

‘The Hero Stuff’ and the ‘Softer Side of Things’: Exploring Masculinities in Gendered Police Reform in Timor-Leste

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1.1 Introduction and Rationale

This thesis investigates how New Zealand and East Timorese police officers involved in United Nations' police reform understand and conceptualise masculinities. It explores how these conceptualisations compare to how masculinities are defined and outlined in United Nations' gender policies. Within the "merging of security and development" (Duffield 2001), there has been an increased utilisation of the United Nations Police (UNPOL) in programmes aimed at restructuring and reforming police forces in countries emerging from conflict. The New Zealand Police have been involved in UNPOL's policing efforts in Timor-Leste and it is this involvement that my research explores. This research summary will provide the rationale for carrying out this research, the methodology, the main findings and then policy recommendations based on these findings. It will begin with a definition of the key terms used in the research.

In this research I use gender to refer to a set of culturally and socially shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity. These characteristics determine how men and women can act in a particular setting, and what relationships can develop between and amongst them. Gender identities are fluid constructs, which are continually being made and remade as social, political and economic conditions change, and as they interact with other identity markers such as class, ethnicity, 'race', nationality and sexuality (Peterson and True 1998; Hooper 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

The other terms I use frequently are masculinity and masculinities. My research adopts a definition of masculinities that sees it as the different culturally and socially shaped and defined characteristics associated with being a man in a particular social, geographical, and ethno-cultural context. Constructions of masculinities are not given equal status in society but exist in relations of hierarchy, dominated by loosely coherent and evolving hegemonic forms. Within a culture there is what Connell (2005) has called hegemonic and subordinate masculinities. The hegemonic masculinity is the way of acting that is seen as the most masculine. For example the limited research on hegemonic masculinity within police forces¹ suggests that masculine policing becomes associated with aggressive behaviour, the legitimate use of force, the control of territory and physicality (Messerschmidt 1993; McElhinny 1994; Martin 1999; Herbert 2001; Rabe-Hemp 2008). Subordinate masculinities refer to the ways men act which do not fit in line with that dominant ideal. Men showing these characteristics may not be seen as 'real men'. For example, Herbert (2001) found that in the United States police force, men engaging in community policing were criticised because community policing requires qualities and skills traditionally considered 'feminine' such as communication, trust and empathy. By displaying these skills, male police officers cannot live up to the 'masculine' crime-fighter image. There will be different forms of hegemonic masculinity within different cultural contexts, for example, within police forces in different countries, which highlights the need to have country specific research.

The United Nations Police have made a commitment to design and implement their reform efforts in a gender-aware way (UNIFEM 2007). These efforts have been established to ensure that police reform is carried out in a way that takes account of the varied security needs of women and men, boys and girls (UNDPKO 2004; UNIFEM 2007; UNDPKO 2008; UNDPKO 2010). Gender identities are fluid and varied constructs; moreover, men and women are often pressured or encouraged to take up different behaviours in order to align themselves with the dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity in different

¹ The majority of this research is based on the police force in the United States of America.

contexts (Henry 2007). Therefore, in addition to examining gender subordination and the ways in which women and femininity tend to be devalued socially, it is important to take account of men and masculinities when conceptualising the relationship between gender and policing.

Men's behaviours are determined by the social expectations that are placed on them within different contexts. Within the context of conflict, dominant constructions of masculinity often become tied to the use of violence and this can lead to the dominance of violent and oppressive constructions of masculinity within post-conflict police forces (Connell 2000; Bendix 2009). Furthermore, attention must also be paid to masculinities in gendered police reform to ensure that the hierarchies between men are addressed. Masculinity is a fluid construct that men engage with in different ways. The dominance of violent and oppressive masculinities can act to marginalize those men who choose to act out different non-violent policing masculinities (Connell 2000). Therefore if gendered police reform is to be used as a strategy to challenge policing cultures which privilege violent and oppressive policing strategies, attention needs to be paid to how constructions of masculinities affect policing practices.

Within the research and policy papers on gender and policing there has been very little understanding about how different constructions of masculinities affect policing and police reform programmes. This stems from the continued failure on the part of gendered approaches to police reform to take account of the gendered experiences of men. Gender continues to be equated only with women while, "men, masculinities and how these are socially constructed and with what consequences remain unmentioned" (Nduka-Agwu 2009:182). While men often remain 'invisible' in gender policies, they are always visible in the background as the perpetrators of violence (Bendix 2009:17). This framing of men as only perpetrators is problematic because it paints masculinity as a generic and static construct that men engage with in uniform ways. The framing of masculinity as a static construct acts as a barrier to gaining more nuanced understandings of *how* certain masculinities come to dominate in the police force which operate to "create a culture of violence" in post-conflict societies (Bendix 2009:17). The framing of masculinity as a static construct can also make invisible alternative, non-violent masculinities which can act as a barrier to the support of these masculinities through gendered police reform.

