

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

by

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## **Abstract**

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. The United Nations have increasingly attempted to address gender in their policing work; however, within these policies, gender has continued to be equated with women and women's issues while men's gender identities remain invisible. My research contributes to emerging discussions about how an understanding of masculinities could be better incorporated into gendered police reform. I explore this through the case of the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme (CPPP), a capacity building programme carried out within the wider United Nations Police mission in Timor-Leste. By speaking to New Zealand and East Timorese police officers, this research articulates how police officers themselves conceptualise policing masculinities and interpret how masculinities are framed in gender policy.

My research finds that within both the East Timorese Police and the New Zealand Police involved in the CPPP, there is evidence of a variety of policing masculinities. These findings highlight the fluidity of masculinity and the processes that police officers can go through in order to challenge problematic constructions of masculinity. This provides important theoretical and practical insights into how positive masculinities can be promoted through gendered approaches to police reform. By investigating the ways in which the police interpret the United Nations' approach to gender, this research finds that the continued framing of gender as a women's issue in policy acts as a barrier to the police seeing masculinities as part of gendered reform.

## **Key words**

Masculinities, gender, United Nations Police, police reform, Timor-Leste, New Zealand Police

## Glossary

Adat	Customary Law
Aldeia	Sub-village, hamlet
Assimilados	‘Assimilated natives’ in colonial Portuguese classification system
Atan	Slaves
Bairo	Part of town, neighbourhood
Barlaki	Bride price, dowry
Biru	Magic potions
Suco	Village
Chefe de Suco	Head of village
Clandestino	Member of clandestine resistance network
Corvee	Forced labour system
Dato	Village Chief
Ema bo’ot	Important person, member of the elite
Indígenas	Native population in colonial Portuguese classification system
Lia-na’in	Ritual Experts
Liurai	Traditional political ruling class
Loro Monu	Western
Loro Sa’e	Eastern
Lulik	Sacred, having magical powers
Taranga	Protective amulets



## Acronyms

AC75	Association of Ex-Combatants 1975
AFP	Australian Federal Police
APODETI	Associação Popular Democrática Timorese (Timorese Popular Democratic Association)
ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces)
BPU	Border Control Unit
CivPol	Civilian Police (renamed UNPOL)
CNRM	Conselho Nacional de Resistencia Maubere (National Council of the Maubere Resistance)
CNRT	Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese (National Council of the Timorese Resistance)
CPPP	Community Policing Pilot Programme
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Falintil	Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (Timor-Leste Defense Force)
F-FDTL	Falintil-Forças de Defesa de Timor-Leste
FPU	Formed Police Unit
Fretilin	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente
GAD	Gender and Development
GAU	Gender Affairs Unit
GBV	Gender-based violence
GNR	Guarda Nacional Republicana (Portuguese FPU)
Interfet	International Force for East Timor
ISF	International Stabilisation Force
JSMP	Justice System Monitoring Programme
Kopassus	Komando Pasukan Khusus (Indonesian special forces)
MAG	Martial Arts Group
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
NZPOL	New Zealand Police
OPMT	Organização Popular da Mulher Timorese (Popular Organisation of Timorese Women, Fretilin women's wing)
PSO	Peace Support Operation
PNTL	Policia Nacional de Timor-Leste (National Police of East Timor)
POLRI	Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia (Indonesian police force)
RDS	Rapid Deployment Service
RESPECT	Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-Combatants and Communities in East Timor
RRR	Reform, Restructuring and Rebuilding
SCR 1325	Security Council Resolution 1325
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces after 1999)

UDT	União Democrática Timorense
UIR	Unidade Intervenção Rápida
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNOTIL	United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNPOL	United Nations Police
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
VPU	Vulnerable Persons Unit

# 1. Introduction

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.

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 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.

Police officers need to be invited to think about masculinities in gendered approaches to police reform. However in order to understand how they can be encouraged to do this, research needs to move beyond just analysing how gender policies make invisible men’s identities. There also needs to be investigation into how police officers’ understandings of masculinities compare to how masculinities are defined and outlined in these gender policies. This can come from investigating how United Nations police officers interpret these gender policies, and in particular how it affects whether they see ‘gender’ as an issue that affects men as well as women.

## **1.1 Research Aims**

In line with the previous discussion, my research aims are:

- To explore how police officers involved in United Nations’ police reform understand and conceptualise masculinities;
- To explore how police officers’ understandings of masculinities with regard to policing compare to how masculinities are defined and outlined in United Nations’ gender policies.

In order to explore these aims I will answer three sub-questions:

- What different forms of masculinities are evident within policing practice in the East Timorese Police Force (*Policía Nacional de Timor-Leste* - PNTL)?
- How might different understandings of masculinities impact on the relationship between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners?
- How do police officers interpret United Nations' policy on how gendered police reform should be carried out?

Through gaining a greater understanding about these issues, my research contributes to debates on how an understanding of men and masculinities could better be incorporated into gendered police reform. More broadly, by bringing in the voices of police officers, my research contributes to wider debates on how positive masculinities could potentially be utilised to support United Nations' strategies for promoting peace and security.

I would like to stress that my focus on men and masculinities should not be seen as a case of my research ignoring the concerns of women. There has been some resistance to suggestions that men's gender issues should be included into GAD theory and practice (see Win 2001). These views often rest on the belief that women and girls as a group continue to be at a greater disadvantage and this needs to be redressed before any attention can be paid to men and boys (Cornwall 1997; Chant and Gutman 2002). Within policing in Timor-Leste, it is certainly the case that women continue to be underrepresented, they continue to be channelled into low status roles such as administration and they continue to have a much greater risk of being sexually assaulted by their colleagues (Myrtilinen 2009a). However given that gender is relational, police reform cannot hope to address the marginalization of women without looking at how men's gender identities affect their behaviours (Bannon and Correia 2006:xix). Beyond this though, the fact that men are differentially, and often negatively impacted by gender pressures shows that their gender identities should be investigated as means to contribute to their own wellbeing.

## 1.2 Thesis Structure

The overall objectives of this study are to investigate how New Zealand and East Timorese police officers involved in United Nations' police reform understand and conceptualise masculinity. It explores how these conceptualisations compare to how masculinities are defined and outlined in United Nations' gender policies. In order to understand and explore these issues I first explain the relevant literature on masculinities and policing, my methodological approach and the research context. Following this, I answer the three sub-questions introduced above in order to explore the main objectives. I then conclude the thesis by summarising the previous chapters and discussing what theoretical, methodological and practical insights the investigation of my objectives has added to the study of gender and police reform.

The first half of this thesis, Chapters Two through Four, explains the background information needed to explore my objectives. In **Chapter Two**, I situate my research within the wider literature on masculinities in the security sector and also the emerging literature on 'masculinities-blindness' in gender and police reform policy. I use this literature as a basis for exploring how police officers understand policing masculinities and to investigate whether they interpret gender policies in a way that reproduces 'masculinities-blindness'. **Chapter Three** situates my research within a post-structural feminist conceptual framework and discusses how this was transformed into a methodological tool in the form of feminist discourse analysis. I discuss how the methodological approach I developed allowed me to investigate how police officers create links between gendered characteristics and policing practice. In **Chapter Four** I give an overview of the history of Timor-Leste from a gender perspective. I explain how the militarised history and the United Nations-led PNTL construction and reform process have acted to influence the types of masculinities that dominate within the security sector in Timor-Leste. This historical overview is necessary to understand the current gender patterns within the PNTL.

The second half of this thesis, Chapters Five through Seven, combines the discussions from the background chapters with the findings of my fieldwork in order to answer the main research questions. **Chapter Five** contributes to the main research questions by exploring what different forms of masculinities are evident within policing practice

in the PNTL. I highlight the existence of both a hegemonic, force-based masculinity and a subordinated, community-orientated policing masculinity. I consider how understanding the processes police officers go through to link community-orientated policing with masculinity could potentially be utilised to promote non-violent masculinities in gendered police reform efforts. **Chapter Six** contributes to the main research questions by investigating how different understandings of masculinities might impact on the relationships between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners. I highlight how New Zealand Police officers' notions of what constitutes 'masculine' policing, influences the likelihood of them prioritising building collaborative relations with the PNTL. Therefore I consider the importance of gendered police reform programmes paying attention to the different ways United Nations Police officers construct their masculinities. **Chapter Seven** contributes to the main research questions by exploring how police officers interpret United Nations' policy on how gendered police reform should be carried out. I investigate how the framing of gender as 'women's issues' by the United Nations acts as a barrier to the New Zealand Police paying attention to masculinities.

In **Chapter Eight**, the final chapter of this thesis, I summarise the findings of the previous chapters. I discuss the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of my findings for how gendered police reform is currently conceptualised. I suggest that in order to be *genuinely* gendered, police reform needs to be designed in a way that takes account of how police officers understand gender and masculinities in relation to policing.

### **1.3 The Community Policing Pilot Programme and the Merging of Security and Development**

My research uses the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme (CPPP) as a case study. 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 (see map of Timor-Leste Appendix One).

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). 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.

The development of the United Nations’ peacebuilding approach has stemmed from a belief that conflict emerges from underdevelopment (Bellamy, Williams et al. 2004; Pugh 2004; Whitworth 2004; Heathershaw 2008). Underdevelopment is framed as being caused by “an absence of centralized, democratically elected governments, market economies, and the institutions associated with Western forms of governance”

(Whitworth 2004:38). Framing the relationship between conflict and underdevelopment in this way has been heavily critiqued by critical and feminist theorists who suggest that it fails to understand the nature and causes of conflict in these so-called 'failed states' (Orford 1999; Bellamy, Williams et al. 2004; Pugh 2004; Whitworth 2004; Mazurana 2005a). The manner in which peacebuilding programmes are constructed frames international intervention as being a mission to protect liberal humanitarian values (Pugh 2004:49). This portrayal ignores developed countries' own part in the creation of crisis through promoting economic liberalization, which has often acted to exacerbate inequalities and contribute to instability and conflict. It also often ignores developing countries own local conflict resolution mechanisms (Orford 1999).

The portrayal of United Nations' interventions is important within the context of Timor-Leste where following independence the international community has pushed the country to follow on a path of economic liberalization (Leadbeater 2006). Also important in the case of Timor-Leste with regards to the role of the international community, is that the majority of developed country governments failed to properly advocate for the rights of the East Timorese people during the Indonesian occupation. During the occupation, the New Zealand Government made virtually no diplomatic attempts to address the systematic human rights abuses being committed by the Indonesian government in Timor-Leste. Instead they remained silent in order to maintain political and economic ties with the Indonesian government (Leadbeater 2006). It was not until after the 1999 referendum when a United Nations resolution allowed the deployment of a peacekeeping force, that the New Zealand Government supported the rights of the East Timorese people by deploying peacekeepers (Leadbeater 2006).

The New Zealand Police's engagement with police reform in Timor-Leste is not a neutral enterprise; rather, it is deeply embedded within the global power relations mentioned above. This is not to suggest that the New Zealand Police cannot contribute positively to the development of Timor-Leste. In fact this thesis will highlight many positive contributions made by the New Zealand Police. However I argue that these positives contributions were more likely to happen when the New Zealand Police were aware of, and questioned their place in global hierarchies. As

such, all discussion within this thesis should be read in a way that is mindful of the ways in which development interventions are constructed.

## **1.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced my research, highlighting how more attention needs to be paid to masculinities in police reform. This is not just with respect to how gender policies frame men, but also with regards to how police officers frame masculinities. I discussed how the pursuit of my research objectives will allow this issue to be explored and how each chapter will contribute to this. I have also situated my research within the wider, post-conflict United Nations intervention environment. The next chapter moves on to explore the literature around masculinities and police reform which my research is both informed by, and contributes to.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to situate my research within the wider debates on masculinities and police reform. Gender theory has increasingly sought to include a more sophisticated understanding of how masculinities operate. As I will discuss in sections two and three, these masculinities theories can be used to understand how particular policing practices come to dominate in police institutions due to their connections to masculinity. However I suggest that gaps remain in how this approach has been used to understand United Nations Police reform programmes. This is with regards to how different masculinities are constructed within both post-conflict police forces and within the United Nations Police force. I will also discuss the literature on gender and police reform, which suggests that United Nations' gender policy fails to take account of masculinities as gender continues to be understood as a 'women's issue'. Therefore I conclude this chapter by arguing that there is a need to gain a greater awareness of how police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities and how police officers interpret the United Nations' conceptualisation of masculinities.

