



**THE COLLEGE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS  
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Prepared Statement by

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Before the

**Committee on Foreign Relations**

*United States House of Representatives*

**Hearing: Women Fighting for Peace: Lessons for Today's Conflicts**

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for inviting me to testify about the role of women in resolving conflict and securing peace. It is truly an honor and a privilege for me to contribute to this process.

Let me begin with my principle belief: Expanding the role of women in civilian law enforcement as well as the broader criminal justice system is not a matter of inclusivity or gender equality alone. My research and experience - both as an academic and a police practitioner - in the United States and Southwest Asia convinces me that it is the key necessary element to open the doors of peace and harmony around the globe. It is especially so in conflict zones and regions facing socioeconomic turbulence and instability. Simply put, a broader and enlarged role of women in policing and countering extremism in South Asia, the Middle East, and beyond is a critical need of the hour. The US capacity building programs in developing states must further invest in creating awareness about this valuable enabling factor. Promoting and facilitating higher rate of recruitment of female police officers will have a direct impact on stability as well as counterterrorism capacity of partner nations in turn creating a more secure world for us all.

Tragically, in many cases, the role men could play in promoting women's inclusion in the security sector remains hampered by ignorance, gender biases, religious bigotry *and* efforts to shield their incompetence.

Today, I will build my arguments around the stories of five professional women who inspired me greatly by their nuanced perspectives, amazing capacity to empathize and courage to lead. I had the privilege of witnessing their contributions to their societies first hand, working with them and learning from their successes. These women are important role models and in each case the impact of their work highlights the fundamental themes of my arguments:

1. **Benazir Bhutto** – the now deceased and former Prime Minister of Pakistan: Elected as the first ever female Muslim head of state in 1988, her instrumental role in encouraging women to join police forces as well as the broader security sector in Pakistan deserves appreciation.<sup>1</sup> Her example inspired women across the Muslim majority states. Interestingly, a leading Pakistani cleric had issued a *Fatwa* (religious edict) before her electoral success declaring that a woman cannot become a head of state in a Muslim country. Luckily the people of Pakistan rejected such obscurantism through democracy. Having served in her administration in 1994-95, I observed from close quarters how a powerful military establishment obstructed her and tried to keep her out of the loop on security matters. In such challenging circumstances, she took a very brave initiative and negotiated a treaty with India in December 1988 where both states committed to no first attack (or to assist any foreign power to attack) on each other's nuclear installations and facilities.<sup>2</sup> She was ousted from office before the expiry of her 5-year term in a controversial move but she valiantly staged a comeback and was again elected to office in 1993. Unfortunately, she was not allowed to complete her second term in office as well. For many years she lived in exile challenging autocratic politics and military dictatorship in Pakistan. She returned to Pakistan in 2007 to rejoin active politics and challenge the rampant religious extremism knowing pretty well that Al-Qaeda and Pakistani Taliban would target her. A massive terrorist attack on December 27, 2007 ended her life. Her message was loud and clear: challenge and confront terrorism whatever it costs.

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<sup>1</sup> Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto established the first Women Police Station (WPS) in Rawalpindi in

<sup>2</sup> For details see, Benazir Bhutto, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West* (Harper, New York, 2008). Also see, "India Pakistan Non-Attack Agreement", Nuclear Threat Initiative, <http://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/india-pakistan-non-attack-agreement/>

