilatative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	0		1
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	2	1		1.5
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	0		0
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)	1	0		0.5
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	4	2		3
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	1	0		0.5
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	1	1		1
		Totals:	**11**	**4**		**11.5**
			Institution Score			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

VII. Discussion and Revision of the Conceptual Map

A. Discussions

Following this scoring exercise, we find that six of the factors in our initial conceptual map drawn from a review of the research literature were associated with success or failure in our three case studies. These factors include the following: 1) Male Dominated Institutional Culture, 2) Laws Against Gender Discrimination, 3) Government Support for Women's Participation, 4) Gender Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment, 5) Family-Friendly Policies, and 6) Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms. In each of these factors, Liberia and Colombia garnered higher scores than India, indicating that the presence or absence of policies or contexts related to these factors may impact the increase of women's participation in the security forces. Notably, the result of the contextual factor scoring appeared to be the most strongly indicative of how the case would place in the study overall. Colombia held the highest scores, Liberia placed

second, and India placed third after contextual factors were scored, and these placements held after scoring the other factors from the initial conceptual map.

Our comparisons gave rise to another important insight: the value of cross-sectoral efforts. In our case study with the greatest success, Colombia, it was found that the nation had made similar efforts across both the police and the military. This is in contrast to our case with the least success, India, where the military sector has been largely left untouched by gender initiatives. This illustrates that implementation of policies across the security force sectors is an important component of increasing women's participation overall.

We were also tasked with investigating whether there was evidence that increasing women's participation garnered broader and cascading effects for the society. Evidence for three secondary effects of women's participation did arise from our study; it was found that an increase in women's participation in the security sector was associated with 1) the strengthening of the sector's 's legitimacy, 2) an increased likelihood of sustainable peace and development, and 3) improvements in social attitudes towards women and overall gender dynamics. Evidence surrounding the link between women's participation and increased reporting rates for sexual crimes were mixed, as information gathered from Liberia indicated there was no link, while evidence gathered from India corroborated that the presence of female officers may improve reporting rates overall.

Aside from these clear corroborative findings, there were four other factors whose interpretations require greater nuance. These factors include: 1) Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes, 2) Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards, 2) Mentoring Programs, 3) Gender Mainstreaming, and 4) Gender Balancing. For these four factors, two primary interpretations may explain the factors' lack of association with outcomes in our scoring matrix. The first interpretation works to explain why strong gender roles and stereotypes should be seen as obstructive to women's participation in the security forces. For the Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes factor, the scores across India and Liberia were zero, while Colombia scored a two, making it appear as though the association between the factor and an outcome was minimal. That being said, through each of our case studies and in both interviews and written sources, gender roles and stereotypes were cited as vitally important influences on a woman's decision to join the security forces. In Colombia's case, the country's gender roles and stereotypes were less constraining on women, and their slightly higher score was associated with their success as a result. In order to understand how Liberia successfully increased women's participation despite having restrictive gender roles and a low score parallel to India's, however, we can point to the considerable influence of President Sirleaf and international donors and partner organizations. We argue that Liberia was able to bypass the extreme pressures of their obstructive gender roles and stereotypes because of the presence of President Sirleaf, a leader who pushed strongly for the progression of the WPS agenda. This is supported by the fact that, after these positive influences were removed, the negative influence of Liberia's gender roles and stereotypes returned and Liberia's progress stagnated. Thus, it can be argued that, without key leadership figures and continued financial and technical assistance from the international community, the gains that have been made can be undone, and the country can revert to a situation where restrictive gender roles and stereotypes are pervasive and hinder women's participation in the security forces.

Second, although no significant association was found between Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards, Gender Mainstreaming, and Gender Balancing and the success or failure of a case, we find it is important to continue to consider these policy avenues, as the limitations of our study may have impacted our assessment of them as catalysts for women's participation. Consider the issue of budgeting: announcing a gender balancing or gender mainstreaming policy but then not funding its implementation unsurprisingly leads to no change, as we saw in our case studies. For example, in the Indian case, several gender balancing and gender mainstreaming policies had been instated, but their limited enforcement and the overwhelming pressures of India's obstructive contextual factors may have prevented them from being effective. Similarly, there is the issue of time horizon for determining effectiveness of a policy. India, for example once more, had the most extensive experience with renorming policies. However, these policies were only recently implemented. Thus, longer term study will be necessary to determine whether the effects of renorming appear after a more significant period of time. Likewise, evidence of significant mentoring programs in our cases was extremely limited, so judgments about the overall efficacy of these programs should be viewed as inconclusive, not negative.

In addition, for several other factors in our initial conceptual map, such as Government Support, we learned that our initial definition for the factor was unable to accurately capture the variation between our cases, so we developed two components of this larger factor to consider in future iterations of this exercise: 1) Budget Earmarked for Gender Initiatives and 2) the Presence of High Ranking Women advocating a WPS Agenda. Following our study, we found that budget was often cited as one of the biggest hindrances to goals and programs meant to increase women's participation, particularly in our Liberia case. Although governments would develop plans or policies for gender task forces, offices, or special units, they were often gravely underbudgetted, subverting their efficacy. Second, we found that the presence of high ranking women advocating a WPS agenda greatly improved the likelihood of increasing participation by means of directed and well-funded policies; this was best exemplified by examples such as President Sirleaf of Liberia and Vice President Ramírez of Colombia, both of whom were strong proponents of the WPS agenda whose presence and persistence improved program development and implementation.

Further, it must be recognized that our case studies were limited by the information available concerning PKOs for each of these countries. Given this lack of information, we feel we cannot make any determinations about that sector; nevertheless, we still feel that our scorecard would be useful in analyzing contextual, facilitative, and obstructive factors affecting women's participation in these operations. Moving forward, research concerning understanding why this information is not readily available, as well as how this tool fits into our understanding of peacekeeping operations, will be necessary.

Finally, we determined that our initial conceptual map did not comprehensively capture a variety of factors that we found important in understanding the cases of Liberia, Colombia, and India. In order to remedy this, we developed a revised conceptual map, and, based on our revisions, completed a second iteration of our scoring exercise given available information.

B. Reorganization of the Conceptual Map

Through our analysis of Liberia, Colombia, and India, we identified several additional factors influencing women's participation that add to those illuminated by the literature review. These factors included five added contextual factors and one obstructive factor that appeared to have significant impact on outcomes.

History of women as combatants in previous conflicts. Our successful cases, Liberia and Colombia, both illustrated the impact of a history of women as combatants in previous conflicts in breaking down barriers to women's participation in security roles. In Colombia, women's presence in both the FARC rebel forces and the national military's combat lines during the civil war provided Colombians with an example of women in combat, making it easier for women to integrate into formal combat roles following peace talks. The situation was similar in Liberia, as women participated in both opposition forces and the AFL, a situation that led to a breakdown of taboos surrounding women in warfare out of necessity. These examples illustrate how exposure to images of local women in uniform can make it easier for a society to accept women in these positions.

Presence of women in power with WPS agenda. While in power, President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was a strong advocate and catalyst for change concerning the provision and funding of programs to increase women's participation in the Liberian security forces. For example, through her position, Sirleaf was able to actively increase women's involvement through the appointment of women into high positions in the LNP and AFL, as well as through policies such as the 20 percent target for increasing women's participation in the police. Following Sirleaf's stepping down from her leadership position, progress for women in security forces in Liberia has stagnated and risks regression. Further, this factor is also supported by the case study of Colombia, which describes the impactful influence of Vice President of Colombia Marta Lucia Ramírez, who is a strong advocate for including women in Colombia's military.

History of purdah. From our case study of India, customs and practices that involve the seclusion of women away from unrelated men for reasons of family honor negatively impact their ability to enter the labor force. We have identified these types of practices as significant in affecting the overall participation of women in the security forces, since not only do women in such sectors have to operate in the public square, but are also involved in touching unrelated men on a regular basis.

Education gaps. Lack of access to education by women was a considerable barrier to participation in the security forces in both Liberia and India. Both countries have particularly low literacy rates, especially for women, meaning that women may not typically possess the skills needed to complete report records or paperwork for law enforcement positions, and they are often weeded out during the selection process for lacking a high school diploma. The overall positive effect on women's participation on improving educational access was made clear through the success of Liberia's ESP, in which providing remedial education drastically improved Liberia's women's participation in the LNP. That being said, given our understanding of the ESP's downsides, where such remedial recruits were subsequently treated poorly, substantial improvements will need to be

made in concretizing literacy skills for women to sufficiently prepare them for law enforcement tasks.

Sex segregated tasks. In terms of its effect on both recruitment and retention, the degree to which tasks in the security sector are segregated by gender emerged as an important factor to be added to our analysis. When tasks in the police or military segregate women based on their gender, it decreases their occupational possibilities, their visibility by the public, and their promotion opportunities. Together, these forces may push otherwise capable women into other fields where they feel their talents are valued and can be better used.

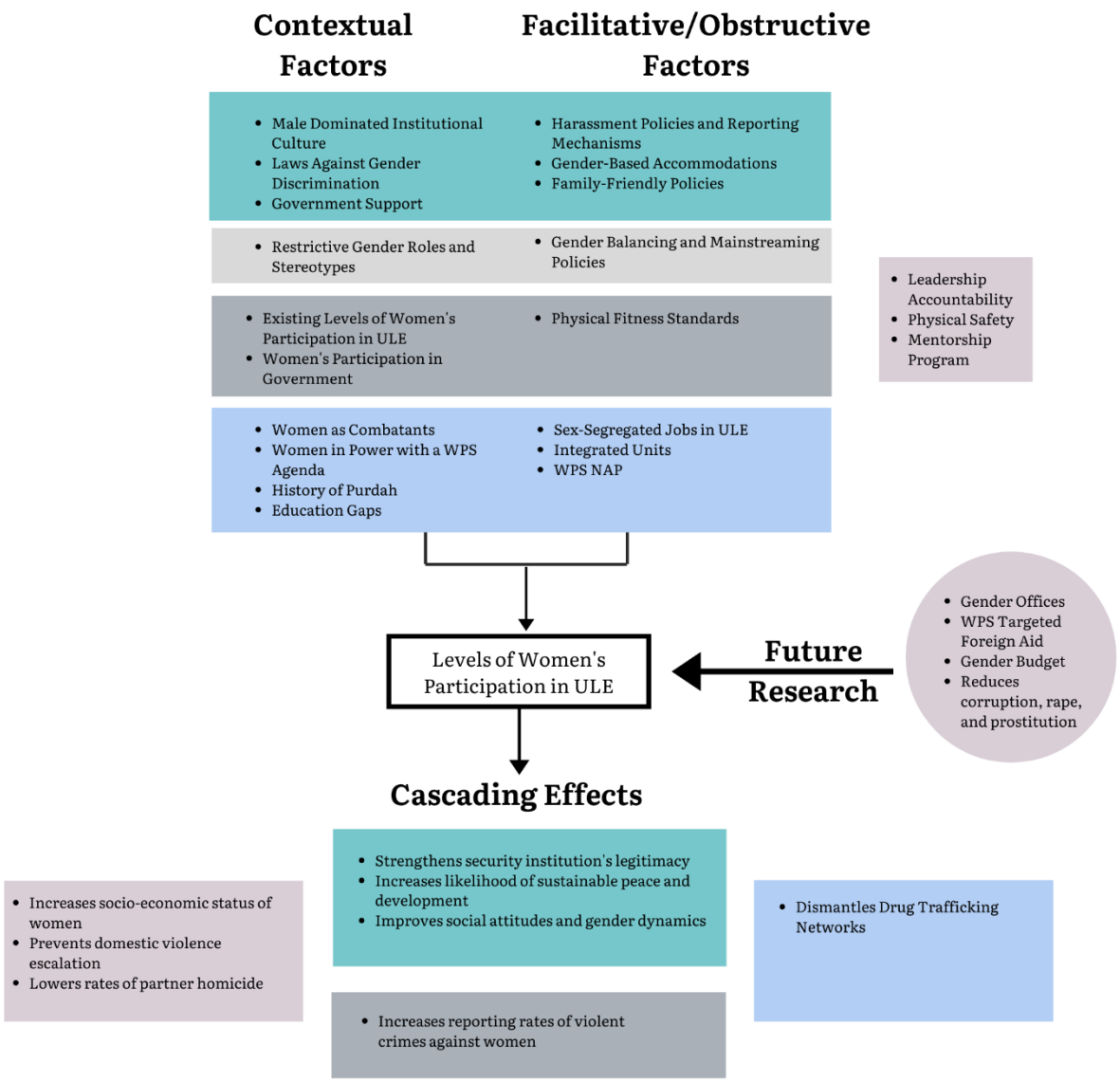
Integrated units. From our case study of India, we found that all-female units or police stations can lead to women being pushed to an institution's perimeter. Specifically, when women are placed in all female units, women and the tasks associated with their work can be treated as auxiliary to the primary forces of a particular institution, keeping them from being wholly integrated and equally valued as compared to their male counterparts. In order to facilitate this melding of women into the institution, integrated units are key. By allowing men and women to work together, men are given greater exposure to the work of their female colleagues, and women and their tasks cannot be easily ignored by the primarily male center of the organization.

WPS NAP. The presence of a Women, Peace, and Security National Action Plan may be key in providing countries with the structure and written commitment needed to develop and provide resources for programs to increase women's participation in the security forces. In Liberia, the NAP provides a written roadmap that all stakeholders can rely on when devising their policies and interventions. This central approach to policy planning may better ensure institutional coordination and budget allocation for the advancement of WPS goals.