Much of the existing research critiquing the ways the United Nations approaches gender, focuses on how gender policies often act to make invisible men's gender identities (Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrntinen 2009b). However, there is still little idea about *how* exactly an understanding of men and masculinities could be incorporated into these policies. This stems from the fact that as yet, there is little understanding of how the police officers involved in these programmes actually understand and conceptualise masculinities. Such an analysis would include understanding what different masculinities exist within the approach to policing taken by post-conflict police forces. It would also include an understanding of the different masculinities that exist within the approach to capacity building taken by the United Nations police. My research aims to fill this gap by exploring how police officers themselves understand and conceptualise masculinities.

A focus on the understandings police officers have of masculinities is needed to get a clearer idea of how police masculinities, and in particular non-violent police masculinities are formed. Research from Gender and Development (GAD) programmes has shown that in order to promote non-violent, respectful masculinities, there needs to be a focus not just on understanding why violent masculinities exist. There also needs to be a focus on

understanding how some men *resist* adopting gender identities that associate ‘masculine’ policing with the use of force and violence (Barker 1998; Cleaver 2002). Gaining a better understanding of how police officers conceptualise the links between masculinity and policing practice can help fill this gap and provide insights into how non-violent policing could be encouraged through gendered police reform.

1.2 Methodology and Context

This research used the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme as a case study (CPPP). The research was based mainly on semi-structured interviews with New Zealand and East Timorese police officers who had been part of the CPPP. The fieldwork was carried out from the period of May 25 to August 4, 2010. I carried out nine interviews with New Zealand Police officers, seven of which were involved directly in the project and two of which were female. I carried out seven interviews with PNTL officers, six of which were involved in the project and two of which were female. I carried out semi-structured interviews with seven civil society representatives working on gender and policing issues in Timor-Leste in order to provide contextual information. In order to analyse the data I used feminist discourse analysis.

The United Nations Police have played a key role in the development of the PNTL since the independence of Timor-Leste in 1999. Timor-Leste was occupied by the Indonesian military from 1975 – 1999 and during this period the population was suppressed by both military and civilian control mechanisms. Following independence, the United Nations was responsible for the administration of Timor-Leste from 1999 to 2002 (Martin and Mayer-Rieckh 2005). A central component of the United Nations’ mandate was to oversee the creation and development of the PNTL and during this period they had executive authority over policing while also carrying out a capacity building role (Mobekk 2003). From its inception in 1999, the PNTL has been a militarised and politicised institution involved in various episodes of violence. The problems within the PNTL culminated with ‘the Crisis’ in 2006 where following increased political tension, conflict broke out amongst the security sector institutions, veterans groups, Martial Arts Groups (MAGs) and Ritual Arts Groups (RAGs). This conflict led to the death of at least 37 people, the internal displacement of 155, 000 people and the collapse of the PNTL in Dili (Lemay-Hebert 2009).

The 2006 Crisis led to the return ‘in force’ of UNPOL who regained executive policing functions and a renewed capacity building role. The relationship between UNPOL and the PNTL has been fraught from the beginning. Tensions between the institutions have been heightened since UNPOL’s return in 2006 partly due to the reluctance of both the government of Timor-Leste and the PNTL to give up executive policing authority (Lemay-Hebert 2009). It is within the environment of increasing tensions between UNPOL and the PNTL, fears of the re-militarisation of the PNTL and the continuing politicisation of the PNTL, that the CPPP took place.

The CPPP began in 2008 following a request from the Government of Timor-Leste to provide capacity development support for community policing within the wider UNPOL component of the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT). The goal of the programme was, “to support PNTL in developing a sustainable community policing model and philosophy, to assist in restoring community trust and confidence in police, and create an environment conducive to all aspects of community policing” (Emmott, Barcham et al. 2010:365). While it was originally envisioned as a one-year pilot, it was extended until

March 2010. The programme was based in two sub-districts; Becora in Dili district and Suai in Covalima district.

During the period the programme was running there were groups of the 25 New Zealand Police officers deployed on six-month rotations as part of UNPOL. Ten of these officers were directly involved in the programme while the remainder were expected to display the practices and principals of community policing in their work (Emmott, Barcham et al. 2010). Around 17% of New Zealand Police officers deployed on overseas missions are female (Greener, Fish et al. 2011), so it can be assumed that while the programme was being carried out, around 17% of those involved were female. While the CPPP was partly funded by the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) which has a gender mainstreaming strategy, there were no provisions within the programme for dealing with gender issues (Emmott, Barcham et al. 2010:i).