2. **Dr. Jessica Stern** – Research Professor at Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University:<sup>3</sup> A leading American expert of terrorism studies, Dr. Stern has shown through her writings and field research how critical the role of women is as practitioners and academics in unearthing the nuances of de-radicalization and counterterrorism. As my mentor and teacher at the Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, & Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, she greatly helped my understanding of the menace of terrorism in a global context. Her research work in Pakistan based on interviews with many extremists including some notorious leaders of militant & terrorist groups was pioneering in creating a valuable precedent for South Asian scholars – both men and women. She has been ahead of the curve when it comes to the US counterterrorism policy making as well. In her 2003 *Washington Post* opinion piece “When Women are Bombers”, she informed her readers that under a new program introduced in the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, only visa applications of males between the ages of 16 and 45 were subject to scrutiny while women, even those from countries known for harboring terrorists, were not subjected to this program! She aptly concluded: “With such a protean enemy, to rely on standard operating procedures such as race- and gender-based profiling is to put the safety of the American people at risk.”<sup>4</sup> The San Bernardino terrorist attack in December 2015 makes obvious the nature of the challenge we are faced with. Dr. Stern’s books *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* and *ISIS: The State of Terror* are amongst the most important globally recognized studies on terrorism.
3. **Colonel Martha Foss** (US Army): I am proud to refer to one of my very talented former students at the College of International Security Affairs (CISA) at the National Defense University (NDU). She served in Afghanistan twice as a member of the "Afghanistan-Pakistan (AFPAK) Hands" program training women judges and performing her role as a security advisor.<sup>5</sup> While she was a Master’s student at CISA in 2012 between her two deployments, she inspired me by her response to my question about her expectations and concerns about the future of Afghanistan. She stated that she was returning to Kabul motivated by the hope she had seen in the eyes of the Afghan women judges that she trained. She proudly told me that about 10 percent of Afghan judges were women (at the

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<sup>3</sup> For her bio visit: <http://www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/profile/jessica-stern/>

<sup>4</sup> Jessica Stern, “When Women are Bombers,” *The Washington Post*, December 18, 2003; available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/12/18/when-bombers-are-women/77a104d5-c542-4e2a-9e2f-5b0be53b0ce8/>

<sup>5</sup> For details, see:

[http://www.army.mil/article/115523/The\\_Afghanistan\\_Pakistan\\_Hands\\_Program/](http://www.army.mil/article/115523/The_Afghanistan_Pakistan_Hands_Program/); also see: <http://smallwarsjournal.com/printpdf/23669>

time) and in a 2012 training program for new judges, women grabbed 13 of the top 15 positions. International state building efforts need to feature and build on such examples to underscore the importance and value of women participation in all sectors of the criminal justice system. Presence of female judges in courts especially improves access to justice for disadvantaged female litigants.<sup>6</sup> Judicial reform is a critical pillar in this context and COL. Foss exhibits the great importance of integration of a gender perspective in such endeavors.

4. **Maria Taimur**, Superintendent of Police, Pakistan: In a country where women make up less than 1 percent of police and law enforcement institutions nationally, Maria Taimur leads by example. As a member of the police service of Pakistan (a service with which I was also associated before I moved to the US in 2001), she preferred operational responsibilities to undemanding desk jobs – not an easy undertaking in a country facing rising crime trends and a serious counterterrorism challenge. I had an opportunity to discuss policing practices in Pakistan with her recently on a panel. I was struck by her clarity, candor and enthusiastic desire to change the status quo. In a March 2016 opinion piece, she bravely critiqued a new legislation focusing on protecting women’s rights in the country. She lamented that procedural lacunas and weak legislation in Pakistan made it difficult for the criminal justice system to penalize those who committed violent crimes against women. She argued in favor of a streamlined policing system that could connect the dots and ensure that female complainants received the services they deserved.<sup>7</sup> To deliver such services efficiently and effectively, Pakistan needs far more women in the police force. Unfortunately, some detractors still do not believe these women have what it takes to serve as police officers. Research shows that Pakistani female officers lack basic equipment and are discriminated against in nominations for training courses.<sup>8</sup> I am reminded here of a comment from recent Oscar winning Pakistani documentary maker Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, who while celebrating the courage of Shahzadi Gillani and Rizwana Zafar - two female police officers from Khyber Pakhunkhwa (KP) province of Pakistan - aptly stated that, these women, “defy

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, see: Arksal Salim, “Gendering the Islamic Judiciary: Female Judges in the Religious Courts of Indonesia,” *Al-Jamiah*, Vol 51, No. 2, 2013, 250.