Revision of the Conceptual Map

After determining the importance of including these new factors through our case studies, we found that a revision of our initial conceptual map was in order. In this revised conceptual map, 10 total contextual and nine facilitative and obstructive factors have been outlined. Likewise, eight secondary effects are described. Finally, three factors designated for future research are outlined to the right. The new conceptual map is as follows:

Fig. 11 Revised Conceptual Map



Revised Conceptual Map Key

This is a factor or secondary effect for which we found evidence of impact in our case studies.

The scoring exercises did not strongly indicate that these factors increased participation. However, an analysis of the qualitative data in the case studies indicates these factors do have an effect on participation. Also, these factors are often dependent on the implementation or effectiveness of other factors which can ultimately undercut their influence on participation.

This is a factor or secondary effect for which we did not find evidence of impact in our case studies.

This is a factor which we did not have in our original concept map, but the case studies indicated this was in fact important.

This is a factor which cannot be assessed in relation to women's participation. This is either because of a lack of access to information or because the factor was not substantially present in the case studies.

These factors or secondary effects were not in the original conceptual map, but there was evidence in the case studies that they may be important factors in increasing women's participation. Therefore, we suggest others should do future research on these.

Given this revised map, a new iteration of the scoring exercise was also completed, altered to reflect now 19 total factors of the revised conceptual map.

Fig. 12 Revised Case Study Scoring Matrix

	Factor Number	Factor	Liberia				Colombia				India			
			Factor Country Score				*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-	0				2				0			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2				2				1			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the	2				1				1			
	4	Women's Participation in National	1				2				1			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	1				2				0			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2				2				1			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	*Factor Country Score*	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	*Factor Country Score*	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	*Factor Country Score*
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	2		2	0	0		0	2	0		1
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	3	1		2	2	2		2	2	1		1.5
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	1		0.5	0	0		0	0	0		0
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting	2	2		2	2	2		2	1	0		0.5
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	0	0		0	4	0		2	4	2		3
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	2	2		2	3	2		2.5	1	0		0.5
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	3	2		2.5	3	3		3	1	1		1
Additional Factors – Contextual Factors	14	Women as Combatants (0-4)	4				4				0			
	15	Women in Power with a WPS Agenda (0-4)	2				4				0			
	16	History of Purdah (0-4)	4				4				0			
	17	Education Gaps (0-4)	0				4				0			
Additional Factors – Facilitative/ Obstructive Factors	18	WPS National Action Plan (0-4)	4				0				0			
	19	Sex Segregated Jobs in ULE (0-4)	3	3		3	4	4		4	3	2		2.5
	20	Integrated Units (0-4)	4	4		4	4	4		4	2	0		1
		Totals:	**19**	**17**		**40**	**22**	**17**		**46.5**	**16**	**6**		**15**
			Institution Scores			*Country Score*	*Institution Scores*			*Country Score*	*Institution Score*			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-80
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

From this scoring card, one can see the importance of the additional factors we identified. In the revised scoring, we see that Liberia now scores a 40 out of 80; Colombia a 46.5 out of 80; and Liberia only 15 out of 80. The addition of these factors helps more clearly distinguish between the cases of success and failure, suggesting they should be included in future research efforts on this topic.

A note on the double-edged nature of some factors. It is important to note that the investigation of cases beyond Colombia, Liberia, and India using our assessment tool may nuance further our understanding of the effects of these factors. For example, the presence or absence of societal education gaps may be more indicative of the overall success or failure in a case, as we found through examining Liberia's remedial ESP program which drove higher levels of female recruitment. Despite this program, Liberia scored low overall due to its particularly low literacy rates of women across the nation. Still, it is important to note that, if implemented poorly, as the ESP was, these programs may actually result in negative outcomes, such as the standards for women's literacy or education being lowered to the point that female recruits are unable to complete job tasks. Thus, we feel that long-term, sustainable efforts to increase women's literacy in the population overall may be most effective in improving women's participation.

An additional example of this double-edged potential can be found in our Indian case study, where the use of all female police stations, while increasing the visibility of women in law enforcement, also forced these woman officers into the perimeter of their institution, both physically and socially; their lack of resources actually caused these stations to appear obviously subordinate to the better funded, primarily male stations, harming the overall effect of the policy. Likewise, although well intentioned, physical renorming policies such as those in India that led to the reduction of physical fitness standards actually hurt female recruits as they moved farther along in their careers, as their male counterparts perceived the renorming of standards as an easing of the requirements for entrance, justifying their view that females were on a lower level than males.

Given this understanding of the double-edged nature of these policies, it is vital that policy planners and funding organizations take the time to analyze the possible repercussions of their planning actions on female recruits once they enter the force. If the primary goal is simply to get women in the door, that one dimensional goal may prevent planners from seeing how the provisions that got women in the door actually hurt them once women begin their jobs, particularly as they work alongside their male peers.

Call for future research. Given the limitations of our study, we believe that further research is necessary in order to understand the long term effects of recently introduced or unprecedented policies, like those that renorm physical fitness standards or those that introduce mentorship programs. Likewise, we believe that further research is necessary to determine the applicability of our scorecard to PKOs.

VIII. Conclusions and Recommendations

The study of women's participation in the security forces is in its infancy. However, through the use of our scorecard and revised conceptual map, policymakers can better understand the context within which policies and provisions for women's recruitment are to be made. The scorecard also suggests certain best practices for making the security forces a welcoming and purposeful place for women moving forward.

Based on our revised conceptual map and our assessments of our cases, we have developed a number of recommendations for institutions and nations hoping to increase women's participation in the security forces.

Our study of India, Liberia, and Colombia leads us to believe that policymakers might profit from the following recommendations:

1) **Tailor programming based on evaluations of a country's contextual factors.** Essentially, if contextual factors greatly inhibit a woman's ability to join the security forces, implementation of policies like quotas may not be effective. We feel that our scoring matrix may be a powerful tool in informing policy decision making concerning where donor dollars can be most effectively used. Likewise, in gathering the information needed for the scoring matrix, we recommend that the matrix be brought to local

organizations and civil society for their input, as they are often the groups gathering information about and assessing the efficacy of these programs.

2) **Beware sectoral difference.** Policy makers should beware when they see numbers where a case's police forces score well and the military scores poorly, as this may indicate that efforts to facilitate women's participation are not being equally distributed across the security forces. When these efforts are lopsided, it may lead to reduced effectiveness of measures in both the police and the military. Thus, measures should be applied to security forces equally, as they are in Colombia, to ensure balance.
3) **Women must be allowed to enter combat roles.** In order to break down taboos surrounding women in the security forces and provide women with the experience they need to progress in their fields, they must be allowed in combat roles traditionally reserved for men.
4) **Work to break down barriers but take into account the possible negative repercussions of proposed facilitative efforts.** Understand that some measures can act as double-edged swords. When planning, listen to communities and spend the time and resources needed to ensure new obstructions aren't created while attempting to facilitate increased participation.
5) **Implement gender-based accommodations and family-friendly policies to boost intentional integration of women.** Oftentimes, the availability of gender-based accommodations like a safe place to use the bathroom or family-friendly policies that provide childcare make or break a woman's decision to join the security forces. While gender balancing and gender mainstreaming policies are useful, they will not provide much help if women do not feel safe, welcome, or accommodated enough to do their job's well and without fear of danger.
6) **Provide funding opportunities for researchers investigating the long run effects of new policies or our scorecard's applicability to PKOs.** Given the limitations of our study and our lack of access to information regarding PKOs, we recommend that funding be provided to researchers looking to investigate topics such as the long term effects of renorming policies, the effects of well-funded and implemented gender mainstreaming and renorming policies, or mentoring programs in countries where they have been initiated. Likewise, we believe that our scorecard could be useful in assessing women's participation in PKOs, but further research will be necessary to verify its usefulness

It is possible to increase women's participation in uniformed law enforcement, but it takes an informed, sincere, and consistent effort. We hope these in-depth case studies can help inform that important discussion. The goal is nothing less than a more equitable and representative system of security forces around the globe.

VIII. Bibliography

"About Liberia." United Nations Development Programme. 2020. https://www.lr.undp.org/content/liberia/en/home/countryinfo.html.

This webpage provides a brief overview of the state of the country of Liberia. We used it to gain greater knowledge about the country as a whole, its successes, and the challenges it faces.

"About Us." Central Reserve Police Force, accessed November 7, 2020. https://crpf.gov.in/about-us.htm.

This webpage is an introduction to the Central Reserve Police Force, which is a part of the Indian Police Force mandated to serve for the internal security of the country. We used this information to describe their missions about their exposure to the Indian public.

Amaral, Sofia, Sonia Bhalotra, and Nishith Prakash. "Gender, Crime, and Punishment: Evidence from Women Police Stations in India." (2019).

This study examines the impact of all-women police stations on the reporting rates of crimes against women in India. The finding showed that opening all-women police stations increased the reporting rates, especially for female kidnappings and domestic violence. We used this article to support the increased women's access to justice as a secondary effect of increased women's participation in the Indian police.

"Annual Report 2019-20," New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 2020.

This annual report is an official government white paper on the external affairs of India and related policies in 2019 and 2020. The report covers the external relations of India with individual countries as well as intergovernmental organizations. This report was used to discuss India's performance in the UN peacekeeping missions with a special focus on the Female Engagement Team.

Bacon, Laura. "Building an Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service: Gender-Sensitive Reform in Liberia (2005-2011)." *Innovations for Successful Societies*, Princeton University, 2012.

This study evaluates the success of rebuilding the Liberian National Police after the civil war and how the Liberian National Police made it possible for women to join the ranks. It focuses on the initial problems with recruitment women right after the civil war such as combating the education gap and confronting preconceived ideas about the security sector. We used it to evaluate the effectiveness of the initial programs in place.

Bacon, Laura. "Liberia's Gender Sensitive Police Reform: Improving Representation and

Responsiveness in a Post-Conflict Setting." *International Peacekeeping* 22 no. 4 (2015): 372-397.

The article analyzes Liberia's police reform and WPS. It looks at the efforts made between 2003-2013 to recruit more women, mainly through the implementation of the Education Support Program. Further the article has data on women's participation levels during those years. Therefore, in the paper this article was used to describe the Education Support Program as well as to show the trends in women's participation in the police.

Barnes, Tiffany D., Emily Beaulieu, and Gregory W. Saxton. "Restoring Trust in the Police: Why Female Officers Reduce Suspicions of Corruption." Governance 31 no. 1 (2018): 143-161.

The studies show that there is a clear link between women in government and reduction of corruption. This research is examining three different stereotypes, that might explain this link. The research concludes that people find women more effective at combating corruption.

Bennett, Andrew and Colin Elman. "Case Study Methods in the International Relations Subfield." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2 (February 2007): 170-95.

The article explains the role the case study method has in the study of international relations in the US. This article describes how case studies can be used to analyze and describe the infrequent and unstructured phenomena of international relations that are not conducive of quantitative or experimental study

Bennett, Andrew. "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantage." In *Models, Numbers, and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*. Edited by Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky-Nahmais. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

This article works to describe how case studies are conducted and provides thorough and clear explanations of how comparative case studies can help researchers develop conclusions concerning a particular question. This resource was used to describe how our case studies were being used to research our problem.

Benschop, Yvonne and Marieke van den Brink. "Power and Resistance in Gender Equality Strategies." In *Oxford Handbook of Gender in Organizations*. Ed. Savita Kurma, Ruth Simpson, and Ronald J. Burke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

This article explores different strategies that are seeking gender equality in different organizations. We used this article to show the need for support from political elite for the strategies of gender balancing, to make them successful.

Bhattacharyya, Rituparna. "Street Violence Against Women in India: Mapping Prevention Strategies." *Asian Social Work and Policy Review* 10, no. 3 (July 19,2016): 311-325.

This article aims to explain the contextual factors of street violence against women in India. Street violence is one of the largest problems for women in India. We used to explain how much misogyny there is in the public spaces in India, and how women suffer high levels of violence in the streets.

Bigio, Jamille and Rachel Vogelstein. "Increasing Female Participation in Peacekeeping Operations." Council on Foreign Relations (September 26, 2018). https://www.cfr.org/report/increasing-female-participation-peacekeeping-operations.

The report highlights how women's participation improves the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. It briefly describes the gaps in female participation in PKO and it provides a few recommendations to increase women's participation in this sector.

Brown J., A. Hazenberg, and C. Ormiston. "Policewomen: An International Comparison." Policing Across the World: Issues for the Twenty-First Century. Edited by R. I. Mawby, 204-225. London: Routledge, 1999.

This chapter is a comparative study of women in policing. It provides a brief history which was used to help inform the literature review. The chapter also highlighted some recurring themes concerning women in policing which support the framework that was created and applied to case studies. It also gives insight to the links between social, cultural, and political influences which affect policewomen and their integration into the organization, potentially supporting claims to linkages between society and the security sector.

Bureau of Police Research and Development. National Conference for Women in Police. Ministry of Home Affairs. Accessed November 2020. https://bprd.nic.in/content/59_1_NationalConferenceWomeninPolice.aspx.

This is an official website of the Bureau of Police Research and Development of the Ministry of Home Affairs of India. It offers information on the National Conference for Women in Police in India, which is a bi-annual conference that recommends policies for women personnel and gender mainstreaming within the Indian police. We used the documents to examine the recommendations and their actual implementation.