### **2.2 Theorising Gender and Masculinities**

In this section I introduce the definition of gender I will be using throughout my research and introduce the literature on hegemonic and subordinate masculinities, which my research utilises to explore masculinities within police forces. 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).

Within the literature on gender theory, both feminist theorists and critical men's studies theorists have suggested that much previous feminist work has failed to properly conceptualise the links between men, masculinity and power (Carrington, Connell et al. 1985; Connell 1987; Brod and Kaufman 1990; Hearn and Morgan 1990; Enloe 1993; Hooper 2001; Mazurana, Raven-Roberts et al. 2005b; Zalewski and Parpart 2008). There has been a failure to see men as gendered subjects, instead seeing 'men' as a generic category with equal and uncontested ties to masculinity and power. Connell, Hearn et al. (2005:3) suggest that men's identities should instead be seen as fluid constructs, "variable across time (history) and space (culture), within societies, and through life courses and biographies." In this sense, we are to talk not just of masculinity, but of masculinities, with a recognition of the "plurality and diversity of men's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, situations, practices, and institutions" (Brod and Kaufman 1990:5).

Within the shift to focusing on the plurality of masculinities, there has been a concern to ensure that gender is still conceptualised as "a system of power, not just a set of stereotypes or observable differences between women and men" (Brod and Kaufman 1990:4). To ensure that gender is still conceptualised in this way, Carrington, Connell et al. (1985) developed the theory of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities which situates masculinities within the wider gender relations framework (Hooper 2001). Connell (1987) argues that within the gendered hierarchy there are many different constructions of masculinities. However there are dominant patterns of hegemonic masculinity that are associated with "practices, discourses and institutions" linked with male power (Zalewski and Parpart 2008:11). This hegemonic masculinity is ideological in nature, which means that it is an easily identified, idealized model, not an accurate description of the personalities of most men. In this way, hegemonic masculinity "is designed to maintain the link to masculinist power, rather than its mere content" (Zalewski and Parpart 2008:11). Those who align themselves most closely to the hegemonic model, are most likely to receive the benefits of the power with which it is associated (Hooper 2001).

Those masculinities that do not fit in with the hegemonic model, be it because they are a different race, sexuality, ethnicity, age, class or occupation, are less able to be

associated with power. They are therefore subordinated and marginalized through a process by which they are “symbolically assimilated to femininity” (Connell 2005:31). This process can be seen at work when looking at peacekeeper masculinities. Duncanson (2007) has shown how peacekeepers within the British military are often unable to align themselves with hegemonic norms of militarised masculinity. This is because they are unable to carry out activities associated with militarised masculinity such as engaging in combat. Therefore their practices are often constructed as ‘feminine’ and marginalised. In this way all masculinities are organised around the key division between masculinity and femininity, and all masculinities are created in tension with the hegemonic model.

In line with the previous discussion, 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.

### **2.3 Masculinities in the Security Sector**

This section looks at how the concepts of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities have been used to understand the gender dynamics within the state security forces, including military and police forces. This is a key area informing my thesis, as one of my central aims is to investigate how police officers involved in United Nations police reform understand and conceptualise masculinities.

While my research is focused on the police force, understandings of militarised masculinities will also inform this work. This is done for a number of reasons. Firstly, literature on security sector masculinities suggests that both institutions have a monopoly on state-sanctioned use of force, and have similar institutional processes that create hegemonic masculinities tied to the use of force, physicality, and the oppression or subversion of ‘feminine’ characteristics (Connell 2000; Stiehm 2000). Secondly, during conflict, the roles of the military and police force can often become blurred which often follows on into the post-conflict period (Fitzsimmons 2005). This

means that police officers in post-conflict countries such as Timor-Leste, may be influenced by forms of militarised masculinities. Lastly, the majority of work on masculinities in the security forces has focused on the military, while extensive analyses of the police is scarce. Therefore the theoretical insights gained from the approach taken by theorists looking at militarised masculinities can be useful in developing an approach to investigating police masculinities. It must be noted however, that these institutions have major differences with regards to their mandates, trainings and activities, especially in the case of the New Zealand Police. This means the theoretical insights gained from looking at militarised masculinities can only be applied to the police in a cautious and limited manner.

Research looking at the construction of masculinities within the military has shown it to be a complex, contradictory and ever changing process, which creates specific models of hegemonic masculinity. Militarised masculinities theorists have shown how through the social and physical training processes soldiers are put through, 'manliness' is defined against a 'feminised', racialised Other. In this way masculinity becomes equated with such qualities as aggression, physical strength and courage under fire, although this is subject to change (Morgan 1990; Enloe 1993; Higate 2003a; Higate 2003b; Whitworth 2004). Hegemonic models of militarised masculinity are often defined as hypermasculine. Hypermasculinity refers to an enactment of masculinity centred on aggressiveness, toughness, excessive physicality, strength and sexual potency (Myrttinen 2004; Duncanson 2007).

The majority of the research on gender and policing details how a specific hegemonic hypermasculinity develops in ways similar to how militarised masculinities are constructed. Policing is seen as a dangerous, 'masculine' occupation because of its association with aggressive behaviour and the legitimate use of force (McElhinny 1994; Rabe-Hemp 2008), the control of territory (Messerschmidt 1993; Martin 1999), physicality and the use of weapons (Herbert 2001). The hegemonic image of the hypermasculine police officer is introduced to police recruits in training where links are made between men and an aggressive, forceful, physical style of policing (Prokos and Padavic 2002). As such, hegemonic masculinity is created and maintained in police institutions through "authority, heterosexism, subordination of women, and the ability to display force" (Rabe-Hemp 2008:253).

The majority of the accounts on masculinity and policing are United States of America (USA) specific. This is problematic for my research given that policing masculinities develop in conjunction with specific country-orientated social, cultural and historical processes (Brown, Maidmont et al. 1993; Herbert 2001; Cooper 2008). In the context of New Zealand, these country-orientated factors have led to the prioritisation of a community policing approach to policing. With regards to gender within the New Zealand Police, Butler, Winfree et al. (2003:302) argue based on New Zealand's "history and current practices" of promoting gender equality, the New Zealand Police "appears to have integrated women into the vocational, cultural, and social mainstream far better than most developed nations". These factors could suggest that hegemonic notions of masculinity within the New Zealand Police do not align with the hypermasculine ideals discussed above. However the research on the development of police hypermasculinity is still useful in providing a framework that can be used to understand how certain forms of masculinity become hegemonic.

The lack of research on policing and masculinities in Timor-Leste represents a wider problem of a lack of academic research on post-conflict police forces. This is despite the fact that international actors are increasingly pushing these institutions to be reformed in a gender-aware way. Work on post-conflict police reform in Haiti, Kosovo and El Salvador, suggests that during conflict, police forces are generally male-dominated, linked with militarised state oppression, and involved in brutality and human rights abuses. There is a tendency for these patterns to continue into the post-conflict period (Enloe 1993; Fitzsimmons 2005). However these accounts do not focus in any detail on the links between masculinity and policing. Work by Myrntinen (2009b) goes some way towards filling this gap. His research on policing in Timor-Leste, Haiti and the Solomon Islands details how these police forces have been accused of corruption, brutality and having strong links with gangs. He attributes this to male identities being constructed through patronage networks. While this research is useful, there is a continued lack of research particularly focusing on how post-conflict police forces are adapting to new environments, especially with the presence of international police officers.



Within the literature on militarised masculinities, theorists have stressed that within militarised institutions, there is a hierarchy of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities. Researchers have argued that different departments within these institutions define themselves against each other, based on who can align themselves most closely to the hegemonic ideal (Enloe 1993; Connell 2000; Barrett 2001; Higate 2003b). There is very little policing research on the existence of subordinate masculinities within policing cultures. Most discussions of gender and policing focus on how female police officers are marginalized within the police institutions (see Hunt 1990; Prokos and Padavic 2002; Rabe-Hemp 2008). While this is extremely important research, the way that gender is framed within these accounts portrays the hegemonic hypermasculine norm as being the gender identity that all male police adopt. This goes against much research on hegemonic masculinity, which suggests that it is often only an idealized model that most men are unable to live up to.

An exception to the focus on female police officers is research exploring how the hegemonic hypermasculine norm acts as a barrier to the adoption of community style policing by both men and women. A community policing approach aims to improve civilian-police relationships, work with communities to identify security issues and focus on preventative rather than reactive policing (Rabe-Hemp 2008). The New Zealand Police, and now the East Timorese Police have identified community style policing as being the strategy their police forces have adopted. The programme that the New Zealand Police are involved in is focused on improving the capacity of the PNTL to use a community policing approach.

A number of theorists have suggested that community policing is rejected by the majority of police in the United States police force because it does not fit in with their 'masculine' crime-fighter image. Community policing requires qualities and skills considered 'feminine' such as communication, trust and relationship building (McElhinny 1994; Miller 1999; Herbert 2001). According to Herbert (2001:56), the reliance on these 'feminine' approaches means that community policing is so "inconsistent with their masculinist self-image that many officers refuse to redefine their role. Masculinism in policing thus works to disable efforts to enable greater citizen involvement in police practice". Given the focus of my research on community policing, these insights are crucial in thinking about how PNTL officers may be

resistant to adopting a community policing approach, as it will not fit in with their 'masculine' self-image.

What is missing from the research on community policing and masculinity is the possibility that community police officers may reframe community policing in order to fit it in with their 'masculine' self-image. Research on masculinities has often shown how notions of what is considered 'masculine' is flexible and subject to change (Hooper 2001; Higate 2003b; Connell, Hearn et al. 2005). Therefore it is important to explore how those police officers in the 'subordinated' police departments define their policing practices. Research on peacekeeper masculinities provides insights into different ways to approach looking at community policing that are useful to my research. Claire Duncanson's (2007) work on peacekeeper masculinities is particularly useful. Her work has shown that British peacekeepers in Peace Support Operations (PSOs) were active in reconstructing their militarised identities. By linking masculinity to the core principals of peacekeeping such as the ability to control the use of force, and linking soldiering to traditionally 'feminized' practices such as conflict resolution, peacekeepers challenged hypermasculine hegemonies.

Duncanson's (2007) work has shown how peacekeepers are not completely dominated by militarised masculinities. Rather they have the agency to create new identities in ways that may be more conducive to having peacekeeping strategies centred on conflict resolution and respectful community engagement. So too, is there the possibility that community police officers may be active in reframing community policing in different ways. Through looking at how the New Zealand and East Timorese community police define policing practices within the PNTL, my research will explore the possibility that community police officers reframe community policing in ways that have not been documented. The potential existence of community-orientated masculinities which could provide insights into how police officers resist adopting violent, oppressive police masculinities. My research therefore investigates what different forms of masculinities are evident within policing practice in the PNTL.

## **2.4 Security Force Masculinities within the context of United Nations Peacebuilding**

In this section I present the literature on peacekeeper masculinities and discuss how it is relevant to understanding how the New Zealand Police's different understandings of masculinity might impact on their relationships with the PNTL. In Chapter One I introduced how within the so called "merging of security and development" (Duffield 2001), UNPOL officers are increasingly being used as part of United Nations peacebuilding efforts. This section presents the literature on how their gendered socialisation processes may affect their ability to carry out this role. As with the previous section, given that research on masculinities in UNPOL is almost non-existent, I use some theorising of peacekeeper masculinities in order to introduce some of the issues security sector officers may face while working in the United Nations environment.

In 1993 Cynthia Enloe famously asked, "Are UN peacekeepers real men?" Much of the literature on peacekeepers and masculinities that has followed has taken up that question (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. Myrtilinen (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” (Myrtilinen 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 (Myrttinen 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.