This programme is part of the wider ‘merging of security and development discourses’ in which police reform is increasingly presented as a central component of post-conflict development (Heathershaw 2008). This programme is part of the wider ‘merging of security and development discourses’ in which police reform is increasingly presented as a central component of post-conflict development (Heathershaw 2008). Following the Cold War, the mandate of peacekeeping operations was significantly expanded as the United Nations developed the concept of ‘post-conflict peacebuilding’ (Bellamy and Williams 2004; Heathershaw 2008). Central to the expansion of the United Nations peace support operations has been the increased use of the United Nations Police whose role has been expanded to focus on both executive policing and reform, restructuring and rebuilding (RRR) (Greener 2009). The CPPP was situated within the wider UNPOL mission in Timor-Leste, which still retained executive policing authority, however the New Zealand Police were asked to also carry out a capacity building role.

Within the literature on post-conflict peace-building, there has been discussion about how the gendered socialisation processes affects their ability to carrying out peacekeeping roles (see Enloe 1993; Miller and Moskos 1995; Higate and Henry 2004; Whitworth 2004; Duncanson 2009). These studies have investigated whether soldiers, with their aggressive, trained-to-kill, militarised masculinities are capable of being peacekeepers who must be “benign, altruistic, neutral, and capable of conflict resolutions in any cultural setting” (Whitworth 2004:12). The majority of research only explores the potential suitability of soldiers carrying out a peacekeeping role. Despite the increased use of police officers in United Nations peacebuilding missions, there is virtually no research on how specific police masculinities affect officers’ abilities to operate as part of UNPOL. This is particularly problematic given that unlike peacekeepers whose roles centre on maintaining security, police are required to not only maintain security through executive policing functions, but are also often involved in capacity building.

To be successful capacity builders, UNPOL officers need to be good at building relationships with people in the host-country, need to tailor their approach to the local context and need to act in a culturally aware way (Dinnen, McLeod et al. 2006; Goldsmith and Dinnen 2007; McLeod 2009). Research on peacekeepers has suggested that how security sector officers approach developing cultural awareness is tied up with masculinities (Stiehm 2000; Duncanson 2007). Taking time to develop cultural sensitivity can be seen as a ‘feminine’ endeavour because it requires qualities such as communication and compassion which are not prioritised by peacekeepers (Stiehm 2000; Duncanson 2007). Research on the involvement of New Zealand and Australian police officers in police reform in the Asia-

Pacific region has shown that they often fail to understand and appreciate the local context, and local conflict resolution methods (Dinnen, McLeod et al. 2006; Goldsmith and Dinnen 2007; McLeod 2009). This suggests the need for exploration into whether specific 'masculine' cultures within the New Zealand Police could affect their ability to act as culturally aware capacity builders.

Research on United Nations policing could suggest that, like soldier-peacekeepers, UNPOL officers also exhibit masculinities not conducive to promoting cultural awareness and relationship building. Myrntinen (2009b) argues that the line is often blurred between military activities and policing by UNPOL. This occurs when they utilise Formed Police Units (FPU) which exhibit "militarised notions of hyper-masculinity" (Myrntinen 2009b:86). There has also been evidence of problematic policing masculinities within non-FPU UNPOL contingents. For example Harris and Goldsmith (2009:301) have shown that some male Australian Federal Police (AFP) officers in Timor-Leste used the post-conflict environment to revive the "connection between policing and physical expression of masculinity and power". When these types of policing masculinities are exhibited, it is unlikely that the qualities such as communication and compassion needed for cultural sensitivity and relationship building will be promoted.

Given that there are major differences in soldiers and police officers roles, there are likely problems with soldier-peacekeepers that do not apply in the case of UNPOL. In particular, Greener-Barcham (2007) suggests that while the mandates of both police officers and soldiers require them to provide security, the methods they employ to do this are very different. She suggests that when utilising a community policing approach, as the New Zealand Police do, UNPOL can provide a more 'softly, softly' approach focused on building social relations. This may be more conducive to police officers maintaining the support of the host population (Greener-Barcham 2007:107). While not speaking from a gender perspective, Greener-Barcham's research highlights the possibility that the police culture within the New Zealand Police may promote policing masculinities based around communication and relationship building. There is therefore a need to investigate whether the existence of community policing masculinities may allow the New Zealand Police to have an advantage in capacity building.

I discussed above how in the context of United Nations police reform, the existence of different police masculinities may influence how police officers conceive of building relationships with host country police forces. However according to a small body of literature on peacekeeping, we must look beyond simply blaming security sector masculinities for security sector officers shortcomings (Higate and Henry 2004; Duncanson 2007; Higate 2007). Characterising peacekeepers in this way reduces peacekeeper masculinity to a one-dimensional concept (Higate 2007). Therefore we must broaden the scope to look at how the intersection between masculinities, and other identities such as nationality and 'race' affect how security sector officers conceptualise their role (Miller and Moskos 1995; Cockburn and Zarkov 2002; Whitworth 2004; Higate 2007).

