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TWENTY YEARS, TWENTY STORIES: WOMEN, PEACE, AND SECURITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

With a foreword by Admiral Craig S. Faller and Lieutenant General (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim

Dr. Fabiana Sofia Perera and Lieutenant Colonel Duilia Mora Turner



U.S. Southern Command

William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies

U.S. Southern Command Women, Peace, and Security Program

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FOREWORD

Admiral Craig S. Faller and Lieutenant General (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim

Together, we are proud to offer this volume of professional reflections on the advancement of Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) efforts. The contributors include talented women and men working in defense and security across our hemisphere. When we began our military service as young officers in the U.S. Navy and U.S. Army, women were not fully integrated into the forces. As our careers progressed, so did the inclusion of women into the services. Today, all U.S. military services welcome and encourage the full participation of women. We have been fortunate to work with talented women from all aspects of the defense enterprise and have seen their valuable contributions firsthand.

With this publication, we mark the 20th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) while continuing our support for the Women, Peace, and Security Act, the U.S. National Action Plan on WPS, and the Department of Defense Women, Peace, and Security Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan. As we celebrate two decades of progress and lead the way into the next chapter of WPS in the region, we certainly do not do it alone. We work with our partners who share our conviction that women's inclusion at every level leads to a more secure, prosperous, and free hemisphere.

We are honored to present the contributions of numerous William J. Perry Center alumni to this book. It is clear from their participation that our investment in defense and security professionals' development has had an enduring impact on peoples and institutions across the Americas. The inclusion of women in the security and defense sectors starts with listening to the professional perspectives of women and men applying gender perspectives in their work. It is a joint effort of the U.S. Southern Command and the William J. Perry Center to elevate the voices of professionals working on WPS in the region. Consistent with our commitment to elevate talented individuals, this publication includes the voices of women and men, civilian and military, representing thirteen countries from Central America to the Caribbean to the Southern Cone and the United States.

To have the most effective defense and security organizations, we must recruit, retain, recognize, and promote the best talent. Talent is talent – and top military leaders know that to be a successful minister of defense or chief of security, you must

elevate the most capable women and men. Failing to incorporate the full spectrum of human capital undermines the national defense enterprise. Therefore, the question is no longer why we should integrate women into the force but how we can better harness the full breadth of talent.

The William J. Perry Center and U.S. Southern Command stand as champions of democratic values and the meaningful integration of civilians, women, and interagency partners into defense and security activities. At the Perry Center, WPS is a crosscutting effort incorporated into all of our programs. At U.S. Southern Command, WPS is part of the command's strategy and is integrated across our operations, activities, and investments. Furthermore, we engage with our partners in the hemisphere to support regional defense institutions as they work to develop sustainable institutional WPS capacity.

Many of our partners lead by example and work hand-in-hand with our teams to promote women's meaningful participation in security and defense. Across the region, six of our partner nations have implemented National Action Plans. The WPS initiative has guided a generation of trailblazers, researchers, and peacekeepers to work tirelessly toward a safer and more secure hemisphere. Achieving gender equality in Latin America and the Caribbean is key to achieving progress and overcoming structural and cultural challenges in the region. This book highlights many of our partners' full commitment to the WPS agenda and some of their remarkable achievements.

As we mark the twentieth anniversary of UNSCR 1325, we celebrate the contributions of women and men in the region, many of whom have worked with our institutions to advance the dialogue around women's roles in defense and security throughout the Western Hemisphere. On the eve of this important anniversary, it is clear that defense forces – and all professional teams – are stronger and better when integrated.

Admiral Craig S. Faller is the Commander at U.S. Southern Command.

Lieutenant General (ret.) Frederick S. Rudesheim is the Director of the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies.

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Fabiana Sofia Perera and Lieutenant Colonel Duilia Mora Turner

The purpose of this publication is to make the invisible, visible. It is a testament to what institutions can achieve when they include women. It is a testament to the tenacity of strong women proving every day that their contributions are extremely valuable for their institutions and society.

Twenty years ago, the United Nations urged its member states to “ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.” Today, it is clear that across Latin America, the Caribbean, and our own country, we are making progress. Nevertheless, we also know that much remains to be done. While this book celebrates many successes, it likewise shines a light on barriers that we must overcome.

From inception, this project focused on elevating the voices of women breaking barriers in the security and defense continuum across the Western Hemisphere. As such, this book started with a call for contributions distributed to Perry Center alumni. From outstanding graduates, we received dozens of submissions in response to this request. We were honored by the interest the project generated. Despite the quality of these ideas, we were unable to include all of the submissions. Therefore, we selected twenty essays that we believe are diverse and represent a community of professionals advancing women, peace, and security principles.

The essays in this volume cover a range of mission areas. An insightful article from Brazil discusses cybersecurity. Papers from Peru and Uruguay address peacekeeping operations. Pieces from Ecuador and Argentina share personal stories of involvement in humanitarian assistance and disaster response missions, while submissions from Chile and Costa Rica address the role of women as police officers. An essay from Colombia discusses the role of women in professional military education. Two treatises, from Colombia and Argentina, discuss the historical role of women in combat and the importance of remembering these warriors’ contributions.

We are fortunate to have contributors from every subregion, including one author from Mexico, three from Central America, and one from the Caribbean. We included several essays from the Southern Cone and the Andean region. The book also contains two articles originally written in Portuguese and one in English from a U.S. service member. An English translation accompanies the Spanish and Portuguese contributions in hopes the book will reach a wider audience.

The varied themes reflect the contributors' diverse backgrounds. The featured authors are active duty and retired military and police, civil servants working on national security, and academics working on professional military education institutions. They are both women and men, as we acknowledge that the work of including women in security and defense belongs to all of us.

We have come a long way in the Western Hemisphere in the two decades since United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted. Today, we celebrate these twenty years with twenty stories, and we cannot wait to see what barriers new generations will break down and what great strides we will continue to see in our region. We hope these pages will inspire a new generation of defense and security professionals to seek ways to include women fully in defense and security.

Fabiana Sofia Perera is an assistant professor at the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies.

Lietenant Colonel Duilia Mora Turner is the women, peace, and security chief at U.S. Southern Command.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a testament to how far you can go when you work together. There are many people throughout the region and at the Department of Defense whose support made this book possible. Listing everyone would take twenty pages, but a few deserve special mention among the many that contributed.

The leadership at each of the institutions, Admiral Craig S. Faller, Lieutenant General (Ret.) Frederick Rudesheim, and Ambassador Jean Manes deserve the first mention. Their trust in the project and us as editors was indispensable for this project to succeed. More importantly, their commitment to working with our partners across the region is evident in their support of the project and contribution to the book. For their support of an ambitious project during a particularly challenging year, we are grateful to the staff at the United States Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM) and the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies.

At USSOUTHCOM, Jennifer Tyrowicz accompanied the project from its inception at a workshop in Washington, DC, to its launch. Leonel Poveda and Antonio Morales expertly translated portions of the book. Beth Storey-Taylor was an incredible proofreader who undisputedly elevated the quality of our work. Major Carlos Calderon supported the project with administrative law counsel. Pat Randall tenaciously allocated resources for the book's publishing. Patrick Mathes was an enthusiastic cheerleader.

At the William J. Perry Center, we are grateful to Dr. Scott Tollefson and Jeff Murphy for believing in the project. Darla Jordan came to the Center from USSOUTHCOM just in time to help with this joint project. Linda Denning helped us secure an all-female team of translators for portions of the publication. Kara O'Ryan was instrumental in helping us reach out to the authors. Liliana Besosa provided unparalleled support of the project from book to launch. Emily Smith provided research assistance above and beyond what was reasonable of us to ask. Andres Borjas and Kimberly Nunez-Argueta were enthusiastic readers. Rhonda Shore worked tirelessly to help us make this book the best it could be. All the credit for the book's graphic design goes to Vivian Edwards.

We are grateful to our families (and the families of everyone that worked on this book) for their patience while we pulled

this together during a pandemic with many long nights in between.

Above all, we are grateful to the brave women across the region whose stories of resilience and heroism inspired the publication of this book.

Maria de los Angeles Gruttulini

Maria de los Angeles Gruttulini is a 2nd lieutenant in the Argentine Army, Mountain Infantry Regiment 10. Born in the Chubut Province of Argentina to a military family, Gruttulini is a professional in the Army Physical Education Service. She designs and implements all the physical training her regiment needs to be equipped for physically demanding missions.

The Mountain Infantry Regiment 10 is currently stationed in the Neuquén province of Argentina.



Maria de los Angeles Gruttulini

Las Mujeres De Las Fuerzas Armadas Argentinas al Frente de las Tareas Más Riesgosas en Tiempo De Paz

Maria de los Angeles Gruttulini

Dentro de la "Operación General Manuel Belgrano" realizada por las Fuerzas Armadas Argentinas que busca mitigar los efectos producidos por la pandemia del COVID-19, el Regimiento de Infantería de Montaña 10 "Tte Grl RACEDO" del Ejército Argentino se encuentra realizando actividades encuadradas dentro las operaciones de protección civil. A estas tareas, se sumaron la distribución de alimentos, leña, agua potable y forraje, a pobladores de parajes y poblados aislados por las fuertes nevadas caídas durante el duro invierno patagónico.

Como parte de estas actividades la Subteniente María de los Ángeles Gruttulini, recibió la orden de su Jefe de Regimiento el Teniente Coronel Carlos Fraquelli, de realizar patrullas vehiculares hacia la zona de la Quebrada del Tordillo y del Cañadón de la Vaca Muerta, para llevar provisiones a pobladores que habían quedado aislados por la gran cantidad de nieve caída, y cuya comunicación con los centros urbanos había quedado cortada. Son pobladores rurales de distintas edades, que si no reciben esa asistencia pueden morir.

La Subteniente Gruttulini egresó del Colegio Militar de la Nación como Subteniente del Servicio de Educación Física, el 13 de julio de 2017. Es hija de un oficial del arma de comunicación y a través de la profesión de su padre fue descubriendo su vocación militar. Sintiendo atraída por las actividades de montaña, eligió como primer unidad de destino el Regimiento de Infantería de Montaña 10 "Tte Grl RACEDO", ubicado en la localidad de Covunco, en la patagónica provincia argentina de Neuquén. En dicha unidad se desempeña como Jefe de la Sección de Adiestramiento Físico desde mediados de 2017, teniendo la responsabilidad de planificar y ejecutar el entrenamiento físico del personal de toda la unidad, focalizado en destrezas relacionadas a la infantería de montaña, más específicamente a la escalada y al esquí de travesía. En 2018, realizó el Curso Básico de Montaña, obteniendo la categoría de Esquiador Militar Básico en la localidad de Primeros Pinos, y en 2019 concurrió a la Escuela Militar de Montaña, ubicada en la ciudad de San Carlos de Bariloche, en donde realizó y aprobó el Curso de Escalador Militar. Con miembros de su regimiento, ha realizado numerosas actividades de montaña, reconocimientos a pasos y zonas cordilleranas, como así también varias ascensiones a montañas de la Cordillera de los Andes.

La Subteniente Gruttulini, de 28 años de edad, estuvo a cargo de una patrulla integrada por cinco suboficiales, que a bordo de un camión y mientras se producía una fuerte nevada, lograron llegar a lugares de muy difícil acceso, cumpliendo así la misión que le había sido encomendada de llevarle los abastecimientos a los pobladores aislados. Pero cuando intentaron emprender la retirada, el avance con el vehículo fue imposible debido a las grandes cantidades de nieves que continuaban cayendo y que literalmente había borrado todo camino.

Viendo que el regreso hacia la Unidad se hacía imposible, informa al Regimiento por radio que no podían continuar el regreso, debido a la gran cantidad de nieve que se había acumulado en el camino y que impedía que el camión pudiera transitar, transmitiendo a su vez la tranquilidad a sus superiores que se encontraban en buenas condiciones físicas. Es en ese momento cuando toma la decisión de buscar un refugio para pasar la noche. Tanto ella como los suboficiales que se encontraban bajo su mando, no suponían que iban a pasar tres días aislados en un refugio hasta que pudieran ser rescatados y regresar a su base. Es así que haciendo una apreciación de la situación en que se encontraban, sabiendo que debía cambiar su plan inicial, decide cambiar el camino de regreso, buscando encontrar un refugio que les permitiera ponerse a resguardo de las condiciones climáticas adversas. Pero la situación continuaba desfavorable y entonces dirige su patrulla en una difícil marcha sobre la nieve que les llegaba hasta la cintura, hacia una casa vacía que encontraron en su camino. De inmediato ingresaron a la casa para poder recuperarse del esfuerzo físico que ya venían realizando desde muy temprano esa mañana.

En ese momento la subteniente se comunica por radio con el Regimiento e informa que se encontraban en un refugio vacío y en buenas condiciones físicas. Posteriormente consigue comunicarse con un empleado de la municipalidad de la localidad de Mariano Moreno, quien logra a su vez contactarlos con el dueño de la casa donde se habían refugiado.

La subteniente comenta que gracias a ese señor, toman conocimiento que la casa pertenecía a un hijo de un anciano de apellido Milla y que el hijo se había dirigido a la casa de su padre para asistirlo ante la tormenta. Esa casa estaba ubicada a un kilómetro de distancia de donde se encontraban. Cuando se entera de esto la Subteniente decide formar un grupo menor y se dirige hacia esa casa para darle aviso donde se encontraban y que ocuparían la casa para pasar la noche, para al día siguiente intentar nuevamente regresar a la base. Pero esa marcha con la nieve hasta la cintura les tomó cerca de 4 horas llegar al destino. Tanto el anciano como su hijo también se encontraban aislados en su casa.

Al día siguiente la Subteniente observó que era imposible emprender el regreso, ya que las condiciones climáticas adversas continuaban muy desfavorable. Ella sabía que se encontraba en una situación adversa y nada cómoda, pero mantuvo la tranquilidad porque sabía que necesitaba de esa serenidad para poder tomar las decisiones.

La Subteniente Gruttulini expresa entonces: “Cuando decidimos seguir la carrera militar sabemos que nos exponemos a estas clases de situaciones y nos preparamos y entrenamos para saber afrontar estos desafíos buscando la mejor solución para cumplir la misión. Siempre, frente a estas situaciones, pensamos en nuestros subordinados que esperan mucho de nosotras y en nuestras familias que nos esperan de regreso. Yo soy hija de militar y eso hace que te acostumbres a que cuando un militar se va de casa para cumplir una misión, puede pasar mucho tiempo sin verlo. Es parte de nuestra vida, de nuestro día a día”.

Al día siguiente gracias a la ayuda del Señor Milla pudieron conseguir algunos alimentos y lo pudieron trasladar al refugio utilizando un caballo que les había prestado.

Al mismo tiempo el Jefe de Regimiento Teniente Coronel Fraquelli comandó una primera misión de rescate, sin poder lograr los resultados esperados ya que no pudieron arribar a los lugares de conexión debido a la inmensa cantidad de nieve, ni aún utilizando los medios de montaña disponible al igual que soldados experimentados.

Luego de otros intentos sin lograr éxito, finalmente una patrulla guiada por baqueanos militares y experimentados Oficiales y Suboficiales del Regimiento, alcanzaron el lugar de contacto con la patrulla dirigida por la Subteniente Gruttulini. Ese reencontro ocurrió casi 72 horas después de que la patrulla había quedado varada.

Ya con una situación mas clara y en mejores condiciones climáticas, la Subteniente Gruttulini decidió iniciar el regreso al día siguiente. Organizó su patrulla y equipos e inició el desplazamiento, debiendo caminar con raquetas de nieve unos 6 kilómetros, lo que demandó un gran esfuerzo físico. Unas horas después arribó al punto de contacto, desde donde fueron trasladados en camiones al Regimiento.

Ya en el Regimiento, la Subteniente Gruttulini y su patrulla fueron reconocidos y felicitados por su Jefe de Regimiento, por el sacrificio, la misión cumplida y las decisiones que la Jefa de patrulla adoptó, manteniendo la situación bajo control en todo momento y circunstancias que les tocó vivir.

Gruttulini • ARGENTINA

Finalmente la Subteniente expresó: “En el Ejército las instrucciones y el entrenamiento no tienen distinción de género. La capacitación y preparación es la misma, ya que la montaña no reconoce diferencia de sexos. El personal es igual y todos luchamos por las mismas causas y los mismos sentimientos”.

Finalmente y luego de sortear este obstáculo, la Subteniente Gruttulini, al igual que todo el personal del Regimiento comenzaron nuevamente a prepararse para continuar la misión de asistir a otros residentes aislados en zonas rurales de la región, que se encontraban también seriamente afectados por las intensas tormentas de nieve.

Women in Argentina's Armed Forces at the Forefront of the Riskiest Peacetime Missions

Maria de los Angeles Gruttulini

As part of "Operation General Manuel Belgrano" carried out by the Argentine Armed Forces to mitigate the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Army's 10th Mountain Infantry Regiment, "Lieutenant-General RACEDO," is conducting civil protection activities. In addition, it distributes food, firewood, drinking water, and fodder to the residents of areas and villages cut off by heavy snowfall during the harsh Patagonian winter.

As part of this effort, I was ordered by my commander, Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Fraquelli, to conduct vehicular patrols in Quebrada del Tordillo and Cañadón de la Vaca Muerta, and to take supplies to villagers who had been cut off by deep snow and had lost communication with urban centers. These rural settlers of all different ages were in danger of dying if they did not receive assistance.

I graduated from the National Military College as a Second Lieutenant of the Physical Education Service on July 13, 2017. I am the daughter of an officer in the Armed Forces' communications arm, and it was through my father's profession that I began to discover my military vocation. Attracted to mountain-related activities, I chose the 10th Mountain Infantry Regiment, "Lieutenant-General RACEDO," located in Covunco, in the Argentine Patagonian province of Neuquén, as my first posting. In this unit, I served as the head of the Physical Training Section since mid-2017 and am solely responsible for planning and implementing a physical training regime for the entire unit focused on mountain infantry skills, especially climbing and cross-country skiing. In 2018, I completed the basic mountain course, obtaining the qualification of "Basic Military Skier" in the town of Primeros Pinos, and in 2019, I attended the Military Mountain School, located in the city of San Carlos de Bariloche, where I completed and passed the military climbers course. With my regiment, I have carried out numerous missions in the mountains, including explorations and ascents of mountains in the Andes.

As a twenty-eight-year-old, I was put in charge of a patrol of five non-commissioned officers (NCOs) who traveled by truck through heavy snow to bring supplies to isolated villagers. When we tried to return to the base, our vehicle got hemmed in

by the deep snow that had fallen and, quite literally, erased every road.

Realizing we would be unable to return, I informed the regiment by radio that we could not continue due to the large amount of snow that had fallen. I also reassured my superiors that everyone was in good physical condition. Then I decided to look for shelter for the night. Neither the NCOs under my command nor I imagined we would end up spending three days in a shelter until we could be rescued and brought back to the base. After assessing the situation and changing my initial plan, I decided to take a different way back and look for somewhere to take shelter from the adverse conditions. But the situation remained grim, so I led the patrol on a challenging march through waist-deep snow toward an empty house we had come across. We immediately entered the home to recover from the physical effort we'd been making since early morning.

I then radioed the regiment and reported that we were in an empty shelter and in good physical condition. Later, I managed to communicate with an employee of the municipality of Mariano Moreno, who put me in touch with the owner of the house in which we had taken refuge.

I thanked this gentleman when we learned the house belonged to the son of an older man named Mr. Milla and that the son had gone to his father's place to help him weather the storm. That house was located a mile away from where we were. When I heard this, I decided to form a smaller group and walk there to notify the father and son that we would occupy the son's house for the night and attempt to return to base the next day. But that walk through waist-deep snow took us nearly four hours. Both the older man and his son were holed up in their home.

The next day, I noted it would be impossible to return to the base because the weather conditions were still terrible. I knew I was in a difficult and uncomfortable situation but stayed calm because of the need to remain unruffled to make decisions.

When we decide to pursue a military career, we know we expose ourselves to these situations. We prepare and train to meet these challenges while looking for the best solution to accomplish the mission. In the face of such trials, we always think about our subordinates, who expect a lot from us, and our families waiting back home. I'm a military daughter, so I know that when a service member leaves home to accomplish a mission, it may be a long time before you see them again. That's a part of our lives, of our day-to-day.

The next day, with Mr. Milla's help, the unit gathered some food and transferred it to its shelter using a horse the older man lent them.

At the same time, my commander, Lieutenant Colonel Fraquelli, led the first rescue mission without achieving the expected results. Despite having mountain gear and experienced soldiers, the rescue team could not reach the area due to the immense amount of snow.

After other unsuccessful attempts, a patrol led by military mountaineers, experienced regiment officers, and NCOs finally reached our patrol's contact point. That was nearly 72 hours after we first got stranded.

With a clearer outlook and better weather conditions, I decided to begin the return the next day. I organized the patrol and equipment and set out, walking about 6 kilometers (3.73 miles) in snowshoes, which required great physical endurance. After several hours, we reached the contact point from which we were transferred by truck to the base.

Back at the base, my patrol and I were recognized and congratulated by our commander for our sacrifice, accomplishing our mission, and sound decision making that kept the situation under control at all times, despite the circumstances.

In the Army, there are no gender distinctions when it comes to training and preparation because the mountain does not recognize differences in gender. All personnel are equal, and we all fight for the same causes with the same feeling.

Finally, after overcoming this obstacle, I, like everyone else in the regiment, began preparing to continue the mission of assisting other isolated residents in rural areas throughout the region who had been seriously affected by heavy snowstorms.

Alejandro Perugorria

Alejandro Perugorria is a senior intelligence analyst and systems developer analyst, specializing in geographic information systems (GIS). He is currently the senior information technology advisor and consultant to organizations in both the public and private sectors and is a member of the faculty of philosophy and letters at the University of Buenos Aires. He holds his postgraduate degree in image analysis and interpretation from the Instituto Geográfico Militar and has completed certificates in cybersecurity, digital cartography, and georeferencing satellite images from several international institutions.

As an academic, he works with students of GIS postgraduate courses with open-source tools of the Universidad Tecnológica Nacional, Buenos Aires. Professor Perugorria has 25 years of experience implementing GIS applied to different fields and industries, always emphasizing the innovation of technological tools.

He has contributed to the development and implementation of several GIS software applications. These include “DMFAS,” a software that allows the analysis of crimes that occurred in a given territory; a unique border control and surveillance system that allowed the analysis and segregation of crimes in the border area; the “Marcos Paz Alert” citizen security application, and the “Field Data Collector” tool that allows the survey of field data and adjusts to different industries.

Apart from his extensive knowledge of GIS systems, Professor Perugorria is also skilled in forensic analysis, data analysis, satellite images, intelligence, and programming languages. He has served as a speaker at several international and domestic conferences, is the author of various articles related to GIS, and has significant fieldwork experience, particularly in drone surveillance and the geoprocessing of pictures.

Professor Perugorria is an alumnus of the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, completing the Strategy and Defense Policy course in 2019.



Alejandro Perugorria

El conflicto del Atlántico Sur: “Mujeres olvidadas”

Alejandro Perugorria

Corría el año 1961 cuando, en su discurso de asunción el presidente de los EE.UU., John F. Kennedy pronunciaba la frase: “No preguntes lo que tu país puede hacer por ti, sino lo que puedes hacer por él”.

Veintiun años después, el 2 de abril de 1982, tropas argentinas desembarcaron en las Islas Malvinas con el fin de recuperar la soberanía que en 1833 había sido arrebatada por fuerzas militares del Reino Unido.

El conflicto, que finalizó el 25 de junio del mismo año, dejó un saldo de 649 combatientes argentinos y 255 soldados ingleses muertos. La posguerra dejó secuelas en muchos de sus participantes y hoy sigue cobrando víctimas.

A 38 años de aquella guerra, el reclamo argentino sigue vigente, aunque por la vía diplomática. Sin embargo, poco se sabe de la vida de quienes participaron en el conflicto. A su regreso fueron escondidos y casi ni se hablaba de ellos. Hasta existen rumores de que tenían prohibido hablar de lo que ocurrió en la guerra.

Los hombres y mujeres que participaron en el conflicto armado fueron casi olvidados y, de no ser por algunos pocos escritores que se preocuparon por resaltar esta parte de la historia, nadie conocería su historia.

Cuando menciono hombres y mujeres es tal cual lo digo, ya que también participaron mujeres en la guerra. Por esta razón, hoy quiero escribir particularmente sobre la historia de seis mujeres que participaron en el conflicto del Atlántico Sur o, como lo llamamos en nuestro país, la guerra de las Malvinas.

Seis mujeres olvidadas que han estado, desde su regreso de la guerra, ocultas en el anonimato. Incluso muchas personas que también participaron de las acciones desconocen su existencia.

Susana, Silvia, María Marta, Norma Ethel, María Cecilia y María Angélica hicieron propias las palabras del presidente Ken-

nyedy y se presentaron como voluntarias para participar en la contienda.

Su edad promediaba entre los veinte y veinticinco años. Eran instrumentistas quirúrgicas y cumplían funciones en el Hospital Militar en Buenos Aires.

A pesar de su corta edad, estaban convencidas de que su deber era el de ayudar y estar junto a los soldados en Malvinas.¹

El 10 de junio de 1982, vestidas con uniforme de combate, subieron a un avión y luego al helicóptero sanitario SH-3 Sea King de la Armada Argentina. Desembarcaron en el buque hospital ARA Almirante Irizar que navegaba rumbo a las islas.

Sin formación militar, pero con un alto compromiso patriótico, emprendieron una aventura que cambiaría sus vidas para siempre.



Fuente: Mujeres soldados en la Guerra de las Malvinas.

Un poco de historia:

Si nos remontamos a la historia de nuestro país, no existen casi registros de mujeres que hayan participado en conflictos armados o guerras.

Si buscamos en las profundidades de los registros históricos, se podría decir que en la lucha por la independencia surge el primer caso: el de Juana Azurduy. Quizás la historia de esta valiente mujer valga para demostrar el importante y activo rol de las mujeres en el proceso de lucha por la independencia. Ella luchó en el Ejército del Norte y en la dura derrota de Huaqui (1811) fue hecha prisionera de guerra junto con sus hijos. Esto no la detuvo y, después de recuperar su libertad, siguió combatiendo bajo las órdenes del general Manuel Belgrano, cuyo paso a la inmortalidad hace doscientos años es ahora recordado. Juana or-

¹ "Mujeres Argentinas en el Buque Hospital ARA 'Almirante Irizar'" ["Argentine Women in the Hospital Ship ARA 'Almirante Irizar'"], Argentinian Antarctic Institute, accessed September 16, 2020, <http://www.irizar.org/malvinas-acciones-1.html>.

ganizó el Batallón de Leales con el que participó en el combate de Ayohuma. Tal fue el papel preponderante de esta guerrera a la que el general Belgrano, en reconocimiento a su lucha incansable, le entregó su propio sable luego del triunfo en el combate del Villar (1816). Posteriormente, el gobierno de Buenos Aires de aquel entonces, a instancias de Belgrano, la asciende a teniente coronel. Juana Azurduy es la única mujer que recibió este honor por parte del Ejército Argentino.

María Remedios del Valle, conocida como la Madre de la Patria, es otro ejemplo. Se destacó en muchas batallas del Ejército del Norte, donde peleó con tal valentía que se ganó la admiración del mencionado Belgrano, sus oficiales y tropa, según dejó escrito Tomás de Anchorena, secretario de Manuel Belgrano.

Otra mención especial merece la historia de las mujeres cuyanas que contribuyeron denodadamente con la formación del Ejército Libertador de los Andes. Aportaron sus joyas y riquezas, ponchos, frazadas, pieles de carnero, monturas, caballos y mulas, para apoyar el ejército que formaba el general José de San Martín.

Así como estas mujeres de la época de la independencia de nuestro país, las de Malvinas viven casi en el anonimato. A diferencia de aquellas, al menos el Congreso de la Nación Argentina reconoció a Susana Maza, Silvia Barrera, María Marta Lemme, Norma Navarro, María Cecilia Ricchieri y María Angélica Sendes como veteranas de guerra. El parlamento les entregó sus medallas al valor, y guardan diplomas y condecoraciones. Guardan también un pasado en común: ellas conformaron el grupo de seis voluntarias para el Hospital Militar Malvinas establecido en Puerto Argentino durante la guerra. Sin embargo, no recibieron el reconocimiento que se merecen por parte de la sociedad, fundamentalmente porque se desconoce la participación que tuvieron en las acciones bélicas en el Atlántico Sur.

¿Por qué fueron olvidadas?

Los esfuerzos realizados por diferentes organizaciones y grupos de veteranos de la guerra para reivindicar a los héroes y participantes veteranos de Malvinas no han sido suficientes o no han tenido demasiados resultados. Tampoco se logró el reconocimiento de las mujeres que participaron en el conflicto.

En este sentido, la escritora Alicia Panero dice lo siguiente en su libro *Mujeres invisibles*: "El abandono institucional fue acompañado del político y social, porque si las instituciones que cobijaron a aquellas mujeres no son quienes hacen conocer

sus historias, en el caso del ámbito militar, la política y la sociedad, difícilmente las rescaten”.²

Asimismo, debemos mencionar como parte de este olvido al preconcepto de la asociación directa entre la masculinidad y la guerra que deja de lado el rol que cumplen las mujeres en esos escenarios.

Al asociar este preconcepto de masculinidad igual a guerra difícilmente tengamos presente que las mujeres han participado en un conflicto armado. Este es el caso de la mujer en Malvinas, ya que siempre se habló de los hombres de la guerra y nunca se mencionó a las mujeres.

Es oportuno mencionar que esto ocurrió dentro de un fenómeno abarcativo: el proceso de demalvinización³ que atravesó la sociedad argentina. A través de diferentes mecanismos se quiso borrar en la sociedad el sentido de pertenencia a las islas y se buscó instalar la convicción de que el reclamo es inapropiado. En otras palabras, que la de Malvinas fue una guerra sin sentido.

A partir de una norma jurídica que otorga la categoría de excombatientes de Malvinas (Ley Nacional 23848/1990)⁴ a aquellos civiles que prestaron apoyo entre el 2 de abril y el 14 de junio de 1982, las seis mujeres entran dentro de la categoría de veteranas de guerra. En este artículo, pretendo remarcar que ellas cumplieron sus funciones como instrumentadoras quirúrgicas a bordo del buque Comandante Irizar durante toda la guerra.

Otras mujeres que cumplían diferentes funciones en las Fuerzas Armadas brindaron apoyo desde diferentes partes del territorio nacional. Tal fue el caso del personal de enfermeras de la Fuerza Aérea Argentina, quienes atendían heridos de combate en el hospital de campaña montado en la localidad de Comodoro Rivadavia. Del mismo modo se comportaron las cincuenta y nueve jóvenes estudiantes de enfermería del Liceo Naval, aun cuando no se habían recibido. Estas jóvenes prestaron servicio en la base naval de Puerto Belgrano, al asistir a los heridos que llegaban al continente.

² Alicia Panero, *Mujeres Invisibles (Invisible Women)*, (Argentina: e-book, 2015), 12, http://www.diariofemenino.com.ar/documentos/Mujeres_Invisibles.pdf.

³ Federico Lorenz, *Memoria en las Aulas: La Guerra de las Malvinas y el Después [Memory in the Classrooms: The Falklands War and the Aftermath]* (La Plata, Argentina: Comisión Provisional por la Memoria, 2020) <https://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivos/educacion/memoria-en-las-aulas/dossier12.pdf>.

⁴ “Ley No. 23848, A.D.L.A.” [“Law No. 23848, A.D.L.A.”], Government of Argentina, 19 October 1990, <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/normativa/nacional/ley-23848-248>.

Durante el conflicto del Atlántico Sur, seis mujeres de sangre criolla y con principios sanmartinianos se pusieron al servicio de la patria como voluntarias, como otras veces de nuestra historia. Este es un hecho que merece el reconocimiento, no solo de sus pares, sino también de toda la sociedad.

Quedan por develarse muchas historias sobre nuestras Islas Malvinas. Resaltar y reconocer el accionar de las mujeres en la guerra es un acto de justicia, un claro acto de equidad de género y un modo de honrar la verdad de la historia.

No solo son madres, abuelas, hermanas, tías, amigas, también fueron protagonistas de un hecho histórico invisibilizado por los sucesivos gobiernos. Las mujeres de la guerra de Malvinas sufrieron los mismos problemas que los hombres, las pesadillas, el estrés postraumático y el desprecio. Dos de ellas ya murieron y, luego de muchos años, poco a poco se reconocen estas tristes circunstancias.

Apreciar el gran aporte de la mujer en los conflictos armados, y particularmente en el conflicto armado del Atlántico Sur, es una tarea pendiente que intentamos apoyar con este artículo.

Deseo cerrar con unas palabras del general Don José de San Martín a una madre mendocina: ¡Gracias, noble mujer! ¡Vuestro sacrificio no será en vano!⁵

⁵ Don Jose San Martin, "Anécdotas del Gral" ["Anecdotes from Gral"], accessed September 16, 2020, <https://www.silvitablanca.com.ar/sanmartin/anecdotas.htm>.

The South Atlantic Conflict: "Forgotten Women"

Alejandro Perugorria

It was 1961 when U.S. President John F. Kennedy said: "Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country."

Twenty-one years later, on April 2, 1982, Argentine troops disembarked on the Malvinas Islands to reassert Argentine sovereignty, which was taken away by military forces from the United Kingdom in 1833.

The conflict, which ended on June 25, 1982, left 649 Argentine combatants and 255 English soldiers dead. The war left scars on many of its participants and continues to claim lives today.

Thirty-eight years after the war, the Argentine claim to the Malvinas Islands remains in force, albeit diplomatically. But little is known about the lives of those who participated in the conflict. Upon their return, they were swept under the rug. There was hardly any mention of them, and there are even rumors they were forbidden to speak about what happened during the war.

The men and women who participated in the armed conflict were nearly forgotten. And if it were not for a few writers who took it upon themselves to highlight this part of history, no one would know their stories.

When I say men and women, that's just what I mean, since women also participated in the war. That is why, today, I want to write about the story of six women who were involved in the South Atlantic conflict or, as we call it in our country, *la Guerra de las Malvinas*.

Since their return from war, these six forgotten women have been shrouded in anonymity. Even many people who were part of the war effort are unaware of their existence.

Susana, Silvia, María Marta, Norma Ethel, María Cecilia, and María Angélica were moved by President Kennedy's words and volunteered to go to war.

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They were all between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years and were surgical technologists who worked at the Military Hospital in Buenos Aires.

Despite being young, they were convinced it was their duty to help and stand with the soldiers in the Malvinas.¹

On June 10, 1982, dressed in combat uniforms, they boarded an aircraft, an SH-3 “Sea King” medical helicopter belonging to the Argentine Navy and landed on the navy’s hospital ship, “Almirante Irizar,” which sailed to the islands.

With no military training, but a strong patriotic commitment, they embarked on an adventure that would change their lives forever.

A Bit of History



Source: *Women soldiers in the Falklands War.*

If we go back through Argentina’s history, we will find almost no records of women who participated in armed conflicts or wars.

Digging in the depths of historical records, we might say that the first case of such a woman, Juana Azurduy, appeared in the struggle for independence. This courageous woman’s story is worth noting to demonstrate the important and active role women played in the independence process.

She fought in the Army of the North, and in the crushing defeat in the 1811 Battle of Huaqui, where she was taken as a prisoner of war along with her children. This did not stop her. When she regained her freedom, she continued to fight under General Manuel Belgrano, whose death is still commemorated now, two hundred years later.

Juana organized the “Loyal Battalions” with which she fought in the Battle of Ayohuma. This woman warrior played such a

¹ “Mujeres Argentinas en el Buque Hospital ARA ‘Almirante Irizar’” [“Argentine Women in the Hospital Ship ARA ‘Almirante Irizar’”], Argentinian Antarctic Institute, accessed 14 August 2020, <http://www.irizar.org/malvinas-acciones-1.html>.

leading role that General Belgrano gave her his own saber in recognition of her tireless struggle after the army's 1816 victory in the Battle of Villar.

Subsequently, at Belgrano's insistence, the Argentine government of the time promoted her to lieutenant colonel. Juana Azurduy remains the only woman to receive this honor from the Argentine Army.

María Remedios del Valle, known as the Mother of the Fatherland, is another example. She distinguished herself in many battles of the Army of the North, fighting with such courage that, according to Belgrano's secretary, Tomás de Anchorena, she earned the admiration of Belgrano, his officers, and the entire battalion.

Another story that deserves special mention is that of the women of Cuyo, who contributed greatly to the formation of the Andes Liberation Army. They donated their jewels and riches, ponchos, blankets, sheepskins, saddles, horses, and mules to support the army formed by General José de San Martín.

Like these women who fought for our country's independence, the women who supported the Malvinas conflict live in near anonymity.

But unlike those independence-era women, these women – Susana Maza, Silvia Barrera, María Marta Lemme, Norma Navarro, María Cecilia Ricchieri, and María Angélica Sendes – were recognized by the National Congress of Argentina as veterans of war. The Parliament gave them Medals of Honor, so they now have diplomas and commendations.

They also hung onto a shared past. These women formed a group of six volunteers stationed at the Malvinas Military Hospital, established in Puerto Argentino during the war.

But they did not receive the recognition they deserve from society, mainly because people are not aware of their role in the South Atlantic Conflict.

Why were they forgotten?

Efforts by different veterans' organizations and groups to recognize the heroes and participants of the Malvinas War have

been few and far between and have not had much success. The women who participated in the conflict obtained even less recognition.

Writer Alicia Panero says the following in her book, *Invisible Women*: “Institutional abandonment was accompanied by political and social abandonment because if the institutions – in this case, the military – that were the refuge of those women did not make their stories known, politicians and society at large were even less likely to bring their stories to light.”²

Part of this oversight is the preconception of a direct link between masculinity and war, casting aside the role women play in conflicts.

As long as the preconception persists that war equals masculinity, women’s participation in armed conflict has a tenuous place in our minds. This is the case with the women in the Malvinas. There was always talk of the men who went to war while women were never mentioned.

This occurred within a larger framework of forgetting: the “de-malvinization process” that Argentine society went through. The sense of rightful ownership of the islands was erased from society, seeking to instill the conviction that the claim was inappropriate. In other words, it was a meaningless war.³

Based on a national law granting the status of former Malvinas fighters (National Law 23848/1990) to civilians who provided support between April 2 and June 14, 1982, the six women fall into the category of veterans of war.⁴ As noted earlier, they contributed to the war effort as surgical technologists aboard the naval ship *Irizar* throughout the conflict.

Other women who held different roles in the Armed Forces provided support from other parts of the country. Nurses in the Argentine Air Force, for example, tended to those injured in combat at the field hospital set up in Comodoro Rivadavia.

² Alicia Panero, *Mujeres Invisibles (Invisible Women)*, (Argentina: e-book, 2015), 12, http://www.diariofemenino.com.ar/documentos/Mujeres_Invisibles.pdf.

³ Federico Lorenz, *Memoria en las Aulas: La Guerra de las Malvinas y el Después [Memory in the Classrooms: The Falklands War and the Aftermath]* (La Plata, Argentina: Comisión Provisional por la Memoria, 2020), <https://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivos/educacion/memoria-en-las-aulas/dossier12.pdf>.

⁴ “Ley No. 23848, A.D.L.A.” [“Law No. 23848, A.D.L.A.”], Government of Argentina, 19 October 1990, <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/normativa/nacional/ley-23848-248>.

Fifty-nine young nursing students from the Naval High School also joined the war effort, even though they had not yet graduated. These young women served at the naval base in Puerto Belgrano, assisting the wounded who had been transported to the mainland.

During the South Atlantic Conflict, six patriotic local women joined the war effort as volunteers, as other women had at other times in our history. This is a fact that deserves recognition, not only from their peers but from society at large.

Many stories about our Malvinas Islands have yet to be revealed. Highlighting and recognizing women's actions in war is an act of justice, a clear act of gender equity, and a way of honoring the true story.

Not only are they mothers, grandmothers, sisters, aunts, and friends, they were also protagonists of a historical event made invisible by successive governments. The women of the Malvinas War suffered from the same problems as the men: nightmares, post-traumatic stress, and scorn. Two of the six women have already died, and, after many years, these sad circumstances are gradually being acknowledged.

Appreciating the significant contribution of women in armed conflicts and, in particular, in the South Atlantic Armed Conflict, is an ongoing task that this article is attempting to rectify.

I wish to end it with a few words General José de San Martín said to a mother in Mendoza:

“Thank you, noble woman! Your sacrifice will not be in vain!”⁵

⁵ Don Jose San Martin, “Anécdotas del Gral” [“Anecdotes from Gral”], accessed 14 August 2020, <https://www.silvitablanca.com.ar/sanmartin/anecdotas.htm>.

Sabrina Medeiros

Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros currently works at the Maritime Studies Graduate Program at the Brazilian Naval War College. She earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Universidad Federal Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) and received her PhD in political science from the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro. She completed her post-doctoral work at UFRJ, where she was an instructor in its master's degree and PhD programs and spent 2010-2012 as a visiting scholar with the Institute of International Relations at the Universidad de La Plata in Argentina.

Medeiros has been a member of the faculty at the Brazilian Naval War College since 2008 and has participated in various military missions. She is the founder of the Laboratory of Simulations and Scenarios and co-founder of its master's degree course.

Medeiros spent 2013-2015 as a faculty member at the Inter-American Defense College, where she specialized in defense economics and was the first female faculty member. During her tenure, she advocated for gender equality policies in collaboration with the college director. She also was the deputy coordinator for the post-graduate program on Maritime Studies at the Brazilian Naval War College, where she was the first and only female.

Medeiros is a member of various international and security boards and has led several pioneering projects. She serves as a consultant for major television networks and was involved in the production of *Ei, You!*, a documentary about Brazilian military leadership and peacekeeping operations in Haiti.



Professor Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros

“Vinte anos, Vinte histórias: Mulheres, paz e segurança no Hemisfério Ocidental” A vista da sala de aula

Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros

A agenda *Mulheres, Paz e Segurança* incorporou definitivamente o tema como pauta da ação conciliada entre Estados-Membros da ONU a partir de 2000 por meio da Resolução 1325 e resoluções subsequentes no mesmo guarda-chuva. Muito embora o envolvimento de mulheres com o tema da defesa e da segurança seja muito anterior à agenda, a Resolução é um marco, posto que gerou um efeito cascata em várias das arquiteturas de defesa e segurança, de maneira global.

Na qualidade de expectadora e acadêmica, minha agenda profissional e pessoal se cruzou com o tema ao longo de duas décadas de formação e trabalho, com análise e observação de campo. Eu sou Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros, 43 anos, doutora em ciência política, e vejo manifestado os progressos associados à agenda em diversos outros tópicos a ela relacionados. Depois de professora na Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, assumi a cátedra de Relações Internacionais na Escola de Guerra Naval (EGN), a Escola de Altos Estudos da Marinha do Brasil, em 2008.

A partir da minha anterior experiência no campo do audiovisual, propus uma observação de campo, um ano após o meu início na escola, dado o desafio de formar oficiais em função da Missão de Estabilização da ONU no Haiti (MINUSTAH). A missão, que durou entre 2004 e 2017, contou com brasileiros como a maior tropa, além do comando geral da MINUSTAH. Com a promessa ao Comando dos Fuzileiros Navais, Alte. Monteiro, de que registraria a memória para a Marinha do Brasil dessa missão, ganhei o apoio e autorização necessários para viajar e produzir registros, na coordenação do cineasta Rodrigo MacNiven e da Produtora Executiva Mariana Genescá. Poucos dias depois da nossa volta ao Brasil, vimo-nos assolados pelas notícias do terremoto, que destruiu parte dos projetos que registramos e deixou centenas de mortos.

O projeto inicial, que era construir uma série voltada às missões de caráter humanitário e diversos papéis das Forças Armadas, acabou na finalização de um documentário para um canal a cabo, e outro, para os arquivos da Marinha do Brasil. O abrigo da equipe no Batalhão do Exército Brasileiro, permitiu finalmente o acompanhamento de atividades e da repercussão que estava em curso sobre o papel da MINUSTAH e dos brasileiros na própria missão.

Alinhando os elementos emocionais que dotam o envolvimento pessoal com os temas de segurança e defesa, começa aqui um exercício acadêmico que parte da crença de que é necessário que se observe e sistematize as boas práticas, para que se crie políticas mais eficientes. Com esse espírito, é possível notar a presença forte de um espectro feminino de observação. Daquela experiência, ficou na memória o papel da Embaixatriz Roseana Kipman (esposa do Embaixador Kipman, do Brasil), que tornou o que era uma coordenação política, a possibilidade de harmonização civil-militar em território haitiano, em programas de grande humanização. Também por causa dela e dos militares, homens e mulheres envolvidos, a positiva ressonância da missão acontecia.

Dali surgiram alguns elementos que governam as iniciativas de pesquisa acadêmica a mim atreladas. Além de uma dissertação de mestrado orientada sobre o papel do *modus operandi* brasileiro na MINUSTAH, seguiram-se outras orientações sobre as relações defesa & segurança, como o papel das instituições na gestão da imigração. Todos esses trabalhos de pós-graduação orientados por mim ainda no âmbito do meu vínculo com a Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) prosperam na forma de um grupo coeso de mulheres interessadas em (re)paginar os recentemente desenvolvidos estudos de defesa no Brasil.

Dessa experiência ainda no Laboratório de Estudos do Tempo Presente da UFRJ, coordenado pelo Prof. Francisco Teixeira, vieram mulheres de marco relevante para os incrementos da área na última década. Dessa nova geração que se formava, Danielle Dionísio, professora da única graduação em Defesa e Gestão Estratégica do país (IRID/UFRJ); Cintiene Sandes, do primeiro grupo de professores civis concursados da Escola Superior de Guerra; Ana Luiza Bravo e Paiva, do primeiro grupo de professores civis concursados da Escola de Comando Maior do Exército; além de Ana Paula Rodriguez, Verônica Pires, Bianca Bittencourt, Juliana Foguel. Com Cintiene Sandes, Ana Luiza Bravo, apoio da direção da Escola de Guerra Naval, do Alte Reis (Chefe de Ensino) e parceiros militares - Correa, Marcio Nogueira e Rogério – criamos o Laboratório de Simulações e Cenários (LSC), com vistas a observar processos decisórios, qualifica-los e estudar cenários possíveis de segurança e defesa (2012).

Das primeiras oportunidades de trazer novamente a prática ao campo dos estudos de defesa, devo citar a primeira colaboração com a Secretaria de Segurança Pública do RJ, por meio da ACADEPOL, a Academia de Polícia Civil, cuja liderança também era de uma mulher, a Delegada Jéssica, apoiada pelo inspirado, Camilo Dornellas. Participamos, pois, da preparação de agentes de segurança pública para a Copa do Mundo e Olimpíadas, previstas para 2014 e 2016 respectivamente. Nesse

projeto, a reunião entre diferentes agentes públicos possibilitou a avaliação nas distintas naturezas e culturas institucionais, além dos desafios de equacionar os problemas observados, na forma de políticas e doutrinas eficazes.

Foram essas práticas que colocaram a todas nós com uma sensação de que não avançaríamos antes sem tamanha empatia com o lugar de fala dos agentes, muitos deles, mulheres.

Poucos anos depois, fui convidada pelo Diretor da EGN, Alte. Viveiros, a ir para o Colégio Interamericano de Defesa (CID-IADC), ligado à Junta Interamericana de Defesa e à Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA), em missão oficial. Eu era a única professora mulher da Escola de Guerra Naval e, também, me tornei professora no Colégio Interamericano de Defesa, já que o Alte. Jeffrey Lemmons foi responsável por me tornar do *Faculty* próprio do CID. O reforço para ter mais integrantes mulheres entre alunos – minha posição original - também foi revigorado pela segunda diretora mulher do Colégio Interamericano de Defesa, Alte. Martha Herb. Nessa ocasião, entre 2013 e 2015, seminários que integravam práticos e acadêmicos, traziam para a agenda direitos humanos e gênero de maneira definitiva.

Depois dessa experiência entre militares de todas as Américas e com visitas de estudos aos vários dos integrantes do Sistema Interamericano, fiz um primeiro estudo sobre gênero e Forças Armadas, contando com a rede de colaboração que constituí, apresentado no Congresso da *International Sociological Studies*, na FGV-CPDOC, em 2016. Os resultados do estudo - que contou com respondentes do Brasil, México, República Dominicana, Estados Unidos, Paraguai, Peru, Chile, Colômbia e Canada - demonstraram que apesar de mulheres observarem o seu progresso numérico nas Forças Armadas, ainda estavam longe de ocuparem cargos e patentes que modificassem a cultura estratégica de suas instituições.

Por outro lado, o estudo também aponta para o valor que tinham as práticas vindas de baixo para cima e a grande incidência que poderiam ter na orientação sobre caminhos possíveis para amplificar a participação de mulheres e observar os modelos bem-sucedidos que implementaram. O primeiro seminário de gênero e Forças Armadas que participei foi com Adriana Marques. Professora contratada da ECEME até 2016, é professora da graduação em Defesa da UFRJ e foi parte da criação da Associação Brasileira de Estudos de Defesa (ABED), tendo sido também sua primeira Vice-Presidente mulher. Cruzando com Adriana em alguns dos meus caminhos, reconheço a importância de algumas mulheres que dotaram a academia e as relações civis-militares de estudos mais sistemáticos sobre o fenômeno no Brasil.

Responsáveis pela secretaria-executiva da ABED, eu e a Profa. Danielle Ayres (UFSC) vimos o importante papel da Associação em caracterizar a agenda da ONU por meio das áreas fomentadas e do pleito pela distribuição mais equitativa de oportunidade às mulheres na defesa.

Foi durante esses mesmos anos que as Forças Armadas abriram as Academias militares às oficiais e praças mulheres e se estabeleceu o compromisso de melhorias incrementais que avaliassem regularmente os modelos de incorporação de mulheres nas Forças Armadas e suas repercussões.

Com foco nos assuntos afetos ao mar, dirigi um segundo estudo voltado às mulheres, no ambiente marítimo. O estudo, feito com duas ex-alunas do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Marítimos da EGN, Rita Feodrippe e Fabiana Piassi, foi desenvolvido para o ano de comemoração dos 70 anos da *International Maritime Organization* (IMO), parte integrante da ONU, em adesão à agenda sobre gênero. Publicado no *Journal of Maritime Affairs da World Maritime University* (IMO-ONU), o artigo contou com um *survey* que demonstrou que as mulheres ainda enfrentam o desafio de terem o seu trabalho reconhecido e qualificado por meio de sólidos compromissos com a desejada liderança estratégica por sua parte. Também junto com alunas mulheres do PPGEM, criamos o primeiro programa para levar os assuntos de defesa, segurança e o mar para escolas públicas do Rio de Janeiro.

No meio desse caminho encontrei: a oficial Marcia Braga, que ganhou o prêmio ONU de Defensora Militar da Igualdade de Gênero; e a Almirante Luciana, a primeira mulher almirante e engenheira da Marinha do Brasil. Estiveram comigo no primeiro evento marcante que sedíamos na EGN sobre a agenda da Resolução 1325, proposto pelo CEBRI, Fundação Konrad Adenauer e CEPE-MB como a prévia do evento

“Foi durante esses mesmos anos que as Forças Armadas abriram as Academias militares às oficiais e praças mulheres e se estabeleceu o compromisso de melhorias incrementais que avaliassem regularmente os modelos de incorporação de mulheres nas Forças Armadas e suas repercussões. ”

do Forte de Copacabana. Procurando sintetizar alguns dos resultados mais expressivos da agenda *Mulheres, Paz e Segurança* para o Brasil, a mesa contou ainda com mulheres importantes nos estudos da agenda, como Paula Drummond (Puc-Rio) e Renata Viotti (Instituto Igarapé). Ressalte-se que o Instituto Igarapé foi o principal interlocutor entre agentes voltados para políticas públicas em segurança e estudos acadêmicos aplicados, tendo na figura da pesquisadora Adriana Erthal Abdenur uma das mais significativas vozes brasileiras no mundo pela agenda 1325.

E assim, volto ao tema da geração que tive a oportunidade de formar. Durante esse tempo, o principal ativo de minha participação nos temas de associados à agenda *Mulheres, Paz e Segurança*, não foram os estudos de gênero propriamente, mas a interferência desse debate nos diversos exercícios pela cultura de conciliação de conflitos, pela cultura de paz. Tenho ativamente liderado simulações Modelo Nações Unidas entre estudantes, dirigi uma grande diversidade de simulações entre agentes de estados: jogos de crise da OEA, IMO-ONU, DPKO-ONU, MD-Brasil, GSI-Brasil, Secretarias de Segurança Pública. Além disso, junto ao Alumni do PPGEM/EGN, fizemos um projeto social voltado aos temas da Segurança Internacional e carreiras associadas para escolas públicas do estado do Rio de Janeiro.

E foi com essa geração derivada que me propus como coordenadora de um projeto para o edital Pro-Defesa IV - do Ministério da Defesa e da agência CAPES para o fomento aos estudos de defesa, em sua quarta edição, desde 2006. Em um projeto de coordenação de mulheres, Prof Ariane Roder (COPPEAD-UFRJ), Profa Daniele Dionisio (IRID-UFRJ), Prof. Cintiene Sandes (ESG) e Profa Ana Luiza Bravo (ECEME), nos dispusemos a avançar o projeto de qualificação dos estudos dos processos decisórios cooperativos a partir das variadas experiências de cooperação interagência, incluindo for a das fronteiras brasileiras. O tema central do projeto abriga razões antes desenhadas: da observação das práticas a consolidação de padrões mais eficientes de cooperação e coordenação em benefício da Segurança Integrada. Por meio do projeto, fizemos o mais amplo seminário na matéria entre as Escolas de Altos Estudos militares de maneira revezada e colaborativa, com a parceria do William Perry Center, em 2019, trazendo práticos e acadêmicos para dividir experiências e ajudarmo-nos na detecção dos padrões de cooperação para segurança.

Como parte aderente ao projeto Pro-Defesa, como docente também do primeiro curso integrado de Altos Estudos das polícias do Rio de Janeiro, fui convidada a liderar uma missão acadêmica à Bogotá, Colômbia, às instituições principais de segurança e defesa, além da Interpol. Além disso, fui por meio do curso de Altos Estudos que fizemos simulações de comando

e controle integrados entre policiais para estudos de caso como o da Copa da Conferdações, realizada também no Brasil.

Por fim, certas do incrementalismo em todas as matérias e relações, devemos dizer que o processo de incorporação da agenda *Mulheres, Paz e Segurança*, se configurou também por meio de homens, alguns aqui citados, para lembrar que esse caminho depende dessa sinergia.

Twenty Years, Twenty Stories: Women, Peace, and Security in the Western Hemisphere ***A view from the classroom***

Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, and subsequent resolutions under the same umbrella, definitively incorporated the issue as an agenda item for reconciled action between United Nations (UN) member states from 2000 onwards. Even though the involvement of women in defense and security occurred earlier than 2000, the resolution is a milestone that has had a global ripple effect on several defense and security architectures.