When approaching the issue of UNPOL masculinities, it is important to acknowledge the agency of security sector officers. According to Higate (2007), attributing all of peacekeepers behaviours to their 'militarised masculinity' removes their agency because they are constructed as being completely controlled by their militarised identity. This is problematic because it frames masculinity as a monolithic construct, not something men actively engage with and alter. Duncanson (2007) discusses how peacekeepers can actively reframe their masculine identities in order to make them adapt to the new peacekeeping environment. Her research shows instances in which the peacekeepers subverted imperialist discourses by acknowledging the agency of local individuals. These approaches to peacekeeping are likely to be more conducive to building respectful, equitable relationships with the people in the host country. Therefore when thinking about how the New Zealand build relationships with the PNTL, it is important to see them as having the agency to challenge imperialist discourses. In line with this, my research seeks to investigate how the New Zealand Police's different understandings of masculinity might impact on their relationships with the PNTL.

## 2.5 Engendering United Nations Police Reform

This section will discuss the literature on the approach to gender taken by the United Nations Police. I will illustrate how there is a growing critique of the United Nations for not incorporating an understanding of men and masculinities into their gender policy. The United Nations has made a commitment to incorporate a gender perspective into their work on peace and security through the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) on women, peace and security. This resolution has come to inform their police reform work. Mazurana, Raven-Roberts et al. (2005b:13-15) explain the rationale for the incorporation of gender:

“in situations of conflict and post-conflict ... women, girls, men and boys experience and recover from the effects of violence and community destabilization differently according to their gender, age, ethnicity, and class status in society. Consequently, peace processes and post-conflict recovery affect them differently.”

SCR 1325 aims to achieve gender equality, which refers to, “the equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of women, men, girls and boys” (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts et al. 2005b:13-25). The United Nations aims to achieve gender equality through promoting gender balance which ensures that men and women participate equally in peacebuilding initiatives (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts et al. 2005b). They also aim to achieve gender equality through gender mainstreaming all of their activities. Gender mainstreaming aims to transform United Nations’ policy from a gender perspective by ensuring that promoting gender equality is central to all of their activities (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts et al. 2005b).

Critiques of the United Nations’ approach to incorporating gender into their peacebuilding operations have drawn attention to how it reproduces essentialist understandings of masculinity and femininity. The United Nations is criticised for reducing ‘gender’ to women. Women are then differentiated from men and in this sense the discourse relies on biologically essentialist understandings of gender instead of seeing it as a social construct (Cornwall 1997; Cornwall 2000; Chant and Gutman 2002; Cleaver 2002; Vijayan 2002; Väyrynen 2004; Whitworth 2004; Henry 2007; Charlesworth 2008; Puechguirbal 2010). Within the essentialist descriptions of gender relations, a dichotomy is created which constructs women as promoters of peace

which is contrasted with men who are portrayed as violent and aggressive (Väyrynen 2004). This hides that fact that masculinity is a construction and men can, and do, play a multitude of roles, “as peacemakers, as caring fathers, as non-violent negotiators, as supportive spouses” (GAPS 2007:6). Crucial for my research is how these processes are carried through gendered police reform programmes and how police officers interpret them.

The United Nations Polices’ approach to gendered police reform, which the New Zealand community policing programme is situated within, is guided by the goal of gender equality. A key element of this strategy is increasing the number of female police within UNPOL and encouraging an increase in the number of female police in the PNTL (UNDPKO 2004; UNIFEM 2007; UNDPKO 2008; UNDPKO 2010). Generally only around 6% of UNPOL officers are female (UNIFEM 2007) and around 20% of PNTL officers are female (Myrtilinen 2009a). Increasing the numbers of female police officers is crucial to a gender mainstreaming strategy. However the policy focus on increasing the numbers of female police officers as the central means to not only create gender equality, but also to challenge ‘masculine’ police cultures (see Olsson 2000; UNDPKO 2004; Fitzsimmons 2005) is problematic. It signals a continued equation of gender with women, which renders the role of men’s gender identities in policing invisible (Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrtilinen 2009b).

The invisibility of masculinities in gendered reform is problematic because it fails to address the links between hegemonic masculinity and the marginalization of most women and some men within security sector institutions (Higate and Henry 2009). Despite the fact that police forces are made up mostly of men, consideration is rarely given to how male role expectations and constructions of masculinities within the police forces affect the behaviour of the force (Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrtilinen 2009b). For Bendix (2009:17), “the question is not merely how to guarantee women’s participation in the security sector, but also how far the security institutions reflect and reinforce specific understandings of masculinity that contribute to a culture of violence and tend to exacerbate human security.” Therefore the problem with the ‘add women’ approach is that it cannot challenge problematic constructions of hegemonic masculinity because the conceptualisations of gender suggest that masculinity, as a socially constructed, changeable entity does not exist.



While there is an increasing amount of theorizing about the problematic gendered discourses the United Nations' policies create, there is less research done on how these discourses are carried through in the practical applications of these policies. One exception is the research on the gender sensitivity training given to United Nations police officers. This training is supposed to enable UNPOL to develop basic skills of gender analysis in order to improve their capacity to act in a gender sensitive manner (Mackay 2003). However, according to Nduka-Agwu (2009:182), this training reproduces the idea that gender only means learning about women's rights while "men, masculinities and how these are socially construed and with what consequences remain unmentioned." There needs to be more understanding of how police officers interpret this training and whether they reproduce the 'masculinities blindness' that exists in gender policy.

A key aspect of the UNPOL's gender efforts centers on ensuring that both UNPOL and the PNTL prioritise addressing Gender Based Violence (GBV). While definitions of GBV are varied, broadly speaking it refers to "physical, mental, or social abuse that is directed against a person because of his or her gender or gender role in a society or culture" (Rumbold and Keesbury 2008). According to Denham (2008:3) in the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) gender and SSR toolkit, "crimes against men are predominantly in public areas, whereas crimes against women, such as domestic violence, often happen in private spaces". Therefore Fitzsimmons (2005) highlights the importance of having new civilian police forces designed to ensure both national public security and private peace in the domestic sphere. The United Nations has attempted to address GBV in a number of ways. Training has been provided to UNPOL on the importance of addressing GBV (UNIFEM 2007). In their reform activities, the United Nations have tried to ensure that training is given at the police academy on addressing GBV. Specialist units (named Vulnerable Person's Units in the case of Timor-Leste) have also been created where gender based crimes can be reported (Carey 2001; UNIFEM 2007).

Emerging literature on masculinities and police reform has drawn attention to the importance of taking masculinities into consideration when creating GBV policies.

Questions have been raised about what notions of gender are evoked through the approach to GBV the United Nations has taken, and what this means for how masculinity is conceptualised within gendered reform. Mobekk (2009) and Bendix (2009:18) suggest that the perpetuation of essentialist, female as victim/male as perpetrator dichotomies has particular implications for how GBV is treated within police operations. The equation of men with aggression and oppression both within the security forces and in wider society makes it difficult for male victims of sexualised and domestic violence to be programmed for through police reform (Bendix 2009).

If carried through gendered reform, essentialised gender dichotomies can create particular ideas about who can deal with GBV cases, with gender stereotypes suggesting that women are more suited to addressing GBV because of their natural empathy. As Mobekk (2009:286) suggests, “essentialism may lead to an assumption that when women are included in security forces they are better equipped than men to deal with rape and violence against women.” These essentialist portrayals of gender construct masculinity as being incompatible with qualities such as empathy.

In line with the discussion above, both Myrntinen (2009b) and Mobekk (2009) suggest that caution must be applied to how special women’s policing units are conceptualised and staffed. If they are formed in a way that portrays GBV as only a ‘women’s issue’, there is a risk they will become what Myrntinen (2009b:85) calls “gender ghettos.” In this scenario, the framing of GBV as something women are better at dealing with can absolve men from learning how to deal with it professionally, and empathetically. In line with the majority of research on gender and police reform, the critiques discussed above focus mainly on how gender policies reproduce particular conceptions of masculinity. Therefore further research is needed on how the police interpret the portrayals of GBV, and whether they reproduce notions of masculinity that see it as mutually exclusive to empathy. Overall, there is a need to look at how the New Zealand Police officers interpret United Nations’ policy on how gendered police reform is carried out.

## **2.6 Conclusion and where to from here**

The aim of gendered police reform in post-conflict contexts should be to contribute to the development of a police force that is not merely aimed at treating women and men equally, but works with the community to ensure that peace and security is maintained. For this to happen, attention needs to be paid to masculinities. As the review of this literature has shown, “until it is recognised that ‘masculinity matters’, change is unlikely to come about in anything but the most marginal of ways” (Higate and Henry 2009:154). The majority of research has focused on how it is difficult to incorporate new understandings of masculinities into gendered police reforms because the gender policy acts to render male gender identities invisible.

In order to incorporate an understanding of men and masculinities into gendered policy, we need a better understanding about how police officers involved in police reform actually understand and conceptualise masculinity. However on top of this, we still do not know in what ways current gender policy acts as a barrier to police officers reflecting on masculinity because there has not been research on how they interpret the United Nations’ approach to gender. Therefore my research explores not only how police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities. It also explores how police officers’ understandings of masculinities compare to how masculinities are conceived in United Nations’ gender policies.

### 3. Methodology

“Though ‘the researcher is free to leave the field at anytime and is generally the final author of any account’, the experiences during fieldwork have a significant impact on the researcher and the research product. Our minds are still preoccupied with, and our memories alive with, fieldwork experiences”

(Thapar-Björkert and Henry 2004:377).

#### 3.1 Introduction

I will start this chapter with a story. While engaged in some participant observation with the New Zealand Police in the district of Suai, I found myself standing outside a small rural police station waiting for a rape suspect to be brought out of the station. While waiting, I struck up a conversation with a former-UIR (Unidade Intervenção Rápida)<sup>1</sup> PNTL officer who offered to take me to the UIR headquarters across the road to meet the squad. Once I arrived there, he suggested that I take a photo. Careful to ensure that their weapons were well in view, the men excitedly lined up in various staunch poses. While this was occurring I watched on enthusiastically. I was not enthusiastic because I approved of the style of militarised policing they were displaying. In fact I found the display of weapons by these officers alarming and was in Timor-Leste with the very goal of trying to contribute to attempts to promote less ‘hypermasculine’ forms of policing.

This seemingly unimportant incident brought home to me that as a researcher I could not act as a neutral observer. I had tried to justify that taking the photo was merely a means to portray to people who were not there, one aspect of policing in Timor-Leste. In ‘reality’ this self-justification goes against everything my methodology is based on. The fact is, I would argue, that these men had chosen to pose in that way, and with those weapons, because that is the image they wanted me to see of them, and the image they thought I wanted to see of them. By acting as (supportive) audience to this, I had potentially legitimated to them that foreign women are impressed by that display of policing.

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<sup>1</sup> A special riot control unit.

*Figure 1. UIR Police Officers in Suai (Marianne Bevan, 2010)*



In line with the story above, the aim of this chapter is to detail the methodological approach I adopted and what theoretical understandings underpinned why I adopted this approach. In the first section I explain how my research was informed by a theory of post-structural feminism. In particular, I argue that a discursive approach to post-structural feminism can be applied to understand how gender identities are formed within the police force. I explain how through the use of feminist discourse analysis, this theory was translated into a methodological tool to analyse how police officers create links between masculinity and policing. In the second section of this chapter I detail the methods I employed to carry out my research. In the final section, I discuss how my positionality affected how I collected data while conducting fieldwork in Timor-Leste. I argue that the interaction between the multiple subjectivities of myself and my research participants created complex, varied and often unexpected research relationships, which created various ethical issues and research barriers.

### **3.2 Post-Structural Feminism**

My research is based on a post-structural feminist understanding of gender relations, which sees gender identities as socially constructed, fluid and varied. Post-structural feminism challenges the assumption in previous approaches to feminism that “gender identity is fixed or essential” and that there is a universal female (or male) perspective “from which to construct an understanding of the social and political world” (Steans 1988:27). Instead, post-structural feminism maintains an awareness of the various “subject positions” (Hooper 1998:29) that make up a person’s identity which are created through the intersection of gender with other identities such as race, class, age. When claims are made to represent the experiences of all ‘women’ or ‘men’ it can act to mask the differences within the groups of ‘women’ and ‘men’. This is at the expense of viewing terms “relationally and dynamically” (Peterson and True 1998:19). Therefore gender identities should be seen as “constituted rather than given, multiple rather than simple” (Colebrook 2000:10).