It is also important to investigate how security sector masculinities are constructed within the unequal "social-structural" environment of United Nations missions, and how this affects how peacekeepers conceptualise of their roles (Higate 2007:103). Higate and Henry (2004) argue that in order to understand peacekeeper behaviour we must pay more attention to the power differentials inherent in the peacekeeping project. Duncanson (2007) explores this issue by looking at how British peacekeepers conceptualise their roles. Her work has shown that some peacekeepers in Bosnia took up gendered, racialised discourses that saw

themselves as having a more “controlled, civilized, intelligent and rational” masculinity than the “aggressive, violent, mad and irrational” hypermasculinity of the Bosnian soldiers (Duncanson 2007:170). When peacekeepers conceive of the Bosnian soldiers in this way, they reproduce imperial discourses which see themselves as the neutral experts bringing order and ‘civilisation’ to the conflict-affected country. There is no research on whether UNPOL officers reproduce these imperial discourses which is problematic as this could affect how they approach building relationships with the host country police force.

By reproducing imperialist discourses, peacekeepers make invisible the positions of power they have when they enter the peacekeeping site. This is important to take into consideration when looking at United Nations interventions in Timor-Leste. The majority of research exploring the relationship between masculinities, peacekeeping and neo-colonialism has focused on peacekeeping missions in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Bosnia (for example Higate 2007; Duncanson 2009; Higate and Henry 2009). There is no research focused on these issues with relation to New Zealand’s role within Timor-Leste and the wider Asia-Pacific region. This is problematic because there have been various charges of neo-colonialism against the “visible and at times heavy-handed role” of New Zealand and Australian peacekeepers in Timor-Leste and the Solomon Islands (Myrntinen 2009b:86). Therefore it is important to look at how the New Zealand Police view their role in the unequal socio-economic environment of a United Nations missions, and whether that affects how they approach building relationships with the PNTL.

1.3 Results

This research firstly investigated how social expectations on men influenced the types of policing practices that dominated within the PNTL. From this investigation it appeared that an aggressive, militarized style of policing had become dominant within the PNTL. This was due to its connection with traditional notions of masculinity, which sees ‘manliness’ displayed through the use of force and control over people. However there was also another strand of masculinity displayed by the community police in which community engagement, communication and mediation were promoted. A comment by one New Zealand Police officer illustrated the relationship between these types of policing:

“ you have what you call machismo culture... you have factions within the PNTL who are very divided, they’re [the] very operational ones who are seen as really cool, the hero stuff but then you have the softer side of things who are expected to clean up and deal with all the crap, the community people ... so you have this quite split culture, you have the ones who seem to get it all which is all the vehicles, the guns, the badges of rank. They thought it was really important that they drive to a job at 100 miles an hour, forcing people off the road, beat up a couple of school children and then puff their chests out and say, ‘we’re doing our job’... then you have the other side of things, you know you have the Vulnerable Persons Unit and the Community Police, all the soft skill stuff who are very quiet, minority of the PNTL.”

Clearly highlighted in this account is that the “operational” style of policing is given priority within the institution and officers who align with it “seem to get it all”. Terms such as “machismo”, “operational” and “hero” are terms traditionally associated with ‘masculinity’ and are linked to policing practices that use force and aggression to maintain control. This is compared to the “community people” whose practices such as interacting with the

community are linked to traditionally 'feminine' qualities such as "quiet" and "soft". As such, we can see how the community style policing is de-valued within the PNLT, as it does not provide a means through which men can align themselves with the hegemonic ideal. This was confirmed in an interview with a PNLT officer in a leadership position who talked about the importance of having an "operational" police force, and that community policing was only about "saying 'hello' to the community", something only female police could do properly. The potential consequences of this can be seen in what International Crisis Group (2009) and several civil society representatives I spoke to referred to as the militarisation of the PNLT where the Special Police Units and Task Force Units were prioritised.

Despite the marginalization of community policing by the PNLT leadership, the community police officers described their style of policing as more 'masculine'. This was through framing the characteristics needed for community policing such as communication, mediation and preventative approaches as central to the aims of policing tasks such as providing security and solving crime. The force-based approach utilized by departments such as the Task Force was criticized for failing to allow relations of trust and respect to be created that are needed to prevent and mediate security concerns. One PNLT officer explained that "as community police they go there and act with the community, not acting like the Task Force ... they must go to the community together with them so they don't make the community lack of trust". Along with being ineffective with regards to solving security issues, the force-based approach is blamed for creating more insecurity which goes against the mandate on the police. For one PNLT officer, "using force is not the right way to solve the problem, it can make it worse when you use the force like military style", and "the violence will only create more violence". In this way the community police officers challenged the notion that policing is only 'masculine' when it utilises force and aggression. Understanding the process that these community police officers went through in order to link non-violent policing to masculinity, provides insights into possible avenues for promoting non-violent masculinities as part of a wider gendered reform strategy.

