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# WOMEN MUNICIPAL POLICE IN LEBANON

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Community Security and Access to Justice

UNDP Lebanon

Female Municipal Police in Lebanon

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## SECTION 1

### INTRODUCTION

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**This study provides analysis on female municipal police in Lebanon including recruitment, employment conditions, role, experiences of harassment, and working environment. The specific objective is to assess the rationale for, benefits, challenges, and impact of hiring female personnel within municipal police in Lebanon.**

The recent protests have reiterated the need for gender responsive and gender inclusive security agencies. With women being at the forefront of the protests, the state has an urgent need to respond to their security concerns.

Within Lebanon, there hasn't been a similar study so far. This report provides evidence based recommendations for national institutions and international actors to increase the representation and participation of women in the municipal police, increase women in decision-making positions in the municipal police, improve the institutional environment to attract women to apply, be hire and retained; and promote a gender transformative approach within municipal authorities and law enforcement. The overall aim is for the municipal police service to be more responsive to the security needs of women, and the community as a whole.

This study is led by UNDP's Community Security and Access to Justice Project, which aims to develop people-centred security and justice institutions in Lebanon. The study was guided by a Review Committee made up of representatives from UNDP Lebanon, UNDP New York, UNWomen Lebanon, UNWomen New York, Embassy of Canada in Beirut, Abaad, Government of Lebanon former Ministry of Women's Affairs and Ministry of Interior and Municipalities. A UNDP consultant served as the secretariat of the Review Committee, conceptualized the overall study, conducted the quantitative section of this study, and provided quality assurance of the study. Two UNDP consultants conducted the qualitative section of this study.

## SECTION 2

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is based on a mixed methods study consisting of a qualitative and quantitative section conducted from March till October 2019. The qualitative section covers 15 municipalities, nine that recruit female agents and six that do not recruit female agents. 113 participants formed the qualitative sample, of which 39 were women. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with mayors or municipal board members, heads of municipal police, municipal police agents, other municipality staff, community level experts, and national officials. The quantitative section was based on a survey administered in 13 municipalities to 151 municipal agents of which 112 were men and 39 were women. The sampling strategy for both methods was convenience and purposive based. The results of this study are therefore not generalizable. However, they provide key insight into the municipal police in Lebanon and form an evidence base for policy recommendations.

The key findings, based on the samples in both sections, are:



### RECRUITMENT

Women were first recruited in the year 2000. The vast majority of female agents serving in the municipal police today have been recruited during the last recruitment wave beginning in 2013. The surge in recruitment coincides with the increase of Syrian refugees, and an increase in employment of female agents in other security forces in Lebanon.

The recruitment of female agents is based on a separate call for women in the municipal police. The recruitment process and type of contract awarded to female police agents vary widely from one municipality to another. Recruitment criteria, specifically height requirements, and uniforms are felt to be gender inappropriate by a higher proportion of women within the sample.

The recruitment of female agents depends on the political will within the municipality, specifically the presence of female municipal board members is positively correlated with the percentage of female police agents.

Prejudice among male decision-makers related to the capabilities of women, especially older applicants with children, hinder the recruitment of females. There is a prevailing belief among male supervisors that female municipal police agents cannot match the physical effort and energy of male agents, with menstrual cycles and pregnancies perceived as further inhibiting their physical endurance.



### CHARACTERISTICS

Women, in comparison to men, are younger within the municipal police.

A higher proportion of women, in comparison to men, are university educated. There are a higher number of men who have only obtained elementary education, compared to zero women. In addition, there are double the percentage of women with a Master's degree, compared to men.

Between 15-20% of municipal police agents have a simultaneous additional job, reflecting the trying economic times.



### SUPPORT

The municipal police is slowly becoming a more culturally acceptable place to work for young women with a large proportion of the sample feeling supported by their families in their profession. Most female and male agents feel supported by their supervisors and colleagues, but mention the need for clearer work regulations and better training.



### WORKING CONDITIONS

Largely, women spent more time in the office, carrying out administrative tasks, and less time on the streets or out of the office, thereby limiting their interaction with residents. Where available, female agents are appointed to specialized teams and assigned tasks that tend to be less physically demanding and more sedentary. Female agents face challenges with regards to access to basic facilities, such as toilets, when dispatched on the ground.

Every additional year of employment raises the probability to have received ISF Academy training. However, a lower proportion of women receive ISF Academy training.

The overwhelming majority of permanent contracts have been awarded to men. This impacts women's long-term job security, placing them in a more precarious position. With rare exceptions, female agents are not given supervisory or decision-making roles. The hope of having the security of a long-term, permanent contract with associated benefits encourages them to maintain their positions as municipal police agents.

Female and male municipal police agents share common challenges that are rooted in macro-level problems, particularly in their employment conditions and benefits. Their ability to perform their job is hindered by nepotism and threats of violence. Within municipal police agents with short term contracts, there is large scale dissatisfaction regarding job benefits and working conditions. Significantly, only 5.9% of women (and 7.9% of men) felt that they had access to educational allowances for their children, and 0% of women reported having access to medical insurance.



## HARASSMENT

This is the first study that has addresses harassment (including sexually explicit language, sexual gestures, verbal abuse, physical violence etc.) within the municipal police in Lebanon, and therefore although the data is limited at present, this is an area that must be explored further.

When asked about harassment or offensive behaviour, 131 municipal police agents (out of a total sample of 151) reported having faced harassment. Those who reported this behaviour also overwhelmingly found it offensive.

Significantly, the nature of harassment appears to be gendered. A higher proportion of women reported that they had been subjected to sexually explicit language and sexual gestures while at work. Whereas, a higher percentage of male municipal police agents reported being subjected to verbal abuse and physical violence while on the job. Female agents deployed at busy junctures mention that they are verbally and sexually harassed due to their gender, particularly during the first months of their employment, although this decreases over time.

Men and women highlight the importance of reporting harassment to their supervisor and this being an effective remedy. The data on help-seeking behaviour highlights the need to have stronger support structures within the municipality for those that experience harassment or offensive behaviour.



## IMPACT

The impact of having a gender inclusive municipal police force is felt on multiple levels:

Female agents themselves feel empowered and unique a priori for fulfilling what is traditionally considered a “man’s job” according to conventional gender norms.

The municipal police force as a whole benefits as the recruitment of female agents contributes to improving the management style of the heads of municipal police.

Key stakeholders (including mayors, heads of the municipal police and male and female agents) perceive and assess the performance of female municipal police agents as better in many ways than that of their male counterparts. The vast majority of stakeholders express the view that female agents are more committed, reliable and serious than their male counterparts. The integration of female agents into the municipal police has a positive impact on all stakeholders, including the municipalities, the heads of municipal police, the male municipal police agents, and citizens and towns alike.

Within the community, female agents are considered more respectful and polite. They are also highly regarded as shock absorbers and/or channels of conflict prevention. They “give and take” and “leave room for negotiation” with citizens, commuters and violators alike. Their presence neutralizes potential conflict between citizens and law enforcers. Female agents are seen as playing a positive role in influencing and transforming attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the municipal police.

For municipalities, the presence and visibility of female agents on the ground inspires other municipalities and communities to follow suit and recruit female agents.

# SECTION 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

As the literature review suggests, there is a clear gap in data regarding gender-responsive policing and increasing female participation in police services in the Global South,<sup>1</sup> and specifically in Lebanon. There is an acute lack of data relating to the municipal police in general, and women in policing in the MENA context – as a result, examples are drawn from the Global North where more research has been done on female participation in the security sector.

Women in Lebanon remain largely underrepresented in the economy and labour force, which is likely to be further exacerbated by the Covid19 pandemic and economic crisis<sup>2</sup>. Decision-making and leadership positions are dominated by men, specially within government and the security sector. Around the world, police forces tend to be dominated by men – however, there is evidence to suggest that especially within a community policing approach, women “police” differently than men<sup>3</sup> and may perform the job better. Gender inclusive forces are certainly more representative of their communities and have the ability to positively impact their communities. The presence of women in the security sector in Lebanon is also a relatively recent policy change which has not been adequately interrogated. This study aims to understand the role, experiences, and impact of female municipal police in Lebanon.

## A. WOMEN IN LEBANON: LABOUR FORCE, GOVERNMENT AND SECURITY SECTOR

### WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Women in Lebanon remain underrepresented in most sectors of the economy, not just in the areas of science, technology and engineering, but also crucially in the public and security sectors. They make up a mere 25% of the labour force compared with men who constitute 71%.<sup>4</sup> Although they have surpassed men in terms of university education, this has not translated into economic empowerment and political empowerment. Indeed, Lebanon ranks 145 out of 153 countries on the 2020 Global Gender Gap Index<sup>5</sup>.

The reasons for women's low participation rates in the labour force are myriad. Firstly, most working women in Lebanon tend to be young and unmarried, with the highest percentage under 35 years.<sup>6</sup> When women marry or have children, it is not unusual for them to leave the labour force. Families continue to prefer childcare within the

<sup>1</sup> Gender refers to the particular roles and relationships, personality traits, behaviours and values that society ascribes to men and women. The focus on women is due to the disadvantages many women currently face in some environments. Reference: <https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/E-book.pdf> UNODC, 2010

[http://www.lb.undp.org/content/dam/lebanon/docs/Women%20Emp/ROL%20Prodoc\\_September%202017\\_Final.pdf](http://www.lb.undp.org/content/dam/lebanon/docs/Women%20Emp/ROL%20Prodoc_September%202017_Final.pdf); <http://www.lb.undp.org/content/lebanon/en/home/projects/EnhancingCommunitySecurityandAccessstoJusticeinLebanonHostCommunities.html> UNDP, 2017

Gender-Responsive Policing (GRP) is defined as “an organizational strategy which employs mechanisms to enhance the feeling of safety, satisfaction and confidence among women by providing them with better access to justice and security and by ensuring effective, transparent and reliable ‘policing’ services”. Reference: Sreekumaran Nair N, Darak S et al. (2016), Effectiveness of different ‘gender responsive policing’ initiatives designed to enhance confidence, satisfaction in policing services and reduce risk of violence against women in low and middle income countries - a systematic review. (UK Department for International Development [DFID], 2015).

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE\\_MENA\\_Rapid\\_Gender\\_Analysis\\_Summary\\_final1.pdf](https://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE_MENA_Rapid_Gender_Analysis_Summary_final1.pdf), Care International, 2020

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.wglt.org/post/isu-professor-women-are-thriving-police-officers#stream/0>, Norton, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> For women, see <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.FE.ZS>. For men, see <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.MA.ZS>. World Bank, 2020

<sup>5</sup> [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GGGR\\_2020.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf). World Economic Forum, 2020

<sup>6</sup> <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/29852/126361-BRI-add-series-PUBLIC-QN-170.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, World Bank, 2018.

family and distrust childcare services.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, women are expected to carry the brunt of childcare, while employment becomes an “option” for them “but a necessity for men.”<sup>8</sup> Secondly, institutions play a central role in disincentivizing women to remain in the labour force. In fact, current laws and regulations include discriminatory measures that do not facilitate the retention of mothers in the labour force. The law does not require the government or private employers to provide childcare support, paternity or parental leave, and more flexible schedules for working mothers. It does not mandate “remuneration for work of equal value, prohibition of asking about family status during interviews, protection from discrimination in selection criteria and job advertisements, protection from sexual harassment at work, or protection against discriminatory practices in access to loans and other financial services.”<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the compulsory maternity leave of ten weeks continues to be well below ILO’s recommendation of at least 18 weeks (No. 191, article 110).

### WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

During the last parliamentary elections in the spring of 2018, a record 86 women ran on different party lists, marking a significant shift since the previous elections in 2009 when only 12 women ran for office. Of the running female candidates, six made it to the 128-member legislative body. Subsequently, four women ministers were appointed to the new cabinet (out of 20) under Prime Minister Saad Hariri. They held key portfolios, most notably the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities. The current government, under Prime Minister Hassan Diab, has six female ministers including the first Lebanese and Arab woman deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. Indeed, the numbers bode well for increased female participation in the public sector, as they are the highest yet in the history of the country. At the same time, however, the numbers remain low compared with other countries in the world. In fact, Lebanon ranks 183th position on the 2020 Women in Parliament Index, lagging behind many countries including Qatar (166), Syria (153) and Egypt (136). Lebanon ranks 44 of the countries according to the percentage of women in ministerial positions, reflecting appointments in 2020 with a 31.6% (six female ministers out of 20).<sup>10</sup>

### WOMEN IN THE SECURITY SECTOR

The security sector is similarly witnessing a slow growth in the presence of women. Historically, and among the Lebanese security agencies, the General Security was the first to recruit women, and continues to employ the highest number of women. This is attributed to the nature of the work in the agency, which tends to be largely administrative.<sup>11</sup> Yet women’s roles in the General Security remain rather conventional and straightforward, and while women have been training in armed combat since 2006, they are not expected to participate in raids.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, they are not assigned to potentially gender-sensitive departments contending with foreign domestic workers or sex workers.<sup>13</sup>

The participation of women in the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) paints a similar picture to that in the General Security. With the appointment of General Joseph Aoun as commander in March 2017, however, the LAF have seen a considerable increase in female recruitment. From around 1,000 members of a 70,000-strong force in

2017, the number of women rose to 3,000 members in 2018, accounting for three generals and 17 colonels.<sup>14</sup> By March 2019, the number of women increased once more to around 4,000 members, making up around five per cent of the total force, with their roles expanding and branching out from administrative positions into such key units as the military police.<sup>15</sup> For instance, they were deployed to such high-risk areas as the Wadi Hmeid checkpoint in Aarsal, considered one of the military’s most perilous deployments.<sup>16</sup>

The Internal Security Forces (ISF) and Municipal Police are only recently catching up with female recruitment. The ISF officially began recruiting women in 2011, and currently counts 900 policewomen within its ranks.<sup>17</sup> As for the Municipal Police, comprehensive numbers do not exist. These include the total number of municipalities hiring women and the total number of female municipal police agents throughout Lebanon. While this report details the numbers for some municipalities, the latter do not constitute a representative sample. Thus, the figures described below are only suggestive.

While the recruitment of women across security agencies is increasing, and the scale and scope of their roles are growing, these gains are undermined by a lack of anchoring by official laws or decrees that govern their enrolment.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the improvements witnessed so far are owed to decisions by various actors in government including ministers, mayors and generals and their multilateral partners, but not to political changes unfolding at the level of laws or decrees passed by the council of ministers and parliament. Moreover, they are increasingly tangled up with development interventions led by donors working towards gender mainstreaming. Without commensurate changes in the law and political system, these advances might not be guaranteed and might remain ad-hoc or short-term.

## B. WOMEN IN THE WORLD: SECURITY SECTOR

Elsewhere and around the world, women also constitute a minority in the security sector. While they make up 50% of the world’s population, they represent a mere nine per cent of the world’s police, ranging between 5.1% and 28.8% in 18 different locations.<sup>19</sup> Among other Arab countries, women in the Gulf region accounted for approximately 5% of total police forces in 2014<sup>20</sup> and may have increased since<sup>21</sup>.

Despite their underrepresentation in the world’s police, research shows that female agents tend to possess better communication skills than their male counterparts and are more able to facilitate the cooperation and trust required to implement a community policing model.<sup>22</sup> Studies show that women value qualities they associated with being female as enabling them to do good police work<sup>23</sup>. Research by the National Centre for Policing and Women in the United States reveals that female agents adopt a style of policing that uses less physical force and that female agents are more able to diffuse and de-escalate potentially violent confrontations with citizens and are less likely to become involved in problems with use of excessive force.<sup>24</sup> In general, female agents are less likely

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/29852/126361-BRI-add-series-PUBLIC-QN-170.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, World Bank, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827>, UN Women, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon\\_SSRGenderSecurity\\_EN\\_2014.pdf](https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon_SSRGenderSecurity_EN_2014.pdf), International Alert, 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> <https://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/79306>, Carnegie Middle East Center, 2019.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon\\_SSRGenderSecurity\\_EN\\_2014.pdf](https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon_SSRGenderSecurity_EN_2014.pdf), International Alert, 2014.

<sup>18</sup> <https://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/79306>, Carnegie Middle East Center, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271615872\\_The\\_status\\_of\\_women\\_police\\_officers\\_An\\_international\\_review](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271615872_The_status_of_women_police_officers_An_international_review), Prenzler and Sinclair, 2013

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190415/womens-role-in-yemens-police-force.pdf>, Saferworld, 2014.

<sup>21</sup> <https://agsiw.org/cracking-glass-ceiling-gulf-women-police/>, Alhashmi, 2018

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/E-book.pdf>, UNODC, 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Morash and Haarr, 2011 <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.1011.6628&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

to engage in misconduct or become cynical toward citizens. With regards to job performance, differences in the quality of the performance of female and male agents have not been found. Rather, research reveals that women are more likely to engage in communication before using force and thus generally "police" differently than men.<sup>25</sup>

Around the world, reasons for the lack of female recruitment across security agencies are manifold. According to a study in Pennsylvania with police chiefs and female agents, a dearth of female agents is owed to the following: (1) women in the region have other employment options that are more attractive, (2) women in the region are not very interested in police employment, and (3) physical fitness tests tend to eliminate women and/or push them down the eligibility list.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, it often happens that women cannot meet the set criteria of physical standards. In Pakistan, for instance, participants observed that 60% of applicants do not qualify for appointment due to a limitation of physical (height) standards.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, potential remedies to improve female recruitment have been found such as making recruiting information encouraging and easy to follow, testing in a culturally unbiased manner, targeting recruitment efforts, and tailoring the application process for diversity including altering physical requirements proportionately.<sup>28</sup>

Even when female agents are found among the ranks of police, they face substantial challenges. These range from a lack of basic infrastructural facilities for female agents such as separate toilet and changing rooms and wide sexual harassment of female agents which reflects wider dynamics.<sup>29</sup> In fact, research demonstrates that agents who have the greatest representation in a security agency (e.g. white, male, heterosexual) have the most favourable workplace experiences while those individuals who have the least representation (e.g. minority, female, gay/bisexual) have the least favourable workplace experiences.<sup>30</sup>

Several studies have shown how gender sensitive policing has resulted in diminished hostility in citizen interactions, a decrease in law enforcement violence used, and an increase in number of GBV incidents reported (Abaad, 2018).<sup>31</sup> Within Lebanon, efforts have been made to increase gender sensitive approaches within the ISF and municipal police (mainly UNDP's work) through capacity building and institutionalisation efforts. This study aims to underpin efforts to increase gender sensitivity among law enforcement structures and promote a gender responsive approach within municipal authorities and law enforcement.

### C. MUNICIPAL POLICE IN LEBANON

The municipal police are the foremost responders at the local level. Their agents are responsible for the implementation of municipal decisions and communication. Accordingly, they practice daily local governance and interact with local citizens and residents. According to municipal law, the municipal police's role is the following: "Ensuring security through the municipal police in its capacity as Judicial Police. They shall ask for the support of the Internal Security Forces in the event of any crime or any disturbance of the public security and proceed with the required investigations."<sup>32</sup>

Established in the 1950s, the municipal police and most crucially their work have come to be characterized by the following:

1. Dependency on their direct relationship with the mayor: As the holder of executive power, the mayor is in charge of security affairs through the municipal police and gives orders and directives to the municipal police (according to decree-law no. 118 dated 30/6/1977). As a result, the work of the police, the rights and the discretion they enjoy on the job depend in a substantial way on the nature of their relationship with the mayor.
2. Dependency on the municipality's "nizam" (Standard Operating Procedure): Municipalities govern according to their own respective Standard Operating Procedures, which the municipal council members develop, agree to and vote on. The policies and procedures that constitute each municipality's "nizam" frame the scale and scope of the municipal police's roles including many practical and technical details regarding their recruitment, retention and promotion. This accounts for the wide discrepancies among municipal police throughout the country, from agents' mandated age of retirement to recruitment criteria such as the required height of recruits.
3. Lack of "hayba" (authority): Traditionally, the municipal police are known to be the weakest link among Lebanon's security agencies, and to command little authority and respect. They are considered to play a minimal role in ensuring security in cities, towns or municipalities.<sup>33</sup> This is partially due to the culture of "mawna" (swaying) that characterizes their interactions with local citizens and residents, whereby close-knit familial and political ties trump the ability of agents to enforce law and order and in turn command authority and respect.<sup>34</sup> Yet this "mawna" constitutes a double-edged sword in that it relies a priori on agents not only being representative of the community they serve, but also empathizing with citizens and seeking less physical and more friendly solutions to problems.

### D. COMMUNITY POLICING IN LEBANON

As a process, community policing entails "policing with and for the community rather than policing of the community."<sup>35</sup> It seeks to be inclusive and legitimate by making the police more representative of the community they claim to serve. By partnering with the local community to provide safety, security and justice, such policing is deemed effective. Gender equality and inclusivity are key elements within community policing. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)'s Guidelines for Integrating Gender Perspectives into the work of United Nations Police in peacekeeping missions states that, "Women must be involved in all consultations for designing community policing policies, to ensure that their security priorities are reflected. Women should be seen as agents in planning and not merely as beneficiaries of new community policing practices."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.wglt.org/post/isu-professor-women-are-thriving-police-officers#stream/0>, Norton, 2018.

<sup>26</sup> <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1098611111413990>, Cordner and Cordner, 2011.

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country\\_resources\\_file/1216\\_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf](http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country_resources_file/1216_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf), GIZ, Pakistan, 2012.

<sup>28</sup> [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2012/RAND\\_OP370.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2012/RAND_OP370.pdf), Matthies, Keller and Lim, 2012.

<sup>29</sup> Sreekumaran Nair N, Darak S et al. (2016), Effectiveness of different 'gender responsive policing' initiatives designed to enhance confidence, satisfaction in policing services and reduce risk of violence against women in low and middle income countries - a systematic review.

<sup>30</sup> <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1098611109348473>, Hassel and Brandl, 2009.

<sup>31</sup> There is a lack of literature on this within the Global South, and particularly the MENA region though. Abaad and Oxfam, Working with Men in the Law Enforcement and Justice Sectors to Promote Women's Access to Justice (2018). Accessed on 25 June 2018. Available at: <http://www.abaadmena.org/documents/ebook.1528796781.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> Municipal Law – Art 74.

<sup>33</sup> [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Security\\_Sector\\_in\\_Lebanon2.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Security_Sector_in_Lebanon2.pdf), Carnegie Endowment, 2012

<sup>34</sup> [https://al-akhbar.com/Archive\\_Municipalities/98392](https://al-akhbar.com/Archive_Municipalities/98392), Al-Akhbar, 2011.

<sup>35</sup> "Modern approaches to policing: community, problem-oriented and intelligence-led," Nick Tilley, 2008.