<sup>7</sup> Maria Taimur, “Protecting Women”, *Dawn*, March 3, 2016; available at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1243159/protecting-women>

<sup>8</sup> Allison Peters and Human Chughtai, “Why Pakistan Needs a Few More Good Women,” *Foreign Policy*, June 29, 2014; available at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/29/why-pakistan-needs-a-few-more-good-women/>

every preconceived notion anyone may have about the capability of Pakistani women.”<sup>9</sup>

5. **Jane Townsley** – Chief Inspector, British Transport Police & former President of International Association of Women Police (IAWP):<sup>10</sup> A tribute is in order to Jane Townsley’s for her dynamic leadership of the IWAP. Through various efforts and initiatives of the organization, she demonstrated how significant the contribution of women police officers is for effective policing around the globe. She argues: “Policing is not about muscle, but it is about reason, restraint and intelligence.”<sup>11</sup> In my various interactions with her, I learned about the impact this organization has made and it was an eye opener for me and will be for anyone who is keen to learn about why police organizations will immensely benefit from a higher percentage of women representation in police forces. When some women’s own nations would not support their careers in policing, the IAWP stepped in to fill the void. One of the most essential aspects of counterterrorism is partnership building, and the IWAP has successfully created a network of female law enforcement officials who could draw on each other’s expertise at a moment’s notice. Jane takes great pride in expanding the network. One of the officers she sponsored for IAWP membership in 2004 was a Kosovar police officer Atifete Jahjaga. Jahjaga became the first President of Kosovo in 2011 after serving as deputy director general of Kosovo police for many years.

As I reflect on the motivations of these leaders, I am also thinking about our female graduates at CISA, NDU who are making a difference in securing their nations around the world. As a quick introduction, CISA is the newest of the 5 colleges at the U.S. National Defense University. Our mission is to educate and prepare civilian and military national professionals for the contemporary security environment and build partnership capacity in combating terrorism at the strategic level. We have educated roughly 1000 students from 90 countries in the previous 13 years.<sup>12</sup> Ms. Biola Shotunda, a member of the Nigerian police force who was one of our 2015 graduates, when asked if she had any recommendations for policy makers and

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<sup>9</sup> Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, “K-P’s women police officers: Leading from the front”, Dawn, September 16, 2014; available at <http://www.dawn.com/news/1131517>

<sup>10</sup> Her bio is available at: <http://www.iawp.org/forms/history/bio-janetownsley.htm>

<sup>11</sup> A statement by Chief Constable Peter Fahy, UK as quoted by Jane Townsley in her speech at IAWP conference in 2014:  
[http://iawp.org/campaigns/VAW/PresidentTownsleypresentation\\_GenderResponPolicing\\_Oct2014.pdf](http://iawp.org/campaigns/VAW/PresidentTownsleypresentation_GenderResponPolicing_Oct2014.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> For details, see <http://cisa.ndu.edu/>

leaders worldwide, aptly recommended hopefully that the subject of women in peacekeeping and security becomes a more public debate.<sup>13</sup>

#### THEORY & GLOBAL TRENDS: MORE WOMEN IN POLICING ROLES LEADS TO BETTER POLICING & MORE EFFECTIVE CVE

Various research based studies show that female officers tend to be better than their male counterparts at de-escalating violent situations and are less likely to be involved in police brutality. The initial research on women in policing within the US started at a time when the ratio of female police officers started increasing and various police departments feared that women would fail during patrols. These apprehensions turned out to be totally unfounded. According to the 1991 Independent Christopher Commission Report, "Female officers utilize a style of policing that minimizes the use of excessive force. Data examined by the Commission indicate that LAPD female officers are involved in use of excessive force at rates substantially below those of male officers."<sup>14</sup> The report also concluded that pervasive gender bias contributed substantially to excessive-force problems of the LAPD.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, another study by Kim Lonsway in 2002 found that although women comprise 12 percent of officers in big city police agencies, they only incur 5 percent of the complaints for excessive force (and 2 percent of the citizen complaints for excessive force that are sustained).<sup>16</sup> This was further substantiated by research conducted by Amie Schuck, who based on a 2007 study of large sample of male and female officers in six different departments, concluded that female officers were less likely to use physical force in police encounters.<sup>17</sup> As a result of such trends, an increasing number of police agencies in the US today are actively recruiting, employing, and promoting more women.