The second issues I investigated was how social expectations on men within the New Zealand Police might have impacted the relationship between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners. The New Zealand Police can act as non-violent role models for officers in the police force they are working with. A civil society representative I spoke to suggested that in Timor-Leste, the New Zealand Police displayed a non-violent approach to their work which was respected by a lot of the PNLT. She stressed that this provided the male PNLT with non-violent role models which was something commented on by a PNLT officer who said that he appreciated their non-aggressive approach.

However the display of non-violent, community-orientated policing does not necessarily translate into all New Zealand Police having the appropriate qualities to develop collaborative relationships with the PNLT. PNLT officers, civil society representatives and some New Zealand Police officers identified how important it was for the New Zealand Police to develop respectful, equitable relationships with the PNLT in order to be successful at capacity building. This required that they be culturally-aware, recognize the agency of the PNLT and challenge any inequalities that existed between UNPOL and the PNLT. According to one New Zealand Police officer, developing this type of relationship would only come through spending time observing and communicating in order to get to know the PNLT.

My research showed that New Zealand Police officers' notions of what constituted 'masculine' policing, influenced the likelihood of them building collaborative relationships

with East Timorese Police officers. The adoption of ‘task-oriented’ masculinity is characterized by the promotion of action-orientated policing in which concrete, measurable results are aimed for. This appears to be at odds with the favoring of skills in communication and cultural awareness that are needed for building collaborative relationships. In discussing these issues, the use of task oriented policing must be seen within the environment of the dual executive policing/capacity building mandate the New Zealand Police were required to adopt. In this environment, these types of action-oriented policing strategies likely aligned more with the New Zealand Police’s role as executive police officers where they were required to carry out concrete policing activities. However, the problem, I argue goes beyond the tension between dual mandates and part of the reason task-orientated policing practices are promoted by some police officers is that these practices align more closely to traditionally ‘masculine’ notions of policing. This is seen in the description by one New Zealand Police officer of the struggles that some officers faced:

“Straight away you had people going ‘oh well we should be doing something’ or ‘oh we developed this training programme’, and so you get this because being a very action-orientated role being policing and then all of a sudden going into this passive environment and not seeing outcomes straight away it’s a real change in mindset for a lot of people.”

Within this account, task-oriented police are described as wanting ‘action-oriented’ roles which the ‘passive’ police reform environment does not provide, and they struggle to readjust their policing practices to fit this environment. There are links within this to traditional ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ characteristics, where masculinity is associated with being active and femininity is associated with being passive (Hooper 2001). Traditionally ‘feminine’ activities that focus on talking and listening are seen as ‘passive’ and not seen as important by task-oriented police. This could mean that some officers are resistant to adopting a relationship building approach because it acts as a barrier to them being able to align themselves to the task-orientated ideal.

The likelihood of the New Zealand Police prioritizing building collaborative relationships was influenced by how they saw their identity as New Zealanders. Some police fell victim to what one New Zealand officer called the *Bwana*² Complex, where there was a perception held by police going into mission that, “yay the white man is going to save the day and you could see guys come into mission and say yea I’m going to save the world sort of thing ... I’m going to show you all this stuff but it’s like dude what’s going to happen when you go?” This comment suggests that some New Zealand Police officers saw themselves, by virtue of their race, nationality, and position in the global hierarchy, as the neutral experts bringing in a style of policing that the PNTL should adopt. The perception that the New Zealand Police are in an unquestioned expert role can potentially act as a barrier to those police prioritising qualities needed to pursue a collaborative approach to relationship building. A common critique of the PNTL that one officer heard was ““oh they don’t do this, they don’t do that”” which comes from how sometimes ““Westernised’ people sort of think, ‘oh this is the right way””. These perceptions can lead police officers to take control of situations, where “they go in, yea it’s all right I’ll show you how to do this and they’ll do it you know”. This is exacerbated in situations where officers prioritise task-oriented policing as within this model they need to see measurable results which are often achieved more easily when they do things themselves. In situations where New Zealand police officers ‘take control’, they are less likely to build relationships with the PNTL and more likely to work independently of

² *Bwana* is Swahili for Boss or Master

them which is not conducive to capacity building.

However, many New Zealand Police officers prioritized listening, observing and communicating in order to build collaborative relationships with the PNLT. When the New Zealand police challenged the notion of themselves as the neutral experts, they were more likely to prioritise approaches conducive to building collaborative relationships. This included not just incorporating those qualities mentioned above such as communication and observation; it also included challenging the position of power they were in by trying to build equal relationships with the PNLT. This was done through simple practices such as ensuring that PNLT officers rode in the front of the UN vehicles. Understanding the different ways that gender and national identities can influence policing practices can provide insights into possible avenues for promoting good capacity building strategies.

The third question I explored was: how do police officers interpret United Nations' policy on how gendered police reform should be carried out? This, along with the findings of the two previous questions, contributed to the objective of understanding how police officers' understandings of masculinities compare to how masculinities are defined and outlined in United Nations' gender policy. If 'gendered' police reform really is going to be gendered, police officers need to see gender as a concept that affects both men's and women's behaviors. However, the New Zealand Police interpreted gender as being primarily a 'women's issue'.