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.resdal.org/observatorio-mujer/police-guidelines.pdf> United Nations, 2008

Until recently, community policing in Lebanon has centred on the ISF. In 2008, the ISF began attracting the attention of international donors keen on police reform in the aftermath of the Nahr al Bared armed conflict between the Lebanese security forces and the militant Islamist group Fatah al-Islam in May 2007.<sup>37</sup> Community policing and similar security sector reforms in Lebanon, however, are considered to have had limited success since they do not address or engage with the underlying political roots of policing.<sup>38</sup> They are also held back and undermined by the limited rule of law in the country. Lebanon ranks 96th out of 128 countries in the Rule of Law Index 2020 based on eight factors: constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, open government, fundamental rights, order and security, regulatory enforcement, civil justice, and criminal justice.<sup>39</sup>

In 2017, UNDP launched the Enhancing Community Security and Access to Justice in Lebanon Project in order to develop capacities of national state institutions to understand and respond to local security, justice and human rights challenges, and develop a people-centred culture in security and justice institutions to decrease tensions and increase resilience.<sup>40</sup> A critical component of this project is the professionalization of the municipal police along a community policing approach, which will enable it to focus on its administrative and social functions<sup>41</sup>, and ultimately build legitimacy and trust. To better respond to the needs of the community, it is important for the municipal police to understand what these needs are and include marginalised voices such as those of women. UNDP aims to address gender-related issues by: (1) gathering data on specific security and justice needs of women; (2) supporting municipal police women agents; (3) developing trainings for the municipal police on gender related issues.<sup>42</sup> This report is part and parcel of these efforts and contributes to a community policing approach by capturing the voices and needs of female municipal police agents as well as their workplace experiences and challenges.



## SECTION 4

# QUANTITATIVE REPORT

### METHODOLOGY

The quantitative study was conducted by a female criminologist, with a legal background and expertise in policy research. This survey was designed based on criminological literature on policing in general, and women in policing in particular. For the areas on harassment, the Sexual Harassment Report by the UK Ministry of Defence (2015) was drawn upon as reference material<sup>43</sup>. The survey questionnaire is included in this report as Annexure A.

After a draft was prepared in English, this was reviewed by UNDP and the researchers in the UNDP linked qualitative study. The survey design benefitted from their experience of data collection that they had undertaken up to that point. The survey was then translated into Arabic, and final edits were made for ease of translation and brevity. The survey was designed to take approximately 15 minutes to complete. However, this depended on the mode of data collection and literacy levels of the participants.

Enumerators were then trained on the survey questionnaire by a UNDP staff member in a collaborative process. UNDP staff (two staff and two interns) administered the survey in various municipalities. If women were being surveyed, the aim was for the enumerator to be a woman or at least have a woman present. The perceived positionality of UNDP staff and location of data collection may have impacted the willingness of participants to respond freely without fearing repercussions from the municipality. However, it was clearly stated that this survey is only for research purposes and is completely voluntary and anonymous.

Data collection took place from end September till mid October 2019, ending with the beginnings of the protests. The surveys were administered in the municipalities with enumerators first explaining all the questions to ensure clarity, obtaining informed consent, explaining the purpose of the research and ensuring anonymity, followed by the participants filling out the answer sheet. The answer sheet was an SAT style, MCQ answer sheet to keep it visually short and manageable for the participants who may have limited literacy or understanding. The surveys were then collected.

The data was stored safely and input into an excel file. The data was quantitatively analysed to generate descriptive statistics. It must be noted that the limited sample size is a significant limitation to the study, and therefore, this study should not be interpreted as generalizable.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.mei.edu/publications/community-policing-lebanon>, Middle East Institute, 2018.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> [https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online\\_0.pdf](https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/WJP-ROLI-2020-Online_0.pdf), World Justice Project, 2020.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.lb.undp.org/content/lebanon/en/home/projects/EnhancingCommunitySecurityandAccessToJusticeinLebanonHostCommunities.html>, UNDP, 2017

<sup>41</sup> [http://www.lb.undp.org/content/dam/lebanon/docs/Women%20Emp/ROL%20Prod%20September%202017\\_Final.pdf](http://www.lb.undp.org/content/dam/lebanon/docs/Women%20Emp/ROL%20Prod%20September%202017_Final.pdf) UNDP, 2017

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/british-army-sexual-harassment-report-2015> British Government, 2015

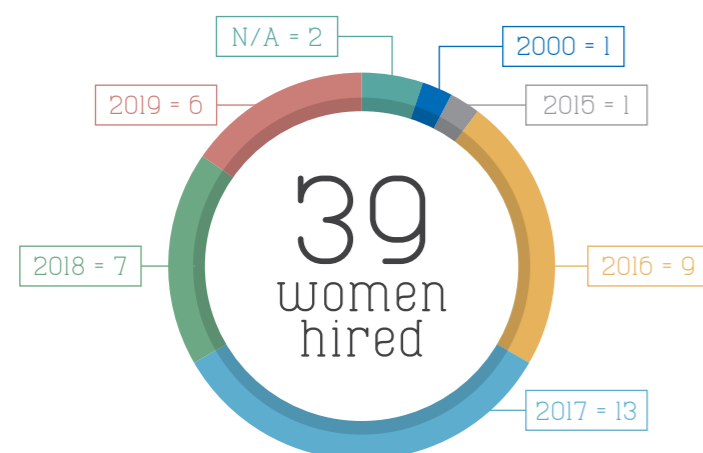


## SAMPLE

The sampling strategy was convenience based. The initial aim of the sample was to survey at least 150 agents, with a minimum of one-third being women. From the remaining two-thirds of men, the aim was to maintain an even distribution among regions (Bekaa, Mount Lebanon, North and South). Within these criteria, the agents surveyed were picked at random. However, it wasn't possible to achieve this aim fully due to the number of municipal agents rapidly changing and certain municipalities being unwilling to participate in the survey. Data collection was wrapped up abruptly due to the beginning of the protests in Lebanon in October 2019.

The survey was administered to a sample of 151 participants, 112 (74%) were men and 39 (26%) were women. The participants were from 13 municipalities. 27% of participants were from Mount Lebanon, 24% were from Bekaa, 31% were from North, and the South had 18% of the participants.

Municipality	Women	Men	Total
Ain Aar – Mount Lebanon	2	0	2
Anfeh – Mount Lebanon	1	1	2
Antelias – Mount Lebanon	8	6	14
Baalbeck - Bekaa	0	7	7
Burj Hammoud – Mount Lebanon	9	14	23
Chekka – North	3	3	6
El Mina – North	3	14	17
Jbeil – North	4	5	9
Jab Jenine – Bekaa	0	5	5
Nabatiye – South	0	6	6
Saida – South	0	21	21
Tripoli – North	0	15	15
Zahle – Bekaa	9	15	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>151</b>



Women in the sample were first recruited in the year 2000, with a long gap between 2000-2015 in which, based on the sample, no women were recruited. However, there has been increased hiring of women from 2016 to 2019 as shown on the left.

The sharp increase in hiring of female municipal police agents is likely to be due to the increase of Syrian refugees and pressures on municipalities. However, due to the current economic crisis in Lebanon<sup>44</sup>, it is likely that the hiring of female municipal police will be adversely impacted as there are limited funds available to municipalities presently.

<sup>44</sup><https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/01/poverty-set-deepen-lebanons-economic-crisis-200101093225897.html> Al Jazeera, 2020

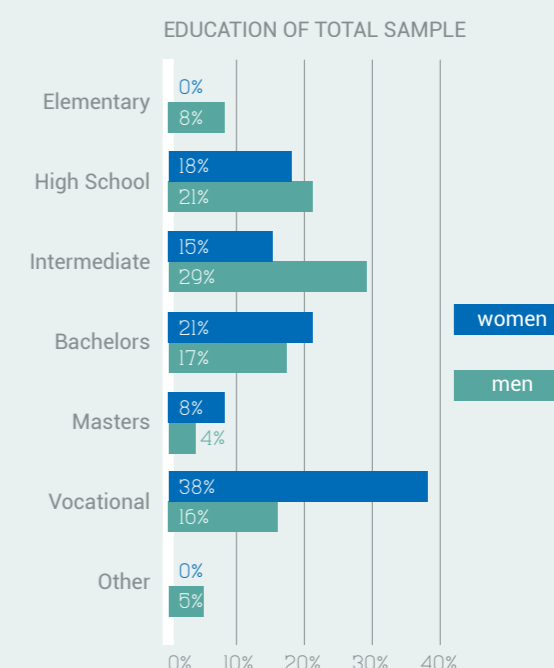
## SAMPLE PROFILE

### AGE

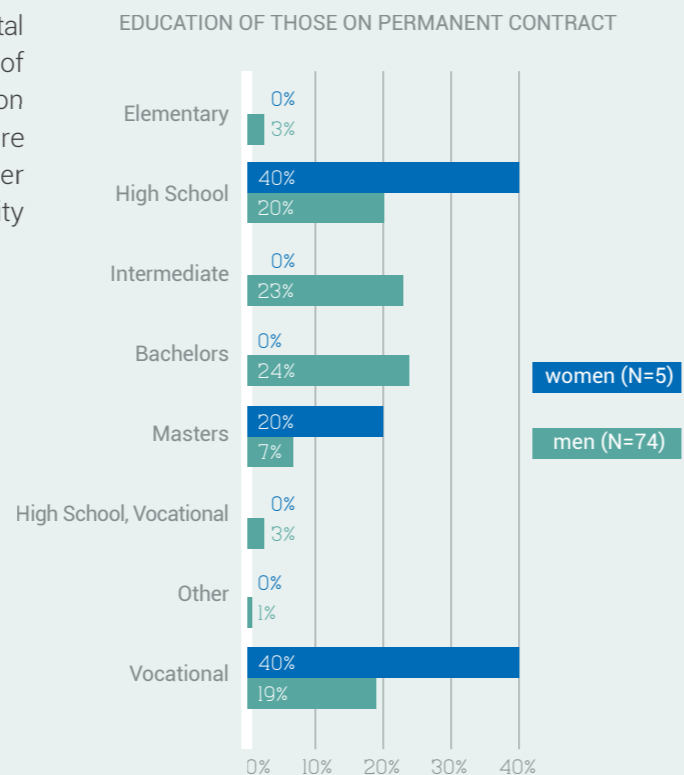
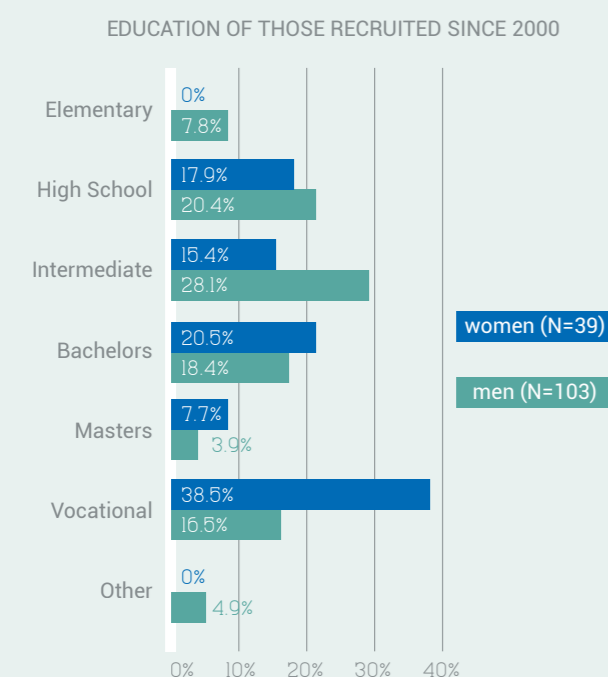
The average age of the sample is 35, with a minimum age of 20 and maximum age of 62. For men, the average age is 37, and for women it is 32. The maximum age of women is 53, whereas the maximum age of men was 62 years old. Women, in comparison, are younger within the municipal police. As UNDP's linked qualitative study finds, this is likely due to the fact that municipalities have recently become more receptive to hiring women and there is also increased interest from younger women in joining the municipal police. Push and pull factors such as the troubling economic times, increased hiring by municipalities, and a willingness within the newer generation to join professions that were not previously considered conventional for women, may explain the age distribution of this sample of municipal police agents.

### EDUCATION

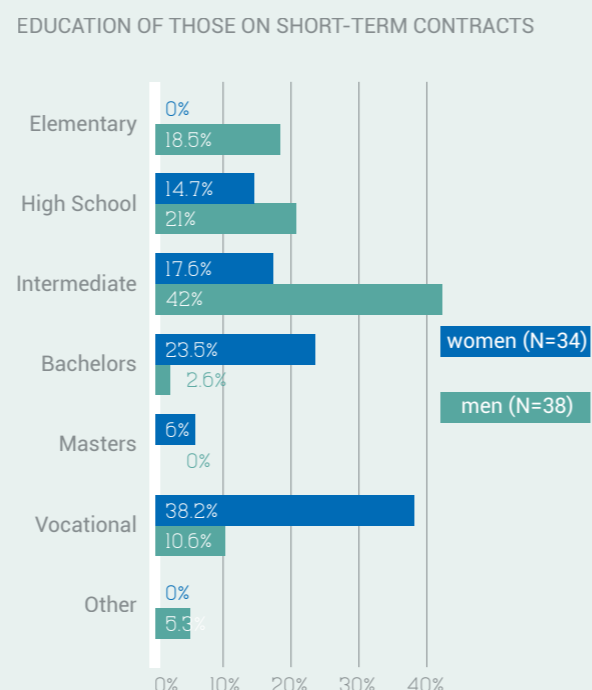
Municipal police agents had a wide range of educational qualifications, with a higher proportion of women being university educated. There is a higher number of men who have only obtained elementary education, compared to zero women. In addition, there are double the percentage of women with a Master's degree, compared to men. The education distribution of the total sample is as follows:



Women were initially recruited in 2000. Since then, a total of 142 municipal police agents have been recruited of which 103 are men within the sample. The education levels of men and women recruited since 2000 are consistent with the overall sample, with a higher proportion of women being educated at the university level.



When comparing men and women on short-term contracts (which includes all types of contractual arrangements except permanent contracts), the findings are consistent: Women on short-term contracts are more likely to be university educated compared to men with the same short-term contractual arrangements.



5 women, compared to 74 men, had permanent contracts. Taking a closer look at those with permanent contracts, within the 5 women: 2 women had finished high school education, 2 women had received vocational training, and one woman had a Master's degree. In comparison, men had a wider range of educational qualifications, reflecting the higher number of men on a permanent contract. The most common educational qualifications for men on a permanent contract was a bachelor's degree, followed by an intermediate qualification.

### FAMILY LIFE

A significantly higher proportion of women were single (unmarried, divorced), compared to men. This may reflect the younger average age of women. In addition, municipal police agents had an average of 1 child; 2 women had a maximum of 4 children, and 2 men had a maximum of 6 children.

Marital Status	Divorced	Married	Separated	Single
Women	15%	36%	3%	46%
Men	2%	70%	2%	26%

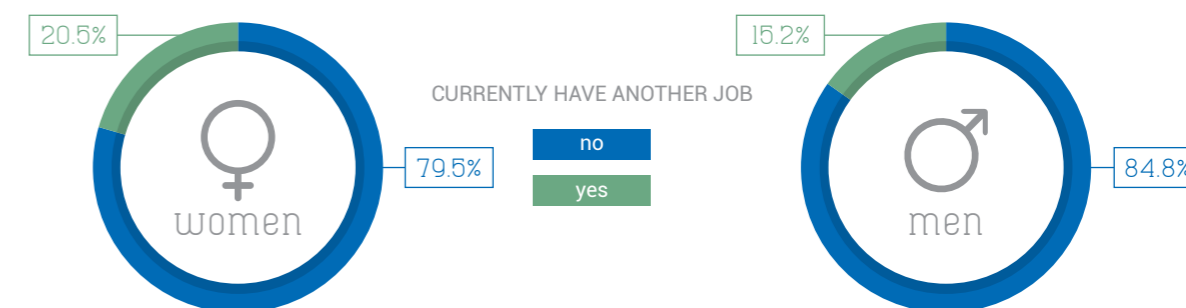
Men and women felt supported by their spouse, with 85% of those who were married or separated feeling supported by their spouse in their profession and 89% of the sample agreeing that their family (i.e. parents and siblings) support their job. This is consistent with UNDP's linked qualitative study which finds that cultural acceptance of women working as municipal police agents is growing.

The majority of municipal police agents did not have a direct relative working within the municipality staff or municipal police. Within the sample, 8% of women and men had a direct family member (i.e. parents, sibling, spouse) who had been municipal staff. 5% of women and 6% of men had a direct family member who had been a municipal police agent.

### PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

Municipal police agents had a wide range of previous professions including accounting, barbers/hairdressers, chauffeurs, shop assistants, hotel employees, drivers, mechanics, and security guards. 11 women and 34 men did not have a previous profession; therefore it can be inferred that this was their first formal job. When asked whether they were satisfied as a municipal police agent compared to their previous occupation, the response was overwhelmingly positive: an average of 87% of municipal police agents expressed satisfaction, with no significant difference between men and women.

However, not all those in the sample worked exclusively as municipal police agents. At present, 8 women, and 17 men also had an additional job – which was also highlighted within UNDP's linked qualitative study.

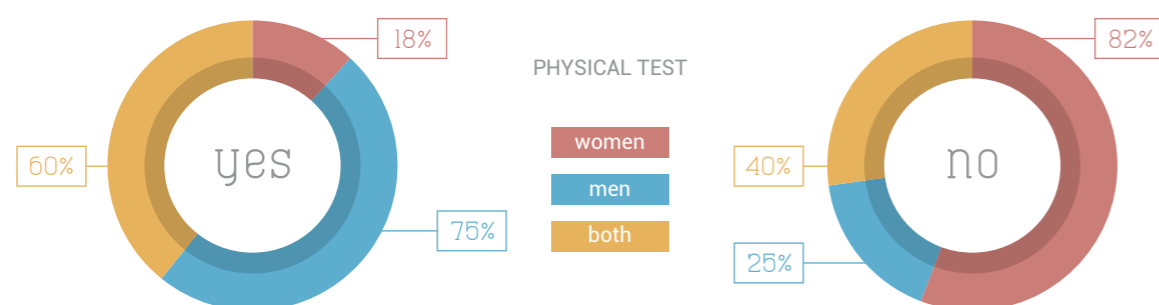


The additional jobs for women included makeup artists, teachers, receptionists and waitresses. Whereas, for men, the range of additional jobs included accountants, chauffeurs, jewellery store assistants, mechanics, and security guards. The need for some agents to work multiple jobs is likely due to the low salary structures of the municipal police and intensifying economic crisis<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/10/world/middleeast/lebanon-economic-crisis.html> New York Times, 2020

## RECRUITMENT POLICIES

During recruitment, the majority of men within the sample took a physical test. 18% of women in the sample had to take a physical test for induction into the municipal police. This may reflect the varied hiring practices of municipalities. It is also unclear what the criteria for this test was, and whether it was the exact same for men and women.



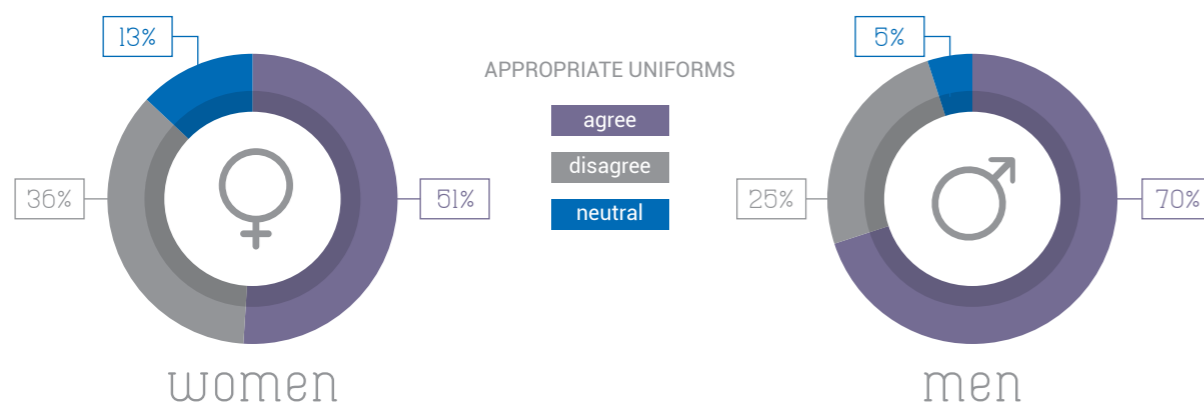
Out of the 91 municipal police agents who had a physical test, 6 were neutral when asked whether the test was appropriate for them as men or women, 84 responded positively (this included 6 women and 78 men), and 1 participant (who was a woman) felt that the test was not appropriate for her sex.

Findings from an assessment of San Diego's Police Department's recruitment policies shows that remedies to increase recruitment of women could include targeting recruitment efforts, and tailoring the application process for diversity including altering physical requirements proportionately.<sup>46</sup> Very often, women cannot meet the criterion of physical standards. In Pakistan, participants observed that 60% of the applicants do not qualify for appointment due to a limitation of physical (height) standards.<sup>47</sup>

Changing recruitment criteria of height and fitness has been successful in more gender-equal hiring<sup>48</sup> therefore further inquiry may be required to understand the criteria for physical tests within municipalities, and whether they are appropriate for men and women.

## UNIFORMS

A related topic is that of uniforms. Within the sample, there appeared to be a gendered difference in appropriateness:



<sup>46</sup> [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2012/RAND\\_OP370.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2012/RAND_OP370.pdf) Matthies, Keller and Lim, 2012

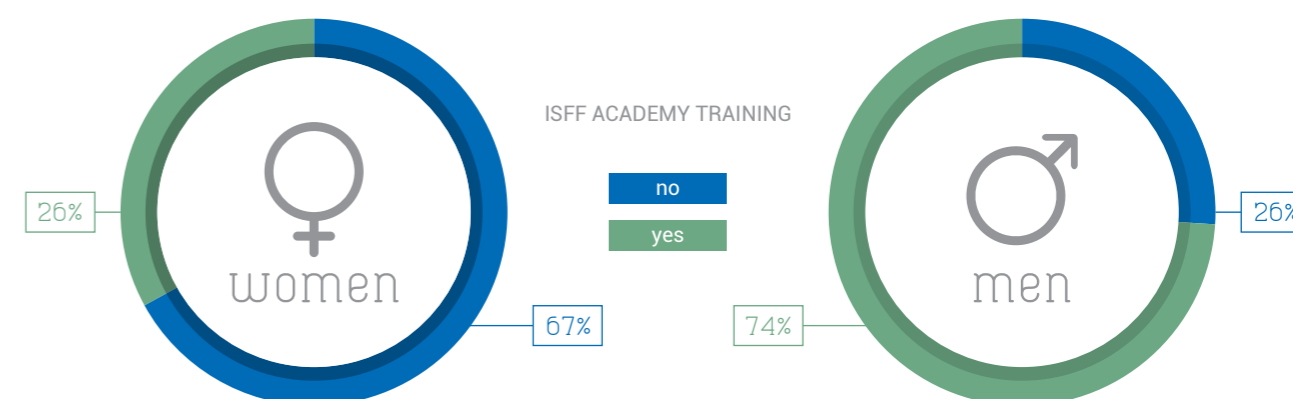
<sup>47</sup> [http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country\\_resources\\_file/1216\\_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf](http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country_resources_file/1216_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf) GIZ Pakistan, 2012

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/252963.pdf>, National Institute of Justice, 2019

A higher proportion of women felt that uniforms were not appropriate, which is another area where further inquiry may be required to understand how to make uniforms more comfortable and appropriate. Other contexts (such as Croatia) have implemented more gender equal policies related to uniforms, for example by assessing women's needs and consulting them on the design of new uniforms.<sup>49</sup>

## TRAINING

Trainings for municipal police officers, provided by the ISF Academy, include modules on social skills and protection (including protection of refugees', children and SGBV victims' rights).<sup>50</sup> These efforts are framed as part of a community-based, gender-responsive approach promoted by UNDP. After beginning work with the municipal police, a significantly higher percentage of men had attended training at the ISF Academy. This reflects their comparative length of employment.