As a spectator and an academic, my professional and personal agenda intersected with the subject during two decades of training, analysis, and field observation. I am Sabrina Evangelista Medeiros, 43, a political science PhD, and I see the progress associated with this agenda manifested in related subject areas. After being a professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), I took over the chair of international relations in 2008 at the Escola de Guerra Naval (EGN), the School of High Studies of the Brazilian Navy.

Based on my previous experience in the audiovisual field, I proposed a field observation one year after starting at the school, given the challenge of training officers in line with the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). The mission, which lasted between 2004 and 2017, featured Brazilians as the largest troop contributor, in addition to the mission's general command. Admiral Monteiro, who would record the memory of this mission for the Brazilian Navy, won the support and authorization necessary to travel and produce records under the coordination of filmmaker Rodrigo MacNiven and Executive Producer Mariana Genescá. A few days after our return to Brazil, we were devastated by the news of the Haitian earthquake, which destroyed part of the projects we recorded and killed hundreds of people.

The initial project, which was to create a series focused on the humanitarian missions and various roles of the Armed Forces, ended with the completion of a documentary for a cable channel, and another for the Brazilian Navy archives. The team's shelter in the Brazilian Army Battalion allowed the monitoring of activities and resulted in the role of MINUSTAH and the Brazilians involved in the mission itself.

Aligning the emotional elements that accompany personal involvement with security and defense issues begins an academic exercise that starts with the belief that it is necessary to observe and systematize good practices to create more efficient policies. For this purpose, it is possible to notice the strong presence of a female spectrum of observation. From that experience, the role of Ambassador Roseana Kipman comes to mind. The ambassador turned what was political coordination and the possibility of civil-military harmonization in Haitian territory in humanitarian programs into realities. As a result of Ambassador Kipman's hard work and the men and women involved in the military, the positive resolution of the mission occurred.

Elements that governed my academic research initiatives emerged. In addition to a master's thesis on the role of the Brazilian modus operandi in MINUSTAH, other guidelines on the defense and security relationship, including the role of immigration management institutions, followed. The post-graduate works I have guided, within the scope of my link with UFRJ, thrived in this cohesive group of women interested in retooling the university's recently developed defense studies program in Brazil.

For this experience, which is still in the Studies of Present Time Laboratory of UFRJ and coordinated by Professor Francisco Teixeira, women came with the relevant guidelines for the growth of defense studies in the last decade. Staff for this new project being formed included: Danielle Dionísio, professor of the only graduate degree program in defense and strategic management in the country (Instituto de Relações Internacionais e Defesa da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro - IRID/UFRJ); Cintiene Sandes, from the first group of civilian civil service professors at the Escola Superior de Guerra; Ana Luiza Bravo e Paiva, from the first group of civilian civil service professors from the Army's Major Command School; and Ana Paula Rodriguez, Verônica Pires, Bianca Bittencourt, and Juliana Foguel, who served as research assistants. Together with Cintiene Sandes, Ana Luiza Bravo, support from the direction of the Escola de Guerra Naval, Admiral Reis (Head of Education), and military partners Claudio Correa, Marcio Nogueira, and Claudio Flor, we created the Simulations and Scenarios Laboratory, aiming to observe the decision-making processes, qualify them, and study possible security and defense scenarios (2012).

As one of the first opportunities to bring the practice back to the field of defense studies, I must mention the initial cooperation with the Public Security Ministry of Rio de Janeiro through ACADEPOL, the Civil Police Academy, led by delegate Jessica Almeida and supported by the inspiration of Camilo Dornellas. We were therefore preparing public security agents for the World Cup and the Olympics, scheduled for 2014 and 2016, respectively. In this project, the meeting between the different public agents made it possible to evaluate the various institutional natures and cultures, in addition to the challenges of

addressing and solving observed problems by demonstrating effective policies and doctrines.

It was these practices that gave us the feeling we would not have progressed without such empathy for what the female agents had been saying.

A few years later, I was invited by the Director of EGN, Admiral Viveiros, to go on an official mission to the Inter-American Defense College (IADC), linked to the Inter-American Defense Board and the Organization of American States (OAS). I was the only female professor at the School of Naval Warfare, and I also became a professor at the Inter-American Defense College when Admiral Jeffrey Lemmons made me a IADC faculty member. With more women in the student body as reinforcement, my original position was reinvigorated by the second female director of the Inter-American Defense College, Admiral Martha Herb. On that occasion, between 2013 and 2015, seminars that integrated practical and academic studies brought human and gender rights to the agenda in a definitive manner.

After this experience among military personnel from all of the Americas and with study visits to the various members of the Inter-American system, I did the first study on gender and the Armed Forces with the cooperation of the network I had established and presented it at the 2016 International Sociological Studies Conference, at Fundação Getúlio Vargas' Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil.

The results of the study, which included respondents from Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and the United States, showed that although women's numbers in the Armed Forces had increased, they were still far from occupying the positions and statuses that would modify the strategic culture of those institutions.

On the other hand, the study also points to the value of the practices coming from the bottom up and the great influence they could have on the orientation of possible manners that would amplify the participation of women and observe the successful models they had implemented. The first gender and Armed Forces seminar I attended was with Adriana Marques. Hired as a professor at the School of Command and General Staff of the Army (ECEME) up to 2016, she is a professor of the

"It was these practices that gave us the feeling we would not have progressed without such empathy for what the female agents had been saying."

defense graduation at UFRJ and was part of the creation of the Brazilian Association of Defense Studies (ABED), having also been its first female vice president. Having crossed paths with Adriana, I recognized the importance of the women who have endowed the academy and civil-military relations with more systematic studies on women in the defense and national security fields in Brazil.

While responsible for the executive secretariat of ABED, Professor Danielle Ayres, Deputy Secretary of the Brazilian Defense Studies Association and I saw the critical role of the association in characterizing the UNSCR 1325 agenda on women, peace, and security, and the plea for a more equitable distribution of opportunities for women in defense.

It was during those same years that the Armed Forces opened military academies to female officials and officers and made incremental improvements that regularly assessed the models for incorporating women into the Armed Forces.

With the focus on issues related to the sea, I conducted a second study focusing on women in the maritime environment. The study, adhering to the gender agenda, was carried out by two former students of the EGN Postgraduate Program in Maritime Studies, Rita Feodrippe and Fabiana Piassi. It was developed to celebrate 70 years of the International Maritime Organization (IMO), a part of the UN. Published in the *Journal of Maritime Affairs* of the World Maritime University, the article had a survey, and its results demonstrated that women still face the challenge of having their work recognized and qualified through commitments to strategic leadership. Also, together with female students from Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos Marítimos/Maritime Studies Graduate Program (PPGEM), we created the first program to take defense, security, and maritime issues to public schools in Rio de Janeiro.

In this endeavor, I met officer Marcia Braga, who won the UN award for Military Defender of Gender Equality and Admiral Luciana, the first female admiral and engineer in the Brazilian Navy. We were together at the first landmark event that we hosted at EGN with its agenda of UNSCR 1325, proposed by the Brazilian Center for International Relations, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and the Center for Political and Strategic Studies of the Navy as the preview of the Forte de Copacabana event. Seeking to synthesize some of the most significant results of women, peace, and security for the Brazilian agenda, the table also included important women in the studies of the same agenda, such as Paula Drummond (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro - Puc-Rio) and Renata Viotti (Igarapé Institute). It should be noted that the Igarapé Institute was the main

interlocutor between agents focusing on public security policies and applied academic studies, with researcher Adriana Erthal Abdenur as one of the most influential Brazilian voices in the world regarding UNSCR 1325.

And so, I return to the issue of the generation I had the opportunity to form. During that time, the central aspect of my participation in the topics associated with women, peace, and security was not the gender studies themselves, but rather the interference of this debate in the various exercises in the culture of conflict resolution, through the culture of peace. I have actively led UN model simulations among students and have conducted a wide variety of simulations among state agents: OAS crisis games, UN-IMO, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Ministry of Defense – Brazil, Gabinete de Segurança Institucional da Presidência da República-Brazil, and Brazil's Public Security Ministries. Together with the PPGEM/EGN alumni, we also carried out a social project focused on the themes of international security and associated careers for public schools in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

It was with this generation that I proposed myself as the coordinator of the Pro-Defense IV notice project from the Ministry of Defense and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) agency to promote defense studies, in its fourth edition (since 2006). Working with Professors Ariane Roder (COPPEAD-UFRJ), Daniele Dionisio (IRID-UFRJ), Cintiene Sandes (Brazilian Naval War College), and Ana Luiza Bravo (ECEME), we set out the goals to advance the project for qualifying studies on cooperative decision-making processes from the varied experiences of interagency cooperation, including outside Brazil's borders. The project's central focus includes conclusions previously drawn from the observation of practices to the consolidation of more efficient standards of cooperation and coordination for the benefit of integrated security. Throughout the project in 2019, we held the broadest seminar on the subject among advanced military studies in partnership with the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, bringing practitioners and academics to share experiences and help us detect the cooperation standards for security.

As a part of the pro-defense project and as a teacher in the first integrated advanced studies course for the police in Rio de Janeiro, I was invited to lead an academic mission to Bogotá, Colombia, to its principal security and defense institutions, in addition to Interpol. Also, it was through the advanced studies course that we carried out integrated command and control simulations among police officers for case studies such as the Confederation Cup, also held in Brazil.

Finally, certain of incrementalism in all matters and relations, we must say that the process of incorporating the women, peace, and security agenda was also configured through men, some of whom are mentioned here, to remember that this path depends on their participation and this synergy.

Beatriz Da Silveira

Beatriz da Silveira joined the Civil Police of Para State, Brazil, in 2004 as a police officer, and became police commissioner in 2008. In this role, she created and coordinated one of the first police units specialized in fighting cybercrime in Brazil.

Silveira emphasized two priorities during her time as police commissioner: raising awareness about online safety and high-quality police cyber investigation. Her two-pronged approach led to the arrests of hundreds of cybercriminals in Brazil. She also provided courses to judges, prosecutors, and police officers about cyber intelligence and investigation, along with free lectures to the community about online safety.

In 2015, she was invited to develop and coordinate the intelligence office and corporate security at the Secretary of Environmental Affairs in Para, Amazonia. In this position, she was responsible for leading the intelligence institution in combating cyber-fraud and organized crime, aiming to defend the Amazon rain forest against illegal logging, wildlife, and metals trafficking. In 2018, she was selected to join Interpol, based in Singapore, where she was the first female cybercrime intelligence officer. There she spearheaded two cybercrime operations at global and regional levels. In 2019, she shifted to the private sector, working in threat intelligence, based in Singapore.

Silveira is a public security policy specialist with a master's degree in social defense and conflict mediation and in digital transformation. She is co-author of the *Cyber Investigation Handbook*, published in Brazil, and has published other papers and book chapters. Ms. Silveira is a self-proclaimed diversity and inclusion advocate.



Beatriz da Silveira

Cibercrime e Perspectivas de Gênero

*“Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.”
--Nelson Mandela*

As relações entre cibercrime e questões de gênero estão presentes desde a popularização do uso das Tecnologias da Informação e da Comunicação (TIC), devendo ser abordadas levando em consideração três perspectivas: a mulher vítima de um crime cibernético; a mulher que cometeu um crime cibernético e a policial feminina e sua inclusão no ambiente laboral. Durante a minha jornada profissional de combate ao cibercrime, iniciada no Brasil e hoje em Singapura, venho buscando aplicar na prática conceitos teóricos, objetivando promover a diversidade e a inclusão, que são fundamentais para a construção de uma sociedade mais justa e segura. Este artigo é baseado em minhas experiências pessoais.

Introdução

No ano de 2009, enquanto delegada de polícia civil, fui incumbida de implementar a Delegacia de Repressão a Crimes Tecnológicos (DRCT), na Polícia Civil do Estado do Pará, norte do Brasil. Naquela época, a Delegacia era vinculada à Divisão de Repressão ao Crime Organizado. Ao chegar ao local pela primeira vez, percebi que a DRCT era só eu, literalmente: não tinha equipe nem sala. Então eu pensei: “como fazer com que aquela delegacia funcionasse, num contexto em que, em um Estado violento, cibercrime não era uma prioridade?”

Certo dia, ouvi de um colega que eu não deveria sequer estar naquela divisão, já que eu não tinha o perfil físico de policial. Eu era jovem e mulher. E foi naquele mesmo dia que eu decidi que nenhum desafio me faria desistir e que achei a resposta para a questão acima.

Decidi fazer uma estratégia com dupla abordagem: excelência na condução de investigações online; conscientização da população acerca dos riscos do ciberespaço e do papel da recém-criada delegacia. Para que a estratégia funcionasse, eu logo entendi também que precisaria de muito esforço e sorte.

A estratégia começou a apresentar resultados e logo a delegacia contava com uma ótima equipe de policiais, realizando diversas operações policiais contra cibercrimes e efetuando centenas de prisões de cibercriminosos ao redor do país. Ganhamos um prédio próprio, alcançamos status de divisão.

Além disso, as ações de conscientização sobre segurança virtual também estavam funcionando, com palestras em comunidades, escolas, universidades, academias de polícia, escolas judiciais, escolas de advogados e promotores de justiça em vários estados do Brasil.

Foram naqueles anos, recebendo diariamente vítimas e autores de crimes cibernéticos, que passei a me questionar sobre como a violência se manifestava no ambiente virtual. Eu podia ver o sofrimento, que na maioria das vezes não era físico, mas era psicológico, moral, patrimonial. Então, voltei a ser estudante e ingressei no Mestrado em Defesa Social e Mediação de Conflitos da Universidade Federal do Pará. A experiência acadêmica possibilitou-me estudar a fundo essa temática e formular uma nova questão, a qual eu precisava responder: como são as relações entre cibercrime e questões de gênero?

Entendi que deveria pensar na questão levando em consideração três perspectivas: a mulher vítima de um crime cibernético; a mulher que cometeu um cibercrime; a policial feminina e sua inclusão em unidades policiais especializadas na luta contra o cibercrime.

(Ah, e um detalhe: eu trabalhava o dia todo e assistia às aulas do curso de Mestrado à noite, com a minha bebê no colo, já que ela ainda mamava.)

Neste breve artigo, pretendo compartilhar um pouco das minhas ideias, baseadas especialmente na minha experiência pessoal e profissional, não representando a opinião de meus empregadores passados ou atuais.

2. Cibercrime e Perspectivas de Gênero

2.1 Como as mulheres são afetadas pelo cibercrime?

O ciberespaço oferece riscos, tal qual o mundo real. As Tecnologias da Informação e da Comunicação (TIC) podem servir para o bom uso, como também para o abuso. O Fórum Econômico Mundial colocou fraudes e furto de dados e ciberataques entre os 10 principais riscos em termos de probabilidade de ocorrerem e entre os 10 principais riscos em termos de impacto.¹

Os crimes cibernéticos trazem consigo a violência como componente, por serem capazes de causar muitos danos às vítimas. Essa violência pode se manifestar das seguintes formas, isolada ou cumulativamente²:

- Física: indução, instigação ou obrigação de conduta grave, como suicídio, autoagressão ou ato sexual forçado, por exemplo;
- Moral: por meio de ameaça capaz de afetar a reputação da vítima, como difamação, cyberbullying, sextortion, por exemplo;
- Patrimonial: a conduta criminal é capaz de afetar as finanças da vítima, como fraudes on-line, sextortion, por exemplo;
- Psicológico: a conduta ilícita é capaz de afetar a autoestima, o comportamento da vítima e causar sofrimento intenso.

Durante meus anos como policial, me chamava atenção o expressivo número de casos de cyberbullying, ameaças, ofensas, golpes on-line e compartilhamento não autorizado de imagens íntimas que tinham mulheres como vítimas.

Acompanhei notícias de vítimas, em outros países, que chegaram a se suicidar em razão de ataques recebidos virtualmente.³

Enquanto policial, a minha orientação na delegacia era a de tratar as pessoas com alteridade e empatia, tentando amenizar o sofrimento. Eu sabia e esclarecia que muitas vezes não seria possível identificar o(a) autor(a) do crime, mas eu queria que as pessoas saíssem da delegacia confortadas, na medida do possível. Tínhamos que evitar a revitimização daqueles que nos procuravam. Para isso, medidas de conscientização também eram repassadas, a fim de evitar novas vítimas.

¹ Disponível em: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Global_Risk_Report_2020.pdf.

² Disponível em: http://www.ppgsp.propesp.ufpa.br/ARQUIVOS/teses_e_dissertacoes/dissertacoes/2013/201303%20-%20SILVEIRA.pdf.

³ Disponível em: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44552864>.

2.2. Mulheres suspeitas de cibercrime?

Em 2019, uma ex-funcionária de uma grande empresa de tecnologia de Seattle foi presa pelo FBI, suspeita de ter obtido, ilicitamente, informações pessoais de mais de 100 milhões de pedidos de crédito de uma instituição financeira americana.⁴ O caso chamou a atenção global por ter como investigada uma jovem mulher ligada a um sofisticado crime cibernético de grande impacto.

Sobre a questão, no paper “Gendering Cybercrime”⁵, os autores apontam alguns pontos interessantes:

- O cibercrime seria uma categoria de crime dominado por homens;
- As mulheres estariam envolvidas mais em crimes gerais, tais como fraudes, do que em crimes técnicos; e
- Em crimes técnicos mais complexos, as mulheres geralmente não são as principais infratoras ou estão apenas transitóriamente envolvidas.

Baseada na minha experiência na polícia, acredito que as conclusões acima ainda são pertinentes, pois, apesar de termos identificado muitas mulheres ligadas a crimes cibernéticos no período de 2009 a 2015, na maioria das vezes estavam relacionadas à prática de fraudes ou participações menores na associação criminosa. Um estudo quantitativo e qualitativo profundo e adequado à realidade brasileira seria muito proveitoso para se chegar a uma conclusão científica sobre essa perspectiva e suas principais causas e efeitos.

2.3. Mulheres policiais investigando crimes cibernéticos?

Há alguns anos, eu costumava ouvir perguntas, tanto de vítimas quanto de suspeitos, do tipo: “Onde está o delegado de polícia?”. Eu dizia que eu era a delegada. E percebia certo desconforto ou desconfiança inicial. Eu tinha que vencer o preconceito e criar um novo conceito na cabeça daquelas pessoas.

⁴ <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/capital-one-data-breach-suspect-paige-a-thompson-may-have-hacked-more-than-30-other-organizations/>.

⁵ Disponível em: https://www.academia.edu/31024777/Gendering_cybercrime.

Hoje vejo, com alegria, muitas mulheres conduzindo investigações cibernéticas complexas, não só no Brasil como no exterior. Tive a honra de ser a primeira mulher oficial de inteligência cibernética da INTERPOL no mundo. Mas a minha maior satisfação foi saber que, quando eu saí de lá, a pessoa que me substituiu também era uma mulher.

A situação está melhor, mas há ainda muito a ser feito. O “Estudo da força de trabalho de segurança da informação global de 2017”⁶, afirmou que, naquele ano, apenas 8% dos profissionais que trabalhavam em segurança cibernética eram mulheres na América Latina.

Entre os tipos de discriminação reportados no estudo acima mencionado estão: preconceito inconsciente; adiamento ou obstaculização em progressões de carreira; exposição/destaques de erros; *tokenism* (diversidade apenas aparente, por exemplo, recrutamento de um pequeno número de pessoas de grupos sub-representados, a fim de dar a aparência de igualdade sexual ou racial na força de trabalho); preconceito evidente.

Certa vez, vi em uma reportagem a diferença entre diversidade e inclusão. Pacífico⁷ mencionava: “*Há um ditado que diz — Diversidade é chamar para a festa, inclusão é convidar para dançar*”. Ou seja, muitos lugares de trabalho podem ser diversos, mas nem sempre valorizam ideias diferentes, de pessoas diferentes. E a impressão que fica é a de que as mulheres (e outras minorias) em cargos de destaque ou liderança têm sempre que provar que merecem estar onde estão – diariamente.

Felizmente, muitas são as iniciativas que visam fomentar a inclusão das mulheres em carreiras predominantemente masculinas, como as de segurança cibernética. Um ótimo exemplo é o CyberWomen Challenge, promovido pela Organização dos Estados Americanos (OEA), em parceria com a empresa TrendMicro⁸. Tive a honra de participar em 2018 e fiquei encantada com tanto talento feminino na América Latina. O que desmente uma ideia a qual escutamos corriqueiramente: de que não existem muitas mulheres suficientemente qualificadas. O que falta, na verdade, é dar oportunidade, incluir essas mulheres.

Além de iniciativas institucionais, é preciso que nós mesmos, enquanto sociedade, reconheçamos que o problema existe, para que possamos resolvê-lo. E nós, mulheres, temos que traçar os limites do que aceitamos. Microagressões cotidianas,

⁶ Disponível em: <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-03327-w>.

⁷ Disponível em: <https://vejasp.abril.com.br/blog/felicidade/joao-paulo-pacifico-inclusao/>.

⁸ Disponível em: https://www.oas.org/en/media_center/press_release.asp?sCodigo=E-035/18.

como interrupções de fala ou desvalorização de ideias por parte de colegas, devem ser pontuadas. Por exemplo, “deixe-me completar a minha ideia, por favor”, já é um grande começo.

Reputo, ainda, como importantíssimo, o apoio de mulheres às mulheres. Éramos ensinadas a competir. Agora, em vez disso, estamos colaborando. Cada mulher que cresce em sua vida pessoal e profissional, abre caminhos a outras mulheres que virão em seguida.

3. Conclusão

As relações entre cibercrime e perspectivas de gênero devem ser abordadas holisticamente por parte da sociedade, das instituições e por nós mesmos enquanto indivíduos. Grandes avanços já foram feitos, mas muito ainda precisa ser realizado.

De acordo com o Fórum Econômico Mundial⁹, a paridade de gênero no mercado de trabalho pode ser alcançada na América Latina e Caribe ... em 59 anos! Provavelmente nem estarei mais aqui para ver esse dia lindo. Mas temos que seguir lutando, fomentando mudanças e empoderando mulheres e outras minorias.

Um ambiente policial – ou qualquer outro, onde há diversidade, inclusão e respeito – é mais próspero e produtivo. Todos ganham. Sobretudo a justiça, a segurança e a paz social.

⁹ Disponível em: <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality>

Cybercrime and Gender Perspectives

*“Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.”
--Nelson Mandela*

The relationship between cybercrime and gender issues has been present since information and communication technologies (ICT) became popular. It should be addressed by considering three perspectives: those of the woman who are victims of cybercrime, the woman who committed cybercrime, and the female police officer and her involvement in the workplace. During my professional journey to fight cybercrime, which started in Brazil and today is in Singapore, I have sought to practice theoretical concepts to promote diversity and inclusion, which are fundamental to building a more just and safe society. This article is based on my personal experiences.

1. Introduction

In 2009, as a civil police officer, I was tasked to implement the Suppression of Technological Crimes (DRCT) in the Civil Police of the State of Pará Precinct in northern Brazil. During that time, the precinct was linked to the Division for the Suppression of Organized Crime. Upon arriving at the location for the first time, I realized the DRCT was me alone: I had no team or dedicated workspace. At the time, I thought: “How could I make that division of the precinct function in the context of a violent state that did not prioritize cybercrime?”

One day I heard from a colleague that I should not even be in that division, as I didn’t have the physical profile of a police officer. I was young and a woman. It was on that very day I decided that no challenge would make me give up; this led me to find the answer to the question posed above.

I decided to design a strategy with a double approach: conducting online investigations and making the population aware of the risks of cyberspace and the role of the newly created police department. For the strategy to work, I realized it would take a lot of effort and luck.

The strategy started to show results. Soon enough, the police station had a great team of policemen carrying out several

police operations against cybercrimes and arresting hundreds of cybercriminals throughout the country. We then received our own building and achieved the status of a division.

At the same time, the virtual security awareness actions were also working, with lectures in communities, schools, universities, police academies, judicial schools, law schools, and prosecutors in several Brazilian states.

During those years of seeing daily victims and perpetrators of cybercrimes, I began to question how violence manifested itself in the virtual environment. I could see the suffering, which in most cases was not physical, but psychological, moral, and patrimonial. So, I returned to academia and enrolled in a graduate program in social defense and conflict mediation at the Federal University of Pará. This academic experience allowed me to deeply study this issue and ask a new question: what is the relationship between cybercrime and gender?

I understood that I should contemplate the issue by considering three perspectives: the woman who was the victim of a cybercrime, the woman who committed the cybercrime, and the female police officer and her involvement in the specialized police units fighting cybercrime.

(Oh, and one detail: I worked all day and attended the master's degree classes at night, with my baby on my lap as she was still breastfeeding.)

In this short article, I intend to share a few of my ideas, based on my personal and professional experience. I am not necessarily representing the opinion of my past or current employers.

2. Cybercrime and Gender Perspectives

How are women affected by cybercrime?

Cyberspace offers risks, just like the “real” world. ICT can be used for good or abused. The World Economic Forum placed fraud, theft of data, and cyberattacks in the top ten risks regarding the likelihood of it happening and the impact.¹

¹World Economic Forum, *The Global Risks Report 2020* (Cologny, Switzerland: World Economic Forum, 2020), http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Global_Risk_Report_2020.pdf.

Cybercrime brings violence as a component, as it can cause damage to the victims. This violence can manifest itself in the following ways, individually or cumulatively:²

- Physical: induction, instigation, or obligation of serious conduct, such as suicide, self-harm, or a forced sexual act.
- Moral: through a threat capable of affecting the victim's reputation, such as defamation, cyberbullying, or "sextortion."
- Patrimonial: criminal conduct can affect the victim's finances, such as online fraud or "sextortion."
- Psychological: illicit conduct can affect the victim's self-esteem, behavior, and cause intense pain and suffering.

During my years as a police officer, what stood out was the extensive number of cyberbullying cases, threats, offenses, online scams, and unauthorized distribution of intimate images that had women as victims.

I followed news of victims in other countries, some of whom had committed suicide due to these virtual attacks.³

As a police officer, my methodology at the police station was to treat people with equality and empathy and alleviate suffering. I clarified that it was not always possible to identify the perpetrator of the crime, but I wanted people to leave the police station reassured and comforted, as much as possible. We had to avoid revictimizing those individuals; to do so, awareness measures were passed on to prevent new victims.

Women Suspected of Cybercrime?

In 2019, the FBI arrested a former employee of Amazon.com in Seattle who was suspected of illegally obtaining personal information from more than 100 million credit applications from an American financial institution.⁴ The case drew global attention for investigating a young woman linked to a sophisticated high impact cybercrime.

² Beatriz de Oliveira da Silveira, *A Violência na Prática de Crimes no Ciberespaço* ["Violence in the Practice of Crimes in Cybespace"] (Belem, Brazil: Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, 2015), http://www.ppgsp.propesp.ufpa.br/ARQUIVOS/teses_e_dissertacoes/dissertacoes/2013/201303%20-%20SILVEIRA.pdf.

³ "New Jersey school sued over bullied girl's suicide," *BBC News*, 20 June 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44552864>.

⁴ "Capital One hack suspect may have breached more than 30 organizations," *CBS News*, 14 August 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/capital-one-data-breach-suspect-paige-a-thompson-may-have-hacked-more-than-30-other-organizations/>.

The authors of the essay “Gendering Cybercrime”⁵ had some interesting ideas:

- Cybercrime would be a category of male-dominated crime.
- Women would be more involved in general crimes, such as fraud, rather than technical crimes.
- In more complex technical crimes, women are generally not the main offenders or are only temporarily involved.

Based on my law enforcement experience, I believe the above conclusions remain relevant because, although we identified many women who were linked to cybercrimes in the period from 2009 to 2015, they were mostly related to fraud or minor participation in the crime. A quantitative and qualitative study that is profound and appropriate to the Brazilian reality would help reach a fact-based conclusion on this perspective and its main causes and effects.

2.3. Policewomen Investigating Cybercrimes?

A few years ago, victims and suspects would both ask, “where’s the (male) police officer?” I would respond that I was the (female) officer. And I noticed some initial discomfort or distrust. I had to overcome prejudice and create a new concept in the minds of some people.

Today, I am pleased to see many women conducting complex cyber investigations, not only in Brazil but also abroad. I was honored to be the first Interpol female cyber intelligence officer. But my greatest satisfaction was knowing that when I left, the person who replaced me was also a woman.

The situation has improved, but more work remains. The “2017 Global Information Security Workforce Study,”⁶ stated that, in that year, only 8 percent of the professionals working in cybersecurity in Latin America were women. Among the types of discrimination reported in the study are: unconscious prejudice, postponement or hindrance in career progressions, exposing/highlighting mistakes, tokenism (recruitment of a small number of people from underrepresented groups to give the appear-

⁵ Alice Hutchings and Yi Ting Chua, “Gendering Cybercrime,” in *Cybercrime through an Interdisciplinary Lens*, ed. T. J. Holt (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 167-188, https://www.academia.edu/31024777/Gendering_cybercrime.

⁶ Winifred R. Poster, “Cybersecurity Needs Women,” *Nature*, 26 March 2018, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-03327-w>.

ance of sexual or racial equality in the workforce), and overt prejudice.

The difference between diversity and inclusion was illustrated in a story in *Pacífico*:⁷ “There is a saying: ‘Diversity is calling for the party, inclusion is inviting you to dance.’” Many workplaces can be diverse, but they do not always value different ideas from different people. The impression that remains is that women (and other minorities) in prominent or leadership positions must prove they deserve to be where they are on a daily basis.

Fortunately, there are many initiatives to promote the inclusion of women in predominantly male careers, such as cybersecurity. A great example is the CyberWomen Challenge⁸ promoted by the Organization of American States, in partnership with the TrendMicrocompany. I was honored to participate in 2018 and was delighted to see so much female talent in Latin America. This belies the idea we hear so often that there are not enough qualified women. What is missing, in fact, are opportunities and inclusion.

In addition to institutional initiatives, we, as a society, must recognize that a problem exists in order to solve it. And we women must draw the lines of what we accept. Daily microaggressions, such as interruptions while talking or a lack of appreciation of ideas by colleagues, should be recorded. “Let me complete my idea, please,” is a great start.

Women’s support for other women is particularly important. We were taught to compete. Now, instead, we are cooperating. Each woman who grows in her personal and professional life opens paths for other women to follow.

3. Conclusion

The relationship between cybercrime and gender perspectives must be holistically approached by society, institutions, and ourselves, as individuals. We have made great strides, but there is still a lot to do.

According to the World Economic Forum, gender equality in the labor market can be achieved in Latin America and the

⁷ João Paulo Pacífico, “Que tal chamar pessoas diferentes de você para dançar?” [“Dancing with People Different than You”], *Veja Sao Paulo*, 22 November 2019, <https://vejasp.abril.com.br/blog/felicidade/joao-paulo-pacifico-inclusao/>.

⁸ Organization of American States, “The Organization of American States and Trend Micro promote in Latin America the first edition of the security workshop ‘Cyberwomen Challenge’,” 1 June 2018, https://www.oas.org/en/media_center/press_release.asp?sCodigo=E-035/18.

Caribbean ... in 59 years.⁹ I probably won't be here to see that beautiful day. But we must continue to fight, accept change, and empower women and other minorities.

A police environment or any other setting where there is diversity, inclusion, and respect is more prosperous and productive. Everyone wins. Above all, there is justice, security, and social peace.

⁹ World Economic Forum, *Mind the 100 Year Gap* (Cologne, Switzerland: World Economic Forum, 2020), <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality>.

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- Cybersecurity as a phenomenon and its trends and challenges from a public policy perspective
- Public, national, and international security
- Transnational organized crime as public policy
- State reform and its application to security issues
- Armed Forces and modernization of the state

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Mujer en seguridad y defensa: a 20 años de la resolución 1325 de la ONU

Dra. Carolina Sancho Hirane

“Chile promueve la incorporación de una perspectiva de género y una mayor participación de las mujeres en la Defensa, específicamente un mayor rol en la prevención, gestión y resolución de los conflictos en el marco de las operaciones de paz de las Naciones Unidas”¹.

Resumen

El texto reflexiona sobre el significado, implicancias y desafíos de la creciente incorporación de mujeres en los temas de seguridad y defensa, particularmente en el ámbito académico para el caso chileno.

Palabras clave

Mujer – inclusión - seguridad – defensa – estudios estratégicos- gestión de conflictos – procesos de paz – academia – resolución 1325.

Introducción

El artículo reflexiona sobre los desafíos para las mujeres académicas pioneras en temas de seguridad y defensa; identifica el significado que ha tenido su llegada a esos espacios; explica los desafíos que han enfrentado; y describe el efecto de su integración en lugares donde estaba ausente. Para estos efectos, el texto se articula en tres partes. La primera vincula el tema de la mujer con la resolución 1325 y su aplicación en el caso chileno. La segunda relaciona mujer y ámbito académico en los temas de seguridad y defensa según la perspectiva de la autora. La tercera propone un decálogo que sistematiza la experiencia adquirida en el tema, la cual puede ser útil para quienes se inician en este camino.

La metodología para su desarrollo contempla revisión de bibliografía actualizada, consulta a actores clave en aspectos específicos y la experiencia de la suscrita quien ha participado en algunos de esos procesos en los últimos 25 años.

¹ Libro de la Defensa Nacional. Ministerio de Defensa Nacional. Chile. 2017. Pp 144.

Mujer en seguridad y defensa: resolución 1325.

La resolución 1325 del año 2000, elaborada por el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, ha marcado un punto de inflexión en materia de seguridad y defensa. En efecto, se trata de un documento que plasma una declaración con la finalidad de condicionar decisiones y acciones sustantivas para dar visibilidad a la mujer en el marco de la gestión de conflictos y los procesos de paz. En este sentido, dicho documento destaca *“el importante papel que desempeñan las mujeres en la prevención y solución de los conflictos y en la consolidación de la paz, y subrayando la importancia de que participen en pie de igualdad e intervengan plenamente en todas las iniciativas encaminadas al mantenimiento y el fomento de la paz y la seguridad, y la necesidad de aumentar su participación en los procesos de adopción de decisiones en materia de prevención y solución de conflictos”*².

Chile tomó de inmediato seriamente este compromiso³ y se convirtió en *“el primer país de América Latina en generar un plan de acción para implementar la resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU en 2009, y en 2015 se presentó el Segundo Plan de Acción Nacional, que incluye indicadores de cumplimiento acordes con los lineamientos de Naciones Unidas, y asume, entre otros, el compromiso de incluir esta temática en la agenda regional de defensa, promover y difundir la agenda Mujer, paz y seguridad y trabajar en la elaboración de programas de formación y capacitación que aporten a la institucionalización de la perspectiva de género en el sector de la defensa a partir del perfeccionamiento del capital humano”*⁴. De esta manera, puede constatarse que se ha tratado de una política pública de largo plazo que comprometió a gobiernos de diferentes tendencias en un mismo sentido. Es decir, una política de Estado.

Inclusión de la mujer en los temas de seguridad y defensa: el ámbito académico

Una forma poco reconocida de dar cumplimiento a este compromiso es el aporte desde la academia, sean estas universidades o centros de estudios superiores equivalentes. Dichas instancias permiten la formación, capacitación, actualización, análisis y producción de conocimiento para una mejor comprensión de fenómenos como el conflicto violento, los procesos

² Resolución 1325, Consejo de Seguridad, Naciones Unidas. 2000. Pp 1.

³ Informe Final “El rol de las mujeres en operaciones de paz”. Conferencia Conjunta América Latina y el Caribe – Unión Europea. Santiago 4 -5 de noviembre de 2002. LOM. Chile.

⁴ Libro de la Defensa Nacional. Ministerio de Defensa Nacional. Chile. 2017. Pp 145.

de pacificación, los estudios estratégicos, el rol de las fuerzas armadas y las políticas públicas relacionadas (como inteligencia, ciberseguridad, modernización del sector defensa, entre otras). Las instituciones académicas también han sido testigo de la creciente incorporación de la mujer en su funcionamiento, en los diversos roles y cargos existentes. No obstante, con frecuencia se advierte como tarea pendiente una mayor participación que tienda a la equidad, especialmente a nivel directivo en forma permanente. De este modo se reflejaría mejor la diversidad de la sociedad en la cual se encuentran insertas y particularmente en el sector de seguridad y defensa.

Desde una perspectiva histórica, es posible reconocer que las primeras generaciones de estas mujeres que se incorporaron laboralmente en materias relacionadas con la seguridad y defensa al menos han conseguido tres logros. Por un lado, que en sociedades democráticas no puede tratarse solo de un asunto exclusivo para hombres. Segundo, con su ejemplo demostrar que es posible integrar equipos mixtos y hacer un aporte útil. Tercero, abrir un camino a nuevas promociones femeninas quienes puedan continuar por una senda que orienta al mostrar, al menos, una trayectoria posible para ocupar posiciones en este ambiente y la existencia de una vara que es posible superar.

De esta manera, queda en evidencia que el liderazgo femenino no solo significa una perspectiva que se suma a los procesos de toma de decisiones y los complementa. Además, este incremento en la pluralidad de los equipos de trabajo los enriquece al contemplar una mayor diversidad, toda vez que da cuenta de diferentes enfoques y realidades en variados asuntos sobre seguridad y defensa, especialmente en los conflictos armados. Asimismo, cabe destacar que esta inclusión no quita espacio a otros, pues se trata de ocupar lugares antes vacíos.

Aunque en ocasiones han existido dificultades a lo largo del camino elegido por las primeras generaciones de mujeres dedicadas a los temas de seguridad y defensa en el ámbito académico, puede constatar que mayoritariamente ello no ha sido impedimento para la consecución de los logros profesionales que se han propuesto.

Sistematización de una experiencia académica: propuesta de un decálogo

A modo de sistematizar parte de la experiencia adquirida, basada en años de práctica, observación, diálogos y reflexiones, se comparte una serie de observaciones y se propone un decálogo. Con ello, se busca poner a disposición recomendaciones que pueden ser de utilidad a quienes muchas veces están abriendo una senda al comenzar académicamente en el camino

de la investigación, docencia y extensión para los temas de defensa, seguridad, estrategia, gestión de conflictos y procesos de paz.

Propuesta de Decálogo

1. Escuchar todo lo posible las diversas visiones de actores involucrados. Cada perspectiva y experiencia es útil para la comprensión de un fenómeno, análisis de un problema o elección de una opción. Asimismo, aprovechar para aprender de vivencias compartidas por otros e identificar y retroalimentarse de lecciones aprendidas.
2. Recordar que todo derecho tiene aparejado un deber. Conseguir espacios o posiciones implica cumplir con los deberes que ello implica. No tiene sentido conquistar derechos para luego pedir exención de los deberes.
3. Considerar el respeto y la empatía como una actitud permanente. Facilita entender mejor una situación y tomar decisiones apropiadas ya que se consideran las diferentes aristas implicadas. Además, el respeto es un camino bidireccional, si espera ser sujeto de ello, debe practicarlo inclusive dando inicialmente el ejemplo del tipo de relación que desea construir.
4. Contemplar la libertad indisolublemente asociada a la responsabilidad. Ambas se encuentran en una relación directamente proporcional: mientras más responsabilidad demuestre en sus acciones, mayor libertad podrá conseguir para sus decisiones.
5. Mantener la dignidad como principio orientador en el comportamiento. En ocasiones es más conveniente optar por nuevos caminos que transar la integridad personal, pues ello se reflejará en la calidad del desempeño profesional y en la riqueza de su valor.
6. Promover siempre una actitud de profesionalismo basado en una formación comprometida y de calidad que busca permanentemente la excelencia. Realizar actualizaciones periódicas, si fuese necesario.
7. Valorar y observar constantemente una actitud intachable éticamente e idónea profesionalmente. Siempre propender a actuar en el sentido del bien e involucrarse en actividades en las cuales tenga un real conocimiento que aportar y no

elegir estar presente solo por figurar o por quitar la merecida visibilidad a otras personas.

8. Entender la flexibilidad como parte del valor de una profesional. Desarrollar la capacidad de adaptarse a nuevos entornos y realidades, sin tener dificultades para ajustar la planificación si es requerido. Un objetivo puede lograrse de diversas formas y en ocasiones las personas presentan diferentes ritmos o se producen hechos inesperados. No obstante, muchos objetivos pueden ser igualmente cumplidos aunque haya sido necesario cambiar debido al contexto real que se ha manifestado.
9. Fomentar la solidaridad entre colegas y la generosidad para compartir lo aprendido a quien lo requiera y cuando lo necesite. Evitar errores por falta de información que pudo ser compartida y estimular estilos de trabajo colaborativos. Recordar que la permanencia o fortalecimiento de instancias creadas implica compartir espacios con más personas que pueden aportar.
10. Desarrollar una visión de futuro que dé sentido a prácticas presentes y pasadas. Entender que las acciones emprendidas pueden ser un camino a seguir para quienes vienen después. Además, es su presentación cuando explica su evolución profesional.

Conclusiones

La incorporación de mujeres académicas en los temas de seguridad y defensa ha significado dotar de una mayor pluralidad la comprensión de fenómenos relacionados con la gestión de conflictos y procesos de paz como, asimismo, la política de seguridad y defensa, entre otros. Esta pluralidad puede explicarse, por un lado, como resultado de una creciente tendencia histórica en sociedades democráticas a incluir a las mujeres en diversas actividades, entre ellas las académicas. Por otro lado, en la importancia de enriquecer el proceso de toma de decisiones mediante la incorporación de una mayor diversidad, particularmente en los asuntos relacionados con la seguridad, los conflictos y la paz. Esto queda plasmado en la resolución 1325, a la cual se ha suscrito el gobierno de Chile y la cual ha cumplido a través de una política pública que, por su permanencia y transversalidad, constituye una política de Estado.

La llegada de mujeres académicas a los temas de seguridad y defensa puede considerarse como resultado de convic-

ciones y compromisos nacionales e internacionales de inclusión de género. Como resultado de ello, es posible constatar generaciones de mujeres pioneras en este camino, cuyo ejemplo permite verificar que su integración es posible y beneficiosa. La inclusión de género ha permitido que la academia sea reflejo de la sociedad en la que se desarrolla y a la cual orienta su trabajo mediante la búsqueda de las mejores respuestas a sus necesidades. Sin embargo, existen desafíos relacionados con la participación de mujeres en los diferentes niveles de la gestión académica que tiende a una mayor equidad en forma permanente, especialmente a nivel directivo.

La experiencia adquirida en los años de trabajo académico en los temas indicados permite proponer un decálogo que sistematiza lecciones aprendidas y busca orientar a quienes se inician en estudios relacionados con los temas de seguridad, defensa, estrategia, gestión de conflictos y procesos de paz.

Women in Security And Defense: 20 Years After the Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325

Carolina Sancho Hirane

“Chile promotes the incorporation of gender perspectives and a greater participation of women in defense, specifically a greater role in the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts within the United Nations peace operations framework.”¹

Women in Defense and Security: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, published in the year 2000 by the UN Security Council, marked a turning point in security and defense matters. Indeed, this document embodies a declaration with an end state of creating decisive conditions and substantive actions to give women visibility in conflict management and peace processes. In this regard, it highlights: “the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.”²

Chile immediately took this commitment seriously,³ and was “the first country in Latin America to generate an action plan to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2009. In 2015, it presented the second National Plan of Action, which included performance indicators in line with the UN guidelines. It assumed, with others, the commitment to include this issue on the regional defense agenda. It also promoted and disseminated the women, peace, and security agenda and worked to develop training programs that contributed to the institutionalization of the gender perspective in the defense sector to improve human capital.”⁴ Thus, this issue has been addressed as a long-term public policy, committing various governments in the same direction.

¹ Chilean Ministry of Defense, *National Defense Book* (Santiago: Ministry of Defense, 2017), 144.

² United Nations, *Resolution 1325 (2000)* (New York: United Nations, 2000), <https://daccess-ods.un.org/TMP/4979712.3670578.html>.

³ Informe Final, “El rol de las mujeres en operaciones de paz” [“The role of women in peace operations”], Conferencia Conjunta América Latina y el Caribe – European Union (Santiago: LOM, 4 -5 November 2002).

⁴ Chilean Ministry of Defense, *National Defense Book* (Santiago: Ministry of National Defense, 2017), 145.

Inclusion of Women in Security and Defense Issues: The Academic Field

A little known way of fulfilling this commitment is the academic contribution, through universities or equivalent higher education centers. The academy allows for the formation, training, upgrade, analysis, and production of knowledge to better understand such phenomena as violent conflict, pacification processes, strategic studies, and the role of the armed forces. Academia also helps frame public policies, including intelligence, cybersecurity, and modernization of the defense sector. In addition, we have witnessed the growing incorporation of women in academia in various roles and existing positions. However, greater equality in gender participation remains an ongoing task, especially at the managerial level. Thus, these institutions reflect society's diversity and strengthen women's participation in defense and security.

From a historical perspective, the first generations of women who entered the labor market in matters related to security and defense have had at least three achievements. First, in democratic societies, it cannot be a matter exclusively for men. Second, by example, they demonstrated it is possible to integrate mixed teams and make a useful contribution. Third, they opened a path for female promotions to continue on a path that guides by showing at least one possible trajectory to fill positions in this domain by overcoming challenges.

It is evident that female leadership not only adds perspective to the decision-making process but complements it further. It also increases the plurality of work teams and enriches them with greater diversity. It considers different approaches and realities in various defense and security matters, especially during armed conflict. This inclusion does not take away from others, as it focuses on filling previously vacant positions.

Although there have been difficulties along the way for the first generations of women who dedicated themselves to defense and security in academia, for the most part, it has not impeded the achievement of professional goals.

Systematizing an Academic Experience: A "Decalogue" Proposal

Based on years of practice, observation, dialogue, and reflection, a series of ideas is shared below, as a way to systematize the academic experience, and a decalogue – or "ten commandments" – is proposed. These recommendations may be useful to those who are starting on a path of research or teaching and could be extended to the subject areas of defense, security,

strategy, conflict management, and peace processes.

Decalogue Proposal

1. Listen as much as possible to the various views of all stakeholders involved. Each perspective and experience is useful in understanding a phenomenon, analyzing a problem, or choosing an option. Likewise, when considering lessons learned, take the opportunity to use experiences shared by others and collective feedback.
2. Remember that every right is matched by a duty. Earning recognition or a promotion implies fulfilling the duties associated with the increased responsibility. It does not make sense to win rights and then request an exemption from the new duties.
3. Consider respect and empathy as a permanent attitude. It makes it easier to understand a situation and make appropriate decisions if you consider the different views involved. In addition, respect is a two-way street. If you expect to receive it, you should practice it from the start by modeling the kind of relationship you want to build.
4. Contemplate freedom as inextricably associated with responsibility. Both are directly proportional. The more responsibility you show in your actions, the more freedom you will have to make decisions.
5. Maintain dignity as a behavioral guiding principle. Sometimes it is more judicious to choose new paths than to compromise personal integrity, as this will be reflected by the quality of your professional performance and values.
6. Always foster an attitude of professionalism, based on committed quality training and permanently seek excellence. If necessary, do a periodic refresh.
7. Assess and continuously maintain a flawless ethical and professional attitude. Always strive to act with goodness and get involved in activities known to contribute. Do not participate just to make an appearance or to take deserving visibility from other people.
8. Understand that flexibility is part of the value of being a professional. Develop the ability to adapt to new environments and realities, and do not have difficulties adjusting plans. A goal can be achieved in different ways, and sometimes

people move at different speeds or unexpected events occur. However, many objectives can be met simultaneously, even when new realities on the ground necessitate change.

9. To promote solidarity and generosity among colleagues is to share information they have learned to whoever needs it when they need it. Avoid errors due to a lack of information that could have been shared and encourage collaborative work. Remember that strengthening relationships implies sharing knowledge with other contributors.
10. Develop a vision of the future that gives meaning to present and past experiences. Understand that the actions taken can provide a way forward for those who follow. It also explains your professional evolution.

Conclusions

The incorporation of academic women in security and defense has provided a greater understanding of conflict management and peace processes, as well as security and defense policy. On the one hand, this can be explained by a growing historical tendency in democratic societies to include women in various activities, including academic ones. On the other hand, it is important to enrich the decision-making process by integrating greater diversity, particularly in security, conflict, and peace matters, as set out in UNSCR 1325. Through public policy, Resolution 1325 has been incorporated into national policy with the endorsement and compliance of the government of Chile.

The arrival of academic women in defense and security issues can be considered a result of national and international commitments toward gender inclusion and conviction. As a result, it allows us to encourage generations of pioneering women in its path, whose example will allow us to verify that their integration is possible and beneficial. It has allowed the academy to reflect the society in which it develops and to direct its work to better respond to its needs. However, there are challenges related to the participation of women in the various levels of academic management, mainly those aimed at greater equity on a permanent basis, especially at the senior management level.

The experience gained in years of academic work on these subjects allowed us to propose a decalogue to systematize lessons learned and seek to guide those beginning studies related to the field of security issues, defense, strategy, conflict management, and peace processes.

Daniela Sepúlveda

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From 2010 to 2016, Rivas worked as an advisor on international affairs in the Chilean Army. He has been a researcher at ANEPE on several groundbreaking projects, including “Security Strategies of the Member States of the European Union,” and “Women, Peace, and Security Agenda.”

Pablo is currently the director of an ongoing research project titled “Piracy of the XXI Century.” Today he works as a professor of international studies at the University of Santiago and as an associate researcher at the Institute of International Studies at the Arturo Prat University. He is the author of several publications on international and security affairs.

Resolución 1325 Desde la Experiencia del Conocimiento y la Investigación

Daniela Sepúlveda S. y Pablo Rivas P.

1. Primeras aproximaciones a la Resolución 1325 desde el conocimiento y la investigación.

Somos dos civiles profesionales, sin experiencia de campo en Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz de ONU. No obstante, conscientes de la relevancia que la Resolución 1325 tiene en el ámbito de la Paz y Seguridad internacionales, nos propusimos convertirnos en activos promotores de la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad” desde la academia.

Nuestro testimonio no es sólo consecuencia de la profundización y revitalización del pensamiento feminista, sino también de cómo los países mantienen ciertas resistencias institucionales para implementar la Resolución 1325 de forma efectiva y no meramente testimonial. Ese desafío se ha convertido en el principal motor de nuestro quehacer académico, a objeto de promover la transversalización de la perspectiva de género en nuestro país. Este fue nuestro camino.

Experiencia de Daniela

En el año 2011, ingresé al Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Chile para realizar mi práctica profesional como cientista política. Posteriormente, tuve la oportunidad de ser contratada como analista en la División de Relaciones Internacionales de la Subsecretaría de Defensa, donde trabajé en el área de América Latina hasta mediados de 2020.

Durante el proceso de gestión de las relaciones bilaterales de defensa de Chile en América Latina, comencé a notar que una importante agenda de diálogo y negociación comenzaba a protagonizar acuerdos políticos, con especial énfasis por parte de los Ministerios de Relaciones Exteriores de la región. Esa fue la primera vez que escuché hablar de la Resolución 1325.

Investigando sobre esta Agenda, me percaté que en el año 2009 Chile había sido pionero, publicando uno de los primeros Planes de Acción Nacional (PAN) para la implementación de la Resolución 1325, la que gozó de un importante auge a raíz de la participación de Chile en la MINUSTAH. Hacia el año 2014, comenzó a sonar con fuerza el interés de Chile de renovar su

compromiso con la Resolución 1325, razón por la cual comenzó a gestarse un grupo de trabajo al interior del Ministerio de Defensa para la redacción del Segundo PAN, el que fue publicado el año 2015 por la entonces Presidenta Michelle Bachelet. A esa altura, la Agenda ya formaba parte de la mayoría de las reuniones y mesas de negociación donde participaba el Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Chile.

Sumado a lo anterior, por aquellos años el exinto Consejo de Defensa Suramericano de la UNASUR consideró a la Resolución 1325 como un área de cooperación prioritaria en la región, promoviendo nuevas investigaciones desde el Centro de Estudios Estratégicos de la Defensa. Aprovechando que la entonces autoridad política chilena decidió fortalecer la línea de investigación “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad” al interior de las Fuerzas Armadas y el sector defensa, hacia el año 2015 contacté a Pablo para desarrollar un proyecto de investigación sobre la Resolución 1325.

Experiencia de Pablo

Soy Cientista Político y desde el año 2010 he trabajado en el Ejército de Chile como Analista Internacional. Entre mis quehaceres estaba muy presente lo concerniente a las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz. Por este motivo, tempranamente entendí cómo misiones como la MINUSTAH, la cual tuve oportunidad de visitar en Julio de 2011, fueron paradigmáticas para la Defensa Nacional.

A diferencia de Daniela, la Resolución 1325 no fue un ítem presente en mis labores profesionales cotidianas. Tampoco lo estuvo en el ámbito académico en el cual participaba, a pesar de realizar diversas ayudantías universitarias en el área de las relaciones internacionales, seguridad y defensa. En mi caso, el hallazgo de la Resolución 1325 fue circunstancial, no obstante, rápidamente comprendí la importancia y potencial que tenía para la igualdad de género y la construcción de la paz y seguridad internacionales.

Como resultado de la oferta de Daniela para elaborar un proyecto de investigación pionero, comencé a leer literatura sobre la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”, interiorizándome de sus alcances y propósitos. Este ejercicio se convirtió en un estímulo intelectual sumamente gratificante.

2. Un camino común: investigaciones y publicaciones en torno a la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”.

En conocimiento de los esfuerzos que estaba realizando el Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, desde el año 2015, postulamos a fondos públicos concursables de la Academia Nacional de Estudios Políticos y Estratégicos de Chile (ANEPE), lo que a futuro nos permitió concretar numerosas investigaciones y publicaciones sobre estas materias, aprovechando el impulso que tuvieron en Chile tras el lanzamiento del Segundo PAN.

Nuestras primeras investigaciones se centraron en cómo esta Resolución permitió una ampliación crucial a su propósito original: las mujeres, además de ser consideradas sujetos de protección en el plano internacional como víctimas del conflicto, pasaron a ser consideradas como sujeto de pacificación, convirtiéndose en agentes activas en la construcción de la paz internacional. Es decir, los conflictos no solo consideraron los impactos diferenciales que tienen sobre las mujeres, sino que los nuevos esfuerzos de ampliación también se enfocaron en cómo las mujeres podían generar impactos diferenciales para superarlos en calidad de Agentes de Paz. El desarrollo de este trabajo fue el resultado de un agudo análisis en base al Derecho Internacional Público; el Derecho Internacional Humanitario; la Convención sobre la Eliminación de toda forma de Discriminación contra la Mujer; las Conferencias sobre la Mujer; y el surgimiento de ONU Mujeres. En definitiva, un conjunto de esfuerzos internacionales inéditos fueron necesarios para superar la concepción convencional que consideraba a las mujeres como mero sujetos de intervención en su calidad de víctimas.