The conceptualization of gender as 'women's issues' influenced how men were framed within discussions of the main 'gender issues'; the under-representations of female police officers and high rates of domestic violence. Within these descriptions, men were framed as a generic group, consistent in their lack of ambition, laziness and problematic treatment of women. This was at odds with how male behavior had been framed in other contexts, for example when describing the positive masculinities exhibited by a number of community police officers. This highlights a disconnect in how police officers understand masculinities within the context of gendered police reform compared to how they are understood male behavior in other contexts. Within gendered reform, masculinity is framed as a static and problematic construct where there is little acknowledgement of the existence of *masculinities*. This is compared with how it is framed in other contexts where it is seen as more fluid, and potentially positive for example in that male police are able to adapt their practices to promote community policing. This disconnect signals the need for a reconsideration of how 'gender' is portrayed by the United Nations in order to ensure their gendered reform efforts effectively incorporate an understanding of men and masculinities.

1.4 Theoretical and Practical Implications

I will now discuss in more detail what the theoretical implications of the findings discussed above are for the study of masculinities and policing. I discuss how these theoretical insights were gained through my adoption of a feminist discourse analysis of the opinions of police officers. I will also discuss what the theoretical and practical consequences are for how gendered police reform is conceptualised and carried out by the United Nations and New Zealand Police. Within this discussion I identify some possible avenues for integrating an understanding of men and masculinities into gendered police reform policy.

While this research was only a snapshot of the opinions of a small group of police officers, it has challenged the portrayal of masculinity as a static, constantly violent construct that is presented in the majority of literature on masculinity and policing. The limited literature has

suggested that while there have been moves throughout the world to push for more community-orientated policing strategies, these efforts have not readily gained traction as policing continues to be seen as a traditionally 'masculine' domain. This masculinity is defined through the use of force and coercion to control individuals and territory. Community policing with its focus on communication, mediation and relationship building is not seen to fit in with the 'masculine' ideal and is discouraged (Herbert 2001; Prokos and Padavic 2002; Rabe-Hemp 2008).

My research has shown that the issue of masculinity and policing is more complex than the research discussed above suggests. Instead of disparaging a community policing strategy because it was not 'masculine' enough, the police officers in my study reframed community policing practices to make them seen as more 'masculine'. In this way, these police officers reframed masculinity to be associated with the creation of security through non-violent means. The existence of this reframing process shows that masculinity should not be painted in generic terms as an always oppressive force which previous research has done. Rather it should be seen as a varied and fluid construct that can be engaged with in unique ways, and can therefore be utilised to change problematic policing cultures.

My research has shown the importance of utilizing feminist discourse analysis as a method through which new insights can be gained into how non-violent masculinities can be promoted. Much work on gender and policing continues to focus on how men and women are differentially placed within the policing institution, and the resultant marginalization of female officers (Miller 1999; Prokos and Padavic 2002; Rabe-Hemp 2008). While valuable research, this approach does not provide insights into "how gender (identities, beliefs, and discourses) constructs these outcomes or how best to target those attitudes for change" (Carpenter 2002:160). In other words, this approach does not look at *how* problematic policing practices have come to dominate based on how they have been constructed through gender discourses.

From the theoretical perspective of my research, the failure to look at the *'how'* question is problematic because in line with post-structural feminist theory, I see gender identities as created discursively. Policing practices only gain meaning based on how they are linked to certain gendered characteristics. This happens within gendered dichotomies that privilege that associated with 'masculinity' over that associated with 'femininity'. For example force-based approaches to policing have traditionally been valued within policing institutions because they are associated with action, danger, control and aggression, all qualities traditionally seen as 'masculine'. However the discursive construction of gender identities means that what can be considered 'masculine' is fluid and subject to change (Peterson and True 1998; Hooper 2001). Therefore as discussed, police officers can reframe what is considered 'masculine' policing by linking new practices (such as mediation and relationship building) to terms traditionally associated with 'masculinity' such as effectiveness and intelligence. Therefore the only way to understand how certain policing practices come to dominate, and how new practices can be encouraged, is through investigating how gendered meanings are given to different policing practices.

Given the flexibility of masculinity, the dominance of police masculinities associated with violence and control can potentially be replaced with police masculinities associated with non-violence and equality (Connell 2000). Building on the work of Connell (2000), Duncanson (2007) suggests that this promotion of non-violent masculinities can be done through a process where negative aspects of masculinity are disconnected from positive, for example, "courage from violence, steadfastness from prejudice, ambition from exploitation".