Within the municipalities that hire men and women, there are a total of 97 municipal police agents. Of these, 49 had attended the ISF Academy training. However, only 13 of these attendees were women.

There is a positive correlation between years of employment and the possibility to receive ISF training, albeit not very strong. Every additional year of employment raises the probability to have received ISF training<sup>51</sup>.

Most officers, however, were provided some form of training before beginning work, whether it was on the job or in the municipality. The most frequent response for length of training was 1 month of training for men and women. Although this data was not cross-checked with municipality records, the varied survey responses reflect the haphazard nature of training that is provided to agents before they begin work. While some agents may be equipped with some of the tools needed in their new profession, others are likely to need more training and support upon beginning work.

<sup>49</sup> [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/162063/Guidelines\\_for\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/162063/Guidelines_for_WEB.pdf) WPON, 2012

The Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe (WPON) has developed the Guidelines for Gender Sensitive Policing, with an Emphasis on Recruitment, Selection and Professional Development of Women in Police Services (2012)

<sup>50</sup> Training modules developed with UNDP support. The protection module was developed by UNDP and the ISF Academy, in partnership with UNHCR, UNICEF and UNFPA.

<sup>51</sup> Every additional year of employment raises the probability to have received ISF training of 1.09407 (in a logistic regression, it is an odds ratio, so if the base probability is x, if one more year of employment is added the new probability y = x\*1.09407).

## EXPERIENCES

### CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS

Within the sample, 52.32% of municipal police agents have a permanent contract. 12.8% of total women had permanent contracts, and 66.1% of men had permanent contracts. Within those agents who had a permanent contract, 5 were women and 74 were men. A similar number of men and women had no contract, or didn't know which contract they were on which indicates the level of professionalism found in the municipal police. In addition, a significantly higher number of women (compared to men) had seasonal contracts, and even daily contracts. The data shows that a significantly higher proportion of men are awarded permanent contracts, which may be due to the Mayor's discretion, or characteristics such as age, qualifications, and number of years of service in the municipal police.

Type of Contract	Women (n)	%	Men (n)	%	Total (n)	%
Contractual - Seasonal	9	23.1%	5	4.5%	14	9.3%
Contractual - Yearly	7	18%	16	14.2%	23	15.2%
Daily	12	30.8%	11	9.8%	23	15.2%
Don't Know	3	7.7%	2	1.7%	5	3.3%
No Contract	3	7.7%	4	3.5%	7	4.6%
Permanent	5	12.8%	74	66.1%	79	52.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>		<b>112</b>		<b>151</b>	<b>100%</b>

There is a statistically significant positive correlation between years of work and being on a permanent contract, with a strong effect. In detail, every additional year of work raises the probability to be in a permanent contract<sup>52</sup>. Although there is a correlation, it is not suggested that this is the primary motivation behind municipalities awarding permanent contracts.

The sample shows that from the year 2000, when recruitment of women began, a total of 142 municipal police agents have been recruited of which 103 were men. The overwhelming majority of permanent contracts have been awarded to men.

Type of Contract	Women (n)	%	Men (n)	%
Contractual - Seasonal	9	23.1%	5	4.9%
Contractual - Yearly	7	18%	16	15.5%
Daily	12	30.8%	11	10.7%
Don't Know	3	7.7%	2	1.9%
No Contract	3	7.7%	4	3.9%
Permanent	5	12.8%	65	63.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>52</sup> In detail, every additional year of work raises the probability to be in a permanent contract of 1.36629 (In a logistic regression, it is an odds ratio meaning that if the basic probability is x, with one more year of work the probability will be y = x\*1.36629).

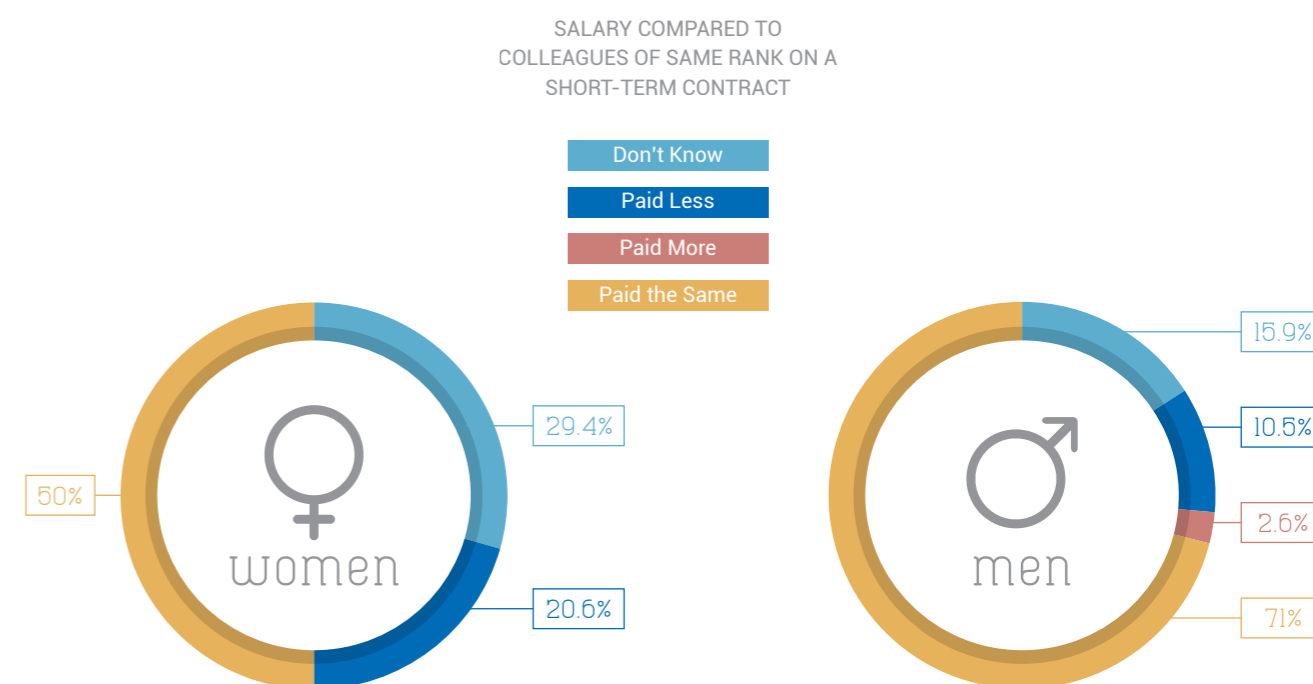
The head of municipal police was most frequently a man, with 71% of municipal police heads being men, and only 1% being a woman within the sample. The only municipality with a female head is Anfeh. 28% of participants said the question relating to head of municipal police was not applicable to them, which is likely to reflect the fact that some municipalities do not have the head of municipal police position.

44% of the sample felt that fair criteria were not applied when deciding promotions – this could be indicative of larger discontent. Based on the data, there appears to be no clear criteria for promotions. Research from elsewhere shows women actually "police" differently than men<sup>53</sup>: principally they are more likely to engage in communication before using force. This should be reflected in promotion practices.

The types of contracts awarded to men and women reflect differences in job stability and benefits. Women on seasonal contracts and daily contracts are in a more precarious position, with limited long-term job security due to the nature of the contract. This was expressed by participants when 44% of women (compared to 24% of men) expressed that they felt insecure in the long-term (of 5 years) in their job or contract. For female officers, job security is a primary motivation for continuing a career in law enforcement<sup>54</sup>. Job security is therefore a prerequisite to retaining women in law enforcement.

### REMUNERATION

In terms of remuneration, while we do not have absolute numbers on salaries for municipal police agents, a higher number of women perceived that they were paid less salary compared to other municipal police agents of the same rank on a short-term contract. Short term contracts include all types of contractual arrangements except permanent contracts.



<sup>53</sup> <http://www.wglt.org/post/isu-professor-women-are-thriving-police-officers#stream/0> Norton, 2018

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15614260701217941?src=recsys> Seklecki and Paynich, 2007

In addition, a lower number of women (compared to men) felt that they are paid equally to men of the same rank on short term contracts. The data shows an inequality in terms of perception of equal payment for similar work.

### JOB BENEFITS

Municipal police agents in the sample were asked whether they felt they have access to job benefits including paid holiday, maternity/paternity leave, educational allowances, insurance, and other benefits. They expressed dissatisfaction over these benefits, reflecting the challenging conditions in which municipal police agents carry out their work.

Of those on a permanent contract, a very low proportion of women said that they had access to paid holiday. However, the 5 women on permanent contracts, compared to a much lower proportion of men, noted that they had access to maternity leave and retirement/end of service benefits. This may reflect the comparatively beneficial benefits of a permanent contract.

Benefits	Woman (N=5)	Men (N=74)
<b>Paid holiday</b>		
Agree	20%	44.6%
Disagree	80%	51.4%
Neutral	0%	4%
<b>Maternity/paternity leave</b>		
Agree	80%	24.3%
Disagree	0%	51.4%
Neutral	20%	24.3%
<b>Educational allowances for children</b>		
Agree	80%	81.2%
Disagree	0%	8.1%
Neutral	20%	2.7%
<b>On the job insurance</b>		
Agree	80%	87.7%
Disagree	0%	10.8%
Neutral	20%	1.35%
<b>Medical insurance</b>		
Agree	60%	82.4%
Disagree	20%	14.8%
Neutral	20%	2.8%
<b>Retirement/end of service benefits</b>		
Agree	100%	77%
Disagree	0%	16.2%
Neutral	0%	6.8%

However, in the case of short-term contracts, there was large scale dissatisfaction specifically in the areas of maternity/paternity leave, educational allowances for children, on the job insurance, medical insurance, and retirement/end of service benefits. Significantly, only 5.9% of women noted that they had access to educational allowances for their children, and 0% reported having access to medical insurance.

Benefits	Woman (N=5)	Men (N=74)
<b>Paid holiday</b>		
Agree	35.3%	57.9%
Disagree	50%	34.2%
Neutral	14.7%	7.9%
<b>Maternity/paternity leave</b>		
Agree	26.4%	50%
Disagree	32.4%	15.8%
Neutral	41.2%	34.2%
<b>Educational allowances for children</b>		
Agree	5.9%	7.9%
Disagree	64.7%	55.3%
Neutral	29.4%	36.8%
<b>On the job insurance</b>		
Agree	23.4%	52.6%
Disagree	60%	29%
Neutral	17.6%	18.4%
<b>Medical insurance</b>		
Agree	0%	2.6%
Disagree	82.4%	78.9%
Neutral	17.6%	18.4%
<b>Retirement/end of service benefits</b>		
Agree	8.9%	5.3%
Disagree	73.5%	71.1%
Neutral	17.6%	23.7%

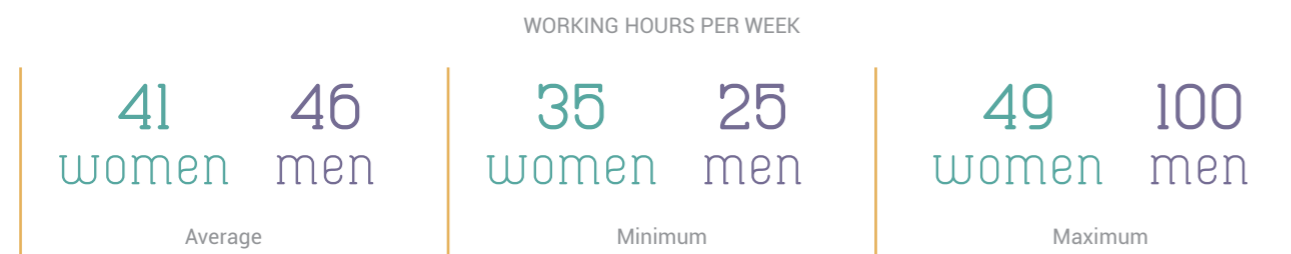
Women consistently expressed dissatisfaction with their working conditions as municipal police agents. Human resource policies are not family friendly, which affects women's retention and advancement in the municipal police. In turn, this negatively affects the promotion of gender-sensitive policing.

## WORKING CONDITIONS

Men and women largely reported working similar hours to their colleagues, although the tasks carried out and perception of equal remuneration does differ.

Working hours per week compared to colleagues	Women	Men	Both
Don't Know	18%	15%	16%
No – I work less	3%	2%	2%
No – I work more	15%	20%	19%
Yes – I work the same no. of hours	64%	63%	64%
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	100%

Average working hours per week are similar for men and women. Although, it should be noted that these numbers are self-reported and were not verified with the municipality.



Working patterns differ between men and women. 24 participants said they frequently work night shifts. Out of these 24, 6 were women. Women are therefore more likely to work day or afternoon shifts, instead of night shifts. However, the frequency of working on Sundays or public holidays is similar for male and female municipal police agents. Only 4.6% of the sample reported that they never work on Sundays or public holidays. In addition, 77% of women felt that they had flexible working hours.

## ROLES

Tasks that municipal police agents are assigned to and carry out differs according to gender. 46% of the sample felt that tasks were not evenly distributed among colleagues. Largely, women spent more time in the office, carrying out administrative tasks, and less time on the streets or out of the office, thereby limiting their interaction with residents.

How much of your work involved the following tasks	Woman	Men
Administration / in the office None Plenty Some	56% 26% 18%	66% 15% 19%
In "operation rooms" (i.e. answering the phone, recording complaints, coordinating work of police agents) None Plenty Some	49% 20% 31%	81% 6% 13%
Conflict resolution between residents None Plenty Some	54% 10% 36%	26% 40% 34%
Mediation b/w fellow municipal police agents None Plenty Some	51% 15% 34%	43% 12% 45%
Interacting with residents None Plenty Some	21% 46% 33%	13% 46% 41%
On the streets None Plenty Some	100% 44% 23%	9% 84% 7%
Traffic control None Plenty Some	36% 38% 26%	16% 55% 29%
Traffic patrol None Plenty Some	69% 13% 18%	21% 44% 35%
Inspection of construction violations None Plenty Some	90% 2% 8%	38% 22% 40%

How much of your work involved the following tasks	Woman	Men
Inspection of violations related to use of public space		
None	85%	54%
Plenty	5%	28%
Some	10%	18%
Assigned to specialized forces (i.e. tourism)		
None	79%	83%
Plenty	13%	10%
Some	8%	7%
Assigned to public events or festivals		
None	32%	18%
Plenty	28%	26%
Some	38%	56%
Searching residents		
None	90%	83%
Plenty	2%	2%
Some	8%	15%
Involvement in raids		
None	92%	77%
Plenty	0%	5%
Some	8%	18%

Women on permanent contracts comparatively have larger opportunities for interaction with the public and using skills in conflict resolution and communication.

How much of your work involved (permanent contract)	Women	Men	Both
Administration/in the office			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	60%	59%	59%
Some	40%	18%	19%
	0%	23%	22%
In "operation rooms"			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	20%	78%	74%
Some	20%	7%	8%
	60%	15%	18%
Conflict resolution between residents			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	20%	24%	24%
Some	0%	40%	37%
	80%	36%	39%
Mediation between fellow municipal police agents			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	40%	34%	34%
Some	0%	8%	8%
	60%	58%	58%
Interacting with residents			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	0%	8%	8%
Some	60%	45%	45%
	40%	47%	47%

How much of your work involved (permanent contract)	Women	Men	Both
On the streets			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	20%	5%	6%
Some	60%	87%	85%
	20%	8%	9%
Traffic control			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	20%	19%	19%
Some	60%	45%	46%
	20%	36%	35%
Traffic patrol			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	40%	18%	19%
Some	20%	42%	41%
	40%	40%	40%
Inspection of construction violations			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	60%	34%	35%
Some	20%	19%	19%
	20%	47%	46%
Inspection of violations related to use of public space			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	60%	54%	54%
Some	0%	27%	26%
	40%	19%	20%
Assigned to specialized forces (i.e. tourism)			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	100%	85%	86%
Some	0%	7%	6%
	0%	8%	8%
Assigned to public events or festivals			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	40%	22%	23%
Some	20%	14%	15%
	40%	64%	62%
Searching residents			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	60%	84%	82%
Some	40%	16%	18%
Involvement in raids			
None	100%	100%	100%
Plenty	60%	88%	86%
Some	0%	3%	3%
	40%	9%	11%

The above reflects the wide range of overall tasks of the municipal police, but relatively limited areas that female municipal police officers are involved in carrying out the functions of the municipal police. Within the sample a higher proportion of female municipal police agents (95%) agreed that they were respected by the community, compared to 86% of male municipal police agents. The distribution of tasks are an underuse of the potential of hiring female personnel, which may be an effective strategy to change the image of a police force and build trust. As UNDP's linked qualitative study shows, the visibility of female municipal police agents on the streets can have a positive impact on municipalities recruiting more women and more women applying for municipal police roles. By limiting public exposure of female municipal police agents, this potential impact is also hindered.

A study conducted by International Alert in 2015 shows evidence from Lebanon that women see security institutions as being less friendly to them and that relations could be improved.<sup>55</sup> Research in Lebanon suggests that both men and women would feel happier about women visiting a police station if a women's unit existed<sup>56</sup>. A study conducted in 2013 by Northern Ireland Cooperation Overseas (NI-CO) on ISF trust levels shows that there is a general perception among Lebanese that female ISF officers would be less likely to take bribes, would treat people with respect and would apply the law equally to all citizens.<sup>57</sup> In 2009, the United Nations launched an effort (the 'Global Effort'<sup>58</sup> initiative) to increase the number of female police officers deployed with the United Nations. They stated that women police officers greatly increase the effectiveness of UN police components and help build trust with populations.<sup>59</sup> However, for these perceptions to take effect, female officers would have to be at the forefront and deal with citizens on a daily basis.

#### WORKING ENVIRONMENT

Data on working environments indicates some areas of dissatisfaction. An average of 95% of municipal police agents felt accepted by their colleagues, 85% felt they were valued by their supervisor, 73% felt supported by the mayor and municipal council members, and 99% felt they were confident in their ability to perform their job with no significant gender differences. However, these exceedingly positive responses should be viewed in the context of other areas where dissatisfaction has been highlighted, and the environment of the data collection (as mentioned in the methodology). For example, an average of 60% of the sample expressed concern that *wasta* (social or political interference) was a hindrance in performing their duties and 52% felt unprotected by the law when performing their duties.

When asked about harassment or offensive behaviour, 131 municipal police agents (out of a total sample of 151) reported having faced harassment. This extremely high number indicates the type of circumstances municipal police agents endure in fulfilling their duties. Significantly, the nature of harassment appears to be gendered. A higher proportion of women reported that they had been subjected to sexually explicit language and sexual gestures while at work. Whereas, a higher percentage of male municipal police agents reported being subjected to verbal abuse and physical violence while at work. Those who reported this behaviour also overwhelmingly found it offensive. The perpetrators may have been members of the public, municipal police agents, or municipality employees.

<sup>55</sup> International Alert, 2015

<sup>56</sup> [https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon\\_SSR\\_Synthesis\\_EN\\_2015.pdf](https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon_SSR_Synthesis_EN_2015.pdf) International Alert, 2015

<sup>57</sup> [https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon\\_SSR\\_Gender\\_Security\\_EN\\_2014.pdf](https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon_SSR_Gender_Security_EN_2014.pdf) International Alert, 2014

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2009/pko218.doc.htm> United Nations, 2009

<sup>59</sup> <https://police.un.org/en/un-police-gender-initiatives> UNPolice, 2020





Question	Woman	Men
Used sexually explicit language towards you (e.g. suggestive language, catcalling) Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 46% 8% 46% 78.4%	100% 73% 3% 23%
Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature towards you (e.g. inappropriate touching, hugging, kissing) Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 87% 3% 10% 69.2%	100% 93% 2% 5%
Used verbally abusive language towards you (e.g. swear words, threats) Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 46% 10% 44% 84.4%	100% 21% 21% 58%
Acted in a physically violent manner towards you (e.g. hitting, slapping, of attempting the above) Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 85% 3% 12% 86.4%	100% 46% 8% 46%
Made unwelcome comments (e.g. about your appearance of private/romantic relationships) Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 69% 5% 26% 72.7%	100% 71% 4% 24%
Made unwelcome attempts to establish a private/romantic relationship with you despite your discouragement? Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behavior offensive?	100% 97% 0% 3% 75%	100% 97% 1% 2%
Made unwelcome attempts to establish a private/romantic relationship with you despite your discouragement? Never Plenty Sometimes Did you find this behaviour offensive?	100% 97% 0% 3% 75%	100% 97% 1% 2%

The working environment does not appear to be conducive to gender equality or a healthy workplace as there is a similarity between men and women reporting on receiving unwelcome comments, and facing sexually explicit language being used towards them. This indicates the acceptability of such behaviour, which is considered offensive by the overwhelming majority of municipal police agents. The perpetrators of offensive behaviour also differed by gender, and this links to the type of harassment experienced. Of those who indicated experiencing harassment, men largely experienced harassment from members of the public, reflecting the nature of the tasks they undertake which generally relates to being out on the street and interacting with the public.

	Woman	Men
<b>Members of the Public</b>		
Always	15.6%	38.4%
Plenty	22%	16.1%
Sometimes	18.6%	24.2%
Rarely	0%	2.1%
Never	43.8%	19.2%
<b>Municipal Police Agents</b>		
Always	6.3%	2.1%
Plenty	3.1%	0%
Sometimes	9.4%	12.1%
Rarely	15.6%	18.2%
Never	65.6%	67.7%
<b>Municipality Employees</b>		
Always	9.4%	1.1%
Plenty	3.1%	0%
Sometimes	9.4%	5.1%
Rarely	15.6%	6.1%
Never	62.5%	87.8%

Although data shows a small number of offensive behaviours by fellow municipal police agents or municipality employees (which could be municipal staff, municipal board members or mayors), there is a difference in data relating to municipality employees. More women responded by saying that the individuals responsible for offensive behaviour were municipality employees. This may reflect another significant factor that makes working as a female municipal police agent extremely challenging due to the largely uncondusive environment. Although it is a small number, it must be noted that harassment is extremely underreported in all contexts and victims are very reluctant to speak out. This is the first study that has interrogated harassment within the municipal police in Lebanon, and therefore although the data is limited at present, this is an area that must be interrogated further.