#### **3.2.1 Post-Structural Feminism: A Discursive Approach**

My research will utilise a discursive approach to post-structural feminism where a focus is placed on how gender identities are discursively constructed within police forces. A discourse is seen as “all the ways in which we communicate with one another, to the vast network of signs, symbols and practices through which we make our world(s) meaningful” (Gregory 1994:11 in Wylie 2006:303). People are subjected to “discursive regimes and regulatory frameworks” where power operates to make it desirable for them to act in particular ways. Therefore they self-regulate their own behaviour by aligning themselves to specific and varied norms (Davies and Gannon 2005:318). These processes inform what gendered behaviours and identities are seen as natural in a given context, “what is appropriate and what is inappropriate, what is valued and what is devalued, and what is possible and what is impossible” (Dixon and Jones III 2006:49). People’s ability to adopt different gendered behaviours is determined by the intersection of their other identities such as age, ethnicity, and class

which come with their own discourses of what is appropriate behaviour for members of these groups (Hooper 2001). Therefore gender identities cannot be seen as fixed entities, but as being created and altered through their participation in multiple discursive practices (Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2003).

Adopting a discursive approach to gender has been criticized for failing to engage with the material gender relations, the concrete inequalities that still exist between (and amongst) men and women in institutions. As Hansen (2006) suggests though, a discursive understanding of gender does not disregard material ‘realities’, the point is not to suggest that objects exist outside of discourse, but rather that they do not have meaning outside of discourse. Therefore the gendered dichotomy “informs numerous practices that shape identities, this dichotomy produces the very gendered divisions it purports to describe, such as gendered divisions in labour, codes of dress, emotional styles, behaviour, and so on” (Hooper 2001:44). As such, gender dichotomies can create real inequalities when they are used as organising principles, and become embedded in the institutional practices (Hooper 2001).

Some post-structural feminists (see Butler 1990) argue that because masculinity and femininity are created discursively, these concepts can be completely separated from the body. However, following Connell (2002), I argue that gender also needs to be seen as a ‘body-reflexive practice’ whereby bodies are drawn into social and historical processes. Therefore using an approach that understands gender as both a discursive and body-reflexive practice can show how meaning is attached to the bodies’ practices discursively (Hansen 2006). This is particularly important when conducting research on police institutions where much discussion is focused on the ability of certain bodies to complete policing tasks.

### **3.2.2 Post-Structural Feminist Discourse Analysis**

In this section I describe how I utilised discourse analysis as a methodological tool in order to investigate how police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities. Broadly speaking, discourse analysis refers to a methodological approach that aims to “uncover the larger patterning of thought that structures the way language is used,

and, more specifically, how the meaning of language was created, reproduced, and interpreted by those involved in its use” (Davidson and Tolich 1999:122). There are a variety of different approaches that can be taken to conducting discourse analysis. For my research I have adopted a feminist discourse analysis approach used by Claire Duncanson (2007) in her doctoral thesis on peacekeeper masculinities. Her approach built on Lene Hansen’s (2006) post-structuralist discourse theory and Charlotte Hooper’s (2001) theory of the process of masculinisation and feminisation.

Studying how masculinities and femininities exist in certain discourses poses a particular methodological challenge as they are not visible in ‘reality’ in a way that is easy to measure (Sasson-Levy 2002:361). Attempting to theorise about masculinity in male dominated institutions can be particularly problematic. As Sasson-Levy (2002:361) says in the case of the military, it is a case of studying silence; “silences relate to men and their gender. Men are soldiers but women are female soldiers, women have a gender and a sex; men do not.” This can make invisible the plurality of men’s behaviour and make invisible *how* certain forms of masculine behaviour continue to dominate.

Feminist discourse analysis can be used to “read between the lines” (Sasson-Levy 2002:361) and make visible how some forms of masculinity come to dominate. It can also make visible alternative, subordinate enactments of masculinity within the police force. This can be done through showing how policing practices are described in ways that link them to masculinity. Duncanson (2007) suggests that security sector officers create their identities through carrying out certain practices. Therefore investigating how these practices are understood discursively is crucial for understanding how police officers construct their gender identities.

Hansen’s (2006) theory of “linking and differentiation” can be used to identify which policing practices are considered ‘masculine’ in the policing context. A term such as ‘male’ is linked to a series of qualities such as rational, strong, independent and active. This is juxtaposed from the term of ‘women’ which is linked to a series of qualities dichotomized from those linked with the ‘male’ such as emotional, weak, reliant and passive. Within this dichotomy, the privileged term is associated with masculinity and “as masculinity is valued, femininity becomes the ‘Other’, and is



devalued” (Hansen 2006:63). Investigating what Other police officers define themselves in opposition to can be used to identify hierarchies that develop between men that determine what kinds of policing can become dominant within the PNTL.

In order to determine how certain policing practices come to dominate, it is important to focus not just on identifying what ‘masculine’ traits and practices are privileged, but focus on *how* practices can come to be seen as ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ (Duncanson 2007). This can be analysed through using Hooper’s (2001) theory of the processes of ‘masculinisation’ and ‘feminisation’. Concepts of masculinity and femininity are meaningless without being linked to terms that give them meaning. When practices are linked to terms traditionally associated with masculinity they become ‘masculinised’. For example with regards to policing, communicating with the community could not be seen on its own as a masculine practice. However if it is linked to patrolling and intelligence (qualities traditionally associated with masculinity) it becomes a more ‘masculine’ practice. As discussed, the masculine half of the gender dichotomy is often privileged so if something is described in negative terms it can be seen as being ‘feminized’ but if it is described in positive terms it is ‘masculinised’. Therefore, if a communicative approach to policing is linked to terms such as superior and effective, it can be seen to have been framed as ‘masculine’.

Analysing the descriptions of policing practice through the use of the discourse analysis approach identified above allowed me to identify the fluidity of masculinities and the differences in men’s behaviours. Investigating this fluidity is needed to show the “possibility for destabilization” (Hansen 2006:21), to show the potential of positive avenues for change in the form of identifying and promoting non-violent masculinities through police reform.

### **3.3 Carrying Out The Research**

In this section I describe specifically how I employed the methods described above in the context of Timor-Leste. The research was based mainly on semi-structured interviews with New Zealand and East Timorese police officers. This was complimented by participant observation of police officers and semi-structured interviews with civil society representatives working on gender and policing issues in

Timor-Leste. This was carried out in Timor-Leste from the period of May 25 to August 4, 2010.

In order to explore the relationship between masculinities and police reform in the post-conflict environment I used the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot programme in Timor-Leste as a case study. I chose to analyse this case study using a qualitative approach. Qualitative approaches are focused on “processes and meanings” and “seek[ing] answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:8). This is in comparison to quantitative research which investigates “casual relationships between variables, not processes ... within a value-free framework.” Therefore given that the central aim of my research is to investigate *how* gendered meanings are given to police practices, a qualitative approach is appropriate.

### **3.3.1 Making Connections: Who I Interacted With**

Primary interviews were conducted with New Zealand and East Timorese police officers who had been part of the CPPP. I was granted formal permission from the New Zealand Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee to interview policing personnel based in Timor-Leste. This permission was also contingent upon me seeking permission from the United Nations Mission in Timor-Leste, which I acquired once arriving in Timor-Leste.

My arrangement with the New Zealand Police was that they would email an information sheet (see appendix 2a) about my research to the police stationed in Timor-Leste who would contact me if they were interested in taking part. This process allowed individual officers to opt in or out of the research project based on the information I provided. However upon my arrival I was informed that the current police contingent would be departing in two weeks (to be replaced by a new contingent). Given the short timeframe the Leader and Deputy-Leader of the contingent assisted me in setting up interviews. Despite my intention of conducting eight to ten interviews, I was only able to organise five; four of these were with officers involved in the CPPP and one was with an officer working in another district.

Therefore following my return to New Zealand I organised another 4 interviews with returned New Zealand Police officers. Of these interviews, 7 were with male officers and 2 were with female officers. Following the arrival of the next New Zealand Police contingent in Timor-Leste, I spent time in the sub-districts of Becora, Comoro and Suai observing how they operated.

It was through my contacts with the New Zealand Police that I was able to gain access to the PNTL officers who had participated in the community policing programme. Prior to the New Zealand Police assisting me with setting up these interviews, I sought permission from the Deputy-Commissioner of the PNTL Afonso de Jesus who issued me with a permission letter granting me permission to do interviews with the PNTL. Following this, I organised interviews with four community police officers stationed in Becora, and one stationed in Suai. I was able to use personal contacts to organise an interview with an officer working for the national community policing department who had also been involved in the CPPP. I also organised an interview with a member of the PNTL in a leadership position which gave me considerable insight into how community policing is viewed by the PNTL leadership. Of these interviews, 5 were with male officers and 2 were with female officers.

I also spoke formally to seven individuals working on policing and/or gender issues in Timor-Leste (hereafter referred to as ‘civil society representatives’) to gain contextual information about these issues. These included:

- An East Timorese woman working for an international women’s rights organisation;
- An East Timorese man working for Fundasaun Mahein, a local Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) which monitors the security sector;
- An East Timorese man working for the Judicial System Monitoring Programme (JSMP), a local NGO that monitors the judicial system;
- A non-East Timorese man working for the Asia Foundation, an international NGO that carried out a community policing programme in Becora and Baucau;
- A non-East Timorese woman working as an independent consultant on security issues;

- A non-East Timorese woman working for the local NGO PRADET (Psychosocial Recovery and Development in East Timor);
- A non-East Timorese man working as a civilian advisor for the United Nations Police.

### **3.3.2 How We Interacted: Interviews**

My primary means of data collection was semi-structured interviews with police officers. Semi-structured interviews were chosen both for practical and ethical reasons. Given that the aim of my research was to explore how police officers ascribe gendered meanings to policing activities, I needed an approach that would encourage participants to provide descriptions of how they make sense of policing (Miller 1999). This required that the method provide space for the interviewee to give examples of policing practice and for me to follow up and explore new issues that were introduced. This could not have been done through the use of questionnaires or structured interviews because the structured format of these methods would not have allowed me to follow up on new issues that emerged. Therefore a semi-structured interview format was used.

Semi-structured interviews also provided the format to pursue my research in a more ethical matter. Research has the potential to create hierarchies between the interviewer and interviewee (Stanley and Wise 1993). Therefore I wanted an interview approach that would challenge this division between the ‘object’ and the ‘subject’ by creating commonality and relationships based on “mutuality and respect” (England 2006:288). Like Miller (1999) did in her research on policing in the USA, I attempted to make the interviews interactive, and collaborative to remove hierarchal relations by telling stories of my own experiences and observations of gender and policing. In this way the interview could become more of a “co-produced product” (England 2006:288). As will be discussed in the following section, taking this approach with so-called ‘powerful’ people is a contentious issue. However given that I see power as something created through the interview based on the multiple subjectivities of myself and the participant (Thapar-Björkert and Henry 2004), I believe that this approach is necessary when interviewing police officers.

I encountered language barriers when interviewing the PNTL officers. Two of the PNTL officers spoke English which enabled me to conduct those interviews in English however the other five did not so I conducted the interviews with a translator in Tetum. I was introduced to the translator by an East Timorese friend who suggested that he was an experienced translator and I paid him on an hourly rate. We spent a considerable amount of time going over the ethics procedures and the questions I wanted to ask so that I could ensure he understood the information I was seeking. During the interview he translated the information sheet and consent form to the participants verbally. He would ask the questions in Tetum, translate them back to me and then I would tell him of any follow up questions I wanted to ask.

Prior to all interviews, participants signed a consent form as required by the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee (see appendices 2b, 4e and 4h). All interviews were tape recorded, except one. It was explained on the information sheet, and I explained in person, that with regards to the police, they would not be named individually, but rather would be referred to as PNTL 1, or NZPOL 1 and so on. With regards to the civil society representatives, I explained to them that I would not use their name, and it was their decision as to whether I named their organization.

### **3.3.3 How We Interacted: Participant Observation**

Gendered discourses are created not just through language and speech, but also through “actions; bodily practices, habits, gestures etc” (Wylie 2006:303). Therefore analysing the actions of police officers through a process of participant observation was useful in gaining further understanding of how policing practices become linked to different masculinities. I spent time at the police stations in Becora, Suai and Comoro and observed the interactions between the New Zealand Police and the PNTL. I also went on several visits with the police to the community where they carried out their work. While in Suai I was also able to attend a police parade organised for the Prime Minister who was visiting at the time. Following the parade I secured a ride from Suai back to Dili in the national police convoy. Both of these experiences provided invaluable insights into the operation of the PNTL.