En consecuencia, nuestro proyecto se tituló “La Mujer como Sujeto de Protección y de Pacificación en la Seguridad Internacional: un Estudio Comparado sobre la Implementación de las Resoluciones del Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas sobre Género y Mantenimiento de la Paz”. Mediante esta investigación intentamos llenar un vacío pues, hacia el año 2015, eran escasos los estudios que se proponían hacer mediciones sobre la aplicación de la Resolución en la región. De esta forma, nos basamos en las Operaciones post Resolución 1325, mayoritariamente del África Subsahariana, a objeto de proyectar cómo las numerosas discusiones internacionales que llevaron a incorporar la perspectiva de género en la seguridad internacional tenían correlato con los PAN publicados por Chile. Gracias a esta investigación logramos publicar tres artículos.

El primero (2016) se integró a la colección Regional Insights del Centro Perry. Este trabajo se tituló “Planes de Acción Nacional para el Cumplimiento de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas: los Casos de Argentina,

Chile y Paraguay” y fue el primer esfuerzo analítico concentrado en la creación de PAN en los únicos tres países de la región que, hasta esa fecha, contaban con estos instrumentos.

El segundo artículo (2017) se tituló “La Mujer como Sujeto de Protección y de Pacificación en la Seguridad Global: Estudio del Aporte Teórico y Conceptual del Gender Mainstreaming a las Relaciones Internacionales”. Desde la perspectiva de los estudios de género, mientras la “mujer como sujeto de protección” es la expresión de la violencia de género institucionalizada, la “mujer como sujeto de pacificación” es la expresión de la equidad de género en su manifestación de agente internacional. Por lo tanto, estos nuevos estadios de análisis plasmaron nuestro esfuerzo por crear categorías ajustadas al nuevo lenguaje que la Resolución 1325 impuso en la seguridad y defensa, contribuyendo a llenar un vacío epistemológico y conceptual en la bibliografía especializada.

El tercer artículo (2019) titulado “La Resolución 1325: Mujer, Paz y Seguridad en las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de la Paz” fue la aplicación de los estadios de análisis creados, sumado a la promoción de la perspectiva de género. Estas tres categorías fueron usadas para estudiar las resoluciones del Consejo de Seguridad que crearon Operaciones de Paz. El hallazgo fue sorprendente, ya que el Consejo no consideró fielmente la Resolución 1325 a la hora de crear estas Operaciones. Este comportamiento errático fue una de las primeras incongruencias que nos hicieron notar la existencia de barreras institucionalizadas para implementar la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”.

3. Promoción de la Agenda Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad desde la Academia.

De esta forma, entre los años 2015 y 2019, nuestras investigaciones giraron en torno al desarrollo de tres estados de análisis: a) la mujer como sujeto de protección, b) la mujer como sujeto de pacificación, y c) la promoción de la perspectiva de género. Juntos nos entregaron un marco crítico para desarrollar nuevas investigaciones basadas en el gender mainstreaming que, desde una perspectiva original, nos permitieron entender las principales falencias y barreras a la hora de implementar la Resolución 1325. Esto nos llevó, asimismo, a aumentar nuestra red de colaboración sobre la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”, desde distintas plataformas y enfoques.

Experiencia de Daniela

Uno de los aspectos que permitió el estadio “mujer como sujeto de pacificación”, fue el entendimiento sobre los distintos roles que las mujeres pueden jugar en el establecimiento de la paz internacional, los que van más allá de los aspectos estrictamente militares. Uno de ellos, superficialmente estudiado, ha sido el rol político y operacional de mediación en contextos de conflictos armados. Por este motivo, en el año 2016 trabajé en co-autoría con una colega experta en asuntos de género el artículo “Rol Mediador de las Mujeres en los Procesos de Consolidación de la Paz Internacional”, que fue publicado en la Revista Española de Mediación. Posteriormente, publicamos en 2018 el capítulo “Mujer, Paz y Seguridad: la Consolidación de una Agenda Internacional de la mano de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas” en el Libro “El Estado y las Mujeres” (RIL Editores).

Muchas de estas experiencias de investigación fueron ampliadas gracias a cursos de formación en el Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, el Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies y el Centro Conjunto de Operaciones de Paz de Chile, donde tuve oportunidad de vincularme con expertos y expertas sobre la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”, desde perspectivas poco vistas en mi país. Así comprendí que, pesar de los avances, la Resolución 1325 ha sido objeto de diversas críticas, debido a que no pondría en cuestión las grandes e imperantes estructuras masculinas institucionalizadas ni tampoco ofrecería a las mujeres una posición igual en la definición de los asuntos de seguridad internacional. Esto ha permitido derribar el mito del “consenso internacional” en asuntos de género. La agenda “gender security” tiene mucho que decir al respecto, pues altera nuestras nociones convencionales de pensar las relaciones de poder entre hombres y mujeres en contextos de conflicto, influyendo en los procesos de transición política, negociación para el post conflicto y, por sobre todo, de implementación del derecho internacional humanitario bajo estándares 1325.

Al día de hoy, 84 países cuentan con un PAN. Esa es una excelente práctica, porque no sólo actualiza el compromiso de los países frente a la Resolución 1325, sino que también actualizan sus fuentes de financiamiento para hacer más efectivo el monitoreo y evaluación de sus propuestas. Sin embargo, muchos de esos Planes son de carácter meramente testimonial, pues las recomendaciones de la Resolución 1325 en realidad no han sido incorporadas de forma efectiva.

La evidencia muestra que la incorporación de las mujeres en las etapas tempranas de negociación estratégica garantizarían

mayor durabilidad de los acuerdos de transición política, incrementando el éxito del proceso de resolución de conflictos y la implementación de acuerdos de paz. Los diferentes niveles de conflicto aumentan las probabilidades de agudizar la violencia contra las mujeres, obstaculizando la reconciliación democrática y la durabilidad de acuerdos de paz, un eje de trabajo donde las Resoluciones complementarias a la 1325 se han pronunciado con fuerza en los últimos años. En consecuencia, el Consejo de Seguridad ha alertado a los países sobre una de las mayores barreras para la implementación de la Resolución 1325: las mujeres no solo están subrepresentadas en los procesos de mediación y negociación política, sino también sufren fuertes obstáculos a la hora de ser reconocidas como víctimas estructurales -y no meramente colaterales- de la violencia social y política. Este es un fenómeno que amenaza nuestra seguridad cooperativa, por lo que urge tomar acciones que no sólo dependan de la voluntad política de los gobiernos de turno, sino también se fundamenten en los principios esenciales de política exterior de nuestras naciones.

Experiencia de Pablo

La investigación con fondos de la ANEPE y las publicaciones derivadas, fueron un fuerte estímulo intelectual que trajo nuevas maneras de explorar y difundir la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”.

De manera inmediata, y como parte de mi quehacer como comentarista de libros, comencé a profundizar en literatura sobre mujeres, feminismo y género, publicando comentarios tanto en revistas académicas como en medios electrónicos de difusión. Ejemplo de este ejercicio son mis comentarios sobre “La guerra no tiene rostro de mujer” de Svetlana Aleksievich, cuyo principal mensaje es que a pesar de que las mujeres veteranas de la Unión Soviética vivían en una sociedad cultural y económica distinta, la censura a ellas fue igual como podría haber sido en sociedades occidentales y capitalistas. Otros textos son “Todos deberíamos ser Feministas” de Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie y “Mayo Feminista: La Rebelión contra el Patriarcado” editado por Faride Zerán. Aunque en contextos diferentes, ambos títulos comparten algo elemental: las sociedades están marcadas por un androcentrismo, machismo, misoginia y sexismo vigentes por generaciones. Así, cuando hablamos de equidad, igualdad y reivindicación lo hacemos desde perspectivas globales.

A modo de capacitación, tuve oportunidad de participar del “Taller de homologación de conceptos de género en el Consejo de Defensa Suramericano” de UNASUR (2015); del Seminario Internacional “La Implementación de la Resolución 1325

del Consejo de Seguridad de Naciones Unidas” del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Chile y la CEPAL (2016); y el Curso “Derechos Humanos y Género: archivos, recursos y estrategias para la enseñanza de la Historia reciente” ofrecido por la Universidad Diego Portales y Museo de la Memoria (2019). Los conocimientos ahí adquiridos han sido incorporados en mis actuales actividades de docencia en la Universidad de Santiago, particularmente en las asignaturas “Construcción de Procesos de Paz” e “Introducción a los Estudios Internacionales”. Esto me ha permitido dirigir y promover investigación sobre la aplicación de la Resolución 1325 en el proceso de paz de Colombia, como profesor de tesis.

4. Ideas finales.

El proyecto de investigación financiado por la ANEPE nos permitió profundizar con rigurosidad académica sobre la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad”, sirviendo como puntapié inicial para la consolidación de nuevas líneas y emprendimientos de investigación.

De esta experiencia, rescatamos dos ideas extraportables a todos los planos de la sociedad. La primera es que las sociedades tienden a dividirse por un esquema binario de las relaciones humanas, evitando la realidad de lo heterogéneo, la pluralidad y la diversidad, tres conceptos que tienen como base común la necesidad y posible gratificación de convivir con lo distinto. La segunda es que la equidad de los géneros no debe ser un activo de una sensibilidad política única y monopólica. La equidad demanda transversalidad, porque solo así se logrará consolidar genuinamente una nueva mirada global, como en su momento lo hizo la Resolución 1325.

Este año no sólo celebramos 20 años de una Resolución disruptiva y desafiante, sino que también renovamos un compromiso que cada día se encuentra más vigente. El trabajo por la incorporación de las mujeres en todos los ámbitos de la seguridad internacional no sólo es un imperativo normativo, sino que también es una necesidad histórica para prevenir la proliferación de la violencia y el conflicto. Cada vez que el Consejo de Seguridad tiene que crear o renovar una Misión para el establecimiento de la Paz se parte un paso atrás. En el momento en que el conflicto y la guerra se institucionalizan no sólo sabemos que se avecina sufrimiento, pérdida de vidas humanas, erosión de regímenes democráticos y retroceso en el Estado de Derecho. También se avecina, con lamentable certeza, una comunidad de personas que serán las principales víctimas de todo proceso de interrupción política, social y económica: las mujeres.

Por este motivo, profundizar la implementación de la Resolución 1325 es crucial. Junto a sus Resoluciones complementarias no solo contribuyen a corregir los impactos diferenciales que los conflictos tienen sobre las mujeres, sino que también contribuyen a reclamar espacios protagónicos para ellas, ayudando a su validación y legitimación entre sus propias comunidades. Su inclusión como agentes activas de paz no sólo es garantía de procesos de restitución democráticas más duraderos, sino también de establecimiento de procesos de verdad, memoria, justicia y reparación más exitosos. En suma, desde nuestra plataforma académica nos hemos comprometido a promover la Agenda “Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad” porque la experiencia del conocimiento es tan importante como la experiencia operacional. Finalmente, ambas experiencias tienen un motor común: la reivindicación por un proyecto inclusivo, equitativo y diverso.

Assessing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 From an Academic Perspective

Daniela Sepúlveda and Pablo Rivas P.

1. First Approximations of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 From Knowledge and Research

We are two professional civilians with no field experience in United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations. However, being aware of the relevance that UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 has in the field of international peace and security, we set out to actively promote the “women, peace, and security” agenda from academia.

Our work is not only a consequence of the deepening and revitalization of feminist thought but also of countries’ ongoing institutional resistance to implementing UNSCR 1325 effectively rather than merely superficially. That challenge has become the main driver of our academic work, which seeks to promote the mainstreaming of the gender perspective in our country. This was our path.

Daniela’s experience

In 2011, I joined the Chilean Ministry of National Defense to complete my professional practice as a political scientist. Subsequently, I was hired as an analyst in the international relations division of the Undersecretariat of Defense, where I worked on the Latin America region until mid-2020.

In the process of managing Chile’s bilateral defense relations in Latin America, I began to notice that an important agenda of dialogue and negotiation was taking on a leading role in political agreements and was being emphasized, in particular, by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs throughout the region. That was the first time I heard talk of UNSCR 1325.

In researching this agenda, I discovered that Chile had been a pioneer, publishing one of the first National Action Plans (NAPs) to implement UNSCR 1325 in 2009, and putting it into practice during its participation in the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Around 2014, Chile began to express a strong interest in renewing its commitment to Resolution

1325, so a working group within the Ministry of Defense was formed to draft the second NAP, which was published in 2015 by then-President Michelle Bachelet. At that point, the agenda was already part of most of the meetings and negotiations in which Chile's Ministry of National Defense participated.

At that time, the now-defunct Union of South American Nations' South American Defense Council also considered Resolution 1325 a priority area of cooperation in the region, promoting new research through the Center for Strategic and Defense Studies. Taking advantage of the fact that Chile's president at the time had decided to strengthen the women, peace, and security line of research within the Armed Forces and the defense sector, I contacted Pablo in 2015 to work on a research project related to Resolution 1325.

Pablo's experience

I am a political scientist and have worked for the Chilean Army as an international analyst since 2010. One of my primary duties is to analyze peacekeeping operations. So I understand how missions like MINUSTAH, which I had the opportunity to visit in July 2011, are a paradigm for national defense.

Unlike Daniela, I did not encounter UNSCR 1325 as part of my everyday professional duties. Nor was it discussed in the academic circles in which I participated, even though I was working as a university teaching assistant in international relations, security, and defense. In my case, I discovered Resolution 1325 by chance but quickly understood the importance and potential it had for advancing gender equality and the formation of international peace and security.

When Daniela invited me to work with her on a pioneering research project, I began reading literature on the women, peace, and security agenda, internalizing its scope and purpose. This exercise was a rewarding and stimulating intellectual endeavor.

2. A Shared Path: Research and Publications on the "Women, Peace, and Security" Agenda

Since we were aware of the efforts being made by the Ministry of National Defense starting in 2015, we began applying for competitive grant funds from the Chilean National Academy of Political and Strategic Studies (ANEPE). The grants we

received allowed us to complete numerous research projects and publications on this subject, taking advantage of the momentum it gained in Chile after the launch of the second NAP.

Our first research project focused on how UNSCR 1325 allowed for a crucial expansion of its original purpose. In addition to being considered subjects of protection, i.e., victims of international conflict, women came to be regarded as subjects of pacification, that is, active agents in the construction of international peace. In other words, not only do conflicts have differential impacts on women but in this new and expanded view, women have differential impacts on overcoming conflicts as agents of peace. This work resulted from an in-depth analysis of public international law, international humanitarian law, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, women's conferences, and the emergence of UN Women. In short, a series of unprecedented international efforts were needed to overcome the conventional concept that regarded women as mere subjects of intervention, i.e., victims.

Our project was entitled "Women as Subjects of Protection and Pacification in Global Security: A Comparative Study on the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions on Gender and Peacekeeping." As of 2015, few studies proposed measuring the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the region. Therefore, we used this research to fill this gap. We used operations conducted after the implementation of Resolution 1325, mostly in sub-Saharan Africa, to determine how the numerous international discussions leading to incorporating the gender perspective in international security correlated with the NAPs published by Chile. Thanks to this research, we published three articles.

The first paper (2016), "National Action Plans for Compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325: The Cases of Argentina, Chile and Paraguay," was included in the Regional Insights collection published by the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies. This paper was the first analytical effort focused on the creation of NAPs in the only three countries in the region that, to date, had developed these instruments.

The second article (2017) was entitled "Women as Subjects of Protection and Pacification in Global Security: Study of the Theoretical and Conceptual Contribution of Gender Mainstreaming to International Relations." From the gender studies perspective, "Women as Subjects of Protection" is the expression of institutionalized gender-based violence, whereas "women as subjects of pacification" manifest gender equity since it recognizes women as international agents. Therefore, these new

concepts of analysis reflected our effort to create categories adapted to the new language that Resolution 1325 imposed on security and defense to help fill an epistemological and conceptual gap in the specialized literature.

The third article (2019), “Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping Operations,” applied the concepts of analysis created and promoted the gender perspective. These three categories were used to study the UN Security Council Resolutions that established peacekeeping operations. The finding was surprising: the UN Security Council did not consider Resolution 1325 when creating these operations post 2000. This was one of the first inconsistencies that revealed to us the existence of institutional barriers to the implementation of the women, peace, and security agenda.

3. Promotion of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda From Academia

Between 2015 and 2019, our research revolved around developing three concepts of analysis: a) women as subjects of protection, b) women as subjects of pacification, and c) the promotion of the gender perspective. Together they gave us a critical framework for developing new research based on gender mainstreaming that, from an original perspective, allowed us to understand the main failures and barriers to the implementation of Resolution 1325. This also led us to expand our network of collaboration on the women, peace, and security agenda from various platforms and approaches.

Daniela’s experience

One of the things that gave rise to the concept of “women as subjects of pacification” was understanding the different roles – not strictly military roles – that women can play to establish international peace. One of these, studied superficially, is the political and operational role of mediation in contexts of armed conflict. In 2016, I worked with a colleague, an expert in gender issues, on “The Mediating Role of Women in the Processes of Consolidating International Peace,” published in the Spanish journal, *Revista de Mediación*. Later, in 2018, we published the chapter, “Women, Peace and Security: The Consolidation of an International Agenda Through United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325” in the book, *El Estado y las Mujeres* (RIL Editores).

Many of these lines of research were enriched by the courses I completed at the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, and the Chilean Joint Peacekeeping Operations Center, where

I connected with experts on the women, peace, and security agenda who contributed perspectives not often seen in my country. Despite the progress made, I realized that Resolution 1325 has been the subject of considerable criticism because it has not questioned the large and prevailing institutionalized male structures, nor has it offered women an equal position in defining international security issues. This has made it possible to tear down the myth of “international consensus” on gender issues. The “gender security” agenda has much to contribute in this regard, as it alters our conventional notions of thinking about power relations between men and women in conflict contexts, influencing processes of political transition, post-conflict negotiation, and, above all, implementation of international humanitarian law under UNSCR 1325 standards.

Today, 84 countries have a NAP. Creating a NAP is an excellent practice because it not only updates a country’s commitment to Resolution 1325 but also updates its funding sources to make the monitoring and evaluation of its proposals more effective. However, many of these plans are simply token instruments, as the recommendations of Resolution 1325 have not been effectively incorporated.

Evidence shows that the inclusion of women in the early stages of strategic negotiation would ensure more durable political transition agreements, increasing the success of the conflict resolution process and the implementation of peace agreements. Different levels of conflict increase the likelihood that violence against women will worsen, hampering democratic reconciliation and the durability of peace agreements; this is where resolutions complementary to UNSCR 1325 have taken a strong stand in recent years. As a result, the UN Security Council has alerted countries to one of the biggest barriers to the implementation of Resolution 1325: Women are not only underrepresented in the processes of mediation and political negotiation, they also face huge obstacles in being recognized as structural – and not merely collateral – victims of social and political violence. This phenomenon threatens our collective security. There is an urgent need for actions that do not rely solely on the political will of incumbent governments but are based instead on the essential foreign policy principles of our nations.

Pablo’s experience

The ANEPE-funded research and resulting publications were a stimulating intellectual exercise that brought new ways of exploring and disseminating the women, peace, and security agenda.

As part of my work as a book reviewer, I began to delve into literature on women, feminism, and gender, publishing reviews

in academic journals and social media. One example is my review of *The Unwomanly Face of War* by Svetlana Aleksievich (New York: Random House, 2017), whose central message is that, although female veterans from the former Soviet Union lived in a different cultural and economic society, they were censored in much the same way they would have been in Western and capitalist societies. Other texts I reviewed include *We Should All Be Feminists* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (New York: Anchor Books, 2015) and *Mayo Feminista: La Rebelión contra el Patriarcado* edited by Faride Zerán (Santiago: Lom, 2018). Although these books are set in different contexts, they share something basic: societies defined by patriarchal views, machismo, misogyny, and sexism, all in force for generations. So, when we talk about equity, equality, and recognition, we do so from a global perspective.

I had the opportunity to participate in the Union of South American Nations' "Workshop on the Standardization of Gender Concepts in the South American Defense Council" (2015); the International Seminar on the "Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325" hosted by the Chilean National Ministry of Defense and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (2016); and the course on "Human Rights and Gender: Archives, Resources, and Strategies for teaching Recent History," offered by Diego Portales University and the Chilean Museum of Memory and Human Rights (2019). I have incorporated the knowledge I gained through these experiences into my current teaching activities at the University of Santiago, particularly in "Peacebuilding Processes" and "Introduction to International Studies." This has allowed me to oversee and promote research on the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the Colombian peace process as a thesis advisor.

4. Final Thoughts

The ANEPE-funded research project allowed us to analyze the women, peace, and security agenda with academic rigor and served as a starting point for developing new lines of research.

We uncovered two ideas in our research to extrapolate to all levels of society. The first is that societies tend to be divided by a binary scheme of human relationships, sidestepping the reality of heterogeneity, plurality, and diversity – three concepts that have a common foundation of the need for, and possible reward of, living with those who are different. The second is that gender equity should not be an asset of a single and monopolistic political sensibility. Equity demands transversality because

only in this way will it be possible to consolidate a new global vision, as Resolution 1325 once did.

This year, we are not only celebrating twenty years of an important and challenging UN Security Council Resolution but also renewing an increasingly relevant commitment. Work for the incorporation of women in all areas of international security is not only a normative imperative but a historical need to prevent the proliferation of violence and conflict. Every time the UN Security Council creates or renews a peacekeeping mission, it starts one step behind. The moment conflict and war are institutionalized, we know that suffering, loss of human life, the erosion of democratic regimes, and setbacks to the rule of law are coming. With regrettable certainty, we also know that a specific community will be the principal victim of any process of political, social, and economic disruption: women.

That is why deepening the implementation of UNSCR 1325 is crucial. Together with its complementary resolutions, it helps to not only correct the differential impacts that conflicts have on women but also reclaim leading spaces for them, thereby validating and legitimizing them within their communities. In short, from our academic platform, we are committed to promoting the “women, peace, and security” agenda because knowledge-based experience is as critical as operational experience. In the end, both are driven by the same goal: the creation of an inclusive, equitable, and diverse project. The inclusion of women as active agents of peace guarantees more lasting democratic restoration measures and establishes more successful processes of truth, memory, justice, and reparations.

Christian Seron Leal

Commissioner Christian Alejandro Serón Leal is the Chilean police attaché to the United States, overseeing advising and supporting the management of international security, with an emphasis on transnational organized crime, cybersecurity, money laundering, and monitoring of the U.S. Visa Waiver Program. He joined the Chilean Investigative Police (PDI) in 1995 and was named police investigator in 1997, specializing in drug trafficking, economic crimes, and money laundering.

Serón Leal received his degree in business administration from the University of Magallanes in 2003. In 2017, he became an institutional professor of the PDI and is currently a candidate for a master's degree in higher education at the Andrés Bello University. Since 2017, he has been a graduate officer of the PDI Higher Academy of Police Studies.

During his professional career, he has worked in various PDI units at the national level. He has served as the regional coordinator on cybercrime and head of the Department of Analysis and Monitoring of Misconduct of the Investigating Brigade of Money Laundering and Organized Crime. Christian has been deployed with the United Nations (UN) Police in the UN Mission for the Stabilization of Haiti, charged with the Task Force on economic crimes and money laundering, and served as technical advisor to the Haitian National Police. Additionally, he represented Chile in the Joint Exercise of European Union Police, held in Vicenza, Italy. At the request of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security of El Salvador, he worked with its National Civil Police as a member of the PDI Evaluation Commission.

Commissioner Serón Leal is an alumnus of the Perry Center; he attended the Strategy and Defense Policy Course in 2019.



Christian Alejandro Serón Leal

Maria Paz Aguilera

María Paz Aguilera Corripio is currently deputy commissioner of the Chilean Investigative Police (PDI); she first joined the PDI in 2003. In 2005 she earned the title of police investigator, awarded by the School of Police Investigations, with specialties in police intelligence, PDI counter-narcotics agents and zero micro-traffic. She has also attended the United Nations course, “United Nations Police,” and participated in the courses, “Police Actors and Practices for the Exercise of the Right of Women to Cities Without Violence” and “Female Leadership in the Application of the Law” from the International Law Enforcement Agency, El Salvador.

During her professional career, she has worked in different Specialized Operational Units of the PDI at the national level, notably the Criminal Investigation Brigades La Cisterna, José María Caro, Antofagasta Antinarcotics Brigade, and her current charge, the Crimina Alto Investigation Brigade Hospicio - Agrupación MT-Cero.



Maria Paz Aguilera

María Paz Aguilera: Ejemplo de la Policía de Investigaciones de Chile – PDI

Por Christian Seron Leal y Maria Paz Aguilera

El presente relato es la historia de una joven Oficial de la Policía de Investigaciones de Chile (PDI)¹, institución de carácter civil que integra el sistema de seguridad y justicia en dicho país y tiene como misión principal la investigación de los delitos a nivel nacional, con una visión de ser referentes regionales en la investigación criminal de delitos complejos y crimen organizado transnacional². También es una de las instituciones más valoradas por la sociedad chilena³.

Desde sus inicios, la PDI ha incorporado a la mujer en todas sus áreas. En el año 1998 fue posible fijar, a través de la unificación de los escalafones de oficiales femeninos y masculinos, el inicio de una política permanente de equidad de género. Todas las personas tienen las mismas posibilidades de ingreso y carrera funcionaria en la institución, ya que no existe restricción de plazas por género en la academia policial. Existe la posibilidad cierta de acceder a diferentes cargos de jefaturas en los distintos niveles de la organización, según las capacidades personales y profesionales.

A continuación, conoceremos este relato de la mano de su protagonista, Subcomisaria María Paz Aguilera Corripio, incorporano además información de contexto proporcionada por el Agregado Policial de la PDI en los Estados Unidos de América, Comisario Christian Serón Leal, a fin de entregar al lector una mejor comprensión de este ejemplo de esfuerzo personal y profesional en la realidad policial chilena.

En este contexto, luego de tres años de publicada la resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas sobre mujeres, paz y seguridad tomé la decisión de ingresar a la PDI. Mi familia no estaba muy convencida, ya que era una profesión desconocida para todos y sería la primera en pertenecer a alguna institución del Estado. Luego de pasar todas las pruebas exigidas, en el año 2003 ingresé a la Escuela de Investigaciones Policiales, ubicada en la Región Metropolitana de

¹ La PDI fue creada el 19 de junio de 1933. Policía civil a cargo de la investigación de los delitos a nivel nacional, control migratorio, policía internacional e Interpol, dependiente del Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública.

² Plan Estratégico PDI 2017 – 2022, con plazo a 15 años para el cumplimiento de dicha visión Institucional.

³ https://www.cnnchile.com/tendencias/subcomisario-de-la-pdi-es-elegida-la-mujer-pionera-del-ano_20190322/.

Santiago. Para asistir a la academia, tuve que viajar desde mi región en la zona norte de Chile, la cual se encuentra a 1757 kilómetros de distancia de la capital del país.

En mi curso solo éramos 7 mujeres y 27 hombres (en ese tiempo, esa era la distribución de la gran mayoría de las Secciones). Esos tres años me prepararon para ser una policía integral, con especial énfasis en los principios éticos y respeto a los derechos humanos. Así mismo, el entrenamiento reforzó además los valores entregados por mi familia. Aprendí lo que realmente significaba el compañerismo, la lealtad, el esfuerzo y el respeto. También formé grandes amistades.

Actualmente, la PDI registra un 33% de mujeres en sus diferentes plantas. Se prevé que esta situación irá en aumento en los siguientes años, ya que la academia policial tiene un ingreso prácticamente equitativo de ambos sexos. En la época de ingreso de María Paz a la institución, la proporción de personal femenino era de alrededor del 20%.

La última modificación normativa que se registra en materia de género fue la incorporación del uso del lenguaje inclusivo en los cargos en el año 2019⁴, por lo cual María Paz es reconocida con el grado de Subcomisaria.

Al egresar, mi primera destinación fue la Brigada de Investigación Criminal La Cisterna, donde di mis primeros pasos como Detective. Me fue asignado un tutor quien me entregó las herramientas y los conocimientos que no se adquieren en la escuela, lo cual me dio la confianza y seguridad necesarias para realizar un buen trabajo. Luego, fui destinada a la Brigada de Investigación Criminal José María Caro, ubicada físicamente en el interior de una población muy popular en la ciudad de Santiago. Durante esa época, debido a la falta de personal femenino, fui por más de un año la única Oficial Policial en la unidad. A pesar de esto, me sentía muy segura, ya que todos mis compañeros estaban permanentemente preocupados de mí. Yo diría que me cuidaban demasiado.

Posteriormente, fui destinada a cumplir funciones operativas en la ciudad de Antofagasta, zona norte de Chile, ubicada a 1334 kilómetros de la capital del país. Aquí inicié mi camino profesional en el área antinarcóticos y contra el crimen organizado. Presté servicios en dicha brigada por 4 años. Luego se abrió la posibilidad de un nuevo desafío policial y ser parte de un

⁴ O/G N° 2.602 de 19-junio-2019, teniendo entre sus fundamentos la “Convención de Belém do Pará”, considerando los cargos en femenino, como por ejemplo Subcomisaria.

proyecto innovador para la institución y el país, denominado Plan Comunal Antidrogas - Microtráfico Cero (MT0)⁵.

En los últimos años ha aumentado considerablemente el interés general de los jóvenes por ingresar a la PDI. Este fenómeno se observa especialmente entre las mujeres, quienes pueden ingresar a la escuela matriz luego de superar el proceso general de selección en iguales condiciones que los postulantes varones. Se ha registrado un aumento gradual en la cantidad de seleccionadas. Dicha cifra era menor en la época de ingreso de María Paz, razón por la cual el número de mujeres policías era también menor.

El proceso de formación profesional es único desde el inicio de la carrera, tanto para hombres y mujeres. Este proceso contempla la misma malla curricular teórico-práctica. Es destacable el hecho de que, en la última graduación de Detectives en diciembre de 2019, la primera antigüedad fue obtenida por una mujer, logro ya presente desde la época de formación de María Paz, puesto que en su promoción la primera y la tercera antigüedad fueron otorgadas a mujeres.

Luego de postularme para al nuevo proyecto PDI, fui destinada a la Región de Tarapacá para ser parte de la primera generación de Detectives de una Agrupación MT-0. Fui destacada en la comuna de Alto Hospicio, ubicada en la Región de Tarapacá, a 229 kilómetros del límite con Bolivia y a 321 kilómetros al sur de Perú. Recuerdo que fue un gran desafío ya que debimos superar diversas pruebas y entrevistas personales y psicológicas. El curso en sí mismo fue sumamente enriquecedor, pues entendíamos que éramos pioneros marcando el camino de una tremenda propuesta institucional. Fui parte del equipo MT-0 desde esa fecha hasta que, en el año 2017, mi Jefe de Unidad me invistió como encargada de agrupación. En un comienzo me surgieron muchas dudas, ya que sabía que el reto no era fácil: debía romper prejuicios, enfrentarme a una cultura aún machista... además, esta labor traería consigo un sinnúmero de nuevos desafíos que, sin duda, hacían que me replanteara la manera de abordar esta nueva etapa de mi trabajo y aprovechar al máximo la oportunidad de mostrar mi estilo de liderazgo. Un tiempo después, me enteré de que era la única mujer en todo Chile que se encontraba liderando un equipo MT-0, lo que confirmaba que se venían grandes desafíos.

MT-0 es un plan que tiene por objetivo desincentivar y reducir el microtráfico de drogas a nivel local en todo el país. Con ello contribuye a la disminución de la sensación de inseguridad en los barrios a nivel nacional. En el 2013 se desarrolló un

⁵ MT0 es un plan diseñado e implementado por la policía civil hace 6 años, siendo reconocido en Chile y en países como México y Argentina. <https://pdichile.cl/instituci%C3%B3n/unidades/antinarc%C3%B3ticos-crimen-organizados>.

Modelo Investigativo para la Intervención del Fenómeno del Microtráfico, el cual define los caminos apropiados para desarrollar las acciones policiales e investigativas para intervenir en este fenómeno en puntos identificados (hot spots) en las comunas de Chile afectadas por este flagelo que provoca un grave daño social a las familias. En el 2019 el programa fue reconocido como uno de los 54 finalistas en el premio “World Class Policing” en el Reino Unido, como ejemplo de buenas prácticas policiales a nivel mundial⁶.

En mi trabajo como líder de este grupo los intento conocer de una manera más personal y, con esto, aprovechar al máximo sus capacidades y habilidades para lograr una mayor cohesión y un buen trabajo en equipo. Soy una convencida de que el ambiente laboral es uno de los factores clave para el buen funcionamiento de un equipo. Y, aunque soy la cara visible, cada logro mío es en realidad un logro nuestro, una recompensa al trabajo diario, al tiempo entregado en cada tarea. Pues finalmente somos como una familia, en la que, si estamos juntos y unidos, lograremos cada objetivo que nos propongamos.

Muchas veces me han preguntado si me he sentido discriminada o si es difícil estar en mi posición. Siempre respondo que la PDI ha sido muy proactiva en materia de género, y ha tratado de entregar la mayor igualdad y facilidades posibles a todas nosotras a través del tiempo. Por algo hoy en día la mitad de los nuevos aspirantes que ingresan a nuestra Escuela de Investigaciones Policiales son mujeres. Además, puedo destacar la igualdad de sueldos, lactarios y el reciente uso de lenguaje inclusivo en lo referido a grados.

En el año 2018 María Paz Aguilera fue reconocida por la revista Sábado de *El Mercurio*, medio de prensa escrito de publicación nacional, junto a la Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, como una de las “100 Jóvenes Líderes”, lo cual se replicó al año siguiente cuando fue elegida como una de las “100 Mujeres Líderes 2019”. Este reconocimiento es otorgado por El Mercurio y la organización de Mujeres Empresarias con el fin de reconocer y visibilizar el liderazgo femenino en áreas que aportan al desarrollo del país.

Entre los procedimientos destacados organizados y liderados por la Subcomisaria Aguilera se encuentran la “Operación

⁶ “Subcomisario de la PDI es elegida la mujer pionera del año” [“Deputy Commissioner of the PDI is elected pioneer woman of the year”], CNN Chile, 22 March 2019, https://www.cnnchile.com/tendencias/subcomisario-de-la-pdi-es-elegida-la-mujer-pionera-del-ano_20190322/. <https://www.pdichile.cl/centro-de-prensa/detalle-prensa/2019/11/15/mt-0-finalista-en-premios-world-class-policing>.

Extinción” y la “Operación Eclipse”, ambas desarrolladas en Alto Hospicio. La primera de ellas reunió a 200 Detectives⁷ desde Arica a Santiago, es decir de las regiones del norte y capital del país, en el año 2018. María Paz Aguilera lideró operaciones que llevaron a la detención de 76 personas e incautación de cocaína, cannabis sativa, armas y municiones, como también dinero efectivo y otros bienes utilizados por las agrupaciones criminales. De esta forma, fue posible aportar los elementos de prueba necesarios al Ministerio Público a fin de proceder con la acción penal ante los tribunales de justicia. A través de estas operaciones, la Agrupación MT-Cero de Alto Hospicio ha obtenido por dos años consecutivos el estímulo institucional “Excelencia en la Investigación Criminal”, reconocimiento que se entrega a las Unidades Policiales por haberse destacado en la contribución a la seguridad pública y ciudadana a nivel nacional.

Además, de cara a la comunidad, María Paz fue nominada en marzo del año 2019 en el marco del mes de la mujer a un premio por votación popular a nivel nacional y resultó ganadora del concurso llamado “Mujeres que Dejan Huella”⁸, organizado por Comunidad Mujer y Alto Las Condes.

Cuando supe que estaba entre las nominadas sentí curiosidad y luego, al ver de qué se trataba, sentí incertidumbre por saber si mi historia iba a ser motivadora y si iba a poder inspirar a otras mujeres para atreverse a realizar sus sueños. Luego, con el paso de las semanas, vi como esa historia sí era importante y cómo lo expresaban votando. Eso me llenó de orgullo. Al ser nombrada como ganadora sentí que no era un triunfo solamente mío, sino de mi familia, amigos, de mi equipo, de toda la familia policial y de muchísimas personas que, sin conocerme, me apoyaron. Fue un orgullo haber representado a la PDI de esa forma.

Es importante destacar la historia de la Subcomisaria de la PDI, María Paz Aguilera, quien en un entorno predominantemente reconocido como terreno masculino, ya desde sus inicios, ha demostrado profesionalismo, calidad humana y liderazgo. Es parte de una nueva generación de policías, ha superado los desafíos que se han presentado durante su carrera policial y vida personal, y ha logrado continuar con su desarrollo en una institución de carácter civil que ha evolucionado en el tiempo y otorga iguales oportunidades para todas las personas.

⁷ Cuenta Pública PDI año 2019 indica dotación total de 12 678 funcionarios, con 8498 hombres y 4180 mujeres (33%). <https://www.pdichile.cl/cuentapublica/2019/cuentapublica2019.pdf>.

⁸ “100 Mujeres Líderes” [“100 Women Leaders”], El Mercurio and the Organization of Women Entrepreneurs’ website, accessed GIVE DATE, <https://www.me.cl/premios/100-mujeres-lideres/>.

Christian Seron Leal and Maria Paz Aguilera

This is the story of a young officer from the Investigations Police of Chile (PDI),¹ a civil institution that comprises the judicial and security system in this country. The PDI is one of the most valued institutions in Chilean society.² Its primary mission is to investigate crimes nationwide; it has a vision of being a regional role model in the investigation of complex crimes and transnational criminal organizations.³

Since its inception, the PDI has incorporated women in all of its divisions. Starting in 1988, a permanent policy of gender equality was made possible through the unification of female and male officer ranks. Everyone has the same opportunities for entry and the potential for a civil service career in the institution. There are no gender restrictions on positions in the police academy. Everyone has the real possibility of accessing different leadership positions at different levels of the organization according to their personal and professional skills.

In what follows, Maria Paz Aguilera Corripio shares her story.

María Paz

Three years after the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, I decided to join the PDI. My family was not too sure about my choice because it was a profession unknown to them, and I would be the first in the family to enlist at a state institution. After passing the required tests in 2003, I entered the School of Police Investigations in Santiago. To attend the academy, I had to travel from my hometown in the north of Chile, which is 1,757 kilometers (1,092 miles) away from the country's capital.

There were only seven women and twenty-seven men in my class; at that time, that was similar to the distribution of the vast majority of PDI sections. Those three years prepared me to be a full-fledged police officer, with particular emphasis on

¹ Founded on 19 June 1933, the Investigations Police of Chile (PDI) is the civil police force in charge of investigating national crimes, migration control, international police, and Interpol; it falls under the Ministry of the Interior and Public Safety.

² "Subcomisario de la PDI es elegida la mujer pionera del año" ["Deputy Commissioner of the PDI is elected pioneer woman of the year"], *CNN Chile*, 22 March 2019, https://www.cnnchile.com/tendencias/subcomisario-de-la-pdi-es-elegida-la-mujer-pionera-del-ano_20190322/.

³ Strategic Plan, PDI, 2017–2022, with a 15-year projection to achieve institutional vision.

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ethical principles and respect for human rights. Furthermore, the training reinforced the values my family taught me. I made great friends and learned the true meaning of camaraderie, loyalty, effort, and respect.

In 2020, women comprise 33 percent of all PDI sections, with a projected increase in the following years, as the academy has an equal admission rate for men and women. At the time I joined the institution, women made up 20 percent of the staff.

The latest change in regulations regarding gender was made in 2019 with the incorporation of inclusive language for all positions.⁴ As such, I was known as deputy commissioner.

After graduation, my first posting was to the Cisterna Criminal Investigation Brigade, where I took my first steps as a detective. I was assigned a mentor who gave me the tools and knowledge not provided in school, and this gave me the much-needed confidence and security to do a good job. Afterward, I was assigned to the Jose Maria Caro Criminal Investigation Brigade, located within a popular sector in Santiago. Due to the lack of female personnel, I was the only female police officer in the unit for more than a year. Despite this, I felt very safe, as all of my colleagues regularly watched out for me. I would say they took too much care of me.

Afterward, I fulfilled operative duties in the city of Antofagasta, located 1,334 kilometers (829 miles) from the capital. There I began my career in counter-narcotics and fighting organized crime. I served in this brigade for four years. This opened the possibility of new law enforcement challenges, as I became part of an innovative project for the institution and country called the Zero Micro Trafficking (MT-0)⁵ Antidrug Communal Plan.

In recent years, the interest of young people to enter the PDI has increased, especially among women, who can now enter the main school under the same conditions as their male counterparts after passing the general selection process. This has allowed a gradual increase in the number of selected female applicants. The number of applicants was much lower when I first joined the institution and was the reason for the small number of female police officers.

⁴ O/G N° 2.602 de 19 June 2019, which takes into account the "Convention of Belém do Pará," which includes the female-gendered version of titles like "commissioner."

⁵ Zero Microtrafficking was a plan designed and implemented by the civil police in 2013 and recognized by Chile, Mexico, and Argentina. See "Anti-Narcotics and Against Organized Crime," PDI website, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://pdichile.cl/instituci%C3%B3n/unidades/anti-narc%C3%B3ticos-crimen-organizados>.

The training process was unique from the start for both men and women. It has the same theoretical and practical curriculum. This fact was highlighted in the last graduation of detectives in December 2019, when a woman was ranked first in the class. This had already been achieved during my training when two women were ranked first and third in their class.

After applying for the new PDI Project, I was assigned to the Tarapacá region to join the first cadre of detectives of an MT-0 Group. I was posted to the Alto Hospicio commune, located in the Tarapacá Region, 229 kilometers (142 miles) from the Bolivian border and 321 kilometers (200 miles) south of Peru. It was a real challenge, as we had to pass various tests and personal and psychological interviews. The course itself was extremely rewarding because we were pioneers paving the way for a tremendous institutional undertaking. I was part of an MT-0 team from that date until 2017, when the unit's head promoted me to chief of the team. At first, I had doubts, since I knew it was not an easy challenge. I had to confront prejudice and face a male-dominated culture. Furthermore, the job brought countless new challenges that undoubtedly made me rethink how to approach this new period of my career and make the most of this opportunity to show my leadership style. Sometime later, I learned I was the only woman in Chile leading an MT-0 team, confirming the suspicion that significant challenges were coming.

The MT-0 plan aims to discourage and reduce drug micro-trafficking throughout the country and increase security in neighborhoods nationwide. In 2013, an investigative model was created for the intervention of the micro-trafficking phenomenon. It defined appropriate ways to develop police and investigative actions to intervene in specific hot spots, mainly in the communes of Chile affected by this scourge causing severe social damage to families. In 2019, the program was recognized as an example of good police practices worldwide and was one of 54 finalists in the "World Class Policing" awards in the United Kingdom.⁶

As the leader of this group, I tried to get to know my colleagues and help them make the most of their abilities and skills to achieve greater cohesion and good teamwork. I am convinced that the work environment is a critical factor for a proper functioning team. Moreover, although I am the visible face, each achievement of mine was really a team achievement, a reward for the daily work, for the time given in each task. In the end, we were like a family, and when we were together and united, we

⁶ PDI website, accessed 1 June 2020, <https://www.pdichile.cl/centro-de-prensa/detalle-prensa/2019/11/15/mt-0-finalista-en-premios-world-class-policing>.

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achieved each proposed objective.

Many people have asked me if I have ever felt discriminated against or if it is difficult being a woman in my position. I always answer that the PDI has been very proactive in matters of gender and in trying to deliver the greatest equality and facilities possible to all. For this reason, half of the new applicants who enter our Police Investigations School today are women. I would also highlight income equality, breastfeeding stations, and the recent use of inclusive language regarding ranks, as examples.

In 2018, *Sabado Magazine* recognized me in the national publication *El Mercurio*, together with the Adolfo Ibáñez University, as one of “100 Young Leaders.”⁷ The following year I was chosen as one of the “100 Women Leaders 2019,” a recognition granted by *El Mercurio* and the Organization of Women Entrepreneurs to recognize female leadership in areas that contribute to the country’s development.⁸

Among the operations that I organized and led are “Operation Extinction” and “Operation Eclipse,” both carried out in Alto Hospicio and executed in 2018, gathering 200 Detectives⁹ for the first operation from Arica in the northern regions to the capital in Santiago. I directed operations that led to the arrest of 76 people and the seizure of cocaine, cannabis sativa, and weapons and ammunition, as well as cash and other property used by criminal groups. Thus, it made possible the delivery of necessary evidence to the Public Ministry to proceed with prosecutions before the courts. Through these operations, the MT-0 Group of Alto Hospicio obtained, for two years in a row, “Excellence in Criminal Investigation,” a recognition given to the Police Units that have, at the national level, excelled in citizen and public security contributions.

In March 2019, within the framework of women’s month, I was nominated for an award granted by popular vote at the national level and won a contest called “Women who Leave Footprints,” organized by *Comunidad Mujer* and *Alto Las Condes*.

When I knew I was among the nominees, I was curious to learn more, as I was uncertain whether my story would motivate

⁷ Carla Mandiola and Sebastian Palma, “100 Líderes Jovenes 2018” [“100 Young Leaders 2018”], *El Mercurio*, accessed 5 August 2020, <https://www.litoralpress.cl/sitio/mcompleta.cshmtl?session=uj1eDcnViF1wvl5gUgN7XA==>.

⁸ “100 Mujeres Líderes” [“100 Women Leaders”], *El Mercurio* and the Organization of Women Entrepreneurs’ website, accessed 5 August 2020, <https://www.me.cl/premios/100-mujeres-lideres/>.

⁹ “Cuenta Pública PDI año 2019 indica dotación total de 12.678 funcionarios, con 8.498 hombres y 4.180 mujeres” [“PDI Public Accounting for 2019 indicates a total staffing of 12,678 officials, with 8,498 men and 4,180 women”], *Cuenta Publica, PDI*, accessed 5 August 2020, <https://www.pdichile.cl/cuentapublica/2019/cuentapublica2019.pdf>.

and inspire other women to realize their dreams. As the weeks went by, I saw how important my story was to them and that it resulted in them voting for me, filling me with pride. When I was named the winner, I felt that it was not only a victory for me but also for my family, friends, my team, the entire police family, and the many other people who, without knowing me, supported me. I was proud to have represented the PDI in this way.

It is important to highlight my story, the story of PDI Deputy Commissioner María Paz Aguilera, who works in a predominantly male environment and demonstrated professionalism, human qualities, and leadership by being part of a new generation of police officers. I have overcome challenges that have arisen throughout my police career and personal life and managed to continue developing in a civil institution that has evolved over time and granted everyone equal opportunities.

Martha Janneth Davila

Janneth Davila is a Colombian lawyer and doctoral student with a master's degree in terrorism studies and a specialty in evidentiary law. She has a wealth of teaching experience at all levels, including the training of military and security forces.

Davila is an advisor and researcher on security, defense, and the reconstruction of historical memory and public policy development. She is a member of the research groups of the Army Communications School, the Police Carabineros School. Janneth also serves as an advisor to the Mayor's Office of Facatativá, for the government secretariat on the topics of security, peace, and coexistence; human rights; training of teams of uniformed women and civilians in defense and security; gender, and boys, girls, and adolescents and human trafficking.

Davila is an alumna of the Perry Center Strategy Policy and Defense course.



Martha Janneth Davila

Mujeres Guerreras

Martha Janneth Davila

La historia de Colombia merece ser contada con voz femenina, con una perspectiva diversa, desde la óptica de sus mujeres, algunas de ellas protagonistas reconocidas, la mayoría escasamente mencionadas. Debe volver a relatarse desde la inclusión, la pujanza, la lealtad, el patriotismo, desde la oscuridad buscada como estrategia del éxito, desde el arte de la seducción intelectual, la capacidad camaleónica, la renuncia a la libertad, a la tranquilidad económica, a la familia, e incluso a la vida. Desde la alborada de la lucha contra las injusticias y la opresión. Quizás deba volver a escribirse desde las altiplanicies y el desierto, los nevados y las rocosas montañas, los páramos y las costas, las gélidas y raudas aguas de los ríos, desde las selvas y los llanos. Posiblemente deba volverse a estudiar desde las inclementes variaciones climáticas, la exposición a enfermedades endémicas de un país tropical dominado por hombres, pero en el que cientos de mujeres vertieron su sangre en guerras intestinas; educaron, alimentaron, ofrendaron y vengaron a sus hijos; entregaron su dignidad; donaron su patrimonio. La historia debe contarse desde la visión real, lejos de paradigmas, prejuicios, voluntarias omisiones, manidos y ancestrales dogmas de superioridad masculina, reconociendo a las mujeres como partícipes activas sociales, más allá de su función reproductora, como precursoras, libertadoras y visionarias.

Innumerables relatos de la valía femenil se han convertido en hermosas leyendas por la imposibilidad de constatarlos. Estos relatos nutren nuestras tradiciones. Sin embargo, nombres como el de Guaitipán, jefa de la cultura Yalcon¹ o “La Cacica Gaitana”² afortunadamente no corrieron la misma suerte. La Gaitana fue una líder indígena que gobernó con su hijo Timanco el poblado ubicado en el municipio hoy conocido como Timaná en el departamento del Huila. El Capitán español Pedro de Añasco, en diciembre de 1538, dio la orden a todos los representantes indígenas de presentarse ante él y rendirle tributo. Timanco, junto a otros líderes, se negó y el español, en un despliegue increíble de maldad, ordenó capturarlo y quemarlo vivo frente a su madre. La mujer, presa del dolor y la ira, conformó un ejército de más de seis mil hombres y mujeres de las tribus Paeces, Piramas, Guanacas y Yalcones. Tras una cruenta batalla, Añasco fue capturado. La Cacica ordenó sacarle los

¹ “Llanura de Matanzas. Tierra de los Yalcones” [“Plain of Matanzas. Land of the Yalcones”], Pueblos Originarios, July 2014, https://pueblosoriginarios.com/sur/andina/san_agustin/matanzas.html.

² “La Gacita Gaitana,” Alcaldía Municipal de Timaná, accessed 16 September 2020, <http://www.timana-huila.gov.co/turismo/la-cacica-gaitana>.

ojos y luego, tras abrir su cuello, lo atravesó con una soga y lo arrastró por el poblado hasta que falleció. La Gaitana lideró muchos más enfrentamientos contra los españoles y se convirtió en imagen de la lucha de los pueblos indígenas que se resisten a la opresión y la barbarie; sin embargo, su rastro se desvaneció con el paso del tiempo. Por esta misma época en la zona nororiental, la Princesa Zulía, hija del cacique Cinera, encabezó un gran ejército que ferozmente se opuso a la avanzada ibérica hacia Norte de Santander. Logró vengar no solo la muerte de su padre y de cientos de indígenas de su tribu y otras cercanas, sino que también alcanzó la liberación de las mujeres esclavizadas por los conquistadores. Dos años después de su victoria, volvería a encontrarse cara a cara con el enemigo, pero éste, superior en armamento y combatientes, pronto vencería. *"Muerte antes que vasallaje"* era la consigna de la princesa que murió atravesada por las lanzas españolas al impedir su captura. En Colombia y Venezuela, poblados, estados y ríos llevan su nombre como homenaje póstumo a su arrojo y valentía. Clara Tocarruncho, descendiente de los Zaques de Tunja, ofrendó su vida al reconocer al Inca Tupac Amarú en 1781 como Emperador de América.

Las figuras ejemplarizantes de estas precursoras indígenas se constituyeron en el referente indiscutible de las nuevas generaciones de féminas, quienes, desafiando todos los esquemas, concepciones, prohibiciones y tradiciones, apoyaron de múltiples maneras el ideal de una patria libre, independiente y soberana. El nombre de María Manuela Beltrán Archila o simplemente Doña Manuela Beltrán³, *"Heraldo Femenino de la Libertad"*, surge a primera vista cuando en un acto de valor deslumbrante y, al parecer, en solitario rompió el edicto de la armada de Barlovento el 16 de marzo de 1781 al encender la llama que daría origen al *"Movimiento Comunero"*. De su destino nada se conoce, pues desapareció tras desafiar a la Corona y negarse a pagar los impuestos. Años más tarde, Mercedes Nariño Ortega, quizás la primera joven en vestir un uniforme militar y disparar balas de cañón, defendió a su padre Antonio Nariño y al ejército centralista contra los federalistas en la época de la Patria Boba. Fue desterrada por *"El Pacificador"*, Pablo Morillo, en 1816. Las páginas de nuestros anales comenzaron a escribirse con sangre femenina desde la alborada del anhelo emancipador. Con la de Domitila Sarasti y Luisa Góngora (Pasto, 1812) de quienes escasamente conocemos sus nombres, y Mercedes Ábrego de Reyes se trazarían las primeras líneas. Informante del General Santander y conocida por bordar el uniforme de Simón Bolívar, Doña Mercedes fue fusilada el 21 de octubre de 1813 frente a sus hijos. Las crónicas independentistas continuaron nutriéndose con las condenas de oprobio,

³ "Poporo Quimbaya," *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, September 2017, <https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title.>

miseria, destierro, muerte y olvido, sufridas por María Concepción Loperena de Fernández⁴, la “Heroína insurgente Loperena” quien, en pleno acto público y con un despliegue increíble de osadía, el 4 de febrero de 1813 prendió fuego el retrato de Fernando VII y los escudos reales. Lamentable resulta tan solo referir a Fausta García, Rosa Zárate, Francisca Guerra, Josefa Conde, Águeda Gallardo, Dorotea Castro, Juana Velasco de Gallo, Simona Duque de Alzate, Eulalia Buroz despedazada a sablazos, las hermanas Manuela y Juana Escobar y las niñas Estefanía Linares, Carlota Armero y Matilde Anaray⁵, entre otras muchas, quienes desde la opulencia o precariedad de sus recursos, el espionaje, la seducción, la infiltración, el analfabetismo, el conocimiento, la juventud, la adultez, la medida libertad, la esclavitud y sin distinción de raza o linaje, apoyaron con bravura el sueño redentor. La historia les debe el ser honradas como benefactoras, precursoras y mártires de nuestra independencia.

De la mano del naciente Ejército Patriota (1810) se gestaron grupos logísticos conformados por fervientes mujeres conocidas como las “Cholas”, las “Rabonas” y las “Juanas”⁶. Estas mujeres acompañaron a los valerosos soldados al desempeñarse como cocineras, enfermeras, maestras, compañeras de descanso, costureras, espías estratégicas y, en ocasiones, como esquema de asalto en la retaguardia. Esposas, hermanas, madres o desconocidas de los combatientes, pero en cualquier caso aguerridas luchadoras con un objetivo común: lograr la libertad. Imposible no recordar a María Josefa Canelones, la “Juana” que en avanzado estado de embarazo acompañó a su marido, militar del ejército patriota y parió a su hijo en el páramo de Pisba el 2 de julio de 1819⁷. Desde las altas esferas de la sociedad criolla, prestantes mujeres, tras la fachada de tardes de costura y chocolate, celebraban reuniones políticas donde los ecos de la Revolución Francesa y la Ilustración avivaron el fervor libertario. Con el tiempo estas reuniones se convirtieron en estratégicos canales de comunicación, inteligencia y espionaje. Las caudillas de la libertad enseñaron a cientos de guerreros que quien manejaba la información tenía el poder. Manuela Sanz de Santamaría, fundadora de “La tertulia del buen gusto”, Magdalena Ortega, Francisca Prieto Ricaurte, Catalina Tejada, Andrea Ricaurte de Lozano, Bárbara Forero, Petronila Nava, Josefa Baraya, Petronila Lozano, Gabriela Barriga, Carmen Rodríguez, Eusebia Caicedo, Josefa Santamaría, María Acuña, Josefa Lizarralde y Juana Robledo son apenas nombres que

⁴ “María Concepción Loperena,” *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 September 2020, https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Mar%C3%ADa_Concepci%C3%B3n_Loperena.