"Cifras de Personal - Policía Nacional." Centro de Observación Prospectivo del Direccionamiento del Talento Humano, Policía Nacional de Colombia, August 5, 2020. https://www.policia.gov.co/talento-humano/estadistica-personal/cifras.

This is gender-disaggregated data on the number of personnel in the Colombian National Police. These statistics provided information for the participation levels of women in the Colombian National Police.

"Colombia," U.S. Foreign Aid by Country, 2020, https://explorer.usaid.gov/cd.

This resource provides the amount of financial aid provided to Colombia by the United States.

Cordner, Gary and Annmarie Cordner. "Stuck on a Plateau? Obstacles to recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police." Police Quarterly 14 no. 2 (September 2011): 207-226.

The study gives an overview of the different obstacles for women to join the police. One of the most difficult obstacles is the culture of masculinity. The study also, gives the list of the present practices that are limiting women's effectiveness or participation in police work.

"Cuenta satélite economía del cuidado." Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2017. https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/cuentas-nacionales/cuentas-satelite/cuentas-economicas-cuenta-satelite-economia-del-cuidado.

This indicator measures the labor of care in the Colombian System of National Accounts. It provided information on the disproportionate amount of unpaid work done by the average Colombian woman.

"Data on Police Organizations." Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs of India, 2020. https://knoema.com/atlas/sources/BPRD?topic=India.

This government report contains data about the Indian police. We used this data to describe the ratio between police personnel and the population.

DeGroot, Gerard J. "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping." International Peacekeeping 8 no. 2 (2001): 23-38.

This paper provides some historical context of women's participation in the military and peacekeeping and the stereotypes they faced and continue to face. In our paper, we highlight a positive that emerges from women's participation in the military.

Dharmapuri, Sahana. "Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping." International Peace Institute, Providing for Peacekeeping no. 4 (July 2013): 1-23.
The goal of this report is to provide recommendations concerning allowing the UN to reach its resolution 1325 goals for increasing women's participation in peacekeeping and providing a gendered perspective in operations. The report focuses on improving recruitment, retention, and advancement for women in peacekeeping through research and action plans, as well as developing a strong backing for these initiatives through support/new positions in upper management. This article provided clear and useful explanations for issues of recruitment, retention, and advancement for women, and the structure of the report gave not only a description of the issues, but also provided examples of possible improvements for the future. The report also gave insight into successes and failures about the Liberian case study.

"Discurso de la Vicepresidenta en el Juramento de la Mujeres Auxiliares de la Policía de Bogotá." Vicepresidencia Colombia, October 22, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-nJDIM6-0zk.

This is a formal speech from the Vice-President to congratulate the Police Station of Bogota, Colombia for training 243 female police officers. The speech was quoted to prove the active role of the vice president in advocating for a meaningful inclusion of women in the Colombian Public Force.

"Documental Revista Ejército Edición 197: Mujer Militar." Ejército Nacional de Colombia, October 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZF_4XriLl8&ab_channel=Ej%C3%A9rcitoNacionaldeColombia.

This video presents different examples of the introduction of women in the Colombian military forces. It provides information on the challenges that military women face within this institution— especially challenges related to their femininity.

Duffin, Erin. "Gender Distribution of Full-Time U.S. Law Enforcement Employees 2019." *Statista*, October 1, 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/195324/gender-distribution-of-full-time-law-enforcement-employees-in-the-us/.

The source provides data on the gender distribution of full-time law enforcement employees in the United States as of 2019. The data was used to show that Liberia has surpassed the United States in terms of women's participation in the police force.

"Fact Sheet on Women Police in India." Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, March 6, 2018.

This fact sheet presents the percentages of women police in India by state and by rank. It also summarizes the key policy recommendations on women in policing from 1980 to 2015. We used these statistics to inform the concentration of women police at the lowest (Constable and Head Constable) level.

Franco, Luis Gabriel Fernandez. "Asunto: Reconocimiento de la Licencia de Maternidad, Radicado 201742301918152." Bogotá D.C.: Ministerio de Salud, September 18, 2017.

This government document presents information about paid maternity leave. It provides the time period allowed for paid maternity leave.

Garnett, Tanya Ansahta and Kari Øygard. "Women's Education and Professionalism in Post-Conflict Liberia." *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 20 no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2019): 21–35.

The article explores Liberia's male-dominated society and it argues that women struggle to gain authority in the public and professional field. Further, it gives an overview of gender

roles in Liberian society. In the paper, the article was used to describe women's agency in the household, as well as the fact that despite a dramatic increase of women's political participation at the polls, women remain underrepresented in Liberian national politics.

"Gender Inequality Index (GII)." Human Development Reports, United Nations Development Programme, 2019. http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii.

This index provides an overview of the status of women in Liberia. We used this index to evaluate gender roles, views on women in society, and the levels of inequality represented within the country.

Ghittoni, Marta, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson. "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study." Ed. Ann Blomberg and Daniel de Torres. Geneva: DCAF, July 2018.

This study describes the current situation on women's participation in UN peacekeeping operations. It identifies 14 barriers to the deployment of uniformed women in PKO, lays out current and potential responses for each barrier, and it provides recommendations. Moreover, it provides an analysis of the context of the gender roles and stereotypes in PKO and how they affect recruitment, training, retention, deployment and promotion of uniformed women in peacekeeping operations.

Gilmore, Aideen, Devyani Srivastava, Aditi Datta, Gulmina Ahmad Bilal, Sundas Syed, and Yahya Ahmad. "Rough Roads to Equality: Women Police in South Asia." Ed. by Maja Daruwala and Devika Prasad. New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2015.

This report presents the situation of women in policing in four South Asian Countries: Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and the Maldives. It discusses the experiences and challenges of women in policing along with recommendations. The report was used to inform the stereotypes of women in India, which prevent women's participation in the security sector and also the prevalence of harassment at workplaces.

"Global Gender Gap Report 2020." Cologny/Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2020.

This report measures the gender-based gaps in each country in four key dimensions: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival; and political empowerment. We used this report to see the gender gap of economic participation in India, with a special focus on the gender pay gap.

Griffiths, Cecil and Kristin Valasek. "Liberia." In "The Security Sector and Gender in West Africa: A Survey of Police, Defense, Justice, and Penal Services." Ed. Miranda Gaanderse and Kristin Valasek. Geneva: DECAF, 2011, 137-153.

This chapter surveys the police, military, justice, and penal services of Liberia. It provides a breakdown of all the policies surrounding gender in these institutions. Specifically, it

provides information of the AFL and Liberian National Police's overall institutional gender policies as well as family policies sexual harassment polices, and reporting mechanism. It provides insight into how each institution approaches these policies and makes it possible to compare the policies of each.

Griffiths, Cecil. "Mapping Study on Gender and Security Sector Reforms Actors and Activities in Liberia." Ed. Anike Doherty and Aiko Holvikivi. Geneva, Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2011.

This study provides an in depth evaluation of the status of gender in the security sector in Liberia during 2011. It evaluates the reforms conducted following the end of the civil war up until 2011 and evaluates the implementation of the WPS NAP in 2009. We used this study to understand the reforms within the security sector, evaluate the lessons learned, and gaps that need to be addressed within the reforms for them to be more successful.

"Hacia la paz Sostenible por el Camino de la Igualdad de Género: II Informe de Seguimiento al Enfoque de Género en la Implementación de Acuerdo de Paz en Colombia." Bogotá: Keough School of Global Affairs at the University of Notre Dame, December 2019.

This report evaluates the implementation process of the 2016 Peace Accords in Colombia. It points out the gaps and successes in the implementation of gender stipulations in the peace agreement. This supports the argument that the inclusion of women in the peace negotiations increases the participation of women in some security sectors, especially on transitional justice.

"Handbook on Police Accountability, Oversight, and Integrity." Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, July 2011.

This report is about the best practices and recommendations for police accountability. We used this report to examine mechanisms that India implemented such as the National Human Rights Commission.

Harrendorf, Stefan, Markku Heiskanen, Steven Malby (eds.). "International Statistics on Crime and Justice." Helsinki: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010.

This report contains information and data about international crime and criminal justice. We used this report to investigate the average ratio of police personnel and citizens in the world.

Heitzman, James and Robert L. Worden. "Veiling and the Seclusion of Women." In *India: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1996.

This section of the paper explains the concept of purdah and veiling in India. We used this to explain how purdah is affecting women's social life and economic participation in India.

Hodkinson, Phil and Heather Hodkinson. "The Strengths and Limitations of Case Study

Research." In *Learning and Skills Development Agency Conference at Cambridge* 1, no. 1 (2001): 1-13.

This article describes the strengths and limitations of case study research. It was used to determine what kind of critiques revolving around our case study design may arise, as well as to develop our argument for the use of this design despite these critiques.

Hudson, Valerie M., Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen. *The First Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2020.

This book evaluates how the first political order (which was between men and women) was made, and its repercussions for society today. The authors conclude that the treatment of women within the household is the most telling and most important to evaluating their standing in the society. The definition of the patrilineal/fraternal security provision mechanism from the book was used in our report's codebook to give background on the WomanStats Patrilineality Scale, which was used to score the Gender Roles and Stereotype factor.

"Human Development Report 2019 - India." United Nations Development Program, 2019. Accessed October 26, 2020. http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/IND.

The Human Development Index (HDI) by UNDP measures the average achievement in major dimensions of human development including but not limited to health, education, gender, etc. We specifically used the Gender Development Index, which is one of the subcategories of the HDI to discuss gender inequality in India.

"Impactante Demostración de Puntería de Mujer Tiradora." Fuerzas Militares de Colombia, February 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Ge8LMKtwRs&ab_channel=FuerzasMilitaresdeColombia.

This video is a demonstration of marksmanship of a female sniper. This video supports the argument that female snipers feel proud of having the same physical training and tasks as men.

India Justice Report: Ranking States on Police, Judiciary, Prisons and Legal Aid." New Delhi: Tata Trust, 2019.

The India Justice Report 2019 ranks Indian states' capacity to deliver access to justice. We used this report to estimate the number of years that India will need to reach its quotas for women in police.

Jacevic, Mirsad Miki. "WPS, States, and the National Action Plans." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*, 273-290. Ed. by Sara E. Davies and Jacqui True. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

This chapter argues that the national action plans (NAPs) are tools for institutionalizing the women, peace, and security agenda across countries. It reviews NAP progress and challenges to date for Colombia and other countries. This chapter helps to frame the argument of the importance of a NAP in Colombia to ensure a sustainable peace.

Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley. "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" International Interactions, 39, no. 4 (2013): 461-488.

This study evaluates the role of women in peacekeeping missions. The most relevant conclusion to our research is the first hypothesis, which found female peacekeepers are more prevalent in less risky missions. Women, thus, become 'token women' in PKOs. This conclusion is particularly important to nuancing our discussion about women's participation and informs some of our factor scoring justifications.

Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley. *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

The authors argue that gender power imbalances between the sexes place restrictions on the participation of women in peacekeeping missions. Specifically, discrimination, a relegation of women to safe spaces, and sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment, and violence continue to threaten progress on gender equality.

Karim, Sabrina, Michael J Gilligan, Robert Blair, and Kyle Beardsley. "International Gender Balancing Reforms in Post Conflict Countries: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from the Liberian National Police." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 no. 3 (September 2018): 618-631.

This study evaluates how the introduction of women into the Liberian National Police effective the institution as a whole and whether or not it changes perceptions of women in the police force. The study finds that the introduction of women creates greater unit cohesion. However, there is no evidence supporting that it makes the police more sensitive to gender-based violence or changing the male perspective of women.

Karim, Sabrina. "Madame Officer." Americas Quarterly (August 9, 2011).

This piece overlooks women's participation in the Peruvian police force. It examines how women potentially has reduced corruption in Peru. It also examines the barriers women face in this field of work.

Karim, Sabrina. "Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness: Does Gender Neutrality Inhibit Progress?" International Interactions 43 no. 5 (2017): 822-847.

Focuses on the filling the gap in literature in PKO by using a gendered approach and uses the views of peacekeepers of the PKO UNMIL and the community members during the mission

to analyze the meaningful participation of women in PKO. This article provides an analysis of gender roles in PK and discusses underlying societal issues that are barriers to women's meaningful participation.

Karim, Sabrina. "Restoring Confidence in Post-Conflict Security Sectors: Survey Evidence from Liberia on Female Ratio Balancing Reforms." British Journal of Political Science 49 no. 3 (2017): 799-821.

Security sector reform (SSR) is vital to ensuring peace and trust in a post-conflict setting. There are many criteria of SSR, but the two discussed in this article are restraint and inclusiveness. The policy of female balancing fulfills both criteria and helps fill the "trust gap" between the security forces and the citizenry. Karim tested this hypothesis in a case study method of Liberia, surveying Monrovia's two main ex-combatant communities, West Point and Peace Island. The result of the logit models indicates strong evidence for the SSR reform of female ratio balancing (which meet criteria of restraint and inclusiveness) helps to improve confidence in the security sector in Liberia. This article was used to contextualize the Liberian Case study as well as inform the gender balancing discussions.

Karim, Sabrina. "The Legacy of Peacekeeping in the Liberian Security Sector." International Peacekeeping 27 no. 1 (2020): 58-64.

The United Nations Mission in Liberia directly impacted the rebuilding of the Liberia security sector, namely the military and police force (Armed Forces of Liberia /Liberian National Police). It's legacy can be seen in three institutional changes: ethnic balancing, female ratio balancing, and coercive capacity. However, despite these progressions, there is a huge potential for Liberia to revert back to its pre-peacekeeping status quo, potentially undermining any gains. The effect on the women's participation in the security sector is to be seen. This source was used to evaluate the success rate of the Liberian case initially.