Similar trends are reported in the crime-fighting sphere. For instance, Miller and Segal analyzed data on violent crime reporting and domestic violence escalation

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<sup>13</sup> Alyssa Lodge & Simone Bak, "The Role of Female Personnel in National Security and Peacekeeping: Alumni Share Their Perspective", International Student Management Office, NDU, August 25, 2015; available at: <http://ismo.ndu.edu/News/tabid/8824/Article/614630/the-role-of-female-personnel-in-national-security-and-peacekeeping-alumni-share.aspx>

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Peter Horne, "Policewomen: Their First Century and the New Era," *The Police Chief* 73, no. 9, September 2006. Available at: [http://www.policechiefmagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?article\\_id=1000&fuseaction=display#22](http://www.policechiefmagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?article_id=1000&fuseaction=display#22)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Kim Lonsway, "Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders," *National Center for Women & Policing*, April 2002; available at: [http://www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002\\_Excessive\\_Force.pdf](http://www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> Amie Schuck, "The Use of Force by and Against Female Police Officers," *Women and Criminal Justice*, Volume 16, Issue no. 4, 2007.

between the late 1970s and early 1990s in the US. They found that as women became more integrated into US policing, female victims were more likely to report violent crimes and thus female officer involvement helped prevent the escalation of domestic violence.<sup>18</sup> Such research findings further convinced police organizations about the importance of role of women in policing.

Within the context of broader security sector reform as well, there is a growing consensus that a strong women presence in police organizations is the best way to ensure that the "security needs of diverse populations are properly understood and incorporated into the structure and operations of the police."<sup>19</sup> Female police officers positively influence the social dynamic and their mere presence often soothes tensions, besides encouraging women victims to come forward. According to statistics gleaned from 39 countries, when women police officers are present, there are significantly higher rates of reporting.<sup>20</sup>

Recent research about transformation in Ukraine's police conducted by Dr. Erica Marat, my colleague at NDU, is also insightful. A police reform effort has been underway in Ukraine for the last few years to tackle inefficiency and corruption. Around 30 percent of a new patrol police division operating now in Ukraine's major cities are women, one of the world's highest rates. Her research shows advantages in having female officers on the streets as they often prove to be better able to deescalate situations than their male colleagues.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Marat also argues that increased female participation in the policing sector has led to better policing practices in terms of accountability as well as public trust.

Ann Marie Orlor, a former United Nations Police Adviser, further substantiates this growing realization while maintaining that there is a critical need for more female

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<sup>18</sup> Amalia Miller and Segal Carmit, "Do Female Officers Improve Law Enforcement Quality? Effects on Crime Reporting and Domestic Violence Escalation," Working Paper, September 16, 2014; available at: <http://www.ire.eco.usi.ch/paper-carmit-segal-262272.pdf>

<sup>19</sup> For details see, Gender and SSR Toolkit, [https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/pluginfile.php/72/mod\\_data/content/60/Gender and SSR Toolkit - English.pdf](https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/pluginfile.php/72/mod_data/content/60/Gender%20and%20SSR%20Toolkit%20-%20English.pdf)

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Testimony by Jacqueline O'Neill for hearing on "Combating Violence and Discrimination Against Women: A Global Call to Action", US Senate Subcommittee on International Operations and Organizations, Human Rights, Democracy, and Global Women's Issues, June 24, 2014. For further details about the reference, see *Progress of the World's Women 2011-2012: In Pursuit of Justice*. (NY: UN Women), 59; available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2011/progressoftheworldswomen-2011-en.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Dr. Erica Marat, March 11, 2016; also see Erica Marat, "Ukraine's New Police Are an Expression of a "Civil" State," *Atlantic Council*, October 12, 2015. Also see, Annalisa Merelli, "Photos: The Women who Transformed Ukraine's Police", *Quartz*, November 19, 2015; available at <http://qz.com/553448/photos-the-women-who-transformed-ukraines-police-force/>

officers in peacekeeping operations as a precondition for the UN Police to become a modern, professional police organization.<sup>22</sup>

Last but not the least is the realm of countering violence extremism (CVE) and counter terrorism. Experts maintain that: “Including women and girls and gender mainstreaming improves the design, implementation, and evaluation of CVE efforts.”<sup>23</sup> Such inclusion expands the reach of CVE programs including over other women and youth at risk of radicalization and recruitment by terrorist organizations. In societies and cultures challenged by tribalism and patriarchal norms, women’s presence in policing and law enforcement structures open up critical channels of communication and information flow between the government and people. Women are more likely to spot any signs of radicalization and influence changes in their children’s behavior before anyone else, but may lack confidence in or access to local law enforcement authorities to share such concerns.<sup>24</sup> Women police officers can bridge that gap and help the outreach of police for CVE purposes in very significant ways in such scenarios.