⁵ “Matilde Anaray, Simona Amaya, y otras mujeres boyacenses que contribuyeron a la libertad” [“Matilde Anaray, Simona Amaya, and other Boyacá women who contributed to freedom”], *Boyaca7Dias*.

⁶ Marco Antonio Valencia, “La Casa Encendida: Las Juanas [“The house on fire: The Juanas”],” *El Espectador*, 7 April 2013, <https://blogs.elespectador.com/actualidad/la-casa-encendida/las-juanas>.

⁷ “María Josefa Canelones,” *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 September 2020, https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php/Mar%C3%ADa_Josefa_Canelones.

representan a aquellas camaleónicas féminas que, amparadas por su alcurnia y desde las trincheras intelectuales, impulsaron la gesta patriota. La sanguinaria reconquista fue el detonante para que las mujeres entraran abiertamente a la escena guerrillera. La joven Policarpa Salavarrieta “La Pola”, la espía por antonomasia, sería recordada por su bravura y valentía. Sus lapidarias palabras y la gallardía al enfrentarse a su verdugo, plasmarían una huella imborrable en la recordación popular: *“Viles soldados, volved las armas a los enemigos de vuestra patria. ¡Pueblo indolente! ¡Cuán distinta sería hoy vuestra suerte si conocierais el precio de la libertad! Pero no es tarde: ved que, aunque mujer y joven, me sobra valor para sufrir la muerte y mil muertes más...”*.⁸ Moriría fusilada el 24 de noviembre de 1817. Es una de las pocas mujeres a quienes oficialmente se les reconoció participación en la contienda por la libertad. Las guerrillas patriotas de Coromoro y Cincelada, que en principio fungieron como proveedores e informantes de los rebeldes independentistas y luego se fundieron con el ejército de Bolívar, debieron su creación a la fuerte y aguerrida Antonia Santos Plata. Esta mujer supo conjugar magistralmente las labores de administradora y líder. Murió fusilada el 28 de julio de 1819. Mientras se dirigía al patíbulo entregó al jefe de escolta su anillo de esmeraldas como pago, para que dispararan directo a su corazón; no permitió que vendaran sus ojos para ver por última vez el cielo; ató con un pañuelo la falda a sus tobillos para que, al desplomarse, su cuerpo inerte no quedara expuesto. Ya pronta para enfrentarse al destino manifestó: *“No tengo miedo, y deseo mirar frente a frente a mis verdugos. Capitán: ya estoy lista. ¡viva la patria!!!”*⁹. Luego de dejar de lado las inconvenientes prendas femeninas, Evangelista Tamayo lucharía en Boyacá bajo el mando de Bolívar y alcanzaría el rango de Capitán. Murió en Coro en 1821. Simona Amaya ingresó a las huestes libertadoras usando la indumentaria militar. “Mi Sargento”, como se dirigían a ella sus subalternos, caería en la batalla del Pantano de Vargas (25 de julio de 1819). Solo hasta ese momento se descubrió su género y póstuma y válidamente fue ascendida a “Sargento” por el General Bolívar. Juana Béjar¹⁰ obtuvo permiso para combatir oficialmente como mujer. Fue la primera en recibir en vida el grado de “Sargento Mayor de la Caballería Colombiana”. Falleció el 28 de julio de 1819.

El haber logrado la independencia de España no garantizó la paz. Una extensa sucesión de guerras civiles desangró al

⁸ “Una Martir y Heroína, Es el Simbolo de la Mujer Colombiana” [A Martyr and Heroine, the Symbol of the Colombian Woman], Coomeva, 2017, <http://www.coomeva.coop/publicaciones.php?id=54303>.

⁹ Elvia Jeannette Uribe-Duncan, *Mujeres en la independencia colombiana: conmemoraciones actuales* [Women in Colombian Independence: Current Commemorations] (Nottingham, UK: University of Nottingham, 2012), <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/genderlatam/documents/jeannette-uribe-las-socorranas3.pdf>.

¹⁰ “Ingresa la primera mujer al ejército Patriota Juana Béjar de Tame” [“The first woman joins the Patriot army Juana Béjar de Tame”], RTVC Sistema de medios Públicos, 2019, <https://www.canalinstitucional.tv/content/ingresa-la-primera-mujer-al-ejercito-patriota-juana-bejar-de-tame>.

naciente Estado y también en estas huestes hicieron presencia las mujeres desafiando la terminante prohibición de su participación. Tal es el caso de María Martínez de Nisser,¹¹ enlistada durante la revolución de 1841 y de “La negra Dolores”, lancera que peleó con las fuerzas del General Mosquera en 1861. La guerra de los mil días (1899 – 1902)¹², fue una nueva oportunidad para que las féminas demostraran su disciplina y capacidad. Ester Quintero, Teresa Otálora Manrique, Inés Melgar, Catalina Sigurbia o “la negra Liborina”¹³, Clementina Rodríguez Quiroz, Angélica Martínez, Petra Virginia de Araúz y “Las cholitas” se erigieron en baluartes de sacrificio y fervor. La invasión de Perú a Puerto Leticia daría inicio a “La guerra Colombo/Peruana”¹⁴ y se constituiría en el escenario propicio para que Clara Elisa Narváez Arteaga vistiera, aún en contra de la voluntad de sus superiores, la molestia de sus compañeros y el desacato a las órdenes, el uniforme del Ejército Nacional. Con el paso de los días se convirtió en elemento esencial tanto en el campo de batalla como en las trincheras gracias a su labor como enfermera de combate. Tuvieron que transcurrir seis décadas (27 de agosto de 1993) para que “La Cabo Pedro” fuera reconocida y condecorada con la medalla “Servicios de Guerra Internacional” en la categoría estrella de bronce. El 16 de octubre de 1997 moriría en la ciudad de Popayán¹⁵.

Las manos de cientos de heroínas anónimas y reconocidas bordaron los hilos de nuestra bandera, pero no aquella tricolor sino la de los sueños, los desvelos, el llanto, las sonrisas, el miedo, la valentía, el sudor y la sangre. Sus pies descalzos o vanamente protegidos recorrieron los pedregosos caminos y sembraron con árboles de esperanza nuestro territorio. En su honor y memoria debemos continuar en la búsqueda de la igualdad, la equidad, la inclusión. Fuera de estadísticas, acuerdos o resoluciones, alejadas de resentimientos, diatribas sexistas y posicionamientos extremos, las mujeres estamos llamadas a construir a partir de la divergencia, convergencia. *“Ve tú a morir con los hombres, mientras que nosotras avanzamos a la artillería y recibimos la primera descarga y entonces vosotros, los hombres, pasaréis por encima de nuestros cadáveres, cogeréis la artillería*

¹¹ Felipe Osorio Vergara, “María Martínez de Nisser, literata y patriota” [“María Martínez de Nisser, literary and patriot”], *La Prensa*, 15 February 2019, <https://www.laprensaoriental.info/paramo/maria-martinez-de-nisser-literata-y-patriota.html>.

¹² “Guerra de los mil días (Colombia, 1899-1902)” [“War of a thousand days (Colombia, 1899-1902)”], EcuRed, accessed 16 September 2020, [https://www.ecured.cu/Guerra_de_los_mil_d%C3%ADas_\(Colombia,_1899-1902\)](https://www.ecured.cu/Guerra_de_los_mil_d%C3%ADas_(Colombia,_1899-1902)).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ “Las guerras con el Perú” [“The Wars With Peru”], *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 September 2020, <https://www.banrepcultural.org/biblioteca-virtual/credencial-historia/numero-191/las-guerras-con-el-peru>.

¹⁵ Muñoz, Lydia Inés. *Todo por la patria!: el conflicto colombo-peruano y Clara E. Narváez, el cabo Pedro*. Ministerio de Cultura Republica de Colombia, 2006.

y salvaréis la patria"¹⁶. Esta frase, voceada por una heroína anónima a su hijo el 20 de julio de 1810, es indiscutiblemente el punto de partida para reescribir el pasado y diseñar conjuntamente y con valentía el futuro.

¹⁶ "Nuestras memorables heroínas" ["Our memorable heroines"], *El Faro*, 8 August 2019, <https://elfaro10.blogspot.com/2019/08/nuestras-memorables-heroinas.html>.

Warrior Women

by *Martha Janneth Davila*

The history of Colombia deserves to be told by a female voice, with a diverse approach, from the perspective of its women, some of whom are well-known characters, most of whom are barely mentioned. History must be told again, this time including tales of women portraying strength, loyalty, patriotism, leveraging obscurity as a strategy for success, using the art of intellectual seduction and a chameleon-like ability, telling tales of the sacrifice of freedom, financial stability, family, and even of their own lives. Starting from the very beginning of the struggle against injustice and oppression. Perhaps it should be rewritten, framed by the Colombian high plateau and the deserts, the Snowy and Rocky Mountains, the moors and the coasts, the cold and raging waters of the rivers, from the jungles and the eastern plains. It may need to be revisited considering the harsh climate variations and exposure to diseases endemic to a tropical country ruled by men, despite the fact that hundreds of women shed their blood during internal wars; educated, fed, sacrificed, and avenged their children; gave up their dignity, and donated their estates to the cause. History must be told through the lens of reality, away from paradigms, prejudices, voluntary omissions, outdated and ancestral dogmas of male superiority, recognizing women as active social participants beyond their reproductive function, as pathfinders, liberators, and visionaries.

Unable to be verified, countless tales of women's courage have been reduced to beautiful legends that nourish our traditions, names such as Guaitipán, head of the Yalcon culture,¹ or "La Cacica Gaitana,"² who did not meet the same fate. Gaitana was an indigenous leader who ruled together with her son Timanco over a town located in the municipality currently known as Timaná, in the department of Huila. In December 1538, the Spanish Captain Pedro de Añasco commanded all the indigenous representatives to appear before him and pay him tribute. Timanco, along with other leaders, refused, and the Spaniard, in an incredible display of evil, had him captured and burned alive in front of his mother. Prey to pain and anger, the woman formed an army of more than 6,000 men and women from the Paeces, Piramas, Guanacas, and Yalcones tribes. Following a bloody battle, Añasco was captured, the Cacica ordered his eyes gouged out, and he was dragged by a rope tied around his neck

¹ "Llanura de Matanzas. Tierra de los Yalcones" ["Plain of Matanzas. Land of the Yalcones"], Pueblos Originarios, July 2014, https://pueblosoriginarios.com/sur/andina/san_agustin/matanzas.html.

² "La Gacita Gaitana," Alcaldía Municipal de Timaná, accessed 16 July 2020, <http://www.timana-huila.gov.co/turismo/la-cacica-gaitana>.

through the village until he died.

Around the same time, in the northeast, Princess Zulia, daughter of Cacique Cinera, led a large army that fiercely opposed the Spanish invasion north of Santander, managing to avenge not only the death of her father and hundreds of indigenous people of her tribe and others nearby, but also bringing freedom to women enslaved by the conquistadors. Two years after her victory, she once again came face to face with the enemy. The latter, superior in weaponry and combatants, won the battle. “Death before vassalage” was the motto of the princess who died, impaled by Spanish spears when she refused to be captured. In Colombia and Venezuela, towns, states, and rivers are named after her as a posthumous tribute to her courage and fearlessness. Clara Tocarruncho, a descendant of the Zaques of Tunja, gave up her life when she fought in 1781 for the recognition of the Inca Tupac Amaru as Emperor of America. The inspiring legends of these indigenous precursors became the unquestionable reference for new generations of women who, defying all paradigms, notions, prohibitions, and traditions, supported in countless ways the ideal of a free, independent, and sovereign nation. The name María Manuela Beltrán Archila or simply Doña Manuela Beltrán,³ known as the “Female Herald of Freedom,” emerges at first glance. In a dazzling act of courage, and apparently on her own, she broke an edict of the army of Barlovento on March 16, 1781, igniting the spark that would drive the “Comunero Movement.” Her fate is unknown, as she disappeared after defying the crown and refusing to pay taxes. Years later, Mercedes Nariño Ortega, perhaps the first young woman to wear a military uniform and fire cannonballs, defended her father Antonio Nariño and the centralist army against the federalists during the time of the Patria Boba and was banished by “The Peacemaker,” Pablo Morillo, in 1816.

Since the early stages of the emancipation campaign, pages of our Colombian history were written with female blood, that of Domitila Sarasti and Luisa Góngora (Pasto 1812) whose names we barely know, and Mercedes Ábrego de Reyes, who would draw the first lines. An informant for General Santander and known for embroidering Simón Bolívar’s uniform, Doña Mercedes, was executed on October 21, 1813, in front of her children. The independence chronicles also tell the story of the punishment of shame, misery, exile, death, and oblivion suffered by María Concepción Loperena de Fernández,⁴ the “insurgent heroine Loperena,” who in the middle of a public event and in an incredible display of audacity on February 4, 1813, set fire to the

³ “Poporo Quimbaya,” *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, September 2017, <https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=>

⁴ “María Concepción Loperena,” *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 July 2020, https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php?title=Mar%C3%ADa_Concepci%C3%B3n_Loperena.

portrait of Fernando VII and the royal coats of arms. It is unfortunate that we only get to mention Fausta García, Rosa Zárate, Francisca Guerra, Josefa Conde, Águeda Gallardo, Dorotea Castro, Juana Velasco de Gallo, Simona Duque de Alzate, Eulalia Buroz – who was torn to pieces by the blade of a sword, the sisters Manuela and Juana Escobar, and the girls Estefanía Linares, Carlota Armero, and Matilde Anaray,⁵ among many others. From the opulence or precariousness of their resources, and by means of espionage, seduction, infiltration, or their illiteracy or knowledge, youth, adulthood, degree of freedom or slavery, and without distinction of race or lineage, bravely supported the redeeming dream, for which history owes them credit as benefactors, precursors, and martyrs of our independence.

With the help of the growing Patriotic Army (1810), logistical support groups were created by fervent women. Known as the “Cholas,” “Rabonas,” and “Juanas,”⁶ they joined the courageous soldiers as cooks, nurses, teachers, companions, seamstresses, strategic spies, and sometimes even as rearguard. Wives, sisters, mothers, or strangers to the soldiers, but in any case, fierce fighters with a common goal: to conquer in the name of freedom. It is impossible not to mention María Josefa Canelones, the “Juana” who joined her husband, a member of the patriot army, while she was heavily pregnant, and gave birth to her son in the Pisba moorland on July 2, 1819.⁷ From the upper echelons of Creole society, women, behind the façade of afternoons of sewing and drinking hot chocolate, held political meetings, where the echoes of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment fueled libertarian fervor, becoming, over time, strategic channels of communication, intelligence, and espionage. These female warlords of freedom taught hundreds of warriors that those who handled information had the power. Manuela Sanz de Santamaría, founder of the literary salon “La tertulia del buen gusto” (“The gathering of good taste”); Magdalena Ortega, Francisca Prieto Ricaurte, Catalina Tejada, Andrea Ricaurte de Lozano, Bárbara Forero, Petronila Nava, Josefa Baraya, Petronila Lozano, Gabriela Barriga, Carmen Rodríguez, Eusebia Caicedo, Josefa Santamaría, María Acuña, Josefa Lizarralde, and Juana Robledo are only a few names of those chameleonic women who, protected by their pedigree, promoted the patriotic feat from the intellectual trenches. The sanguinary reconquest became the catalyst for women to openly enter

⁵ “Matilde Anaray, Simona Amaya, y otras mujeres boyacenses que contribuyeron a la libertad” [“Matilde Anaray, Simona Amaya, and other Boyacá women who contributed to freedom”], *Boyaca7Dias*,

4 July 2019, <https://boyaca7dias.com.co/2019/07/04/matilde-anaray-simona-amaya-y-otras-mujeres-boyacenses-que-contribuyeron-a-la-libertad/>.

⁶ Marco Antonio Valencia, “La Casa Encendida: Las Juanas [“The house on fire: The Juanas”], *El Espectador*, 7 April 2013, <https://blogs.elespectador.com/actualidad/la-casa-encendida/las-juanas>.

⁷ “María Josefa Canelones,” *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 July 2020, https://enciclopedia.banrepcultural.org/index.php/Mar%C3%ADa_Josefa_Canelones.

the war scene. The young Policarpa Salavarrieta – “La Pola” – a legendary spy, would be remembered for her bravery and courage. Her courageous words and gallantry in confronting her executioner has left an indelible imprint on popular memory: *“Vile soldiers, turn your weapons to the enemies of your country. Indolent people! How different your fate would be today if you knew the price of freedom! But it is not too late: see that, although I am a young woman, I have enough courage to die a thousand deaths.”*⁸ She was executed on November 24, 1817. She was one of the few women officially recognized as a freedom fighter.

The patriotic guerrillas of Coromoro and Cincelada, who at first served as suppliers and informants for the independence rebels, and later merged with Bolívar’s army, owed their foundation to the strong and brave Antonia Santos Plata, who knew how to masterfully combine the roles of manager and leader. She was executed on July 28, 1819. Heading to the gallows, she gave her emerald ring to the escort commander as payment, so they would shoot straight to her heart. She did not allow them to blindfold her so that she could look at the sky one last time, and she tied a handkerchief to her ankles so that when she collapsed, her lifeless body would not be exposed. Ready to meet her fate, she said: *“I am not afraid, and I want to look at my executioners face to face. Captain: I am ready. Long live the motherland!”*⁹ Refusing to wear uncomfortable female garments, Evangelista Tamayo fought in Boyacá under the command of Bolívar, reaching the rank of captain and dying in Coro in 1821. Simona Amaya joined the liberation army wearing their military uniform, dressed as a man. “My Sergeant,” as her subordinates addressed her, was killed in the Pantano de Vargas battle on July 25, 1819, and only then was her gender revealed; she was posthumously and legitimately promoted to “sergeant” by General Bolívar. Juana Béjar¹⁰ was officially allowed to fight as a woman; she was the first one to reach the rank of “Sergeant Major of the Colombian Cavalry” while still alive; she died on July 28, 1819.

Independence from Spain did not guarantee peace. A series of civil wars bled the nascent state dry; women were also part

⁸ “Una Martir y Heroína, Es el Simbolo de la Mujer Colombiana” [“A Martyr and Heroine, the Symbol of the Colombian Woman”], Coomeva, 2017, <http://www.coomeva.coop/publicaciones.php?id=54303>.

⁹ Elvia Jeannette Uribe-Duncan, *Mujeres en la independencia colombiana: conmemoraciones actuales [Women in Colombian Independence: Current Commemorations]* (Nottingham, UK: University of Nottingham, 2012), <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/genderlatam/documents/jeannette-uribe-las-socorranas3.pdf>.

¹⁰ “Ingresa la primera mujer al ejército Patriota Juana Béjar de Tame” [“The first woman joins the Patriot army Juana Béjar de Tame”], RTVC Sistema de medios Públicos, 2019, <https://www.canalinstitucional.tv/content/ingresa-la-primera-mujer-al-ejercito-patriota-juana-bejar-de-tame>.

of those armies, defying the strict rules against their involvement. Such is the story of María Martínez de Nisser,¹¹ who was enlisted during the 1841 revolution, and “La Negra Dolores,” a lancer who fought alongside the troops of General Mosquera in 1861.

The War of a Thousand Days (1899-1902)¹² was a new opportunity for women to show their discipline and ability. Ester Quintero, Teresa Otálora Manrique, Inés Melgar, Catalina Sigurbia or “la Negra Liborina,”¹³ Clementina Rodríguez Quiroz, Angélica Martínez, Petra Virginia de Araúz, and “las cholas” became pillars of sacrifice and fervor.

The Peruvian invasion of Puerto Leticia would initiate “The Colombo/Peruvian War,”¹⁴ the stage for Clara Elisa Narvaez Arteaga (“Corporal Pedro”) to wear – against the wishes of her superiors, the discomfort of her comrades, and by ignoring orders – the uniform of the National Army, playing, as days went by, an essential role both on the battlefield and in the trenches, thanks to her work as a combat nurse. It took six decades for “Corporal Pedro” to be recognized on August 27, 1993 and honored with the “International War Services” medal in the bronze star category. She died on October 16, 1997, in the city of Popayán.¹⁵

The hands of hundreds of both anonymous and well-known heroines embroidered the threads of our flag, but not our tricolor flag; rather a flag made of dreams, sleepless nights, tears, smiles, fear, courage, sweat, and blood. Their bare or vainly protected feet walked down stony roads, planting trees of hope throughout our territory. To honor and commemorate them, we must continue the pursuit of equality, equity, and inclusion. Beyond statistics, agreements, or resolutions, and away from resentments, sexist diatribes, and extreme positions, women are being urged to create convergence out of divergence. *“You go and die with the men, while we march toward the artillery and take the first shot, and then you, men, will walk over our*

¹¹ Felipe Osorio Vergara, “María Martínez de Nisser, literata y patriota” [“María Martínez de Nisser, literary and patriot”], *La Prensa*, 15 February 2019, <https://www.laprensaoriental.info/paramo/maria-martinez-de-nisser-literata-y-patriota.html>.

¹² “Guerra de los mil días (Colombia, 1899-1902)” [“War of a thousand days (Colombia, 1899-1902)”], EcuRed, accessed 16 July 2020, [https://www.ecured.cu/Guerra_de_los_mil_d%C3%ADas_\(Colombia,_1899-1902\)](https://www.ecured.cu/Guerra_de_los_mil_d%C3%ADas_(Colombia,_1899-1902)).

¹³ See note 12.

¹⁴ “Las guerras con el Perú” [“The Wars With Peru”], *La enciclopedia de Banrepcultural*, accessed 16 July 2020, <https://www.banrepcultural.org/biblioteca-virtual/credencial-historia/numero-191/las-guerras-con-el-peru>.

¹⁵ Muñoz, Lydia Inés. *Todo por la patria!: el conflicto colombo-peruano y Clara E. Narváez, el cabo Pedro*, Ministerio de Cultura Republica de Colombia, 2006.

*dead bodies, defeat the artillery, and save the country.*¹⁶ This sentence, uttered by an anonymous heroine to her son on July 20, 1810, is unquestionably the starting point for rewriting the past and courageously designing the future together.

¹⁶ "Nuestras memorables heroínas" ["Our memorable heroines"], *El Faro*, 8 August 2019, <https://elfaro10.blogspot.com/2019/08/nuestras-memorables-heroinas.html>.

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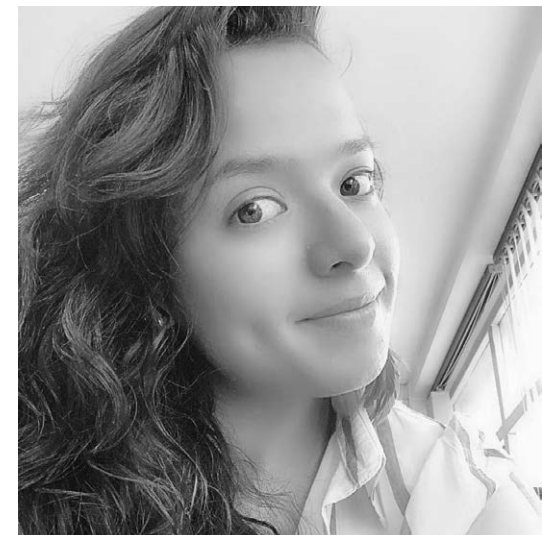


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Paola Sierra Zamora

Mujer investigadora, constructora de paz en Colombia

“La historia no ha registrado una crisis tan grave como la que llevan padeciendo durante más de un siglo las sociedades europeas. La disciplina colectiva en su forma tradicional ha perdido autoridad” (Durkheim, 1963)

Escribimos este ensayo en tiempos de pandemia global; momentos de reflexión sin precedentes para nuestra generación que nos obligan a hacer una introspección acerca de hacia dónde vamos, de dónde venimos, cuál es nuestro rol en esta sociedad y cómo contribuimos desde esa posición hacia la construcción de un nuevo mundo mejor. Somos dos mujeres investigadoras en representación de una multiplicidad de posiciones que simbolizan a la mujer en la academia como sujeto transformador en pro de la paz. Desde una posición absolutamente personal, brindamos el contexto común sobre el cual una generación de académicas de las áreas socio jurídicas, de nacionalidad colombiana, han desarrollado su pensamiento.

¿De dónde venimos?

Responder de dónde venimos es fácil. Nacimos a inicios de los años 1980 y 1990, respectivamente, en un país que se ha caracterizado por la violencia, el conflicto armado duradero, la inequidad social manifiesta, su biodiversidad y los altos índices de felicidad que reportan sus habitantes. Somos colombianas, somos mujeres y somos académicas. Las dos primeras características nos ubican en una posición de vulnerabilidad. Ser colombiano, para muchos aún significa ser narcotraficante, guerrillero o ser humano de segunda categoría. Para otros tantos, es sinónimo de cultura caribeña, folclor y trabajo arduo. Ser mujer continúa siendo una desventaja en distintas latitudes aún arraigadas a las dinámicas patriarcales, a las cuales Colombia no es ajena. Por su parte, el ser académicas reporta el haber transitado un camino precedido por mucho estudio y ganas de sobresalir desde el intelecto. Ser académica es romper paradigmas, conquistar espacios masculinos y liderar opiniones¹.

Es así imposible apartarse de incorporar las percepciones que, como académicas, nos deja esta situación y el resaltar el papel que tiene la educación en los procesos de transformación y su presencia en situaciones de conflicto. Ya lo decía Durkheim desde los años 1960, somos una sociedad que atraviesa una grave crisis. En ese entonces y desde hacía un siglo, estábamos en crisis y ahora, más de 55 años después, continuamos igual. Venimos entonces de un país y de un mundo que requiere

¹ (Coral, 2020).

repensarse, reconstruir sus valores y actuar en pro de una nueva realidad, una realidad basada en actos de paz.

Las noticias en la Colombia de los años 80 y 90 se enfocaban en relatar las atrocidades perpetradas por los grupos armados insurgentes protagonistas del escenario social de la época. Era natural escuchar que un carro bomba explotaba, que una masacre había sido perpetrada y hasta que el Palacio de Justicia había sido tomado. Los buses de transporte escolar de algunos colegios de élite solían tener escoltas armados e incluso había escoltas armados en actos sociales o de cualquier otra índole. El conflicto en Colombia siempre fue armado. De acuerdo con Wallesteen y Sollenberg, el conflicto armado es aquel que desencadena en violencia directa como consecuencia de la divergencia de intereses y uso de la fuerza armada entre dos partes, una es el gobierno del Estado y la otra, su oposición². Y reafirmamos lo de “desde siempre” porque, desde el momento mismo en que nos constituimos como República por allá en el 1810, lo hicimos a través del uso de las armas y la insurgencia.

No solo el conflicto, sino también la violencia, se convirtieron en algo natural. No nos era posible percibir o entender que la estructura inequitativa que siempre ha estado presente en Colombia es por definición violenta. Esa estructura que es la base de todos nuestros problemas y que encuentra justificación en los llamados que hacen los oprimidos a través de las armas. Esa estructura que obliga a aquellos que no quieren adentrarse más la situación a buscar nuevas formas de vivir.

¿Hacia dónde vamos?

La violencia e inequidad han dejado en nosotras un panorama común, el de ser mujeres que actúan por transformar lo que hay porque lo que hay genera mucha insatisfacción. Encontramos así objetos de estudio que emergen desde aquello que marcó nuestras vidas y suponemos una problemática que debe ser transformada. Son temas recurrentes en nuestras investigaciones la igualdad racial, los derechos humanos, la violencia de género, las migraciones forzadas, la justicia transicional y el derecho ambiental. En pocos países del mundo la mujer ha llegado a ocupar posiciones tan altas y en campos tan diversos como en Colombia³.

Hemos sido inspiradas por otras mujeres colombianas dedicadas al avance del conocimiento y la educación, como Mag-

² (Wallesteen & Sollenberg, 2000).

³ (Semana, 1995).

dalena León Gómez (1939), socióloga feminista que hizo parte del grupo de estudiantes fundadores de la Licenciatura en Sociología⁴ de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia⁵. Ella ha dedicado su vida a trasladar la retórica hacia la acción a partir de la aplicación de herramientas de la metodología de la investigación que se tradujeron en la formulación de políticas públicas orientadas a estimular el avance de las mujeres en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad⁶. Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda (1921-1999), antropóloga, quien realizó aportes invaluable a la cultura y los estudios sociales locales a partir de sus impresiones de la realidad de las comunidades indígenas en Colombia y las estructuras de la familia⁷. Myriam Jimeno, quien entendió que la violencia intrafamiliar desde la perspectiva de un infante en contextos de escasez económica, tiene más trascendencia e impacto en su vida que la violencia política y terrorista que vivió el país en la década de los 90⁸.

Y es desde ahí, desde las vivencias personales desde donde se continúan gestando nuevas ideas que llegan a transformar sociedades enteras. Las investigadoras de hoy pensamos en la paz. Quienes nos precedieron tuvieron la responsabilidad de sobrellevar una realidad álgida en cuanto a enfrentamientos armados e ideológicos, que entendían la lucha como la forma de conseguir la transformación. Sin embargo, hoy, después de varios intentos fallidos⁹ de acordar una salida negociada del conflicto armado en Colombia, en el año 2016 se firma por fin el Acuerdo Final para la Terminación del Conflicto y la Construcción de una Paz Estable y Duradera.

Nuestro Rol y Contribución

Las crisis y los conflictos son distintos en virtud del espacio en donde tienen presencia los hechos. Por ello, como mujeres jóvenes colombianas, desde una edad muy temprana entendimos que el conflicto es algo natural en el ser humano y que muchas veces se convierte en una oportunidad. Distintos autores afirman nuestra percepción al indicar que, así como el con-

⁴ La facultad de sociología de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia fue pionera en América Latina. Fue cofundada por Camilo Torres y Orlando Fals Borda. Torres (1.929 – 1.966), pionero de la Teología de la Liberación y fue miembro del grupo guerrillero ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional). Fals Borda (1.925-2.008), sociólogo, investigador, escritor, defensor de la Investigación Acción Participativa.

⁵ Emblemática Universidad colombiana. Alma mater de los más memorables pensadores de nuestro país y sede de revoluciones intelectuales.

⁶ (Fuentes Vásquez, 2004, p. 172).

⁷ (Banco de la República, 2020).

⁸ (Cienciágora, 2007).

⁹ Los gobiernos que precedieron el de Juan Manuel Santos, intentaron de manera fallida abordar conversaciones en pro del fin del conflicto armado. Zona de Encuentro y Convención Nacional en el gobierno de Andrés Pastrana. Rondas de conversaciones, en el gobierno de Álvaro Uribe Vélez (Cortés Castillo & Cerón Rincón, 2019).

flicto es algo natural en el individuo, lo es también en toda sociedad por tratarse este de un hecho consustancial a la vida en sociedad¹⁰.

Esa vida en sociedad nos ha llevado a comprender que, como educadoras que somos, portamos una responsabilidad dirigida hacia la consecución y retoma de la disciplina colectiva encausada hacia el bien común, hoy día tan necesaria. Lo que nosotras hacemos es apelar a la consciencia para reconstruir lo que nosotros mismos hemos destruido desde la individualidad. Ana Milena Coral-Díaz hace un llamado a que se ponga en evidencia la distorsión patriarcal implícita en el discurso jurídico que no ha realizado un proceso de identificación de la experiencia en contextos sociales y culturales locales, en los escenarios de posconflicto para mujeres víctimas del conflicto armado¹¹. Fernanda Navas-Camargo reclama la necesidad de abordar desde una perspectiva intercultural los mecanismos de acogida para migrantes internacionales y refugiados¹² como sujetos víctimas de conflictos armados, para fomentar una mejor integración que incluya el reconocer sus capacidades y competencias previas¹³. Paola Sierra-Zamora se ha preocupado por poner en evidencia los actos terroristas por parte de los grupos insurgentes y alzados en armas, y las consecuentes lecciones hacia la construcción de políticas públicas orientadas a la seguridad nacional en Colombia a finales de la década de 1990¹⁴.

Quienes escribimos las presentes líneas hemos crecido dentro de este contexto y nos hemos convertido en observadoras propositivas para la construcción de una nueva realidad en nuestro país. Como académicas en distintas etapas de desarrollo y provenientes de contextos diversos, hemos tenido la oportunidad de vivir de manera indirecta esa violencia e inequidad característica que ha forjado la base del conflicto armado en Colombia. A partir de esas problemáticas recurrentes y con el concurso de los distintos actores, proponemos que el imaginario colectivo tenga en adelante una oportunidad de repensar, reconstruir y evidenciar todo aquello que ha servido de catalizador de una historia patria arraigada a las desigualdades sociales, económicas y de género entre muchas otras dentro de su estructura. Solo desde una disciplina colectiva, basada en la educación y enfocada hacia la transformación positiva, es posible conseguir un contexto de paz.

¹⁰ (Silva García, 2008).

¹¹ (Coral-Díaz, 2016).

¹² (Navas-Camargo, 2018)

¹³ Nieswand lo expone así: en condiciones legales difíciles (los migrantes) ven que sus calificaciones están devaluadas en los países de destino y, como resultado, se ven obligadas a aceptar puestos en los segmentos de bajos ingresos del mercado laboral, incluido el sector informal, aunque esto no se ajusta al estatus al que legítimamente podrían aspirar en sus países de origen con referencia a su educación, sus antecedentes familiares y/o sus experiencias profesionales. (2012)

¹⁴ (Cubides-Cárdenas, Sierra-Zamora, Calixto-Ortiz, & Pabón-Caballero, 2018).

The Female Researcher, a Peace Builder in Colombia

“History has not witnessed a crisis as severe as the one that European societies have been suffering for over a century. Collective discipline in its traditional form has lost authority” (Émile Durkheim, 1963)

We write this essay during a global pandemic, an unprecedented time that has forced our generation to reflect on where we come from and where we are heading. What is our role in society, and how can we contribute to building a better world from that position? We are two female researchers representing women’s different perspectives in academia as transformation agents for peace. From a personal point of view, we are familiar with the standard background on which a generation of Colombian female academics in the socio-legal areas has developed their thinking.

Where do we come from?

It is easy to explain where we come from. We were born at the beginning of the 1980s and 1990s, respectively, in a country that has been plagued by violence, lasting armed conflict, and glaring social inequity, contrasted with its biodiversity and the high levels of happiness reported by its inhabitants. We are both Colombian, women, and academics. The first two factors place us in a vulnerable position. Many Colombians still feel stigmatized as drug traffickers, guerilla fighters, or feel treated as second-class citizens. For many others, being Colombian is synonymous with Caribbean culture, folklore, and hard work. Being a woman continues to be a disadvantage across several countries, many of them still rooted in patriarchal dynamics, to which Colombia is no stranger. On the other hand, the fact that we are female academics informs us that we have traveled a path preceded by studying hard and the desire to excel using our intellect. To be a female academic implies breaking paradigms, conquering masculine arenas, and leading ideas.¹

Therefore, it is inevitable to incorporate the insights gained from such circumstances and highlight the role of education as part of the transformation process and its influence in conflict. As Émile Durkheim stated in the 1960s, we are a society suffering from a severe crisis. Back then, and for a century, we were in crisis, and now, more than 55 years later, we are still very

¹ Coral-Díaz, A. M. *Cuerpo femenino en transición La construcción desde el discurso jurídico — estudio de casos [Female body in transition. Construction from the legal discourse - case studies]* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2016).

much the same. We come from a country and world that needs to rethink and rebuild its values and act toward a new reality, a reality based on acts of peace.

During the 1980s and 1990s, headlines in Colombia focused on the atrocities inflicted by armed insurgent groups that were key actors at the time. Back then, it was common to hear that a car bomb had exploded, that a massacre had been perpetrated, and even that the Palace of Justice had been sieged. The school buses of some elite schools were protected by armed escorts, and armed security teams were a common sight at social and public gatherings. Conflict in Colombia has always been armed. According to Peter Wallesteen and Margareta Sollenberg, armed conflict triggers direct violence as a consequence of the convergence of interests and the use of armed force between two parties, one being the government of the state and the other, its opposition.² We stress the word “always” because from the very moment we were established as an independent republic in 1810, we achieved this by resorting to weapons and insurgency.

Not only conflict but also violence became natural. It became difficult for us to grasp that the unequal structure that has always shaped Colombia is inherently violent. This structure is the root cause of all our problems. The violence is justified by those seeking to fight oppression with weapons, forcing those who do not wish to get involved in finding new ways of living.

Where are we heading?

Violence and inequality have left us facing a common scenario, that of being women who work hoping to transform our reality, a reality plagued by dissatisfaction. Thus, we find objects of study that emerge from aspects that have marked our lives from an issue that must be transformed. Racial equality, human rights, gender violence, forced migration, transitional justice, and environmental law are recurrent themes in our research. In only a few countries worldwide, have women reached such high positions in as many diverse fields as in Colombia.³

We have been inspired by other Colombian women committed to advancing knowledge and education, such as Magdalena León Gómez (b. 1939), a feminist sociologist who was part of the group of students who founded the degree in sociol-

² Peter Wallesteen and Margareta Sollenberg, “Armed Conflict, 1989-2000,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2000: 635-649.

³ “Las 50 mujeres más importantes de Colombia” [“The 50 Most Important Women in Colombia”], *Revista Semana*, 1995.

ogy⁴ at Universidad Nacional de Colombia.⁵ León Gómez dedicated her life to translating rhetoric into action, based on the implementation of research methodology tools that led to public policies aimed at stimulating the advancement of women in different spheres of society.⁶ Anthropologist Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda (1921-1999) made invaluable contributions to local culture and social studies based on her insights into the reality faced by Colombian indigenous communities and traditional family structures.⁷ Myriam Jimeno understood that domestic violence experienced as a child in environments of financial scarcity has a higher impact and transcendence on the life of said child than the political and terrorist violence that the country experienced in the 1990s.⁸

And it is from that place, from personal experiences, that new ideas that can transform entire societies continue to be developed. Today, female researchers have a peace mindset. Those who preceded us were responsible for coping with the harsh reality of armed and ideological confrontations, who understood struggle as the only way to achieve transformation. However, today we can celebrate that after several failed attempts⁹ to find a negotiated solution to the armed conflict in Colombia, the Final Agreement to End the Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace was finally signed in 2016.

Our Role and Contribution

Crises and conflicts differentiate themselves by the context in which events transpire. Therefore, as young Colombian women, we understood that conflict is something inherent to human beings from an early age, and it could often transform itself

⁴ Co-founded by Camilo Torres and Orlando Fals Borda, the school of sociology at *Universidad Nacional de Colombia* was groundbreaking in Latin America. Torres (1929-1966) was a pioneer of liberation theology and a member of the guerrilla group National Liberation Army (ELN). Fals Borda (1925-2008) is a sociologist, researcher, writer, and advocate of participatory action research.

⁵ Universidad Nacional de Colombia is a renowned Colombian university, the alma mater of the most memorable thinkers of our country, and the home of numerous intellectual revolutions.

⁶ L.Y. Fuentes Vásquez, “Magdalena León Gómez: una vida consagrada a tender puentes entre las mujeres, el conocimiento y la acción” [“Magdalena León Gómez: a life dedicated to building bridges between women, knowledge and action”], *Nomadas*, 2004: 165-179.

⁷ Banco de la República, *Banrepultural - Red Cultural del Banco de la República de Colombia* [Banrepultural - Cultural Network of the Central Bank of Colombia], Obtenido de Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, 14 July 2020.

⁸ Myriam Jimeno, “Corrección y respeto, amor y miedo en las experiencias de violencia” [“Correction and respect, love and fear in experiences of violence”] in *Las violencias: inclusión creciente* (Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1998), 311.

⁹ Failed attempts to engage in talks to end the armed conflict with the government of Juan Manuel Santos include the Meeting Zone and National Convention initiative by the government of Andrés Pastrana and discussion sessions with the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez. See D.E. Cortés Castillo and A. Cerón Rincón, *Negociando con el ELN. Una mirada desde su complejidad* [Negotiating with the ELN. An overview of its complexity] (Bogotá: Escuela Superior de Guerra, 2019).

into opportunity. A number of authors confirm our belief that, just as conflict is a natural experience for individuals, it is also a natural aspect inherent to life in society.¹⁰

Life in society has led us to understand that, as educators, we have a responsibility to achieve and restore collective discipline toward the common good, as is so needed today. We work toward restoring awareness to rebuild what we have destroyed.

Ana Milena Coral-Díaz urges the patriarchal distortion – implicit in the legal discourse that has neglected to recognize the experience of female victims of armed conflict, in post-conflict scenarios, and within local social and cultural contexts – to be exposed.¹¹ Fernanda Navas-Camargo advocates for the need to address, from an intercultural perspective, reception mechanisms for international migrants and refugees¹² as victims of armed conflicts and foster an improved integration that recognizes their previous capacities and competencies.¹³ Paola Sierra-Zamora worked to expose terrorist acts by insurgent and rebel groups and implement the lessons learned toward developing national security-oriented public policies in Colombia in the late 1990s.¹⁴

We, who write these lines, have grown in this context and have become proactive observers aiming to create a new reality for our country. As academics at different stages of development from diverse backgrounds, we indirectly experienced the distinctive violence and inequity that has shaped the foundation of armed conflict in Colombia. In light of these recurring is-

¹⁰ Silva García, *La Teoría del Conflicto. Un marco teórico necesario [The Theory of Conflict: A necessary theoretical framework]* (Bogotá: Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, 2008).

¹¹ A.M. Coral-Díaz, *Cuerpo femenino en transición La construcción desde el discurso jurídico — estudio de casos [Female body in transition. Construction from the legal discourse - case studies]* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2016).

¹² F. Navas-Camargo and S. Montoya Ruíz, "The Need of Having an Intercultural Approach in the Welcome Mechanisms of Migrants and Refugees in Bogotá," *Policy Review, Learning from Others, Making Proposals, Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 2018: 114-126.

¹³ Boris Nieswand explains it this way: Under difficult legal conditions (migrants) see their qualifications devalued in destination countries and, as a result, are forced to accept positions in the low-income sectors of the job market, including the informal economy, although this is not suited to the status to which they would legitimately aspire in their countries of origin in terms of their education level, family background, and professional experience, in *Theorising Transnational Migration: The Status Paradox of Migration* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁴ J. Cubides-Cárdenas, et al., "Terrorismo por parte de las FARC-EP y políticas públicas orientadas a la seguridad nacional en Colombia durante 1990-2000" ["Terrorism by the FARC-EP and national security-oriented public policies in Colombia during 1990-2000"], *Revista Científica General José María Córdova*, 2018: 309-325.

sues and with the help of several actors, we propose that moving forward, we rethink, reconstruct, and expose everything that has served as a catalyst for a national history rooted in social, economic, and gender inequalities. Only if there is collective discipline, based on education and focused on positive transformation, can a scenario of peace be achieved.

Marcela Ortiz Bonilla

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Ortiz is currently the Deputy Director-General of the Costa Rican Institute on Drugs, the governing body for drug policies and related activities in Costa Rica. Ortiz has worked as an intelligence analyst at the Costa Rican Institute on Drugs, the Public Ministry, and other institutions charged with applying the law. She has served as an advisor specializing in the prevention, control, and interruption of organized crime, and collaborated on the design, coordination, and evaluation and monitoring of programs of the National Strategy on Drugs and Narco-Trafficking. Ortiz has also served as a national expert for programs and projects for the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Organization of American States. From 2019-2020, she worked as an illicit drug specialist for UNODC. Ortiz is an alumna of the Perry Center, attending the course on combating transnational organized crime.



Marcela Ortiz

La desigualdad de género en los altos mandos policiales: una realidad en el año 2020

El servir como funcionaria de las fuerzas de policía es una decisión llena de valentía y mucho coraje. Cuando se trata de subir escalones para ocupar un alto rango es un acto digno de admirar. Los puestos gerenciales en las policías son muy codiciados por los hombres y son utópicos de alcanzar para las mujeres. No precisamente porque esos altos mandos sean menos o más riesgosos, o necesiten de fuerza ruda, es simplemente porque por tradición y cultura le son proveídos al género masculino. ¿Mujeres policía? Sí, muchas. ¿Mujeres policía en puestos gerenciales? Muy pocas.

Desde 1978¹ inicia el ingreso de mujeres a la policía de Costa Rica. Sin embargo, para esa época su labor era solo doméstica (cocina y limpieza). Ya para finales de los años 80 tienen otros cargos como vigilar escuelas y parques públicos. Para los años 90 se crearon los llamados “cuerpos de policía femeninos”, los cuales tenían como función principal la prevención y el control de los delitos asociados a la criminalidad común². Actualmente en el año 2020, la Fuerza Pública cuenta con más de 2500 mujeres policía, lo cual representa un 18% del total de los oficiales. Para el año 2019, en el Organismo de Investigación Judicial (OIJ)³ la población de mujeres era de un 16% y un 8%⁴ en puestos de jefaturas y gerencia.

La igualdad de género en las fuerzas seguridad y defensa de los países de la región ha sido un tema que trasciende el ámbito del cumplimiento de garantías establecidas por el Derecho Internacional y de las leyes internas de cada país. La realidad que enfrentan las mujeres que decidieron por cualquier motivo formar parte del aparato de la seguridad de sus países es difícil. Esto se debe al solo hecho de contar con características físicas y fisiológicas distintas a los hombres; en muchas ocasiones, por ser cabezas de hogar, responsabilidad que absorbe muchísima energía y tiempo que no pueden ocupar preparándose a nivel académico y/o de entrenamiento físico para contar con iguales oportunidades y cumplimiento de requisitos para luchar por un ascenso en la carrera policial y ser nombradas en los altos mandos gerenciales de esas fuerzas de seguridad y defensa.

¹ I (Primer) Encuentro de Mujeres Policías de Alto Rango de Centroamérica, Belice, Panamá y República Dominicana (Managua, Nicaragua, 1938), <https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/23632.pdf>.

² Delitos relacionados a la seguridad ciudadano, y no a delitos graves.

³ “Organismo de Investigación Judicial de Costa Rica,” AMERIPOL Comunidad de Policías de América, January 9, 2019, http://www.ameripol.org/portalAmeripol/appmanager/portal/desk?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=portals_portal_page_m1p1p2&content_id=44015&folderNode=44080#:~:text=El%20Organismo%20de%20Investigaci%C3%B3n%20Judicial,objetividad%20de%20las%20investigaciones%20criminales.

⁴ Datos de SAPSO/OIJ/Poder Judicial Costa Rica, 2019.

Al parecer, el equilibrio en la cantidad de mujeres y hombres que conforman las organizaciones policiales es un tema en desarrollo que día con día es superado en las instituciones. Sin embargo, conforme crece esa igualdad se evidencia la brecha en los nombramientos de alta gerencia. Por esa razón, la situación de estudio ya no es como en años anteriores cuando se contabilizada a las mujeres policía o la distancia que han recorrido en su función como especialistas en distintas áreas del quehacer policial. Ahora se trata de cuántas de esas mujeres desempeñan puestos gerenciales dentro de las distintas policías o instituciones encargadas de la seguridad y defensa. Es esa la evidencia que se necesita para hablar de verdadera igualdad de género en los puestos gerenciales de los cuerpos policiales. La Comisión Interamericana para el Control del Abuso de Drogas de la Organización de Estados Americanos (CICAD-OEA), en su Programa Interamericano para el Fortalecimiento de la Igualdad de Género en los Organismos Encargados de Combatir el Tráfico Ilícito de Drogas (GENLEA, por sus siglas en inglés)⁵ ha recopilado una serie de buenas prácticas que las fuerzas de seguridad y defensa de los países pueden incorporar y que coadyuvan a las mujeres líderes a empoderarse y ocupar puestos gerenciales.

¿Cuántos más sufrimientos, cuánto más esfuerzo, cuánto más debemos sacrificar a nuestras familias y seres queridos para demostrar que somos capaces, que estamos preparadas, que contamos con el conocimiento y las habilidades necesarias para gerenciar un cuerpo de policía y ocupar puestos directivos?

En mi caso particular, tengo la misión y bella tarea de dirigir al más alto nivel político, la estrategia sobre el crimen organizado y su plan de acción. Esto significa trabajar a diario con los más altos jefes policiales del país y tratar siempre de llegar a conciliar con ellos las políticas sobre drogas y otros delitos graves. Es en esos momentos donde se evidencia en su máximo esplendor la ausencia de las mujeres. ¿Dónde quedaron esos miles de mujeres policía, dónde están las directoras, las jefes, las Ministras de Seguridad? La realidad es que en esa mesa de trabajo de expertos sobran los hombres y se extrañan las mujeres. Y yo me pregunto: ¿será que ellas no tienen las capacidades intelectuales y académicas necesarias para estar en esta reunión de alto nivel?, ¿será que ellas no tienen las capacidades y la experiencia necesaria?, ¿será que ellas simplemente no desean aceptar esos retos? No creo que esa sea la realidad, pero sí creo que no hay igualdad de género a nivel gerencial en los cuerpos policiales.

⁵ *Launch of the Genlea Handbook: Strategies and Good Practices for Strengthening Gender Equality in Counterdrug Law Enforcement Agencies*, Organization of American States, 2020, http://www.cicad.oas.org/main/aboutcicad/activities_spa.asp?IE=US0210A#.

La educación sobre la igualdad de género debe impartirse desde edad temprana. Es una necesidad que debe formar parte de la oferta curricular escolar de todas las niñas y niños: el inculcar una cultura de igualdad en los puestos, no solo policiales, sino muchos otros que tradicionalmente han sido ocupados por los hombres. La situación debe cambiar y es necesario tratarla desde el seno del hogar y la escuela. Es una cuestión de educación y cultura de las sociedades modernas. La perspectiva de género debe estar inmersa en todas las etapas de la vida del ser humano, solo así se formará la diferencia.

Gender Inequality in Police Leadership: A Reality In 2020

Serving as a policewoman is a brave and courageous decision, and when it leads to the achievement of a higher rank, it is an act worthy of admiration. Managerial positions in the police are coveted by men and nearly impossible for women to attain. This is not necessarily because those top management positions are riskier or require brute force; they are usually granted to men simply because of tradition and culture. Policewomen? Yes, there are many. Policewomen in management positions? Very few.

Since 1978,¹ the entrance of women into the police force of Costa Rica began despite the fact that, at that time, the work was only domestic, consisting of cooking and cleaning. By the end of the 1980s, women had other positions, such as guarding schools and public parks. In the 1990s, the female police forces were created, whose main function was the prevention and control of crimes associated with common criminality.² In 2020, the Public Force has more than 2,500 female police officers representing 18 percent of all officers, including the Judicial Investigation Agency.³ In 2019, the population of women in headquarters and managerial positions was 16 percent and 8 percent, respectively.⁴

Gender equality in law enforcement and security in the countries of Central America is an issue that transcends the scope of compliance with guarantees established by international law and the internal laws of each country. The reality faced by women who decide to join the security apparatus of their countries is difficult because they have different physical and physiological characteristics than men. And their responsibilities as head of a household – as these women often are – absorb a lot of energy and time, which is then not available to prepare for academic tests or physical training. Thus, women do not have equal opportunities to fulfill the requirements to compete for a promotion in the police force or for appointment to high-command positions or in management of law enforcement forces.

¹ *I (Primer) Encuentro de Mujeres Policías de Alto Rango de Centroamérica, Belice, Panamá y República Dominicana* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1938), <https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/23632.pdf>.

² Crimes related to citizen security (small crimes) rather than felonies.

³ "Organismo de Investigación Judicial de Costa Rica," AMERIPOL Comunidad de Policías de América, January 9, 2019, http://www.ameripol.org/portalAmeripol/appmanager/portal/desk?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=portals_portal_page_m1p1p2&content_id=44015&folderNode=44080#:~:text=El%20Organismo%20de%20Investigaci%C3%B3n%20Judicial,objetividad%20de%20las%20investigaciones%20criminales.

⁴ See note 3.

Apparently, the balance in the number of women and men that make up police organizations is a developing issue that is overcome on a daily basis in institutions. However, as equality grows, the gap in senior management appointments becomes increasingly evident. It is not as it was in previous years when the accounting of policewomen or how far they have gone in their role as specialists in different areas was highlighted. What matters now is how many of these women hold managerial positions within the different police institutions in charge of order and security. That is the evidence needed to speak of true gender equality in the managerial positions of the police forces. The Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission of the Organization of American States, in its Inter-American Program for the Strengthening of Gender Equality in the Agencies in Charge of Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking,⁵ has compiled a series of good practices that law enforcement and security apparatuses can incorporate. These are intended to help women leaders empower themselves and occupy managerial positions.

I have the mission and task of leading the strategy on organized crime and its action plan at the highest political level. This means working daily with the country's premiere police hierarchies and regularly trying to reach agreements with them on drug policies and other serious crimes. It is in those moments when the absence of women is most evident. Where are those thousands of policewomen represented? Where are the female directors, the female leadership, and the female ministers of security? The reality is that at the table of subject matter experts, there is an overabundance of men, and women are lacking. In addition, could it be that they do not have the intellectual and academic capacities needed to participate in high-level meetings? Could it be that they do not have the necessary capacity and experience? Could it be they simply do not want to accept these challenges? I do not believe so. I believe there is no gender equity at the managerial level in the Costa Rican police forces.

Education on gender equality must be taught at an early age; it must become part of the school curriculum offered for all girls and boys, instilling a culture of equity, not only in law enforcement positions but also in other professions that traditionally have been occupied by men. It is a situation that must change, and it is necessary to address it from the core of the home and school. It is a question of education and the culture of modern societies, in which gender perspectives must be embedded at all stages of human life. Only in this way can it be shaped differently.

⁵ *Launch of the Genlea Handbook: Strategies and Good Practices for Strengthening Gender Equality in Counterdrug Law Enforcement Agencies*, Organization of American States, 2020, http://www.cicad.oas.org/main/aboutcicad/activities_spa.asp?IE=US0210A#.

Medina Escudero

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Sanabria Salinas

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Security Council Resolution 1325, promoting the participation of military women in peacekeeping operations. She has coordinated the Armed Forces' fulfillment of the requirements of the various international institutions within the UN on disarmament and the nonproliferation of weapons.