Kim, Bitna and Alida V. Merlo. "Policing in Korea: Why Women Choose Law Enforcement Careers." Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice 8 no. 1 (2010): 1-17.

Many female police in South Korea chose the career because of 1) the excitement of the job and 2) the positive impressions of police (incl. uniform). Even though the context might be different, it suggests that improving the positive image of police might help recruit more women.

“Labor Force, Female (% of Total Labor Force).” The World Bank. Accessed November 8, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.FE.ZS.

This database shows the female participation rate in the labor force by country. Using 2020 data for India, we present the Indian women’s economic participation to discuss the overall underrepresentation of women in the economic activities in India.

Lemmon, Gayle Tzemach, and Rachel B. Vogelstein. "Building Inclusive Economies: How Women's Economic Advancement Promotes Sustainable Growth." *Council on Foriegn Relations*, June 2017.

This report evaluates the impact of women's economic advancement on sustainable growth. Within this report, we used its discussion of Liberia to evaluate women in the labor force within Liberian society.

"Liberia (2003-2011)." *Case Study Series: Women in Peace and Transition Processes*. Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, The Graduate institute of International and Development Studies, April 2018.

This article explores women's involvement in the peace process and talks as observers. It describes what efforts they made and how they were able to bypass patriarchal societal norms. The source was used to outline women organizations' high level involvement in the peacebuilding efforts and illustrate that those gains that were made during that time are no longer sustained.

"Liberia 2017/2018." Amnesty International. 2018. https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/africa/liberia/report-liberia/.

This report evaluates domestic/sexual violence against women and girls and human rights violations in Liberia. We used this report to evaluate the status of women in Liberia, especially relating to violence against women, to inform on gender roles and stereotypes and the implementation of laws against discrimination.

"Liberia Case Study." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 2020. https://www.cfr.org/womensparticipation- in-peace-processes/liberia.

This case study evaluates the role of women's participation in the peace process in Liberia. We used this study to evaluate the role of women during and following the civil war as well as their importance to the success of the peace process. Moreover, we used it to evaluate gender roles and stereotypes in society because their role in the peace process allowed for greater respect for women in society.

"Liberia FGM Prevalence." *28 Too Many*, 2020. https://www.28toomany.org.

This website discusses female genital mutilation prevalence in Liberia. We used it to evaluate the status of women within Liberian society. We used it especially to evaluate gender roles and stereotypes.

"Liberia, Journey to Self-Reliance: FY 2021 Country Roadmap." USAID, accessed December 4, 2020. https://selfreliance.usaid.gov/country/liberia.

USAID's Journey to Self-Reliance measures a country's degree of commitment to laws, policies, and informal governance mechanisms and its ability to manage its own development journey across political, social, and economic dimensions. We used the data on Liberia's government effectiveness score to support the view that decades after the war, Liberia faces significant challenges in the quality of public services, independence from political pressure and in policy formulation.

"Liberia." *Freedom House*, 2020.

Freedom House's source provides a summary on key developments in Liberia concerning political rights, the functioning of government, civil liberties, organizational rights, rule of law, personal autonomy and individual rights. We used this source to describe women's political participation.

"Liberia." *Oxfam International*, 2020. https://www.oxfam.org/en/what-we-do/countries/liberia.

This is Oxfam's Liberia country profile. It provides a summary of the main key issues facing Liberia today and it describes Oxfam's work in the country. In the paper, we used data from this source regarding the prevalence of domestic violence.

"Liberia: Background." *United Nations Girls' Education Initiative*, accessed November 2020. http://www.ungei.org/infobycountry/liberia.html.

The article provides a short overview of the main challenges that Liberia faces in years after the war and it lists the main organizations working in promoting girls' education in the country. In the paper, this source was used to address the main causes of high-dropout rates among girls.

"Liberia: Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS), 2019-2024," USAID, 2019.

The CDCS provides a roadmap for USAID's projects design and implementation. In Liberia, USAID is committed to market-driven inclusive growth, effective and inclusive governance, and enhancement of human capital. In the paper, information from the CDCS was used to emphasize that gender inequalities exist, with women having fewer education opportunities and less representation in politics.

"Liberia: Uneven Progress in Security Sector Reform." Africa Report. *International Crisis Group*, *Africa Report N°148*, January 13, 2009. https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/148-liberia-uneven-progress-in-security-sector-reform.pdf.

The report reviews reforms made in Liberia's security sector during the late 2000's. From this source we used the data on the number of women in Liberian National Police.

"Liberia's Post-War Development: Key Issues and U.S. Assistance." Congressional Research Service, May 25, 2010.

The report was prepared to inform members and committees of Congress regarding developments in Liberia as of 2010. It describes Liberia's post war peace and reconstruction processes, explores security issues, humanitarian conditions, and key governance issues. It was used to describe the first women recruitment drive that Liberia's military initiated, and discussed the barriers hindering women's participation at that time.

"Liberia's Second Phase National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, 2019-2023." Government of Liberia, 2019.

This provides a comprehensive plan of action for Liberia in implementing the provisions of the UNSCR 1325. As the second rendition, it evaluates the effects of the first NAP and provides lessons learned in moving forward. We used this plan to evaluate government support of women in uniformed law enforcement and UNSCR 1325 and which areas the government identified as barriers.

"Literacy Rate, Adult Female (% of Females Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia." World Bank. Accessed November 30, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.FE.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO.

This dataset shows the literacy rates of females in Liberia, India, and Colombia. We used this information to evaluate the differences in literacy rates between men and women in Liberia as a means to evaluate the impact illiteracy has on recruitment. Moreover, we used it to evaluate the new education factor added to the conceptual map for all three countries.

"Literacy Rate, Adult Male (% of Males Ages 15 and above) - Liberia, India, Colombia." World Bank, accessed November 30, 2020. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.MA.ZS?locations=LR-IN-CO.

This dataset shows the literacy rates of males in Liberia, India, and Colombia. We used this information to evaluate the differences in literacy rates between men and women in Liberia as a means to evaluate the impact illiteracy has on recruitment. Moreover, we used it to evaluate the new education factor added to the conceptual map for all three countries.

Maphunye, Kealeboga. "Towards Redressing Historical Inequalities? Gender Balancing in the Southern African Civil Service." *Public Management Review* 8 (2): 297-311.

This article investigates the positions of women at senior management levels in South Africa. The positions of women changed after the affirmative action in civil service intended to improve the position of women. We used this article to give examples of gender balancing policies that led to an increase of women in civil services.

Matusiak, Randa Embry and Matthew C. Matusiak. "Structure and Function: Impact on Employment of Women in Law Enforcement." Women and Criminal Justice, 28 no. 4 (2018): 313-335.

Matusiak and Matusiak analyze the changes associated with women in policing in the United States. Although the number of women in policing has increased in the last several decades, the authors conclude that there has not been sustainable nor sustainable changes made to the institution itself, rendering the increase in women mere products of affirmative action. This particular article had two important implications for our paper. First, this article lays foundations for the discussion of hegemonic masculinity in the literature review. Second, the article helps build a foundation for our conclusions and the rewriting of our conceptual framework. We conclude that an increased number of women in the security sector does not inherently mean the meaningful participation of women in security sector organizations.

Maxwell, Joseph A. "Using Numbers in Qualitative Research." Qualitative Inquiry 16 no. 6 (2010): 475-482.

Using quantitative data in a qualitative research design is very controversial. Maxwell addresses the potential advantages and disadvantages of integrating quantitative information in qualitative data collection, analysis, and reporting. The article was used to inform the methodology. The advantages and disadvantages listed were particularly informative and went into the consideration of the design.

McFate, Sean. “Building Better Armies: An Insider’s Account of Liberia.” Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College Press, November 2013.

This report argues that Liberia is a success case in terms of building professional forces that ensure regional stability. It describes the US-owned companies that were tasked to demobilize and rebuild the Armed Forces of Liberia and Liberia’s security sector reform. We have used two examples from this report to exemplify stereotypes surrounding women’s participation in the Liberian military.

“Military Missions and the Post-Conflict Environment: A Regional Perspective on Colombia.” RESDAL, 2018.

This document provides information about the challenges faced by the Colombian Army in its transformation to a post-conflict environment, which are focused on institutional matters such as gender, education, health, among others. It provided information on legal changes that have helped Colombian military women to advance in their careers; also, it provided information on some stereotypes that have hindered Colombian military women to advance in their careers.

Miller, Amalia R. and Carmit Segal. "Do Female Officers Improve Law Enforcement Quality? Effects on Crime Reporting and Domestic Violence." The Review of Economic Studies 86 no. 5 (October 2019): 2220-2247.

Miller and Segal provide evidence on the positive effects of increasing female police officers. They conclude that there are two main improvements: an increase of the reporting rates of violent crimes against women in the area and the prevention of domestic violence escalation.

"Minimum Employment Rights." *DLA Piper*, January 9, 2020. https://www.dlapiperintelligence.com/goingglobal/employment/index.html?t=08-minimum-employment-rights.

This website presents information about minimum employment rights in different countries. It provides the time period allowed for paid maternity and paternity leave.

Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection (Liberia)," Devex, 2020, https://www.devex.com/organizations/ministry-of-gender-children-and-social-protection-liberia-127496.

This website discusses the Liberian Government's Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection, which acts as the main office handling the implementation of UNSCR 1325, CEDAW, Convention of the Rights of the Children, African Union Protocols, and the Beijing Platform for Action. This ministry demonstrates political and government support for gender issues.

Nadkarni, Vimla V. and Roopashri Sinha. "Transforming Social Work Education in India: Integrating Human Rights." *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work* 1, (2016): 9-18.

This article discusses the human rights movement in India concerning the education for social workers in the country. The authors argue for the everlasting effect of traditional norms and social constructs. We used their analysis to demonstrate the factors that hinder the promotion of human rights in India, including gender equality.

Natarajan, Mangai. "Police Culture and the Integration of Women Officers in India." *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 16, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 124-139.

This article examines the organizational culture of the Indian Police Force and the integration of women police officers. Findings revealed that men are deemed more competent than their female counterparts, and that the male officers hold a biased perception of their female colleagues. We used this study to present the male-dominated culture within the Indian police force.

"National Conference of Women in Police," Central Reserve Police Force, accessed November 1, 2020, https://crpf.gov.in/ncwp.htm.

This page introduces the National Conference of Women in Police in India, which is a bi-annual conference where stakeholders, including women police officers, discuss the challenges and needs of women personnel in India.

"National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and

Security.” Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 2020. https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states.

This infographic presents the year in which each country adopted the National Action Plan in support of the UNSCR 1325. We used this information to demonstrate the lack of a National Action Plan in India.

“National Plan for Disaster Management, 2010-2015.” Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, Disaster Management Bureau, April 2010.

This is the National plan for disaster management adopted by Bangladesh government disaster response. We used this document as a good example of including women in the disaster response planning, and showing the importance of women’s voices.

Newton, Kathy and Kate Huppatz. "Policewomen's Perceptions of Gender Equity Policies and Initiatives in Australia." Feminist Criminology (June 24, 2020): 1-18.

Newton and Huppatz provide evidence of the increasing resentment from the male counterparts in the Police Department in Australia to some family-friendly policies such as breastfeeding rooms, part-time and flexible work arrangements, and gender quotas.

Nilsson, Marie, Francis Konyon, Joseph Howard, and Heather Tucker. “The Challenge of Unlearning: A Study of Gender Norms and Masculinities in Liberia.” Embassy of Sweden, March 2019.

This study, commissioned by the Swedish Embassy, provides an in depth evaluation of gender roles in Liberia. It explorers masculinities, gender norms, and instances of gender based violence and other issues concerning women in Liberia. We have used this study to explain women’s position in the society as well as their position in the households.

Norville, Valerie. "The Role of Women in Global Security." Special Report 264. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, January 2011.

Norville's report discusses best practices for increasing women's participation in peacebuilding and its implications. One of such practices is increasing the number of women in PKOs through policies of gender balancing. Norville concludes that an increase in women's participation in the post-conflict decision making and rebuilding process will increase sustainable security outcomes for communities. The report was used in the literature review, providing contextual and facilitative factors.

Pershing, L. Jana. "Why Women Don't Report Sexual Harassment: A Case Study of an Elite Military Institution." Gender Issues 21 (2003): 3-30.

This study looks at the case of the US Naval Academy as a study into why women do not report cases of sexual harassment in the military. The authors find two primary reasons for why women do not report cases of sexual harassment: first, the perception that nothing will be done, and second, the possibility of negative repercussions. According to the authors, " the aforementioned consequences appear to be linked to the following aspects of Academy life: the midshipman chain of command as the dominant form of social organization, an informal code of silence that permeates Academy culture, and women's status as outsiders in a male-dominated institution. These findings suggest that any meaningful attempt to assist Academy students in responding to harassment should include policies that address women's social isolation as well as eliminating the student chain of command as a primary course of action in filing grievances." This study provides an important window into why militaries may have issues with female retention, as well as providing the targets for programs to improve this problem.

"Police, Court, and Prison Personnel Statistics." *Eurostat*, July 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Police,_court_and_prison_personnel_statistics#One_police_officer_per_294_people.

These statistics demonstrate the ratio of police personnel to 100,000 citizens in EU-27 countries. We used this data to indicate the lack of police personnel in India in comparison with other developed countries, which leads to overwork and low job satisfaction among Indian police personnel.