I approached observation from a deconstructive perspective, seeing it as a tool to gain insights about the behaviour and activities of police officers through looking below the surface of what I was observing to reveal “underlying layers of meaning” (Jones and Somekh 2005:16). Following Higate and Henry’s (2009) observation of the performance of peacekeepers, I looked for how gender identities were performed and how power relationships were acted out. This was through actions such as the display (or lack of display) of weapons and other paraphernalia, and the postures and gestures developed when interacting with each other and community members.

### **3.4 Positioning Myself Within the Research**

In this section I discuss some of the ways my positionality affected how the research process was carried out. I argue that the research process cannot be characterised by ‘value-free objectivity’ (Arendell 1997:342) and instead through my research I became a visible and integral part of the research process and research context. Therefore I suggest that intersections between the gender, ethnicity, nationality, age and other identities of myself and my research participants affected how we saw each other, how we responded to each other and the knowledge that was produced (Chacko 2004; England 2006). From here, I will elaborate on three issues: firstly, I will explain how I conceptualised how power operates in the interview setting and how that influenced the approach I took to researching ‘powerful’ people. Secondly, I explain how my position within the complex United Nations intervention environment affected how the research participants saw and interacted with me. Lastly, I explain how my position as a female doing research on gender affected how the research participants responded to me.

#### **3.4.1 Policing and Power**

In this section I describe how an understanding of the multiple subjectivities of my research participants and myself is needed to understand how I developed research relationships with New Zealand Police officers. To explore this issue of power in the research relationship and how it affected the research process I will focus on how I

approached researching the police, a ‘powerful’ group, as an ‘outsider’. Rubinstein (1998) has suggested that research done by police ‘outsiders’ such as myself can be difficult considering that police forces often act to create a ‘professional’ social distance between their officers and the public (Graef 1990; Higate and Cameron 2006). This could be compounded by the fact that I was a young female conducting research with a (mainly male) police force. Many researchers have suggested that gendered power dynamics lead to male participants often dominating the research process due to their perceived power (McDowell 1992; Arendell 1997; Pettersson 2006). This was the case in one of my interviews with a New Zealand Police officer where he attempted to take charge of the interview by constantly critiquing my questions, critiquing my use of terms such as ‘UNPOL’, and referring to me throughout the interview as ‘Your Honour’. This could be seen as an attempt by him to maintain a sense of power and control over the interview process.

However when carrying out interviews with police officers I had to be mindful of the multiple subjectivities we brought to the research environment and not see police officers as holding all the power just because they were from a so-called ‘powerful’ group. Like Higate and Cameron (2006) on their research with members of the British military and their partners, I was surprised at how a number of my research participants seemed nervous and unsure of how to conduct themselves during interviews. On one particular occasion, a male police officer suggested several times that I must have been smarter than him which he appeared to find intimidating. In this respect, the ‘label’ I had chosen to adopt and attempt to play out in this interview as that of the academic (which I had chosen in order to appear more professional), had created tension. The tension that was created could be seen as evidence of divisions within New Zealand based around class and occupation. This was problematic for some interviews as I saw the police as the experts whose knowledge of policing I needed to gain access to, and acting out an ‘academic expert’ role became a barrier to this.

The different experiences I had while interviewing police officers led me to adopt an approach that acknowledged the fluidity of positionality where “commonality is always partial ... [and so] field research and theoretical analyses have more to gain from building commonality than from essentializing difference” (Kobayashi

1994:76). To return to the story of the New Zealand officer intimidated by my academic image. Following this realisation during the interview, I made a much more conscious effort to make the interview interactive, telling stories of my experiences in Timor-Leste. This reduced my image as a university academic, which changed the atmosphere of the interview. In comparing this experience to the experience of interviewing the more controlling New Zealand Police officer, the point is to suggest that “neither insider nor outsider status endows upon researchers any essential form of power” (Thapar-Björkert and Henry 2004:365). Therefore I approached my interviews with the intention of building commonality.

### **3.4.2 The United Nations ‘Field’**

In this section I discuss how my position in the institutional and geo-political processes of a United Nations mission affected how my East Timorese research participants viewed me, and how that affected how the research process progressed (Nagar 2002; Higate, Henry et al. 2009). While UNPOL are in Timor-Leste with the intention of creating stability, it has to be acknowledged that United Nations missions are “political constructs and power projects, rather than natural or organic developments” (Higate, Henry et al. 2009:470). In these environments peacekeepers and civilian staff are afforded privilege and resources not available to the citizens of Timor-Leste.

By conducting research with United Nations Police and the East Timorese Police, I became implicated within the power differentials mentioned above. Chacko (2004) has stated that how a researcher enters the field research site, the ways in which their contacts are made and under whose auspices they work effects how they are perceived by their research participants. In the case of my research, as was the case for Higate, Henry et al. (2009) in their research on peacekeepers in Liberia and Kosovo, I was reliant on the United Nations for access to East Timorese police officers. I travelled in United Nations transport to get to certain research locations and I gained access to top United Nations officials and PNTL leaders that lower ranked PNTL officers would rarely get access to. As such, I could have been “perceived to be ‘exactly’ like peacekeepers or local elites” and aligned with the power and privilege they are



afforded in Timor-Leste (Higate, Henry et al. 2009:477). Given the often-tense relationship between the United Nations Police and the PNTL, this alignment I had with the United Nations was at times problematic for developing relationships both with the PNTL officers and with local NGOs.

While much theorising about the research process focuses on how the researcher constructs the identities of the research participants, just as crucial is how the research participants construct the identity of the researcher (Thapar-Björkert and Henry 2004). What was particularly interesting for me in this regard was the treatment I received by the PNTL. In some cases, my alignment with UNPOL acted as a disadvantage. In Suai, where the relationship between UNPOL and the PNTL is strained, only one PNTL officer would agree to talk to me. However in some cases my alignment with UNPOL came to be an advantage. In Becora, the New Zealand Police had a good relationship with the PNTL and I was introduced to the PNTL by the New Zealand Police as a ‘fellow New Zealander’. This allowed me to quickly build trust with the PNTL. However this also had its downsides where in viewing me as part of the New Zealand Police, some PNTL were very reluctant to criticise UNPOL as a whole. This highlights how aspects of identity may be useful in one context, but then problematic in others based on how they fit into the “institutional and geo-political processes” (Nagar 2002).

### **3.4.3 Gendered Consequences**

Being a female researcher researching gender issues affected the responses I received to my enquiries. When the research conducted is gender related, being a female researcher is often seen to be an advantage as men are more likely to ‘open up’ about gender issues to female researchers (Arendell 1997; Miller 1999). However I found at times that being a female researcher doing research on gender led people to make inaccurate assumptions about what the focus of my research was. Despite my often explicit use of terms such as ‘men’, ‘masculinities’ and ‘men’s identities’ in my information sheets, my research was frequently assumed to be a study on female police officers. Conway (2008) suggests that it is common in research on masculinities for misunderstandings to develop on what this means and how it should

be approached because masculinity is still seen as “no gender because it is all genders” (Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2003: 103 in Conway 2008). Practically, this at times made it more difficult to get interviews with male police officers. The New Zealand Police officers assisting me in getting interviews often initially assumed that I wanted to speak mainly with female officers, or officers who worked closely with female officers. It confirms, as Higate and Henry (2009:154) suggest that “gender remains shorthand for women, with an equivalent, everyday language of men and masculinity yet to develop.”

### **3.5 Final Issues**

I return now to the story I introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Upon returning from the UIR office, I was taken into the police station to collect the rape suspect with the police. Upon seeing him I was both shocked and upset. Not only did he look like a child (he was 17 and had raped a 12 year old girl), but he looked of similar age to the group of boys who had sexually assaulted me a week earlier. While there is much written about the methodological difficulties of conducting research in a conflict zone (see Wood 2006), what is mentioned less often in discussions of methodology is the violence that happens at enormous rates in the post-conflict periods – sexual and gender based violence. However as Angrosino and Mays de Perez (2000:680) say in reference to an account written by Eva Moreno who discusses being raped while researching in Ethiopia, “it would therefore be painfully a naïve female ethnographer who was not prepared to factor this possibility into her plan for observations, as ‘reasonable precautions’”.

While I had spent a considerable amount of time researching these issues, I was obviously not prepared for the emotional toll of seeing incidents of sexual and gender based violence, and becoming a victim of it myself. It was the *emotional* response to these incidents more than anything else that both reinforced and reshaped how I viewed these issues intellectually. Emotional responses have traditionally been discouraged in research as inhibiting the proper rational analysis of data (Jagger 1989). However feminist researchers such as Bondi (2003) have suggested that this is an effect of the masculinist privileging of reason over emotion. If feminist research is

going to challenge this conceptualization of the world, emotional reflections need to be recognized as legitimate sources of knowledge. Given the centrality of sexual and gender based violence in issues of gender and policing, acknowledging how emotional incidents affected my perceptions of them is vital in explaining how my research progressed.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter has discussed how my research is based on a theoretical premise that sees gender identities in the police force as varied and fluid constructs, created through discursive and body-reflexive practices. Given the complex nature of these creations, investigating them has been methodologically challenging. This was not only in designing an appropriate analysis strategy, but in addressing how my various positionalities affected how I was able to collect data in the complex, ethically challenging and emotionally draining context of post-conflict Timor-Leste. I will finish with a quote written in my research diary which I believe sums up my methodological approach, and the methodological challenges I faced:

“Surely what I saw of the police was just one performance of many, done to fit in with the situation in which they found themselves. What they do, and what I report on matters because that is what other people see of them, the fast driving, the showing off of weapons, forcing children to be in photos. How much of it was done for me? How much of what I did was done for them? I am not a neutral observer; through conducting field research I am active in re-creating a new ‘reality’. Did I create the reality I wanted to see in Timor-Leste?”

## **4. Context: A Gendered History of Timor-Leste**

“To explain why, even after the guns have gone silent, militarization and the privileging of masculinity is each so common, we need to surrender the oft-cherished notion that when open warfare stops, militarization is reversed”

(Enloe 2002:22).

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I chart the history of Timor-Leste through a gendered lens, showing how the militarised history has created specific models of masculinity within the East Timorese police force. Understanding this history provides a crucial platform from which my research can explore the links between masculinities and policing practice within the PNTL. From 200 years of Portuguese colonial exploitation, to a 24-year Indonesian occupation, and then a three-year United Nations peacekeeping mission, Timor-Leste has had a history of violence and militarism. As I will discuss in this chapter, while this history has influenced the development of a multitude of different gender identities within the PNTL, the most visible has come to be the violence-prone male. The dominance of violent masculinities within the PNTL has contributed to the dominance of militarised policing and to the breakdown of the PNTL in Dili in 2006. I will argue that the continued failure of the United Nations police reform process to take masculinities seriously means that despite stated moves towards a community policing model, the PNTL continues to reproduce a problematic violent masculinity.

### **4.2 An Introduction to Gender Roles in Timor-Leste**

In this section I provide an introduction to what have been termed ‘traditional’, pre-colonial conceptions of gender in Timor-Leste. As indicated earlier, by gender I mean the set of socially and culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity that determine how men and women can act in a particular setting. The processes I will discuss in the following sections – colonisation, military occupation, armed and unarmed resistance, humanitarian interventions – have all acted to construct, destruct and reconstruct what are appropriate ways for different groups of men and women to act. These are continually changing as new influences arise.

Timor-Leste is extremely ethnically diverse; it is home to a multitude of different ethno-linguistic groups all with their own social constructions of gender. Generally speaking though, each *suco* (village) is made up several *aldeias*, (sub-villages, hamlets) (Hicks 2007). Every *suco* would have its own *adat* (customary law) which incorporates myths and rituals that are generally centred around a male/female dualism (Hicks 2004). This symbolic division between men and women led to a physical division of labour which was focused on “complementarity rather than equality” in men’s and women’s roles (Corcoran-Nantes 2009:168). Broadly speaking, women were responsible for the housework, childcare and certain agricultural work, while men were responsible for the majority of the agricultural work and other public roles (Alld 2007).<sup>2</sup> While the majority of societies were patrilineal, a number of groups such as the Bunak and Tetum-Terik speaking communities were organised along matrilineal lines and have had female rulers known as *feto ferik* (Cristalis and Scott 2005).