The effect of offensive behaviour on the municipal police agents differed according to gender. Interestingly, men and women reported learning how to perform their job better than before as a result of the challenging behaviour they experienced.

Effect	Woman (N=32)	Men (N=99)
<b>I learned how to perform my job better than before</b>		
Agree	90.6%	74.7%
Disagree	6.3%	10.1%
Neutral	3.1%	15.2%
<b>I felt excluded from my team</b>		
Agree	18.6%	5%
Disagree	59.3%	66.7%
Neutral	21.9%	28.3%
<b>I experienced depression and/or anxiety</b>		
Agree	46.9%	19.2%
Disagree	28.6%	56.6%
Neutral	21.9%	24.2%
<b>I thought about leaving the MP</b>		
Agree	28.1%	10.1%
Disagree	59.3%	71.7%
Neutral	12.5%	18.2%
<b>It caused tension between my family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) and the person(s) who offended me</b>		
Agree	25%	11.1%
Disagree	56.2%	65.6%
Neutral	18.6%	23.2%

More women felt excluded from their team and significantly more women experienced mental health issues due to the offensive behaviour they experienced. However, it must be noted here that there is a lack of willingness to speak about depression/anxiety which is likely to affect the results. In addition, more women experienced familial tension and more women thought about leaving the municipal police. Building stronger support structures within the municipal police would help women to better cope with their challenging work environments and support a gender-responsive policing strategy. As this is the first study inquiring about harassment, this is an area that needs to continue to be explored to increase reporting and build understanding.

In terms of responses or help-seeking behaviour of those who faced offensive behaviour, both men and women responded most often by telling their supervisor or ignoring the behaviour. Below are the most frequent responses for men and women.

Men (N=99)	Frequency
I told my supervisor	70
I told the person(s) to stop	46
I ignored the behaviour	42

Women (N=32)	Frequency
I told my supervisor	19
I ignored the behaviour	14
I told my colleague	12
I avoided the person(s) to stop	12
I told the person(s) to stop	12

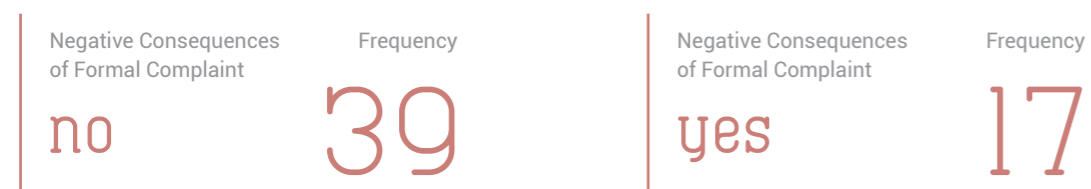
Out of 131 people who reported facing harassment and taking some sort of action (as above), 81 believed their actions helped resolve the behaviour. The effect of these responses in improving the situation was relatively similar, with reporting to a supervisor being an effective response for men and women. Below are the most frequent responses for men and women in terms of which actions improved the situation.

Men	Frequency
I told my supervisor	19
I told the person(s) to stop	15
I ignored the behaviour	8

Women	Frequency
I told my supervisor	9
I told the person(s) to stop	5
I avoided the person(s) if I could	4



While making a formal complaint was not found to be a very effective response, at the least it did not largely have negative effects on the complainant.



For those who did not take any action, the most frequent reasons cited overlapped between men and women, and significantly both expressed a disbelief in current remedial structures.

Men	Frequency
I thought I could handle the situation myself	47
I didn't think it was that important	27
I didn't think anything would be done about it	21

Women	Frequency
I didn't think it was that important	13
I thought I could handle the situation myself	13
I didn't think anything would be done about it	9

Men and women highlight the importance of reporting harassment to their supervisor and this being an effective remedy, however, it must be noted that in some municipalities there is no Head of the Municipal Police which makes the reporting structure weaker and open to conflicts of interest. Resolving such matters and creating a more inclusive working environment should not be left to a single supervisor, instead, the data on help-seeking behaviour highlights the need to have stronger support structures within the municipality for those that suffer harassment or offensive behaviour. This includes providing gender inclusive accountability structures.

Promoting gender-sensitive policing is a two-pronged strategy of improving gender balance, while incorporating a gender perspective in police duties. It must be noted that the recruitment of more women in the police force does not automatically guarantee a more gender-sensitive police force. Instead, overall structures need to be made more gender equal.<sup>60</sup> Gender initiatives could include engaging women in oversight mechanisms and accountability systems<sup>61</sup>, as well as gender mainstreaming.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org/index9ae4.html?pagelid=1869>

Peacebuilding Initiative, 2008

<sup>61</sup> Gender-Sensitive Police Reform in Post-Conflict Societies (2009) and (2012) UN Women

<sup>62</sup> Kristin Valasek. "Security Sector Reform and Gender." Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit. Eds. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008.

From next page:

<sup>63</sup> These are estimated figures and should be used to appreciate the approximate size of the communities covered.

<sup>64</sup> Estimates of the Mayor of Zahle.

<sup>65</sup> Estimates of the municipality, published on its website <https://baalbak.org/>. Accessed 4 October, 2019.

<sup>66</sup> Estimates of the municipality, published on its website. <http://www.jebjannineonline.com/jebjannine.php>. Accessed 4 October, 2019.

<sup>67</sup> Estimates of a Municipal board member.

<sup>68</sup> Estimated of Resilient Byblos, published in 'Byblos City Profile'. [http://www.resilientbyblos.org/pdf/Byblos\\_City\\_Profile.pdf](http://www.resilientbyblos.org/pdf/Byblos_City_Profile.pdf). Accessed 7 October, 2019.

<sup>69</sup> Estimates of UNHCR, "vulnerable cadastres". [https://unhcr.carto.com/tables/vulnerable\\_cadastres\\_251\\_1/public](https://unhcr.carto.com/tables/vulnerable_cadastres_251_1/public). Accessed 4 October, 2019.

<sup>70</sup> UN-Habitat Lebanon (2016) Tripoli City Profile 2016 (Updated Sep 2017).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

## SECTION 5 QUALITATIVE REPORT

### I. METHODOLOGY

#### I. A. RESEARCH COMMUNITY

The research covers fifteen municipalities, nine with female municipal police and six without, located in six out of Lebanon's eight governorates. The communities include most of Lebanon's major cities (with the exception of Sidon and Beirut) and several of Beirut's urban suburbs (like Bourj Hammoud and Antelias). While large urban areas are the most likely to have a substantial number of municipal police, a few smaller and rural towns have been chosen for comparative reasons; some with a large percentage of Syrian refugees (Joub Jannine) or a particular special interest (like Bhamdoun that employed female police in the past). Some of the communities have an active partnership with UNDP's Enhancing Community Security and Access to justice project. Table 1 provides a list of all the municipalities covered, including the estimated Lebanese population (Syrian refugees and other migrant communities are not included) to offer the readers a comparison of the size of the different localities.

All data collection was conducted after obtaining the participants' informed consent, and their privacy was protected by anonymizing their identity when writing the report. Only in the case of expert interviews, anonymity may not be practicable or needed.

Table 1: Municipalities Covered

Municipality	Governate	Female Municipal Police	Lebanese Population
Zahle	Bekaa	Yes	180,000 <sup>64</sup>
Baalbek	Baalbek-El Hermel	No	125,000 <sup>65</sup>
Joub Jannine	Bekaa	No	12,000 <sup>66</sup>
Bourj Hammoud	Mount Lebanon	Yes	180,000 <sup>67</sup>
Bhamdoun el Mhatta	Mount Lebanon	No	NA
Jbail (Byblos)	Mount Lebanon	Yes	27,250 <sup>68</sup>
Antelias - Naqqach	Mount Lebanon	Yes	13,191 <sup>69</sup>
Qornet Chahouane - Ain Aar	Mount Lebanon	Yes	NA
Broumana	Mount Lebanon	Yes	NA
Tripoli	North	No	311,212 <sup>70</sup>
El Mina	North	Yes	72,133 <sup>71</sup>
Chekka	North	Yes	15,000 <sup>72</sup>
Anfeh	North	Yes	6,500 <sup>73</sup>
Sour (Tyre)	South	No	69,984 <sup>74</sup>
Nabatieh	El Nabatieh	No	65,000 <sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Estimates of Al-Jazeera article used in the Legal Agenda. "اشكاليات وتدابير التخطيط الجزئي للمناطق الصناعية: شكوا والإرهاق البيئي". <https://legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=4568>. Accessed 7 October, 2019.

<sup>73</sup> Estimates of Asharq Al-Awsat. "أنقوريني: حين تمر اليونان من أنفة اللبنانية: الشرق الأوسط". <https://aawsat.com/home/article/955576/%C2%AB%D8%A3%D9%86%D9%81%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%86%D9%81%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%8E%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9>. Accessed 7 October, 2019.

<sup>74</sup> UN-Habitat Lebanon (2017) Tyre City Profile 2017.

<sup>75</sup> Estimate of the municipality, 'لمحة عن مدينة النبطية'. [https://nabatieh.gov.lb/t6p.php?nid=760&id=52&name=لمحة عن مدينة النبطية](https://nabatieh.gov.lb/t6p.php?nid=760&id=52&name=لمحة%20عن%20مدينة%20النبطية). Accessed 4 October 2019.

## I. B. RESEARCH METHODS

Data was collected through various qualitative methods, including key informant interviews and participant observation but relied primarily on semi-structured interviews with male and female police agents' chosen through purposive / convenience sampling. A total of 86 semi-structured interviews and 2 group interviews were conducted with 113 people in total (see Table 2). Data collection was implemented between 28 March and 23 August 2019.

Table 2: Distribution of research participants by role and sex

Position/Role	Male	Female	Total
Mayor or municipal board member	16	1	17
Head of police	11	1	12
Municipal police agent	39	27	66
Other municipal staff	1	6	7
Other contacts at the community level	2	1	3
Officials at the national level	5	3	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>113</b>

### MUNICIPALITY SITUATION BACKGROUND:

The overall situation of each municipality was gleaned through a twofold approach when possible. Prior to conducting fieldwork among each municipality, a quick desk and media review was conducted in order to be aware of the social and political context of each community. Further information on each municipality was collected during interviews, including women's participation in the municipality (where available – such as council members, administrative and clerical staff, etc.), number of police agents, date of establishment of municipal police and (if applicable) inclusion of female police, distribution of casual and permanent contracts, etc. Contact with UNDP field staff in each of the regions covered was made before field visits to further understand the context and other UNDP development interventions in the municipality.

### SEMI-STRUCTURED AND KEY INFORMANT (KI) INTERVIEWS:

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants and stakeholders including mayors, heads of the municipal police, female municipal council members (where present), other municipal staff members and male and female (where present) municipal police agents. In certain municipalities, contacts at the community level were also interviewed informally. At the regional/national level semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants at the Internal Security Forces (ISF), the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (MoIM) and the former Ministry of State for Economic Empowerment of Women and Youth (EEWAY).

All interviews with municipal board members, staff, police agents and other stakeholders were conducted in Arabic with the exception of five interviews in Bourj Hammoud, which were conducted in Armenian.

### GROUP INTERVIEWS:

Groups interviews, resembling focus group discussions often unfolded in a natural and spontaneous way during fieldwork among the municipalities. Two such discussions took place in Nabatieh and Tripoli where interviews with one to two male agents developed into a discussion with over five agents and additional others chiming in with their opinions and thoughts. This was likely to happen as the interviews took place in the actual municipal police station where agents tend to congregate. Moreover, in Tripoli, one of the researchers was invited by the head of the municipal police to join a large meeting gathering the heads of the many municipal police stations in Tripoli. The meeting turned into a focus group with the various heads offering their take on the recruitment and integration of female agents into the municipal police.

### ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDIES:

In order to generate deeper insight into the everyday realities of a female agent's role, participant observation was carried out with three female municipal police agents during their shifts. These observations happened in the municipalities of Bourj Hammoud, Mina and Zahle. Each of the three researchers accompanied one female agent during her shift, observing her tasks, enjoying informal conversations with her all the while paying attention to the interactions with and reactions from the public. In Zahle, the fieldwork also included a home visit and meeting with the agent's mother. This technique facilitated the establishment of an intimate understanding of the everyday practices of female police agents. Moreover, the ethnographic approach served to glean opinions and reactions from the public and sometimes colleagues of the female agents while on duty, through side conversations with shopkeepers or other police agents. Informal conversations were also carried out in the municipalities with various staff and police agents, inquiring about their opinion regarding the employment of female police agents, even when they were not formally interviewed.

## I. C. ANALYSIS

Relying on qualitative research tools, the interest of this research is to produce an understanding of what different research participants think of female municipal police and what shapes that thinking (why). Towards the end of data collection, researchers reviewed the information that was collected from the interviews and consolidated key findings under different themes of the research framework that guided the development of the data collection tools (as reflected in the headings of the findings below). Key findings were further analysed in relation to the sex, number of years of service and position of the respondent within the municipality, and the socio-political context of the community.

## I. D. RESEARCH TEAM

Research was implemented by an all-female research team with extensive research experience in Lebanon and Arab countries, and fluent Arabic and English language skills, specifically:

1. A senior researcher with a PhD in Anthropology and experience in themes related to gender.
2. A senior researcher with a PhD in Anthropology and experience in themes related to conflict analysis and peacebuilding.
3. An assistant researcher with an MA in anthropology, also a fluent Armenian speaker who helped with fieldwork in Zahle and Bourj Hammoud and contributed to the literature review, analysis and writing.

The senior researchers jointly developed the methodology and interview guidelines. The implemented pilot data collection together in one municipality to test the research tools and adjust accordingly. Each researcher then took charge of data collection in 7 of the 15 municipalities, though close coordination was maintained and analysis was elaborated jointly.

## I. E. LIMITATIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

- **Lack of quantitative data:** There is no comprehensive up to date information on municipalities employing female municipal police agents. A comprehensive up-to-date list of the numbers of municipal police agents employed by municipalities throughout Lebanon does not exist, even at the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (MoIM). This is partially due to the variety of contracts through which police agents are hired, and the ever-changing financial situation of municipalities, placing budgetary restrictions on recruitments.
- **Seasonal changes:** In some geographic areas, the season not only affects the number of agents, but the roles they play. Several municipalities become seaside and/or tourist attractions during the summer and hire dozens of additional male and female agents, often ushering in a greater role for women during the season. These kinds of seasonal changes and tactics were taken into account while planning fieldwork among the municipalities.
- **Research team composition:** Since the research team was entirely female, municipalities might have felt compelled to express a more positive attitude towards female participation in their work and towards gender equality in general. This was further reinforced by the declared aim of the study in supporting gender equality and the perception of the researchers as UNDP representatives. This potential gender bias was kept in mind throughout fieldwork and analysis, though seeing the resulting data collected it has not prevented interviewees from expressing attitudes opposed to the inclusion of women in the municipal police.
- **Time limitations:** Since most of the agents were interviewed during their daily shifts, the researchers were occasionally obliged to cut interviews short or to interview a few people together making it hard to build an intimate connection with the interviewees. Similarly, different shifts affected the number of municipal police agents present, both working at the office and dispatched to manage traffic. More police agents tended to be present during the first shift of the day, running from the early morning until the middle of the day, rather than during the later shifts including the night shifts. Accordingly, fieldwork was planned and carried out keeping in mind the various shifts of the municipal police agents, men and women alike.
- **Political interests:** Challenges in the municipal police were often linked to wider challenges at the local or national level involving political affiliations or calculations of personal/party profits. Often these were not openly expressed by the interviewees, making it hard for the researchers to get a grasp of the real context the police work in. At other times, they governed the conversation, shifting it away from the gender related discussions.
- **Sampling bias:** The male and female agents interviewed were not always selected at random. In fact, many agents interviewed were hand-picked by the heads of police, which might reflect the latter's bias in terms of the image of the municipal police they seek to convey.
- **Female representation:** In municipalities that do not hire female agents, the vast majority of interviews were with male mayors and police agents. The researchers nevertheless sought out a female perspective where possible by interviewing a female member of the municipal staff or board. In Bhamdoun and Tripoli, however, it was not possible to include any female respondents.

## PROFILE OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL POLICE AGENTS

A quick glance at key demographic data on the female police agents interviewed reveals that the majority are young (50% under thirty years), never married (61% single or engaged) and relatively better educated than their male counterparts (all are literate and 25% have some level of university education). The majority (61%) have dependents that they are supporting financially, be it their children (29%) or other family members including parents and siblings.

Age Range	Count	Percentage
20-29 years	14	50%
30-39 years	10	36%
40 year or over	4	14%
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>

Marital status	Count	Percentage
Single	15	54%
Engaged	2	7%
Married	6	21%
Divorced	5	18%
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>

Education Level	Count	Percentage
5 <sup>th</sup> grade or less	7	25%
High school or vocational training	14	50%
University education	7	25%
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>

The vast majority of female agents interviewed have held jobs prior to their employment in the municipal police. Some of the most common jobs include working in sales, administration and tutoring. Only three agents have previously worked in state institutions (municipality or army).

All female agents working in the municipalities of Mina, Zahle and Anfeh are from the municipality they serve. Those working in the municipalities of Bourj Hammoud, Antelias, Cornet Chehwan, Broummana, Byblos and Chekka have diverse official registration backgrounds. This said, the majority of the female agents interviewed live in the municipality they serve and the remaining agents live close by.

Finally, only eight (29%) of the 28 female agents interviewed have permanent contracts (in the malak), with six of them serving the municipality of Mina. The remaining agents work on temporary contracts and four of them are employed seasonally.

## II. KEY FINDINGS

### II.A. RECRUITMENT

The recruitment of female agents depends on the political will within the municipality. Unless municipalities take active steps to recruit female agents and ensure that the recruitment process does not discriminate against female candidates, the number of female agents will not increase. Generally, the recruitment of female agents happens independently of that of male agents and is based on a deliberate call for women in the majority of the municipalities that employ female police. The recruitment process and contract type of female police agents vary widely from one municipality to another, but usually qualification requirements are flexible. Most female police agents have been hired less than three years ago on temporary contracts with no benefits or leave. The openness of mayors, municipal board members and police staff towards recruiting female agents varies depending on the social context, size and location of the municipality. The presence of female municipal board members, staff and already hired police agents, the openness of the community to visitors beyond its local residents, and the small size of a community are some factors that can pave the way for the recruitment of female police agents. By contrast, physical and height requirements or prejudice related to the capabilities of women, especially older applicants with children, hinder the recruitment of females.

#### PATTERNS OF MUNICIPAL POLICE RECRUITMENT AND IMPACT OF FEMALE CANDIDATES

In each municipality, police agents are recruited in waves, depending on the size of the municipal area, the history of the police, financial resources available to every municipality and national as well as regional circumstances. The longest continuity to current operation dates to the late nineties, after the first post-civil war municipal elections took place and the municipalities regained their role as local government. Key patterns observed are 1. A trend of recruitment of temporary police agents in the past 6 years and 2. A surge in recruitment of municipal police, including female police agents in the same period.

Municipal police are employed under one of three types of contracts; (i) a permanent contract (malak) where the police agent is a state employee recruited through a competitive process and entitled to certain benefits and paid leave, (ii) A temporary contract (ta'aqud / Istikhdam), renewed every six months or every year wherein a staff member is paid only for hours actually worked (iii) seasonal contract (mawsamy), usually on a daily basis, again with no benefits and leave and mostly in the summer months to support tourism needs.

Administrative and bureaucratic problems hinder a municipality's ability to recruit permanent staff, including the number of police agents that a municipality is allowed by the Civil Service Bureau to hire depending on its size, budget, number of current employees, the number of households, shops and factories and administrative load it has to manage. Sometimes, staff are recruited under a certain title that the municipality is entitled to recruit for, but actually perform a different set of tasks perceived as necessary by the municipality. This discrepancy between the actual role a municipal staff member performs and their official title, is observed for instance in one municipality, where a woman was hired into the police on a permanent basis nearly 20 years ago but served most of that time as the secretary to the mayor, only to become the secretary of the police two years ago.

The recruitment of municipal police agents on a temporary basis dates back to 2007, when the Council of Ministers issued a decision enabling municipalities to hire agents as a temporary measure to meet security needs, in the aftermath of Prime Minister Rafic Hariri's assassination.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the use of this measure accelerated during the Syrian crisis. The years 2013 -2017 witnessed a surge in the recruitment of municipal police following a circular by the minister of interior at the time, Marwan Charbel, encouraging recruitment of municipal police in parallel to the release of resources to municipalities from the independent municipal fund.<sup>77</sup> This increased policing at the local level, was partially in response to security concerns linked to the regional instability and introduction of oversight measures on Syrian refugees.

Many police agents recruited since are on temporary contracts, and a major challenge faced by a majority of the municipalities, particularly smaller ones, is the limited number of their municipal police agents generally, and those on permanent contracts in particular. In addition, financial resources and the unpredictability of flow of resources from the central government impede the continuity of employment of police on temporary contracts. In Joub Jannine for example, police agents recruited in 2014 were dismissed in 2016 due to the lack of financial resources in the municipality, particularly with delay in transfers of funds from the central government, only to be recruited again when resources became available.

The vast majority of female agents now serving in the police have been recruited in this last wave. Out of 28 female agents interviewed, 22 have been with the municipal police for less than three years and five others for less than four years<sup>78</sup> (see Table 3). The surge in recruitment coincided with an increase in employment of female agents in other security forces in Lebanon, including the ISF, GS and LAF.<sup>79</sup> The limited number of years of service is indicative not only of a growing trend of employment of female agents since the outbreak of the Syrian crisis, but also of the job instability of the few female agents. The town of Bhamdoun, for example, historically hired female agents in the summer season for at least five years. According to Bhamdoun's mayor, the decrease in the number of tourists from the gulf countries in the area due to instability following the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri and the 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon<sup>80</sup> negatively affected the municipality's revenues, particularly as many shops and restaurants closed down and negated its need for seasonal agents. The one police agent and four guards (see section IV.B on roles) remaining in the municipal police are those who have permanent contracts and will soon be retiring.

Table 3: Distribution of female agents by number of years in service

Years in service	less than 2 years	2 years	3 years	4 years	More than 4
Number of female agents	5	17	3	2	1

<sup>76</sup>For more information, see <http://www.legallaw.ul.edu.lb/LawArticles.aspx?LawArticleID=882935&LawID=218362&language=ar>.

<sup>77</sup>The circular and a preceding meeting held on 5 September 2013 in Biel in Beirut, including mayors and heads of municipal unions with security service chiefs, focused on security concerns because of the spill-over of the Syrian refugee crisis, and also included several restrictions and oversight measures on Syrian refugees emerging, contributing to their securitization. See: Nayla Geagea, 'Asylum Crisis or Migrant Labor Crisis?', accessed 20 September 2019, <http://lcp-lebanon.org/featuredArticle.php?id=42> and 'شربيل عمم توصيات مؤتمر البيرال المتعلقة بتفعيل عمل الوكالة الوطنية للإعلام', accessed 20 September 2019, <http://nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/show-news/54150/>.