Política Publica Sectorial de Transversalización del Enfoque de Genero para el Personal de la Fuerza Armada. Ministry of Defense, 2018.

This is a public policy issued by the Ministry of Defense that aims to inform about the current situation of police and military women and to increase gender inclusion at all levels of the Colombian Public Force. It provided data on the participation levels of women in the Colombian Military Forces. It also supported the argument that women in the Public Force has a positive effect on handling gender-based crimes.

Prasad, Ambika. "Stereotype Threat in India: Gender and Leadership Choices." *Journal of Psychological Issues in Organizational Culture* 2, no. 3 (2011): 6-21.

This study discusses Indian women's ambitions and how those ambitions are fitting the stereotypes of Indian women. We used it to show the low percentage of female CEOs leading Indian companies.

Prasad, Devika, Aditi Datta, Devyani Srivastava. "Audit Report: Delhi Police Pilot Project, All-

Women Police Control Room Vans." Ed. Sanjoy Hazariki and Maja Daruwala. New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2017.

The Delhi police did a pilot project to operate five all-women police vans, and the CHRI did an independent audit of the pilot project. We used this report to examine the people's reaction to encountering women policewomen.

Prenzler, Tim and Georgina Sinclair. "The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review." International Journal of Law, Crime, and Justice 41 no. 2 (June 2013): 115-131.

The study gives a comparative overview of the status of women police officers in a number of states in the world. The study concludes that there is an urgent need to improve gender-based statistics in order to better inform strategies aimed at maximising the participation of women in policing.

"Primera Mujer en Conducir Motocicletas en el Ejército Nacional." Fuerzas Militares de Colombia, July 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3x7rqkeAR1A&ab_channel=FuerzasMilitaresdeColombia.

This video provides an interview of the first woman allowed to train on the Colombian Military's motorcycle team. It provides an insight into the soldiers' thought on integrating women.

"Primeras Mujeres Artilleras en el Ejército Nacional." Fuerzas Militares de Colombia, May 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXt7cMPXkfA&ab_channel=FuerzasMilitaresdeColombia.

This video provided an interview of the first women allowed in the Colombian Military's artillery team. It provided an insight into the soldiers' thought on integrating women.

"Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice." New York: UN Women, 2011.

This UN Women document provided us the average percentage of women's participation in police forces in Latin America.

"Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice." New York: UN Women, 2011.

This UN Women report covers gender equality and women's empowerment issues across the world with an emphasis on the justice system. We referred to this report to understand the prevalence of violence against women and women's limited access to the justice system to fight against the issue.

"Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%)." The World Bank. Retrieved

November 8, 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS.

This World Bank data shows the proportion of seats held by women in the National Parliaments by country. We used the statistic of India of 2020 to demonstrate the low women's participation rate in India.

"Protocolo de la Fuerza Pública para la Prevención y Respuesta a la Violencia Sexual, Particularmente en Relacion con el Conflicto Armado." Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2015.

This protocol issued by Ministry of Defense issued instructions and expectations for the Colombian security sector in regards to preventing sexual violence especially in armed conflict.

"Proyecto Enfoque de Género en el Servicio de Policía – EMA." Alianza para la Paz, 2020. https://alianzaparalapaz.org/proyectos/proyecto-enfoque-de-genero-en-el-servicio-de-policia/.

This report describes the alliance between the Police Unit for Peacebuilding (UNIPEP) and Alianza para la Paz, specifically regarding the training of police officers in gender-based violence. It provided information to support the inclusion of the gender perspective in UNIPEP.

Rabe-Hemp, Cara E. "POICEwomen or PoliceWOMEN? Doing Gender and Police Work." Feminist Criminology 4 no. 2 (2009): 114-129.

Rabe-Hemp provides a brief history of women in policing in the United States. She evaluates the relationship between gender and policing, emphasizing the identity of policewomen centers on how they see themselves and their skill sets. Rabe-Hemp draws from Susan Martin's seminal work on the difference between POLICEwomen and policeWOMEN. The former conforms heavily to the police (male-dominated) subculture whereas the latter emphasizes conformity to stereotypical feminine roles that are often not seen as 'real police work.' This article informed the discussion in the literature review concerning hegemonic masculinity as well as a later discussion about gendered jobs hindering the meaningful participation of women policing and other security sector organizations.

Randall, Lawrence, and Molley Paasewe. "Women Count: Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report 2012." The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, 2012.

The report examines strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It describes women's position in several sectors in the country. We used this source to describe how in 2006 with the initiative of President Sirleaf instituted 15 percent quota for the police.

Rao, G. Prasad, K. L. Vidya, and V. Sriramya. “The Indian “Girl” Psychology: A Perspective.” *Indian Journal of Psychiatry* 57, no. 2 (July 2015): 212-215.

This article is investigating the psychological constructs and psychosocial issues of the girls born in India. We referred to this article to describe the practice of child marriage in India.

“Reconstrucción Histórica del Papel de la Mujer Policía en el Conflicto Armado en Colombia." Bogotá: Policía Nacional, 2016.

This document published by the Colombian National Police analyzes the role of women in armed conflict in Colombia. It provided a historical view of women’s integration in the security force in Colombia.

“Report on Women’s Empowerment in Liberia: Diamond Leadership Role Model Project.” National Democratic Institute and USAID, July 2018.

This report explores the challenges to women’s leadership and the overall challenges they face in regards to their participation in political processes. The data in this repost were used to explain women’s political participation at the local level.

Resetnikova, Aigi. "Women in Policing in a Transforming Organization: The Case of the Estonian Police." The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies 4 no.5 (2006): 76-83.

More than one-third of police are women in Estonia, and the police school has served as the gateway for women. The Beijing Women’s World Conference improved gender equity in Estonia as well as women's inclusion in law enforcement, but there still remains underlying threats of women's full integration. - The need to change women's perspectives/stereotypes as well, recruiting through police schools, international law and its influence on overall women's status

“Resolución 3010 de 2020 - Presidencia de la República." 10 November 2020.

These are guidelines oriented towards the promotion of gender equity and prevention and attention of gender-based violence within the Colombian Public Force. This provides information on the current approach of the Colombian Public Force to harassment practices.

Robinson, Karen Barnes, Craig Valters, Tove Strauss, and Aaron Weah. “Progress in Small Steps Security Against the Odds in Liberia.” Overseas Development Institute, January 2015.

This case study examines what has worked in development and what has not. It reviews political developments and conflict in Liberia, the security levels in the country, and the progress that has been made. Information in this report was used to describe the high levels

of gender based violence prevalent in Liberia and how both genders contribute to an underlying culture of gender based violence in all spheres of life.

Scavetta, Rick. “Mentoring in Liberia Leads to Respect for Female NCOs.” *NCO Journal*. Army University Press, October 23, 2014.

This article discusses the impact of U.S. female non-commissioned mentoring women soldiers in Liberia leading to more respect for high ranking officers in the Armed Forces of Liberia. Pointing to the importance of mentoring for women in the military.

“Second Report: ‘Working Conditions of Women in Police Force.’” New Delhi: Committee on Empowerment of Women, Lok Sabha Secretariat, December 2014.

This report was published by the Committee on Empowerment of Women of the Lok Sabha, or the lower House of the People, of India. In this report, the committee makes suggestions on the improvement and progress of working conditions for women in the Indian police force. We used this report to discuss the effectiveness of harassment in the Indian police force.

Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy and Greeta Gandbhir. *A Journey of a Thousand Miles: Peacekeepers* (2015).

The film documented the all-women Indian peacekeeping missions in Nepal and Haiti. It explored the impact the all-women unit had on the societies as well as the challenges the women faced upon returning home.

Shelley, Tara O'Connor, Melissa Schaefer Morabito, and Jennifer Tobin-Gurley. "Gendered Institutions and Gender Roles: Understanding the Experiences of Women in Policing." Criminal Justice Studies, 24 no. 4 (December 2011): 351-367.

The authors take Acker's Theory of Gendered Institutions and apply it as a framework to women in policing in order to evaluate institutional barriers to women in the organization. The theory provides four gendered processes that ensure opposition to women working in male-dominated professions: legitimization of hegemonic masculinity, control and segregation, doing gender, and gendered personas. The article was used first in the literature review and then also in the conclusions to explain obstructive factors to women's participation. It also added context to the discussion about male-dominated institutions. Lastly, the article has importance to the concluding discussion about gendered jobs within the police force.

Shoemaker, Jolynn and Jennifer Park. "Progress Report on Women in Peace and Security Careers." Women In International Security (2014).

One of the identified success factors is mentoring. Shoemaker and Park provide evidence that mentoring is directly correlated to women's professional advancement. They state that mentoring goes beyond advice and is based on advocacy for mentees.

"Special Report of the Kroc Institute and the International Accompaniment Component, UN Women, Women's International Democratic Federation, and Sweden, on the Monitoring of the Gender Perspective in the Implementation of the Colombian Final Peace Accord." Bogatá: Keough School of Global Affairs at the University of Notre Dame, 2018.

This document supplies information about the implementation process of the gender perspective in the Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace between December 2016 and June 2018. It provided the gender stipulations implemented in the Colombian Peace Agreement.

Srivastava, Devyani. "Model Policy for Women in the Police in India." Ed. Devika Prasad, Aditi Datta Gupta, Pavani Nagaraja Bhat. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, December 2018.

This report discusses the challenges that women in the Indian police force face and suggests a comprehensive set of policies to tackle these issues. We referred to this report to describe the difficulties of Indian women police officers.

"Status of Policing in India Report 2019: Police in Adequacy and Working Conditions." New Delhi: Common Cause and Center for the Study of Developing Societies, 2019.

As a series of Status of Policing in India Report, this 2019 edition is based on the survey of almost 12,000 police personnel across India. It discusses the working conditions of police personnel in general along with the structural challenges they have. One chapter of the report exclusively discusses gender issues within the institution, and we used the information to introduce the limited accommodations and measures for women personnel in the police.

"The Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Resolution 1325." Government of Liberia, 2009.

This is the first Librarian National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It provides instructions for the inclusion of women and their meaningful participation in the peace- and state- building processes. In the paper it was used to inform that Liberia was the first post conflict country to have developed a WPS NAP and describe some of the efforts outlined in the document.

"Thomson Reuters Foundation Annual Poll: The World's Most Dangerous Countries for Women." *Thomson Reuters Foundation*, 2018. https://poll2018.trust.org/.

The Thomson Reuters Foundation had classified India as one of the five most dangerous countries for women in a 2013 survey. In 2020, the Foundation set out to see if the situation had changed but expanded their research from the five most dangerous countries to the ten most dangerous countries. For this project, the poll was used to help assess the situation of women in India. The poll found that India is the most dangerous country in the world for women. Not only does this poll help contextualize women's participation in the security forces, but also is extremely important in evaluating the contextual factors, especially gender roles and stereotypes as well as laws against gender discrimination.

"Troop and Police Contributors." United Nations Peacekeeping, 2020. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors.

This UN document provided recent and past information about Colombia's contribution to UN Nations Peacekeeping. It provided the name of the missions, countries, as well as the number and gender of those sent by Colombia.

Virtual Book Launch - Women, Peace, and Security in the Western Hemisphere, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, ZoomGov, October 29, 2020.

This book launch provided information about the history of women's integration in the security force. It mentioned that the police force was the first in the security sector in Colombia to integrate women.

Ward, Aiyana and Tim Prenzler. "Good Practice Case Studies in the Advancement of Women in Policing." International Journal of Police Science and Management 18 no. 4 (September 20, 2016): 242-250.

The research shows that women participation is beneficial for policing, and it gives overview of the strategies that lead to the increase of the number of women in policing. The findings emphasize the need for more research on what works in optimizing women's participation in police work.

WomanStats Database, MULTIVAR-SCALE-2, scaled 2007/2009, http://womanstats.org.

This dataset, entitled "Discrepancy Between National Law and Practice Concerning Women," was used to score the factor Laws Against Gender Discrimination. The scale measures how consonant the laws of a country are with CEDAW, and how well they are enforced.

WomanStats Database, MULTIVAR-SCALE-6, scaled 2017, http://womanstats.org.

This dataset, entitled "Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale," was used to score the factor Gender Roles and Stereotypes. The scale measures the degree of subjugation in society, which is very important when evaluating women's ability to enter into the security forces.

"Women in Peacekeeping," *United Nations Peacekeeping*, accessed November 2020. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/women-peacekeeping.

This article provides data on women's participation in peacekeeping operations and it highlights the importance of having women peacekeepers. It has been used to show the percentages of uniformed women in peace operations as of August 2020.

"Women in Policing: Breaking Barriers and Blazing a Path." Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Justice, July 2019.

The report is based off of participation responses from the Research Summit on Women in Policing in Washington, D.C, a summit intended to understand research priorities for women in American policing. The report describes the barriers to women's participation in policing and the culture within the organization. Key takeaways for the purpose of this project are twofold. First, mentoring, sponsorship, networking, and strengthening/enforcing of harassment policies are all promising factors used to combat the "boys clubs" within policing. Second, participants noted that many of the barriers women face are reflective of a broader social culture. Both takeaways were used in the literature review to evaluate possible facilitative factors and secondary effects of police culture on society.

"Women's Power Index." *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 18, 2020, accessed November 2020. https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index.

The Women's Power Index (WPI) is based on the Political Parity Score, which is an aggregate of women's representation of political participation. The WPI was used as the basis of our scoring scale for the factor, Women's Participation in the National Government.