Muchas niñas seguramente serán militares



Cortesía de la CAPT. de C.SOC Mayra Rivadeneira.

“Muchas niñas seguramente serán militares”¹, esta es una de las frases más impactantes y conmovedoras que hemos escuchado durante los relatos de varias personas que participaron y fueron testigos del trabajo realizado por personal de las Fuerzas Armadas del Ecuador en los albergues temporales establecidos oficialmente para acoger a las personas damnificadas del terremoto ocurrido en Ecuador el 16 de abril de 2016.

Dicho terremoto fue catalogado como uno de los más devastadores de la historia del Ecuador. Tuvo una magnitud de 7,8 en la escala de Richter² y epicentro en un poblado de la costa ecuatoriana (Pedernales). El sismo afectó principalmente las provincias de Esmeraldas, Manabí, Guayas, Santa Elena, Los Ríos y Santo Domingo³, causó la muerte de 663 personas⁴, dejó 6.274 heridos⁵, 231.120 damnificados⁶ y 22.000 personas refugiadas⁷, también provocó cuantiosas pérdidas económicas y de infraestructura pública y privada.

Esta tragedia llevó a la población a buscar soluciones inmediatas para poder refugiarse en terrenos abiertos, parques,

¹ Patricia Carrillo, Ex Directora de Derechos Humanos del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Ecuador.

² Secretaría de Gestión de Riesgos, *Informe de los resultados del taller de lecciones aprendidas de las operaciones de búsqueda y rescate urbano terremoto 16 abril del 2016*, https://www.insarag.org/images/stories/Americas_good_practices/INSARAG_Ecuador_terremoto-2016_informe-lecciones-aprendidas_SPA.pdf

³ *Ibíd.*

⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, *Reconstruyendo las cifras luego del sismo*, <https://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/documentos/web-inec/Bibliotecas/Libros/Memorias%2013%20abr%202017.pdf>

⁵ *Ibíd.*

⁶ Argoti, Mauro, 2019, El empleo del Ejército de los ecuatorianos en el terremoto del 16 de abril de 2016.

⁷ Instituto Geofísico del Ecuador, *Cuatro años después del terremoto de Pedernales: Un testimonio sobre el peligro sísmico del Ecuador*, <https://www.igepn.edu.ec/interactuamos-con-usted/1810-cuatro-anos-despues-del-terremoto-de-pedernales-un-testimonio-sobre-el-peligro-sismico-en-el-ecuador>

plazas, terrenos baldíos, bodegas y centros educativos. Estos espacios lamentablemente ponían en peligro nuevamente su propia integridad, dado que en la mayoría de los casos no reunían las condiciones mínimas de seguridad, habitabilidad y dignidad requeridas. Dadas las circunstancias, el gobierno ecuatoriano activó el Sistema de Gestión de Riesgos con el objetivo de coordinar, con todas las entidades de la Administración Pública Central e Institucional y los Gobiernos Autónomos Descentralizados de las provincias afectadas, los esfuerzos que permitirían mitigar y prevenir los riesgos provocados por esta catástrofe natural.

En el marco de este sistema, las Fuerzas Armadas ecuatorianas fueron uno de los engranajes que actuaron de inmediato. Su misión principal fue la de apoyar a la seguridad integral de la población, al mantenimiento del orden público y la de garantizar la logística para el transporte. Para este efecto, se desplegaron más de 14.000⁸ militares entre hombres y mujeres de las Fuerzas Terrestre, Naval y Aérea; quienes actuaron desde el proceso de respuesta hasta la transición de las familias a sus nuevos hogares.

Ante tan devastador escenario, el caos era una característica recurrente, razón por la cual el Ministerio de Defensa Nacional y las Fuerzas Armadas del Ecuador recibieron la responsabilidad del manejo de los albergues oficiales. Las Fuerzas Armadas se encargaron de la implementación y administración de dichos espacios, lo que implicó la distribución de sus funciones, asignación de personal militar y civil para aspectos básicos como: salud física y mental, seguridad y mediación de conflictos, mantenimiento, almacenamiento y suministro, educación, recreación y cuidados especiales, limpieza, saneamiento y servicios básicos y alimentación.

Valientes por aire, mar y tierra.

Brindar seguridad interna, hacer guardias y velar por el buen manejo de los albergues fueron algunas de las tareas que tanto hombres como mujeres realizaron. Una ex funcionaria del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional del Ecuador, que participó in situ durante las tareas de ayuda después del terremoto, destaca que durante este despliegue la mujer militar asumió una labor de “administradora operativa”, ya que se convirtió en un vínculo entre la organización militar y la población que se encontraba

⁸ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Ecuador, *Nuestro reconocimiento y gratitud a las Fuerzas Armadas por su loable trabajo después del terremoto del 16 de abril de 2016*, <https://www.defensa.gob.ec/nuestro-reconocimiento-y-gratitud-a-las-fuerzas-armadas-por-su-loable-trabajo-despues-del-terremoto-del-16-de-abril-de-2016/>

en los albergues. Sus esfuerzos, además de sus funciones rutinarias, se enfocaron en tratar de crear una relación más familiar y de comunidad, identificar problemas y ayudar a solucionarlos.

Solidaridad con la ciudadanía.

CAPT. de A. Paola Vargas.

La naturaleza de la situación generó en las personas una infinita variedad de recuerdos tristes y alegres, como en el caso de la CAPT. Vargas, Oficial del Ejército Ecuatoriano desplegada a la zona cero en Manta al segundo día del terremoto. Ella relató que una de las escenas que más recuerda es el dolor de un padre, que al pie de la construcción destruida donde trabajaba su hija, esperó durante algunos días con la esperanza de volver a verla con vida, levantarse juntos y sobreponerse de tan duro golpe. Lamentablemente el terremoto le quitó ese privilegio y causó tal dolor que volvía una y otra vez a aquel lugar a preguntar por su hija. Ante esta situación, la Oficial lo escuchaba y trataba de darle consuelo, poco a poco aquel hombre comprendió y aceptó la realidad, mientras que para ella esta experiencia es un ejemplo de que más allá de su trabajo fue alguien que pudo brindar consuelo a un compatriota.

Trecientos sesenta y cinco días en operaciones.

TNFG-AB Sindy Arroyo.

Otra de las experiencias conmovedoras es la de la TNFG-AB Arroyo, Oficial de la Armada del Ecuador que estuvo desplegada en albergues y unidades de apoyo por más de un (1) año. Ella recuerda cómo, a pesar de los esfuerzos por brindar buenas condiciones de vida, la época invernal asechaba sin descanso, causaba daños a los albergues y campamentos y provocaba un flujo constante de personas, entre ellas madres con niños, ancianas, y mujeres embarazadas. Estas mujeres con una imagen de desolación, tristeza e incertidumbre en el rostro buscaban en los albergues obtener una carpa o un lugar donde quedarse porque lo poco que poseían estaba mojado y su casa a punto de caer, por lo que se esforzaban por tratar de atender y ayudar a todas las personas.

Militar entusiasta y solidario, con espíritu grande como su pueblo.

TNFG-GC Cinthya Briones.

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A pesar de la situación, también existen recuerdos y experiencias positivas como la ocasión en la que la TNFG-GC Briones junto a personal de otras instituciones del Estado y a la población, decidieron decorar un árbol de navidad y hacer un pequeño agasajo a los niños, brindando alegría, un momento de esparcimiento y sobre todo un espacio para compartir con la familia que el albergue logró crear.

Para la Oficial, la presencia de las Fuerzas Armadas generó un ambiente de seguridad para la población y una sensación de confianza o comprensión de las realidades, de acuerdo con el relato de la Oficial, las mujeres de los albergues buscaban a las mujeres militares para solucionar problemas o tratar de conseguir aquellas cosas personales que necesitaban. Una de las oficiales resume todo esto en la frase “las personas necesitamos que nos escuchen” y eso fue lo que hicieron al crear una relación más cercana con las familias, tanto así que cuando las personas dejaron los albergues quedó una sensación de nostalgia, pero a la vez de la alegría de verlas recobrar sus vidas después de un desastre natural.



Fuente: Argoti, Mauro, 2019, El empleo del Ejército de los ecuatorianos en el terremoto del 16 de abril de 2016.

Un impacto a nivel profesional.

CAPT. de A. Paola Vargas y TNFG-AB Sindy Arroyo.

Quizá, muchas de las experiencias se convirtieron en lecciones de vida a nivel muy personal pero también existieron vivencias que marcaron la vida profesional de las mujeres militares. Experiencias como la de la Oficial del Ejército ecuatoriano, quien recuerda que algunas niñas se le acercaban diariamente para conversar e incluso jugar con su gorra y le decían que cuando sean grandes quisieran ser como ella. Esta es una clara muestra de que su paso por ese albergue dejó algunas semillas de servicio y amor por la labor de ser militar, pero sobre todo envió un mensaje de superación, pues las niñas veían en ella un ejemplo a seguir, lo que provocó en la Oficial la necesidad de renovar aún más su convicción de servicio.

Otra de las Oficiales, muy orgullosa, recordó que desde el primer momento supo que debía ser parte del grupo de Ofi-

ciales y Voluntarios que serían el soporte de toda esa población desolada y en situaciones extremadamente difíciles. Su labor se recompensó al ver su misión cumplida cuando sus hermanos ecuatorianos decidieron y pudieron salir adelante. Estas experiencias y su vocación en la carrera militar generaron un cambio en su perspectiva. A raíz de esto, ella tomó la decisión de involucrarse en las actividades de misiones de paz, pues para ella el terremoto fue el impulso para confirmar su interés en esta rama de servicio de las Fuerzas Armadas.

Con el tiempo, las cosas volvieron a su curso normal. Los albergues se cerraron conforme las familias recuperaban sus viviendas. El personal militar volvió a sus actividades de rutina y el reconocimiento público a las Fuerzas Armadas ecuatorianas llegó dada su pronta respuesta, organización y preparación en pos de mitigar los problemas ocasionados por el terremoto y brindar a la población una mejor calidad de vida mientras ésta volvía a su curso.

El terremoto del 16 de abril estará presente en la historia del Ecuador por los efectos y el dolor que causó, pero también será recordado por las acciones de solidaridad desempeñadas por el personal de Fuerzas Armadas. Los albergues fueron espacios que acogieron a las víctimas del terremoto y donde el trabajo de la mujer militar evidenció su preparación, dedicación y aplicación de conocimientos y experiencia para brindar un aliento de esperanza a la población.

Las anécdotas relatadas son un ejemplo del trabajo realizado, mismo que seguramente será inspiración para muchas personas, pero sobre todo para aquellas niñas que vieron en las Oficiales un ejemplo a seguir, pues son una muestra de que poco a poco las barreras y los obstáculos son superados y que las mujeres poseemos todas las capacidades para realizar el trabajo asignado con gran profesionalismo, compromiso y servicio.

Many Girls, Surely They'll Be Military



Courtesy of CAPT. Mayra Rivadeneira.

“Many girls, surely they’ll be military,” is one of the most shocking and moving phrases we have heard from the comments and feedback of people who participated and witnessed the work carried out by the Ecuadorian Armed Forces in the officially-established temporary shelters constructed to assist those affected by the April 16, 2016 earthquake.

This earthquake was cataloged as one of the most devastating in the history of Ecuador. It had a magnitude of 7.8 on the Richter¹ scale, with an epicenter in a town on the Ecuadorian coast, Pedernales. The earthquake mainly affected the provinces of Esmeraldas, Manabí, Guayas, Santa Elena, Los Ríos, and Santo Domingo.² It caused the death of 663 people,³ wounded 6,274,⁴ and left 231,120 affected people⁵ and

22,000 refugees. It also caused considerable economic and infrastructural losses, both public and private.

This tragedy led the population to seek immediate solutions like taking refuge in open land, parks, squares, vacant lots, warehouses, and educational centers. Unfortunately, these spaces also jeopardized their well-being, given that, in most cases, the locations did not meet the minimum standards of safety, habitability, and human dignity. Given the circumstances, the

¹ Risk Management Secretariat, *Informe de los resultados del taller de lecciones aprendidas de las operaciones de búsqueda y rescate urbano terremoto* [Report on the results of the workshop on lessons learned from earthquake urban search and rescue operations], 16 April 2016, accessed 02 August 2020, https://www.insarag.org/images/stories/Americas_good_practices/INSARAG_Ecuador_terremoto-2016_informe-lecciones-aprendidas_SPA.pdf.

² See note 1, “Risk Management Secretariat.”

³ National Institute of Statistics and Census, “Reconstruyendo las cifras luego del sismo” [“Reconstructing the numbers after the earthquake”], accessed 02 August 2020, <https://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/documentos/web-inec/Bibliotecas/Libros/Memorias%2013%20abr%202017.pdf>.

⁴ See note 3, National Institute of Statistics and Census.

⁵ Argoti Zambrano and E.M. Mauro, *El empleo del Ejército de los ecuatorianos en el terremoto del 16 de abril de 2016*, [The employment of the Ecuadorian Army in the earthquake of April 16, 2016], Centro de Estudios Históricos del Ejército, 2018, <https://www.cehist.mil.ec/index.php/component/jomclassifieds/advert/126-el-empleo-del-ej%C3%A9rcito-de-los-ecuatorianos-en-el-terremoto-del-16-de-abril-del-2016?Itemid=437>.

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Ecuadorian government activated the Risk Management System to coordinate with all central government entities, public administration institutions, and the decentralized autonomous authorities of the affected provinces, to mitigate and prevent risks caused by this natural disaster.

In the framework of this system, the Ecuadorian Armed Forces was one of the first actors to respond immediately. Its main mission was to support the comprehensive security of the population, maintain public order, and ensure transportation logistics. For this purpose, more than 14,000⁶ soldiers – men and women – were deployed from the ground, naval, and air forces. They worked from the initial response process through the transition of the families to their new homes.

In the face of such a devastating scenario, chaos was a recurring feature. This is why the Ministry of National Defense and the Ecuadorian Armed Forces were made responsible for managing the government shelters. The Armed Forces were in charge of the implementation and administration of these spaces. These tasks included physical and mental health, security, conflict mediation, maintenance, storage, and supply. They also dealt with education, recreation, and special care, as well as cleaning, sanitation, food, and other basic services.

Heroes of Land, Air, and Sea

Providing internal security, handling guard posts, and ensuring well-managed shelters were among the tasks that both men and women performed. A former official of the Ecuadorian Ministry of National Defense, who participated onsite during the relief efforts after the earthquake, highlighted that during this deployment, the military women assumed the role of operational administrators since they became a link between the military and the affected population that was at the shelters. In addition to other routine military duties, they focused on fostering a family/community environment with the people and identifying problems and solving problems.

⁶ National Defense Ministry of Ecuador, “Nuestro reconocimiento y gratitud a las Fuerzas Armadas por su loable trabajo después del terremoto del 16 de abril de 2016” [“Our appreciation and gratitude to the Armed Forces for their commendable work after the earthquake of April 16, 2016”], accessed 05 August 2020, <https://www.defensa.gob.ec/nuestro-reconocimiento-y-gratitud-a-las-fuerzas-armadas-por-su-loable-trabajo-despues-del-terremoto-del-16-de-abril-de-2016/>.

Solidarity With the Population

Captain Paola Vargas

The nature of the situation generated in people an infinite variety of sad and happy memories, as in the case of Captain Vargas, Ecuadorian Army Officer, who was deployed to ground zero in Manta on the day after the earthquake. She related that one of the scenes she remembers most was the pain of a father who camped out for several days by the destroyed construction site where his daughter had worked, in the hope of seeing her alive again, so they could rise together from this tragedy and overcome this tremendous blow. Unfortunately, the earthquake took away that hope and caused him profound pain. He returned to that place, again and again, asking for his daughter. In this situation, the officer listened to him and tried to comfort him, and little by little, the man understood and accepted reality. For her, this experience was an example that, aside from her regular duties, she was someone who could provide comfort to a compatriot in need.

Three Hundred and Seventy-Five Days of Operations

Frigate Lieutenant - Sindy Arroyo

Another moving experience is that of Lieutenant Arroyo, Ecuadorian Navy Officer, who was deployed to the shelters and supported units for more than one year. She recalled how, despite efforts to provide good living conditions, the winter season stalked the area relentlessly, causing damage to shelters and camps and creating a constant flow of people, including mothers with children, elderly women, and pregnant women. These women with desolate, sad, and uncertain expressions on their faces had come to the shelters looking for a tent or shelter because what little they owned was wet, and their houses were about to collapse, which is why the military tried to help them.

Enthusiastic and Supportive Military, With a Great Spirit, Like its People

Lieutenant Cinthya Briones

Despite the situation, there were positive memories and experiences, such as the occasion in which Lieutenant Briones, together with personnel from other state institutions and local residents, decided to decorate a Christmas tree and make a small celebration for the children, offering joy, a moment of amusement, and above all, a space to share with family.

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For the officer, the presence of the Armed Forces generated an environment of security for the population and a feeling of trust or understanding. According to the officer's account, women in the shelters were looking for military women to solve problems or get personal items they needed. One of the officers summarized this in the phrase, "people need to be heard," so they listened to create a closer bond with the affected families. They succeeded to such a degree that when people left the shelters, there was a feeling of nostalgia, but at the same time, a feeling of joy from seeing them regain their lives after the natural disaster.



Source: Argoti, Mauro, 2019, The engagement of the Ecuadorian Army in the earthquake of April 16, 2016.

An Impact at a Professional Level

Captain Paola Vargas and Lieutenant Sindy Arroyo

Perhaps many of the experiences became life lessons on a very personal level. However, the experiences also impacted the professional lives of military women. One Ecuadorian army officer remembers the girls who approached her daily to talk and even play with her cap while telling her they wanted to be like her when they grow up. This is clear proof that her time in that shelter planted seeds of a vocation to serve and a love for the military's work. Above all, she sent a message about overcoming obstacles. The girls saw her as an example to follow, which reinforced the officer's conviction to serve.

Another one of the officers proudly recalled that, from the first moment, she knew she must be part of the group of officers and volunteers who would support the population in this challenging situation. Her work was rewarded by seeing her mission accomplished when her Ecuadorian brethren were able to carry on with their lives. These experiences and her dedication to her military career generated a change in her perspective. She decided to get involved in peacekeeping missions. The earthquake provided the evidence to confirm her interest in this area of service within the Armed Forces.

In time, things returned to normal. The shelters closed as families recovered and returned to their homes. Military personnel reverted to their routine activities. Public recognition of the Ecuadorian Armed Forces came due to their prompt response, organization, and preparation to mitigate the problems caused by the earthquake. The military provided the population with a better quality of life while they waited to return to their normal lives.

The earthquake of April 16 will remain in Ecuador's history due to the effects and pain it caused, but it will also be remembered for the actions carried out by the Armed Forces personnel. The shelters were spaces that welcomed the victims of the earthquake. The military women demonstrated their preparation and dedication and applied their knowledge and experience to offer hope to the population.

The anecdotes reported are examples of the work that was done, which will surely inspire many, especially the girls who saw the officers as role models. They are a sign that obstacles can be overcome little by little, and women have the capability to perform the assigned work with great professionalism, commitment, and service.

Malenny Cristina Zaldumbide Espinoza

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Malenny Zaldumbide Espinoza

Mujer, paz y seguridad: implementación de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad en Ecuador

Malenny Zaldumbide

Introducción

La incorporación de las mujeres a las Fuerzas Armadas (FF.AA.) ecuatorianas constituye un proceso de ajustes estructurales y organizacionales constantes necesarios para alcanzar una participación igualitaria. No obstante, para que una mujer ecuatoriana forme parte del contingente militar en las misiones de paz de la ONU, la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad (UNSC, por sus siglas en inglés) fue una herramienta indispensable. Esta investigación analiza el proceso de cambio estructural de las FF.AA. a través de la internalización de esta norma internacional para aportar, hoy en día, con mujeres ecuatorianas que participan en las misiones de paz de la ONU.

La participación de la mujer en el servicio militar en Ecuador inició en los años 60, ampliándose en la década de 1970 y 1980. Su integración en las FF.AA. fue limitada por carencias de infraestructura de la Institución, el proceso de selección y de ascenso. Las pocas mujeres que ingresaban tenían una capacitación de seis meses y obtenían el título de Oficiales de Servicio.¹ Su participación estaba anclada a actividades de orden administrativo y del sistema de salud de las FF.AA.. Nandya y Guillermina son dos casos de mujeres que ingresaron como enfermeras al servicio militar y alcanzaron rangos de sargento y suboficial de sanidad, respectivamente.²

A finales de 1999, se creó la sección de Derechos Humanos en la Dirección Jurídica del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional. Desde este Departamento, se planteó debatir la agenda de gobierno sobre el rol de la mujer en materia de defensa y seguridad. Además, se permitió el ingreso de mujeres a la Escuela Superior Militar “Eloy Alfaro” (ESMIL), una de las más prestigiosas en la ciudad de Quito. En los primeros años posteriores a estas medidas, sin embargo, no se evidenciaron cambios reales que permitieran transformar este escenario de desventaja que vivían las mujeres en estas Instituciones.³ Por ejemplo, el gráfico a

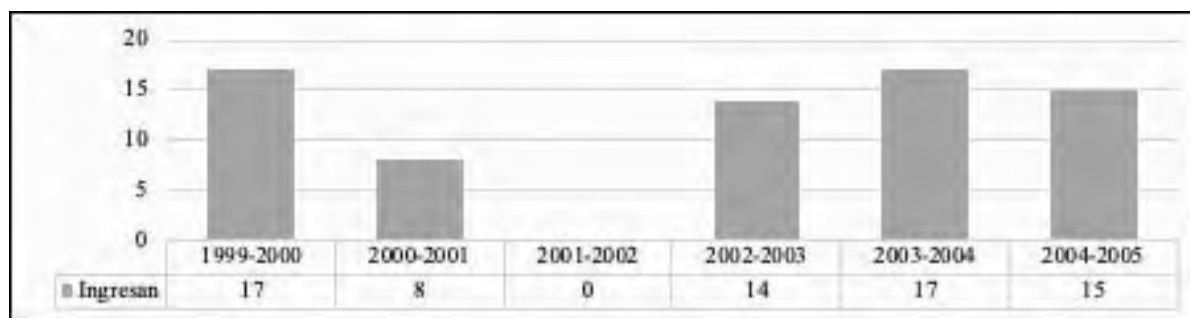
¹ Ricardo Nieto Gómez 2015 “EL rol de la mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas” Escuela Superior de Guerra.

² Rosa Chacón 2016 Mujer Militar: Su inclusión en las Fuerzas Armadas. Quito: Publiasesores

³ Malenny Zaldumbide 2020 “Mujer, paz y seguridad: implementación de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad en Ecuador. FLACSO Quito.

continuación muestra que si bien mujeres ingresaron a esa Institución educativa, el número es bastante bajo.

Gráfico 1. Número de mujeres que ingresaron al ESMIL 1999-2005⁴



En el 2006, se presentó el proyecto “Participación de la Mujer en Fuerzas Armadas”, su objetivo principal fue identificar los problemas que han influido para el poco crecimiento institucional en materia de inclusión de género en sus marcos legales y reglamentos. Esta evaluación estableció que la evidente incorporación de la mujer a las FF.AA, la Institución enfrentó dificultades en su normativa jurídica general donde se establece aspectos del uniforme, obligaciones y derechos de los militares. Un caso específico era la carencia de lineamientos en los periodos de maternidad y lactancia. En el Régimen Interno como en la capacitación o participación de cursos específicos, su participación era limitada ya que consideraban a algunas actividades dentro de la Institución muy fuertes para ser ejecutadas por mujeres como es el caso del paracaidismo.⁵

Como una alternativa de solución se propuso la creación de un Observatorio de Género donde se concatenó las peticiones de las mujeres sobre reformar y configurar sus reglamentos con una perspectiva de género. De este modo, se creó la Normativa para el Personal Militar Femenino de la Fuerza Terrestre y el Reglamento Transitorio para garantizar el principio de aplicación directa e indirecta de los derechos del personal militar femenino de las FF.AA. En la entrevista a la Mayor Rosita

⁴ Oficina de personal de la Escuela Militar Eloy Alfaro 2019, Quito

⁵ Rosa Chacón 2016 Mujer Militar: Su inclusión en las Fuerzas Armadas. Quito: Publiasesores

Chacón,⁶ ex jefa de la Dirección de Derechos Humanos, Género y D.I.H, afirmó que estos reglamentos, vigentes hasta la actualidad, fueron herramientas claves para erradicar las limitaciones de las mujeres a las FF.AA..

Actualmente, el 2,9 por ciento del personal de las FF.AA. son mujeres.⁷ No obstante, las dificultades para el personal femenino se ha transformado y una de las preocupaciones es el acceso a cargos de toma de decisión, esto ya que se encuentra condicionado por el grado que ostentan; siendo diferente lo que pueden hacer en calidad de oficiales subalternos que como oficiales superiores.⁸ Otra dificultad que señaló la Mayor Rosita Chacón es sobre la permanencia de la mujer en la institución, muchas de ellas dejan su carrera militar y no alcanzan a cargos de toma de decisión por sus responsabilidades como madres o esposas.

En términos generales, el ingreso de las mujeres a las FF.AA. no fue sistemático. No obstante, actualmente la propuesta institucional se puede considerar más incluyente y sostenida. Esto ya que Ecuador incluyó en sus leyes, como la Constitución de Ecuador y en los reglamentos internos de las FF.AA. materia de género en la seguridad y defensa permitiendo una mayor participación igualitaria. Factor clave para el caso de estudio, ya que sin una estructura con perspectiva institucional de género formada o al menos iniciada, la participación de la mujer ecuatoriana para las misiones de paz de la ONU no sería posible.

La internalización de la Resolución 1325 en Ecuador

Una vez identificada la estructura institucional respecto al rol de la mujer en las FF.AA., me enfoqué en analizar el proceso de la internalización de la Resolución 1325 del UNSC en el país. Esto supone el estudio del proceso de adaptación de la Institución, sea a través de la reforma de su estructura, leyes, procedimientos y normas que conduzcan a una plena implementación de la Resolución antes citada. Para poder analizar la internalización de la Resolución 1325 en Ecuador, estudié el modelo de Martha Finnemore y Kathryn Sikkink⁹ sobre el *life cycle of an international norm* que parten de la idea que las normas internacionales pasan por tres etapas: la emergencia, la cascada y la internalización de la norma.

⁶ Malenny Zaldumbide 2019 "Mujer, paz y seguridad: implementación de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad en Ecuador" FLACSO-ECUADOR

⁷ Ministerio de Defensa Nacional 2020 "Mujeres en FF.AA: Pilares en los procesos de inclusión

⁸ Ibíd.

⁹ Finnemore, Martha, y Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International norm dynamics and political change." *International Organization*, 887-917.

En la primera etapa, *la emergencia*, la norma pasa el umbral de reconocer que existe un problema social. En Ecuador, esto se evidencia a inicios del siglo XXI, cuando se crea el Reglamento Transitorio de las FF.AA. para mejorar las condiciones del personal militar femenino en Ecuador. Sin embargo, este análisis no puede ser aislado al desarrollo de los acontecimientos internacionales, ya que para ese momento a nivel internacional se configuraba la Resolución 1325 en el UNSC, y fue la herramienta para precionar al Estado ecuatoriano de una norma adecuada para la participación de la mujer en las FF.AA.

En la segunda etapa, *la cascada*, se refiere a la aceptación del mayor número de actores que apoyen a la norma para su aplicación. En este caso de estudio, los actores principales fueron las mujeres de las FF.AA., los Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de mujeres y el Ministerio de Defensa, como representante del Estado, que reconocieron a la Resolución 1325 y a sus demandas de crear normas, leyes y reglamentos que garanticen una participación igualitaria entre hombres y mujeres. En 2010 se realizó un estudio donde se evidenció que, si bien, existía una inclusión de género en las normas y reglamentos de las FF.AA., estas no abordaban aspectos como, por ejemplo, la participación de la mujer en misiones de paz de la ONU. Esto trajo consigo la creación de la Política de Género, considerada como la plataforma que materializó el inicio de la internalización de la Resolución 1325 en Ecuador.

Para la tercera etapa, *la internalización*, proceso que reconoce a la norma internacional y se institucionaliza. En el caso de Ecuador, esta etapa se encuentra en continuo proceso. Por una parte, Ecuador reconoce tanto la Resolución 1325 y las leyes internas generadas para las mujeres, aseveración que se sustenta por los talleres, programas que Ecuador ha participado los cuales ponen en énfasis el aporte que genera la Resolución 1325 en el país. Por otra parte, reconoce que la Política de Género es necesaria para establecer objetivos y lineamientos de acuerdo a lo que la Resolución 1325 establece para la participación de la mujer ecuatoriana en misiones de paz de la ONU.

La Política de Género, en términos generales estableció dos aspectos importantes para la participación de la mujer: 1) el fortalecimiento de la igualdad de oportunidades para hombres y mujeres y fomentar el buen vivir del personal femenino de las FF.AA. (en este apartado se encuentra la participación de la mujer ecuatoriana en misiones de paz). 2) la educación como medio para incorporar a todos los niveles, principios de igualdad de género y prevenir actos discriminatorios causados por su condición de mujer.

Como resultado de estos lineamientos se han implementado en las FF.AA. mecanismos para la participación de la mujer ecuatoriana en misiones de paz. Ecuador está cumpliendo con el mandato del UNSC al incorporar y capacitar a mujeres para misiones de paz, no obstante, este avance está estrechamente relacionado con los incentivos que la ONU emite a través de los requisitos que deben tener los contingentes para ser avalados y aceptados para participar en misiones. Esto se confirmó mediante las entrevistas realizadas a funcionarios encargados de esta unidad, quienes resaltaron que el departamento de Operaciones de Paz de la ONU (DPO) cada año establece una cuota mínima de la participación de la mujer. Si bien, esto implica que se incluya a las mujeres a este espacio, e incentiva al Ecuador a generar mecanismos y programas para que las mujeres logren alcanzar los requisitos mínimos establecidos en la ONU para poder acceder a este grupo de individuos que sirven en misiones de paz, entre los requerimientos son: tener un rango mínimo dentro de las FF.AA., saber Inglés y tener varias capacitaciones tanto a nivel estatal como intencional.

Sin embargo, las FF.AA. no asume de forma consciente a la participación de la mujer en misiones de paz, como parte de una conducta adecuada, sino, como requerimiento de aprobación. No obstante, este proceso forma parte de la internalización y es cuestión de tiempo para cambiar su naturaleza. Actualmente, la UEMPE ha capacitado a un grupo considerado de mujeres en materia de paz y conflicto. En Ecuador, se han capacitado 36 mujeres de las cuales 7 han sido desplegada a misiones de paz. En cuanto al equivalente solo el 0,3% del personal ecuatoriano desplegado representan las mujeres. De acuerdo a las entrevistas realizadas, Hoy en día, ocho mujeres más se encuentran en preparación para ser parte de los contingentes. Si bien este número es todavía pequeño, Ecuador está transformando sus políticas y programas para incluir a las mujeres a espacios donde su presencia era nula.

Como conclusión, se puede afirmar que la internalización de la inclusión de la mujer ecuatoriana a las misiones de paz, se encuentra en constante crecimiento y su efectividad está anclada al desarrollo de la integración de políticas con un enfoque de género a todos los niveles de las FF.AA. Los retos que la institución debe asumir están en garantizar que las normas, leyes y programas se apliquen en el país fomentando una cultura de igualdad de oportunidad y permitiendo que las mujeres se desarrollen en esta área.

Women, Peace, and Security: Ecuador's Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Malenny Zaldumbide

Introduction

The incorporation of women into the Ecuadorian Armed Forces constitutes a process of constant structural and organizational adjustments necessary to achieve equal participation. However, for an Ecuadorian woman to participate in a military contingent in a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission, UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is an indispensable tool. This research analyzes the process of structural change in the armed forces through the internalization of this international standard to contribute Ecuadorian women to UN peacekeeping missions.

The participation of women in military service in Ecuador began in the 1960s and expanded in the 1970s and 1980s. Women's integration into the Armed Forces was limited by the institution's lack of infrastructure and the selection and promotion processes. The few women who entered had a six-month training and obtained the title of service officers.¹ Their participation was limited to administrative and health system activities. Nandya and Guillermina are examples of women who entered the military service as nurses and reached the ranks of sergeant and health non-commissioned officers, respectively.²

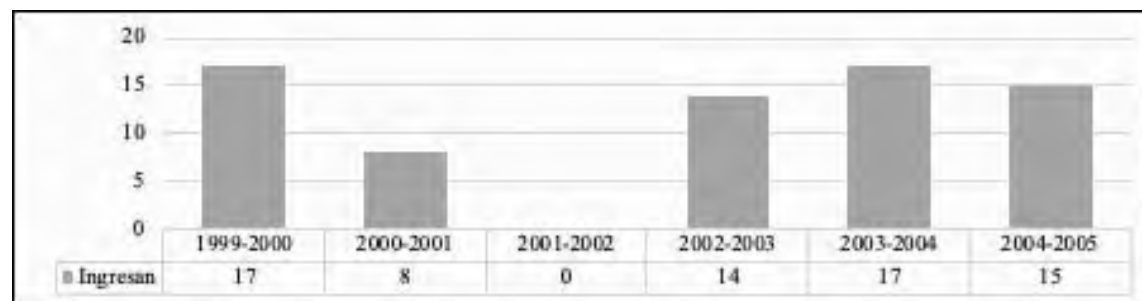
At the end of 1999, the human rights section was created in the Legal Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense. This department proposed to debate the government's agenda on the role of women in defense and security. In addition, women were allowed to enter the "Eloy Alfaro" Military Superior School, one of the most prestigious in Quito. In the first years after these measures, however, there were no real changes that would make it possible to transform the disadvantageous scenario experienced by women in these institutions.³ For example, the graph below shows that although women entered the military school, their numbers were relatively low.

¹ Ricardo Nieto Gómez, "The Role of Women in the Armed Forces," Escuela Superior de Guerra [War College], 2015.

² Rosa Chacón, *Military Woman: Her inclusion in the Armed Forces* [Quito: Publiasesores, 2016].

³ Malenny Zaldumbide, "Women, Peace and Security – Implementation of Resolution 1325 of the Security Council in Ecuador." (Quito: FLACSO, 2016).

Chart 1. Number of women who entered the Eloy Alfaro Military Superior School 1999-2005⁴



In 2006, the “Participation of Women in the Armed Forces” project was presented. Its main objective was to identify the problems that have influenced the lack of institutional growth in terms of gender inclusion in its legal frameworks and regulations. This project established that in incorporating women into the armed forces, the institution faced difficulties in its general legal regulations where aspects of the military’s uniform, obligations, and rights are established. A specific case was the lack of guidelines in the maternity and lactation periods. In the internal regime, as in the training or participation of specific courses, their participation was limited, as they considered some activities very “tough” to be carried out by women, such as parachuting.⁵

As an alternative solution, the creation of a “Gender Observatory” was proposed, in which the requests of women regarding reforming and configuring regulations with a gender perspective would be located. This way, the regulations for the female military personnel of the Land Force and transitory regulations would guarantee the principle of direct and indirect application of the rights of female military personnel. Major Rosita Chacón,⁶ former head of the Human Rights, Gender, and International Humanitarian Law Directorate, said in an interview that these regulations (in force to date), were key tools to eradicate the limitations of women in the Armed Forces.

⁴ Staff Office of the Eloy Alfaro Military School, Quito, 2019.

⁵ Rosa Chacón, *Military Woman: Her inclusion in the Armed Forces* [Quito: Publiasesores, 2016].

⁶ Malenny Zaldumbide, “Women, Peace and Security: Implementation of Resolution 1325 of the Security Council in Ecuador,” (Quito: FLASCO, 2016).

Currently, 2.9 percent of the personnel of the Armed Forces are women.⁷ However, the difficulties for female staff have been transformed. One concern is access to decision-making positions since this is conditioned on the degree they hold; what they can do as junior officers differs from that of superior officers.⁸ Another difficulty that Major Chacón noted is related to the permanence of women in the institution; many of them leave their military careers and do not reach decision-making positions because of their responsibilities as mothers or wives.

In general terms, the entry of women in the Armed Forces was not systematic. However, the institutional process can be sustained and considered more inclusive because Ecuador included gender matters allowing greater equal participation in security and defense in its laws, including in its Constitution and the internal regulations of the Armed Forces. This is a crucial factor for the case study. Without a structure with a formed, or at least initial, institutional gender perspective, the involvement of Ecuadorian women in UN peacekeeping missions would not be possible.

The Internalization of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Ecuador

Once the institutional structure regarding the role of women in the armed forces had been identified, I focused on analyzing the process of internalizing UNSCR 1325 in Ecuador. This required the study of the adaptation process of the military through the reform of its structure, laws, procedures, and norms that would lead to full implementation of Resolution 1325. I studied Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink's model⁹ on the *life cycle of an international norm*. It is based on the idea that international norms go through three stages: emergence, cascade, and internalization of the norm.

In the first stage – *the emergence* – there is recognition of a social problem. In Ecuador, this was evidenced at the beginning of the twenty-first century when the Transitory Regulations of the Armed Forces were created to improve the conditions of female military personnel. However, this analysis cannot be isolated from international events, since at that time, Resolution 1325 was defined by the UN Security Council (UNSC) and was the tool to prescribe an acceptable norm for the participation of women in the Armed Forces.

⁷ Government of Ecuador, Ministry of National Defense, "Women in the Armed Forces: Pillars in the Inclusion Processes," 2020.

⁸ See note 7, Ministry of National Defense, "Women in the Armed Forces," 2020.

⁹ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International norm dynamics and political change," *International Organization*, 1998: 887-917.

The second stage, *the cascade*, refers to accepting the greatest number of actors to support the norm's application. In this case study, the main actors were the Armed Forces' women, non-governmental organizations of women, and the Ministry of Defense, as representative of the state, which recognized UNSCR 1325 and its demands to create norms, laws, and regulations that guarantee the equal participation of men and women. A 2010 study showed that although there was inclusion of gender in the Armed Forces' rules and regulations, they did not address such aspects as women's participation in UN peacekeeping missions. This led to the creation of the "Gender Policy" as the platform to begin internalizing Resolution 1325.

The third stage, *internalization*, is a process that recognizes the international standard and institutionalizes it. In the case of Ecuador, this stage is a continuous process. On the one hand, Ecuador recognizes both UNSCR 1325 and the internal laws generated for women, which are supported by workshops and programs that Ecuador has participated in, thus emphasizing the contribution generated by UNSCR 1325 in-country. On the other hand, it recognizes that the Gender Policy is necessary to establish objectives and guidelines according to what Resolution 1325 establishes for the participation of Ecuadorian women in UN peacekeeping missions.

The Gender Policy, in general terms, established two important aspects for the participation of women: 1) The strengthening of equal opportunities for men and women and promoting well-being for female personnel of the Armed Forces. (In this section, you will find the participation of Ecuadorian women in peacekeeping missions.) 2) Education as a means of incorporating gender equality principles at all levels and preventing discriminatory acts of gender.

As a result of these guidelines, mechanisms for the participation of Ecuadorian women in peacekeeping missions have been implemented in the Armed Forces. Ecuador is complying with the UNSC mandate by incorporating and training women for peacekeeping missions. However, this advance is closely related to the incentives that the UN issues through its requirements that contingents must be endorsed and accepted to participate. This was confirmed by interviews with officials in charge of this unit, who highlighted that each year, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations establishes a minimum quota for women's participation. This implies that women are included and encourages Ecuador to generate mechanisms and programs for women to achieve the minimum UN requirements, including having a minimum rank within the Armed Forces, English language ability, and having participated in training at the state and international levels.

The Armed Forces does not consciously take on the participation of women in peacekeeping missions because it is the right thing to do, but because it is required for approval. Thus, this process is part of the internalization process, and it will take time to realize these changes. Currently, the Peace Missions School Unit “ECUADOR” or UEMPE has trained a group of women on peace and conflict. In Ecuador, thirty-six women have been trained, of which seven have been deployed on peacekeeping missions. As for the equivalent, only 0.3 percent of the Ecuadorian personnel deployed represent women. According to the interviews carried out, eight additional women are in preparation to join the contingents. Although this number is still small, Ecuador is transforming its policies and programs to include women in spaces where their presence was nonexistent.

In conclusion, internalizing the inclusion of Ecuadorian women in peacekeeping missions is an ongoing process and its effectiveness hinges on developing and integrating policies with a gender perspective in all levels of the Armed Forces. The institution’s challenge is to guarantee that the norms, laws, and programs are applied, fostering a culture of equal opportunity and allowing women to develop in this area.

Sara Alonzo

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Alonzo holds a master's degree in political and social sciences from the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, Spain, and a bachelor's degree in political science from Francisco Marroquín University in Guatemala.

She has developed public policies, strategies, and projects in Guatemala such as the National Cyber Security Strategy (2018), National Security Policy (2017), National Strategy for the Prevention of Violence and Crime (2017), Agenda and Strategic Plan for Security of the Nation (2016-2020), Strategic Management Plan for Penitentiary Reform (2016), and the Book of National Defense: Evolution and the Policy of the Defense of the Nation (2013).

Ms. Alonzo is an alumna of the William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, having attended and graduated from more than 10 Perry Center courses and events.



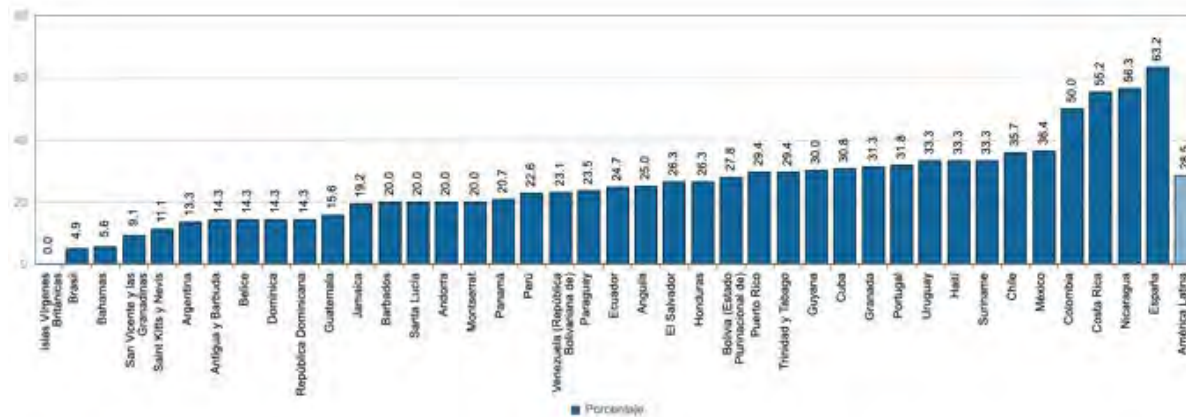
Sara Alonzo

Vivencia y liderazgo de mujeres en el Sistema Nacional de Seguridad

Sara Alonzo, Guatemala

La firma de los Acuerdos de Paz en Guatemala propició el fortalecimiento del poder civil sobre las fuerzas militares y policiales, así como la aprobación del marco legal para la coordinación entre las instituciones de seguridad y defensa. En ese contexto, Guatemala ratificó la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, lo cual permite la participación de la mujer para promover la paz y la seguridad.

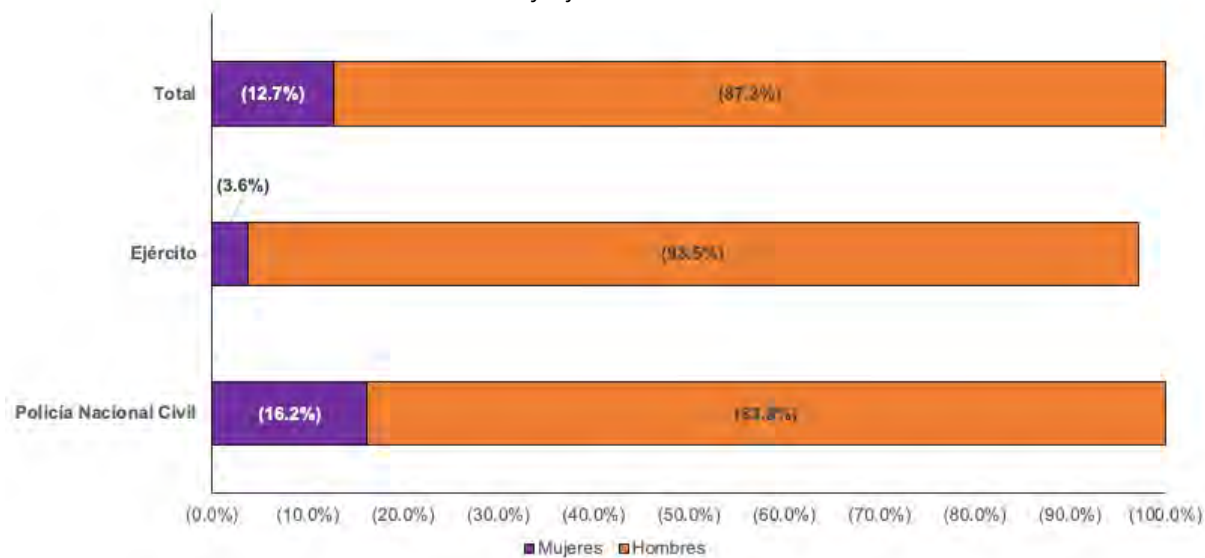
En la actualidad, los países latinoamericanos aún deben de fortalecer la participación política de la mujer en diferentes sectores. El Observatorio de Igualdad de Género de Latinoamérica de CEPAL, identifica que América Latina y el Caribe ha tenido un aumento discreto con respecto a la participación de las mujeres en los gabinetes presidenciales con un promedio de 28.5%, en su último informe del año 2018 (Ver, Gráfica No. 1).



Gráfica 1. Poder ejecutivo: porcentaje de mujeres en los gabinetes ministeriales, CEPALSTAT, 2018.

En Guatemala, el 51%¹ de la población son de sexo femenino, sin embargo, el porcentaje de mujeres electas en el parlamento nacional es de un 19.4%.² En el año 2018, la cantidad de mujeres en los gabinetes ministeriales era de un 15.6 %, en el máximo tribunal de justicia era de un 41.7%, mujeres alcaldesas un 3.0 % y mujeres concejales electas un 12.7%.³ Los datos nos indican que existe una mayor representación de mujeres en el Poder Judicial; una representación discreta en el Poder Legislativo; y una baja representación en el Poder Ejecutivo y en autoridades locales, específicamente de alcaldesas.

Gráfica 2. Porcentaje total de servidores públicos por sexo en la Policía Nacional Civil y Ejército de Guatemala a Junio 2020



¹ Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Guatemala, 2020 en el sitio web <https://www.ine.gov.gt/ine/poblacion-menu/>

² CEPALSTAT, 2019 en el sitio web <https://oig.cepal.org/es/indicadores/poder-ejecutivo-porcentaje-mujeres-gabinetes-ministeriales>

³ CEPALSTAT, 2018 en el sitio web <https://oig.cepal.org/es/indicadores/poder-ejecutivo-porcentaje-mujeres-gabinetes-ministeriales>

Institución	Mujeres	(%)	Hombres	(%)	Total
Policía Nacional Civil	6,669	(16.2%)	34,453	(83.8%)	41,122
Ejército	1,498	(3.6%)	21,502	(93.5%)	23,000
Total	8,167	(12.7%)	55,955	(87.3%)	64,122

Gráfica 3. Elaboración propia en base a datos del Jefatura de Planificación Estratégica y Desarrollo Institucional (JEPEDI) de la Policía Nacional Civil y del Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional. La información puede variar por bajas en jubilación, renuncia u otros casos.

En los sectores de seguridad y defensa, los datos indican que el porcentaje de mujeres en el Ejército de Guatemala es de 3.6% y en la Policía Nacional Civil es de 16.2%, así como, el porcentaje total entre ambas fuerzas es de 12.7% (Ver, Gráfica No. 3). Esta información debe de complementarse con los datos de todas las instituciones del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad,⁴ sin embargo, muestra que existe una representación discreta de las mujeres en estas instituciones. En puestos políticos, está brecha es aún mayor en los sectores de seguridad y defensa, ya que sigue predominando el sexo masculino, especialmente en defensa, debido a las restricciones formales e informales de participación de mujeres en cursos para ascensos y la designación de comandos.

En los años 2012 al 2019, fui parte de un equipo de mujeres líderes y profesionales, en su mayoría jóvenes, que aportamos a la institucionalidad del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad en la Secretaría Técnica del Consejo Nacional de Seguridad en Guatemala.

Un grupo pequeño multidisciplinario conformado por politólogas, internacionalistas y abogadas, que con nuestras diferentes capacidades complementarias realizábamos proyectos nacionales para la seguridad y defensa del país.

Durante este tiempo lideré y fui miembro en la formulación, desarrollo y revisión de procesos de política pública como lo

⁴ El Sistema Nacional de Seguridad de Guatemala se conforma por el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Ministerio de Gobernación, Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional, Secretaría de Inteligencia Estratégica del Estado, Procuraduría General de la Nación, Coordinadora Nacional para la Reducción de Desastres y las Dependencias del Consejo Nacional de Seguridad (Secretaría Técnica, Instituto Nacional de Estudios Estratégicos en Seguridad e Inspectoría General del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad)

fue la “Política Nacional de Seguridad”, la cual plantea un Modelo de Gobernanza Integral para la Seguridad de la Nación, en conjunto con tres programas enfocados a la gestión integral, gobernanza local y seguridad para el desarrollo. También, fui parte de la formulación de la “Política de Defensa de la Nación” la cual desarrolla el Sistema Integrado de Gestión y Planificación de la Defensa (SIGPLADE).

Conformé parte del equipo interinstitucional del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad para la elaboración “Libro Blanco de Seguridad, Guatemala 2025 con Seguridad y Desarrollo”, siendo el primer proyecto de la región que desarrollaba la integración de una cultura sistémica en materia de Seguridad de la Nación; el cual retroalimentó los contenidos del “Libro de la Defensa Nacional: Evolución”, en el cual colaboré.

A lo largo de los siete años en un ejercicio de retroalimentación interna y externa del desempeño de este equipo de mujeres líderes profesionales pude identificar lo siguiente.

Perspectiva integral y sistémica. La integración de diferentes tipos de constructos mentales es importante en la elaboración de proyectos complejos. Cada una de nosotras teníamos una perspectiva diferente del problema que se estaba analizando y de como solventarlo. Estudiando el problema y la solución de una forma holística, permitió el debate e identificar las mejores soluciones. Las cuales se retroalimentaban con el conocimiento de los diferentes actores de las instituciones del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad. La integración del pensamiento civil y militar, hombres y mujeres, generación millennial y baby boomers, entre otros. Todo ello es parte de una cultura institucional de pensamiento crítico e integral, instando al liderazgo político a escuchar y retroalimentarse, tomando mejores decisiones con menores sesgos.

Gestión de actores estratégicos. Debido a las funciones de la Secretaría Técnica del Consejo Nacional de Seguridad, nuestro trabajo diario era interinstitucional, intersectorial y multinivel. Me relacionaba con múltiples actores (políticos, técnicos, operativos, tácticos). De forma natural se organizaba, monitoreaba y se mejoraba las relaciones con los diferentes actores en múltiples proyectos simultáneos, logrando los objetivos deseados.

Meritocracia. Las autoridades se preocupaban que los puestos fueran ocupados por personas competentes, examinando la experiencia, trayectoria y competencias de liderazgo. Lo cual ayudó a conformar el equipo de mujeres del que fui parte. En el año 2016, la máxima autoridad de la institución era una mujer y compañera nuestra; y promovió que mujeres nos encarga-

ramos de las direcciones y subdirecciones sustantivas de la institución, todo ello aplicando políticas de méritos.

Transparencia. Las decisiones tomadas en el equipo eran discutidas, compartiendo la mayor información posible. Hay que reconocer que no es un proceso fácil, ya que por la “cadena de mando” se pueden tomar decisiones arbitrarias, pero al final del día discutir e informar las decisiones con el grupo tenía sus retribuciones.

Complementar capacidades. Dentro del equipo sabíamos como compartir nuestras ideas e información. Nos ayudábamos en determinados fases de los procesos y quién dominaba mejor cada tema. Si estábamos en una reunión sabíamos quién debía introducir, desarrollar y concluir, era un ejercicio interesante que permitía mejor comunicación con los actores, así como, promocionar la imagen institucional en contraparte a la imagen de una persona en específico.

Metas aspiracionales. El trabajo que desarrollamos era un compromiso genuino por ver un mejor país, generando más rendimiento y productividad. Cada vez que nos reuníamos como equipo discutíamos que nuestro objetivo era generar condiciones adecuadas para las familias guatemaltecas.

Hacer a otras mejores. Siempre nos retroalimentábamos en qué podíamos progresar, a veces no era fácil, pero era un ejercicio necesario. Los argumentos presentados por mis compañeras siempre eran sinceros, técnicos y genuinos; así podíamos defender mejor una idea o proyecto a audiencias más críticas y antagónicas. Una frase que adquiría relevancia en las discusiones era “primero hay que estar en desacuerdo, para estar de acuerdo”. Esto permitió entrenar, guiar y desarrollar mejores capacidades.

Estas lecciones aprendidas pueden adaptarse tanto a un equipo de mujeres, como de hombres. El sector de seguridad y defensa debe enfocarse en la igualdad de talento y potencial, lo cual sucederá cuando tengamos un liderazgo con igualdad de género. Tanto hombres como mujeres, pueden aprender de los diferentes estilos o enfoques de liderazgo.

Por último, siendo mujer en el sector de seguridad y defensa debo de realzar el aporte de los hombres y mujeres, que creyeron en mí y en el equipo, que vieron capacidades técnicas y profesionales, los que abrieron la brecha y tuvieron esa visión genuina de un mejor país con igualdad de condiciones.

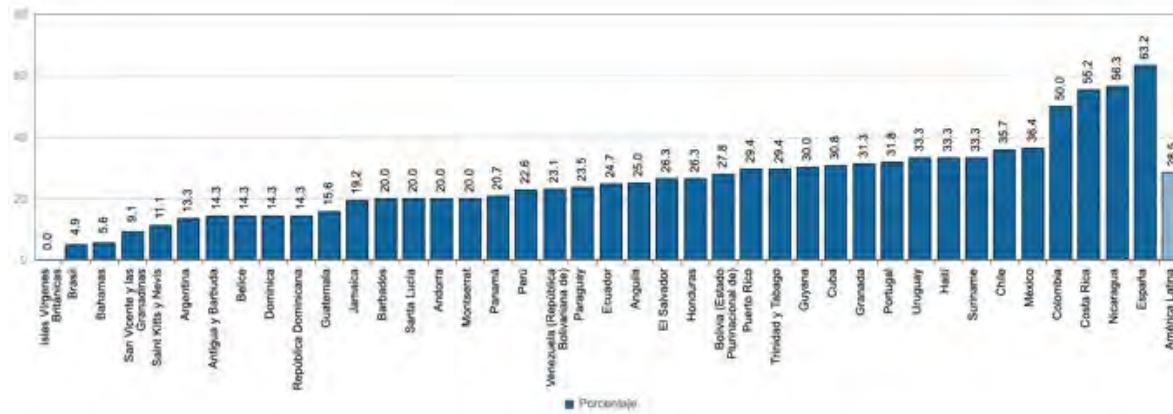
Los siete años de trabajo con este equipo fue de mucha inspiración para mi carrera profesional. Logramos como equipo un propósito compartido, significativo y gratificante para la buena gobernanza de la seguridad y defensa. Quedándome claro que como mujeres podemos contribuir plenamente y en igualdad de condiciones, a la prevención y solución de conflictos, manteniendo y promoviendo la seguridad y la paz. Lo cual realice sin privilegios, accediendo a las mismas oportunidades para cambiar de forma positiva a nuestro país.