<sup>78</sup>The exception is one female agent who was initially recruited into the municipal police in Jbail eight years ago in order to oversee the public garden and the medieval town centre, following 18 years of service in the army. Around one year and a half ago, when three other women were recruited on temporary contracts, they formed together a tourism force.

<sup>79</sup>See Khattab, Lana, and Henri Myrtilinen. 'Gender, Security and SSR in Lebanon'. International Alert, November 2014. [https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon\\_SSRGenderSecurity\\_EN\\_2014.pdf](https://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Lebanon_SSRGenderSecurity_EN_2014.pdf).

<sup>80</sup>The 33-day war caused massive destruction of the civilian infrastructure in Lebanon and over 1,000 civilian deaths. For details see Amnesty International. 'Lebanon: Deliberate Destruction or "Collateral Damage"?'

## RECRUITMENT PROCESS

Municipalities today vary widely in the nature of their recruitment processes and the types of contracts they offer. Some municipalities rely primarily on the service of long-term police agents with permanent contracts recruited through a competitive process led by the Civil Service Council (like Nabatieh, Mina, Tripoli, etc.). Almost all municipalities employ agents with temporary contracts, recruited after a brief interview and often with less stringent requirements in terms of education or past experience.

Qualifications for recruitment on both temporary and permanent contracts vary widely by municipality and are generally not very clear, although often only a minimal level of education is required. Even within the same municipality, there is no consistent process of hiring. The position of municipal police agent, particularly if a temporary contract, thus lends itself easily to social or political favours in recruitment, because of the lenient requirements in qualifications. Mayors and heads of police often describe personal traits and attitude as key cited criteria for recruitment, one mayor describing for example 'a desire to work as a police agent, not just find any job' as key, while another speaks of the applicant being 'personable'. In several municipalities, agents confide that certain colleagues were recruited because they were deemed in financial need and/or needed a job because of a change in their situation like the death of their family's breadwinner. In the words of one mayor, this is the norm for recruitment that he hopes he can change soon; 'I am told this person is poor and in need, this other person's mother is sick and he needs to buy expensive monthly medications... this is how most of the current agents entered the police. One other mayor similarly reveals that three of his male agents on temporary contracts were "charity" appointments. Because of this 'charity' aspect, some mayors also try to ensure a fair distribution of employment for different families and stakeholders in the community, as one municipal board member explains 'we had to ensure that recruitment covers all families for both social and electoral reasons' and expresses his preference for a more formal recruitment process that is run by the central government to spare him and the municipality of the social pressure to employ certain people.

This situation though seems to have minimal impact on the recruitment of women, where more often than not, the recruitment of female agents on temporary contracts is largely conducted separately and the need for female staff is specifically included in the call (Antelias, Zahle, Chekka, Jbail, Qornet Chahouane). In these municipalities, it is primarily a decision to hire female agents that prompts a call for female recruits only. The three exceptions are Bourj Hammoud and El-Mina, where recruitment calls are clearly stated that positions are open for both male and female applicants and were mostly based on merit, and Broumana where call for summer season recruits is open and the municipality through its networks has recruited university students, males and females alike.

## OPENNESS TO RECRUITMENT OF FEMALE AGENTS

The recruitment and participation of women in the police should be understood as the product of several push and pull factors at the social and institutional levels. While barriers exist, several factors also motivate women to take on roles with the police and the municipality to recruit women.

The openness of mayors, municipal board members and police staff towards recruiting female agents varies depending on the social context, size and location of the municipality. It is also largely rooted within the broader socio-political context and the community attitudes towards women's participation in local governance more broadly<sup>81</sup>. The political participation of women in the municipal board is one indicator. The quantitative data reveals a correlation between the percentage of female municipal board members and the percentage of female police agents (see Figure 1). In fact, the average percentage of female police agents in municipalities with at least one female board member is 12%, whereas the average percentage of female police agents in municipalities with no female board members is 1% only. This correlation can be merely indicative of the popular attitude towards women's participation, though arguably the presence of women on the board can pave the way for increased women's participation. In Tyre for example, several agents gave the example of an active board member as proof of female professional success in the municipality, as one board member explains 'I am strongly with having more women in the police, I have female colleagues on the municipal board and their successes are impressive... they have changed the general perception of women in public roles'. His female colleague concurs, saying that 'it would be good to have female agents, like there are male agents.. it creates a kind of balance'. The percentage of female staff in the municipality is a similar indicator of acceptance of women's participation. A female municipal staff member in one socially conservative community complained of the struggles she faced on the job, both in the interface with the community and in relationships with colleagues and municipal board members, particularly since female staff in that municipality constitute less than 5% of the total staff. She explained that male visitors to the municipality who want to complete administrative transactions hesitate before approaching her with questions when they see she is a woman, and raise their voice and speak to her with disrespect more often than they do with men. While she feels that she has over time proved her capacity as an employee, both to fellow staff members and regular visits, she believes that her community is "still patriarchal and does not trust the capacity of women."

Israeli Attacks on Civilian Infrastructure', 22 August 2006. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/document/?indexNumber=MDE18%2f007%2f2006&language=en>

<sup>81</sup> An assessment of the community's attitude towards the recruitment of female municipal police does not fall under the purview of this research, we expect nevertheless that municipal and police attitudes to reflect to some extent community attitudes we cannot ascertain that.

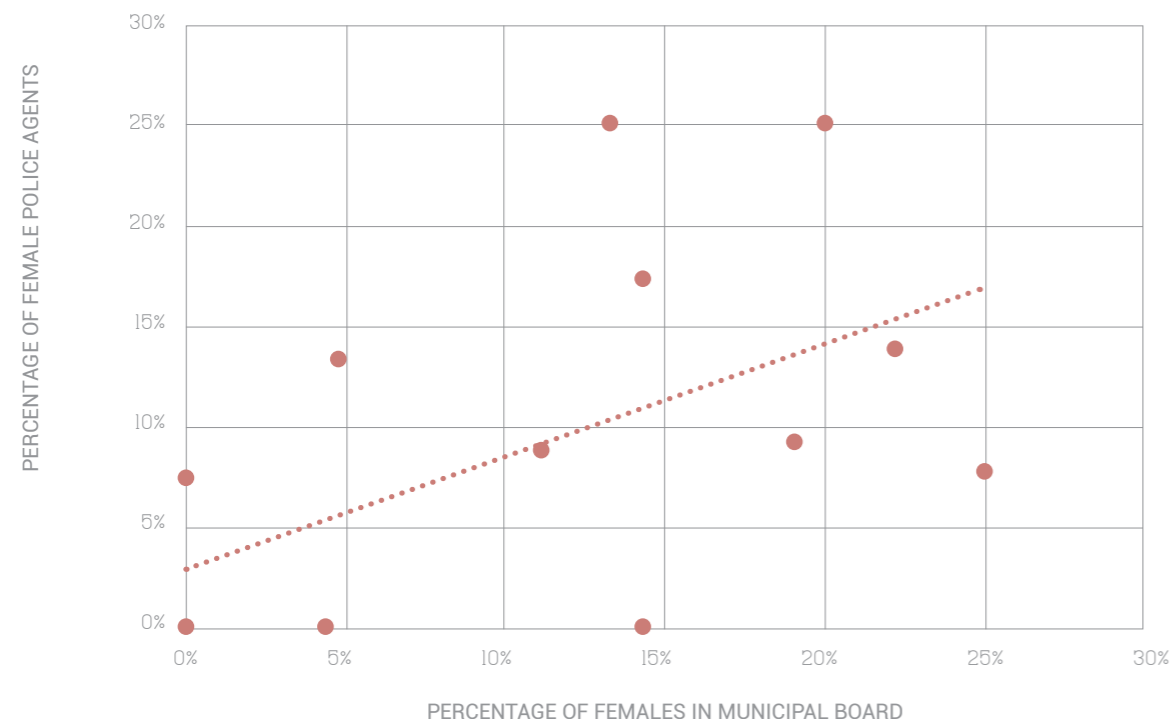


Figure 1: Correlation between presence of females on municipal boards and presence of females in municipal police

Another indicator is the openness of the community to visitors beyond its local residents. Communities that frequently receive visitors from outside the community through tourism (like Tyre) are more open to employing female agents and see a role for them as tourism police<sup>82</sup> or as monitors of health and food safety standards in local restaurants<sup>83</sup>. Male police agents in medium-sized towns (like Joub Jannine and Bhamdoun) also show openness to the recruitment of female agents, explaining the value of having female colleagues when they deal with community concerns like missing children and the elderly and with issues related to domestic violence. The agents in Joub Jannine further clarify that the small size of the community and close-knit interpersonal relations would ensure protection for female agents from harassment and guarantee her respect, claiming that the harassment of an agent requires a level of anonymity of the harasser that can only be afforded in a bigger town. A Municipal board member from the same town confirms this view; 'They used to say in the past that a man's moustache induces fear and respect, but today I believe women are respected more than men on the street. A female agent would do a better job, and men will not try to overpower her'. This input indicates that recruiting female agents in smaller town might well be a good entry point to introduce the idea of female municipal police and to promote the principles of community policing more broadly. Nevertheless, it is in these municipalities that the administrative and financial capacity of the municipality is limited, and new police recruits are unlikely.

<sup>82</sup> This includes managing the entrance of historic sites (like ruins in Ballbeck and Zahle), managing traffic, public and entertainments spaces and events in the summer when tourism is higher, particularly in relation to tourists from outside of Lebanon. The profile of a police agent was often described as 'educated', 'presentable', and 'multilingual'.

<sup>83</sup> This role was not observed in many municipalities, but where present usually included a nutrition or public health specialist, who perform their roles based on standards set by the ministry of health. We have not managed to speak to any police officer taking on this role, and are not aware if they have received any specific related training.

At the institutional level, it emerges that in rare instances women have responded to calls for applications, despite the announcement not specifically mentioning that positions are open for women and a widespread perception that municipal police roles are for men only. In Zahle, the municipality's first female agent argued her way in, managing in 2015 to convince the municipality to recruit her as a police agent with traffic management as her primary responsibility. What seems to have helped is that the applicant was already known in Zahle as a motorcycle driver who works in delivery – a job that does not conform the gender norms of the city. Her presence in the police, according to the mayor, encouraged other female agents to apply later on. In Nabatieh, one woman applied to the position of head of the municipal police, given that she met the academic requirements advertised in the call. She was eliminated early on in the process because, according to her, she did not meet the height requirements of 165cm. Such a bureaucratic requirement could be removed by the municipal board if the desire for the recruitment of female agents is present. In this case, it appears as it was used to justify opposition to the recruitment of a woman in such a post. Physical and height requirements of this sort have been found discriminatory against women in many contexts across the world<sup>84</sup>, and changing such criteria has been successful in ensuring more gender-equal hiring<sup>85</sup>.

Despite general openness to recruitment of female police, other related prejudices do exist. In one of the municipalities that already employs female police, older female applicants with children were not considered. The official in charge of the recruitment process explained that he had not recruited women lately, because 'all those who applied were aged 38 and over, and some had three children. I felt I can't handle that, soon one would come and say "my son is sick", or "I have a meeting" in the school"... and I can't afford to have absent staff with the workload managing traffic'. He admits that he did not actually ask the applicants about obstacles that having a family might pose. Such perceptions, according to many of the female agents interviewed, is unfounded, most of whole explaining that the working hours and conditions are ideal for working women, largely because they are relatively short and coincide with school hours.

Table 4 below presents a summary of factors mentioned by various stakeholders that enable and hamper female recruitment and retention. Details are provided in the text across the different sections of the findings. This is a collection of push and pull factors, and do not by necessity reflect the reality of the capacity, impact and conditions of employment of female municipal police, but perceptions about them we heard in the field and variables related to the municipality itself and conditions of recruitment within it that encourage and discourage female police recruitment.

<sup>84</sup> See Cordner, Gary, and AnnMarie Cordner, 2011. 'Stuck on a Plateau?: Obstacles to Recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police'. *Police Quarterly* 14, no. 3: 207–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611111413990> and, GIZ Pakistan, 2012 [http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country\\_resources\\_file/1216\\_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf](http://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country_resources_file/1216_GenderStrategyPakistan.pdf).

<sup>85</sup> [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2012/RAND\\_OP370.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2012/RAND_OP370.pdf), The RAND Corporation, 2012.



Table 4: Perceptions and variables affecting recruitment and employment of female police

Perceptions and variables enabling female recruitment and retention	Perceptions and variables hampering female recruitment and retention
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female agents appreciate working in a state institution as they identify with the ethos of law and order that the police represents.</li> <li>Perception among municipal leaders, staff and agents in most municipalities (whether employing female agents or not) that female agents improve the image of the community, making it appear modern and 'civilized'.</li> <li>Perception among municipal leaders, staff and agents in the majority of municipalities that female agents are more capable of dealing with specific kinds of issues (littering and cleanliness of public spaces, environment, tourism, gender-based violence,...)</li> <li>Perception among some municipal board members or female municipal staff (whether employing female agents or not) that female agents are more likely to reduce recurring clashes between male agents (perceived at times as inadequately educated and/or lacking interpersonal communication skills) and the public.</li> <li>Perception among municipal leaders, staff and agents in most municipalities that female agents are more capable of dealing with certain groups of people (other women, the elderly, children, etc.)</li> <li>Perception among municipal leaders, staff and agents in some municipalities that the public might be willing to listen to female agents more than male agents thanks to the former's gender and communication style</li> <li>Support from family and friends of female agents and women interested in joining the municipal police.</li> <li>Lack of livelihood opportunities in Lebanon generally</li> <li>Openness of police jobs to candidates without prior experience or specific training, of particular importance for women entering the job market late or after a significant period of interruption</li> <li>Working hours are relatively short and coincide with children's school days</li> <li>Colleagues and supervisors are supportive; supervisors are responsive towards the needs of female employees</li> <li>Strict response against harassment of agents while on the job.</li> <li>Proximity of work location to place of residence, family and friends</li> <li>Availability of sex segregated restrooms and changing facilities in most municipalities employing female agents.</li> <li>Possibility of permanent contract and job security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perception among mayors or male agents in municipalities that do not employ female police that female agents might be subject to harassment and gross disrespect, and that choosing not to employ them is for their protection</li> <li>Perception among mayors or male agents in municipalities that do not employ female police that police work is too demanding physically and cannot be performed by women</li> <li>"Fear" among some male agents in municipalities that do not employ female agents that potential harassment against female agents translates into bigger problems between the agent's family (her husband, brother, father, etc..) and that of the offender.</li> <li>Perception among mayors or male agents in municipalities that do not employ female police that female agents are the least powerful in the hierarchy (compared with male agents, members of the ISF and LAF) and are incapable of dealing with the 'dis-respectful' public, which does not 'even' comply with requests of male agents</li> <li>Claims by some male agents that 'the community is not ready' or that 'serving on the street is not suitable for women'. Disapproval by some male agents and fiancés and friends of a few female agents seeing police work as 'inappropriate for women', as making women 'appear too manly' (mistarjleh) and as linked to the negative connotations of the term 'street girls'.</li> <li>Concern by some parents of female agents for their daughters' safety knowing that they stand at busy traffic junctures most of the day</li> <li>Temporary contracts and the lack of job security and benefits</li> <li>Discrimination at the levels of recruitment, retention and promotion such as making positions exclusively open for men and dismissing applications based on marital/family status</li> <li>Lack of maternity leave and health care coverage</li> </ul>

## II.B. CHANGING ROLES

Although the perceptions of municipalities and municipal police agents towards the role of the police is gradually changing and leaning towards a 'brains not muscles' model of municipal policing, this shift is limited to interpersonal interactions between police and community members rather than being a strategic vision of community policing, structures and tasks which remain rather traditional. In the same way, the presence of women in the police, when comparing to other municipalities without female agents, does not seem to have a significant impact on the understanding or vision of the role of municipal police. By and large, female agents are assigned and carry out the same tasks as male agents, chief among them traffic management. Where available, however, female agents are appointed to specialized teams and assigned tasks that tend to be less physically demanding and more sedentary. Indeed, female agents are treated favourably by their superiors compared with male agents, who spend longer hours managing traffic on the ground. With rare exceptions, female agents are not given supervisory roles, which entail decision-making and leadership responsibilities.

### KEY TASKS PERFORMED BY MUNICIPAL POLICE

The tasks that we observed municipal police take on are detailed below, noting that not all municipal police take on all these duties, and that the first two tasks, those of traffic management and monitoring violations are the most prominent and occupy the majority of the police's time.

- Traffic management, including managing traffic at busy junctures - particularly in urban settings - around schools at school drop off and pick-up times, during funerals and around religious and public spaces during holidays and religious festivities. In a few places, a number of agents, notably female, take care of specific groups in relation to traffic: helping children and the elderly cross the street, etc. This is often implemented by police agents stationed at intersections, supported by roaming agents on motorcycles (these latter are known as darraj).
- Monitoring violations related to construction, the use of public space, noise, and garbage disposal among others. The monitoring of food safety in local bakeries, cafes, restaurants and shops is also conducted in a few municipalities.
- Managing leisure and tourist spaces and events, including public parks, historical sites, seasonal festivals and beaches.
- Managing refugee-related issues, including collecting information and statistics about resident Syrian refugees, and checking work permits and documents of shops owned or managed by Syrian refugees.
- Night patrolling to ensure overall safety and security. This role is generally performed separately by male night guards but in several cases it is integrated within the duties of the municipal police.
- Administrative and communication duties such as taking calls, recording complaints from the public, mail delivery to and from the municipality, and updating and following up on the paperwork of the municipal police with various government agencies and departments.
- Personal and private duties for the mayor including serving as chauffeur and aide. This entails running many personal and professional errands for the mayor.

The tasks that agents take on do not necessarily reflect the roles desired for them by the heads of police department or the police themselves. Traffic control seems to take over a lot of the agents' time, both male and female, and often heads of police departments seem not to have had the chance to think strategically of what their mission as municipal police is. Agents themselves also tire of the prevalence of this kind of work, insisting that they are 'not traffic lights' (Tripoli) or 'valet parking'.

Among the above listed roles, as one male police agent explained, most police work entails 'putting out fires'. This means they have to do a lot of dispute resolution between members of the community rather than 'enforce the law' per se. In one municipality for example, police were called by a community member to interfere in the

construction work of their neighbour. While they are called to make sure the regulations are being applied, what they actually did is try to ensure the way the construction was implemented maintained neighbourly relationships while also respecting the law. Thus, in this case the police were involved in mediating start and end time of the work and the best way to remove the rubble to minimize impact on neighbours. Giving tickets is often a last resort, and the aim of agents is mostly to ensure the smooth flow of traffic and day-to-day operations in their municipalities. Accordingly, they might drive a citizen's car to get it out of a traffic jam when the driver cannot, push a broken car out of the way, and call out names of school children and accompany them to their parent's car to expedite school pick-up and ease traffic. Many male and female agents expressed the need for more skills in resolving conflict and communicating with members of the community more publicly. Another that agents had to deal with and were uncomfortable with is dealing with street beggars, and while the practice is to request that a person asking for money leave the municipal area, many agents think this is not a solution, particularly when they are dealing with young kids.

These actions appear to define for many what the concept of community policing is. When asked, agents mostly understand community policing as limited to 'being polite with the public', 'humanitarian work' and providing minor support to the elderly and children. This is often a result of guidance from the mayor and/or supervisors. Indeed, among the agents, there is no vision regarding the institutional role of the police in the community. In a similar fashion, when asked about values that the municipal police agent should hold, answers focus on personal characteristics rather than values, stressing 'politeness' and 'patience' as well as a 'respectable appearance' in the way agents dress and present themselves and inter-personal communication skills.

Such understanding though is still seen by many mayors and heads of police as an improvement from when the image of the municipal police was traditionally linked to a 'macho enforcement' of rules. This is captured by a few interviewees as a change from the 'stick and moustache' model to 'brains not muscles' one. Nevertheless, this view is not shared by all. Male police agents, particularly older ones, who feel that 'community policing' further deprives them of a de facto limited power, do not always receive the discussion of 'community policing' favourably. Among those interviewed, several heads of police or municipal board members managing the police are retired agents who have worked with the army or other security apparatuses. Some bring with them a militarized experience of law enforcement and believe the strict spirit of such institutions should be emulated in the municipal police.

Among the younger agents, there appears to be more support for community policing and building relationships of trust, even though several male and female agents applied unsuccessfully to other security agencies such as the LAF or the ISF prior to becoming municipal police agents. These applications though were largely motivated by the stability these jobs provided and their appreciation for 'order' and 'rule of law' and desire to be part of a system that enforces them. Several move on to join the municipal police who have less stringent employment conditions. The police thus often have some agents with limited capacities and skills, largely because of the recruitment process, limiting what the police can actually accomplish.

The impact of this 'brains not muscles' conception of municipal policing is still limited to the nature of interpersonal interaction between police and community members. The extent to which this view has affected a change in structures and tasks assigned to police agents or even a change in the vision of what the police should do is limited. In the same way, the presence of women in the police, when comparing to other municipalities without female agents, does not seem to have a significant impact on the understanding or vision of what the role of municipal police is. As the section on impact below indicates, the presence of female agents has affected the way the police are perceived and their relationship with the community, and even the relationships within the police but not structures or visions.

## TASKS AND GENDER EQUALITY

By and large, female agents are assigned and carry out the same tasks as male agents, chief among them traffic management. Where available, however, female agents are appointed to specialized teams and assigned tasks that tend to be less physically demanding and more sedentary. Indeed, female agents are treated favourably by their superiors compared with male agents, who spend longer hours managing traffic on the ground. With rare exception, female agents are not given supervisory roles, which entail decision-making and leadership responsibilities.

In most of the municipalities surveyed, both female and male agents participate in traffic management. Female agents generally tend to fulfil their tasks during daylight hours, except in the municipality of Mina where female agents work every other day from 8 am until 11 pm during the warmer months and from 7 am until 10 pm during the cooler months. Female agents in the municipalities of Jbail, Zahle and Bourj Hammoud alternate between two shifts, starting from the early morning to the mid-afternoon or from the mid-afternoon until the evening (in Jbail and Zahle, for instance, shifts last from 8 am until 2 pm or from 2pm until 8 pm, while in Bourj Hammoud, shifts last from 7:30 am until 1:30 pm or from 1:30pm until 7:30pm). The majority of female agents, however, prefer and opt for the morning shifts.

Female agents who serve in Broummana as seasonal agents during the summer work between 6 pm and midnight as this shift corresponds with the busiest time in the touristic town. By contrast, male agents in Broummana serve a longer shift between 5pm and 1am, all the while earning the same salary as their female counterparts. The head of the municipal police justifies this difference in the working hours by explaining that the municipality cannot allow for the female agent to stand on her feet for long hours. Similarly, in Zahle, male agents reportedly work every other Sunday without being paid overtime, while their female counterparts do not serve on Sundays.