"2019 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: India." Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, United States Department of State, 2020.

This annual report assesses the state of human rights and democracy in different countries in the world. We used the data from this report to describe the political context and reality in India.

IX. Appendix

Methodology Materials

Fig. B Scoring Matrix Key

Key	Definition	Interpretation, Implications, and Analysis
Country	Case study countries.	This framework is can be applied to many different countries as long as factors are evaluated within their contexts.
Factor Type	The factors are grouped by the type of factors found in the literature reveiw.	These are the main factors that affect women's participation in the security sector. They can be added to or amended depending on the context.
	Not enough information to score.	Teams could not access enough information to acurately score. Further research is advised.
Factor Institution Score	This is the score given to the institution (police, military, PKO) per factor.	This measures the strength of the policy, culture, or prograpm within the insittution. It is used to evaluate and compare a country's performance per factor by specific security institution.
Factor Country Score	Average score for the country per factor. It is found by averaging the institution scores.	This number is used to evaluate and compare a country's overall performance per factor.
Institution Scores	Total score of a country by institution. This is found by adding factor institution scores.	This number is used to evaluate and compare a country's overall performance per institution.
Country Score	Total score of a country. This is found by adding the factor country scores together.	This number measures the overall performance of a country in reference to women's participation in the security sector.

Fig. C Enforcement Guidelines

Enforcement Guidelines	Not Enforced	There is no attempt at enforcing the factor, present or not.
	Somewhat Enforced	There is an attempt at enforcing the factor, but it might be ineffective, inefficient, or undermined by a lack of political or institutional will. There is an element of subjectivity in this factor, which is why each country team will closely follow the guidelines described in the "Factor Justification" chart as well as explain their scores in depth in the "Country Justificaitons" chart.
	Enforced	There is an attempt and a degree of success at implementing the factor in each institution.
	Extent	The level of which a factor is present or enforced will differentiate the scores, especially scores 3 and 4. If a factor is present but only at entry level positions, then the factor, arguably, only has limited effect.

Fig. D Factor Justifications

Factor Justifications	Factor Number	Factor	Definition	How Measured	Scoring Explanations for Each Factor
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes	How women are treated and percieved in society. This includes how women are expected to behave in society and in the family.	Scores are based on the WomanStats Project dataset, "Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale" which determines the degree to which a country relies on a patrilineal/fraternal security provision mechanisms within its society.* These mechanisms refer to how women are subjugated in society and the extent to which society is "rooted in a fundamentally authoritarian and violent sexual order."** The range is 0-16, 16 indicating that society fully encodes Patrilenality/Fraternity Syndrome as its security provision mechanism. *WomanStats Database, MULTIVAR-SCALE-6, scaled 2017, http://womanstats.org. **Valerie M. Hudson, Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen, *The First Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 107.	**0 -** The country has a score between 10 and 16, which is considered the worst on the Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale. **2 -** The country has a score between 3 and 9, indicating the country is in a transitional phase concering the Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome. **4 -** The country has a score between 0 and 2, indicating the country is a non-Syndrome society.
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture	Otherwise known as hegemonic masculinity, this culture promotes and rewards hyper-masculine qualities like agression or toughness and gives little space to accept and reward feminine qualities in security institutions.	Interviews, journal articles, reports, policy briefs, annecdotes, etc. were used to evaluate masculine culture in security institutions. Other possible analysis tools included advertisments and recruiting mechanisms which can possibly show what traits an organization looks for and values.	**0 -** Male dominated insitutional culture prevents participation in the sector. **1 -** Male dominated institutional culture has a significant negative effect on participation at all levels. **2 -** Male dominated institutional culture has a significant negative effect on participation on higher levels, but not on lower levels. **3 -** Male dominated institutional culture exists but does not have a significant negative effect on participation at low and high levels. **4 -** Male dominated institutional culture is not present and does not affect participation.
	3	Existing Women's Participating in the Security Sector	How women have participated in a country's security institutions in the past as well as the present.	If available, teams evaluated ratios and numbers of existing levels of women's participation in secuirty organizations through analysis of institution reports, interviews, etc.	**0 -** There are no women in the security sector. **1 -** There are very few women in the security sector (under 12%). **2 -** There are moderate levels of participation in the security institutions (approximately 12%). **3 -** There are significant rates of women in participation in the security sector (above 12%) **4 -** Women hold 50% of positions in the security sector.
	4	Women's Participation in National Government	The level and number of women serving in governmental institutions.	The Council on Foreign Relations's (CFR) Women's Power Index was used to score these countries. The Political Parity Score was the basis for the scoring. According to CFR, the Political Parity Score is "an aggregate of women's representation across five indicators of political participation: heads of state or government, natinoal cabinets, national legislatures, national legislature candidates, and local legislatures."* It is a number between 0 and 100, 100 being the best. The index, according to CFR, "measures women's descriptive representation, which refers to the numerical presence of women rather than women's impact of policy preferences."* *"Women's Power Index," *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 18, 2020, accessed November 2020. https://www.cfr.org/article/womens-power-index.	**0 -** The country has a score betwee 0 and 18.5. **1 -** The country has at least a score of 18.5, which is a quarter of the highest score (74). **2 -** The country has at least a score of 37, which is half of the highest score (74). **3 -** The country has at least a score of 74, which is the highest score of any country. **4 -** The country has a political parity score of 100, which is the highest possible score. A score of 100 indicates women are 50% in all levels of government based on available data.
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination	Laws which criminalize and penalize discrimination on the basis of gender.	Scores are based on the WomenStats Project dataset, "Discrepancy Between National Law and Practice Concering Women." The scale used in the dataset is as follows: "0: The laws are consonant with CEDAW and are well enforced by the government; such enforcement is a high priority of the government. 1: The laws are consonant with CEDAW; these are mostly enforced, and the government appears to be fairly proactive in challenging cultural norms which harm women. 2: The laws are consonant with CEDAW, but there is spotty enforcement; the government may or may not signal its interest in challenging cultural norms harmful to women. 3: Laws are for the most part consonant with CEDAW, with little effective enforcement; improving the situation of women appears to be a low priority for the government. 4: There is virtually no enforcement of laws consonant with CEDAW, or such laws do not even exist." *WomanStats Database, MULTIVAR-SCALE-2, scaled 2007/2009, http://womanstats.org.	**0 -** Country holds a 4 in the WomanStats Scale. **1 -** Country holds a 3 in the WomanStats Scale. **2-** Country holds a 2 in the WomanStats Scale. **3 -** Country holds a 1 in the WomanStats Scale. **4 -** Country holds a 0 in the WomanStats Scale.
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector	Political will for increasing women's participation in the secuirty sector.	Political will refers to high ranking officials pushing WPS strategies. This was evaluated based on policies, statements, passed legislation, signed UN resolutions, budget, recruitment efforts/supports, etc.	**0 -** There is no political will and no budget to facilitate participation. **1 -** There is some political will or some budget to facilitate participation. **2 -** There is some political will and some budget to facilitate participation. **3 -** There is major political will and some budget. Or, there is some political will and a major budget to facilitate participation. **4 -** There is considerable political will and considerable budget to facilitate participation.
Facilatiative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies	Targets the ratio of men and women in the security forces.	The most common and widely accepted balancing policy is quotas.	**0 -** There are no gender balancing policies in the security institution (no quotas). **1 -** There are some gender balancing polices, but they are not enforced or achieved. This would be a quota under 20%. **2 -** There are gender balancing policies which are enforced. For quotas, a 20% quota is considered good practice and the place to start. **3 -** There are some gender balancing policies which are enforced and/or achieved. This would be a quota above 20%. **4 -** There are many gender balancing policies which are enforced and achieved. The ideal policy would be a 50% quota.
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies	Incorporating gender issues into the decision-making process concerning institutional policies and practices.	There are many variables which can be looked at when evaluating gender mainstreaming policies and its effectiveness in an institution. They include mainstreaming specefic policies, gender offices, inclusion of gender issues in general laws and policies, etc.	**0 -** There are no gender mainstreaming policies in the security institution. **1 -** There are a few gender mainstreaming policies, but they are not enforced or not incorporated into every proceding policy, or at each level of the organization. **2 -** There are many gender mainstreaming policies which are somewhat enforced. Most insuing policies include and consider gender issues, but they are not present at all levels of decision making or all levels within the institutional hierarchy. Or, there may be some mainstreaming policies which implementation is attempted but not achieved. **3 -** There are many gender mainstreaming policies, many of which are enforced and gender issues are included in many institutional policy and decision making, though they are still not present at all levels of institutional hierarchy. **4 -** There are many gender mainstreaming policies, they are all enforced, and gender issues are included in all institutional policy and deicision making, at all levels.
	9	Mentoring Programs	Programs which pair a more experienced officer/soldier with a less experienced officer/soldier.	Mentoring programs include more experienced women mentoring less experienced women, but programs where it was a man and a woman in the mentorship relationship was also accepted. This information was found through institutional reports, guidelines, policies, and programs as well as interviews with experts and practitioners.	**0 -** There are no mentorship programs in the institution. **1 -** There are some mentorship programs but there is not much participation or funding. **2 -** There are some mentorship programs. **3 -** There are many mentorship programs which increases recruitment and retention rates. **4 -** Each individual participates in a mentorship program and recruitment and retention rates are significantly effected
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms	Policies and regulations against harassment in the organization, ways and means of reporting violations, enforcement of policies, and consequequences for those who violate the policies.	Information concerning policies and reporting mechanisms was gathered from instituitonal reports and policies, interviews, regulations, etc.	**0 -** There are no policies against harrassment nor clear or separate reporting mechanisms. **1 -** There are policies against harassment, but women are not informed of their rights or about the avenues for reporting. **2 -** There are some policies against harassment as well as some clear and separate reporting measures, and women are informed of their rights. However, enforcement is limited, and there may be repurcussions of reporting cases. **3 -** There are strong, enforced, policies against harassment as well as clear and separate reporting measures. There may be repurcussions of reporting cases. **4 -** Policies against harrassment, as well as the development of clear and separate reporting measures is an achieved, primary goal of the institutions. There are no repurcussions for reporting.
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards	Physical standards required to enter or maintain positions in a particular institution may be different for men and women. Renorming refers to institutions changing the standard based on gender. Some standards may be reduced for women while others may not be.	Standards are mostly unique to each institution. Physical requirement policies informed evaluation for this factor as well as reports and interviews.	**0 -** There is no attempt at renorming physical standards. **2 -** There are some attemps at renorming physical standards. **4 -** There is major remorming of physical standards.

		12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment	Separate barracks, toilets, and facilities for men and women, or specific uniforms and equipments for men and women.	Interviews, reports, institutional policies, uniforms, etc. provided teams with this information.	**0 -** There are no separated, gender-based accommodations or facilities, nor any gender specific equipment (i.e. uniforms). **1 -** There are some gender based accomodations or facilities, but they are unsafe, unkept, or inconsistently located. **2 -** There are many gender based accomodations, facilities, and equipment which are safe, well kept, but inconsistently located across the institution **3 -** There are many gender based accomodations, facilities, and equipment provisions which are safe, well kept, and consistently located across the institution **4-** There are always gender based accomodations, facilities, and equipment provisions in every police, military, or peacekeeping operations
		13	Family-Friendly Policies	Institutional policies which provide flexibility and benefits for parents.	Teams gathered information on parental leave (maternal and paternal), childcare provision, flexible work schedules, etc. through interviews, reports, policies, programs, etc.	**0 -** There are no family friendly policies in the institution. **1 -** There are some family friendly policies, but may only apply to women and are moderately enforced. **2 -** There are some family friendly polices which are enforced but may not be applicable to both men and women. **3 -** There are many family friendly policies provided to both men and women which are consistently enforced. **4 -** Family friendly policies are implemented at all levels for all genders, and they are consistently enforced.
Additonal Factors	Additional Contextual Factors	14	Women as Combatants	Women participated in past civil wars or other conflicts in combat roles.	Teams looked at historical and current roles of women as combatants in civil wars and conflicts. The information was gathered through interviews and other general searches in databases.	**0 -** Women have no history nor experience of women as combatants. **2 -** Women have been rebels in previous conflicts or civil wars. **4 -** Women have been rebels and soldiers in previous conflicts or civil wars.
		15	Women in Power with a WPS Agenda	Women hold positions of power in a country's government, especially higher level officials, and are active advocates for implementing WPS strategies in their countries.	Teams gathered information on women in power pushing a WPS agenda mainly through interviews.	**0 -** No, there are no women in positions of power who advocate for WPS strategy policy or implementation currently or in the past. **2 -** There have been women in positions of power in the past who have strongly advocated for WPS strategy policy or implementation. **4 -** Yes, there are women in positions of power who advocate for WPS strategy policy and implementation.
		16	History of Purdah	Purdah is the tradition of separating women from men by using separate rooms, curtains, or veils. It is a practice common in Hindu and Muslim countries.	This is measured by cultural or religious practices within the countries.	**0 -** Purdah is practiced in society. **4 -** Purdah is not practiced in soceity.
		17	Education Gaps	There is a difference between men and women education and literacy rates.	This is measured by literacy rates produced by the World Bank.	**0 -** Significant education gap at secondary level **4 -** No significant gap
	Additonal Facilitative/ Obstructive Factors	18	WPS National Action Plan	A national initiative commiting a country to facilitate women, peace, and security strategies and providing an action plan concerning how the country will achieve such goals.	Broad online searches and interviews provided information to score this factor.	**0 -** The country does not have a WPS NAP. **4 -** The country has a WPS NAP.
		19	Sex-Segregated Jobs in ULE	Women in security institutions fill or are mandated to fill administrative jobs. This tends to prevent advancement in the institution to higher level jobs and hinders retention.	The difference between rear and administrative jobs comes down to public visibility and the power of the positions. For example, a mail room position would be considered rear because the job would not put the woman in direct contact with the public nor allow her any decision making power. Contrastly, an administrative position which allows a woman to organize and facilitate events or office personel, work on budgets, work with health plans, etc. give women more face time with the public and her fellow officers. It also gives her more autonomy and power of decision making. Academic journal articles and interviews provided information on gendered jobs and set the basis for scoring this factor.	**0 -** Women are not allowed in any position in the institution. **1 -** Women are not allowed in any combat position, only in rear positions. **2 -** Women are not allowed in combat positions and are found mostly in administrative positions. **3 -** Women are allowed in all positions, but most are in administrative, non-combatant roles. **4 -** Women are allowed and found in all positions, including combat positions, in the insitution.
		20	Integrated Units	Women are integrated fully and directly into the security institution. There are no separate units or precincts for men and women.	Interviews, academic articles, and official reports informed scoring of integrated units.	**0 -** Government prefers to establish women-only units or stations **2 -** Both mixed and single sex units **4 -** Government has only integrated units