Similar factors are at play in the counterterrorism sphere. Many terrorist organizations including ISIS are actively pursuing women recruits for mobilization, expanding their support network and especially to escape scrutiny of security forces in some cases. The role of women in the security sector, especially in countries like Iraq, Jordan and Turkey becomes more vital in this context. Infact the need for women’s role in various components of security sector is wider for cultural and religious reasons in some cases as well. For instance, as an excellent study by Allison Peters focusing on the role of women in Pakistan police, show: “Due to prohibitive norms, only women in the police can serve as first responders to care for female victims of terrorist attacks.”<sup>25</sup>

Though Pakistan police and law enforcement infrastructure continues to be in dire need of reform, some early signs of progress are discernible. Besides an indigenous

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<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Bojana Balon, “Women in the police means a better response to community needs,” *UNDP*, April 18, 2013; available at <http://europeandcis.undp.org/blog/2013/04/18/women-in-the-police-means-a-better-response-to-community-needs/>

<sup>23</sup> See, “Good Practices on Women and Countering Violent Extremism”, *Global Counterterrorism Forum*, 2015.

<sup>24</sup> “Women and Preventing Violent Extremism: The U.S. and U.K Experience,” *The Center for Human Rights and Global Justice (CHRGJ) Briefing*, New York University School of Law, 2012, 5; available at: <http://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Women-and-Violent-Extremism-The-US-and-UK-Experiences.pdf>

<sup>25</sup> Allison Peters, “Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Pakistan: Why Policewomen Must Have a Role,” *The Institute for Inclusive Security*, March 31, 2014; available at: <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/IIS-Pakistan-Memo-v5c-web.pdf>

effort directed by the enthusiasm of young police officers, there is an increased public realization about the need for urgency in this direction.<sup>26</sup> Inclusion of more women in various police organizations across Pakistan – including as commandos in the Anti Terrorist Squad (ATC) - is a new and limited but certainly commendable trend. A comment by one of the lead instructors of the training program, Mr. Akram Jappa, is worth quoting here: “They are mothers, sisters and daughters but we need them to be commandos too. They bring a different temperament to the ATS and are very effective and committed to combating terrorism in our country.”<sup>27</sup>

Ensuring that women participate equally in law enforcement institutions is the best bet to guarantee that these institutions are more responsive to the diverse needs of the community. For law enforcement to fulfill a counterterrorism role, besides resources for relevant training and equipment, it has to be representative of the population it is tasked to protect. As maintained by Centre for Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (CGCC): “Female law enforcement personnel are particularly important because they understand gender sensitivities and maybe better suited to elicit intelligence and achieve information-driven results.”<sup>28</sup>

I am thankful to Ellie Bird, a distinguished former Chief Superintendent of police in UK, for advising me that some of the language we use when we refer to the role of women in policing is critical. In her words:

- a) “Equipping is to raise their awareness of the natural skills and abilities they have and to guide them in developing new skills.
- b) Empowering them is to create a safe environment where they can explore their natural ability, to ask questions and to seek guidance. To mentor, coach and guide.
- c) Enabling is the critical aspect that often remains within the influence, direction and authority of men.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> For a detailed perspective on the subject see Hassan Abbas, editor, “Stabilizing Pakistan Through Police Reform,” *A Report by the Asia Society Independent Commission on Police Reforms in Pakistan*, 2012: available at [http://asiasociety.org/files/pdf/as\\_pakistan\\_police\\_reform.pdf](http://asiasociety.org/files/pdf/as_pakistan_police_reform.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Saadia Khan, “Pakistan’s Female Commandos: On The Frontline,” *The Express Tribune*, January 18, 2015; available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/822720/pakistans-female-commandos-on-the-front-line/>; For more resources about Women Police in Pakistan see: “Women Police in Pakistan”: <http://individualland.com/women-police/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Women-Police-in-Pakistan.pdf>; and various publications at: <http://www.wpnepakistan.org/publication>

<sup>28</sup> Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Rafia Barakat and Liat Shetret, “The Roles of Women in Terrorism, Conflict, and Violent Extremism: Lessons for the United Nations and International Actors,” *Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation*, April 2013, 7; also available at: [http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/13Apr11\\_Women-and-Terrorism-Prevention\\_Final.pdf](http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/13Apr11_Women-and-Terrorism-Prevention_Final.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> E-mail communication with Ellie Bird, March 2016.