By contrast, male agents carry out their tasks at all hours of the day and night. Female agents often do not work during the late afternoons, evening and into the night, except during various festivals and festivities hosted by their towns. Female agents do not serve as night guards and do not work through the night.

Indeed, and when possible, female agents tend to be relieved of standing on their feet for long hours managing traffic and patrolling the streets. Although heads of the municipal police and mayors insist that both female and male municipal police agents are treated equally in terms of the assigned tasks, female agents are treated favourably compared with male agents. In Bourj Hammoud, for instance, female agents are deployed at traffic points in neighbourhoods that are less likely to witness conflict. Yet the most glaring example is that of the female agents who work daily two hours less than their male counterparts but earn the same salary during the summer season in Broummana. Moreover, these female agents are provided free meals every evening during their shift by a local restaurant subsidized privately by the municipality, while their male counterparts snack on their homemade food in the shelter of a car. This emerged as an informal practice last year whereby a well-known restaurant in the town began serving female agents free dinners. These meals were eventually charged to the municipality, which pooled private funds together to cover them. Asked why the female agents themselves were not charged, the mayor explains, "Her entire salary would be gone by the end of the month... I raised money from private donors to cover the meals so the female agents do not quit, do not leave." In this way, the free dinners can be seen as added incentives or job perks for the female agents. Further, and while the mayor understands that the municipality's nizam does not allow for drink or food to be provided to the agents, "not even a bottle of water," he considers that the benefits of retaining female agents outweigh the costs of subsidizing their meals. This year, however, only sandwiches for the female agents were subsidized, "not full meals and not for the male agents, as we do not indulge them."

During an interview with a male police agent in Mina, and upon inquiring about the ostensible gender equality

of assigned tasks in the service, he pulled out the day's schedule, which includes the names of agents and their assigned traffic points. He revealed that while a male agent is deployed at a traffic point twice (for a total of four hours) throughout his service during the day, his female counterpart is only deployed once (for a total of two hours) at the same traffic point.

In Zahle, for instance, only female agents are assigned to guard the public park, where they can seek respite from harsh temperatures and rest on chairs under an umbrella reserved for them or in a room with access to water and toilets. Only a minority of female agents are deployed to manage traffic during the day. By contrast, male agents are dispatched to manage traffic and patrol the streets at all hours of the day and night.

Indeed, and according to quantitative data collected by UNDP in a parallel research exercise with male and female municipal police agents, female agents spend less time on average in traffic control. 36% of female agents spend none of their time on average per month conducting traffic control compared with 16% of male agents. Additionally, and while 55% of male agents spend plenty of their time on average per month conducting traffic control, only 38% of female agents do so.

In the same vein, and where available at different municipalities, female agents are assigned to specialized teams such as tourism police and to so-called "operations rooms". In Jbail, for instance, the female agents exclusively make up the tourism police. The rationale behind this is twofold. On the one hand, the municipal police leadership considers that conventional tasks and namely traffic responsibilities are difficult for women as they are required to withstand weather conditions for hours on their feet. On the other hand, the municipal police leadership finds that women are more capable of and suitable for contact and interaction with citizens and tourists alike, especially with their skills in foreign languages such as English and French. Over time, the leadership has felt a growing need to help, guide and protect tourists in such an ancient city as Jbail that is a growing touristic hub. Accordingly, two years ago, they brought an all-female tourism police together and dispatched agents to the medieval town centre, where they are tasked with assisting tourists, monitoring the activities of beggars and children selling flowers, and patrolling the streets with pubs and restaurants. This has led the male agents to perceive their female counterparts as privileged and even "spoiled", as they are assigned to "the pubs and restaurants and they are offered water, juice... they do not have to do traffic work." Other municipalities without women in their ranks such as Baalbek and Tyre entertain the prospect of tourism police and recognize the commensurate need for agents who are educated and speak additional languages. They believe these agents are more likely to be found among women than men.

In Cornet Chehwan, two female agents working on a contractual basis are assigned to the operations room, where they answer the telephone, record complaints, coordinate the work of the other male police agents and check in/check out equipment. Initially set up to be operated by agents with special needs, this room is now staffed by two male agents, one of whom has special needs, along with the two female agents. One female agent previously worked on the ground managing traffic for around one year before she quit due to physical exhaustion and back pain. When she learned of recruitment for the operations room, she reapplied to work in the room. The availability of such a role within the municipal police drew her back, as she might not have returned otherwise. This reflects a common preference among both female and male agents for office work, which is less physically strenuous. Effectively, and according to quantitative data collected by UNDP in a parallel research exercise with male and female municipal police agents, female agents spend more time on administrative tasks and in operations rooms. 26% of female agents spend plenty of their time on average per month on administrative tasks compared with 15% of male agents. Similarly, 21% of female agents spend plenty of their time in operations rooms compared with 5% of male agents.

While female agents tend to fulfil tasks that conventionally fall within the mandate of the municipal police, male

agents often find themselves fulfilling tasks that are not as customary, without being remunerated for overtime nor being rewarded with longer term benefits. These tasks might include serving as personal assistants or chauffeurs to the head of the police or the mayor. In a municipality with women in its police ranks, one male agent recounts his experience of working as a personal chauffeur for the mayor, often waiting for the latter late into the night and running his personal errands like dropping off and picking up dry cleaning without compensation for the additional work. None of the female agents interviewed throughout the municipalities mentioned performing such unconventional and personal tasks.

Accordingly, and since the tasks assigned to female agents tend to be predictable and standard, they are also relatively straightforward and limited. With rare exception, female police agents do not take on supervisory roles with decision-making and leadership responsibilities. The reasons for this are twofold. On the one hand, those who head and supervise municipal police tend to be retired senior agents who have worked with the army or the ISF and who are overwhelmingly men. On the other hand, agents who have been promoted into supervisory roles within the municipal police have many years of experience under their belt. Considering that the majority of female agents interviewed have only around two years of experience in the police, it is unlikely that they would have taken on such supervisory roles at this stage.

The type of contract that a police agent is on affects the duties that he or she is allowed to perform. Giving tickets and handling financial matters as well as working in a patrol by motorcycle or car, are all roles largely reserved for agents on permanent contracts who are seen as more legally accountable and longer term to their employer. This might have an impact on the responsibilities afforded to women, particularly since only eight out of the twenty-eight female agents interviewed are permanent staff. As such, female agents do not occupy roles with palpably more masculine characteristics, such as the "darraj", the title of the agent who uses a motorcycle to patrol and follow up on traffic violations (although the Antelias municipality is currently considering to procure a motorcycle for the female agents). This is corroborated by quantitative data collected separately by UNDP. 69% of female agents spend none of their time on average per month patrolling traffic compared with 21% of male agents. A mere 13% of female agents spend plenty of their time on average per month patrolling traffic compared with 44% of male agents.

Female agents are assigned to guard such family-oriented spaces as schools and churches, and are often drawn into tasks that involve other female citizens or non-citizens like searching women during public and crowded events. Female agents are rarely included in raids or targeted patrols except for when the offenders in question are women, or in such cases when male offenders use the presence of their wives or mothers as pretext for not allowing male agents into their homes. This is also substantiated by quantitative data collected separately by UNDP. 92% of female agents spend none of their time on average per month in raids, whereas 18% of male agents spend some of their time on average per month in raids. Similarly, female agents are not often involved in inspections of violations related to the use of public spaces. 85% of female agents spend none of their time on average per month in such inspections, while 29% of male agents spend plenty of their time on average per month in such inspections.

Not all female agents are happy with the way roles are distributed within the municipal police. At least three of the female agents interviewed, for instance, feel like their capabilities are underestimated. They are eager to be assigned more challenging tasks. According to one female agent, "they think that as a woman you cannot achieve as much as a man." She contends that women should be assigned roles with greater responsibilities, such as the supervisory roles that tend to be assigned mainly to men. According to another female agent, the limited possibility for promotion in the job is an obstacle to female agents' progression and retention in the police. These female agents constitute a minority, yet their sentiments are by no means unique as they echo many of those expressed by male agents who similarly feel like their roles are defined and circumscribed by traffic management. One male agent working on a permanent contract bemoans, "I am not a traffic light!"

The exception with regards to female agents in supervisory roles remains the municipality of Anfeh, which has promoted a female agent to serve as the head of the municipal police. Following her recruitment in 2015 and two years into the service, the new mayor (elected in 2016) encouraged and pushed her to take on the leadership of the municipal police. At the time of her promotion, she was the only permanent member of the municipal police, while her male counterparts were working on a contractual basis (one is a retired agent and required to be on a temporary contract, while the other two male agents are recent recruits and beyond the age of becoming permanent agents). Accordingly, as the only permanent agent, she was uniquely positioned to take on a supervisory role. Today, she is in charge of the other three male agents, assigning and coordinating their tasks and supervising their performance. She leads patrols and inspections of violations around town, in close coordination with the mayor. The responsibilities and tasks she has been assigned, however, are the exception to the rule rather than the rule in terms of gender equality in the municipal police. Moreover, and while she is considered very trustworthy, as a young agent she still needs more experience and training to be able to be more independent and take more initiative. The mayor admits that he would have preferred a retired military or ISF agent to head the municipal police as the female agent “still needs training and does not have the necessary experience for the role.”

#### **GENDERED COMMUNITY COMPLAINTS AND GBV**

The complaints and calls that the police hotline or agents receive are mostly related to public disturbances and noise, construction-related violations, and garbage, wastewater, or electricity related problems. The complaints coming from men and women are largely described as similar, though women reportedly complain more about environmental factors, including waste management, particularly when waste is not collected promptly or effectively. Their complaints also tend to be more ‘domestic’ in that they address neighbours’ infringements on their domestic sphere such as their parking spots or balconies and gardens where their laundry is hung to dry. Some male agents appeared to trivialise these concerns, describing them as minor, and to consider repeated related calls as a nuisance. In one municipality, for example, agents discussed how many calls from women concern stray dogs, expressing frustration about dealing with this and wondering what it is they can really do about it. By contrast, according to male agents, the complaints raised by men tend to relate to wider violations of public health and safety such as illegal sewage or unlawful construction. Such complaints are in line with the roles that the municipal police actually play and the public perception of their duties.

When asked specifically about issues like violence against women, male and female agents explain that they do not receive such calls, and that a woman facing domestic violence would call the ISF and not the municipal police. The municipal agents’ only encounter with domestic violence, for example, is when they receive calls from neighbours because of noise coming from a nearby household, in which case they visit the house and request calm, but according to several agents, they do not have the mandate to enter the house and check if abuse is happening. Only in one smaller municipality that does not employ women, did the agents think that the presence of a female police agent would be helpful in cases of domestic violence, expressing

that the woman in the house would feel more confident to talk to the police in the presence of a woman. In the same community, the same agents described other incidents where the presence of a female agent would help, including communicating with children who had run away from home and found by the police and with cases of older citizens who lose their way back home and are often returned by the police.

When asked about sexual harassment on the street, some male agents said that it does not usually happen and that it does not fall within their mandate. In other municipalities, male agents described witnessing a lot of harassment of women on the street and using it to justify their position against employing female agents in traffic control. On male agent for example expresses this by saying ‘we are on the street, and we see how men speak about women passing by and what women go through. What would it be like if a female agent had to stand on the street all day and go through all of this [harassment]?’. Yet when asked if as a police agent he intervenes against harassment, neither him nor other agents in the room though it was part of their duties. Only a very small number of agents believe municipal police – male or female - have a role in addressing harassment or GB (see Case study of Dania below). Most others believe it is primarily the duty of the ISF, particularly with the existing hotline, and assert that a female survivor of GBV would not resort to them in any case and would rather call the ISF.

## **Dania and GBV**

### **Beyond the call of duty**

Dania, thirty-seven years old, started work with the municipal police force three years ago. She is the divorced mother of one daughter and previously held various administrative jobs. She applied to join the army back when she was in her early twenties but was turned away because she was already a mother by then. The municipal police was a chance for her to fulfil a long-held dream.

Dania explains how her teenage daughter initially disapproved of her job, objecting to her ‘standing on the street’ and ‘moving cars around’, and believing that this kind of job is beneath her. This changed with time. Now both her daughter and her friends consider Dania their go-to whenever they face a problem particularly when they are harassed. Dania stresses that a female agent more easily understands the problem of harassment, though she regrets that she can do little about it in her capacity as a municipal agent. She once called the ISF to report a case of domestic abuse, but the latter rejected her complaint by saying that she does not have the right or authority to intervene in such issues and insisting that the victim of abuse be the one to call. With this information, she now knows how to refer the women who come to her to the correct reporting channels. She also often resorts to informal methods as a solution to her inability to intervene in cases of domestic violence. When she hears screams and commotion in a house and suspects GBV, she simply knocks on the door and explains that she has heard screams and wants to make sure everything is okay. She thinks that protecting community members from any type of harm, including domestic violence and sexual harassment, is an essential part of the duties of the municipal police.

Dania feels that being a female municipal agent has empowered her, her daughter and her friends. She explains that she loves her job because ‘it gives you personal value, it makes your personality stronger, you feel you are a very important person in the area’. She always responds with pride that she is a municipal police agent to whomever asks her about her job.

## II.C. EXPERIENCES

Female and male municipal police agents share common challenges that are rooted in macro-level problems, particularly in their employment conditions and their ability to perform their job given the limited rule of law in Lebanon. The lack of job security, on-the-job insurance, access to medical and social insurance and educational allowances for their children put both female and male agents in a state of precarity. Female agents additionally deal with the lack of family-friendly policies. Moreover, police agents in general feel that they are unequal to staff of other state institutions, which along with the limited rule of law and the prevalent clientelist culture in the country restrain them from fully exercising their potential. On the ground, female agents face challenges with regards to physical working conditions and access to basic facilities. Female agents deployed at busy junctures mention that they are verbally and sexually harassed, particularly during the first months of their employment, due to their gender although this decreases over time. Yet female agents generally feel encouraged and appreciated by their families, friends and the community. Likewise, most female and male agents feel supported by their supervisors and colleagues but mention the need for clearer work regulations and better training. Working relations among female and male municipal police agents and colleagues are highly cooperative across the board.

### CHALLENGES AT THE MACRO LEVEL AND ON THE GROUND

The challenges that female and male municipal police agents highlight are those rooted in macro-level problems, particularly in their employment conditions and their ability to perform their job given the limited rule of law in Lebanon. The challenges female agents especially face on the ground relate to physical working conditions and access to basic facilities.

A major concern shared by almost all agents, male or female, relates to the lack of job security, on-the-job insurance, access to medical and social insurance and educational allowances for their children. On-the-job insurance is not available for the majority of the agents interviewed, despite working conditions posing a high risk of being involved in an accident particularly for agents mainly deployed to manage traffic. For instance, one female agent recounts how she was injured by a non-compliant commuter when she was on duty but was unable to access medical care through her employer. A male agent speaks of a similar story about a car driving over his foot and having to pay personally for his own medical treatment. In another example, a police agent was hit by a car, and fellow agents obliged the driver who injured him to cover the costs of the emergency treatment. For these reasons, agents in another municipality express reluctance to engage with citizens beyond the minimum duty of interaction because they fear for their safety and do not trust that they will receive adequate institutional support if anything happens to them.

Health insurance is another contentious issue, whereby most agents, even those on permanent contracts, do not enjoy health coverage. Many depend on coverage by the Ministry of Health, which is often not reliable, or on health coverage provided by the employer of their spouse. Older staff members are also haunted by the prospect of losing their job or retiring. After many years as municipal police, almost all older interviewees feel that should they lose their job, they will not be employable anywhere else and do not have a pension plan of any sort. One male interviewee who has been with the police for 20 years, explains the fear of 'being thrown out all of a sudden and replaced with a 25-year-old'. In a similar vein, one female agent questions her own ability to continue the physically tasking duty of managing traffic a few years from now and fears that she might not have any other option within or outside the municipality.

The lack of family-friendly policies leads female agents to be especially concerned. For female agents working on a contractual basis, childbearing is a fraught question since they do not benefit from any maternity rights whatsoever. One female agent working during her early months of pregnancy reveals that she is unsure if she can keep her job following her unpaid maternity leave. As a result, she feels vulnerable and dependent on the

goodwill of others and namely her superiors. Even for female agents working on a permanent basis, such benefits as marriage grants and childbirth grants are not guaranteed. In two instances, female agents did not receive these grants as priority was given to their spouses who work for different arms of the state. More specifically, and upon inquiring about her marriage grant as her wedding date was drawing near, one female agent was informed that the grant is "only for men" and that her husband might benefit from the grant as he works for the ISF. Similarly, and when her female colleague gave birth, the childbirth grant was given to the latter's husband, himself an employee of the same municipality, rather than to the female police agent who carried the child. This recalls research on women in policing around the world, which reveals that a lack of family-friendly policies on pregnancy, childcare and so on is a leading reason for the actual lack of women police.<sup>86</sup>

With the limited economic opportunities available in Lebanon at the moment, agents appreciate the stability of a municipal job and the monthly salary, though very often agents<sup>87</sup>, male and female, take on a second job to supplement their income (as taxi drivers, in sales, or managing their own small business like a barbershop or a bakery). This practice might have ramifications on their ability to perform their police work in a fair manner. One agent, for example, has lost a couple of clients in his barbershop after he gave them tickets, while two other agents (male and female) express feeling ambivalent before giving one of their customers a ticket. Another related practice observed in two municipalities is gifts to municipal agents, like cash gifts when an agent manages traffic after a funeral, or free food and drink from shops next to an agent's point of service, or agricultural produce for agents monitoring violations. In a discussion of the issue with a group of agents in one municipality, several agents seem to think it is not problematic, seeing it as a 'gift' so long as the agent does not ask for it, while others say they tend to refuse such gifts, but do not condemn the practice.

Depending on the size and sources of revenue of the municipality, some agents have also experienced interruptions in their salaries due to the limited funds of the municipality. On the day of one field visit to Baalbek, for example, the municipality was closed and its staff on strike alongside those of over 100 municipalities around Lebanon protesting a delay in the payment of their salaries. The independent municipal funds that are transferred from the central government were delayed for over a year and municipalities, with limited revenue from local revenue collection, were not able to cover their expenses. While this is a national issue beyond the control of the municipality, it is telling of the sense of precarity that police agents feel, and though proud of being "employees of the state" (dawleh), they have a strong sense of being unequal to staff of other state institutions.

Indeed, municipal police interviewed express feeling marginalised vis-à-vis other security forces, who are more supported institutionally and receive better benefits, and other municipal staff. The fact that municipal police generally have limited qualifications, including low educational attainment, are poorly paid and often have no job security reinforces this sense of marginalization, especially when compared with the institutional support and job security that agents in national security apparatuses are afforded. In some areas, this is further exacerbated by the treatment of municipal police by other security agents. For example, whenever a municipal police agent needs to visit a police station – managed by the ISF – he or she is forced to wait until a check of their criminal record is completed.<sup>88</sup> This process often takes a couple of hours and requires the municipal police agent to be off duty as they wait. In one municipality, for example, an agent recounts how he caught a thief stealing manhole covers to the police station, where he waited a few hours while both their criminal records were checked. According to the agent, and to his frustration, the thief was soon released following a 'telephone call' on his behalf to the ISF agent in charge, while the agent himself waited until this entire process was completed.

<sup>86</sup> <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1098611111413990>, Cordner and Cordner, 2011.

<sup>87</sup> According to quantitative data collected by UNDP in a linked research exercise with male and female police agents 17% have a second job (21% of female agents and 15% of agents). Our impression is that the percentage is higher among agents on temporary contracts (and thus higher among women, a higher percentage of whom are on temporary contracts as mentioned above). We also expect that the percentages are higher than the above stated ones, because some agents might not admit to having another job because of concerns that this would jeopardize their police job or take on income generating activities that they do not think of as 'another job' (like driving a taxi in their spare time for example).

<sup>88</sup> This kind of check is practiced anytime a person approaches a police station, even when they want to report a crime or a lost item. The records cannot be accessed digitally in the station, so a request is usually made by the local agent to the concerned department and receiving the results, according to agents interviewed, takes hours.

Limited rule of law in Lebanon more broadly hinders the ability of agents to carry out their jobs and further demotivates them. In almost all municipalities, agents, male and female, speak of tickets they issue that are cancelled afterwards because the offender has connections or 'wasta' with either the local authority or higher-level politicians. In several municipalities' agents spoke of the difficulty of issuing a ticket to a driver 'who has his gun by his side'. In one municipality, male police agents described being threatened on the street if they issue a ticket, and one agent described his house being shot at after an escalation with a commuter who he reproached for driving against the traffic. Municipal police are especially vulnerable in such cases because they and their place of residence are known in the community and because of the above-mentioned vulnerabilities and marginalization.

The widespread reliance of members of the public on personal and clientelist ties to circumvent the law disempowers and demotivates members of the municipal police in many municipalities. At one level, agents working in small towns face tremendous pressure with regards to implementing law and order among their friends, families and acquaintances. The close-knit ties that define these localities make the working environment complicated. One female agent insists that she does not accept water bottles or drinks from townspeople while on duty in order to maintain her neutrality and professionalism. She reveals that townspeople come knocking on her parents' door in order to have a parking ticket or violation report cancelled. Yet, and although she instructs her family not to get involved, the latter "find it difficult that I am so strict."

Yet this interference can come from other sources and is linked to local level electoral concerns of the mayors or members of the municipal boards, or to national level dynamics wherein the offender in question has high-level political connections and is capable of intimidating the police or the local authority. The ability of the mayor and/or the head of the police to oppose personal and political interference in day-to-day operations of the local municipal police and to uphold the agents is key to the power of the agents. Nevertheless, in some areas such problems are beyond the control of the mayor himself and rather relate to the ability of the state and its national security and legal institutions to uphold the law.

On the ground, female agents specifically face manifold challenges with regards to working conditions, as these can be very taxing physically. Female agents contend with menstrual cycles and pregnancies, and some agents reveal that they feel uncomfortable communicating their menstrual discomfort and pain to their male supervisors. For these reasons, heads of the municipal police and mayors often allow for one "sick day" per month for female agents specifically to relieve them during their menstrual cycles, and provide separate or independent facilities with washrooms in order to provide them some respite from harsh temperatures, wind and rain. The Antelias municipality, for instance, has set up a makeshift container close to the traffic points at which the female agents are dispatched. This container includes a table and chairs as well as a toilet and is intended for use by female agents exclusively. Since female agents are dispatched on the ground and often circulate extensively without staying in one point, however, they admit to avoiding drink and food altogether as to prevent the need to use toilets.

Indeed, access to restrooms when dispatched on the ground is of particular concern for female agents in general. Female agents stress the need for clean toilet facilities. In some municipalities, female agents use toilets found in community centres or walk for around 8 minutes from their traffic points in order to access facilities in their respective municipalities. Male agents are more at ease using toilets in shops, cafes and restaurants around town as needed, in contrast with female agents who tend to hesitate and often avoid doing so.