Fig. E Country Justifications

Country Justifications		Factor	Scoring Justification for Liberia			Scoring Justification for Colombia			Scoring Justification for India		
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes	**0 -** Liberia scored a 13 on the Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale.			**2 -**Colombia scored a 5 on the Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale.			**0 -** India scored a 14 on the Patrilineality/Fraternity Syndrome Scale.		
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture	**2 -** The male-dominated institutional culture is different in the police and military. There is no taboo for women joining the LNP, but there are significant taboos for joining the AFL. However, within the police, women are largely in patrol positions and do not hold higher positions.			**2 -** The male dominated institutional culture affects promotion capabilities in both the military and police. However, there is still 19% participation in the security sector, indicating masculine hegemony does not obstruct entrance into the institution itself, but rather entrance into higher levels of the institution.			**1 -** Women in the security institutions participate in highly male dominated spaces. There are high degrees of male bias and sexual assault. According to surveys, 1 in 4 of the sexual assaults are by commanders. These are indicators of a strong male dominated institutional culture.		
	3	Existing Women's Participating in the Security Sector	**2 -** Rates of women's participation in the LNP is 19% which receives a score of 3. Rates of women's participation in the AFL is 4% which receives a score of 1. This averages to a country score of 2.			**1 -** Rates of women's participation in the police is 9.9%. Rates of women's participation in the military is also 9.9% (army 3.7%, navy 7.9%, airforce 18%). Both institutions score a 1, averaging to a country score of 1.			**1 -** Rates of women's participation is 8.98% in the police and 7.6% in the military (army 3.8%, air force 13%, navy 6%). Both institutions score a 1, averaging to a country score of 1.		
	4	Women's Participation in National Government	**1 -** Liberia is scored at a 20 on CFR's Women's Power Index, which translates to a country score of 1.			**2 -** Colombia is scored at a 39 on CFR's Women's Power Index, which translates to a country score of 2.			**1 -** India is scored at a 36 on CFR's Women's Power Index, which translates to a country score of 1.		
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination	**1 -** WomenStats scores Liberia a 3, which translates to a country score of 1. This indicates that laws are mostly consonant with CEDAW, but with little, effective enforcement, and that improving the situation of women appears to be a low priority for the government.			**2 -** WomenStats scores Colombia a 2, which translates to a country score of 2. This indicates Colombian laws are consistant with CEDAW, but enforcement is inconsistent. The government may or may not indicate its interest in challenging cultural norms that subjugate or harm women.			**0 -** WomenStats scores India a 4, which translates to a country score of 0. This indicates that there is virtually no enforcement of laws consonant with CEDAW, or the laws do not even exist. Teams found that there are laws consonant with CEDAW, but enforcement is nonexistent.		
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector	**2 -** There is some political support for women's participation, evident in the WPS NAP. However, interviews indicated political will for implementing WPS strategies has faltered under the current administration, evident by the lack of budget. There are concerns that this lack of budget might undercut the programs and their gains. It is also important to note that political will under the former President Sirleaf would have been scored a 3 because there was both significant will and budget in her administration for WPS implementation. The backsliding in scores is very indicative of the stagnation Liberia is facing when it comes to increasing women's participation.			**2 -** Even though the vice president pushes strongly for a WPS strategy, there is still very little budget. Vice president is a very high official, which is important, but WPS strategy is not emphasized or pushed by other high or otherwise officials. This is why Colombia is not considered to have only some, not major political will to facilitate participation.			**1-** There are some budgets but no clear policy implementation strategies.		
Security Institution			**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies	**2 -** The LNP has a quota of 20%.	**2 -** The AFL has a quota of 20%.		**0 -** There is no quota for the Colombian police.	**0 -** There is no quota for the Colombian military.		**2 -** The Indian police has a target quota of 33%. However, the present level of women's participation in the Indian Police is 9%. Additionally, 25% of new recruits spots are reserved for women. Even though there is a significant gap between the 33% policy and 9% reality, India was scored a 2 because the policy itself is strong and above the average quota of 20%. The lack of enforcement and achievement prevented India from being a 3, but the strength of the balancing policy made India a 2.	**0 -** There are no quotas or other balancing policies for the Indian Military.	
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies	**3 -** The LNP has committed itself to implementing gender mainstreaming policies, evident by the Liberia National Police Strategic Plan of 2015-2020. There are also national legislation, like the Liberian National Gender Policy and the 1325 NAP, which demonstrate Liberia's commitment to gender mainstreaming.	**1 -** The AFL does not have specific gender policies. The only law which addresses gender is the National Defence Act (2008), which provides all members with equal opportunity based on individual merit and non-discrimination principles. Gender issues are assumed to be a part of the non-discrimination and equal opportunity clause but are not address separately. However, earlier this year (2020) the military intended to implement a new gender policy with the collaboration of the U.S. military, but the program was suspended because of COVID-19. Due to the lack of previous gender specific policies and the stagnation of the 2020 join gender programs, Liberia was scored a 1.		**2 -** The mainstreaming policies in Colombia are present at several levels, but implementation lacks. There are gender offices and antidiscrimination laws, but according to an interview with a police officer, there are no mechanisms of implementation.	**2 -** There is a gender office in the police, but the budget is lacking. Similar to the Colombian police, there is a gap between policy and implementation mechanisms.		**2 -** There are some mainstreaming policies and attempts at enforcement, but there is still a long way to go for the Indian police. One such attempt to mainstream gender into the discussion concerning the police is the National Conference of Women in Police. This was a platform to address issues regarding women in police (i.e. gender sensitization for all police ranks, exclusive infrastructural development for police, etc.).	**1 -** There are few mainstreaming policies, most of which lack implementations at many levels in the Indian military. Until a recent Supreme Court decision (2020), women were barred from long-term career tracks, or rather permanent commission positions, preventing them from qualifying for pensions and ultimately advancement.	
	9	Mentoring Programs	**0 -** There are no mentoring programs in the LNP.	**1 -** There are some mentoring programs in the AFL, but they are all sponsored and run by the U.S. military.		**0 -** There are no mentoring programs in the Colombian police.	**0 -** There are no mentoring programs in the Colombian military.		**0 -** There are no mentoring programs in the Indian police. In an interview, a retired police women said implementing official, structured mentoring programs would not be easy because of the size of the country and redeployment/relocations of officers.	**0 -** According to interviews, there are no mentorship programs in the Indian military.	
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms	**2 -** There are some harassment policies, but no separate reporting mechanisms for policewomen inside of the institution itself. The clear and separate reporting mechanisms of sexual harassment are provided for civilians to report on officer misconduct, not for officers to report on officers. The institution was scored a 2 because even though reporting mechanisms are lacking, women are cognizant of their rights - the distinction point between a 1 and 2 score.	**2 -** The AFL's structure and harassment policies mirror the U.S. military's, which means there are some policies against harassment but reporting mechanisms are very limited. Additionally, there are sometimes repercussions within the institution for reporting harassment and other misconduct.		**2 -** Law 1719 of 2014 applies to both police and military in Colombia. It requires officers to be informed of their rights concerning sexual violence and provides reporting mechanisms. However, Colombia is scored a 2 and not a 3 because the law focuses on sexual violence and not harassment. For Colombia to be scored a 3, there must be focus on both sexual violence and harassment.	**2 -** Law 1719 of 2014 applies to both police and military in Colombia. It requires officers to be informed of their rights concerning sexual violence and provides reporting mechanisms. However, Colombia is scored a 2 and not a 3 because the law focuses on sexual violence and not harassment. For Colombia to be scored a 3, there must be focus on both sexual violence and harassment.		**1 -** In the Indian police, there are policies against harassment, but they are mostly a formality. Additionally, women in the police are largely ignorant of any existing reporting mechanisms.	**0 -** The Indian government has recommended that the Indian military adopt policies against harassment, but the military has not accepted the recommendation nor acted on it. This means there are no policies against harassment in the Indian military, and likewise no reporting mechanisms. Needless to say, soldiers are not informed of their rights.	
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards	**0 -** Physical standards have not been changed in the LNP.	**0 -** Physical standards have not been changed in the AFL.		**4 -** The Colombian police renormed physical standards to include individualized requirements now based on height, weight, and flexibility. This is major renorming, but a caveat to include is that this is the policy concerning entry level cadets. Beyond entry level positions, each department has their own standards, but due to a lack of information and access, we were not able to evaluate how each department has renormed or if this policy was standardized across all positions. However, the teams decided to score this factor a 4 because the change was drastic and progressive.	**0 -** Physical standards have not been changed in the Colombian Military.		**4 -** Indian police has changed all physical standards based on gender.	**2 -** Initially, standards were renormed across the board. However, after the 2020 Supreme Court decision to allow women in long-term positions in the military, the physical standards were raised. However, they were not raised enough to match standards expected of men. Therefore, there is still considered to be some renorming, earning the Indian military a score of 2.	
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment	**2 -** The LNP has separate bathrooms and housing within cities, but outside of the cities in more the rural counties, the separation of accomodations is not consistent.	**2 -** The LNP has separate bathrooms and housing within cities, but outside of the cities in more the rural counties, the separation of accomodations is not consistent.		**3 -** The Colombian police has gender specific uniforms as well as separate, gender-based bathrooms and barracks.	**2 -** Uniforms are not different based on gender, but there are separate bathrooms and barracks.		**1 -** Only 90% of precincts have separate, gender-based toilets, the other 10% do not. However, there are gender-based uniforms for Indian police officers.	**0 -** There are no separate toilets in the military, which significantly affects the recruitment of women for both the navy and army.	

		13	Family-Friendly Policies	**3 -** Within the LNP, there are many family-friendly policies. This includes both maternity and paternity leave, flexible work schedules, and limited child care provisions (e.g. days off for a mother to take herself and the child to the doctor six months after birth as well as two hours of paid time off to breastfeed).	**2 -** The AFL has some family-friendly policies, but there is much room for improvement. The AFL has paid maternity and unpaid paternity leave, no flexible schedules, and no child care. Additionally, there is a marriage policy which mandates that if an unmarried woman gets pregnant, she must marry within 30 days or she will be dismissed from the AFL.		**3 -** There is both maternity and paternity leave and both are consistently enforced. However, there are no flexible schedules, breastfeeding rooms, or other child care policies.	**3 -** There is both maternity and paternity leave and both are consistently enforced. However, there are no flexible schedules, breastfeeding rooms, or other child care policies.		**1 -** There is maternity leave, but there are negative repercussions for women who take it, especially from their male colleagues who must take on extra burden during the time women are on leave. There are also no flexible schedules provided to Indian police officers.	**1 -** The military has the same maternity leave policy as the police, but information on any repercussions or negative perceptions is unknown. There is likewise no flexible schedules available for the soldiers.	
Additional Factors	**Additional Contextual Factors**	14	Women as Combatants	**4 -**Women fought in both the opposition forces and the government during the civil war that ended in 2003.			**4 -** Women fought as both government and opposition forces, made up of almost 50% of the FARC, during the recent conflict.			**0 -** Women have not fought in past conflict in either government or rebel forces.		
		15	Women in Power with a WPS Agenda	**2 -** Previously, President Sirleaf advocated strongly for the implementation of a WPS strategy in Liberia. She is credited for many of the gains in regards to gender issues and participation in the security sector. However, presently, there are no women in power who advocate for a WPS agenda.			**4 -** Currently, Vice President Blanco, is a strong advocate for WPS strategies.			**0 -** Interviews indicated there were no women in power pushing WPS strategies.		
		16	History of Purdah	**4 -** Purdah is not practiced in Liberia.			**4 -** Purdah is not practiced in Colombia.			**0 -** Purdah is practiced in Indian society.		
		17	Education Gaps	**0 -** There is a significant education gap between men and women, indicated by the difference in literacy rates: 62.7% compared to 34.1% (2017).			**4 -** There is not a significant education gap between men and women, indicated by literacy rates: 94.85% compared to 95.3% (2018)			**0 -** There is a significant education gap between men and women, indicated by literacy rates: 82.4% compared to 65.8% (2018).		
	Additional Facilitative/ Obstructive Factors	18	WPS National Action Plan	**4 -** There is a WPS NAP.			**0 -** There is no WPS NAP.			**0 -** There is no WPS NAP.		
		19	Sex-Segregated Jobs in ULE	**3 -** Women are allowed in all positions, but most can be found in administrative jobs.	**3 -** Women are allowed in all positions, but most can be found in administrative, non-combatant positions.		**4 -** Women are allowed and found in all positions in the police.	**4 -** Women are allowed and found in all positions in the police.		**3 -** Even though women are allowed in all positions in the police, women fill mostly administrative jobs due to cultural norms and barriers.	**2 -** Women are not allowed in combat roles in the military and are found in administrative positions.	
		20	Integrated Units	**4 -** Units are integrated, and there are no sex-separated units.	**4 -** Units are integrated, and there are no sex-separated units.		**4 -** Units are integrated, and there are no sex-separated units.	**4 -** Units are integrated, and there are no sex-separated units.		**2 -** There are both mixed and single sex units in the Indian police.	**0 -** Units are separated by sex.	