This will make it easier to then create masculinities that are based on “equality, non-violence, and mutual respect between people of different genders, sexualities, ethnicities and generations” (Connell 2000:30). By looking at how police officers defined their policing practices, my research showed how police officers used the gendered strategies above to construct their own gender identities as being non-violent and community orientated. In this way, they disconnected “courage from violence” (Connell 2000:30). Therefore adopting this methodology allowed my research to investigate the processes police officers use to challenge hegemonic notions of masculinity that centre on force and control. By bringing to light the voices of police officers that are not seen to fit in with the hegemonic model, it gives insights into the ways that police officers can be encouraged to adopt non-violent policing practices through the ‘disconnection’ process highlighted above.

The findings of my research have implications for how gendered police reform is conceptualised. The way that the United Nations’ conceives of gender means that only certain issues - the limited representation of women in the police force and the marginalization of GBV - are seen as ‘gendered’ and addressed in gendered reform. My research has shown that a wider group of issues should be considered ‘gendered’. The marginalization of community policing, the marginalization of GBV and the marginalization of women within the PNTL are symptoms of the same cause: the valorization of a particular form of hypermasculinity. In post-conflict police forces the dominant style of policing often continues to be linked with a male identity centered on the use of force and control of people. In these circumstances only those crimes that give officers an opportunity to display these characteristics (for example catching the possibly non-existent ‘ninjas’ as opposed to addressing the very much existent domestic violence) are prioritised. In this context, simply adding female police officers cannot be expected to alter the police culture because “such categories are defined by the exclusion of femininity” (Peterson and True 1998:18). Therefore the militarization of the police, and the marginalization of women and the marginalization of domestic violence are connected, and are all gender issues.

Addressing gender issues caused by the valorization of hypermasculinity requires looking at the role of masculinities. To address these gender issues the police institution must be changed to be able to include women and femininity, which “transforms not only the meaning of the category but also the meaning of masculinity” (Peterson and True 1998:18). Therefore there is a need in gendered police reform, as discussed in the previous section, to challenge hegemonic masculinities that reinforce force and control. One of the ways gendered police reform can challenge the “meaning of masculinity” is through promoting non-violent subordinated masculinities.

However the United Nations’ portrayal of gender - in which it is characterized by static relationships between the male as perpetrator/female as victim – acts as a barrier to masculinities being properly understood by the police. ‘Masculinity’ becomes synonymous with hegemonic masculinity, which reinforces the notion that there is one type of masculinity that all men are able to live up to and benefit from. Gender is portrayed as an oppositional structure with only “two mutually exclusive choices” (Peterson and True 1998:19) which means identifying non-violent, subordinated masculinities is not possible through a gendered framework. This was shown by the New Zealand’s police’s reproduction of the ‘problematic male discourse’ within the gendered discourses where men were seen as a generic, problematic group.

The existence of the ‘problematic male discourse’ did not mean that the New Zealand Police were not identifying non-violent masculinities within the PNTL, and noting their

marginalization. However this was not something that was happening through a gendered framework. In this way the relationship between the marginalization of community policing, female police officers and GBV due to the valorization of hypermasculinity was not identified. This shows the need to promote non-violent masculinities through a gendered framework. By this I do not suggest that men can simply be “added” to the gender equation as another variable. The problem with the current gendered approach is that it often sees women as something to add because of their unique feminine skills in empathy. This fails to address how women are often marginalized *because* of their association with qualities like empathy, which are at odds with hypermasculine cultures. Therefore understandings of men and masculinities need to be incorporated as part of a wider gendered strategy that sees how specific notions of hegemonic masculinity can act to marginalize some men and most women.

My research has shown the importance of looking at how the intersection of other identities affects how gendered reform can be carried out. Masculinities are created not only in opposition to femininities, but also in relation to other masculinities based on how they intersect with other identities such as ethnicity and nationality (Hooper 2001). In this way, police reform can never be a gender-neutral activity, as the police officers from each country will create their gender identities in opposition to each other. This needs to be conceptualised in gender and police reform theorizing because not doing so can have negative impacts on how police officers understand gender.

When reflecting on the gender awareness training, the police relied on racial stereotypes to suggest that gender was only a problem for Other men and women from places like ‘Africa’, and of course Timor-Leste. In this way the United Nations’ policy inadvertently contributed to “the re-enactment of a colonial pattern, in which racial difference is produced through the victimization of non-white women and the demonization of non-white men” (Bendix 2009:22). The reproduction of the colonial pattern is not conducive to promoting the agency of these men and women. Gender must therefore be placed in the wider unequal United Nations intervention environment characterized by racial and national inequalities. This must be seen as something that influences how ‘gender’ is viewed by the various UNPOL contingents who all have varying conceptualizations of gender.

As a result of these conclusions, I will discuss several possible recommendations for how an understanding of men and masculinities could potentially be incorporated into gendered reform.