There were additional hierarchies that intersected with gender to produce hierarchies within the groups of men and women. Kammen (2003) suggests that pre-colonial East Timorese communities were divided into three groupings, the chiefs and nobles (*liurai and dato*) at the top, the commoners (*emar and laterreino*) in the middle, and slaves (*atan*) at the bottom of the hierarchy.<sup>3</sup> The *suco* was headed by the *lia nian* who was seen as the ancestral embodiment. It was an appointment generally only given to a man, who then acted as “advisor, arbitrator and judge” in traditional justice systems (Corcoran-Nantes 2009:173). The opportunities both men and women were given were heavily dependent on where in this hierarchy they were positioned (Kammen 2003).

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<sup>2</sup> While these are the expected roles and behaviors based on *adat*, it is not clear to what extent these were accurate portrayals of what actually occurred. East Timorese gendered divisions of labor are still generally referred to as ‘traditional’ and following the patterns suggested above. However more context specific research has found that there was, and continues to be, considerable crossover between men’s and women’s roles. For example Corcoran-Nantes (2009) found that in Los Palos, despite suggestions that men continue to control the household finances, it was actually a job shared between men and women.

<sup>3</sup> There is considerable variation within this for example Los Palos is structured around four castes; Ratu which is the highest caste, followed by Paca, Akan and then Acar which is referred to as the ‘unspeakable’ caste (Corcoran-Nantes 2009).

### 4.3 Militarised Occupations

In the following three sections I describe how Portuguese colonialism, Indonesian occupation and United Nations intervention have all acted to alter gender relations within Timor-Leste and produce specific masculinities within the security sector.

#### 4.3.1 Portuguese Colonialism

Timor-Leste was colonised by the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Jolliffe 1978) however men and women experienced colonialism differently. A forced labour system (*corvée*) was created to force both East Timorese men and women to work on the state-linked coffee plantations. Men between the ages of 18 to 60 were required to pay a poll tax and were often drafted into the colonial army (Carey 1999). Women were often forced into domestic service (Myrntinen 2010).

Under Portuguese law, all East Timorese people who achieved certain criteria could be deemed 'civilised' and therefore be granted Portuguese citizenship. This system interacted with existing social hierarchies within Timor-Leste to produce new gendered hierarchies and led to the development of a new Timorese *assimilados/civilizados* elite (Lundry 2000; Myrntinen 2010). These educated elites began pressing for independence in the 1970s. The overthrow of António de Oliveira Salazar, the fascist dictator of Portugal by Caetano during the Carnation Revolution in 1974 led to the beginnings of a rapid decolonization process (Carey 1999).

On 11 August 1975, a brief civil war developed between the newly formed political parties the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (*Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente* – Fretilin) and the Timorese Democratic Union (*União Democrática Timorense* – UDT). It was for the purpose of this war that Fretilin created their military wing, *Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste* (Falintil) which was largely made up of East Timorese men who had been part of the Portuguese Army (Rees 2004). This period saw the emergence of the men who would later come to govern independent Timor-Leste such as Kay Rala 'Xanana' Gusmao,

Jose Ramos-Horta, Mari Alkatiri and Rogerio Lobato (International Crisis Group 2006). The links between militarised masculinity and political leadership were thus initiated at this point.

### **4.3.2 Indonesian Occupation**

On 28 November 1975 Fretilin declared independence for the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. On 7 December 1975, Indonesia invaded Timor-Leste and took control over the territory. The invasion had been sanctioned by United States and Australian governments but was condemned by the United Nations (International Crisis Group 2006). Indonesia was to remain in control, suppressing the population through both military and civilian control mechanisms, until an overwhelming majority of the country voted for independence in a United Nations-sponsored referendum in 1999 (Rees 2004). The 27-year occupation by Indonesia acted to further alter gender roles in Timor-Leste and the links between militarism and masculinity became further entrenched.

A guerrilla war developed between Falintil and the invading Indonesian Armed Forces (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia - ABRI*), which was to continue throughout the occupation. I will spend some time explaining the role of Fretilin and Falintil during the occupation, as it is the men who were leading these groups who have come to dominate the security sector. Therefore, in order to understand the type of masculinity that has come to influence the direction of the security sector, it is necessary to understand Fretilin/Falintil's origins.

As mentioned previously, Falintil was the armed wing of Fretilin. In the early stages of the occupation, the Fretilin Central Committee was the main resistance organisation and through their networks they channelled supplies and intelligence to Falintil guerrillas who were fighting in the mountains (Cristalis and Scott 2005). It was the period from 1975 – 1979 that the most intense and destructive fighting occurred and during this time Falintil developed their own unique 'warrior culture' (Myrntinen 2005). This masculinity drew on both local and imported concepts. As Hicks (2004) states, traditionally, expressions of East Timorese masculinity have been

linked to men's *potential* to use violence. This can be seen in that receiving a fighting cock is rite of passage for young men which is "imbued with gendered and sexualised symbolism" (Myrntinen 2010:294). The guerrillas also drew on traditional warfare rituals through the wearing of protective amulets (*taranga*) and the use of magic potions (*biru*) (Myrntinen 2010). When combined with the military training many Falintil had received, and the militarised environment they had come to live in, masculinity became linked to the *actual* ability to inflict violence. Catholic conceptions of masculinity were also influential, as were socialist ideas. These socialist ideas led Falintil to actively promote gender equality, for example in their *Political Manuel* they stated opposition to polygamy and the *Barlaki* (bride price)<sup>4</sup> system (Corcoran-Nantes, 2009).

Women played an important role, both as combatants and non-combatants, within the resistance movement. This was institutionalised in 1975 with the formation of the Popular Organisation of East Timorese Women (*Organização Popular da Mulher Timorense* - OPMT) (Charlesworth and Wood 2002). The OPMT worked within the Fretilin structure, with a network of committees established throughout Timor-Leste that linked in with Falintil. Women had a variety of roles as combatants, and also non-combatant roles as messengers, supply collectors, cooks and cleaners (Pinto and Jardine 1997; Whittington 2003). However as the conflict intensified, and the role of the armed combatant (the majority of who were male) became more important, Fretilin's focus on promoting gender equality largely disappeared. Women were encouraged to prioritise the nationalist struggle over their struggle for equality (Cristalis and Scott 2005).

During this period the civilian population was oppressed through a series of military strategies. A forced relocation strategy was adopted where large sections of the population were moved into 'strategic hamlets'. This resulted in the displacement of around 300,000 people between the period of 1978 - 1979. Both women and men were targeted by the security forces for extra-judicial killings and sexualised violence

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<sup>4</sup> *Barlaki* is a marriage settlement or bride price where a price is to be paid to the bride's family before marriage as recognition of her social standing and value to her family. It is an important cultural act where the brides family gives the 'value' of fertility to the grooms family (Corcoran-Nantes 2009). *Barlaki* has often been blamed on the high rates of domestic violence in Timor-Leste (Allid 2007).



was used primarily against women, but also against men (Myrttinen 2005). Rape was used as a weapon of war to 'shame East Timorese' and break social cohesion (Hall 2009:313) The Indonesian government actively militarised East Timorese society with children being required to participate in military drills at schools and join Martial Arts Groups (MAGs) (Myrttinen 2010).

In 1977 Xanana Gusmao, the Falintil Commander made the decision to separate Falinitil from Fretilin, and make Falintil a non-partisan army (International Crisis Group 2006). Fretilin and the UDT united to create the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM)<sup>5</sup>, which significantly strengthened the role of civilian *clandestino* network in the resistance movement. The *clandestine* networks had been in operation since the beginnings of the occupation, providing logistical support and supplies to Falintil and raising awareness about the situation in Timor-Leste internationally (Pinto and Jardine 1997). While the *clandestinos* were not involved in combat, many still committed violent acts against those associated with the Indonesian occupation. That being said, many *clandestinos* prioritised non-violent resistance with the Catholic Church playing a particularly important role in this non-violent resistance (Carey 1999). The non-violent resistance provided space for a range of non-violent masculine and feminine identities to be displayed and legitimated through the central role they played in the creation of independent Timor-Leste.

With a broad-based and unified resistance movement in the form of the CRNT, and ever-increasing international support, the East Timorese independence movement gradually gained traction throughout the 1990s. In 1998, following the fall of the Suharto dictatorship, an agreement was reached whereby the new United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) would hold a referendum through which the East Timorese people could choose either independence or autonomy with Indonesia (Martin and Mayer-Rieckh 2005).

On the 3rd of September 1999, it was announced that 78.8 per cent of the population had voted for independence. Shortly after the announcement of independence, East Timorese militias supported by the Indonesian armed forces and the paramilitary

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<sup>5</sup> Later renamed the CNRT - *Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese*/National Council of the Timorese Resistance in 1998

mobile brigade of the Indonesian police began a violent rampage through Timor-Leste. Employing a scorched earth policy as they withdrew to West Timor, the militias and Indonesian security forces destroyed 70% of buildings and houses, forcibly deported 250,000 people to camps in West Timor and killed between 1500-10,000 people (Chopra 2000).

This violent response was not unexpected. Violence committed by pro-integration East Timorese militias had been steadily increasing in the run up to the referendum (Suhrke 2001). Small East Timorese paramilitary units, often referred to as *ninjas*, had been armed and operating from the 1980s. Their presence increased from mid-1998 when support from the Indonesia military increased dramatically (Myrtilinen 2008).<sup>6</sup> Despite clear indication that the East Timorese militias and Indonesian security forces were going to react violently to a vote for independence, it took until the 15<sup>th</sup> of September for the United Nations-mandated, Australian-led international force for East Timor (Interfet) to be deployed to quell the violence (Chopra 2000).

### **4.3.3 United Nations Intervention**

Security Council Resolution 1272 mandated the United Nations to create the United Nations Transitional Authority of East Timor (UNTAET). UNTAET was given full administrative powers while preparations were made for East Timorese self-government which came into effect on 20 May, 2002 (Martin and Mayer-Rieckh 2005). UNTAET is identified as one of the most gender aware United Nations missions to date. It was one of the first missions to have a Gender Affairs Unit (GAU) and required all new United Nations staff including military and police forces, to attend gender awareness training (Whittington 2003; Koyama and Myrtilinen 2007). Some of the gendered gains from this included; increased support given to women involved in politics, the enshrinement of gender equality in the constitution and increased campaigning around domestic violence.

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<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the links between masculinities and violence in the militias see Myrtilinen, H. (2010). *Histories of Violence, States of Denial – Militias, Martial Arts and Masculinities in Timor-Leste*. Conflict Resolution & Peace Studies. Kwazulu-Natal, University of Kwazulu-Natal. **Doctor of Philosophy**: 370.

The gendered gains were tainted by UNTAET's failure to properly address several unintended gendered consequences of the United Nations mission. These consequences included the increase in prostitution and sex work brought about by the mission and a number of cases of sexual violence against East Timorese women committed by United Nations staff (both civilian and military). Despite the fact that United Nations staff were barred from engaging in the purchasing of sexual services, UNTAET did not have a unified policy on how to deal with this when it occurred (Koyama and Myrntinen 2007). Similarly, the cases of sexual violence were addressed with varying degrees of impunity (Joshi 2005). These 'unintended consequences', and the failure of the United Nations to adequately deal with them, can be seen as the effect of what Higate (2007:114) calls "(oppressive) social masculinities". In United Nations' missions where there are major power inequalities between the United Nations' staff and the host-country population, the intersection of "gender with socioeconomic context and power" creates a situation in which impunity is given to men involved in oppressive sexual practices. Therefore these 'unintended consequences' cannot be seen just as unfortunate side effects of the mission. Instead they are illustrative of the gendered, racialised power inequalities that the intervention created and reproduced (Higate and Henry 2009:157), and which continue to characterise the Timorese context.

#### **4.4 Police Creation and Reform: Construction, (partial) Destruction and Reconstruction**

This section details how the East Timorese Police force was constructed following the end of the Indonesian occupation. It explains the process leading to the police force's collapse in 2006. Lastly it details the current police reconstruction efforts that are being carried out in conjunction with the United Nations Police. Throughout this account I focus on the processes that have led to certain masculinities dominating within the security sector and explain how this has influenced the direction policing has taken in Timor-Leste.