Scoring Figures

Fig. F Case Study Scoring Matrix

	Factor Number	Factor	Liberia				Colombia				India			
			Factor Country Score				*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*			
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)	0				2				0			
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2				2				1			
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2				1				1			
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)	1				2				1			
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	1				2				0			
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2				2				1			
			Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	2		2	0	0		0	2	0		1
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	3	1		2	2	2		2	2	1		1.5
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	1		0.5	0	0		0	0	0		0
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)	2	2		2	2	2		2	1	0		0.5
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	0	0		0	4	0		2	4	2		3
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	2	2		2	3	2		2.5	1	0		0.5
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	3	2		2.5	3	3		3	1	1		1
		Totals:	**12**	**10**		**19**	**14**	**9**		**22.5**	**11**	**4**		**11.5**
			Institution Scores			*Country Score*	*Institution Scores*			*Country Score*	*Institution Score*			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-52
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

Fig. G Revised Case Study Scoring Matrix

		Factor Number	Factor	Liberia				Colombia				India			
				Factor Country Score				*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*			
Contextual Factors		1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-	0				2				0			
		2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)	2				2				1			
		3	Existing Women's Participation in the	2				1				1			
		4	Women's Participation in National	1				2				1			
		5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)	1				2				0			
		6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)	2				2				1			
				Police	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***	**Police**	**Military**	**PKO**	***Factor Country Score***
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors		7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)	2	2		2	0	0		0	2	0		1
		8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)	3	1		2	2	2		2	2	1		1.5
		9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)	0	1		0.5	0	0		0	0	0		0
		10	Harassment Policies and Reporting	2	2		2	2	2		2	1	0		0.5
		11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)	0	0		0	4	0		2	4	2		3
		12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)	2	2		2	3	2		2.5	1	0		0.5
		13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)	3	2		2.5	3	3		3	1	1		1
Additional Factors	Contextual Factors	14	Women as Combatants (0-4)	4				4				0			
		15	Women in Power with a WPS Agenda (0-4)	2				4				0			
		16	History of Purdah (0-4)	4				4				0			
		17	Education Gaps (0-4)	0				4				0			
	Facilitative/ Obstructive Factors	18	WPS National Action Plan (0-4)	4				0				0			
		19	Sex Segregated Jobs in ULE (0-4)	3	3		3	4	4		4	3	2		2.5
		20	Integrated Units (0-4)	4	4		4	4	4		4	2	0		1
			Totals:	**19**	**17**		**40**	**22**	**17**		**46.5**	**16**	**6**		**15**
				Institution Scores			*Country Score*	*Institution Scores*			*Country Score*	*Institution Score*			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-80
*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor
*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

Revised Scoring Matrix

Fig. H Revised Scoring Matrix

	Factor Number	Factor	Liberia				Colombia				India			
			Factor Country Score				*Factor Country Score*				*Factor Country Score*			
			Police	Military	PKO	*Factor Country Score*	Police	Military	PKO	*Factor Country Score*	Police	Military	PKO	*Factor Country Score*
Contextual Factors	1	Restrictive Gender Roles and Stereotypes (0-4)												
	2	Male Dominated Institutional Culture (0-4)												
	3	Existing Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)												
	4	Women's Participation in National Government (0-4)												
	5	Laws Against Gender Discrimination (0-4)												
	6	Government Support for Women's Participation in the Security Sector (0-4)												
Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	7	Gender Balancing Policies (0-4)												
	8	Gender Mainstreaming Policies (0-4)												
	9	Mentoring Programs (0-4)												
	10	Harassment Policies and Reporting Mechanisms (0-4)												
	11	Renorming of Physical Fitness Standards (0-4)												
	12	Gender-Based Accommodations, Facilities, and Equipment (0-4)												
	13	Family-Friendly Policies (0-4)												
Additional Factors: Contextual Factors	14	Women as Combatants (0-4)												
	15	Women in Power with a WPS Agenda (0-4)												
	16	History of Purdah (0-4)												
	17	Education Gaps (0-4)												
Additional Factors: Facilitative/Obstructive Factors	18	WPS National Action Plan (0-4)												
	19	Sex Segregated Jobs in ULE (0-4)												
	20	Integrated Units (0-4)												
		Totals:												
			Institution Scores			*Country Score*	*Institution Scores*			*Country Score*	*Institution Score*			*Country Score*

*Range: 0-80

*Higher country and institution scores indicate greater presence of the factor

*Higher factor country scores indicate greater degree of facilitation across all factors

Additional Bibliography Materials

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Interviews and Email Correspondents

Name	Title	Affiliation	Communication	Response
Bradley Orchard, Col.	Policy Specialist	UN Women	Email	Interviewed
Cristiena Galeckas	Peacekeeping Advisor	U.S. Department of State	Email	No response
Deborah Warren-Smith	Manager	Elsie Initiative Fund for Uniformed Women in Peace Operations, UN Women	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Jolynn Shoemaker, J.D.	Director of Global Engagements	Global Affairs, University of California, Davis	Email	Email Correspondence
Lone Jessen	Senior Gender and Political Advisor	The Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, United Nations	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Modupe Oshikoya, Ph.D.	Assistant Professor	Virginia Wesleyan University	Email/Zoom	Interviewed

Phelan Wyrick	Director	Research and Evaluation Division, U.S. Department of Justice	Email	Declined
Robert Nagel, Ph.D.	Postdoctoral Fellow	Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Ross Kaplan	Political Military affairs	U.S. Department of State	Email	No response
Ryan Higginbotham	Counsel	Office of Legal Policy, U.S. Department of Justice	Email	Declined

Liberia

Name	Title	Affiliation	Communication	Response
Anthony Pagliai	Desk Officer for Liberia, Office of West African Affairs	U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
Asatu Bah Kenneth	Liberian Activist	Liberian Female Law Enforcement Association	Email	No Response
Cecil Griffiths	President/Coordinator	Liberia National Law Enforcement Association /Civil Society Working Group on Security Sector Reform	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Christie Arendt, Ph.D.	Deputy Director of (Coastal) West African Affairs	U.S. Department of State	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Clarence Moniba	Head of Partnership	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Presidential Center	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Daniel de Torres	Director	Small Arms Survey	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Elizabeth Sele Mulbah	Co-Founder, Acting National Focal Point	The Mano River Women's Peace Network	Email	No response
Esther Wu	Liberia Program Officer	Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence

Eugene S. Nagbe	Administrative/ Financial Officer	Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia	Email	Interviewed (Questionnaire)
Hae Jung Moon	Deputy Director	Office of Africa and Middle East, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
Jangai Lisa Gbemie	Gender Consultant	Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia	Email	Interviewed (Questionnaire)
Jennifer Doumitt	West Africa Team Lead	Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
Kathleen Coogan	Senior Advisor for Atrocities Prevention and Gender	Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
Kofi Ireland	Program Officer for Women Peace and Security	UN Women Liberia	Email	No Response
Landon E. Lasyone	Desk Officer for Senegal and Guinea-Bissau	U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
Marjon Kamara	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Liberia	Email	No Response
Martin C. Benson	Public Information Consultant	Gender and Security Sector National Task Force of Liberia	Email	Interviewed (Questionnaire)
Riva Levinson	Chief Executive Officer	KRL International	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Sabrina Karim, Ph.D.	Assistant Professor	Cornell University	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Sunshine A. Ison	Director in Monrovia	Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence

Thomas Armstrong, Maj.	Major/Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation	U.S. Army/U.S. Embassy in Liberia	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Troy D. Fitrell	Director of the Office of West African Affairs	U.S. Department of State	Email	Email Correspondence
-	-	WIPSEN-Africa (The Women Peace and Security Network Africa)	Email	No Response
-	-	WAPNET (The West Africa Network for Peacebuilding)	Email	No Response
-	-	Women's NGO Secretariat of Liberia	Email	No Response
-	-	Women Peace and Security Network Africa	Email	No Response
-	-	Ministry of Gender and Development of Liberia	Email	No Response
-	-	Liberia Female Law Enforcement Association	Email	No Response
-	-	Ministry of National Defense of Liberia	Email	No Response
-	-	Institute of Security Studies (Africa)	Email	No Response
-	-	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Email	No Response
-	-	United States Institute of Peace	Email	Declined

Colombia

Name	Title	Affiliation	Communication	Response
Aila Matanock, Ph.D.	Associate Professor	University of California, Berkeley	Email	Declined

Anna Widepalm	Project manager for the Swedish development cooperation strategy for Colombia	Folke Bernadotte Academy	Email	Interviewed (via email)
Carlos Hoyos	Project Manager	International Organization for Migration	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Christie Arendt, Ph.D.	Ph.D. Candidate	University of Otago	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Clara Esperanza Galvis, M.D.	Brigadier General	Colombian Military Hospital	Email	No response
Devanna De La Puente	Gender Advisor	United Nations Mission in Colombia	Email	No response
Dulia Turner, Lieut.	Gender Advisor	U.S. Southern Command, Department of Defense	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Enzo Nussio, Ph.D.	Senior Researcher	Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich	Email	Declined
Ervyn Norza	Officer/Graduate Student	Colombian National Police/Los Andes University	Email	No response
Eva Maria Rey Pinto	Researcher	General Rafael Reyes Prieto	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Guillermo Fernández de Soto Valderrama, Ambassador	Permanent Representative	Permanent Mission of Colombia to the United Nations	Email	No response
Jamille Bigio	Senior Fellow for Women and Foreign Policy	Council on Foreign Relations	Email	Interviewed (via email)
Juanita Millan	Senior Mediation Advisor	United Nations Peacemaker	Email	No response
Kristen Farrell	Foreign Service Officer	U.S. State Department	Email	No response
Lurangeli Franco, Col.	Colonel	Unit for Peacebuilding (UNIPEP), The National Police of Colombia	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Marcelo Diaz	Gender Advisor	Folke Bernadotte Academy	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Maria Catalina Monroy,	Assistant Professor	Universidad del Rosario	Email/Zoom	Interviewed

Ph.D.				
Marsha Henry, Ph.D.	Associate Professor	London School of Economics and Political Science	Email	No response
Michael Weintraub, Ph.D.	Associate Professor	Universidad de los Andes	Email	No response
Rachel Vogelstein, JD	Douglas Dillon Senior Fellow and Director of Women and Foreign Policy Program	Council on Foreign Relations	Email	Interviewed
Rosa Emilia Salamanca	Executive Director	Corporación de Investigación y Acción Social y Económica (CIASE)	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Roxani Krystalli, Ph.D.	Assistant Professor	University of St Andrews, Scotland	Email	Declined
Samanta Kussrow	Program Officer	Latin American Security and Defence Network (RESDAL)	Email	No response

India

Name	Title	Affiliation	Communication	Response
Abhilasha Sood	Gender Responsive Budgeting Coordinator	UN Women India	Email	Email Correspondence
Aditi Datta	Senior Programme Officer of the Police Reforms Program	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative - New Delhi Office	Email	Email Correspondence
Akanksha Khullar	Researcher	The Centre for Internal and Regional Security, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Anjali Dave, Ph.D.	Professor	Tata Institute for Social Science	Email	No response
Anju Pandey	Program Specialist	UN Women India	Linkedin	No response
Arundhati Bhattacharyya, Ph.D.	Associate Professor	Burdwan University	Email	No response

Dee Sawyers, Ph.D.	Gender Analysis	U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, Department of Defense	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Devika Prasad	Programme Head of the Police Reforms Program	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative - New Delhi Office	Email	Email Correspondence
Devyani Srivastava	Senior Programme Officer of the Police Reforms Program	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative - New Delhi Office	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Mangai Natarajan, Ph.D.	Professor	The City University of New York	Email	No response
Meeran Borwankar, Ph.D.	Former Director General	Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs of India	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Monica Herrera	Women, Peace, and Security Curriculum Developer	U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, U.S. Department of Defense	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Pranita Achyut	Director of Research and Programme	The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) - Asia	Email	No response
Radhika Jha	Research Executive	Common Cause India	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Radhika Prabhu	Executive Director	Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State	Email	No response
Rohini Pande, Ph.D.	Gender & Health Consultant	-	Linkedin	No response
Sanya Seth	Programme Analyst	UN Women India	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Seema Kazi, Ph.D.	Associate Professor	Ambedkar University	Email	No response
Sharon Feist	Command Gender Advisor	U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, U.S. Department of Defense	Email/Zoom	Interviewed
Shri C.S. Mawri	Assistant Registrar (Law)	National Human Rights Commission	Email	No Response
Seema Dhundia, Com.	Former Commander	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Email	No Response