Gender awareness training Within any gender awareness training that is given, discussions around what are considered gender issues needs to be expanded to include discussions of how social expectations on men influences their behavior. When considering approaches that will encourage police officers to reflect on these issues, research conducted on masculinities in development programmes has shown that men respond best to approaches with a “pragmatic focus”, rather than “directly through considerations of gender identity, sexuality and violence” (Clever 2002:20). In the case of policing, this “pragmatic focus” means ensuring that discussions on masculinities are focused on how gender relates to policing practice rather than discussion of gender as an abstract concept. This could include discussion of hierarchies between men within the PNITL, and how that affects policing practices that dominate. The tension between community policing and more militarised policing could be seen as an example of this.

Non-violent role models In societies and communities where violence is pervasive, there is a

need to provide “alternative role models of ‘how to be a man’” (Cleaver 2002:20). East Timorese Police officers should be encouraged to act as non-violent role models for men in their communities. Some police officers in the PNLT already see their role in this way, for example when dealing with youth violence, an officer in Becora said that he saw it as his role to give young men “reasons like stop the violence and fighting one another, give options to look for job, they can go to their land, they can go to their land and plant something to produce because to use your strength for violence is not the right purpose and then you’re really useless as a young guy”. Similarly, another officer saw it as his role to “give mirror, good mirror for his members through co-operation, good co-operation and also direct contact to the people”. This same officer talked of the need to show men committing domestic violence alternative ways to act, he explained that “if we face the domestic violence issue, first step we have to talk as advisor for the community, especially for the men we have to talk with them as advisor, how to become good man”. This approach to domestic violence is particularly important because in Timor-Leste where there is a history of violence and unstable socio-economic environment, violence can become a means through which men regain feelings of manhood in response to perceived ‘emasculatation’ (Dolan 2002). Therefore domestic violence should be seen as gendered not just in that the majority of victims are women, but that male perpetrators’ behaviors stem partly from an inability to live up to social expectations that suggest the man must be the protector and provider. The actions of the PNLT in showing men alternative ways to express frustrations that do not involve violence should be promoted through gendered approaches to police reform.

Power dynamics Gender awareness training needs to encourage New Zealand Police officers to reflect on how their own behaviors are influenced by their gender identities and other identities such as nationality and ethnicity. The skills and practices needed for building collaborative relationships such as observation and communication, and learning about the local culture, need to be promoted. Ensuring that the necessary skills are developed could be done through a strategy of encouraging police officers to separate negative aspects of their identities for positive aspects (Duncanson 2007). For example, when involved in capacity building, positive qualities that the New Zealand Police identify such as being hard working should be disconnected from qualities such as being action- orientated. When these qualities become dependent on each other in the capacity building environment, they do not allow for respectful and equitable relationship building. There are good lessons that can be learnt from how some New Zealand Police officers discussed relationship building as needing to involve questioning power dynamics. These officers prioritised the importance of the local. Police reform must be a locally owned process that is based in the social, cultural and historical situation of Timor-Leste (McLeod 2009; Myrntinen 2009a; Greener, Fish et al. 2011). These lessons show ways that police officers could be encouraged to frame their efforts around goals such as local ownership in order to avoid reproducing inequalities.

In line with these descriptions, specific policy recommendations are:

- Include discussions of men and masculinities in gender-awareness training but ensure that the training is rooted in the actual practices and experiences of police officers;
- Use both female and male gender trainers;
- Develop activities through which male police officers can promote non-violent behavior in their communities for example through domestic violence preventions efforts and engaging with young men. While these types of activities are already happening, they should be written into policy and implemented and evaluated as part

of a gendered approach to reform;

- When dealing with domestic violence, consider ways that male perpetrators could be referred onto any available support, counseling or self-help programmes that may exist; Ensure that strategies are in place to deal with male victims of sexual and gender based violence;
- Coordinate with organizations working on men's issues such as the Association of Men Against Violence (AMKV) in Timor-Leste; Ensure that relationship-building between the New Zealand Police and host country police is written into policy as a programme goal and evaluated accordingly;
- Ensure that efforts to challenge power inequalities and build equal relationships between the New Zealand Police and the host country police force are prioritized. A number of New Zealand Police officers are already doing this however these activities should be written into policy and evaluated.

Given that discussion is only just emerging on men, masculinities and SSR, there is a need for more research to be conducted on these issues before detailed recommendations on policy and practice will emerge. There needs to be more research into how gender patterns within the New Zealand Police influence their practices, how this is influenced by ethnicity and nationality, and how gender-awareness training can be made more relevant to them. Crucial too is more research on how different gender patterns emerge in police forces in post-conflict countries, and how local constructions of masculinities contribute to the likelihood of non-violent policing masculinities emerging. The fact that many police in the PNTL are pursuing a non-violent, community orientated policing strategy did not come solely from that fact that the New Zealand Police, or any other police introduced it to them. Rather their local historical, social and cultural context has created the conditions that have made these styles of policing desirable and possible. In other words, they resonate with certain ways East Timorese men want to be men. If research conducted on local constructions of masculinities was used in a way that let local understandings (both those of the police and the community) of policing be central to police reform efforts, locally-owned police reform would be a lot more likely.

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