At municipalities that do not recruit female agents like Tripoli, inadequate or under-equipped facilities, namely separate washrooms and changing rooms for female agents in the actual municipal police station, lead some male municipal police agents to be apprehensive about the recruitment of women into the service. They find that the municipalities are unprepared or not ready to take the "nature" of women into account and to integrate them into the service. Effectively, a lack of basic infrastructural facilities for female agents such as a separate toilet and changing rooms constitutes a significant challenge for female police around the world.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, some female agents face difficulty with regards to customizing the police uniform to suit their bodies. In some municipalities, only male uniforms are available for use. As a result, female agents either alter the male uniform to fit them or buy trousers of a similar colour and style to those of the male agents.

## Manuella Police Agent and Working Mother

"Manuella" and I make our way on foot through Mina's busy junctures, streets and old alleys to the corniche. At the first large roundabout, she points to the different traffic points where agents are daily deployed and mentions offhand that if more traffic lights are erected agents can be deployed for other kinds of work. We reach a busy street where "Manuella" begins to flag down commuters who are double parked or parked illegally. She recognizes one of these cars, snaps a photo and sends it online to its owner in order to give him leeway to remove his car swiftly before taking punitive measures against him. Shortly after, she follows another commuter into a shop and calmly instructs him to remove his double-parked car, only to be rebuked loudly and aggressively. The commuter threatens to report her to the mayor and chastises her for not knowing his identity as a member of the ISF. "Manuella" defends her position orally, does not pressure the commuter further and peacefully leaves the premises.

As we walk along Mina's old alleys, "Manuella" points out the various independent shops and bakeries that are regularly monitored and inspected by the municipal police. She shares her court battles with her ex-husband for alimony and custody of their two young boys. Her ex-husband has used her long working hours to build a case against her and take back their boys. "Manuella" in turn has lobbied her superiors over some time in order to change her shift, from 8 am until 11 pm every other day to 8 am until 4 pm every day with one day off a week. The long working hours have been the main challenge to "Manuella" as a working mother. Now, "Manuella" is able to be home when her children return from school. "Manuella" also relies on her own family, who can help care for her children if they fall sick or do not have school. "Manuella" stands out among her peers as enthusiastic and grateful for her job, as she appreciates the kind of security and benefits it provides over the long-term, particularly for a single working mother.

<sup>89</sup> Sreekumaran Nair N, Darak S et al, 2016. Effectiveness of different 'genderresponsive policing' initiatives designed to enhance confidence, satisfaction in policing services and reduce risk of violence against women in low and middle income countries - a systematic review.

### COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE OF FEMALE AGENTS

Families and friends of female agents generally accept and encourage their work with the police force, though some parents both mothers and fathers, as described by female agents, seem to have concerns only for their daughters' safety knowing that they are standing on busy traffic junctures most of the day. Nevertheless, fiancés and friends of a few female agents have shown disapproval of the idea seeing it as inappropriate for women and saying for example that 'wearing a police uniform makes a female appear too manly' (mistarjleh). Some agents explain how working 'on the street' is often frowned upon for women, as it might be linked to the negative connotations of the term 'street girls', and accordingly women might seek out an office or desk job instead (see the case study of Dania above). While such disapproval has not affected the female agents interviewed, they might have an impact on the willingness of other women to apply to work for the police. This mostly supportive attitude from friends and family we heard about from female police agents, is expected, given that it comes from female agents that have actually joined the police and might not be representative of the whole community. Stronger opposition might exist in the community deterring other women from joining the police, but this is beyond the scope of this study.

At the community level, agents, particularly female, express feeling generally appreciated, which constitutes an important source of self-confidence in legitimacy as described below. While members of the community at the beginning are surprised to find female agents on the street, they are getting used to it and many often express their support to female police through words of thanks and encouragement, which female agents appreciate. Nevertheless, all agents, male and female, find difficulty in dealing with locals and commuters objecting to receiving tickets, and some of them dismiss the municipal police, which is particularly problematic for female agents during their first days of service. Over time, and with the increase of the agents' confidence and community respect, the impact of their presence is becoming more tangible and visible for local communities.

### RELATIONS WITH SUPERVISORS

Almost all new recruits, male and female, interviewed expressed having felt excitement and slight nervousness on their first day of work, though they also describe being supported by their colleagues and supervisors. After no more than two weeks of adaptation and informal on the job training and support- which varies between different municipalities and even different agents in the same municipality -most are handed full responsibility, often with regular support and supervision from a senior agent. Besides on the job training, the amount of training agents have received prior to starting work varies significantly. A few, male and female agents, have received training under one of the two Municipal police training delivered at the ISF academy, particularly if they have a permanent post or were recently recruited. A much smaller percentage have received some sort of ad-hoc training organized on themes like GBV or community policing by organizations operating in the area.

While most agents expressed confidence in their ability to do their job, explaining that it becomes relatively routine after they have been on the job for a while, many also voiced the need for training and knowledge that is applicable to their context. For example, despite many being trained on the traffic laws, they said it is mostly not applied and they do not always have tools to resolve traffic-related problems they face on the streets.

In relation to work regulations and conditions and relationship with supervisors, the majority of the male and female agents' concerns and experiences are similar. The majority of new recruits explain that as they started work, most felt supported by supervisors and colleagues, though this largely depends on the head of the police, his experience, training and personality. In some municipalities, the actual management of the police is with the mayor or a municipal board member, and the police agent in charge is doing mere coordination work. One agent explains how under the leadership of the previous mayor she was unaware of her responsibilities or prerogatives, "Prior to the leadership of the police by the current mayor, I did not know what I was doing. I just helped people cross the street and I used to leave work early." In such cases, it seems roles of agents are less clear and on-the-job support is minimal.

In the majority of municipalities, male and female agents complain about the lack of clarity in regulations, not knowing who to turn to with complaints they have, inadequate training, or long and often arbitrary working hours especially during the holidays. Some male and female agents express feeling reluctant to ask supervisors for a day off or feeling like getting a day off is treated like getting a personal favour, not a right. Others are unclear altogether about being paid overtime for work done during the holidays or Sundays.

Often, relations between agents and supervisors are fraught with favouritism and political connections (wasta). One female agent bemoans that her colleagues including one female agent and one male agent have been given precedence in choosing their preferred hours or shifts, due to their prior connections with municipal board members. This compromises her commitment to her second job as a choir member. She is often forced to skip concerts due to a conflict with her shift in the municipal police. This does not only put her second job at risk, but also negatively affects the monthly income she generates.

### INTERACTION BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE COLLEAGUES

Working relations among female and male municipal police agents and colleagues are highly cooperative across the board. In general, they collaborate and coordinate their work closely. In fact, most of the female municipal police agents learn to do their job from their older male counterparts with extensive experience on the ground. Female agents insist there is very close and positive cooperation with both their cohort, the young men with whom they trained at the ISF Academy and entered the municipal police, as well as their older male colleagues who have been police agents for years. Even for female agents who work on a contractual basis and do not undergo formal training, their learning and training literally and primarily takes place on the ground, among their male colleagues and superiors.

For instance, in Broummana during the summer season, female agents are dispatched to the busiest crossroads in the town. Yet, next to each agent, another older and more experienced male agent is deployed. In this way, female agents feel well surrounded and supported. In fact, female agents often use terms of kinship to describe their relations and interactions with their male counterparts: "Here I feel like it's a family. We see each other more than we see our parents."

Close cooperation is especially necessary when additional and extensive physical effort is required for the task. One female police agent explains how she cannot stop or thwart a motorcyclist driving along a pedestrian walkway without calling on her male colleague on duty to help. Similarly, when female agents monitor bakeries and shops, and find expired goods and produce, they call upon their male colleagues on patrol to pick up the merchandise in the patrol car.

Moreover, cooperation among female and male colleagues often takes on a paternalistic and protective hue. Across municipalities, female and male agents coordinate their work closely through hand-held transceivers, especially when they are dispatched to manage traffic. In Antelias, an urban area with many busy thoroughfares, female agents manage traffic at different individual points. If a female agent is cat-called or grossly offended by a commuter at one intersection, she informs her male colleague through her walkie-talkie at the following intersection, who then proceeds to stop the offender and issue a warning or a ticket. This is common practice as described in the section on harassment of female police below.

Certainly, there are variations according to the personality and values of the agents in question, yet problems and/or challenges in the interaction among female and male agents have not been found. On the contrary, male agents describe feeling happy and proud that women have joined the municipal police.

## HARASSMENT OF FEMALE POLICE

Female agents deployed at busy junctures mention that they were verbally and sexually harassed, particularly in the first months of their employment, due to their gender. This includes commuters catcalling the agents, giving them their number, and asking them out on a date. Such gender-based harassment of female agents should be read within the context of overall marginalization of municipal police and lack of rule of law affecting male and female agents alike as detailed in the section below.

Gender based harassment has decreased with time, largely because of the reactions and support of colleagues and supervisors and increased confidence on the part of agents in handling such harassment. The response in at least two municipalities is to treat such gender-based harassment as an 'insult to a police agent' and charge the offender by giving him/her a ticket. This is usually managed by the male agent in the next station or a roaming agent, and upon the request of the female agent. In Antelias and Zahle for example, it is up to the female agent to decide if she needs her colleagues' support, usually by contacting an agent on the route that the offending car driver took and describing the details of the abuse she faced. In one incident, a female agent who was being verbally abused broadcast the abuse she was hearing on the wireless radio for other agents to hear and provide support. In all examples provided, colleagues were supportive, and such responses were appreciated by female agents, as they both empower the female agents and provide them with protection. In rare incidents, the municipal police resorted to the ISF to report and stop such incidents.

In interviews, female agents mentioned no incidents of gender-based harassment within the workplace. While the majority of female agents described collegial and supportive relationships with their peers, we cannot negate the possibility of the occurrence of harassment. The fact that the interviews happened in the police station, often with supervisors as gatekeepers, might have deterred female agents from sharing such incidents if they do exist. In addition, the patriarchal protection discourse deployed by many heads of police in municipalities employing women is often also adopted by female agents who might not always be aware of their rights.

## II.D. PERFORMANCE AND SELF-CONFIDENCE IN LEGITIMACY

Female agents feel empowered and unique a priori for joining male ranks to fulfil what is considered a "man's job" according to conventional gender norms. What is more, their performance on the job is widely perceived and assessed as better in many ways than that of their male counterparts by mayors, heads of the municipal police and male and female agents alike. At the same time, however, there is a prevailing belief that female municipal police agents cannot match the physical effort and energy of male agents, with menstrual cycles and pregnancies perceived as inhibiting even more their physical endurance. Despite such perceptions, female agents feel self-confident and derive their authority mainly from sources like people and relationships (support from supervisors, colleagues, family and community), and to a lesser extent, rely on their own personalities and self-confidence as bases of legitimacy. The police uniform and the perception that they are serving the state alongside other security personnel are secondary but key sources of empowerment.

As a growing minority within the municipal police, women are making a breakthrough by entering a field traditionally considered masculine. Female agents feel empowered and unique a priori for joining male ranks to fulfil what is considered a "man's job" according to conventional gender norms. What is more, their performance on the job is widely perceived and assessed as better in many ways than that of male municipal police agents by mayors, heads of the municipal police and male and female agents alike.

It is broadly established and accepted that "women can do the same job as men," especially since the former have already been integrated into other arms of the security apparatus such as the army and the internal security

forces. Across all the municipalities that recruit female agents, however, the vast majority of stakeholders express the view that female agents are more committed, reliable and serious than their male counterparts. Female agents are considered more respectful and polite. They are also highly regarded as shock absorbers and/or channels of conflict prevention. They "give and take" and "leave room for negotiation" with citizens, commuters and violators alike. Their presence neutralizes potential conflict between citizens and law enforcers, whether they are working alone or alongside their male counterparts. These findings correspond with and echo research on women in policing around the world, which not only finds that female agents are equally capable as their male counterparts in terms of job performance<sup>90</sup>, but also possess better communication and facilitation skills required to implement a community policing model.<sup>91</sup> Most importantly, these findings support research that shows women "police" differently than men since they are more likely to engage in communication before using force.<sup>92</sup>

Among the municipalities that recruit female agents, the leadership in Antelias, Chekka and Qornet Chahouane including mayors and heads of police concur that the female agent is "more gentle and hygienic", "more aware and mature" and "more loyal and efficient." In terms of performance, the leadership finds that the female agent is "extremely disciplined and committed, and is very quick to act." Indeed, and across all the municipalities that recruit female agents, the female agent's superior communication skills and her role in conflict prevention are highlighted. Whether working on the ground in traffic management or tourism, or running an operations room, the female agent is an altogether better communicator. For instance, in Qornet Chahouane, the mayor compares how female and male agents receive complaints in the operations room. "The female agent is more responsive and neutralizes the situation. If a citizen calls repeatedly to inquire why an agent has not arrived to investigate a reported issue, a male agent will reply brusquely, 'so what if the agent did not come, he will come tomorrow...' while the female agent will seek to appease the situation, 'the agent will come as soon as possible, do not worry.'"

At the same time, however, there is a prevailing belief that female municipal police agents cannot match the physical effort and energy of their male counterparts. The head of a municipal police that counts women among its ranks cited the physical ability of female agents as the reason she is not dispatched on the ground to participate in patrols or to carry heavy equipment and weapons: "Female agents cannot change tires. If a car breaks down, she cannot do anything about it."

Indeed, the physical stamina of the female agent is called into question by her superiors. More tangibly, they are uncertain about how long she can stand on her feet and how much she can endure in terms of physical and weather conditions. The mayor of a municipality that recruits female agents insists he is in favour of integrating female agents into his municipal police all year round through the seasons. Yet he is doubtful that a female agent can stand under the rain and put up with low temperatures while assisting 1,500 students to leave the local school. In fact, he contends that women will not apply for these kinds of jobs in the first place: "The municipality's tax collector recently retired. We need a new one. The tax collector walks kilometres daily... will a woman present herself to apply and take over his position? I do not think so... I would not reject her!"

Moreover, superiors recognize that female agents contend with menstrual cycles and pregnancies, which might inhibit their physical endurance and curtail the hours they can spend on their feet through changing weather conditions.

Nevertheless, female municipal police agents enjoy various sources of support that lead them to excel in policing

<sup>90</sup> Critical Issues in Policing, S. E. Martin, 1986.

<sup>91</sup> <https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/E-book.pdf>, UNODC, 2010.

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.wglt.org/post/isu-professor-women-are-thriving-police-officers#stream/0>, Norton, 2018.



and to make them key partners in implementing a community policing model. All the female municipal police agents interviewed feel they have enough authority to do their job well. Three main sources of support emerge in this regard: the agents' direct supervisors and colleagues, their families, and the local community or townspeople. In other words, the sources of authority tend to derive from people and relationships first and foremost rather than specific training, uniforms or equipment.

The primary source of authority for female municipal police agents derives from their direct supervisors, including heads of police, mayors or both. Both female and male agents, whether they are on short-term or permanent contracts, feel valued and trusted by the latter. Especially for female agents, heads of municipal police and mayors alike are positioned to directly empower them in their role and embolden their legitimacy in performing their job well. A unique but telling example is that of the female agent in Anfeh who was promoted to head the municipal police. Following her recruitment in 2015 and two years into the service, the new mayor (elected in 2016) encouraged and pushed her to take on the leadership of the municipal police. Along with the executive manager of the municipality – another woman – the mayor is continuously providing the agent with the necessary mentorship and training (i.e. legal counsel) to enable her to learn more about her responsibilities and perform her job with confidence. While it turns out that she was made responsible for the four-member team because she is the only one on a permanent contract, the agent insists that the role played by the mayor and the executive manager in empowering her is enormous.

In the agent's own words, "The mayor and executive manager encouraged and pushed me. The mayor gave me the confidence to do stuff I would not normally have done. They have my back... Before, I did not know my mandate. I only used to help people cross the street and I used to leave work early... now I handle everything. I come to the municipality and follow up on complaints and files, and I make sure the other male agents are on duty."

Indeed, the promotion and continuous follow-up, direction and training by her superiors have inspired the agent to such an extent that she felt confident enough to issue her uncle a parking ticket, something she "would not normally have done". This indicates that when given wider responsibilities, agents can become more confident and professional in carrying out their work.

At least half of the female agents interviewed reiterate their sentiment of backing and support by the leadership. This support is most often conveyed in terms of paternalism and care, which are reflective of prevalent gendered norms and attitudes towards honour and the protection of women. In fact, female agents clearly state that the leadership has "their backs". One agent insists that "the mayor and police chief respect us a lot and have our backs." They feel that the leadership extends them the protection of a concerned father: "The mayor treats us like his daughters and sons." Female agents feel equally supported and protected by their colleagues, especially if they are to encounter conflict with citizens or commuters: "if someone talks to us negatively on the streets, the guys will look out for us." While all the female agents interviewed feel confident enough to protect themselves, male and female agents alike need additional support and reinforcement from colleagues and supervisors when problematic situations arise.

Even when female agents are working on a temporary basis and only enjoy a limited scope of work, they feel like their presence on the ground and the decisions they take are upheld. In the words of one agent, "We are heard! Even if we are on temporary contracts, and even if we cannot issue parking tickets, we take photos of the license plates and send them to our WhatsApp group."

Another equally crucial source of support for female municipal police agents is their families. At least three female agents have fathers, brothers or husbands who work or have worked for the municipal police or for municipalities. In fact, and from the outset, these family members often encourage women to apply for, and work with, the municipal police, owing in large part to the benefits of such work including long-term job security and access to

such benefits as medical and social insurance and educational allowances for children.

One female agent on a temporary contract initially learned about the opening in the police from her father (Qornet Chahouane), who works as a police agent in a nearby municipality (Sad El Baouchriye). He encouraged her to apply and urged her to be patient, explaining that she might tire, and it might take years before she is promoted to a permanent member of the police. The length of time required to become a permanent agent for both women and men depends on myriad reasons, chief among them the capacity, size and financial resources of the municipality as well as the political will of its leadership.

In Tripoli, at least three young male municipal police agents encouraged their sisters to apply during the recent citywide call for agents. Male agents interviewed express the recognition that their sisters are as strong or even stronger than some of their male colleagues, and that should their sisters be recruited into the police they would be very well surrounded and supported by their friends and colleagues.

While all the female agents interviewed express support by their families for their work in the municipal police, they are also aware that these latter might prefer to see them in roles that do not keep them on the street interacting with people from all walks of life who are more often than not strangers. Yet they also reveal that their families see the larger picture and appreciate their daughters, sisters and wives working for a living, contributing to the livelihood of their families all the while serving the nation-state.

An additional yet critical source of authority for female municipal agents is the community around them including citizens and residents as well as commuters they encounter and interact with daily. For agents often dispatched to manage traffic, the gratitude expressed by commuters is key. They feel rewarded when they receive daily thanks and such expressions as "you make us proud." They are pleased and share this with others, "When someone says 'you're doing an amazing job, your face is happy,' we tell the mayor... these kinds of complements are the best."

The treatment of agents by townspeople is also crucial in bolstering their sense of stake in police work and their professional obligation towards the locality and its people. It also leads agents to feel needed and wanted by locals. For instance, in one seaside municipality, agents interviewed vow that "All the homes of this town are our homes. People treat us like their family. When we are posted at the beach, the neighbours bring us umbrellas, chairs and cold water."

An additional source of authority is interrelated with the three main sources of authority described above, serving to bolster or undermine them, which is the personality and sense of confidence of the female agents from the outset. Some agents contend they derive their strength and courage to work on the streets from their own personality. Similarly, other agents draw strength from their sense of accomplishment that is the sense that they are performing and doing their job well. One agent argues that "We have proved ourselves. We have proved that we can, that women can work as well as men, if not even better."

Other sources of empowerment play a secondary yet important role among female agents. Firstly, the perception that they are serving the state alongside such security agents as the ISF and the LAF and that they are actual "employees of the state" lead agents to feel confident on the job. Many male and female agents interviewed express their admiration of and identification with the state. They are proud to be employed by the state, and accordingly, believe they have an important role to play "like the army and the internal security forces. We complement each other."

By identifying with other security sector employees and seeing their police work as an extension of other security work, they are convinced of their own legitimacy as police. One female agent interviewed expresses validation

since the "army and internal security officials salute us when they see us!" Another female agent obtains strength from her previous job in the army and sees her police work as an extension, "I love this job because I served in the army. I saw people of all walks of life, religions and factions. I get along with everyone, of all ages... I dream that this team grows and becomes powerful."

Finally, the uniform can play a significant role in consolidating female agents' self-confidence in legitimacy. In one instance, a female agent interviewed in Broumana, where female agents were instructed to wear black shorts as part of their uniform leading to national and international uproar, insists that she feels she has a special kind of authority as a result of this very shorts. In fact, she reveals that her father did not let her work as part of a zaffa troupe performing at weddings although her zaffa attire is more conservative than her police uniform:

"I used to dance ballet, but my father did not let me work for or perform as part of wedding zaffa. He let me work as a police agent... My father sees that the zaffa is not related to my studies in law, although I would be more 'covered' for the zaffa. Here I am wearing shorts. Every time I wear this uniform, I feel I will not be exposed to bad things. Despite the shorts, I feel like this uniform protects me a lot!"

It is not uncommon that female agents describe the uniform as a source of protection in other municipalities. A female agent in Zahle expresses the contradiction around the absence of law that protects the police agent and the feeling of safety that one gets from the uniform. She said, 'wearing the police uniform protects you, and despite the fact that wearing the uniform does not have legal ramifications, it does protect you... It empowers your personality. You feel safe in it although there is no safety.' According to an agent in Bourj Hammoud, the uniform is a source of pride and confidence. She feels comfortable wearing it and she draws a parallel between people's positive reactions to her wearing the scouts' uniform when she played drums in the fanfare and their reactions to her wearing the police uniform walking up and down the same street.

## II.E. FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

Female agents are usually satisfied with their work since they feel challenged and empowered on the job. The work schedule and wage offered by the police are also preferable compared to other working-class jobs. Moreover, they feel that they keep learning something new, enjoy the element of surprise that the nature of the job entails, and are supported by various people. Besides these, the principal reason that drives them to remain in the municipal police is the chance of becoming permanent police agents in the foreseeable future. The hope of having the security of a long-term job with all the associated benefits encourages them to maintain their positions as police agents, despite the fact that access to these depends on myriad reasons, chief among them the capacity, size and financial resources of the municipality as well as the political will of its leadership.

Female municipal police agents are generally driven to remain in the municipal police for the foreseeable future by the chance to become permanent police agents. Compared with working-class jobs that at least half to two-thirds of the female agents have left or continue to dabble in part-time, permanent police positions offer the hope or possibility of long-term job security with all the associated benefits. As long as they are "employees of the state" – whether contractual or permanent – they entertain having access to health insurance among other critical services. In the words of one female agent who is working on a contractual basis and previously worked in insecure and challenging conditions, "I worked 11 years at a supermarket with long hours, no days off, and without any insurance whatsoever. Here I have the chance to have insurance in the future." As explained above, agents' access to such benefits and long-term job security depend on myriad reasons, chief among them the capacity, size and financial resources of the municipality as well as the political will of its leadership.