We often inaccurately assume that these above elements are within the control of the girl or woman but they may not be, and so we must also accordingly define the role for men also to ensure that they are enabled to take on these roles.

All these issues require global attention, which appears to be largely missing at the moment. An insightful survey, conducted by Professor Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, of 139 UN Security Council Resolutions, broadly addressing terrorism and counter-terrorism (from January 2013 to May 2015) “demonstrate a dearth of gender awareness and no systematic attempt to address the interface of gender and terrorism.”<sup>30</sup> Lastly, it is important to recognize that obstacles for women in policing roles know no boundaries. A study of police officers in Norway revealed that, “women police officers continue to face career barriers in the form of discrimination, negative stereotyping and sexual harassment.”<sup>31</sup>

#### POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:

*I think that women’s presence has made a revolution in policing, especially considering the modern times we live in. First of all, I think women have brought the most important thing – a different image for policing. They have broken the image of the police as a strong hand and brought policing closer to the people we serve.*

President Atifete Jahjaga<sup>32</sup>

An enhanced and expanded role for women in police and law enforcement organizations across the world is an issue that has direct implications for the US national security. Effective policing in a rule of law setting is the first line of defense against extremism and terrorism. There is sufficient data available – some of it shown in this statement – to establish that there can be no effective policing without women’s full and meaningful involvement in all aspects of law enforcement. It also has a direct impact on public perception of power, force, and legitimacy – issues that are inextricably linked to good governance and peaceful coexistence. Men have to

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<sup>30</sup> Fionnuala Ní Aoláin “Counter-Terrorism Committee: Addressing the Role of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism,” Just Security, September 17, 2015; available at: <https://www.justsecurity.org/25983/counter-terrorism-committee-addressing-role-women-countering-terrorism-violent-extremism/>

<sup>31</sup> Ronald J. Burke and Aslaug Mikkelsen, “Gender Issues in Policing: Do They Matter,” *Women in Management Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2005, 141.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in:

[http://iawp.org/campaigns/VAW/PresidentTownslaypresentation\\_GenderResponPolicing\\_Oct2014.pdf](http://iawp.org/campaigns/VAW/PresidentTownslaypresentation_GenderResponPolicing_Oct2014.pdf)

play an extremely important role in this sphere because of the political will required to provide space for such a transformation at a global scale.

The US has a tremendous opportunity to make a difference by further enabling international partners to empower women in the civilian security sector. During interactions with allies and partner nations, the US officials and leaders must emphasize the importance of recruitment, promotion, and professionalization of policewomen under the counterterrorism cooperation platforms. Counterterrorism training provided by the US to security personnel of partner nations is an important tool for such collaborations.

To help institutionalize women empowerment in the civilian security sector globally, a broader set of agendas has to be pursued:

1. More women in advisory roles for state building missions;<sup>33</sup>
2. Promoting mandatory gender training in police academies;<sup>34</sup>
3. More funding for academic and policy studies investigating the role and impact of women in police and law enforcement sphere;
4. More support for women in foreign countries that are trail blazers as national security professionals;
5. Greater recognition of the work that female leaders such as late Benazir Bhutto and Atifete Jahjaga have done to promote justice, equality, and rule of law in developing nations.

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<sup>33</sup> For a good study on various aspects of advisory role, see Nadia Gerspacher, "Preparing Advisors for Capacity Building Missions," USIP, August 2012, available at: <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR312.pdf>; also see Nadia Gerspacher, *Strategic Advising in Foreign Missions: A Practical Guide* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, CO, April 2016).

<sup>34</sup> Betsy Brantner Smith, "How gender-based training can make us all better cops," PoliceOne.com, September 19, 2013; available at <https://www.policeone.com/writers/columnists/Betsy-Brantner-Smith/>