Women’s Experience and Leadership in the National Security System

Sara Alonzo

The 1996 signing of the Peace Accords in Guatemala led to the strengthening of civilian power over the military and police forces, as well as the approval of the legal framework for coordination between the institutions of security and defense. In this context, Guatemala implemented United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which calls for the participation of women in promoting peace and security.

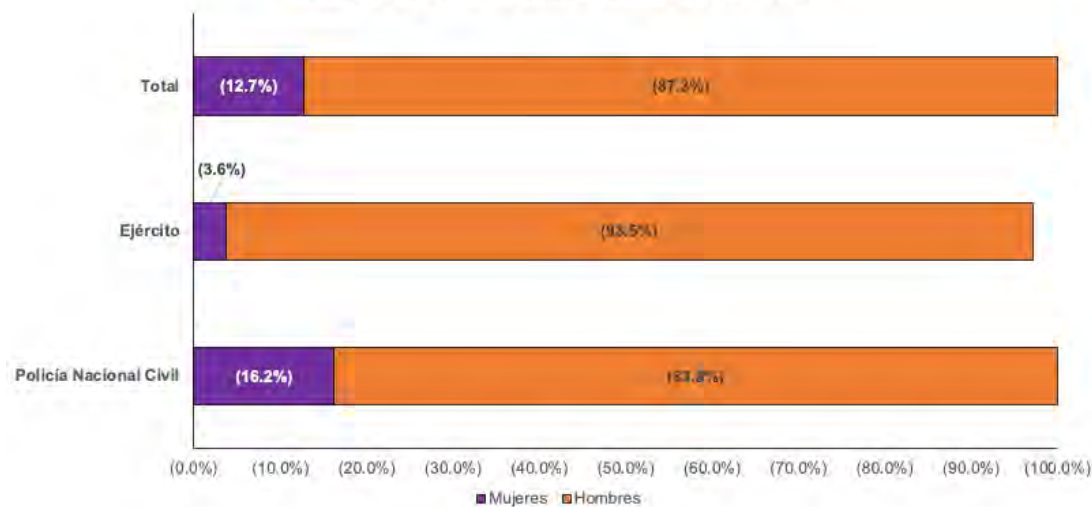
Latin American countries still need to strengthen women’s political participation in different sectors. The UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean’s Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America and the Caribbean found in its latest report for 2018 (Graph 1) that Latin America and the Caribbean has seen a slight increase in women’s participation in presidential cabinets, with an average of 28.5 percent.



Graph 1. Executive branch: percentage of women in ministerial cabinets, CEPALSTAT, 2018.

In Guatemala, 51 percent¹ of the population is female, however, the percentage of women elected to the national parliament is 19.4 percent.² In 2018, the number of women in ministerial cabinets was 15.6 percent, with 41.7 percent in the highest court of justice, 3 percent women mayors, and 12.7 percent women lawyers.³ The data indicates there is a greater representation of women in the judiciary, low representation in the legislature, and low representation in the executive branch and in local authorities, with very few women mayors.

Graph 2. Total percentage of civil servants by sex in the National Police Force and the Armed Forces of Guatemala as of June 2020



Graph is based on data from the Head of Strategic Planning and Institutional Development of the National Civil Police and the Ministry of National Defense. The information may vary due to retirement, resignation, or other cases.

¹ National Institute of Statistics of Guatemala, 2020, <https://www.ine.gob.gt/ine/poblacion-menu/>.

² "Poder Ejecutivo: Porcentaje de Mujeres en los Gabinetes Ministeriales" ["Executive Branch: the Percentage of Women in Ministerial Cabinets"], CEPALSTAT, 2019, <https://oig.cepal.org/es/indicadores/poder-ejecutivo-porcentaje-mujeres-gabinetes-ministeriales>.

³ "Poder Ejecutivo: Porcentaje de Mujeres en los Gabinetes Ministeriales" ["Executive Branch: the Percentage of Women in Ministerial Cabinets"], CEPALSTAT, 2018, <https://oig.cepal.org/es/indicadores/poder-ejecutivo-porcentaje-mujeres-gabinetes-ministeriales>.

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Graph 3. based on data from the Head of Strategic Planning and Institutional Development of the National Civil Police and the Ministry of National Defense. The information may vary due to retirement, resignation, or other cases.

In the security and defense sectors, data indicates that the percentage of women in the Guatemalan Army is 3.6 percent and in the National Civil Police is 16.2 percent, making the total percentage between both forces 12.7 percent (Graph 3). This shows that women are scarcely represented in these institutions. This information should be supplemented with data from all institutions of the National Security System.⁴ In political positions, this gap is even larger in the security and defense sectors. The male sex continues to predominate, especially in defense, due to formal and informal restrictions on women's participation in courses that lead to promotions and the appointment of commanders.

In the years 2012 to 2019, I was part of a team of women leaders and professionals, who contributed to the development of the National Security System as a civil institution in the Technical Secretariat of the National Security Council in Guatemala.

This small multidisciplinary group was made up of political scientists, international relations experts, and lawyers. With our different complementary capacities, we carried out national projects to improve the security and defense of the country.

During this time I led and contributed to the design, development, and review of public policy processes such as the "National Security Policy," which proposes a "Model of Integral Governance for the Security of the Nation," together with three programs focused on integral management, local governance, and security for development. I was also part of the formulation of the "National Defense Policy," which develops the Integrated Defense Management and Planning System.

⁴ The National Security System of Guatemala is composed of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, and National Defense; the Secretariat of Strategic Intelligence of the State; the Attorney General's Office; the National Coordinator for Disaster Reduction; and the Units of the National Security Council (Technical Secretariat, National Institute for Strategic Security Studies, and General Inspectorate of the National Security System).

I participated on the interinstitutional team of the National Security System working on the “White Book on Security, Guatemala 2025 with Security and Development,” which is the first project in the region that developed the integration of a systemic culture in the field of national security, providing feedback to the “Book on National Defense: Development,” to which I also contributed.

Over the course of seven years in an internal and external feedback exercise to assess the performance of this team of professional women leaders, I identified the following:

Comprehensive and systemic perspective. The integration of different types of mental constructs is important in the development of complex projects. Each of us had a different perspective on the problem being analyzed and how to best solve it. Studying the problem and the solution in a holistic way allowed for discussion and identification of the best solutions. These were consolidated with the knowledge of the different actors in the various institutions that comprise the National Security System, and included the integration of civil and military thought, perspectives of men and women, and the millennial generation, generation X, and baby boomers. This is all part of an institutional culture of critical and comprehensive thinking, urging political leaders to listen and receive feedback and make better decisions with less bias.

Management of strategic actors. Due to the functions of the Technical Secretariat of the National Security Council, our daily work was interinstitutional, intersectoral, and multilevel. I was involved with various actors – political, technical, operational, and tactical. Naturally, relationships with the different actors were organized, monitored, and improved in multiple simultaneous projects, achieving the desired objectives.

Meritocracy. The authorities were concerned that the positions should be filled by competent people, based on experience, background, and leadership skills. This helped shape the team of women. In 2016, the institution’s highest authority was a woman and a colleague, who encouraged women to take responsibility for substantive departments and subdepartments of the institution while still applying the policies of a meritocracy.

Transparency. Decisions made by the team were discussed, with information shared as much as possible. Admittedly, this was not an easy process, as arbitrary decisions can be made through the chain of command, but discussing and reporting decisions with the group had its rewards.

Complementary capabilities. Within the team, we shared ideas and information. We helped each other in certain phases of the process depending on who best mastered each subject. If we were in a meeting, we knew who should introduce, develop, and conclude. It was an interesting exercise that allowed for more precise communication with the actors and promoted the institutional image instead of the image of one specific person.

Aspirational goals. The work we carried out was part of a genuine commitment to see a better country, with increased performance and productivity. Every time we met as a team, we discussed how our objective was to improve living conditions for Guatemalan families.

Make others better. We always gave each other feedback on how we could progress. It wasn't always easy, but it was a necessary exercise. The arguments presented by my colleagues were sincere, technical, and genuine; this allowed us to better defend an idea or project to critical and antagonistic audiences. One phrase that became relevant in the discussions was, "you have to disagree first, to agree." This allowed for improved training, guidance, and capacity building.

These lessons learned can be adapted to a team of women as well as men. The security and defense sector must focus on equality of talent and potential, which will happen when we have gender-equal leadership. Both men and women can learn from different leadership styles and approaches.

Finally, as a woman in the security and defense sector, I must highlight the contribution of the men and women who believed in our team, saw our technical and professional capabilities, and had the genuine vision of an improved country with equal conditions.

The seven years working with this team were very inspiring for my professional career. As a team, we achieved a shared, meaningful, and rewarding progression toward better governance of national security and defense. It is clear that, as women, we can contribute fully and equally to the prevention and resolution of conflicts, maintaining and promoting security and peace.

Perla Waleska Flores

Perla Waleska Flores is a Honduran lawyer currently serving as the vice minister of defense for Honduras. Flores graduated from the National Autonomous University of Honduras in 2002 with a specialization in administrative law. She graduated with a master's degree in commercial law from the National Autonomous University of Honduras in 2005 and a diploma in defense and national security from the National Defense College in 2006. Flores is a specialist in contracting and acquisitions of the state, having graduated from the Central American Technological University in 2007. She graduated from the course on legal analysis of legal aspects against terrorism at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey Bay, San Francisco, and in 2015, received a diploma in administrative litigation proceedings taught by the Attorney General of the Republic. In 2017, she received a diploma in administrative law and administrative management taught by Honduras' attorney general, and in 2018, a diploma in maritime law from the Honduran Bar Association and the General Directorate of the Merchant Marine.



Perla Waleska Flores

Flores is an alumna of the Perry Center, receiving her certificate in Managing Security and Defense in 2019.

Perspectiva Pretenciosa del Albor Femenino en la Operatividad Militar Hondureña

Perla Waleska Flores



Teniente de Inteligencia Génesis Reyes comandando un pelotón de uno de los Batallones de Policía Militar del Orden Público, 2018.

MAIRIN WAR WAL YUS TAKAIA (en lengua Misquita significa mujer aguerrida). La integración de la mujer en las diferentes Fuerzas Armadas latinoamericanas debería jugar un papel preponderante si la visión operativa es ubicarlas como una pieza de ajedrez estratégico. Existen un sinnúmero de misiones audaces que ponen a prueba a las entidades militares y al Estado mismo. Estas llevan a la pregunta: ¿utilizan las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras las potencialidades de las mujeres que forman parte de las filas castrenses? Poco a poco, la “vulnerabilidad aparente” de las féminas va menguando en la percepción de los hondureños, destacándose destrezas que de ser fortalecidas rejuvenecerían el enfoque del término armonía y de no discriminación.

Así las cosas, todos los países del istmo centroamericano tienen realidades peculiares, con soluciones de apremio según su entorno concreto. Honduras no es la excepción y, aunque no ha tenido conflictos de campaña como los surgidos en el Medio Oriente o en el Continente Africano, esta nación centroamericana enfrenta flagelos contemporáneos como el crimen organizado mutable en todas sus aristas, narcotráfico por ser un país de tránsito, trata de personas, tráfico de migrantes, corrupción, entre otros. Hoy en día, también se presenta la pretendida intromisión de ideologías políticas que, lejos de impulsar la democracia, incentivan el descontento social. Esa es la realidad hondureña y allí nace otra interrogante: ¿qué participación femenina existe en la ofensiva nacional para contrarrestar estos azotes?

Sabemos que del lado de la criminalidad hay participación femenina. Si colocamos un espejo social y observamos en el fondo el reflejo de los carteles delictivos, veremos que las organizaciones criminales inducen y estimulan matronas del hampa que con su frialdad y astucia crecen como mejores planificadoras, organizadoras logísticas, administradoras financieras y

ejecutoras. La apuesta de la criminalidad por invertir en la educación de sus mujeres es amplia, por lo que su interpretación de la efectividad femenina es vista como una ventana de oportunidad para sorprender a las autoridades mediante el uso de la herramienta más inesperada.

El diario *El Heraldo* de Honduras, en su edición digital del 22 de abril de 2016 publica un artículo titulado “Los casos más sonados de mareras en Honduras”¹; el mismo recoge la actividad delictiva de un listado de mujeres que alcanzan a convertirse en Jefas dentro de la Mara Salvatrucha y la Pandilla 18. Denominaciones como “La Jacky” (mano derecha del líder criminal ALIAS “Boxer Hiuber”); “La Chucky”, “La China”, “La Lobacha”, sicarias propuestas por las maras, son la vivaz muestra de la importancia operativa que los líderes criminales dan a estas mujeres.



Teniente de Inteligencia Génesis Reyes comandando un pelotón de uno de los Batallones de Policía Militar del Orden Público, 2018.

En una investigación en ciencias forenses realizada para la Universidad Autónoma de Durango por el Doctor Daniel Gutiérrez Mora, titulada “La mujer delincuente y el perfil criminológico”², este especialista señala que luego de muchos estudios, la delincuencia femenina tiene como factores preponderantes los biológicos, psicológicos, escolares, económicos y los comunitarios. Es amplio dicho texto, pero el mismo resume el perfil conductual de estas mujeres en los aspectos siguientes: edades entre 18 y 35 años, baja escolaridad, pero sagacidad individual y peligrosidad radicada en frialdad y adaptabilidad. En resumen, “Más que víctimas, victimarias” como dice en una reciente publicación la revista *InSight Crime*.³

A manera de ejemplo citamos el caso de “La Diabla”, María Isabel Martínez, fémina con una infancia difícil quien fue

¹ Diario El Heraldo, Edición Digital, publicación 22/04/2016, “Los casos más sonados de mareras en Honduras”, Editor de noticias., <https://www.elheraldo.hn/pais>

² Word Press.com: Usuario: Reynoso.cim@hotmail.com “@masterforenses”, Publicación 2016, Ensayo para Maestría en Ciencias Forenses y Victimología, Universidad Autónoma de Durango, “La Mujer Delincuente y el perfil criminológico”, Doctor Daniel Gutiérrez Mora (autor), <https://mreynoso.blog.wordpress.com>

³ Revista InSight Crime, Informe para el Observatorio Colombiano de Crimen Organizado, Versión Digital 2019, “Mujeres y Crimen Organizado en América Latina: Mas que Víctimas, Víctimarias”, Arlene B. Tickner (autor coordinador), <https://es.insightcrime.org/mujeres>

capturada en un fuerte operativo muy publicitado y fue condenada a 17 años de prisión por tráfico de drogas, fue absuelta de los delitos de asesinato y asociación ilícita por falta de pruebas y rebajada su pena en un tercio por defectos procesales señalados en recursos legales promovidos ante el Poder Judicial por su defensa. De allí que la comunidad hondureña asevere que la reacción hacia ellas por parte del Estado es febril y la forma de abordaje de su participación, común. Se concluye de forma genérica en que, en la temática de inclusión femenina operacional, el lado oscuro de la ley, desnuda una cierta ventaja.

Al girar la mirada hacia las líneas marciales hondureñas, la otra cara de la moneda nos muestra la germinación de pericias femeninas en insipientes procesos de formación con hambre de aporte al acoplarse al escenario milenial. Estas podrían derivar en resultados innovadores. Ciertamente las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras han inspirado a oficiales mujeres graduadas en escuelas militares extranjeras que ejercen cargos relacionados con política exterior, sanidad militar y unidad de mantenimiento de paz. A manera de ejemplo, citamos la exitosa Jaqueline Foglia Sandoval, egresada de la Academia de West Point, cuya carrera tomó forma entre los años 1984 a 1995 como oficial del ejército de Honduras en diferentes asignaciones. También las Coroneles Irma Baquedano y Rita Medina, todavía de alta, graduadas de la Escuela Militar de Enfermería de México, con diferentes asignaciones en la entidad armada existente.

Ellas han estimulado con su profesionalismo en el mando a las nuevas generaciones de oficiales que, desde el 2001, se han venido graduado de las academias militares nacionales, en las tres Fuerzas; pertenecen a diferentes armas, cuerpos y servicios; y alcanzan lugares de liderazgo, como la Mayor de Artillería Jenny Carolina Arias Méndez. Es así que se van dando resultados interesantes en su función y se destacan de muchas formas. Por ejemplo, lo acaecido en el año 2017, donde se destaca la primera mujer salto libre, Teniente de Inteligencia Génesis Reyes Salazar y, en el 2018, la primera mujer hondureña en la misión de paz en el Sahara Occidental, Capitán de Infantería Tarsis Dodanin Alvarado Guevara. Dichos casos van denotando una voluntad férrea institucional por evolucionar considerablemente en este tópico.

A pesar de ello, y al colocar una practicidad precisa en la temática, los matices preindicados requieren de una madurez más profunda que se oriente a reevaluar la rentabilidad (costo/beneficio) de invertir en la amplificación de la plataforma de capacitación para las mujeres militares y la esfera de oportunidades para ellas en el ámbito operativo. Si bien las féminas en la actualidad van superando diferentes fases en su formación, por parte del estado hondureño debe haber un enfoque atrevido en lo que respecta a su alistamiento. Las palabras ingenio y anticipación se convierten en términos de interés que, de agre-

garse como parte del liderazgo estratégico, se podrían ver como instrumentos para la generación de huellas perdurables en contraste con los verdugos que hoy día aquejan al país.

Es necesario generar el quiebre del status quo de las féminas, sacarlas de su zona de confort para que, de forma proactiva, vuelquen sus aportes en porcentajes gananciales en el ámbito operacional que posteriormente se traduzcan en acciones coordinadas, y descifren opciones para las misiones en ejecución. Sus contribuciones en las tribunas administrativas muestran eficiencia comprobada, de allí que sea valedera la concepción crítica y curiosa de impulsar el involucramiento de estas mujeres en la estrategia operacional a mediano y largo plazo. Ciertamente, la opción de combatir fuego con fuego no resulta ser la más seductora. Sin embargo, el innovar de esta manera permite una composición solida donde las visiones conjuntas (femenino/masculino) de la oficialidad aborden las tareas y conflictos asignados por el Estado de forma aventajada.

Si tomamos como conexo que, Honduras, en su Objetivo de Desarrollo Sostenible (ODS) número 5, igualdad de género persigue al final el balance en las contribuciones de ambos géneros y trasladamos el espíritu de este objetivo al ámbito militar, se puede afirmar que la inclusión femenina se centra en la mejora continua institucional. Esto coloca al género como parte de la innovación, creatividad, aclimatación tecnológica y la utilización de recursos inteligente en el ámbito operacional. Bajo ese contexto, la oficialidad femenina hondureña dentro de su mocedad o verdor tienen retos importantes por fortificar, sin dejar de lado el equilibrio en el traslape de roles que ostenta dentro del marco de su feminidad.

La doctora Carolina Jiménez Sánchez, con cátedra en la Universidad de Málaga (España), reseña cómo la mujer ha intentado embonar en las estructuras de estas organizaciones en diferentes países donde la guerrilla tiene auge. Su estudio concluye que, si bien es cierto la experiencia de las féminas ha venido progresando y se han abierto

Revista Científica de la Universidad de Málaga, España, Publicado 11/04/2014, "Las Mujeres y la guerrilla: ¿un espacio para las políticas de género?", Carolina Jiménez Sánchez (autora), <https://www.uma.es/nformacion>

puertas para que ellas destaquen en negociaciones de paz, exposición de pensamientos políticos y creación de refugios para afectados por conflictos armados, dando cierta liberalidad y equidad a ellas, aún yacen con discreción silenciosa rasgos de discriminación que cercan su evolución y limitan su potencial.

Aunque las estructuras guerrilleras son disímiles con una fuerza armada en el sentido estricto, podemos extraer de su actividad conductual un referente preventivo, dejar de lado la interpretación vana de la participación femenina en las líneas de la milicia y exaltar las ventajas de contar con su participación.⁴ Innovar en su empañamiento es la clave para que su brillo indique logros significativos en favor del estado hondureño. Unidades de reacción femenina para controles fronterizos, aduaneros y migratorios pueden surtir efectos interesantes como ayuda idónea para Honduras. Fuerzas de tarea con cargos claves de análisis de información estratégica de país, conducción de unidades de innovación mecatrónica y equipamiento militar, entre otras, renovarían el rostro inventivo institucional; dirección en políticas públicas sanitarias, jurídicas, de derechos humanos y asideros intelectuales para la prevención zonificada del territorio se verían fortalecidos con el ímpetu femenino nacional.

Muchos ejércitos del mundo y autoridades políticas han pensado en la necesidad de apostar por introducir adaptabilidad en la operatividad militar y han enfatizado el papel de las féminas en cada país. En pos de este objetivo, se ha adherido a resoluciones como la 1325 emitida por la Organización de las Naciones Unidas hace varios años. La misma ha propugnado siempre por el quiebre de dogmas sociales, legales y operacionales para proveer a la mujer y su labor como una fuente inesperada de reacción para aquellos detractores sociales atípicos que pasan en constante estudio del actuar estatal, con el fin de lograr jugar a la delantera. A la luz de ello, y de forma general, cabe manifestar que los sectores de seguridad y defensa hondureños actualmente están a favor de impulsar foros progresivos de inclusión, donde el acoplamiento femenino como engranaje de una maquinaria de alta gama y calidad sea protagonistas.

Con una trama argumentativa romántica, el conversado proceso de inserción femenina dentro de las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras debe ser representado como en una época lo fue el éxito del Apolo 11. Pues, aunque complejo, luego de un sinnúmero de simulacros, mediante prueba y error, logra fundar el objetivo perseguido. Es así que se retoman las interrogantes



Coronel Irma Baquedano, participando como Comandante de la Unidad Humanitaria de Rescate en un foro internacional, 2019, Oficina de Relaciones Públicas Ejército.

⁴ Jiménez Sánchez, Carolina. "Las mujeres y la guerrilla: ¿ un espacio para las políticas de género?." *Araucaria. Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades*, 16 (32), 383-397. (2014).

iniciales: ¿utilizan las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras las potencialidades de las mujeres que forman parte de las filas castrenses? y ¿qué participación femenina existe en la ofensiva nacional para contrarrestar estos azotes?. El desenlace es sutil, pues a la fecha no es concreto refutar un argumento ya que existe un caldo de cultivo excepcional, que se está fraguando con el ánimo de impulsar la inclusión tangible. Esta inclusión será medida dentro de una tregua corta por el ojo crítico de la comunidad nacional e internacional, quienes se desempeñarán como actores vitales de un veredicto imparcial y constante que recoja el cambio de pensamiento operacional. La teoría de las decisiones está sobre la mesa, el desafío es vivaz, las reglas del juego se encuentran en articulación y únicamente resta que se consolide una catarsis en la gestación militar femenina como un fenómeno social positivo.

An Ambitious Perspective of Women's Contributions to Honduran Military Operations

Waleska Flores



Intelligence Lieutenant Genesis Reyes commanding a platoon of one of the Military Police Battalions of Public Order, 2018.

Mairin war wal yus takaia means “warrior woman” in the indigenous Miskito language. The integration of women in the different Latin American Armed Forces should play a predominant role if the operational vision is to place them as a strategic chess piece. Several missions test military entities and the state itself, which leads to the question: Do the Honduran armed forces use the full potential of women in the military? Little by little, the “apparent vulnerability” of women is diminishing in the perception of Hondurans, highlighting skills that, if strengthened, would rejuvenate the approach to the terms of harmony and nondiscrimination.

Honduras is no exception. Although it has not experienced conflict of the type seen in the Middle East or on the African continent, Honduras faces contemporary scourges such as organized crime, drug trafficking as a country of transit, trafficking in persons, migrant smuggling, and corruption. Today, Honduras also faces a heightening of political ideologies that, far from promoting democracy, encourage social discontent. That is the Honduran reality, and there, another question arises: What is the participation of women in the national offensive to counteract these scourges?

The seven countries of the Central American isthmus each have distinct realities and, accordingly, have devised different solutions to deploy when needed in response to their specific environments. Hon-

We know that on the criminal side, there is female participation. If we place a social mirror and observe the reflection of criminal cartels in the background, we will see criminal organizations employ women who, with their coldness and cunning, are sometimes better planners, logistical organizers, financial administrators, and executors. The criminal world bets on investing in the education of its women and widely interprets feminine effectiveness as a window of opportunity to surprise the author-

ities, using it as a most unexpected tool.

The Honduran *El Heraldo* newspaper, in its April 22, 2016 online edition, published “The most notorious cases of *mareras* (female gang members) in Honduras.”¹ The article includes the criminal activity of a list of women who became chiefs in the Mara Salvatrucha/18th Street gang. Names such as “*La Jacky*” (the right hand of the criminal leader known as “Boxer Hiuber”), “*La Chucky*,” “*La China*,” and “*La Lobacha*,” illustrate the operational importance that criminal leaders give these women.



Generic, Department of Public Relations, 2018.

Martínez,⁴ a female with a difficult childhood, who was captured in a well-publicized operation and sentenced to seventeen years in prison for drug trafficking. She was acquitted of murder and illicit association due to a lack of evidence, and given a sentence reduced by one-third due to procedural defects pointed out in legal appeals filed with the Judicial Branch by her defense. Hence, the Honduran community asserts that the state’s reaction to female guerrillas is rushed, and the way in which it approaches their participation is uninspired, concluding that when it comes to the issue of operational female inclusion,

In an investigation in forensic sciences carried out by the Universidad Autónoma de Durango by Daniel Gutiérrez Mora, “The female delinquent and the criminological profile,”² this specialist points out that female delinquency has biological, psychological, educational, economic, and community factors. The text summarizes the behavioral profile of these women as between eighteen and thirty-five years old, not formally well-educated but very wise and dangerous due to their coldness and adaptability. In summary, “more than victims, victimizers,” says another recent report³ released by *InSight Crime*.

By way of example, we cite the case of “*La Diabla*,” María Isabel

¹ “The Most Notorious Cases of Mareras in Honduras,” *El Heraldo*, 22 April 2016.

² Daniel Gutiérrez Mora, “La Mujer Delincuente y el Perfil Criminológico” [“The female delinquent and the criminological profile”], Universidad Autónoma de Durango, 23 March 2017, <https://mreynosoblog.wordpress.com/2017/03/23/la-mujer-delincuente-y-el-perfil-criminologico/>.

³ Colombian Observatory of Organized Crime, “Women and Organized Crime in Latin America: beyond victims or victimizers,” *InSight Crime Magazine*, 2020, <https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/women-organized-crime/>.

⁴ “Mujeres en pandillas, un fenómeno social en incremento en Honduras” [“Women in gangs, an increasing social phenomenon in Honduras”], *El Heraldo*, 16 April 2015, <https://www.elheraldo.hn/sucesos/831605-219/mujeres-en-pandillas-un-fen%C3%B3meno-social-en-incremento-en-honduras>.

criminal organizations have a certain advantage.

When we look at the Honduran military, the other side of the coin shows us that nurturing feminine skills in training processes aimed at women with a hunger to contribute – namely millennials – can obtain innovative results. Certainly, the Honduran Armed Forces have inspired women officers who have graduated from foreign military schools and held positions related to foreign policy, military health, and in peacekeeping units. As an example, we cite the successful Jaqueline Foglia Sandoval, a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy (West Point), whose career took shape between 1984 and 1995 as an officer in the Honduran army in various assignments, or Colonels Irma Baquedano and Rita Medina, graduates of the Military School of Nursing in Mexico, who obtained assignments in the armed forces.

With their professionalism in command, they have stimulated new generations of officers who, since 2001, have graduated from the national military academies in the three branches of the armed forces, working with different weapons, corps, and services, and reaching top jobs such as the Artillery Major Jenny Carolina Arias Mendez. This is how we get interesting results, like in 2017, with the first woman free jumper, Intelligence Lieutenant Genesis Reyes Salazar, and in 2018, the first Honduran woman in the United Nations (UN) Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara, Infantry Captain Tarsis Dodanin Alvarado Guevara. These examples denote an institutional iron will to promote women's participation.

The profitability (cost/benefit) of investing in the training platform for military women and the sphere of opportunities for them in the operational field needs reevaluation. Although women are currently in various stages of training, the Honduran government must take a bold approach to their readiness. The words ingenuity and anticipation become terms of interest that, if thought of as the qualities of strategic leadership, could be seen as instruments to create lasting change, in contrast to the problems that afflict the country today.

It is necessary to create a break with the status quo of women and remove them from their comfort zone, so they proactively turn their contributions into gainful percentages in the operational field. This can later be translated into coordinated actions after deciphering the options available for the missions underway. Their contributions in more administrative roles show proven efficiency, which is why promoting the involvement of these women in the medium- and long-term operational strategy is valid. Certainly, the option of fighting fire with fire does not always turn out to be the most seductive, however, innovating in

this way allows a solid composition where officialdom (conceived as feminine and masculine) address the tasks and conflicts assigned by the state in an advantageous way.

Honduras, in its UN Sustainable Development Goal 5, Gender Equality, aims to balance the contributions of both genders. By applying this objective to the military field, it can be fine-tuned so the inclusion of women is focused on continuous institutional improvement, placing gender at the heart of innovation, creativity, technological acclimatization, and the intelligent use of resources in the field. In this context, in their youth or inexperience, Honduran women officials face important challenges that need strengthening.

Carolina Jiménez Sánchez, who holds a chair at the University of Málaga in Spain, describes how women have tried to fit into the structures of these organizations in different countries where guerrilla warfare is on the rise. Her study concludes that, although it is true that the experience of women has been progressing and doors have been opened for them to stand out in peace negotiations, respect for political differences and shelters for those affected by armed conflicts are essential for freedom and equity, but are still lacking and discrimination limits their potential.⁵

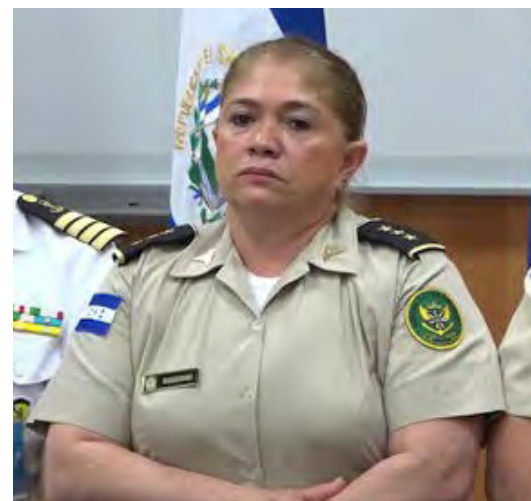
Although the guerrilla structures are dissimilar to the armed forces in the strict sense, we can use their behavioral activities as a point of reference: forgetting the baseless interpretation of female participation in the lines of the militia and focusing instead on the advantages of their participation. Innovation is the key to brilliance and would bring significant achievements to the Honduran state. Women's reaction units for border, customs, and migration controls would have interesting effects for Honduras, as would task forces with key positions in the analysis of strategic country information, and leadership of mechatronic (technology that joins electronics and mechanical engineering) innovation units and military equipment, among others. These changes would renew the institutional image, give direction in public health, legal, and human rights policies, and intellectual support for the protection of the territory would be strengthened with female participation.

Many national armies and political authorities have considered the need to introduce adaptability in military operations, emphasizing the role of women in each country, adhering to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. This resolution and others encourage ending the social, legal, and operational dogmas to provide women and their work as an unexpected

⁵ Carolina Jiménez Sánchez, "Las mujeres y la guerrilla: ¿un espacio para las políticas de género?" ("Women and the guerilla: a space for gender policies?") *Araucaria, Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades*, 2014:16 (32), 383-397.

source of reaction for those atypical social detractors who examine the state's actions in order to anticipate and win. In general, it should be noted that the Honduran defense and security sectors are in favor of promoting progressive forums for women's inclusion.

Using an aspirational plot, the process of female inclusion in the Honduran Armed Forces must be represented as the success that Apollo 11 once was. Although complex, after countless simulations using trial and error, it will reach the pursued objective. Thus, we should again contemplate the initial questions posed earlier in this essay: Do the Honduran Armed Forces make use of the potential of the women who are part of the military ranks? And what is the participation of women in the national offensive to counteract these aforementioned scourges? The theory of decision making is on the table, the challenge is lively, the rules of the game are under discussion, and all that remains is for the female military as a positive social phenomenon to be consolidated.



Colonel Irma Baquedano, participating as Commander of the Humanitarian Rescue Unit in an international forum, 2019, Army Public Relations Office.

Patricia Baranda Carmona

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Patricia Baranda Carmona

La Evolución de la Participación de las Mujeres en la Secretaría de Marina Armada de México

Patricia Baranda Carmona

Introducción

Considerando las características de la sociedad mexicana donde la presencia masculina ha sido imperante, más aún en las Fuerzas Armadas, cobra relevancia estudiar la evolución de la participación de las mujeres en este ámbito. En particular, en la Secretaría de Marina Armada de México (SEMAR), dados sus alcances en materia de igualdad de género¹.

En el presente artículo, se plantean de manera sucinta el panorama internacional cuyo legado ha incidido en el marco normativo mexicano en materia de género, el cual fundamenta la apertura y la política implementada por la SEMAR con miras a institucionalizar la equidad de género pese al desafío cultural y estructural del país. Asimismo, se identifican los ámbitos que se han abierto para las mujeres dentro de esta institución naval y sus logros. Finalmente, se hace un balance de la participación de las mujeres en esta fuerza naval, al considerar su apertura e importancia para México.

Panorama e Instrumentos Internacionales

En toda cultura, las mujeres cumplen un rol importante tanto en la estructura familiar como en la social. Ante la ausencia del hombre por diferentes factores, las mujeres han asumido nuevos roles y más responsabilidades. Estos cambios a su vez han incidido en la pujanza por el reconocimiento de sus derechos e igualdad de género.

La participación de las mujeres en el ámbito de la seguridad², especialmente en los conflictos armados, ha cobrado vigencia a partir de las conflagraciones mundiales del siglo XX, cuya primera actuación fue sustituir la mano de obra de los hombres que se encontraban en combate. Así surgieron grupos de voluntarias que realizaban tareas administrativas, de enfermería,

¹ En este documento, por género se entenderán los roles, comportamientos, actividades, atributos de una sociedad y época determinada construidos socialmente. Por tanto, igualdad de género se define como una situación donde mujeres y hombres acceden con las mismas posibilidades y oportunidades del uso, control y beneficio de bienes, servicios y recursos de la sociedad, así como a la toma de decisiones en todos los ámbitos de la vida social, económica, política y cultural. Secretaría de Marina, *Cartilla Igualdad de Género*, SEMAR, México, 2020, pp. 5 y 6.

² En el sentido más amplio, el término de seguridad lleva implícito el salvaguardar los intereses, la integridad, el bienestar y las instituciones del Estado.

conducción y mantenimiento de vehículos, comunicaciones, vigilancia aérea o defensa pasiva y en combate. Por ejemplo, el alistamiento de 2000 voluntarias rusas en el llamado “Batallón de la Muerte” del Ejército soviético, en 1941³, así como el entrenamiento de los pilotos mexicanos que encabezaron el Escuadrón 201 durante la participación de México en la II Guerra Mundial, quienes fueron instruidos por mujeres⁴.

El legado de la Segunda Guerra Mundial ha sido la adopción de diversos instrumentos internacionales y regionales, declarativos y vinculantes sobre los derechos de las mujeres e igualdad de género. A la par de esto ha surgido un consenso casi global respecto a los compromisos políticos y estrategias multilaterales para la consecución de dicha igualdad y el empoderamiento de la mujer. También ha habido avances en el diseño e implementación de políticas y programas auspiciados por la Organización de Naciones Unidas (ONU)⁵. Entre los instrumentos internacionales más significativos, se encuentran:

- La Convención sobre la Eliminación de Todas las Formas de Discriminación contra la Mujer (CEDAW, 1979), considerada Carta Internacional de Derechos Humanos de la Mujer
- La Convención Interamericana para Prevenir, Sancionar y Erradicar la Violencia Contra la Mujer, *Belem Do Pará* (1994) La Plataforma de Acción de Beijing (1995)
- La resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad (2000) sobre mujer, paz y seguridad
- La Convención Interamericana contra toda Forma de Discriminación e Intolerancia (2013)⁶

³ Frieyro de Lara, Beatriz y Robles Carrillo, Margarita, “La integración de la perspectiva de género en el análisis de los conflictos armados y la seguridad”, en Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos, *El papel de la mujer y el género en los conflictos*, Ministerio de Defensa, España, 2012, p. 60.

⁴ Tras el hundimiento de dos buques petroleros mexicanos Potrero del Llano y Faja de Oro en el Golfo de México, por parte de submarinos alemanes, el Gobierno mexicano declara la guerra a los Países del Eje en mayo de 1942, así surge la Fuerza Aérea Expedicionaria Mexicana (FAEM), conocida como Escuadrón 201, entrenada y aliada de Estados Unidos. Campos, Violeta, “Escuadrón 201: México en la II Guerra Mundial”, *Deutsche Welle*, 7 de mayo de 2015, <https://www.dw.com/es/escuadr%C3%B3n-201-m%C3%A9xico-en-la-ii-guerra-mundial/a-18429105?fbclid=IwAR1s8l6G1iPnaewliZzQ5wL2kr20llkHBfQD3l8rgYDYW-QS-h4Q7bkqR9I>.

⁵ Organización de las Naciones Unidas en México, *La ONU en acción para la Igualdad de Género en México*, ONU Mujeres, México, 2015, pp. 14-16, <http://www.onu.org.mx/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Igualdad-de-genero.pdf>.

⁶ Ídem.

Marco Normativo Mexicano

México es uno de los 51 Estados miembros fundadores de la ONU. Desde entonces, ha asumido un rol de liderazgo global y regional, bajo una vocación multilateral con apego al derecho internacional y al consenso en los temas de la agenda internacional.

En materia de género, destaca la participación como sede de la I Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer en 1975. En el ámbito interno, destaca la adopción de los instrumentos internacionales que nutren la institucionalización de la igualdad de género en el país tanto en el plano institucional como normativo. Por ejemplo, en 2001 se crea el Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (INMUJERES). En materia normativa, destacan:

- La Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos
- La Ley Federal para Prevenir y Sancionar la Discriminación (2003)
- La Ley General de Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres (2006)
- Ley General de Acceso de las Mujeres a una Vida Libre de Violencia (2007)
- La Norma Mexicana NMX-R-025-SCFI-2015 en Igualdad Laboral y no Discriminación⁷

La Participación de las Mujeres en la Secretaría de Marina Armada de México

A través de los años y en función del contexto internacional y nacional, los gobiernos posrevolucionarios⁸ institucionalizan las Fuerzas Armadas (FF. AA.) con la particularidad de quien las encabeza. En este caso, el Secretario de Marina es un Almirante en activo, quien asume dos cargos al mismo tiempo, uno político como Ministro de Estado y otro militar como comandante de máxima jerarquía de cuatro estrellas en la Armada. Por ello, oficialmente se denomina Secretaría de Marina-Armada de México, cuya misión es emplear el poder naval para la defensa exterior y coadyuvar en la seguridad del país con base en la

⁷ Secretaría de Marina, *Cartilla Igualdad de Género*, cit., pp. 20-24.

⁸ Se refiere a los gobiernos herederos de la Revolución Mexicana de 1910.

Constitución, las leyes derivadas de esta y los instrumentos internacionales.

En aras de dicha institucionalización, en la administración del General Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) se sientan las bases para la modernización de las FF. AA., lo que implica la inclusión de la mujer como militar. De ahí la creación de la Escuela de Enfermeras y del Cuerpo de Oficinistas del Ejército Mexicano en 1938. Así, en 1948 la enfermera Mercedes Hernández García causa alta en la SEMAR con el grado de Capitán de Corbeta, lo que la convierte en la primera mujer con el grado de Capitán en esta institución, lo que significa el precedente de la participación de la mujer en actividades navales⁹.

En 1953 el Gobierno mexicano reconoce la ciudadanía de las mujeres, por lo que a partir de ese año obtienen el derecho a votar y ser votadas para puestos de elección popular. Para Gabriela Cano, este hito fue una “concesión” del Estado mexicano orientada a fines electorales, ya que el sufragio femenino significaba la modernidad política que el gobierno intentaba proyectar y dejar en segundo plano a los movimientos feministas que desde la Revolución de 1910 se hicieron patentes¹⁰. Paralelamente, en las FF. AA. se da una apertura para las mujeres en diversas especialidades en apoyo a operaciones aéreas, terrestres y navales¹¹.

Un hito histórico que impulsó los derechos y la participación de las mujeres en diferentes sectores fue la celebración en México de la Primera Conferencia de las Naciones Unidas sobre las Mujeres y el Desarrollo en 1975, cuyo resultado cobra vigencia en el marco legal tendiente a eliminar la desigualdad entre hombres y mujeres¹². Así, en 1982 por vez primera dos mujeres realizan el Curso Básico de Paracaidismo Militar.

Por su parte, los noventa se caracterizaron por el reordenamiento mundial; la globalización y los cambios tecnológicos; la democratización que incide en una mayor participación de las mujeres en la vida política, económica y social; el auge de las organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONG) en la promoción de la igualdad de género; la naturaleza de los conflictos y

⁹ Colegio de Defensa Nacional y Centro de Estudios Superiores Navales, “Estados Unidos Mexicanos. La participación de la mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas mexicanas”, en: Gómez Ricardo (Coord.), *El rol de la mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas. Desde la óptica de los Colegios de Defensa de Iberoamérica*, ESDEGUE-CEESEDEN, Colombia, 2015, pp. 237-240.

¹⁰ Rodríguez Bravo, Roxana, “Los derechos de las mujeres en México, breve recorrido”, en: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México (IN-EHRM), *Historia de las mujeres en México*, Secretaría de Educación Pública, México, 2015, p. 282, <https://www.inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/inehrm/Resource/1484/1/images/HistMujeresMexico.pdf>

¹¹ Colegio de Defensa Nacional y Centro de Estudios Superiores Navales, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 242.

el surgimiento de nuevas amenazas de carácter multidimensional, lo que implica nuevos paradigmas en las misiones de los ejércitos¹³.

En la SEMAR, la Cirujano Dentista Clara Edith Hernández Santiago obtiene el grado de Contralmirante del Servicio de Sanidad Naval, lo que la convierte en la primera y única mujer en lograrlo¹⁴.

En los auspicios del siglo XXI los cambios estructurales de la milicia propiciaron una mayor apertura en la participación de la mujer en actividades que eran exclusivamente para hombres. Se adoptaron protocolos para la transversalización de la perspectiva de género, lo que ha permeado la política para la igualdad laboral y no discriminación de la SEMAR, así como el establecimiento de la Unidad de Promoción y Protección de los Derechos Humanos (UPRODEHU)¹⁵ en 2016 y la emisión del “Pronunciamiento de Cero Tolerancia al Hostigamiento Sexual y Acoso Sexual” en 2019¹⁶.

Dentro de los factores que inciden en la incorporación de las mujeres en la milicia, destacan: 1) económico: aplica para ambos sexos la búsqueda de solvencia económica y escalamiento social y profesional. Cabe mencionar que en las últimas tres décadas la participación femenina ha ido en aumento al representar el 41% de la fuerza laboral en México¹⁷. Pese a que en esta cifra persiste la desigualdad en la calidad de empleos, de ahí que la milicia se torne como una opción de estabilidad económica; 2) social: la mujer mexicana tiene un rol esencial en la familia, tal circunstancia muestra el desafío de esta en el rol operativo militar. No obstante, en 2010, se incorporó personal femenino a las unidades de Infantería de Marina y en 2011 se graduó la primera mujer en Fuerzas Especiales. Desde entonces las mujeres han ocupado diversos puestos en unidades operativas y pueden concursar en igualdad de circunstancias para ocupar posiciones de mando conforme a las jerarquías y competencias que adquieran en su vida profesional¹⁸. Actualmente, el personal femenino es de 270 cadetes en la Heroica Es-

¹³ Donadio, Marcela, *La perspectiva de género en los Ejércitos: misiones y conformación interna*, RESDAL, 2018, p. 22, https://www.resdal.org/assets/resdal-paper_genero-donadio_es.pdf.

¹⁴ González García, Arsenio y Amador Martínez, Ángel, “La Secretaría de Marina hoy (1982-2017)”, en Secretaría de Marina, *Memoria y Prospectiva de las Secretarías de Estado, Centenario 1917-2017 Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, SEMAR, Secretaría de Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México, México, 2017, p. 221.

¹⁵ Encargada de proponer estrategias y acciones para fortalecer la cultura de respeto de los Derechos Humanos e Igualdad de Género

¹⁶ Secretaría de Marina, *Cartilla Igualdad de Género*, cit., pp. 26-33.

¹⁷ Redacción Digital Herald TV, “Mujeres son el 41 por ciento de la fuerza laboral: Inegi”, *Heraldo de México*, México, 25 de febrero 2020, <https://heraldodemexico.com.mx/pais/mujeres-41-por-ciento-fuerza-laboral-inegi/>.

¹⁸ Colegio de Defensa Nacional y Centro de Estudios Superiores Navales, *op. cit.*, p. 246-248.

cuela Naval Militar; en la Armada (no civiles) 9082 elementos, de las cuales 1 es Almirante; 105 son Capitanes; 3068, Oficiales; 4460 Clases; y 1178 son de Marinería. De los puestos de mando, el porcentaje de mujeres es de 14.5%, lo que evidencia el reto de superar esa cifra¹⁹. En cuanto a la participación de México en las Operaciones de Mantenimiento de Paz de la ONU, la SEMAR selecciona y capacita personal naval, masculino y femenino. En 2019 envió a la misión de ONU-Colombia a una Capitán de Corbeta Enfermera.

Balance y Perspectivas

Desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial se ha marcado la ruta de la participación de la mujer en el ámbito de seguridad y de los instrumentos internacionales para la implementación de la perspectiva de género de manera transversal, lo que ha nutrido el marco legal mexicano y, a su vez, la política de la Secretaría de Marina.

La evolución de la participación de las mujeres mexicanas en la milicia ha respondido al contexto internacional y a factores políticos, económicos y sociales. Se han superado estereotipos socio-culturales estructurales. Esta evolución en la SEMAR se ha hecho patente pese al lastre estructural, el cual se mantiene como un desafío. Asimismo, se identifica como ventana de oportunidad un mayor ascenso de mujeres en los altos mandos, sería un hito el que una mujer Almirante condujera esta fuerza naval.

¹⁹ Muñiz, Rosa E., "La incursión de las mujeres en la Secretaría de Marina Armada de México", SEMAR, México, 2020, p. 4, <http://www.semar.gob.mx/redes/igualdad/5.pdf>.

The Evolution of Women's Participation in the Secretariat of the Mexican Navy

Patricia Baranda Carmona

Introduction

Considering the characteristics of Mexican society where the male presence has been prevalent – particularly in the armed forces – it is relevant to study the evolution of the participation of women in this area. This article will focus on the Secretariat of the Navy of Mexico (SEMAR), given its accomplishments in gender equality.¹

First, the international panorama is briefly presented. Its legacy has influenced the Mexican normative framework on gender, which supports the openness and the policy implemented by SEMAR to institutionalize gender equality, despite the cultural and structural challenges of the country. Likewise, the areas that have been opened for women within this naval institution and its achievements are identified. Finally, an analysis of the participation of women in the naval force is offered, considering its openness and importance for Mexico.

International Scene and Instruments

Women play an important role in family and social structures in every culture. In the absence of men, due to different factors, women have assumed new roles and more responsibilities. In turn, these changes have had an impact on the recognition of their rights and gender equality.

The participation of women in the field of security, especially in armed conflicts, has come into force since the global wars of the twentieth century. The first example is when women replaced the workforce of men who were in combat. Thus, groups of volunteers arose who performed such administrative tasks as nursing, driving and maintaining vehicles, communications,

¹ For the purposes of this essay, gender will mean the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, attributes of a society, and specific time. Therefore, gender equality is defined as a situation where women and men have the same possibilities and opportunities to use, control, and benefit from the goods, services, and resources of society, as well as decision making in all areas of social, economic, political, and cultural life. Secretary of the Navy, *Gender Equality Primer* (Mexico: SEMAR, 2020), 5-6.

aerial surveillance, and passive and combat defense. For example, the enlistment of 2,000 Russian volunteers in the so-called “Death Battalion” of the Soviet Army in 1941,² as well as the training of the Mexican pilots who led Squadron 201 during Mexico’s participation in World War II, were instructed by women.³

The legacy of World War II has been the catalyst for the adoption of various declarative and binding international and regional instruments on women’s rights and gender equality. Along with this, an almost global consensus has emerged regarding political commitments and multilateral strategies to achieve the equality and empowerment of women. There have also been advances in the design and implementation of policies and programs sponsored by the United Nations (UN).⁴ Among the most significant international instruments are:

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), which prompted the “International Charter of Human Rights of Women”
- The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish, and Eradicate Violence Against Women, Belem Do Parà (1994)
- The Beijing Action Platform (1995)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security
- The Inter-American Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance (2013)⁵

² Beatriz Frieyro de Lara and Margarita Robles Carrillo, “The integration of the gender perspective in the analysis of armed conflicts and security,” in *The Role of Women and Gender in Conflicts* (Granada, Spain: The Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies and Army Training for Doctrine and Command Combined Center, 2012), 60.

³ After the sinking of two Mexican oil tankers, “Potrero del Llano y Faja de Oro,” in the Gulf of Mexico by German submarines, the Mexican government declared war on the Axis countries in May 1942. Thus, the Mexican Expeditionary Air Force was created, known as Squadron 201, which was trained and allied with the United States. Violeta Campos, “Squadron 201: Mexico in World War II,” *Deutsche Welle*, 7 May 2015, <https://www.dw.com/es/escuadr%C3%B3n-201-m%C3%A9xico-en-la-ii-guerra-mundial/a-18429105?fbclid=IwAR1s8l6G1iPnaewliZzQ5wL2kr20llkHBfQD3l8rgY-DYW-QS-h4Q7bkqR9l>.

⁴ United Nations Organization in Mexico, “The UN in Action for Gender Equality in Mexico” (UN Women: Mexico, 2015), 14-16, <http://www.unu.org.mx/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Igualdad-de-genero.pdf>.

⁵ See note 4, UN Organization in Mexico, “The UN in Action for Gender Equality in Mexico.”

Mexican Normative Framework

Mexico is one of the 51 founding member states of the United Nations. Since then, it has assumed a global and regional leadership role under a multilateral vocation with adherence to international law and consensus on issues on the international agenda.

Regarding gender, its participation stands out as the host of the World Conference on Women, 1975. Domestically, it adopted international instruments that nurture the institutionalization of gender equality, as well as setting the norms for institutions. For example, in 2001, the National Institute for Women was inaugurated. In regulatory matters, it highlights:

- The Political Constitution of the United Mexican States
- The Federal Law to Prevent and Punish Discrimination (2003)
- The General Law of Equality between Women and Men (2006)
- The General Law on Women's Access to a Life Free of Violence (2007)
- The Mexican Standard NMX-R-025-SCFI-2015 on Labor Equality and Non-Discrimination⁶

The Participation of Women in the Naval Secretariat of Mexico

Over the years, and depending on the international and national context, Mexico's post-revolutionary governments institutionalized the armed forces, including who heads them. In this case, the Secretary of the Navy is an active admiral who assumes two positions simultaneously: one political as minister of state and the other military as commander of the highest hierarchy of four stars in the navy. For this reason, it is officially called the Secretariat of the Navy-Mexican Navy; its mission is to use naval power for foreign defense and to contribute to Mexico's security based on the constitution, the laws derived from it, and international instruments.

⁶ Secretary of the Navy, Gender Equality Primer (Mexico: SEMAR, 2020), 20-24.

For the sake of this institutionalization, during the administration of General Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940), foundations were laid for the modernization of the armed forces, which implied the inclusion of women as soldiers. In 1938, the School of Nurses and the Officer Corps of the Mexican Army were created. Thus, in 1948, nurse Mercedes Hernández García enrolled in SEMAR with the rank of Lieutenant Commander [*Capitan de Corbeta* in Spanish], which makes her the first woman with the rank of captain in this institution, setting the precedent for women's participation in naval activities.⁷

In 1953, the Mexican government recognized the citizenship of women; from that year on, women obtained the right to vote and eligibility for positions of popular election. For Gabriela Cano, this milestone was an electoral "concession" of the Mexican state since woman suffrage meant the political modernity that the government was trying to project, leaving in the background the feminist movements that were evident since the Revolution of 1910.⁸ At the same time, there was an opening for women in various specialties in the Armed Forces to support air, land, and naval operations.⁹

A historic milestone that promoted the rights and participation of women in different sectors was the celebration in Mexico of the first World Conference on Women, 1975. The result of this affected the legal framework aimed at eliminating inequality between men and women.¹⁰ Thus, in 1982, two women took the basic course in military skydiving for the first time.

The 1990s were characterized by world reorganization, globalization, technological changes, and democratization that affected the greater participation of women in political, economic, and social life. Non-Governmental Organizations focused on promoting gender equality, the nature of conflict, and the emergence of new multidimensional threats, which implied new paradigms in the missions of armies.¹¹

⁷ College of National Defense and Center for Higher Naval Studies, "United Mexican States. The participation of women in the Mexican Armed Forces," in ed. Gómez Ricardo, *The role of women in the Armed Forces. From the point of view of the Defense Colleges of Ibero-America* (Colombia: ESDEGUE-CEESEDEN, 2015), 237-240.

⁸ Roxana Rodríguez Bravo, "The rights of women in Mexico, a brief overview" in *History of Women in Mexico*, National Institute of Historical Studies of the Revolutions of Mexico (Mexico: Secretariat of Public Education, 2015), 282, <https://www.inehrm.gob.mx/work/models/inehrm/Resource/1484/1/images/HistMujeresMexico.pdf>.

⁹ See note 7, College of National Defense and Center for Higher Naval Studies, 240.

¹⁰ See note 7, College of National Defense and Center for Higher Naval Studies, 242.

¹¹ Marcela Donadio, *The gender perspective in the Armies: missions and internal conformation* (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2018), 22, https://www.resdal.org/assets/resdal-paper_genero-donadio_es.pdf.