All female agents interviewed working on both contractual and permanent bases expressed general satisfaction

with police work, since they feel challenged and empowered on the job. Compared with other more "conventional" jobs, the work schedule and wage offered by the police are preferable. Moreover, and for most female agents, police work is enjoyable thanks to the element of surprise. In fact, many agents interviewed contend that police work is unpredictable and each day brings with it new experiences. They relish the changing nature of their day-to-day work, "Yes for sure I see myself in this job later... I do not like routine and this job does not have routine. Every day there is something new." This sentiment is echoed across different municipalities, "We take it one day at a time. No day is like the next. Every day is new and different."

With new daily experiences and challenges come opportunities for discovery and growth. "We are always learning new things. Every day there is something new." This is largely owed to the nature of police work, which unfolds on the ground amid the hustle and bustle of life.

Some female agents, and especially those who are students working on a seasonal basis, appreciate police work for its relevance to their studies. In Broummana, for instance, female agents are mainly recruited during the summer for the season. Most of these agents are university students, undertaking related studies. One agent is a student of law and aims to become a lawyer or judge in the future. She finds that she learns a lot about people and "becomes stronger" through police work and plans to continue seasonal work for the municipal police so long as she is a student and can accumulate relevant experience.

Other female agents continue to see themselves in the service of the municipal police for the coming five to ten years thanks to their "nice treatment" by superiors and the team spirit they experience while working with their colleagues. As mentioned in the previous section, and especially in small towns like Anfeh and Chekka, agents generally feel well supported and appreciated not only by their superiors and male colleagues, but also by townspeople including family and friends. For some female agents, feeling empowered is a major reason to continue serving in the municipal police.

## II.F. IMPACT: A DOMINO EFFECT

The recruitment of female agents into the municipal police has a positive impact on all stakeholders, including the municipalities, the heads of municipal police, the male municipal police agents, and citizens and towns alike. The presence of female police has contributed to an increase of respect in general and respect for the municipal police and law and order in particular. Female agents are seen as playing a great role in influencing and transforming attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the municipal police. Moreover, and internally, the recruitment of female agents contributes to professionalizing the municipal police as well as improving the management style of the heads of municipal police, leading some to be more calm, polite and diplomatic in general. The presence and visibility of female agents on the ground inspires and will continue to inspire other municipalities and communities to follow suit and recruit female agents.

The recruitment of female agents into the municipal police has a positive impact on all stakeholders, including the municipalities, the heads of municipal police, the male municipal police agents, and citizens and towns alike. Their recruitment has been embraced and received with wholehearted enthusiasm and optimism across municipalities that have incorporated women into their police. In fact, their recruitment is said to have a domino effect. The presence and visibility of female agents on the ground inspires and will continue to inspire other municipalities and communities to follow suit and recruit female agents.

In the words of Ahmad Rajab, Head of Technical Affairs at the Directorate General of Departments and Local Councils, "If the son of Hermel [a rural town in the Beqaa valley] goes to Chtaura [an urban town in the Beqaa

valley] and sees a female agent on the ground there, he will begin to think it is ok, it is normal. This is the domino effect. If society is mixed and made up of men and women, the municipal police should be mixed." Stakeholders interviewed failed to cite any disadvantage to the recruitment of female agents.

First and foremost, the main external impact cited across the municipalities is an increase of respect in general and respect for the municipal police and law and order in particular. This is attributed to the fact that female agents are respected more than male agents. According to the mayor of a municipality that recruits female agents, "When a female agent tells a male commuter to stop his car, he stops. If a male agent does the same, the commuter might run him over. This has happened, a commuter rolled over a male agent's foot, I took the male agent to the hospital... Commuters cannot do this to female agents. There is a kind of respect that is greater for a woman. And tourists, whether male or female or children, foreign or not, also feel more comfortable with female agents."

Across all the municipalities that recruit female agents, mayors, police chiefs and male agents alike concede that female agents more than male agents command respect, obedience and peaceful compliance with the law on the part of both male and female citizens. Their mere presence and the way they address and communicate with citizens lead the latter to respect and abide by the rules more often than not.

Indeed, most stakeholders including mayors, police chiefs and agents consider that the recruitment and integration of female agents effectively change the face of the municipal police and the municipality more generally. One male agent asserts that the recruitment of women in the police would allow him to 'feel that we are similar to the police force in advanced countries. Female agents are said to change the actual image of the municipal police by lending it a "civilized face." One female agent explains it in the following way, "The female agent is like a flower planted in a space. She gives the space more value." Indeed, this is what led the mayor of Broummana from the outset to recruit female agents during the summer seasons. He recognizes the role that female agents play in bettering the image of the municipality, the wider locality and the country at large, "I am the head of the federation of the tourism unions... the image of Lebanon abroad is completely different. Foreigners know about Lebanon through Hollywood and only see terrorist operations, refugee camps, garbage, women covered from head to toe... I want to change this image and to show the world that we are a real tourist destination."

This sentiment is echoed by policymakers in the government, who also insist on the great role female agents have to play in influencing and transforming attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the municipal police. According to Faten Abou Hassan, Director General at the Directorate General of Departments and Local Councils, female agents are changing the popular view of the municipal police from a "traffic police" towards more of a "community police". General Ahmad Hajjar, Head of the ISF Academy, similarly points to the wide scope for cultural change provided by the recruitment of female agents into the municipal police. The Ministry of Women Affairs (MoWA) believes that female agents can make a meaningful and sustainable contribution to the women, peace and security agenda. It is further keen to see the role female agents can play in protecting citizens from all kinds of violence and particularly gender-based violence and sexual harassment, especially through referrals. Thus far, there has been limited cooperation between the MoWA and other institutions on the latter.

A second external impact found across the municipalities is the excitement and gratitude displayed by commuters on the roads and streets towards the presence of female agents. This is not to say that female agents are not catcalled, insulted or verbally harassed especially if/when they issue warnings or tickets to law and traffic offenders. Female agents do face resistance and noncompliance from citizens and commuters. Yet they do so less than their male counterparts, and their confrontations with citizens and commuters are not likely to escalate into more serious and physical conflicts. Their more "gentle" and polite demeanour tend to generate less aggressive reactions from offenders. This is comically captured in a statement by the mayor of a municipality that recruits

female agents, "A commuter will roll over a male agent's foot, but not a female agent's foot." This echoes research on women in policing in the United States that shows female agents are more able to diffuse and de-escalate potentially violent confrontations with citizens.<sup>93</sup>

Similarly, tourists are thrilled to encounter female police agents, according to the female agent who leads the tourism police in Jbayl, "We have a great impact. People love us. We serve tourists from around the world and from the Gulf countries, and the women of the Gulf especially love having female agents to approach and seek assistance from." Agents also concede that older women and mothers with children similarly appreciate the presence and assistance of female agents, especially during large religious and school gatherings.

Moreover, and internally, the recruitment of female agents is found to improve the management style of the heads of municipal police. Some police chiefs admit that the inclusion of female agents has led them to change their general approach of managing their agents. One police chief confesses that he used to raise his voice at his agents and was harsh in his relations with the male agents. With the recruitment and integration of female, however, he is more calm, polite and diplomatic in general, taking his time to communicate and explain urgent matters and problems. Another police chief admits that he is more lenient and less harsh in communicating with and managing female agents than male agents.

Additionally, it can be inferred that the participation of female agents in the municipal police contributes to its professionalizing, as they have so far been tasked strictly with assignments and roles that conventionally fall under the purview of the municipal police. They do not serve as personal assistants or chauffeurs to their supervisors like their male counterparts.

In general, the recruitment of female agents is considered "a real need for the town and for all of society". Both female and male agents express their desire to see more female agents in the municipal police across the country, "They are very serious, committed and productive. We wish their presence would increase." Yet the shape their presence takes is important for the kind of impact it is to have. For instance, male police agents in Nabatieh report not taking seriously their female counterparts in Broummana due to their short shorts. They believe that female agents are being used for their appearance rather than for what they can bring to the job specifically and to the municipal police generally. They fear that the presence of female agents will generate derision, mockery as well as problems, and consequently they do not support the recruitment of women into the municipal police.

Indeed, for municipalities and communities who are still on the fence with regards to the recruitment of female municipal police agents, change is gradual. One vice-mayor who led the initiative to recruit and integrate female police agents in his municipality acknowledges that "it takes time for people to become convinced." The domino effect of the recruitment of female agents is ongoing and will continue to be felt for the foreseeable future.

<sup>93</sup> <https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/E-book.pdf>, UNODC, 2010.

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## SECTION 6

### FURTHER RESEARCH

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Through this study on the rationale for, benefits, challenges, and impact of hiring female personnel within municipal police in Lebanon, a number of areas have emerged requiring further assessment and analysis.

Further research must be conducted into offensive behaviour and harassment within the municipal police. This is the first study that has explored harassment within the municipal police in Lebanon, and therefore although the data is limited at present, this is an area for future inquiry.

Further research is also necessary to study how the so-called “domino effect” of hiring female agents into the municipal police is unfolding geographically and to investigate the extent to which municipalities can influence and “convince” neighbouring municipalities to recruit women into the municipal police. For instance, the mayor of the Mina municipality boasts about having permanent female members in his police force as a way to contrast the openness and cosmopolitanism for which Mina is known with that of neighbouring Tripoli. A mapping exercise can be conducted in order to chart if the domino effect of hiring female agents is unfolding geographically.

The role a gender quota in the municipal councils can play in advancing the recruitment of female agents deserves further analysis. This study has found a correlation between the percentage of female municipal board members and the percentage of female police agents. On a policy level, the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities under former Minister Raya El Hassan was pushing for a gender quota in municipal councils. Research can be conducted to further unpack the gender quota with reference to similar measures in local governance around the world.

Changes in public perceptions of female municipal police agents, and a municipal police which includes women, need to be understood. The premise that an increase of women in the municipal police results in more harmonious community relations, increased public trust and legitimacy of the police, and a police service that is more responsive to the different security needs of women and men, needs to be tested in a context like Lebanon given pre-existing constraints.

Finally, the impact of the media, including campaigns led by UNDP, on perceptions of female municipal police agents as well as the willingness of women to apply to work for the police deserves investigation.

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## SECTION 7

### RECOMMENDATIONS

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This study provides an evidence-base for areas in which positive changes can be made to ensure the municipal police is more gender-responsive and gender equal. Accordingly, the following recommendations are proposed, addressed to municipalities, national institutions as well as donors and international agencies.

#### RECRUITMENT

##### MUNICIPALITIES

1. Proportionate and targeted measures should be taken to recruit more qualified and motivated female candidates in municipal police services. Specifically, appropriate physical examinations should be introduced in municipalities that include physical tests as part of their recruitment process.
2. Prioritize the recruitment of agents through a competitive process based on merit and not through personal connections, even for a temporary contract.
3. Communicate about recruitment of municipal police agents: mention recruitment is for both women and men and develop targeted communication campaigns to actively encourage women to apply.

##### NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Plan to increase the percentage of women in municipal staff in general, and municipal police in particular, particularly those who are on permanent contracts.
2. Elaborate and provide guidelines and technical support for the recruitment and integration of women into the municipal police, with input from Ministry of Women's Affairs.

##### DONORS AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Support women's socio-economic and political participation in general, since greater women's political participation, particularly in the local government as council members and staff, is correlated with an increase in the percentage of female municipal police agents.
2. Support efforts to recruit female agents in the police, even if they are recruited to fill roles considered by the community and the municipality as more feminine such as administration, tourism, or health and safety. Such jobs can pave the way for gradual integration into other roles. These also serve to influence local attitudes and perceptions, and to improve social acceptance of women's participation in municipal work generally.





## CHARACTERISTICS

### MUNICIPALITIES

1. Ensure municipal staff, not only police agents, are representative of the community, including adequate representation across age, sex and marital status.
2. Ensure municipal council members are representative of the community, including adequate representation across age, sex and marital status.



## SUPPORT

### MUNICIPALITIES

1. Ensure protection of the operation of the police from outside interference, with a clear policy to enforce police orders, to uphold tickets and to take corrective action no matter who the offender is.



## WORKING CONDITIONS

### MUNICIPALITIES

1. Fair criteria should be applied when awarding permanent contracts. This should reflect education levels and experience.
2. Fair payment should be ensured, so municipal police agents are not forced to hold simultaneous jobs.
3. Job benefits for men and women on short-term contracts should be significantly improved including provision of paid leave, maternity/paternity leave, access to educational allowances for children, medical insurance, and retirement benefits.
4. Uphold the labour rights of municipal police agents, both contractual and permanent members of the police ensuring fair contracts and pay, adequate holidays and benefits, paid overtime.
5. Rehabilitate police stations to guarantee the availability of adequate and gender segregated toilets and changing facilities. Allow for access to additional facilities whether purpose built and/or in coordination with existing community and/or public spaces.
6. Gender appropriate uniforms should be introduced with consultation from female municipal police agents.
7. The tasks assigned to women should be diversified to include increased interaction with the public. If women are not visible on the streets, this limits the positive impact the presence of female municipal police has on the municipality and neighbouring areas.



## NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Make sure training for heads of municipal police integrates components on gender equality.
2. ISF Academy Training should be provided to men and women in a gender equal manner.
3. Revisit the training provided for municipal police in order to incorporate more soft skills, including communication, mediation, conflict resolution, dealing with vulnerable groups, and responding to GBV in general and sexual harassment in particular.
4. Ensure permanent contracts provide adequate maternity leave, sick leave and health coverage and support to dependants of both male and female staff on equal basis.
5. Ensure short-term contracts provide obligations for job security and maternity leave for pregnant female agents.

## DONORS AND INT AGENCIES

1. Advocate for the reform of current laws and regulations that discriminate against working mothers in the labour force. Ensure that government employers provide childcare support, paternity or parental leave, and more flexible schedules for working mothers. Push for a longer compulsory maternity leave that meets the ILO's recommendation of at least 18 weeks.

## HARASSMENT

### MUNICIPALITIES

1. Commit to providing a workplace that is free from sexual harassment by educating mayors, heads of police and agents, and empowering female agents to report unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Take the necessary steps to ensure that allegations are investigated promptly and addressed, and corrective action is taken.
2. Stronger support structures need to be put in place to prevent and remedy harassment and offensive behaviour. Reporting should be encouraged through campaigns, and supervisors should receive training on how to resolve harassment complaints.
3. Ensure a zero-tolerance policy of sexual harassment of agents committed by citizens and commuters in public spaces by addressing these violations as an "insult to a police agent" and penalizing offenders.



## IMPACT

### NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Launch media campaigns to showcase the importance of having both women and men working in the municipal police.

### DONORS AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Facilitate experience sharing among municipalities that have recruited female agents and municipalities interested in doing so. This can be part of wider exchange and cooperation efforts among municipalities made through joint teams at the level of municipal unions or neighbouring municipalities. This might additionally allow municipalities to share and exchange agents, thus minimizing the effects that local influence and relationships have on the ability of agents to police among their communities.

# ANNEXURE A

## SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

### INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire has been prepared by UNDP to inform research relating to the experiences of municipal police agents in various municipalities in Lebanon. This is part of UNDP's efforts, in association with the Government of Lebanon, to empower and improve service-delivery of the municipal police.

All female municipal police agents and a random selection of male municipal police agents are being requested to complete this questionnaire. By completing and returning the questionnaire you are agreeing to take part in the study; however, you are under no obligation to fill it out.

Your name shall not appear in the questionnaire or the envelope in order to protect your identity; therefore, please do not write your name, or any other information that will identify you. Please do not include any personal information about others in your responses. Your individual response will only be used for research purposes. It will be treated with strict confidentiality and will not be shared with your municipality. Please fill in the questionnaire, and return it in a sealed envelope.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section contains some background questions about you to help us understand the data better. Please be assured that the data provided cannot be identified or linked to you personally in any way.

1. **Gender:**  Male  Female

2. **Date of birth:**

3. **Municipality:**

4. **Marital Status:**  Single  Engaged  Married  Separated  Divorced  Widow

5. **How many children do you have?**

6. **What type of employment do you currently have with the municipality?**  
 Daily  Contractual-Yearly  Contractual-Seasonal  Permanent  No Contract  Don't Know

7. **What is the date when your employment started with the Municipal Police?**

8. **What is your highest educational qualification?**  
 Elementary (6th grade or less)  Intermediate (7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> grade)  High School (9<sup>th</sup> grade or above)  
 Vocational Degree  Bachelors  Masters  Other

9. **What was your previous profession/occupation before joining the municipal police?**

10. **Do you currently have another job (in addition to being a municipal police agent)?**

Yes  No Please specify:

11. **Do you have any direct relatives (direct relatives are: parents, siblings, spouse) who have been municipality staff?**  Yes  No

12. **Do you have any direct relatives (direct relatives are: parents, siblings, spouse) who have been municipal police agents?**  Yes  No

### MUNICIPAL POLICE INFORMATION

13. **Is the Head of the Municipal Police in your Municipality:**  Male  Female  Not present

14. **Do you believe you work the same number of hours per week as other municipal police agents of the same rank?**  Yes  No-I work fewer hours than others  No-I work more hours than others, Unsure

15. **Do you believe you are paid the same salary as other municipal police agents of the same rank?**

Yes  No - I am paid less  No - I am paid more  Unsure

16. **How much of your time on average in the last month is spent on the following tasks?**

**Please respond to all**

1. Administration/ in the office  None  Some  A lot

2. In "Operation Rooms" (i.e. answering the phone, recording complaints, coordinating work of police agents)  
 None  Some  A lot

3. Conflict resolution between residents  None  Some  A lot

4. Mediation between fellow municipal police agents  None  Some  A lot

5. Interacting with residents  None  Some  A lot

6. On the streets  None  Some  A lot

7. Traffic control  None  Some  A lot

8. Traffic patrol  None  Some  A lot

9. Inspection of construction violations  None  Some  A lot

10. Inspection of violations related to use of public space  None  Some  A lot

11. Assigned to specialised forces (i.e. Tourism)  None  Some  A lot

12. Assigned to public events or festivals  None  Some  A lot

13. Searching residents  None  Some  A lot

14. Involvement in raids  None  Some  A lot

17. **Are your shifts usually: (tick all that apply)**  Day  Afternoon/Evening  Night

18. **On average, how many hours do you work per week?**

19. **On average, how often do you work on Sundays/Public Holidays?**  Never  Often  When needed

20. **Did you take a physical test before being recruited?**  Yes  No

21. **Did you feel the physical test was appropriate for your gender?**  Yes  No  Neutral/Neither

22. **Did you attend the municipal police training at the ISF Academy?**  Yes  No

**23. Did you receive any training (on the job, or in the municipality) before beginning work?**

Yes  No Length of training:

**24. As a municipal police agent, do you feel:**

**Please respond to all**

- Satisfied as a municipal police agent, compared to your previous occupation  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Accepted by your colleagues  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Valued by your supervisor  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Confident in your ability to perform your job  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Political interference (wastaa) is a hindrance in performing your duties  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Supported by the mayor and municipal council members in your work  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Fair criteria is applied when deciding promotions  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Tasks are distributed evenly amongst your colleagues  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Secure in the long-term (5 years) in your job/contract  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Respected by the community  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Protected by the law when performing your job  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Your spouse supports your job  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Your family (i.e. parents, siblings) supports your job  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither

**25. As a municipal police agent, do you feel you have access to:**

**Please respond to all**

- Fair payment for your services  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Adequate training  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Appropriate uniforms  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Necessary equipment  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Separate male/female bathroom facilities  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Mentoring  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Flexible working hours  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Paid holiday  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Maternity/Paternity leave  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Educational allowances for children  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- On the job insurance  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Medical Insurance  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- Retirement/End of Service benefits  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither

**COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES**

Your views are important to help us understand the municipality's atmosphere and working environment better. Please tick one box per question.

**26. As a municipal police agent, how often have individuals behaved in the following ways while you were on the job?**

**Please note:** the individuals can be members of the public, municipal police agents, or municipality employees.

- Used sexually explicit language towards you (e.g. suggestive language, catcalling)?  Never  Sometimes  A lot
- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes
- Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature towards you (e.g. inappropriate touching, hugging, kissing)?  Never  Sometimes  A Lot
- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes
- Used verbally abusive language towards you (e.g. swear words, threats)?  Never  Sometimes  A lot

- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes
- Acted in a physically violent manner towards you (e.g. hitting, slapping, or attempting the above)?  Never  Sometimes  A lot
- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes
- Made unwelcome comments (e.g. about your appearance or private/romantic relationships)?  Never  Sometimes  A lot
- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes
- Made unwelcome attempts to establish a private/romantic relationship with you despite your discouragement?  Never  Sometimes  A lot
- If yes: did you find this offensive?  Yes  No  Sometimes

**27. If you have indicated that you found any of the above offensive:**

- How often were those responsible men (individuals could be members of the public, municipal police agents, and/or municipality employees)?  Always  frequently  half the time  rarely  never
- How often were those responsible women (individuals could be members of the public, municipal police agents, and/or municipality employees)?  Always  frequently  half the time  rarely  never
- How often were those responsible members of the public (individuals could be men and/or women)  Always  frequently  half the time  rarely  never
- How often were those responsible municipal police agents (individuals could be men and/or women)  Always  frequently  half the time  rarely  never
- How often were those responsible municipality employees (e.g. municipal staff, municipal board members, mayors - individuals could be men and/or women)  Always  frequently  half the time  rarely  never

**28. Did you do any of the following in response to the behaviour? Please tick all that apply.**

- I ignored the behaviour
- I avoided the person(s) if I could
- I told the person(s) to stop
- I asked to be moved away from the location
- I told my family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) and/or friends
- I told my colleague
- I told my supervisor
- I made a formal written complaint within the municipality
- None of these

**29. Did any of these actions improve the situation?**

Yes  No  Neutral/Neither **Please indicate which action(s)**

**30. Did you suffer any negative consequences from taking any of these actions?**

Yes  No  Neutral/Neither

**31. To what extent did you feel the following as a result of this experience? Please tick one box per question.**

- I felt uncomfortable at work  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- I learned how to perform my job better than before  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- I felt excluded from my team  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- I experienced depression and/or anxiety  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- I thought about leaving the Municipal Police  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither
- It caused tension between my family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) and the person(s) who offended me  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither

- My family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) pressured me to leave the Municipal Police  Agree  Disagree  Neutral/Neither

**32. If you didn't tell anyone in your workplace what was happening, please tell us why? Please tick all that apply.**

- I thought I could handle the situation myself
- I didn't think it was that important
- I didn't think they would believe me
- I didn't think anything would be done about it
- I did not want to hurt/upset the person who offended me
- I was worried that everyone would find out
- I thought it might affect my job or career
- The person responsible was superior to me
- I didn't want to cause tension between my family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) and the person(s) who offended me
- I didn't want my family (i.e. spouse, parents, siblings) to find out

**THANK YOU! WE GREATLY VALUE YOUR TIME AND RESPONSES.**

Please return your responses in the SEALED envelope to \_\_\_\_\_



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