##### **4.4.1 Police Construction**

The Polícia Nacional de Timor-Leste (PNTL) was created following the end of the Indonesian occupation and officially came into being on 10 August 2001. When

Indonesia left Timor-Leste in 1999, they took with them the only policing institution the East Timorese people had known. While an Indonesian Police Force (*Kepolisian Republik Indonesia* – POLRI) had existed and employed East Timorese officers, it had been an alien institution, aligned with a government the majority of East Timorese people did not see as legitimate. Therefore the United Nations was tasked with creating an indigenous police force from the bottom up (Mobekk 2003).

Security Council Resolution 1727 stated that the United Nations Police<sup>7</sup> would be responsible for recruiting and training “a credible, professional and impartial police service” (Hood 2006:63). New police recruits were given three months training followed by six months on the job training from an UNPOL mentor (Scambary 2009). UNPOL held executive policing authority until 20 May 2004 when the Government of Timor-Leste gained authority over the PNTL. From then, UNPOL continued their involvement in institution building (Lemay-Hebert 2009). The UNTAET mission and following United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET) have been criticised for their underwhelming efforts at institution building. Despite the focus outlined in the mandate on institution building, attempts to recruit and train a large number of officers in a short period of time was done at the expense of this goal (Hood 2006). Furthermore, there was an almost complete lack of local ownership over the police development process (Mobekk 2003).

The failures of institution building and local ownership seriously inhibited the development of a unique PNTL identity. This allowed the PNTL to be easily manipulated by the political aims of the Minister for the Interior, Rogerio Lobato (Hood 2006). The process of politicisation started with the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) of Falintil. In 2001, the Falintil High Command, led by Xanana Gusmao and with the support of UNTAET, chose 650 Falintil combatants to form the new East Timorese military (F-FDTL). This selection process was non-transparent and highly politicised (Rees 2003). The remaining 1,300 former-Falintil combatants were demobilised through the Falintil Reinsertion Assistance Programme (FRAP). For many, the benefits FRAP promised to provide did not make up for their failure to secure a place in the F-FDTL which meant that the

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<sup>7</sup> The United Nations Police were called the Civilian Police (CivPOL) until 2005.

DDR process, “created resentments that lingered on after independence” (King's College London 2003).

The resentment caused by the F-FDTL selection process was compounded by what many saw as an unfair PNTL selection process. Given the strict timeframe of police recruitment and training, the United Nations made the politically contentious decision to recruit 350 officers who had served under POLRI to form the basis of the PNTL. Unlike other new recruits who were given three months training, former-POLRI were given a four-week Intensive Transitional Training Course and were, as in the case of Commander Paulo Martins, placed in senior positions (Scambary 2009). In an environment where stable employment in the formal sector was extremely scarce, the prioritisation given to those seen to have been complicit in the Indonesian occupation was to create lasting tensions (Myrtilinen 2009a).

Serious problems developed within the police force when Rogerio Lobato, who became Minister for the Interior in 2002, began a process of militarising the PNTL in order to compete with the Xanana-controlled F-FDTL (Lemay-Hebert 2009). A perception developed that the PNTL was anti-Falintil and this led to the emergence of conflicts between the F-FDTL and PNTL from 2002 onwards. Lobato exacerbated this tension with the creation of two paramilitary police forces - the Border Patrol Unit (BPU) and Rapid Deployment Service (RDS) - which the F-FDTL saw as infringing on their territory (Scambary 2009). This was exacerbated by the emergence of veterans groups who, in response to their perceived marginalization created ‘paramilitary security groups’ connected under the Association of Ex-Combatants 1975 (AC75) (Rees 2003). The AC75 was also under the portfolio of Rogerio Lobato. These groups added to the increasing violence between the PNTL and F-FDTL by attacking police posts (Scambary 2009). Problems were further exacerbated by the fact that a number F-FDTL and PNTL officers had connections to gangs, Martial Arts Groups (MAGs) and Ritual Arts Groups (RAGs) who were frequently involved in violence (Myrtilinen 2010)

The politicisation and increasing violence within the security sector can be seen as a consequence of the failure of the DDR/Security Sector Reform (SSR) process to address violent notions of masculinity in the F-FDTL, in the PNTL and in wider

society. The ex-combatants, once incorporated into the new security forces, needed to unlearn the militaristic behaviours they had developed through the many years of resistance in order to become accountable security forces (Clarke 2008; Bendix 2009). As Myrtilinen (2004:33) suggests, this takes more than simply disarming ex-combatants physically, there also needs to be a process which disarms the 'violent notions of masculinity'. One way this can be done is through "assisting men in accessing a full range of emotions beyond those that made them "combat ready" (Theidon 2009:27). Of particular importance for promoting non-militarised policing is ensuring that new forms of both verbal and physical communication are promoted so that masculinities become tied to building respectful relationships with a community. However in the case of the ex-Falintil combatants and former-POLRI, instead of demilitarisation process happening, they were fast-tracked through the training procedures and placed in higher positions (Myrtilinen 2009a).

The failure to demilitarise mindsets through the DDR/SSR processes meant that East Timorese politicians were more able to manipulate the links between masculinity and violence for their own benefit. Dolan (2002:80) argues that, "normative models of masculinity can be manipulated for political ends, particularly for sustaining contexts of conflict." With regards to the increased militarization of the PNTL, Lobato was able to exploit the existing links between masculinity and violence in East Timorese society in order to encourage the PNTL to challenge the F-FDTL and advance his own political ambitions. What resulted was the creation of a police force in which a force-based masculinity dominated. This, combined with the weak institutional culture within the PNTL led to high rates of excessive force during arrests, arbitrary detention and misuse of firearms, none of which were dealt with properly internally (Human Rights Watch 2006).

The prioritisation of certain masculinities within the PNTL reinforced an institutional culture in which women were devalued, and where addressing violence committed against women was not given priority. Not a single female ex-combatant was integrated into the new security forces or given direct assistance through FRAP (Blackburn 2008). Despite this, women did enter the PNTL and around 20% of officers were female by 2006 (Myrtilinen 2009a). However within the institution,

Human Rights Watch (2006) noted that there were a number of cases of PNTL officers sexually assaulting women and being treated with impunity.

During the UNTAET administration, 40% of reported crimes were cases of domestic violence but as Koyama and Myrntinen (2007) state, the police and judiciary remained insensitive to these cases. This is reflective of a wider issue within Timor-Leste where domestic violence is often sanctioned because of a combination of patriarchy, *barlaki*, the influence of the Catholic Church and an acceptance of male violence (UNFPA 2005). This has resulted in cases of domestic violence not being taken seriously because it is seen as a 'domestic' matter rather than a major security issue (Myrntinen 2009a). The majority of cases were, and continue to be, addressed through the traditional *adat* justice system rather than the formal justice system<sup>8</sup> (Ferguson 2011). Traditional justice mechanisms have been criticised for passing rulings "based on the administrators of justice own biases and cultural beliefs regarding women's status in society" (Swaine 2003:2)<sup>9</sup>. Particular problems include, not giving female victims proper participation in the justice hearings, blaming female victims for the violence that has been done to them and not requiring the perpetrator to take responsibility for their actions (Swaine 2003). Therefore when thinking about the PNTL's role in creating security it is important to consider how the dominance of certain police masculinities affected which security concerns were prioritised.

#### **4.4.2 Police (partial) Destruction: The 2006 Crisis**

In 2006, following increasing political tension, conflict broke out amongst the security sector institutions, veterans groups, gangs, MAGs and RAGs in what has been termed the 2006 crisis. This period of violence resulted in the death of at least 37 people, the internal displacement of 155,000 people, the collapse of the PNTL in Dili, a change in Prime Minister and a new United Nations mission (International Crisis Group 2006). Understanding the role of the police in the crisis is necessary to understand the current policing situation in Timor-Leste.

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<sup>8</sup> In order to address this problem the Law against Domestic Violence (Law No. 7/2010) was passed in 2010 which makes domestic violence a public crime, and legally requires the police to channel all cases through the formal justice system (Ferguson 2011).

The crisis was triggered in February 2006, when 715 members of the F-FDTL submitted a petition to the President Xanana Gusmão and F-FDTL Commander Brigadier General Taur Matan Ruak claiming that discrimination was occurring in the F-FDTL against ‘Westerners’ (*loromonu* - those from the West of the island) by ‘Easterners’ (*lorosae* – those from the East of the island). These soldiers left their barracks and were dismissed from the F-FDTL by Taur Matan Ruak several weeks later. In response, the group – who have come to be known as the ‘petitioners’ – staged protests that turned violent and resulted in five deaths. After complaints of an ineffective police response, the F-FDTL was called in to assist in trying to quell the violence. However the violence continued to escalate. The Minister for Interior’s response was to arm civilians and gangs, veterans groups, MAGs and RAGs who became involved in the violence on all sides. As the violence progressed, the PNTL in Dili fell apart and PNTL officers joined petitioners in gun battles against the F-FDTL, and in some cases with the F-FDTL against the petitioners (Lemay-Hebert 2009; Simonsen 2009).

The crisis brought to the forefront the complex links and loyalties between political elites, members of the security forces and members of gangs, veterans groups, RAGs and MAGs, as they all fought simultaneously on opposing sides. These alliances can be partially understood through looking at the impact of *liurai*-ism on male PNTL officers’ identities. *Liurai*-ism refers to a patron-client system where male identities are in part socially constructed through loyalty networks, whereby, men’s behaviour is influenced by their loyalties and obligations to a range of different and competing networks (Gunn and Huang 2006). The effects of *liurai*-ism must be understood within the wider landscape of changing social and economic conditions in Timor-Leste. In Timor-Leste men are still required to “fulfil certain traditional obligations while not being able to reap the benefits of the old system (e.g. respect, sense of belonging, identity)” (Myrntinen 2010:227). Societal changes also mean that men feel pressure to act out a ‘modern’ breadwinner masculinity through participating in the formal economy.

Given the decades of military occupation and the resultant economic insecurities, the ‘modern’ masculinity is extremely difficult to achieve. In this context, “access to



intangible resources (solidarity, contracts, information, political clout)” which is acquired through patron-client networks becomes more important if male role expectations are to be achieved (Dolan 2002). This can explain the mainly male problem of PNTL members having strong links to political parties, MAGs, and other potentially violence prone groups (Myrntinen 2009a). It also explains how, when combined with the dominance of violent masculinities within the PNTL, gangs, MAGs and RAGs, these men exercised their loyalties through participating violently in the 2006 crisis.

#### **4.4.3 Police Reconstruction: The Return of the United Nations**

This section details the post-Crisis events, discussing the new mandate of the United Nations Police, the increasing militarisation of the PNTL and the increasingly tense relationship between the PNTL and UNPOL. I argue that these dynamics must be understood through a gendered framework where the continued links between militarised masculinity and policing are determining the direction the PNTL is moving in.

The 2006 crisis violence was quelled with the arrival of 3,200 peacekeepers. This was followed by the establishment of the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) on August 25 under Security Council Resolution 1704. The government of Timor-Leste had requested a United Nations policing mission and under the new mandate, just two years after taking over the management of the PNTL, executive policing authority was handed back to the United Nations Police. This executive authority would be maintained until the PNTL was ‘reconstituted’ through a screening, training and mentoring process carried out by UNPOL (International Crisis Group 2008). The reconstitution process would be followed by a two-stage handover where control over units and districts would gradually be transferred from UNPOL to the PNTL. This would be followed by the final stage in which the PNTL would be given over all command and control of police operations (Wilson, 2009).

Following the crisis, former Prosecutor General Longuinhos Monteiro was appointed as General Commander of the PNTL. He was given mandate to restructure the PNTL with the aim of turning it into a more professional institution in order to avoid a repeat of 2006 (International Crisis Group 2009; Fundasaun Mahein 2010). Instead, the structural changes applied to the PNTL following the crisis have contributed to the PNTL following a more paramilitaristic policing model. The restructuring has resulted in a seemingly contradictory policing model where the 2010 Organic Law states that PNTL officers are to be guided by community policing principals while the institution as a whole will be organised within a military hierarchy. This is done with the goal of developing a more “robust nature” within the PNTL (PNTL 2009).