At SEMAR, the dental surgeon Clara Edith Hernández Santiago obtained the rank of rear admiral of the Naval Health Service, making her the first and only woman to achieve it.¹² In the twenty-first century, the structural changes of the militia led to greater openness about the participation of women in activities once reserved for men. Protocols were adopted to mainstream the gender perspective, which permeated SEMAR's policy for labor equality and non-discrimination, as well as the establishment of the Unit for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights¹³ in 2016 and the issuance of the "Zero Tolerance Statement on Sexual Harassment" in 2019.¹⁴

Among the factors that affect the incorporation of women in the militia, these stand out:

1. Economic: the search for economic solvency and social and professional scaling that applies to both genders. It is worth noting that in the last three decades, female participation has increased, representing 41 percent of the labor force in Mexico.¹⁵ Despite this figure, inequality in the quality of jobs persists; hence, the military becomes an option for economic stability; and
2. Social: Mexican women have an essential role in the family; such circumstances show the challenge of the military operational role. However, in 2010, female personnel joined Marine Corps units, and in 2011, the first woman graduated from Special Forces. Since then, women have held various positions in operational units and can compete equally to occupy positions of command according to the hierarchies and competencies they acquire throughout their professional lives.¹⁶ Currently, the female staff is composed of 270 cadets at the Heroic Naval Military School. In the Navy (non-civilians), there are 9,082 personnel, of which one is an admiral, 105 are captains, 3,068 are officers, 4,460 are noncommis-

¹² Arsenio González García and Ángel Amador Martínez, "The Secretary of the Navy today (1982-2017)," in Secretary of the Navy, Report and Prospect of the Secretaries of State, Centennial 1917-2017 Political Constitution of the United Mexican States (Mexico: SEMAR, Secretary of Culture, National Institute of Historical Studies of the Revolutions of Mexico, 2017), 221.

¹³ The Unit for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights is responsible for proposing strategies and actions to strengthen the culture of respect for human rights and gender equality.

¹⁴ Cartilla Igualdad de Género [Gender Equality Booklet] (Mexico City: Government of Mexico, Maritime Secretary), 26-33.

¹⁵ "Mujeres son el 41 por ciento de la fuerza laboral: Inegi" ["Women are 41 percent of the workforce: Inegi"], *Heraldo de México*, 25 February 2020, <https://heraldodemexico.com.mx/pais/mujeres-41-por-ciento-fuerza-laboral-inegi/>.

¹⁶ College of National Defense and Center for Higher Naval Studies, "United Mexican States. The participation of women in the Mexican Armed Forces," in ed. Gómez Ricardo, *The role of women in the Armed Forces. From the point of view of the Defense Colleges of Ibero-America* (Colombia: ESDEGUE-CEESEDEN, 2015), 246-248.

sioned, and 1,178 are sailors. The percentage of women in command posts is 14.5 percent, which shows the challenge of exceeding that figure.¹⁷ Regarding Mexico's participation in UN peacekeeping operations, SEMAR selects and trains male and female naval personnel. In 2019, it sent a UN Nurse Lieutenant Commander to the UN Mission in Colombia.

Balance and Perspectives

Since the end of World War II, the route of women's participation in the field of security and international instruments for the implementation of the gender perspective in an intersectional manner has been significant, which has nourished the Mexican legal framework and, with time, the policy of the Secretary of the Navy.

The evolution of the participation of Mexican women in the military has responded to the international context and to political, economic, and social factors, overcoming structural sociocultural stereotypes. This evolution at SEMAR has become evident despite the structural burden, which remains a challenge. Likewise, it is identified as a window of opportunity for greater promotion of women in high command. It would be a milestone for a female admiral to lead this naval force.

¹⁷ Rosa E. Muñiz, *La incursión de las mujeres en la Secretaría de Marina Armada de México [The incursion of women in the Secretariat of the Navy of Mexico]* (Mexico: SEMAR, 2020), 4, <http://www.semar.gob.mx/redes/igualdad/5.pdf>.

Lourdes Barriga

Lourdes Aurelia Barriga Abarca serves as the director for the Science and Technology Institute for the Army of Peru, where she is the first woman to hold that position. She has a master's degree in administration from the Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Lima; a master's degree in military science from the Escuela Superior de Guerra, Peru, where she was the first female graduate to enroll in its school of post-graduate studies; a master's in supply chain management and technology, and a doctorate in education from the Universidad Enrique Guzman y Valle.

Barriga specializes in security and national defense, national disaster management, peacekeeping operations, international human rights law, land management and the environment, and critical infrastructure.

Her professional military education has included coursework in the administration of information to manage disaster risk, emerging threats in the Western Hemisphere, water and sanitation information systems, geospatial processing, use of satellite images to generate cartography, and digital cartography.

Prior to her position with the Science and Technology Institute, Barriga was a member of the first female group of instructors and held several positions with the Escuela Militar de Chorrillos. She also worked at the National Geographic Institute. Barriga served as a military observer with the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or MONUSCO, in 2005. She was also the first female officer to join the Peru Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff College.

Barriga has served as a speaker, panelist, and distinguished guest professor at various domestic and international events and has addressed a diverse set of topics ranging from military engineering to the role of women in risk management and peacekeeping operations.



Lourdes Aurelia Barriga Abarca

Barriga • PERÚ

She is the recipient of several awards and scholarships, including multiple awards for her career trajectory as a woman in the Peruvian army and as the first female service member to participate in an Antarctic expedition. She has been published in and collaborated on several books, organized international seminars, and is fluent in English and Portuguese. Barriga is married with one son.

Mujeres en misión de Paz, experiencias y retos.

Lourdes Barriga

En nuestro país la presencia de la mujer en los diferentes ámbitos de la sociedad se viene apreciando de manera progresiva, y el campo militar no es la excepción. Mujeres de la Fuerzas Armadas vienen siendo protagonista en diversas responsabilidades en la vida militar, en esos sectores donde tradicionalmente solo había presencia de hombres, hoy se tienen roles compartidos y son parte de un trabajo conjunto e integrado como comisiones, servicios y misiones de paz.

El Perú como miembro de Naciones Unidas, ha colaborado con tropas para los Cascos Azules desde Junio de 1958, los primeros militares peruanos viajaron al Líbano para participar en la Misión de Observadores (UNOGIL). En 1973, en Medio Oriente para tomar parte en la Fuerza de Emergencia de las Naciones Unidas II (UNEF II), integraron el "Batallón Perú".¹ Pero es desde el año 2004 que las primeras mujeres son designadas para cumplir misiones de paz como Observadores Militares, miembros de estado mayor y contingente.

Una de estas experiencias es la compartimos, en el 2005, durante la misión como Observador Militar en MONUC (Misión de las Naciones Unidas en la República Democrática del Congo). El objetivo principal de la participación de militares femeninas es establecer el nexo con la población, principalmente de mujeres y niños, contribuyendo a una mejor asistencia ante casos de violencia sexual, formando parte del equipo de Monitoreo y Verificación de las Naciones Unidas. Experiencia que refleja la difícil realidad de niñas y mujeres en el África.

Peruanas Militares en Misión de Paz

El Perú tiene más de 31 millones de habitantes, el 49.9% son mujeres², seis mil forman parte de las Fuerzas Armadas³, y

¹ Misiones de Paz, Fuerza de Emergencia de las Naciones Unidas II, establecida por el Consejo de Seguridad un mes antes, a raíz del conflicto que estalló entre Egipto e Israel, siete mil hombres integraron el reconocido "Batallón Perú, CCFFAA.

² Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), Censo Nacional 2017, proyección al 2019.

³ Video "Las Mujeres en las Fuerzas Armadas", con motivo del Día Internacional de la Mujer. Comando Conjunto de las FFAA. Perú. Marzo 2020. Más de 6 mil mujeres integran las FFAA.

de ellas 2,217 son parte del Ejército⁴. Su incorporación desde el año 1996⁵, trae consigo una serie de cambios siendo hoy protagonistas del proceso de transformación que lleva en marcha la institución. Desde hace 24 años muchas experiencias y desafíos han puesto a prueba la fortaleza y capacidad de la mujer peruana, servicios, entrenamiento y liderazgo las ha llevado a cumplir responsabilidades junto a sus compañeros varones.

Dentro de los retos asumidos están las misiones de paz. Es en la misión en el Congo Teniendo como escenario una localidad en el corazón del África, donde se refleja la realidad de millones de mujeres víctimas de abuso, donde el silencio y el miedo son su única defensa y junto a los niños son los más vulnerables en un mundo de violencia y discriminación.

Congo es el tercer país más pobre en el mundo, donde los más vulnerables son las mujeres y niños, el índice de mortalidad infantil es 60 (por 1000 nacimientos vivos), Y cuya población en el 2005 era de 75 millones, hoy superan los 90 millones de habitantes⁶.

La misión duró un año como observador militar, inicialmente dos semanas en Kishasa capital para el curso de inducción y el siguiente destino MBANDAKA, una localidad ubicada a 580 Km al nor este de la capital, integrante del VMT 111 (Verification and monitoring Team) solo una mujer en cada equipo, con la tarea de llevar a cabo el patrullaje diario observando, realizar el registro, reporte y asistencia en casos de género.⁷ La participación de la mujer militar permite tener un mejor acercamiento a las mujeres locales y mayor acceso en las comunidades donde sirve, lo que contribuye a mejorar la protección de mujeres y niños.

Mbandaka está ubicada a orilla del Río Congo, con una población de más de 350 mil habitantes, donde el sueldo de un maestro llegaba a los 15 dólares y la posibilidad de ir a la escuela era de muy poca. Pese a ello es una de las localidades más importantes de la zona, pero carece de agua potable, tampoco tiene fluido eléctrico. La gente no era hostil, sin embargo debíamos contratar la seguridad para nuestra vivienda. Nos abastecíamos del agua de Naciones Unidas y la energía eléctrica a través de un generador y solo por horas.

⁴ Dirección de Personal del Ejército del Perú (DIPERE). Marzo 2020.

⁵ Ley N° 26628 Ley que amplía para las mujeres el acceso a las Escuelas de Oficiales y de Suboficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas (1996). Lima Perú.

⁶ Información estadística del Departamento de Asuntos Económicos y Sociales de las Naciones Unidas. 2019 https://countrymeters.info/es/Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo.

⁷ Información proporcionada a todos los Observadores Militares. Curso de Inducción. MONUC Kinshasa. Congo. 2005.

Un día de abril, luego de la reunión de coordinación y planeamiento diario, el equipo se prepara para salir rumbo a Bamanía, un poblado al sur este de Mbandaka, donde ocurre esta singular historia. La temperatura supera los 39 grados centígrados, la vegetación de la zona en la línea Ecuatorial nos dan un clima muy caluroso y húmedo, sumado a lo agreste de una selva, cuyas pocas vías de comunicación difíciles de enfrentar se hacen intransitables a consecuencia de las incesantes lluvias. Las pocas trochas, si no están convertidas en lodo, esta cubiertas por el incesante crecimiento de la maleza.

Las pocas chozas que se ven indican que estamos ingresando a Bamanía, poca gente empezó a reunirse en un claro de la aldea, por cierto todos eran hombres ya que las mujeres como es cotidiano, estaban en el campo sembrando, cosechando o acarreando agua desde los manantiales cercanos, en un enorme bidón de agua sobre sus cabezas, mientras otras cumplen sus labores llevando al hijo en la espalda. En todas las aldeas nos recibe el jefe. El hombre con más experiencia y respetado del pueblo, con quien se obtiene información sobre la situación de la población y sus actividades, presencia de guerrilleros, casos de género, acciones de desorden o violencia. Bamanía ese día estuvo sin novedad, estábamos por retirarnos pero, salieron a nuestro encuentro los niños, algunos tímidos y otros atraídos por la curiosidad de saber quiénes éramos los foráneos.

No es usual que haya tantos niños en las aldeas, vimos como su inocencia los hacía correr y saltar alrededor, sólo una pequeña pelota que era su diversión, sin otros juguetes, ni mascotas, felices a su modo. De pronto se acerca aun dudando, una niña de mirada tímida. Entonces pedí a la autoridad local su autorización para tomar una foto con ellos, y la imagen quedó grabada.

Dentro del grupo solo una niña, llevaba una tela en sus manos, un trozo que parecía haber sido arrancado del traje tradicional y dominguero de su madre o alguna de las mujeres del pueblo. Pero además tenía un vegetal, parecía un cebollín cuyas largas raíces de hallaban separadas a modo de dos colitas de cabello, lo que se veía a simple vista envuelta en una tela azul, entonces comprendí que lo que tenía sujetando fuertemente aferrada a su pequeño cuerpecito no era una simple vegetal, sino era "su muñeca".

Sea en Lisala, Boyeka, Mbandaka u otra localidad, encontraremos mujeres de todas las edades, pero la niña de Bamanía es el retrato de lo que son, una realidad donde la timidez se confunde con el miedo y donde el futuro es tan incierto como

el saber si tendrán que comer mañana, salvarse de la malaria o de ser víctima de la violencia sexual. Lleva su “muñeca” con inocencia y no comprendía que pasaba en su país. En ese entonces se llevaba a cabo el proceso de Desarme, Desmovilización y Reinserción (DDR)⁸, el Congo donde el conflicto interno terminaba por deteriorar su situación, la pobreza y el bajo nivel de educación y salubridad que afectaba a la mayor parte de la población.

En este proceso fuimos testigos de la entrega de más de un millar de armas, entre fusiles, y munición, que fueron internadas en el almacén del terminal fluvial en Mabdaka, hasta aquí llegaron más de ochocientos de los llamados “combatientes” quienes voluntariamente entregaban su armamento en los puestos implementados a cargo de personal de la Tercera Región Militar de Congo. Ellos serían trasladados junto a su familia a otro lugar dentro del país donde podrán iniciar una nueva vida reinsertándose a la sociedad. Sus uniformes desaliñados y viejos, sus fusiles oxidados y deteriorados, eran características comunes de ese grupo armado.

En Mbandaka se instaló un campamento para estos ex combatientes, mientras se programaba su traslado a otra localidad. Es en este proceso que se produce la denuncia de violación a una pobladora por siete sujetos que se encontraban en este centro de reinserción. Sin mucha dificultad llegué a ella en el precario centro de salud donde fue atendida, logré entrar a verla porque el fideo, atún en lata y pan que le ofrecí me facilitó el ingreso. Lo difícil fue que ella formalizara la denuncia. La encontré sentada en una vieja cama de metal, tenía rasguños en sus piernas, ella dijo que fue por correr entre la maleza. Sus viejas sandalias y la falda hecha de un corte de tela que envuelve alrededor de su cuerpo se complementan con un polo sucio y viejo que deja ver su delgada y doblada figura.

La tarea más difícil fue que ella admitiera y denunciara a sus agresores. Siempre con la mirada abajo me dice que sufre, que no está bien, está enferma. Pude dialogar porque ella no me teme, insistí en ayudarla pero ya no quiere hablar, una respuesta fría me hace saber que no quiere “problemas” dice. Sus agresores deben ser denunciados, pero lamentablemente no lo hizo. El miedo pudo más y su condición de mujer no ayudaban mucho, a ello se sumó la situación de los refugiados quienes en dos días partirían a sus nuevos destinos, dejando Mbandaka y dejando sin identificar a los culpables, finalmente la víctima quedó sola y sin un marco legal que la asista y la proteja, como muchas mujeres en el Congo. Nada cambió hasta

⁸ Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración (DDR) llevado a cabo por la comunidad internacional en la República Democrática de Congo. Este programa reunió a las agencias de Gobierno congoleño, varias organizaciones no gubernamentales y Naciones Unidas entre 2002 y 2009.

el final de mi misión.

La resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad, entre otros puntos, insta a los Estados miembros a incrementar la representación de la mujer en todos los niveles de toma de decisiones “de las instituciones y mecanismos nacionales, regionales e internacionales para la prevención, gestión y solución de conflictos”. Hasta el 2016 el Perú aportó 406 efectivos militares a las misiones de mantenimiento de paz, representaban un 6,65% del total aportado por América Latina⁹.

En enero de este año el Perú ha enviado 205 miembros de las FFAA integrantes de la Compañía de Ingeniería Perú a la República Centrafricana. Un total de 25 mujeres, 15 del Ejército, cinco de la Marina de Guerra y cinco de la Fuerza Aérea. Seis oficiales y 19 suboficiales, una médico, abogada, psicóloga, una especialista en ingeniería, una en comunicaciones y una en intendencia.¹⁰ . Así la presencia de mujeres se ha incrementado hasta la fecha en un 12.2%¹¹

En conclusión la participación de las mujeres militares se ha incrementado en misiones de paz, su desempeño ha significado un impulso y motivación para otras mujeres y reflexionar sobre los procesos de la inclusión en la carrera militar. Su presencia significa un efecto positivo en las mujeres locales y en los varones con impacto y efectos psicológicos. Y motivador para las mujeres a quienes se puede llegar mejor para brindarles apoyo y sentido de seguridad.

La resolución 1325, insta incrementar la representación de la mujer en todos los niveles de toma de decisiones, y una muestra mas es su presencia, es en la primera línea frente a la pandemia, muchas de ellas lejos de sus familias para cumplir su misión. Se han privado de su hogar porque están cuidando a la familia de los demás, decisión que ha merecido el reconocimiento de la población y pone de manifiesto la fortaleza y compromiso de la mujer peruana al servicio de la Patria.

Eres dueña de tu destino, no hay límites... ¡Adelante!

⁹ Atlas Comparativo de la Defensa en América Latina y Caribe, edición 2016 /Marcela Donadio, Samanta Kussrow, 1ra edición, Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, REDSAL, 2016.

¹⁰ INFODEFENSA, 2020.

¹¹ Declaraciones del Gral Hernán Flores Ayala viceministro de Políticas para la Defensa. 25ª Conferencia Anual de la Asociación Internacional de Centros de Entrenamiento para el Mantenimiento de la Paz (Lima 2019).

Experiences and Challenges of Women in Peacekeeping Missions

Lourdes Barriga

In Peru, the presence of women in different areas of society has progressively appreciated, and the military field is no exception. Women of the Armed Forces have been leading various military endeavors. In areas traditionally reserved for men, today, women share roles and are part of joint and integrated work areas that include committees, services, and peacekeeping missions.

As a member of the United Nations (UN), Peru has contributed troops to UN peacekeeping missions since June 1958, when the first Peruvian military personnel traveled to Lebanon to participate in the Observer Mission. In 1973, the Peru Battalion deployed to the Middle East to take part in the UN Emergency Force II.¹ However, it was not until 2004 that the first women were designated to carry out peace missions as military observers and members of the general staff and contingent.

One of these experiences was the one we shared as Military Observers at the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2005. The main objective of female military personnel participation was to establish a link with the population, mainly women and children, to better assist in cases of sexual violence, as part of the UN Monitoring and Verification team. This experience reflected the arduous reality of girls and women in Africa.

Peruvian Military Women on Peacekeeping Missions

Peru has more than 31 million inhabitants, of which half are women,² 6,000 are members of the Armed Forces,³ and 2,217 of those are part of the Army.⁴ Their entry in 1996⁵ brought a series of changes, and today they are leading the ongoing in-

¹ The United Nations Emergency Force II was established by the UN Security Council on November 7, 1956, as a result of the conflict that broke out between Egypt and Israel. Seven thousand men made up the Peruvian Battalion, Joint Command of the Armed Forces of Peru.

² Government of Peru, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, 2017 National Census, 2019 projection.

³ "Women in the Armed Forces," on the occasion of International Women's Day (Peru: Joint Command of the Armed Forces, March 2020). More than 6,000 women are members of Peru's Armed Forces.

⁴ Personnel Directorate, Peruvian Army, March 2020.

⁵ Law N° 26628 broadens access for women to officer and non-commissioned officer schools of the Armed Forces, Lima, 1996.

stitutional transformation process. For 24 years, many experiences and challenges have tested the strength and capacity of Peruvian women, but the armed services' training and leadership have allowed them to fulfill their responsibilities alongside their male counterparts. Among the challenges assumed are UN peacekeeping missions. The Congo mission reflects the reality of millions of women who are victims of abuse, where silence and fear are their only defense. Together with their children, they are the most vulnerable in a country of violence and discrimination. The Congo is the third poorest country in the world; the infant mortality rate is 60 per 1,000 births and its population today exceeds 90 million inhabitants.⁶

The military observer mission lasted one year, initially spending two weeks in Kinshasa, the capital, for the induction course. The next destination was Mbandaka, a town located 580 kilometers (360 miles) northeast of the capital. The Verification and Monitoring Team only had one woman assigned to each team in charge of the daily patrol for searches, observation, reporting, and assistance in gender cases.⁷ The participation of military women allowed for a more suitable approach to local women and greater access in the communities where they served, which contributed to the improved protection of women and children.

Mbandaka, located on the banks of the Congo River, has a population of more than 350,000 inhabitants. The salary of a teacher approximately \$15 a month, and the possibility of going to school was close to nonexistent. Despite this, it is one of the most important towns in the area, but it lacked drinking water and did not have electricity. We were supplied water from the UN and provided a generator for power.

One day in April, after the daily planning and coordination meeting, the team prepared to leave for Bamanía, a town south-east of Mbandaka, where this story took place. The temperature exceeded 39 degrees Celsius (102 degrees Fahrenheit). In addition, the ruggedness of the jungle had few routes, and they had become impassable as a result of incessant rain.

The few huts we saw indicated that we were entering Bamanía; a few people began to gather in a clearing of the village. There were men and women in the field sowing, harvesting, or carrying water from nearby springs in a huge drum of water atop their heads, while others worked while carrying their sons on their backs. In all of the villages, we were received by the chief, who was the most experienced and respected man in town. The chief provided us with information on the activities of

⁶ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019, https://countrymeters.info/es/Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo.

⁷ Information provided to all military observers, Induction Course, UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kinshasa, 2005.

the population, the presence of guerrillas, gender cases, and acts of disorder and violence. That day, Bamania was uneventful, and we were about to leave when some children came over to meet us. Some were shy, while others were attracted to us foreigners.

It was unusual for there to be so many children in the villages. They ran, jumped around, and played with a small ball. Suddenly, a girl hesitantly approached me. I asked the local authority for permission to take a photo with her, and one was taken.

Within the group, one girl carried a piece of cloth in her hands that seemed to have been torn from a woman's traditional dress. She also had a vegetable that looked like a scallion with long roots separated like two tails of hair and wrapped in a blue cloth. I realized that what she was holding tightly to her little body was not a vegetable, but her doll.

Whether in Lisala, Boyeka, Mbandaka, or another town, we found women of all ages, but the girl from Bamania was the poster child for the reality of what they were. In this reality, shyness was confused with fear, and the future was as uncertain as knowing what people would have to eat the next day and if they would have to face malaria or be a victim of sexual violence.

At this time, the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration process⁸ was taking place in the Congo. When the internal conflict ended, the situation deteriorated and the poverty worsened, along with the low level of education and health problems that affected most of the population.

During this process, we witnessed the surrender of more than 1,000 weapons, including rifles and ammunition, interred in the warehouse of the river terminal in Mabdaka. More than 800 combatants voluntarily surrendered their weapons at the posts staffed by personnel of the Third Military Region of the Congo. They would be transferred with their families to another place in the country to start reintegrating into society and a new life.

In Mbandaka, a camp was set up for these former combatants, while their transfer to another town was scheduled. It was during this process that a report of the rape of a female resident by seven subjects who were part of this reintegration center occurred. Without much difficulty, I was able to reach the woman at the makeshift health center where she was being treated.

⁸ Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration was carried out by the international community in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This program brought together Congolese government agencies, various non-governmental organizations, and the United Nations between 2002 and 2009.

I got in to see her because the food (canned tuna, noodles, and bread) I offered made it easier to enter. The challenge was to get her to formalize the complaint. I found her sitting on an old metal bed. She had scratches on her legs, but she said it was from running in the undergrowth. Her sandals and skirt consisted of a fabric wrapped around her body; her outfit was completed by an old polo shirt that revealed her slim, bent figure.

The most difficult task was for her to report her assailants. With her eyes looking down, she told me that she was suffering, that she was not well, and that she was sick. I was able to talk to her because she was not afraid of me. I insisted on helping her, but she refused to speak further; she let me know she did not want “problems.” Her attackers had to be denounced, but unfortunately, she was not the one to do so. Her fear was stronger and being a woman did not help. In addition, there was the refugee situation; in two days, they would leave for their new destinations, leaving Mbandaka with the culprits unidentified. In the end, the victim was left alone without a legal framework to assist and protect her, like so many women in the Congo. Nothing changed through the end of my deployment.

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, among other things, urges member states to increase the representation of women at all decision-making levels “of national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for prevention, management and the resolution of conflicts.” Until 2016, Peru contributed 406 military personnel to peacekeeping missions that represented 6.65 percent of the total number contributed by Latin America.⁹

In January 2020, Peru sent 205 members of the armed forces and members of the Peru Engineering Company to the Central African Republic. There was a total of twenty-five women – fifteen from the Army, five from the Navy, and five from the Air Force – of which six are officers and nineteen noncommissioned officers, including a doctor, lawyer, psychologist, engineering specialist, communications specialist, and quartermaster.¹⁰ To date, the presence of women has increased by 12.2 percent.¹¹

To conclude, the participation of military women has increased in peacekeeping missions. Their performance has boosted and motivated other women and reflects positively on the military inclusion process. Their presence provides a positive psy-

⁹ Marcela Donadio, *Comparative Atlas of Defense in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Buenos Aires: RESDAL, 2016).

¹⁰ A. Andina, “Peru ready to send peacekeepers to Central African Republic,” 17 January 2020, <https://andina.pe/ingles/noticia-peru-ready-to-send-peace-keepers-to-central-african-republic-781761.aspx>.

¹¹ Statements made by General Hernan Flores Ayala, Vice Minister of Defense Policies, 25th Annual Conference of the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centers, Lima, 2019.

chological impact on local women and men. It is also positive for the local women to have better support and an improved sense of security.

UNSCR 1325 calls for the increased representation of women at all decision-making levels. These women have been deprived of their homes while they take care of other families, a decision that has earned them the recognition of the population and shows the strength and commitment of the Peruvian women serving their country.

Karina Lazo

Karina Lazo is a distinguished member of the Peruvian Armed Forces, with more than 17 years of service working in different garrisons of the army. Lazo is a 2003 graduate of the Military School of Chorrillos as a communications officer and has a diploma in intelligence from the Army Intelligence School, a diploma in national security and defense from the National University of Callao, an undergraduate degree in telecommunications engineering from the Federico National University Villareal, and a master's degree in military sciences with a mention in strategic planning from the Army War School.

Lazo has been staff officer, section commander, commander of the Communications Company of Services No. 115 of the 5th Brigade of Services - Iquitos, and head of the administrative section of the Directorate of Army Science and Technology.

She was the first female officer to have graduated from the Military School of Chorrillos to participate as a military observer in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or MONUSCO, 2010-2011, in Kinshasa, where she was a military representative in human resources.

Currently, she serves as commander of the communications company No. 61 of the 1st Special Forces Brigade - Las Palmas, the first female officer in command.

Lazo is married with one daughter, Alexandra Mariscal.



Karina Lazo

El personal femenino del ejército en las operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz de las Naciones Unidas

Karina Lazo

Por tradición siempre se le ha atribuido a las mujeres y a los hombres roles completamente diferenciados, es decir la mujer a las cuestiones domésticas y familiares y los hombres al campo de batalla, sin embargo, a lo largo de nuestra historia hemos reconocido los roles que han ejercido importantes mujeres en el mundo, tanto en épocas de conflicto como de paz. Estas heroínas anónimas fueron y siguen siendo las que levanta a su familia después de un conflicto, las que generan economía y participan en comunidad para criar a sus niños y a la vez protegerlos y protegerse así mismas de algún depredador que pueda rondar su hogar.

El Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas ha publicado varias resoluciones relativas a las mujeres, la paz y la seguridad, comenzando con la resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas aprobada en el año 2000, en donde se reconoce y se da la importancia a la inclusión de la perspectiva de género en las negociaciones, la planificación y en las operaciones de mantenimiento de la paz y no limitarse a ver a la mujer como víctima, junto a los niños y los discapacitados¹.

Esta resolución busca la participación de las mujeres en todos los procesos en un marco de conflictos armados, sin embargo según de Datos del Council on Foreign Relations, Women Participation in Peace Processes.² Los acuerdos de paz firmados desde 1992 hasta el 2016, no ha habido un gran aumento en la participación de mujeres en los procesos ya mencionados.

En al año 2010 el Secretario General del consejo de seguridad presentó su informe en relación a la participación de la mujer en la consolidación de la paz, en este documento hace hincapié en la poca importancia que dan los estados a la

¹ En este sentido, partimos de la premisa de que las mujeres no son sólo “víctimas” de los conflictos armados. Como bien apunta ABAD CASTELOS, M., “tal vez lo más prudente sea admitir que el concepto de vulnerabilidad cuenta con diferentes superficies y, además, que tiene grandes contradicciones, al menos entre su postulado contenido teórico y la realidad de la experiencia”. “La mujer en los conflictos armados: haciendo frente a la guerra con un ordenamiento internacional mejorable”, en Guerras, prestigio e imaginarios de género cuerpos. Territorios y anexiones. F. Quesada (Ed.). Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, S. L., Madrid, 2014. 3CHINKIN, C., & KALDOR, M. (2013). “Gender and new wars”. *Journal of International Affairs*, 67(1), 167-XIV.

² Council on Foreign Relations, Women Participation in Peace Processes, (<https://www.cfr.org/interactive/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes#Introduction>).

participación de la mujer, es por ello que afirma la necesidad que la resolución 1325 se aplique más enérgicamente y que la participación de la mujer se de en pie de igualdad en los niveles decisorios, asimismo expreso su preocupación por los persistentes obstáculos a la participación plena de la mujer en la prevención y solución de los conflictos, así como en la vida pública después del conflicto.³

En el América Latina, la incorporación de las mujeres en las instituciones castrenses se dio en las décadas de 1970 y 1980, pero esto se dio como parte de un proceso de legitimización social, en ese sentido, esto no garantizó que haya equidad plena en cuanto al género dentro del ámbito institucional. Específicamente, en el caso peruano, en 1996 se promulgó la Ley 22628, que permitió que las mujeres accedieran a las escuelas de oficiales y suboficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas, debido a las responsabilidades internacionales con las que el país se comprometió. Sin embargo, en la actualidad se mantienen diversas situaciones de desigualdad al interior.

El personal femenino viene participando en misiones de paz como contingente, observadores y personal militar en los diferentes Staff de las misiones en el marco de su política exterior garantizando la representatividad y presencia externa, al comienzo fueron muy pocas, pero con los años la cantidad de oficiales ha ido en aumento.

El incremento de oficiales y sub oficiales en misiones de mantenimiento de la paz en los años transcurridos para nuestro país, indica que los retos a los que se de las Naciones Unidas en cuanto la participación equitativa y de igualdad de género es eficaz, responde también a la valiosa participación del personal femenino para recolectar información de las mujeres y niñas de los países en conflicto, así como su labor en las diferentes actividades de empoderamiento de la mujer, de la cero tolerancia al abuso y acoso sexual.

En MINUSCA realizaron un excelente trabajo el contingente de Zambia el cual contaba con personal de tropa femenino que conformaban el FET (Female Engagement Team) el cual desarrollaba actividades con el personal femenino local como preparación de alimentos saludables, empoderamiento, técnicas de salud e higiene, talleres de autoestima, y otras estas actividades eran muy bien recibidas y repercutían favorablemente en la población de Bria y en la misión en si ya que se podía obtener información muy valiosa de primera fuente en conceptos de seguridad y de las actividades de los grupos armados

³ "Examen de la estructura de las Naciones Unidas para la consolidación de la paz", A/69/968-S/2015/490. Ver en p. 2 del informe.

que operaban en Bria.

Los países participantes en misiones de paz pueden formar también FET teniendo como punto de partida el modelo del contingente de Zambia, y de esa manera incrementar el número de personal femenino en misiones de paz.

En mi experiencia debo decir que fui la 1era oficial egresada de la Escuela Militar de Chorrillos que participó en una misión de mantenimiento de la paz, además de ser única mujer representante del Ejército del Perú en la MONUSCO en el año 2011, siendo esta mi primera participación.

Asimismo, en el 2016, me incorporé a mi 2da misión como oficial auxiliar en el G2 de la MINUSCA, desplegada en el sec-



Figura1 Lt Col Mabuku (Zambia) ,Mj Lazo (Perú),Mj Chipunza (Zambia) miembros del FET del Contingente de Zambia

tor BRIA, llegué a la misión, con grandes expectativas y empezamos con el curso de inducción, donde pude darme cuenta no había ningún tipo de discriminación en la formación, tanto hombres como mujeres reciben la misma atención, además es un ambiente en donde se fomenta la igualdad de género, no hacían distinción en la asignación de las tareas.

Fue en esta misión, pude ser testigo de la gran labor que realizaba el grupo del FET, para dar el apoyo a las mujeres y niñas más vulnerable de las localidades, lo cual fue positivo estratégicamente, dado que la población nos brindaba la información de interés para la misión, esta era una actividad muy productiva.

Donde se percibía un ambiente de rechazo era durante las reuniones con los líderes de los grupos armados, ya que de por sí son desconfiados, lo son más aún cuando tratan con una mujer, el ambiente de la conversación siempre se sentía tenso, en algunas localidades, los hombres no les permitían a sus mujeres que se acercaran o hablaran con los cascos azules.

En este sentido, está la importancia de la gran tarea o rol que realiza el FET, al buscar con paciencia interactuar con las



Figura2 Niñas retornando de la Escuela en RAFAI Octubre 2016

ciones en vista que en el aeropuerto de Bria se encontraban los grupos armados y constituía un riesgo para el aterrizaje y despegue de los helicópteros los cuales debían evacuar al personal vulnerable , el enfrentamientos de los grupos armados generó el desplazamiento de la población y formar un IDP Camp (Internally Displaced Person) en donde se debían proteger principalmente a las mujeres y niños y en el cual el FET desempeño un rol muy importante , es por ello que en la actualidad, como instructora en el CECOPAZ comparto con mis alumnos la experiencias obtenidas en cada una de las misiones para un mejor desempeño en Operaciones de Paz y como primera oficial femenina al comando de la compañía de comunicaciones de la 1ª Brigada de Fuerzas Especiales busco inspirar a otras mujeres a continuar en este camino del empoderamiento de la Mujer.

mujeres de las localidades y ganarse su confianza, es por ello la importancia del personal femenino, ya que el FET debería estar presente en todos los contingentes siendo también una manera de incrementar el número de personal femenino participante en operaciones de paz , para que puedan obtener la información necesaria de la población local y no solo poder brindar la ayuda para el mantenimiento de la paz, sino también empoderarlas, dando charlas o talleres que les permitan generar sus recursos y asegurar que los niños vayan escuela, sin ningún peligro que los pueda acechar.

Mi experiencia fue maravillosa y aprendí muchísimo en diferentes temas de género , administrativa y operacional ya que estuve expuesta a varios eventos como ataque a nuestras instalaciones, contribuyendo a la señalización para un helipuerto alterno para poder realizar las evacua-



Figura 3 Helipuerto Alterno en BRIA Noviembre 2016

Female Army Personnel in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

Karina Lazo

Traditionally, completely different roles have always been assigned to women and men; women stick to domestic and family issues and men to the battlefield. However, throughout our history, we have acknowledged the roles important women have played in the world, in times of conflict and peace. These anonymous heroines were and continue to be those who raise their families post-conflict, help generate an economy, and participate in their communities to raise their children, while protecting them and themselves from any predators that may disturb their homes.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has published several resolutions related to women, peace, and security, beginning with UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, adopted in 2000. This resolution recognizes and gives importance to the inclusion of gender perspectives in negotiations, planning, and peacekeeping operations; and not just in terms of seeing women as victims.¹

This resolution seeks the participation of women in all processes in armed conflicts, however, according to the data of the Council on Foreign Relations, *Women Participation in Peace Processes*,² the peace treaties signed from 1992 to 2016 do not reflect a significant increase in the participation of women in the aforementioned processes.

In 2010, the Secretary-General of the United Nations presented his report regarding the participation of women in the consolidation of peace. In this document, he emphasized what little importance states give to women's participation. This affirms the need for UNSCR 1325 to be applied more vigorously and for women's participation to be equal at decision-making levels. It also expresses its concern regarding the persistent obstacles faced when it comes to women's full participation in conflict

¹ In this sense, we start from the premise that women are not only "victims" of armed conflicts. As M. Abad Castelos notes, "Perhaps the most prudent thing to do is to admit that the concept of vulnerability has different layers and, furthermore, that it has great contradictions, at least between its postulated theoretical content and the reality of the experience." "Women in Armed Conflicts: Facing War With an International Regulation that can be Improved." in *Wars, Prestige and Imaginaries of Gender Bodies. Territories and Annexations*, ed. F. Quesada (Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, S. L., 2014); and Christine Chinkin, Mary Kaldor, and Punam Yadav, "Gender and new wars," *Journal of International Affairs*, 2013: 67 (1): 167-XIV.

² "Women's Participation in Peace Processes," Council on Foreign Relations, updated 30 January 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes#Introduction>.

resolution and prevention, as well as in post-conflict public life.³

In Latin America, the incorporation of women into military institutions occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, as part of a social legitimization process. In that sense, this did not guarantee full equity in terms of gender within the institutional sphere. Specifically, in Peru's case, in 1996, Law 22628 was enacted, which allowed women to gain access to the Chorrillos Military School "Coronel Francisco Bolognesi" for officers and non-commissioned officers of the Armed Forces, because of the international responsibilities of the military. Still, internally, there are various situations of inequality that persist.

Female personnel have participated in peacekeeping missions in contingents and as observers and military personnel. In the beginning, there were very few women, but over the years, the number of female officers has been on the rise.

The increase in officers and sub-officers in peacekeeping missions indicates that the measures taken to address the challenges faced by the UN in terms of equitable participation and gender equality are effective. The measures recognize the valuable contribution of female staff to collect information from women and girls in countries in conflict and include zero tolerance to sexual harassment and abuse.

In the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), the Zambian contingent did an excellent job, which included the female troop personnel who made up the Female Engagement Team (FET). The FET developed activities with local women and girls that included healthy food preparation, health and hygiene techniques, and empowerment and self-esteem workshops. These activities were well received and had a favorable impact on the population of Bria (the capital of Haute-Kotto, one of 14 prefectures) and the mission itself, since valuable information could be obtained firsthand on security and the activities of armed groups operating there.

Countries participating in peacekeeping missions can also form FETs with Zambia's contingency model as their starting point, thereby increasing the number of female personnel on peacekeeping missions.

I was the first officer to graduate from the Chorrillos Military School to participate in a peacekeeping mission. I was the only

³ "United Nations, "Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council," 30 June 2015: A / 69/968-S / 2015/490: 2, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_490.pdf.

female representative of the Peruvian Army at the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2011. It was the first peacekeeping mission in which I participated.

Likewise, in 2016, I joined my second mission as an auxiliary officer in the MINUSCA G2, deployed in Bria. I arrived at the mission with great expectations and began with the induction course. I realized there was no discrimination in the training activities – both men and women received equal attention in an environment where gender equality was promoted. They did not make a distinction when assigning tasks.

In this mission, I witnessed the great work carried out by the FET, who gave support to the most vulnerable women and girls in the areas visited. This was a productive activity because the population provided us with useful information for the mission.



Figure 1 Lieutenant Colonel Mabuku (Zambia), Major Lazo (Peru), Major Chipunza (Zambia), members of the Female Engagement Team of the Zambian contingent

During the meetings with the armed groups' leaders, the atmosphere of the conversation always felt tense. An atmosphere of rejection was perceived since the armed groups were already distrustful, and they were even more so when dealing with a woman. In some areas, the men did not allow "their" women to approach or speak with the blue helmets.

In this sense, the importance of the FET's role was highlighted. These female officers patiently sought to interact with the women of the communities and earn their trust, which illustrates the importance of female staff. The FET should be present in all contingents, to increase the number of female personnel participating in peacekeeping operations and obtain necessary information from the local population. This not only provides aid for peacekeeping but also empowers the local women, who attend talks and workshops that help them generate their own resources and ensure their children go to school without any



Figure 2 Girls returning from School at Rafai October 2016

women's empowerment.

threatening dangers.

I had a wonderful experience, and learned a lot about gender, administrative, and operational issues since I was exposed to various events, such as attacks on our facilities, and contributed to the signaling for an alternate heliport to carry out evacuations in view of the Bria airport being overtaken by armed groups, which was a risk for the landing and takeoff of the helicopters that had to evacuate vulnerable personnel. The confrontations between the armed groups caused the displacement of the population and the formation of an Internally Displaced Persons camp. MINUSCA was responsible for protecting mainly women and children at the camp, and the FET played an important role, which is why, today, as an instructor at the Peacekeeping Training Institute known as CECOPAZ in Peru, I share with my students the experience gained in each mission I participated in. The goal is an improved performance in future Peacekeeping Operations. As the first female officer in command of the communications company of the 1st Special Forces Brigade, I seek to inspire other women to continue on this path toward



Figure 3 Alternate Heliport in BRIA, November 2016

Daryl Dindial

Daryl Dindial is currently serving as the chief personnel officer in the personnel department for the government of Trinidad and Tobago. He is the principal advisor to the state on terms and conditions of employment, including responsibility as the employer for over 90,000 employees across the civil service and the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force (TTDF).

Before rejoining the personnel department, he served as the human resources officer for the TTDF Coast Guard and was later appointed as the J1HR, TTDF. Dindial holds a bachelor's degree in human resources management and a master's degree and PhD in education.

Dindial's professional military education includes distinguished academic institutions, both domestic and international, ranging from Trinidad and Tobago basic officer training to the Naval Post Graduate School in California.

Some of Dindial's military work includes developing proposals for compensation and benefits for the TTDF, developing the first TTDF Strategic HRM Plan, restructuring the national military headquarters organizational structure, developing human resources policies across all functional areas, acting as the TTDF team lead on the Ministry of National Security Strategic Plan 2018-2022, and developing the first draft of the TTDF Strategic Plan 2019-2023. He was also a team leader in the Defence Institutional Reform Initiative from 2016-2018. In January 2019, he was appointed Deputy Chief Personnel Officer for the government of Trinidad and Tobago.

Dindial is also a Perry Center alumni, attending the Security and Defense Institutional Building: Methods, Practices, and Tools in Washington, and the Caribbean Defence and Security Course, hosted in Trinidad and Tobago in 2018.



Daryl Dindial

Kemba Hannays

Kemba Hannays is currently the Deputy Chief Officer, Trinidad and Tobago Air Guard, a post she has held since November 2013. After joining the Trinidad and Tobago Regiment and completing basic officer training at the Officers' and Warrant Officers' Training Division in 2000, Hannays attended the Royal Signals Troop Commander's course at the Royal School of Signal in the United Kingdom (UK). She was later appointed regimental signals officer, then adjutant, and after that, a company commander in the Support and Service Battalion, Trinidad and Tobago Regiment.

After transferring to the Air Guard in 2006, Kemba became one of the first rotary wing pilots and was named training officer and subsequently, operations branch commander. In that position, she implemented required and systematic changes for the new formation. She was later appointed chief officer of the rotary wing.

Hannays graduated from the University of the West Indies with a master's degree, with distinction, in aviation management. She also attained troop commanders certification at the Royal School of Signals, UK, and attended the Joint Command and Staff Program at the Canadian Forces College in 2018. She holds a professional helicopter pilot certificate from the Professional Pilot Program at Bristow Academy in Titusville, Florida, and is a certified search and rescue pilot with an Agusta Westland 139 rating.

Wing Commander Hannays is married to Kyle Hannays. She enjoys outdoor physical activities, reading, and spending time with her family and friends.



Kemba Hannays

Trazando la Integración de las Mujeres en la Fuerza de Defensa de Trinidad y Tobago

Comandante (retirado) Dr. Daryl Dindial y la Comandante de Ala Kemba Hannays

Introducción

En el presente documento se ofrece una breve perspectiva histórica sobre el reclutamiento del primer grupo de mujeres en la Fuerza de Defensa de Trinidad y Tobago (TTDF) en 1980 y los esfuerzos realizados hasta la fecha para integrarlas. La TTDF es la mayor fuerza militar del Caribe anglófono. En la actualidad, la TTDF cuenta con más de 5.800 miembros activos del personal militar en las unidades de regimiento, guardia costera, guardia aérea y reservas. La TTDF participa en operaciones de búsqueda y rescate, protección de infraestructuras críticas, operaciones antidroga, lucha contra el terrorismo, operaciones humanitarias y de socorro en casos de desastre, protección de la pesca, seguridad de la navegación en aguas territoriales y ayuda a las autoridades civiles (deportes, cultura y educación).



Desfile del Destacamento Femenino de Trinidad y Tobago

La TTDF también se dedica a apoyar las operaciones de seguridad interna. En este documento se compartirán perspectivas sobre cuestiones como la política y la movilidad profesional, normas de contratación, capacitación y desarrollo, y los esfuerzos por elaborar estrategias y políticas para fortalecer la integración de las mujeres en la TTDF.

Las Posturas Políticas de 1980

El Gabinete de Trinidad y Tobago aprobó las primeras reclutas femeninas en la TTDF el 16 de mayo de 1980.¹ Algunos de los requisitos de alistamiento incluían que una mujer soldado debía ser soltera; quedarse embarazada dentro de los tres

¹

primeros años se consideraba un motivo de terminación del servicio, y sólo el oficial al mando podía conceder permiso para el matrimonio y el embarazo dentro del primer año de servicio. Además, las mujeres en servicio militar no eran liberadas para el matrimonio a menos que se consideraran aptas para el matrimonio y el embarazo, y se esperaba que sirvieran independientemente de las obligaciones familiares. Durante ese período, las mujeres no se alistaban ni se entrenaban para posiciones de combate, y se recomendaba que las mujeres recibieran un salario base inferior al de sus homólogos masculinos. El primer grupo de mujeres completó diez semanas de entrenamiento básico en el Cuartel de Teteron, Regimiento de Chaguaramas.

Según los relatos de los miembros de la primera admisión, se mencionaron desafíos durante ese tiempo. Por ejemplo, la falta de uniformes adecuados y las soldados fueron sometidas a contratos de alistamiento de tres años, mientras que a sus homólogos masculinos se les concedieron contratos de seis años. Además, no se permitía que las mujeres participaran en las clases para ascenso y de formación, dada la percepción de su incapacidad para poder manejar el estrés físico y mental. Tampoco se les ofrecían incentivos por volver a alistarse y no se les permitía comunicarse con los miembros varones durante su entrenamiento inicial.

En total, las 34 soldados completaron con éxito el entrenamiento. Estas fueron desplegadas a varias ramas del Regimiento de Trinidad y Tobago (TTR)² para desempeñar funciones administrativas, de oficina, de secretaría y de logística. Las primeras alistadas incluían otras treinta y tres de diferentes rangos y la primera candidata a oficial.

Los años 90: La Integración de la Mujer en la TTDF

En la década de 1990, hubo otras admisiones de mujeres reclutas. Esto fue acompañado por el desarrollo de la infraestructura de los dormitorios y las instalaciones de la base para acomodar a las tropas femeninas. En 1994, se realizó un ejercicio piloto para desplegar a las mujeres de la admisión inicial de la TTDF en la Guardia Costera de Trinidad y Tobago. En 1998, el Servicio de Guardacostas reclutó a sus primeras mujeres soldados. Sin embargo, uno de los principales problemas que afectaron a las iniciativas de ampliación de las bases de la TTDF a principios del decenio de 1990 fueron los problemas económicos nacionales.

Por consiguiente, se decidió, como postura política, que no más del 10% de los efectivos de la TTDF serían mujeres,

² Clement Burkett, *In Defence of a Nation* (Port of Spain: Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, 2012).

teniendo en cuenta de que las instalaciones de la base en ese momento no podían albergar tropas adicionales. En ese momento, la TTDF tenía acceso a un entrenamiento militar profesional limitado en el exterior y, por lo tanto, dependía en gran medida de sus sistemas internos para el entrenamiento y el desarrollo. Las mujeres soldado podían participar en las clases de ascenso y se abordaron muchas de las cuestiones administrativas relativas al uniforme y la vestimenta, la duración del contrato y la protección de la maternidad. Además, la norma de aptitud física aplicable a todas las tropas es la Prueba de Aptitud Física del Ejército, y las políticas y sistemas de ascenso y disciplina eran los mismos que para los soldados varones.

Los Años 2000: Fortalecimiento de la Capacidad Operativa

A principios del decenio del 2000, la TTDF completó varios ejercicios de expansión de la fuerza que incluyeron la creación de un batallón de infantería adicional, un cuartel general de regimiento y una nueva formación, la Guardia Aérea de Trinidad y Tobago. Además, hubo varios programas importantes de adquisición de material para buques patrulleros y naves de capacidad aérea multiuso, que dieron lugar a aumentos de efectivos y a la revisión de las estructuras organizativas y de personal. A fin de prepararse adecuadamente para la nueva capacidad de la Fuerza, la TTDF se centró en el reclutamiento, la retención, el entrenamiento y el desarrollo de tropas para futuras misiones. En 2005, la TTDF se asoció con la Guardia Nacional de Delaware como su socio estatal en el marco del Programa de Colaboración Estatal del Departamento de Defensa (SPP) de los Estados Unidos. Este programa sirvió como catalizador para exponer a todos los miembros a la experiencia en la cuestión. Durante este período, la Fuerza también amplió su participación en la formación militar profesional, académica y vocacional de todos los miembros para fortalecer las competencias de la Fuerza. Durante esta década, la TTDF incrementó sus esfuerzos de reclutamiento, y al final de la década, el umbral del 10 por ciento para los miembros femeninos ya no era aplicable.

2010-2020: Estableciendo las Condiciones para el Éxito

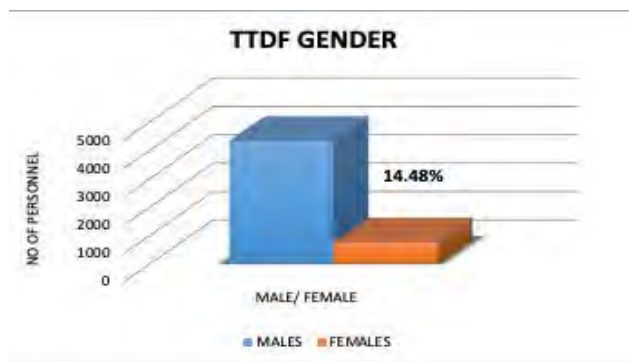
Durante este decenio, hubo una estrategia deliberada para centrarse en el fortalecimiento de la prestación de servicios de educación militar profesional y sistemas de desarrollo. Además, la TTDF examinó y reforzó sus procesos de gobernanza mediante la elaboración de políticas y procedimientos operativos estándar. La filosofía subyacente era crear una cultura inclusiva y mejorar la transparencia y la rendición de cuentas sobre la base de normas y directrices de política documentadas. Para apoyar esos objetivos, la TTDF desarrolló su primer Plan Estratégico de Recursos Humanos 2014-2018. Esto incluía un enfoque

en la contratación, el desarrollo de una nueva filosofía de compensación, mejores sistemas de gestión de la carrera, sistemas de apoyo a la familia, evaluaciones del clima y valores renovados basados en la ética y la moral. En la iniciativa estratégica de mejorar los valores, se centró en mejorar la prestación de servicios de bienestar para incluir la capellanía, los programas de asistencia a los empleados y el desarrollo de una política de confraternización. Esto último creó algunas preocupaciones y fue impugnado en un tribunal de justicia. Aun así, permitió mejorar la conciencia de las cuestiones relacionadas con el género que deben considerarse en el ejército.

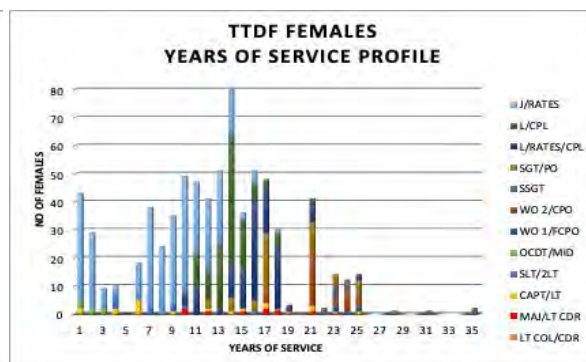
Para mejorar sus procesos de gobernanza y su postura y perspectiva estratégicas, la TTDF participó en la Iniciativa de Reforma Institucional de la Defensa con el apoyo del Departamento de Defensa de los Estados Unidos. La Fuerza también creó y puso en marcha la Oficina del Inspector General en 2014 en el marco del Cuartel General Militar y de la Defensa Nacional para gestionar las denuncias, las investigaciones y el cumplimiento. El inspector general ha mejorado la supervisión y evaluación de los sistemas y políticas. Ambas iniciativas pusieron de relieve la necesidad de centrarse en las cuestiones relacionadas con el género.

La TTDF también creó, promovió y participó en diversas conferencias, cursos de capacitación y talleres regionales e internacionales sobre cuestiones de género. En 2016, la TTDF copatrocinó la Conferencia Sobre las Mujeres en el Ejército y la Seguridad del Comando Sur de los Estados Unidos en Trinidad y Tobago, en la que participaron 19 países. Además, en 2019, la Oficina del Jefe del Estado Mayor de la Defensa (CDS) de la TTDF puso en marcha la Iniciativa de Mujeres Militares del CDS, "Igualdad de género en un marco de preparación operacional", con el fin de proporcionar un foro para participar en debates, desarrollo profesional y cuestiones de género más allá de 2020. Uno de los principales resultados de la conferencia inaugural fue la creación de un proyecto de política sobre el acoso, que está en agenda para su ratificación.

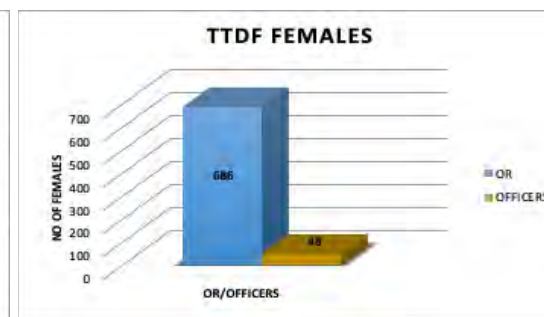
Durante ese período, la TTDF reclutó el mayor número de mujeres de su historia y aumentó su participación en la educación militar profesional en las escuelas militares más prestigiosas del mundo. A partir del 2020, la Fuerza ha contado con mujeres graduadas del Colegio de Mando y Estado Mayor General del Ejército de los Estados Unidos, en Fort Leavenworth, y del Programa de Mando y Estado Mayor Conjunto del Colegio de las Fuerzas Canadienses. Además, la Fuerza ha capacitado a miembros femeninos en el extranjero a través del Programa de Educación Militar Internacional de los Estados Unidos y otras oportunidades de capacitación con Canadá y el Reino Unido. Cabe destacar que la asociación con la Guardia Nacional de



La figura 1 muestra el porcentaje de hombres y mujeres en la TTDF (septiembre de 2020)



La figura 2 muestra los años de servicio de las mujeres de la TTDF (septiembre de 2020)



La figura 3 muestra el número de mujeres (oficiales y demás rangos) en la TTDF (septiembre de 2020)

Delaware alcanzó niveles sin precedentes en cuanto al alcance, la exposición y el impacto en el desarrollo de la TTDF como institución y como la de sus miembros.

La TTDF ha designado mujeres para comandar batallones, aviones y buques; esta última incluye a capitanes con experiencia en el cruce de buques transatlánticos. En 2020, las mujeres prestan servicios en casi todas las especialidades profesionales de la TTDF, incluidas las operaciones, la logística, los recursos humanos, las cuestiones jurídicas, las tecnologías de la información y las comunicaciones, los asuntos públicos, la inteligencia, la ingeniería, la administración, la gestión de proyectos, el desarrollo de la juventud, las finanzas y la planificación de la fuerza.

De forma significativa, la TTDF nombró a su primer asesor de género para el CDS en septiembre de 2020. La función del asesor en cuestiones de género es colaborar con los interesados para fortalecer la integración de la mujer en la TTDF. El asesor se encarga de elaborar políticas y estrategias para abordar las cuestiones actuales y emergentes de los foros nacionales, regionales e internacionales sobre cuestiones de género que puedan repercutir en la moral, el bienestar y la preparación de la fuerza.

Hasta septiembre del 2020, la fuerza demográfica femenina es aproximadamente el 14,5% (véase la figura 1). Los perfiles de años de servicio indican un tiempo medio de catorce años de servicio (véase la figura 2). La Fuerza cuenta actualmente con 734 efectivos femeninos que incluyen 686 de demás rangos y 48 oficiales (ver Figura 3).

Conclusión

Algunos de los desafíos y restricciones que experimentaron las tropas femeninas en la TTDF en los primeros años no son únicos. Además, se ha mencionado que ha habido muy pocas investigaciones centradas en las mujeres y su relación con el ejército. Según Stefanie von Hlatky,³ es difícil obtener investigaciones acerca del reclutamiento, la retención y la selección, y mucho menos investigaciones sobre cuestiones de género en el ejército.⁴ A nivel mundial, las cuestiones relativas a las experiencias y el papel de la mujer, ya sea en los conflictos o en las misiones de paz en las fuerzas armadas, fueron plenamente ratificadas en el año 2000 por el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas en la Resolución 1335.

Sin embargo, la realidad de los desafíos que aún experimentan las mujeres quedó bien documentada en un estudio mundial de las Naciones Unidas en 2015. Se reveló que los desafíos posteriores a la implementación fueron un revés significativo. Según Robert Egnell y Mayesha Alam, esos desafíos incluyen “la escasez de voluntad política, la parálisis institucional, la competencia por los recursos limitados, las realidades geopolíticas, los malentendidos conceptuales y otros factores... el inadecuado intercambio de las mejores prácticas y las lecciones aprendidas entre los países y las regiones”.⁵

En el caso de la TTDF, sin lugar a dudas ha habido mejoras significativas en el tratamiento de la integración de la mujer en todas las esferas de las operaciones, incluidos los nombramientos de altos mandos y personal en la mayoría de las especialidades ocupacionales militares. La igualdad de acceso a las oportunidades de capacitación y desarrollo y los niveles similares de indemnización y los derechos constitucionales de reparación están bien establecidos. En el plano nacional, también existen leyes sobre la igualdad de oportunidades, la protección de los datos, la libertad de información y la protección de la maternidad, que se hacen extensivas a todos los nacionales de las fuerzas armadas. Algunas esferas de esa legislación apoyan la disuasión del acoso y la discriminación y promueven la igualdad de derechos en virtud de la constitución de Trinidad y Tobago.

³ Robert Egnell and Mayesha Alam, “Gender and Women in the Military - Setting the Stage,” in *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, eds. Robert Egnell and Mayesha Alam (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), 1-2.

⁴ Stefanie von Hlatky, “The Gender Perspective and Canada’s Armed Forces – Internal and External Dimensions of Military Culture,” in *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, eds. Robert Egnell and Mayesha Alam (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), 83-84.

⁵ See note 3, Egnell and Alam, “Gender and Women in the Military,” 2.

A pesar de los esfuerzos realizados por la TTDF en el plano funcional en la formulación de políticas y en el marco legislativo nacional, sigue siendo necesario seguir trabajando, debatiendo y proporcionando un foro para que las mujeres de la TTDF compartan sus creencias, percepciones y experiencias sobre cuestiones relacionadas con el género. Se trata de un factor de éxito decisivo para que la TTDF pueda seguir fortaleciendo la integración de sus mujeres en la Fuerza, aprender de las experiencias de los demás y compartir sus errores y éxitos a medida que siga siendo un líder en las operaciones nacionales y regionales.

Tracing the Integration of Women into the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force

Commander (Retired) Dr. Daryl Dindial and Wing Commander Kemba Hannays

Introduction

This paper provides a brief historical perspective on the recruitment of the first group of females into the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force (TTDF) in 1980 and the efforts made to date to integrate them. The TTDF is the largest military force in the English-speaking Caribbean. Presently, the TTDF has an active membership of more than 5,800 military personnel across Regiment, Coast Guard, Air Guard, and Reserves units. The TTDF is engaged in search and rescue operations, critical infrastructure protection, counterdrug operations, counterterrorism, humanitarian and disaster relief operations, fisheries protection, the safety of shipping in territorial waters, and aid to the civilian authorities (sports, culture, and education). The TTDF is also engaged in supporting internal safety and security operations. This paper will share perspectives on such issues as policy, career mobility, recruitment standards, training and development, and efforts to develop strategies and policies to strengthen the integration of women in the TTDF.



Trinidad and Tobago Armed Female Detachment Parade

The 1980 Policy Positions

The Cabinet of Trinidad and Tobago approved the first female recruits into the TTDF on May 16, 1980.¹ Some of the enlistment requirements included that a female soldier should be single; becoming pregnant within the first three years was regard-

ed as a ground for termination of service, and only the commanding officer could grant permission for marriage and pregnancy within the first year of service. Additionally, serving women were not released for marriage unless they were deemed fit for marriage and pregnancy, and were expected to serve regardless of familial obligations. During that period, women were not enlisted and trained for combat positions, and it was recommended that women receive a lower base salary than their male counterparts. The first group of females completed ten weeks of basic training in Teteron Barracks, Chaguaramas Regiment.

From accounts of members of the initial intake, there were challenges cited during that time. For example, the absence of adequate uniforms and soldiers were subjected to three-year enlistment contracts, whereas their male counterparts were granted six-year contracts. Additionally, females were not allowed to participate in promotional and cadres classes, given the perception of their inability to manage the physical and mental stress. Also, they were not offered reengagement bounties and were not allowed to communicate with male members during their recruit training.

In total, all of the thirty-four troops successfully completed the training. They were deployed into various arms of the Trinidad and Tobago Regiment (TTR)² to function in administrative, clerical, secretarial, and logistics roles. The first enlistees included thirty-three other ranks and the first female officer candidate.

The 1990s: Integration of Women Into the TTDF

By the 1990s, there were other intakes of enlisted females. This was accompanied by infrastructural development of dorms and base facilities to accommodate the female troops. In 1994, a pilot exercise was engaged to deploy women from the initial TTR intake into the Trinidad and Tobago Coast Guard. In 1998, the Coast Guard recruited its first female soldiers. One of the main challenges affecting the TTDF initiatives for further base expansion in the early 1990s was national economic challenges.

Consequently, it was decided as a policy position that no more than 10 percent of the TTDF would be females, given the base facilities at that time could not accommodate additional troops. At that time, the TTDF was accessing limited professional military training externally and therefore relied heavily on its internal systems for training and development. Female soldiers were eligible to participate in promotional classes, and many of the administrative issues regarding uniform and dress,

² Clement Burkett, *In Defence of a Nation* (Port of Spain: Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, 2012).

contract duration, and maternity protection were addressed. Further, the fitness standard applicable to all troops is the Army Physical Fitness Test, and the promotional and discipline policies and systems were the same for male soldiers.

The 2000s: Strengthening Operational Capacity

In the early 2000s, the TTDF completed several force-expansion exercises that included creating an additional infantry battalion, a regimental headquarters, and a new formation, the Trinidad and Tobago Air Guard. In addition, there were several major asset acquisition programs for patrol vessels and multipurpose air capability craft, which resulted in strength increases and revised organizational and staffing structures. To adequately prepare for the new capability of the Force, the TTDF focused on recruiting, retaining, training, and developing troops for future assignments. In 2005, the TTDF partnered with the Delaware National Guard as its state partner under the U.S. State Partnership program. This program served as a catalyst to expose all members to subject matter expertise. During this period, the Force also expanded its participation in professional military, academic, and vocational training for all members to strengthen the Force's competencies. Over this decade, the TTDF increased its recruitment efforts, and by the end of the decade, the 10 percent threshold for female members was no longer applicable.

2010-2020: Setting the Conditions for Success

During this decade, there was a deliberate strategy to focus on strengthening the delivery of professional military education and development systems. Additionally, the TTDF reviewed and bolstered its governance processes by developing policies and standard operating procedures. The underpinning philosophy was to guide an inclusive culture and improve transparency and accountability based on documented policy standards and guidelines. To support these goals, the TTDF developed its first Strategic Human Resource Plan 2014-2018. It included a focus on recruitment, the development of a new compensation philosophy, improved career management systems, family support systems, climate assessments, and renewed values based on ethics and morals. On the strategic initiative of improving values, there was a focus on improving the delivery of welfare services to include chaplaincy, employee assistance programs, and developing a fraternization policy. The latter created some concerns and was challenged in a court of law. Still, it enabled improved awareness of the gender-related issues that must be considered in the military.

To improve its governance processes and strategic posture and outlook, the TTDF engaged in the Defence Institutional Reform Initiative with the support of the U.S. Department of Defense. The Force also created and set up the Inspector-General Office in 2014 under the National Defence and Military Headquarters to handle complaints, investigations, and compliance. The inspector-general has improved the monitoring and evaluation of systems and policies. Both initiatives highlighted the need to focus on and treat gender-related issues.

The TTDF also created, promoted, and participated in various regional and international gender-based conferences, training, and workshops. In 2016, the TTDF co-hosted the U.S. Southern Command's Women in the Military and Security conference in Trinidad and Tobago; nineteen countries participated. Additionally, in 2019, the TTDF's Office of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) launched the CDS Military Women's Initiative, "Gender Equality in a Framework of Operational Readiness," to provide a forum to engage in discussions, professional development, and gender issues beyond 2020. One of the key deliverables from the inaugural conference was the creation of a draft harassment policy, which is on the agenda for ratification.

During this period, the TTDF recruited the largest number of females in its history and increased its participation in professional military education in the world's most prestigious military schools. As of 2020, the Force has had female graduates from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, and the Canadian Forces College Joint Command and Staff Program. Additionally, the TTDF trained female members in overseas training through the U.S. International Military Education Program and other training opportunities with Canada and the United Kingdom. Notably, the partnership with the Delaware National Guard reached unprecedented levels in terms of scope, exposure, and impact on the development of the TTDF as an institution and its members.

The TTDF has appointed females to command battalions, aircraft, and vessels; the latter includes captains with transatlantic vessel-crossing experience. In 2020, females are serving in almost every occupational specialization in the TTDF, including operations, logistics, human resources, legal, information and communication technologies, public affairs, intelligence, engineering, administration, project management, youth development, finance, and force planning.

Significantly, the TTDF appointed its first gender advisor to the CDS in September 2020. The gender advisor's role is to collaborate with stakeholders to strengthen the integration of women into the TTDF. The advisor is responsible for developing

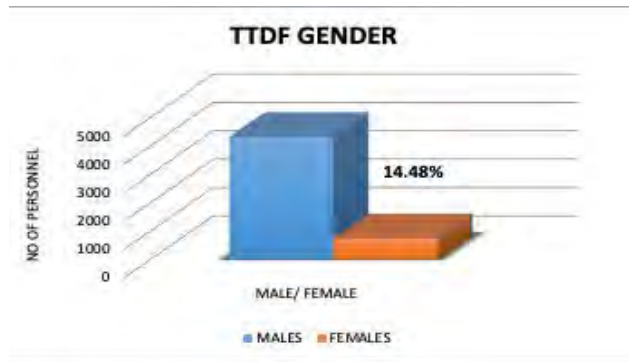


Figure 1 shows the percentage of males and females in the TTDF (September 2020)

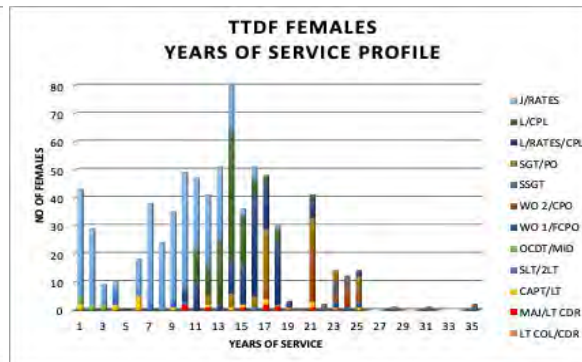


Figure 2 shows the years of service for females of the TTDF (September 2020)

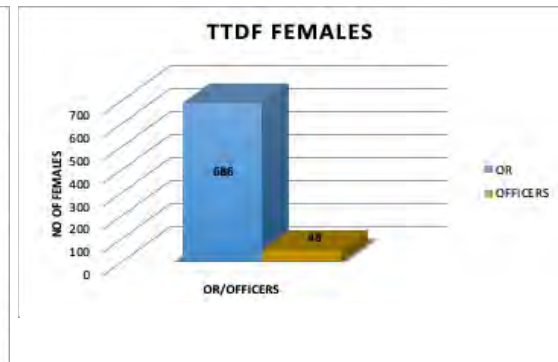


Figure 3 shows the number of females (officers and other ranks) in the TTDF (September 2020)

policies and strategies to address current and emerging issues from national, regional, and international forums on gender issues that could have an impact on morale, welfare, and force readiness.

As of September 2020, the Force female demographic is approximately 14.5 percent (see Figure 1). The years of service profiles indicate an average time of fourteen years' service (see Figure 2). The Force currently has 734 female troops that include 686 other ranks and 48 officers (see Figure 3).

Conclusion

Some of the challenges and restrictions that female troops in the TTDF experienced in the early years are not unique. Additionally, it has been cited that there has been very little research focusing on women and their relationship to the military.³ According to von Stefanie von Hlatky,⁴ existing research on recruitment, retention, and selection is difficult to obtain, let alone research on gender-based issues in the military. Globally, issues surrounding the experiences and role of women, whether in

conflict or peacekeeping roles in the military, were fully ratified in 2000 at the United Nations Security Council in Resolution 1335. However, the reality of the challenges women still experience was well documented in a UN global study in 2015. It was revealed that post-implementation challenges were a significant setback. According to Robert Egnell and Mayesha Alam, these challenges include “a shortage of political will, institutional paralysis, competition over limited resources, geopolitical realities, conceptual misunderstanding, and other factors ... the inadequate sharing of best practices and lessons learned between countries and regions.”⁵

For the TTDF, there have undoubtedly been significant improvements in treating the integration of women in all spheres of operations, including senior command and staff appointments across most military occupational specializations. Equal access to training and development opportunities and similar levels of compensation and constitutional rights to redress concerns are well established. Nationally, legislation on equal opportunities, data protection, freedom of information, and maternity protection also exist and are extended to all nationals in the military. Some areas of this legislation support the deterrence of harassment and discrimination and promote equality of rights under Trinidad and Tobago’s constitution.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the TTDF at the functional level of policy making and the national legislative framework, there is still the requirement to continue working, discussing, and providing a forum for women in the TTDF to share their beliefs, perceptions, and experiences on gender-related issues. This is a critical success factor to enable the TTDF to continue strengthening its integration of women into the Force, learn from the experiences of others, and share its errors and successes as it continues to be a leader for national and regional operations.

⁵ See note 3, Egnell and Alam, “Gender and Women in the Military,” 2.

Serena G. Simeoli

Serena G. Simeoli is a U.S. Marine Corps civil affairs and civil-military operations specialist currently serving as the Belize desk officer, civil-military operational planner, and operations security program manager for Marine Forces South at U.S. Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM). Simeoli holds a master's degree in business administration with concentrations in international business and management science from the University of Miami Herbert Business School.

Simeoli boasts thirteen years of military experience with four years of professional work experience in USSOUTHCOM and three years of domestic and international field experience leading civil affairs/civil-military operations-related training and humanitarian assistance and disaster response education. She brings a wealth of experience providing civil-military planning education and coordination with the U.S. embassy offices of security cooperation with partner nation and local government Ministries of Health, Education, and Public Security equivalents in Argentina, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, and Peru.. This partnership building focused on developing partner nation domestic and foreign disaster response capabilities and ultimately their capacity to export such capability.

As a member of the U.S. Marine Corps, Serena has served as a representative to various symposiums and exercises and was one of four U.S. women invited to participate in a United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325-related International Women's Symposium for professional development and networking hosted by Peru. She also acted as a Combined Task Force Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief subject matter expert in an exchange with senior military officers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, and Peru. During Operation Iraqi Freedom, Simeoli was the youngest of nine female Marines assigned to the frontline ground combat regiment (3rd Battalion, 24th Marine Infantry Regiment) during initial trials of the female engagement team concept in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Simeoli speaks Spanish and is learning Arabic.



Serena G. Simeoli

Las Pocas, Las Orgullosas, Las Mujeres Marines

Serena G. Simeoli

En 2019, las mujeres constituían poco más de la mitad de la población de los Estados Unidos.¹ Si se le pide a alguien que se imagine a un Marine [Infantería de Marina] de los Estados Unidos, es probable que un individuo invoque la imagen de un hombre fuerte en uniforme. Hoy en día, alrededor del 8 por ciento de los Marines de los Estados Unidos son mujeres.² Por cada noventa y dos hombres fornidos en uniforme, hay ocho poderosas mujeres con el mismo uniforme.

Durante mi tiempo como Planificadora de Operaciones Civiles y Militares para la Fuerza Marines-Sur [MARFORSOUTH], se me dieron innumerables oportunidades para comprender mejor las complejidades de nuestros desafíos regionales compartidos. A través de lo que nos gusta llamar el lente “verde” o el componente civil del entorno operativo, los Marines como yo jugamos un papel crucial en la promoción de un enfoque “integral gubernamental” en las operaciones militares. A través de actividades y viajes por el hemisferio occidental, pude comprobar cómo la incorporación de las perspectivas de género puede darnos una ventaja competitiva sobre nuestros adversarios y mejorar nuestra comprensión general de los desafíos de seguridad tradicionales y no lineales que enfrenta el Hemisferio Occidental. Sin embargo, hacer operativas las perspectivas de género no es una tarea fácil. En los siguientes párrafos, describiré una de mis experiencias como una joven Marine, como testimonio del progreso que el Cuerpo de Marines ha hecho en la última década.

Mi trayectoria en el Cuerpo de Marines comenzó en el 2007. Durante el entrenamiento inicial, nos enseñaron que el 13 de agosto de 1918, Opha May Johnson se convirtió en la primera mujer Marine. Punto final. Esa frase era todo lo que se nos pedía saber sobre la contribución de las mujeres en el Cuerpo de Marines de los Estados Unidos. Para dar al lector un poco más [de información], el 12 de junio de 1948, el Congreso de los EE.UU. aprobó la Ley de Integración de las Mujeres en las

¹ The World Bank, “Data,” 2019, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.IN?locations=US-1W>.

² Lynsey Addario, “Women Becoming Marines: ‘I’ Will No Longer Be in Your Vocabulary,” The New York Times, 24 March 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/24/us/female-marines-parris-island-crucible.html>.

Fuerzas Armadas, por la cual las mujeres se convirtieron en parte permanente del Cuerpo de Marines. Históricamente, la participación de las mujeres era limitada u oculta. La Segunda Guerra Mundial fue la primera gran guerra en la que se aceptó la participación de las mujeres en servicio militar, sin embargo, las mujeres que sirvieron en todas las ramas de las fuerzas armadas de los EE.UU. se limitaron a funciones administrativas y de apoyo hasta la década de 1980.

Un momento decisivo en la historia de la contribución de las mujeres en combate fue la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas, que fue adoptada por unanimidad el 31 de octubre de 2000, y que conmemoramos a través de estos ensayos. Este fue el principal impulsor del cambio de transformación global. En la resolución se pedía el apoyo a la mujer, la protección de los derechos humanos y las leyes internacionales en relación a la mujer, y se ponían de relieve las perspectivas de género de la mujer en todos los contextos de la paz y la seguridad internacional. Poco después, la Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte (OTAN) y el Departamento de Operaciones de las Misiones de Paz de las Naciones Unidas iniciaron nuevas políticas para hacer un mejor trabajo para la integración de las mujeres en sus respectivas fuerzas militares.

Coincidiendo con las guerras de Irak y Afganistán, los países de la OTAN comenzaron a formar mujeres en los Equipos de Participación Femenina (EPF). Estas mujeres fueron capacitadas principalmente para relacionarse con la población local y realizar búsquedas de mujeres musulmanas sujetas a sensibilidades religiosas y así evitar acciones similares por parte de sus pares masculinos. El Cuerpo de Marines estuvo al frente de este experimento, sin contar con un Plan de Acción Nacional de los Estados Unidos. Fui una de las mujeres elegidas para este rol en 2009. Durante ese tiempo, servía en la Reserva del Cuerpo de Marines como Marine subalterna (Lance Corporal) en comunicaciones y electrónica. Mientras asistía a la universidad a tiempo completo, mi unidad fue activada para ser desplegada en Irak en apoyo de un batallón de infantería de más de 1.000 Marines masculinos.

De los Marines de mi unidad de comunicaciones designados para el despliegue, había nueve mujeres subalternas y suboficiales, y yo era la más joven. Sólo después de la activación se me informó que habían sido enviada mujeres a la misión por error. Una vez llegamos para el adiestramiento previo al despliegue, el batallón encontró la forma de retenernos. "Entrenarlas como EPF's". Dividido en pares EPF's de Marines, nuestra misión era proporcionar apoyo directo a cada una de las respectivas compañías de infantería. Al llegar, sentí como si fuésemos animales de zoológico ya que todos los ojos estaban puestos en

todo lo que nosotras hiciéramos.

El desarrollo del entrenamiento con nuestras respectivas compañías fue generalmente positivo. Estábamos allí para hacer un trabajo, y lo hicimos bien. Dadas las habilidades esenciales como la cultura y el idioma, las técnicas y procedimientos de búsqueda, de patrulla montada, y las tareas asociadas con el trabajo en un centro de detención, nos sentimos preparados para la misión. Mientras más trabajábamos con una compañía en particular, más nos entendían y valoraban nuestro rol. Después de la conclusión del ejercicio de pre-despliegue, "Mojave Viper", nos sentimos muy vinculadas a nuestras compañías asignadas.

Mi equipo experimentó su justa dosis de desafíos a lo largo de este despliegue, pero la valía de las perspectivas de género y la necesidad de una presencia física en el campo de batalla fueron evidentes. En algunos casos, las vidas de las mujeres iraquíes dependían de ello. Una mirada o un toque físico de un Marine varón podría costarle la vida a una mujer lugareña en la cultura en la que estábamos inmersos. El adversario también se estaba volviendo más inteligente, y el Cuerpo de Marines necesitaba evolucionar. A medida que el tempo operativo fluctuaba, traté de aprovecharlo al máximo. A veces, frustrada por lo que percibía como los costos de la reorganización cognitiva del cambio institucional transformador, lo remedí ofreciéndome como voluntaria para trabajar como ayudante de nuestro capellán de campamento y coordiné un duatlón para levantar la moral de toda la base con la participación de 200 participantes, con patrocinadores de los Estados Unidos que suministraron camisetas y medallas para el evento. Aprendí muchas lecciones durante mi experiencia como mujer Marine desplegada como parte de un EPF, como la dureza mental y física; el valor de la comprensión, la fe y la perseverancia; y la importancia de las consideraciones culturales en las operaciones de combate. Estas y otras lecciones influyeron en última instancia en mi decisión de convertirme en una oficial del Cuerpo de Marines.

Hoy en día, seguimos evolucionando. En los últimos diez años, el servicio ha abierto ocupaciones militares de armas de combate que anteriormente estaban cerradas a mujeres calificadas, y se eligió a una mujer Marine para una clase de astronauta de la NASA, y también se recibió a la primera mujer comandante de pelotón de infantería y a la primera mujer piloto de F-35, sólo por nombrar algunas. Al tomar como modelo y emplear los principios de la Resolución 1325 del Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas a través de nuestro Plan de Acción Nacional junto con otras seis naciones asociadas de la región, seguimos siendo creíbles y continuamos siendo un ejemplo para el Hemisferio Occidental. A medida que los líderes comiencen a defender e incorporar los objetivos de defensa de los EE.UU. delineados y acordados en el Marco Estratégico

y el Plan de Aplicación para la Mujer, Paz, y Seguridad del Departamento de Defensa, las lagunas en los datos de género disminuirán paulatinamente, y la comprensión del valor de todo el espectro del capital humano contribuirá a una fuerza más eficaz en el futuro.³

³ Caroline Criado-Perez, *Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men* (New York: Abrams, 2019).

The Few, the Proud, the Female Marines

Serena G. Simeoli

In 2019, women made up a little over half of the population of the United States.¹ Ask someone to picture a U.S. Marine, and it is likely that an individual will summon the image of a strong male in uniform. Today, around 8 percent of U.S. Marines are women.² For every ninety-two strong men in uniform, there are eight strong women in the same uniform.

During my time as the Civil Affairs/Civil Military Operations Planner for Marine Corps Forces, South, I was afforded countless opportunities to better understand the complexities of our shared regional challenges. Through what we like to call the “green” lens or the civil component of the operating environment, Marines such as myself play a critical role in promoting a “whole of government” approach to military operations. Through engagements and travel across the Western Hemisphere, I can attest to how incorporating gender perspectives may give us a competitive advantage over our adversaries and enhance our overall understanding of traditional and non-linear security challenges facing the Western Hemisphere. However, operationalizing gender perspectives is not an easy task. In the following paragraphs, I will describe one of my experiences as a young Marine in testament to the progress the Marine Corps has made in the past decade.

My Marine Corps journey began in 2007. During entry-level training, we were taught that on August 13, 1918, Opha May Johnson became the first female Marine. The end. That one sentence was all we were required to know about the contribution of women in the U.S. Marine Corps. To give the reader a little more, on June 12, 1948, Congress passed the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act, making women a permanent part of the Marine Corps. Historically, the participation of women was either limited or hidden. World War II was the first major war in which the participation of women in uniform was accepted, however, women serving in all branches of the U.S. military was limited to administrative and support roles until the 1980s.

¹ The World Bank, “Data,” 2019, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.IN?locations=US-1W>.

² Lynsey Addario, “Women Becoming Marines: ‘I’ Will No Longer Be in Your Vocabulary,” *The New York Times*, 24 March 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/24/us/female-marines-parris-island-crucible.html>.

A watershed moment in the history of the contribution of women in combat was United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, which was adopted unanimously on October 31, 2000, and which we commemorate through these essays. This was the primary driver for global transformative change. The resolution called for advocacy for women, protection of human rights, and international laws concerning women, and highlighted gender perspectives of women in all contexts of international peace and security. Shortly after, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations initiated new policies to do a better job of integrating women within their respective militaries.

Coinciding with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, NATO countries began forming women into Female Engagement Teams (FETs). These women were primarily trained to engage with the local populace and conduct searches of Muslim women subject to religious sensitivities and prevent similar actions by their male counterparts. The Marine Corps was at the forefront of this experiment, absent any U.S. National Action Plan. I was one of the women chosen for this role in 2009. During that time, I served in the Marine Corps Reserves as a junior enlisted Marine (Lance Corporal) in communications and electronics. While also attending undergraduate school full time, my unit was activated to deploy to Iraq in support of a ground infantry battalion of more than 1,000 strictly male Marines.

Of the Marines in my communications unit designated to deploy, there were nine female junior enlisted and non-commissioned officers, and I was the youngest. It was only after activation that I was informed they had committed women to the mission by accident. Once arriving for pre-deployment training, the battalion found a way to keep us. "Train them as a FET." Divided into two-Marine FETs, our mission was to provide direct support to each of the respective infantry companies. Upon arrival, I felt like we were animals at the zoo. Eyes were on us in everything we did.

In training evolutions with our respective line companies, my recollection of the perceptions and interactions was generally positive. We were there to do a job, and we did it well. Given essential skills such as culture and language, search techniques and procedures, mounted patrol, and tasks associated with working in a detention facility, we felt prepared for the mission. The more we worked with a particular company, the more we understood each other and the value of our roles. After the conclusion of the pre-deployment exercise, "Mojave Viper," we felt very close to our assigned companies.

My team experienced its fair share of challenges throughout this deployment, but the value of gender perspectives and

the need for a physical presence on the battlefield was evident. In some cases, the lives of Iraqi women depended on it. One look or physical touch from a male Marine could cost a local woman her life in the culture we were immersed in. The adversary was also getting smarter, and the Marine Corps needed to evolve. As operational tempo ebbed and flowed, I tried to make the most of it. At times, frustrated with what I perceived as the cognitive retooling costs of transformative institutional change, I remedied it by volunteering to work as our camp chaplain's aide and coordinated a morale-boosting base-wide duathlon with more than 200 participants with sponsors from the United States supplying event shirts and medals. I learned many lessons during my experience as a female Marine deployed as part of a FET, such as mental and physical toughness; the value of perception, faith, and perseverance; and the importance of cultural considerations in combat operations. These and other lessons ultimately influenced my decision to become a Marine Corps officer.

Today, we continue to evolve. In the past ten years, the service has opened previously-closed combat arms military occupations to qualified women, selected a female Marine for a NASA astronaut class, and received its first female infantry platoon commander and F-35 pilot, just to name a few. By modeling and employing UNSCR 1325 principles through our National Action Plan alongside six other partner nations in the region, we remain credible and continue to lead by example in the Western Hemisphere. As leaders begin to champion and incorporate the U.S. Defense Objectives outlined in the signed Women, Peace, and Security Department of Defense Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan, gender data gaps will slowly decrease, and the understanding of the value of the entire spectrum of human capital will contribute to a more effective force in the future.³

³ Caroline Criado-Perez, *Exposing Data Bias in a World Designed for Men* (New York: Abrams, 2019).

Rosario Rodríguez

Rosario Rodriguez is an Uruguayan defense specialist, who has served as the defense advisor to the Permanent Secretariat of the National Defense Council, academic deputy director of the Center for Higher National Studies (CALEN) – Uruguayan Defense College, and head of the notarial advisory for the Ministerial Cabinet. She is currently completing her diploma in gender and public policy and has begun work toward a PhD in political science.

She is co-director of the “Gender in National Defense” coursework at CALEN, and is director of gender courses at the School of Government (National Parliament) and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. She has served as a panelist and lecturer on gender in defense and armed forces institutions in Uruguay and abroad. She collaborated with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Gender Affairs Division, Chile) on the preparation of a new regional training program on gender and security and the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, facilitating its third regional workshop.

Rodriguez has also served as a collaborator with the Security and Defense Network in Latin America (RESDAL) for the Comparative Atlas of Defense in Latin America and the Caribbean, in gender and peace operations of the armed forces, and training centers for peacekeeping missions. While working with the Ministry of Defense, she participated in the advisory group to prepare the National Strategy for Gender Equality, and the draft law on equality and non-discrimination called for by the National Institute for Women of the Ministry of Social Development. Rodriguez participated as part of the RESDAL team for the implementation of the methodology developed by the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance for the identification of barriers to the deployment of uniformed women in United Nations peacekeeping operations, and in Uruguay for the National Action Plan for Women, Peace, and Security. She has published articles and book chapters on security, defense, and gender in Uruguay and abroad.



Rosario Rodriguez

La importante contribución de las mujeres militares en las tareas de paz y seguridad

Rosario Rodríguez

Uruguay tiene vasta trayectoria en operaciones de paz con un número elevado de personal militar aportado, si se toma en cuenta su cantidad de habitantes. Bajo mandato de la ONU, participa con Observadores Militares en Cachemira (1952) e integra Contingentes (1992). En una participación completamente voluntaria, más de 45 000 efectivos militares pasaron por las Misiones de Paz y más de 2000 fueron mujeres entre Personal Superior y Subalterno. En 2006 fue la primera vez que una mujer Oficial del Cuerpo Comando del Ejército integró un contingente de efectivos. Las mujeres militares uruguayas tienen una evolución cualitativa respecto de sus roles, que son los mismos que sus pares varones. En la ONU, ocuparon cargos en el Estado Mayor y en Conducta y Disciplina, con un impacto sustantivo de la presencia femenina.

Y si bien la participación de la mujer en los ámbitos de seguridad y defensa viene adquiriendo cada vez más importancia, existe escasa difusión sobre sus experiencias que sirvan de estímulo para otras mujeres a realizar una Misión de Paz o cumplir misiones operativas. Por ello, presentaré los testimonios y anécdotas de tres mujeres militares combatientes que contribuyeron en asistencia humanitaria en la República de Haití, mientras comandaban una misión en un ejercicio internacional de vuelo, y en el conflicto armado en la República Democrática del Congo. Todo esto, con la incorporación de la perspectiva de género implementada en la resolución 1325, “Mujeres, paz y seguridad”.

Andrea De Los Santos (Ejército Nacional)

Teniente Coronel del Arma de Infantería. Primera Oficial Combatiente del Ejército uruguayo. Fue la primera mujer en ser Buzo Táctico. Fue Segundo Comandante del Cuartel General del Comando General del Ejército. Actualmente, es la Directora del Centro de Instrucción de Infantería.

Hace 10 años tuvo la primera experiencia en una misión internacional durante la Misión de la ONU para la Estabilización de Haití (MINUSTAH). Luego del trágico terremoto ocurrido en enero 2010, participó de una misión humanitaria en la búsqueda

de sobrevivientes. Contaba con una especialización en entrenamiento de perros de trabajo militar y fue Jefa del Grupo de Operaciones K-9, donde comandó hombres y perros en las especialidades de búsqueda y detección de explosivos, y búsqueda y rescate de personas. Ese fue su primer operativo real fuera del país, donde formó parte del Grupo de Operaciones K-9 del Ejército Nacional, con la Escuadra de Búsqueda y Rescate de personas.

La experiencia resultó sumamente positiva: poder llevar a la práctica el trabajo con los perros, señalar ese clima de confianza que se crea entre su perro y la persona, relación conocida como “binomio”. También pudo poner en práctica el entrenamiento previo, tanto físico como psicológico en este operativo tan especial.

Esto, sin dejar de reconocer que no fue una misión fácil. En sus palabras, *“esa tragedia afecta y una debe bloquearse para seguir buscando, dejando emociones de lado con el convencimiento de que esa tarea era fundamental para poder salvar vidas. Había que trabajar y se trabajó”*. Uno de los grupos encontró a una persona viva, lo cual fue muy gratificante. Seguidamente, al descartar la existencia de sobrevivientes en una determinada zona, se permitía el ingreso de maquinaria pesada para remover escombros, abrir caminos para la limpieza e ingresar la ayuda humanitaria.

Compartió esta misión con equipos militares y civiles de otros países, pero destaca como anécdota que, aparte de ella, nunca hubo otra mujer, razón por la que los grupos se sorprendían con su presencia. Pero nunca tuvo ninguna diferencia de trato, ni dificultad, a pesar de cargar con el desafío de ser la primera mujer que ocupaba ese lugar en el Grupo K-9 del Ejército uruguayo.

Lo más importante fue la satisfacción de haber contribuido a aliviar en algo el padecimiento de otros en un país que estaba en el restablecimiento de la paz cuando sobrevino el terremoto. *“Una se siente útil en cuanto está dando una mano a la comunidad internacional”*.

María Eugenia Etcheverry (Fuerza Aérea Uruguaya)

Teniente Coronel (Av.). Fue Comandante de la Escuadrilla de Enlace, Comandante del Escuadrón de Vuelo Avanzado y Comandante del Escuadrón de Base Aérea II. Es Piloto Principal en aeronaves AT-92, A-37B, UB-58 y Piloto en aeronaves T41D, T260, con un total de 1530 horas de vuelo. Actualmente, es la Edecán por la Fuerza Aérea del Presidente de la República.

El primer Ejercicio internacional "Ceibo" fue en 2005 en Mendoza, Argentina. En sus palabras, *"estos Ejercicios simulan que un país invade a otro, y mediante una Resolución de la ONU se forma una coalición en la que, se llevan a cabo misiones de apoyo aéreo directo o de ataque a objetivos terrestres u objetivos aéreos, para tratar de repeler la invasión de ese supuesto país"*. Era también la primera vez que la Fuerza Aérea Uruguaya participaba en un ejercicio de esta naturaleza; se habían preparado mucho en aulas teóricas y en los vuelos. Cuando se realizó el ejercicio, fue la prensa a entrevistarla y la periodista le preguntó: *"¿cómo te sientes? Eres la única piloto"*. Hasta ese momento, no se había dado cuenta de que era la única mujer entre todos los participantes de distintos países que estaban en el ejercicio. Respondió que se veía como un piloto más y que esa situación no le generaba ningún conflicto. Eso no impidió que, en la reunión informativa posterior al vuelo, por un momento prestara atención a su alrededor y se viera en medio de esa sala y se diera cuenta de que era la única mujer. *"Ahí logré percibirme, pero también si me pregunto por más que sea mujer, ¿cuál es la diferencia en el vuelo a lo que hacen mis compañeros varones? Nada."*

En otra ocasión, en 2006, durante un ejercicio internacional "Cruzex" en Brasil, era la primera vez que se encontraba con otra mujer, una piloto francesa, operadora de armas de la aeronave Mirage 2000RDI. Había escuchado hablar sobre ella. *"Cuando la vi, me acerqué y la abracé, ¡porque era una mujer como yo! Me di cuenta de que estaba con alguien que hacía lo mismo que yo. En oportunidad de otro ejercicio que fuimos más mujeres aviadoras (somos tan pocas) compartimos habitación, conversamos, y eso me hizo pensar que era bueno que en Uruguay pudieran ir más mujeres a este tipo de entrenamiento. Yo no participé en Misiones de Paz, pero sí las dos pilotos de helicópteros de la Fuerza Aérea y cuando yo les preguntaba cuál era el aporte que ellas veían por ser mujer, me respondían que cuando Uruguay va a una Misión de Paz, no hay mayores diferencias si la actividad la cumple una mujer militar o un varón militar en el área de operaciones de ese aeropuerto. Pero sí a los locales les llamaba la atención que hubiera mujeres a cargo de la rampa o llevando adelante los planes de vuelo en el aeropuerto"*. La diferencia estaba presente cuando esas mujeres militares se acercaban de alguna forma a las mujeres locales, *"porque el hombre no puede aproximarse a una mujer, y la mujer cuando intenta tener una conversación sobre cualquier circunstancia, lo que la mujer local siente que quien está hablando con ella es otra mujer, hay mayor recepción, sobre todo por las diferencias culturales, por los abusos que muchas mujeres tienen y que si bien nosotras lo vemos como abuso, ellas culturalmente tienen naturalizadas situaciones que para nosotras son horrores"*.

Su último ejercicio internacional "Salitre" fue en 2014 en Chile y, en esa oportunidad, le tocó ser la oficial piloto que estaba

a cargo de la ejecución y comando de alrededor de 30 aeronaves. Su pensamiento estaba en que los demás la vieran como una piloto, lo más profesional posible, más allá de ver que era una mujer quien lo dirigía. *“Pienso que todo tiene que ver con el tipo de actitud con que enfrentás este tipo de desafíos”.*

Valeria Rodríguez (Armada Nacional)

Capitán de Corbeta (CG). Fue Oficial de Estado Mayor para la Organización de Naciones Unidas en la República Democrática del Congo, y se convirtió en la primera mujer uruguaya egresada de una Escuela de Formación de Oficiales en cumplir con este rol. Actualmente, es la Edecán por la Armada Nacional de la Vicepresidenta de la República.

Su función era la coordinación de las operaciones en los diferentes sectores del Congo y asesoramiento al mando sobre el estado de situación de las distintas operaciones y los posibles riesgos. En una ocasión, ante ataques realizados a la población en el sector de Ituri, nordeste del Congo, por una lucha entre la etnia agricultora lendu y la ganadera hema, fue quemado el pueblo y se atacó un campo de refugiados, lo cual fue perpetrado en violación de derechos humanos en el terreno. Rodríguez fue designada junto a un Oficial para ir en helicóptero a la zona y brindar apoyo por parte de la ONU. Llegaron al día siguiente al ataque. Si bien no se llegó a tiempo, el mensaje que recibieron fue que la ONU estaba allí para apoyarlos y decirles que no estaban solos. No pasó desapercibido que el equipo multinacional estuviera integrado por una mujer uniformada. Llamó la atención de los más pequeños que se le acercaron, sorprendidos por su presencia, de que hubiese ido una mujer sin importar el riesgo.

Estando en el área de operaciones, como forma de contribuir a la sociedad, la ONU también participaba de actividades y proyectos de alto impacto en la población y procura generar cambios en la sociedad. Ejemplo de ello fue brindarles luz a través de paneles solares en las calles del pueblo, debido a que la oscuridad reinante en el lugar favorecía que se cometieran ataques violentos y abusos sexuales de mujeres, niñas y niños. Colocados los paneles, las mujeres y los más pequeños festejaban saltando de alegría porque por fin sus calles tendrían luz y se sentirían más seguros, *“algo tan simple para nosotros que a veces no nos damos cuenta lo que tenemos ... También tuve la oportunidad de visitar un orfanato con un grupo de oficiales de diferentes nacionalidades. Lo primero que me sucedió fue emocionarme de ver niños tan pequeños que reconocían el uniforme de los cascos azules, alegrándose de verlos en el lugar. Allí, sólo accedían al agua que les brindaba la ONU y no*

contaban con electricidad. Se les llevó agua, comida, juegos y premios, ya que el orfanato era muy humilde. Se los vio felices en ese tiempo que nos quedamos jugando con ellos, y para esos niños fue una linda experiencia”.

Destaca cómo la ONU procura siempre incorporar la perspectiva de género al área de operaciones de paz; aportar datos desagregados por sexo, lo cual es altamente positivo al momento de saber cuántas mujeres, niñas, adolescentes son víctimas de los conflictos armados; y brindar capacitaciones en materia de género a los uniformados en el área de operaciones de paz. También el rol relevante que las mujeres llevan adelante, como ser la influencia para recabar información relevante, contribuir a frenar la violencia y el abuso sexual hacia mujeres y niños, inspirar a otras mujeres tanto en el área de las Operaciones de Paz como luego posteriormente en sus propios países. Todo esto resulta en sociedades más equitativas.

Estos testimonios consideran la importancia de incluir mujeres en operaciones militares y en Misiones de Paz de la ONU para aumentar las posibilidades de cumplir cabalmente las misiones encomendadas uniendo fuerzas junto con el varón, en un marco de respeto y confianza. Se enfrentaron a situaciones desoladoras o de gran responsabilidad, pero su preparación como militares logró resultados exitosos y una experiencia positiva para su profesión. Nos demuestran la valentía y el esfuerzo de estas Oficiales pioneras en sus carreras militares que hoy son ejemplos para otras mujeres. Son también, sin darse cuenta, parte de una transformación que incluye aspectos de género en las misiones del ámbito de seguridad y defensa. Forman parte de la agenda Mujeres, paz y seguridad en su rol en los conflictos y son actoras en la protección de derechos y contribuyentes de los procesos de paz y de mantener a resguardo la seguridad humana.

The Important Contribution of Military Women in Peace and Security

Rosario Rodríguez

Uruguay has a long history in international peacekeeping operations, and has contributed a large number of military personnel despite its small population. Under United Nations (UN) mandate, it has had military observers (1952) and national contingents (1992) in Kashmir. Participation is voluntary, and out of the 45,000 troops that have served in peacekeeping missions, more than 2,000 were female officers and enlisted personnel. However, it was not until 2006 that the first female army officer integrated a national contingent. Uruguayan female military personnel have had a qualitative evolution in their roles, putting them on equal terms with their male peers. They have also had a substantive presence and impact at the UN, holding prominent positions on the general service staff and discipline and conduct teams.

Although female participation continues to gain more importance in security and defense, little has been mentioned of their experience helping stimulate further female participation in peacekeeping or operational missions. To this end, the testimony and anecdotes of three female military combatants follow: one contributed to humanitarian assistance missions in Haiti, a second commanded a mission in an international flight exercise, and the third participated in armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Their experiences incorporate the gender perspective implemented in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security.

Andrea De Los Santos, Infantry Lieutenant Colonel, Uruguayan National Army

As Infantry Lieutenant Colonel, Andrea De Los Santos was the first woman in the Uruguayan Army to serve as a combat officer. She was also the first woman qualified as a tactical diver and who served as deputy commander of the general headquarters of the army general command. She currently serves as director of the Infantry Training Center.

Ten years ago, Andrea had her first experience in an international mission as part of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti. After the January 2010 earthquake struck Haiti, she participated in a humanitarian mission searching for survivors. Having headed the K-9 Operations Group, she specialized in training military working dogs, leading men and dogs in the search and

detection of explosives, and searching and rescuing people. This capacity in the K-9 Operations Group's Search and Rescue Squad turned out to be her first international operational deployment.

Andrea found this an extremely positive experience: implementing work with the dogs, establishing a climate of confidence between the dog and the person – a relationship known as “pairing,” and being able to put all of her previous physical and psychological training in practice to support this special mission.

She acknowledged it was not an easy one, stating, “This tragedy [emotionally] affects, and one must block [feelings] to continue searching, leaving emotions aside with the conviction that your task was essential to save lives. You had to work, and you continued to work.” On one occasion, one of the groups found someone alive, which was very gratifying. Consequently, when the existence of survivors in a particular area was ruled out, heavy machinery was brought in to remove debris and open roads for cleaning crews to come in to allow the entry of humanitarian aid.

She contributed to this mission with military and civilian teams from other countries and came to prominence as the only woman there, surprising the other teams with her presence. However, she never felt any difference in treatment or difficulties, despite the challenges faced by being the first woman to occupy that position within the K-9 group of the Uruguayan Army.

She found the most important thing was the satisfaction of having contributed to alleviate the suffering of others in a country in the process of restoring peace when the earthquake struck, noting, “One feels useful when helping the international community.”

María Eugenia Etcheverry, Lieutenant Colonel, Aviation, Uruguayan Air Force

María Eugenia Etcheverry has served as commander of the Liaison Squadron, the Advanced Flight Squadron, and the Air Base Squadron II. She has been command pilot of the AT-92, A-37B, UB-58 aircraft, and pilot of the T41D and T260 aircraft, with 1,530 flight hours. She currently serves as the Air Force aide-de-camp to the president of Uruguay.

In 2005, she participated in her first international exercise, *Ceibo*, held in Mendoza, Argentina. She stated, “These exercises simulated the invasion of one country by another and the formation of a coalition, through a UN Resolution, to direct and

execute air support missions, ground attacks, or air attacks on targets to try to repel the invasion of the country.” It was also the first time the Uruguayan Air Force participated in an exercise of this nature. Etcheverry noted, “They had trained us in theoretical classrooms and on flights.” During the exercise, the press interviewed her, and a journalist asked: “How do you feel? As you are the only [female] pilot.” She then realized she was the only woman among all the exercise participants from the participating countries, to which she replied that she saw herself as just another pilot and that [her gender] did not create any conflicts. That did not stop her from looking around during the post-flight briefing, seeing herself in the middle of the room, noticing that she was the only woman in the room ... “There, I realized it, but then I asked myself, even if I am a woman, what difference does it make in flight compared to my male counterparts? None.”

On another occasion, during the 2006 international exercise *Cruzex* in Brazil, it was the first time she met with another female pilot. A French pilot she had heard about was the weapons operator of the Mirage 2000RDI aircraft. “When I saw her, I walked over to her and hugged her because she was a woman like me. I realized that I was with someone who did the same thing as me. On another exercise, there were more female aviators, but still, there were so few of us. We shared a room, we talked, and that made me think it was a good thing that more women could go to this type of training in Uruguay ... I did not participate in peacekeeping missions, but two Air Force female helicopter pilots did. When I asked them what contributions they made as women, they replied that when Uruguay goes on peacekeeping missions, there are no major differences if a military woman or man in the airport’s operations area carries out the activity. But the locals did notice there were women in charge of the ramp or carrying out flight plans at the airport.” The main difference was when military women approached local women. “When a woman tries to have a conversation about any issue, local women feel more receptive to talk to other women, especially due to cultural differences and the abuse that many women have endured. Although we see it as abuse, they culturally have accepted situations that would horrify us.”

Her last international exercise was *Salitre*, held in 2014 in Chile. She was the pilot officer in charge of the execution of the task, commanding approximately 30 aircraft. She wanted the others to see her as a pilot, as professional as she could be, beyond the fact that she was a woman directing it. “Facing these kinds of challenges has to do with the type of attitude you have.”

Valeria Rodríguez, Corvette Captain, Uruguayan National Navy

Valeria Rodríguez was a staff officer for the UN in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, becoming the first Uruguayan woman graduate of an official training school to serve in this role. She currently serves as the National Navy aide-de-camp to the vice president of Uruguay.

Her role was to coordinate operations in the different sectors of the Congo and advise the command on the status of the various operations and possible risks. On one occasion, under threat of attacks against the Ituri sector's population in the northeast of the Congo, due to infighting between the ethnic Lendu farmers and the Hema cattle ranchers, the town was burned, and a refugee camp was attacked, violating human rights. Captain Rodríguez and another officer were tasked to go by helicopter to the area to provide UN support. They both arrived the day after the attack, assured the villagers that the UN was there to support them and guaranteed they were not alone. They also noticed that the multinational team had a woman in uniform, which caught the attention of the children who approached them. They were surprised by her presence and that a woman had come, regardless of the risk.

As a way of contributing and generating changes in society, the UN also participated in activities and projects that had a great impact on the population. For example, using solar panels, they provided lighting on the streets of the town, as the prevailing darkness led to violent attacks and the sexual abuse of women, girls, and boys. After placing the solar panels, the women and the children celebrated and jumped with joy as their streets would have light, and they would feel safer. She observed, "It is incredible how we sometimes take something so simple for granted," adding, "I also had the opportunity to visit an orphanage with a group of officers of different nationalities. At first, I became emotional to see the young children recognize the blue helmets' uniforms, happy that we were there. The orphanage was impoverished, and we brought them water, food, games, and gifts. They were happy that we stayed to play with them; [to me] being with those children was a wonderful experience."

This highlights how the UN always tries to incorporate a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations. It provides data disaggregated by sex, which is extremely useful to identify how many women, girls, and adolescents are victims of armed conflicts and how the UN provides training in gender matters to uniformed personnel supporting peacekeeping operations.

In addition, the relevant role women play, such as influencing what pertinent information is collected and contributing to curb violence and sexual abuse toward women and children, inspires other women, both in the area of peacekeeping operations and later on, in their own countries, to pursue more equitable societies.

Conclusion

These testimonies demonstrate the importance of including women in military operations and UN peacekeeping missions. Joining forces with men in a framework of trust and respect increases the possibility of fulfilling the entrusted missions.

The three officers faced situations of high responsibility that were often devastating, but their military training allowed them to achieve successful results and gain positive experiences in their profession. These pioneering officers demonstrate the courage and effort of their military careers and are examples to other women. Unbeknown to them, they are part of a transformation that includes gender aspects in security and defense missions. Their role in conflicts has made them a part of the women, peace, and security agenda, actors in the protection of human rights, and contributors to the peace process.

CONCLUSION

Ambassador Jean Manes

Twenty years have passed since the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. While this is an important anniversary of a landmark achievement on the inclusion of women in security and defense, the milestones we want to celebrate are the accomplishments that individuals and countries in our region have achieved during these two decades. This book compiled twenty perspectives on women, peace, and security in the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean, and included references to many such achievements. It also highlights twenty-five people – women and men – who have contributed their voices to these efforts. With this book, we go beyond celebrating a landmark anniversary to celebrating regional voices and victories.

In my experience as an ambassador and foreign policy professional, I have seen firsthand that when women are involved more broadly in security and defense, they bring key qualities that the population recognizes, including trustworthiness and credibility. Senior leaders know these qualities are crucial for the success of both military and civil institutions.

At SOUTHCOM and the William J. Perry Center, we recognize women's important contributions in building partnerships and fostering mission effectiveness. Our institutions' outreach involves most of the region, encompassing many languages and mission areas in security and defense. Therefore, the essays in this book span countries, cultures, timeframes, and operational domains from independence-era Colombia to present-day Uruguay and many places in between. The articles vary in content and approach, reflecting the diverse backgrounds of their authors. The contributors include officers and professors, ministry of defense civilians, and retired military. Although the book contains such a varied group of authors with a wide range of ideas, the essays converge on three main themes.

First, the stories speak to the contributions women are making across every area of defense and security. The authors include women working at the highest levels of their defense institutions, female officers in the military, and women working on professional military education. The stories cover their involvement in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, peacekeeping operations, counter-narcotics, and cyber operations. It is clear that countries and organizations are strengthened by the

participation of women in these areas.

Second, the authors discuss the structural changes necessary for women to participate fully in defense and security efforts. Intricate institutional arrangements, cultural resistance, and lack of leadership support emerge as some of the obstacles facing countries in the hemisphere as they seek to make further progress in women, peace, and security initiatives. Bold essays suggest ways in which countries in the region might work to overcome these issues.

Lastly, the essays suggest that even when progress is achieved, we face the challenge of identifying and illuminating this progress. Contrary to what we might see in plazas and museums, veterans and service members are not all male. This is where we hope this volume makes its most significant contribution: in amplifying the voices of women and the stories of their achievements, so current and future generations might be inspired to build on their accomplishments. With this book, we hope to make the invisible – visible.

We are delighted to join our partners as we celebrate the first women to enter the academies, be commissioned, be appointed to ministries, and rise to flag officers. In the years ahead, we must continue to work toward full equality. So, one might ask: How do we know we have succeeded? I would argue that we will reach true equality when women's inclusion and promotion opportunities equal those of their male colleagues, when women's performances are evaluated by the same standards, and when women receive the same pay. At that point, we will have moved beyond highlighting the "first woman," "the third woman, and "the fifth woman." It will be ordinary and unremarkable that a woman has moved into a senior position. When we highlight what an incredible leader a woman is with no gender-identifying adjective in front will be a true sign that we have reached equality.

Ambassador Jean E. Manes serves as Civilian Deputy to the Commander and Foreign Policy Advisor, U.S. Southern Command.

U.S. Southern Command
Women, Peace, and Security Program



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