The militarisation of the police structure is being exacerbated by the privileging of certain police units which utilise a force-based approach to policing. The first of these is the Special Police Unit which is made up of three sub-units, the Rapid Intervention Unit, Close Security Protection and Police Reserve Units. International Crisis Group (2009:18) labels these units “elite military-style detachments.” They have been involved in several military-style training programmes and operations<sup>10</sup>. Along with these units, district Task Force units previously used to quell public disorder re-emerged following the 2006 Crisis. Their role is “rapid dissuasive response” (International Crisis Group 2009:18) and they utilise a “reactive approach to policing which is quick to involve the use of force” (Interview with independent consultant, 2010). They have been blamed for many of the police brutality cases (Interview with independent consultant, 2010). The representative from Fundasaun Mahein (Interview, 2010) suggests that for the reasons mentioned above, the PNTL is continuing the legacy of POLRI where “it’s like army ... the way they perform is very look like paramilitary police [*sic*].”

The prioritization of these units shows that the PNTL as an institution continues to reproduce links between violence, militarization and masculinity. This is problematic for maintaining security in Timor-Leste. The effects of this can be seen in the ‘Ninja’ Operation led by the General Commander in early 2010. The ‘Ninja’ Operation was a

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<sup>10</sup> For more details on this see International Crisis Group (2009). *Handing Back Responsibility to Timor-Leste's Police*. Asia Report N. 180. Brussels, International Crisis Group.

special operation launched on January 22, 2010 in the districts of Covalima and Bobanaro carried out mainly by the special police units. It was designed to rid the area of 'ninjas', who were accused by the government and PNTL leadership of being part of an organised crime group involved in campaigns of political violence. It is widely believed by local NGOs such as Fundasaun Mahein and the HAK Foundation to have been an artificially created threat, started by those in positions of power (Fundasaun Mahein 2010; HAK 2010).

The 'Ninja' Operation followed a militaristic model not a policing model, and the HAK Foundation suggests that many human rights violations were committed by the security forces including illegal detention and torture. Dolan (2002:75-76) states that when the security sector institutions prioritise a militarised approach to dealing with issues, this prevents "the emergence of alternative forms of masculinity based on practices of negotiation, reconciliation and non-violence." In this way, the militarised direction the PNTL are going in promotes the dominance of violent models of masculinity not just within the police force but also in wider society.

The United Nations Police have continued to have a tense relationship with the PNTL. This tension has been partly caused by UNPOL re-gaining executive policing authority. The government of Timor-Leste did not want UNPOL to re-gain executive authority but the United Nations made it a requirement of their providing support (Lemay-Hebert 2009). This is problematic from a gender perspective, because as I discussed in Chapter Two, police masculinity is often tied to power, control and state-sanctioned use of force. All of these are taken away through the removal of executive policing authority, which is likely to increase feelings of resentment as it takes away the "masculinised coercive power of the state as embodied in the police" (Helms 2006).

The consequences of this resentment can be seen in both the passive aggressive and outwardly aggressive relationship between UNPOL and the PNTL. This passive aggressiveness is shown in Dili where the PNTL will often refuse to go on callouts suggesting it is UNPOL's role as they have executive policing authority (Interview with the Asia Foundation, 2010). The outward aggression can be seen in the re-emergence of the Task Force unit. The re-formation of the Task Force unit following

the 2006 crisis occurred without any knowledge of UNPOL (Lemay-Hebert 2009). The independent consultant I spoke to (Interview, 2010) described how during this re-emergence the Task Force unit was aggressively “responding to events and you know UNPOL wasn’t being notified and it was a real kind of slap in the face ... it was a bit of a fuck you to the UN and there was a lot of pride in that.” In this way the re-emergence of the Task Force unit can be seen as a method through which the PNTL re-asserted their authority. Therefore this incident, and the wider problematic relationship between UNPOL and the PNTL that my research is situated within, can be understood as an ‘unintended consequence’ of the gendered power relationships inherent in the United Nations mission environment.

Amid a multitude of criticisms, responsibility for executive policing has been handed back to the PNTL<sup>11</sup>. It is within this environment of increasing tensions between UNPOL and the PNTL, ninja operations, fears of the re-militarisation of the PNTL, and the continuing politicisation of the police, that my research takes place.

## **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided background information and explanation to a number of people and places, events and issues, that surface throughout my research. More importantly, through analysing the processes of colonialism, military occupation and United Nations intervention through a gendered lens, I have shown the links between the militarised history and the promotion of certain types of masculinities in the security forces. Understanding this is crucial to understanding how violent masculinities have come to be hegemonic within the PNTL and how this has contributed to the militarised direction the PNTL are moving in. I have briefly drawn attention to the centrality of non-violent masculinities within the civilian resistance movement. With this final thought in mind, the next chapter will go on to discuss the process that some PNTL community police go through in order construct their own non-violent policing masculinities in a way that challenges the hegemony of violent police masculinities.

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<sup>11</sup> When my research took place UNPOL still maintained partial-executive policing authority.

## **5. “They’re Just a Bunch of Cowboys”: Exploring Masculinities in the PNTL**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Towards the end of my field research in Timor-Leste, I unexpectedly found myself travelling home from the district of Suai, in the official PNTL leadership convoy. On this trip I was to see many of the things many of my research participants had criticised the PNTL for. I saw aggressive driving where our six-car convoy forced on-coming vehicles off the road. I saw examples of militarism, including when I was made to travel sitting next to a semi-automatic rifle. Finally I saw the bizarre where I witnessed these PNTL officers feeding their pet crocodile, the ultimate pet for any ‘real men’ to own. This was in stark contrast to the experiences I had had just weeks earlier while spending time with the Community Policing department of the PNTL in Becora. Here they had done things such as travel unarmed to a school to participate in a disciplinary meeting for young boys involved in fighting. Instead of intimidating the boys as I had seen other PNTL officers do, the community police took responsibility for them, encouraging the principal not to expel them in exchange for their commitment to reform.

These different experiences of policing above are instructive of some of the different styles of policing that exist within the PNTL. In line with this, the aim of this chapter is to explore what different masculinities are evident in the policing practices of the PNTL. This contributes to my thesis aim of exploring how police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities. By investigating how the different types of policing mentioned above are valued based on their links to masculinity, I show how important it is to take notice of masculinities when looking at police reform. In particular, I argue that a militarised, force-based form of police masculinity has come to be valued within the PNTL. This could act as a barrier to the widespread adoption of a non-violent, community-orientated policing which is seen as the less ‘manly’ form of policing. However as I also argue, despite being seemingly-subordinated, the practices of the PNTL community police are reframed by the police officers

themselves as the more ‘masculine’ policing style. In this way a non-violent, community-orientated policing masculinity is promoted. This provides important insights into how a non-violent policing culture could be better promoted through an approach to gendered reform that pays attention to masculinities.

## **5.2 “The Hero Stuff”: Exploring the hypermasculine policeman**

The PNTL is guided by a mandate that suggests all police must follow community policing principals while the institution as a whole will be organised within a military hierarchy (PNTL 2009). In this section I draw attention to how there is the dominance of a militarised hypermasculine style of policing within the PNTL and I explore what this means for the likelihood of non-violent, community-orientated masculinities being promoted. I explore how this style of policing has become hegemonic by using a gendered analysis of the language police officers used to describe policing practice within the PNTL. As was discussed in the methodology chapter, I highlight processes of ‘masculinisation’ where certain policing practices become dominant through their links to ‘masculinity’. These links include, how policing practices are linked to terms that are conventionally associated with masculinity, how policing practices are linked to men’s bodies and how certain policing practices are privileged or valorised (Duncanson 2007).

Figure 2. Sign on the front of the UIR building, Suai (Marianne Bevan, 2010)



As I discussed in Chapter Two, a multitude of masculinities exist within a policing institution. However hierarchies develop between different policing units, where those units that are able to align themselves more closely to the hegemonic, hypermasculine ideal are prioritised (Enloe 1993; Connell 2000; Barrett 2001; Herbert 2001; Higate 2003b). This hegemonic masculinity should not be seen as an accurate description of the personalities of all men. Rather hegemonic masculinity is an easily identified, idealized model in relation to which other masculinities are created (Connell 2005). Certain notions of masculinity remain hegemonic by ‘feminising’ any men who enact other masculinities and stray from this norm. It is through this process that subordinate policing masculinities can be created (Connell 2005).

Traditional hegemonic masculinities within the police force are often linked to hypermasculinity. Policing is seen to become hypermasculine through the use of aggression and threat of violence to solve problems and maintain control (McElhinny 1994; Herbert 2001; Cooper 2008; Rabe-Hemp 2008). Physicality and the display and use of weapons within a ‘masculine’ police performance is also central (Herbert 2001; Cooper 2008). Militarised forms of policing are more likely to emerge when a hypermasculine culture exists (Kraska 1996).

According to the literature mentioned above, when a hypermasculine style of policing becomes hegemonic, community-style policing is often subordinated. This is because community policing requires the adoption of traditionally ‘feminine’ qualities such as compassion, communication skills and empathy as opposed to the traditionally ‘masculine’ qualities of strength and courage. Community policing requires police to “downplay their aggressive derring-do and instead engage in the involved and complicated process of establishing cooperative relations with the citizenry” (Herbert 2001:56). Therefore some research has shown that there is often resistance on the part of male police officers to adopting a community policing approach, as it does not allow them to align themselves to the hypermasculine, hegemonic ideal. The limited amount of research on this subject means that it is unknown if this is the case in police forces around the world however as I will discuss below, there is evidence that it is to some extent the case in Timor-Leste.

As I discussed in Chapter Four, the PNTL are seen to be adopting a more militarised style of policing, which was something observed by the New Zealand Police. The descriptions of policing practice within the PNTL given by the New Zealand Police link this militarised style of policing to the hypermasculine qualities described in traditional accounts of police masculinity. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) suggests that overall there is a type of “machismo culture” in which an “operational” style of policing dominates. The use of terms such as “machismo” makes direct links between ‘masculinity’ and what is described as an ‘operational’ style of policing. Key within this style of policing is the use of physicality and force. It is described as a type of “hard core policing” on a “more physical scale” than policing seen elsewhere (Interview with NZPOL Five, 2010). These police are “hardliners who believe that force is the way to resolve most things, negotiation is the last thing” (Interview with NZPOL Five, 2010). These police also like to be in control, they like “to take charge and get right in there ... I’m in charge you listen to me” (Interview with NZPOL Seven, 2010). The aggressive, violent, forceful style of policing is seen by these New Zealand Police officers to be used by the PNTL as a method to maintain control over people which aligns with what the literature on policing and gender labels as hypermasculine policing.



All of the hypermasculine qualities discussed above are highlighted in an incident described by NZPOL Seven (Interview, 2010) in which he observed aggressive, forceful policing. On this particular occasion he was working at a traffic stop and:

“there were buses coming through and we put up cones and we were just putting up some cones and then the PNTL guys come down with their big sticks and I’m like what are they for, and they said if people get out of control and they would chase people and ... you know if anyone back chats them, out comes the stick and it’s shown to them ... they’re just a bunch of cowboys.”

NZPOL Nine (Interview, 2010) recounts a similar story of Task Force brutality where at a stabbing incident one of the Task Force officers drew out his baton and came running at the group of bystanders from across the road to drive them away. According to NZPOL Nine, he was “you know swinging his baton” and following this he found “a guy amongst the trees and give him a couple of clouts, turned out he wasn’t actually the offender but they thought that he was.” Within these descriptions the centrality of weapons (in the form of batons) is important. Through the display of batons and the threat of violence this entails, the process of brandishing weapons becomes central in the performance of a masculine policing identity (Myrntinen 2004). Overall, the links made between the dominant policing practices and hypermasculine characteristics, suggest that a violent, militarised style of policing is allowed to exist because it is seen as the most ‘masculine’ approach.

The New Zealand Police’s descriptions of the PNTL show how the operational, militarised style of policing is given priority over a community policing style as it more closely aligns with the hypermasculine, hegemonic ideal. NZPOL Six describes the relationship between the different approaches in the PNTL:

“ ... you also 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 “operational” and “hero” are terms traditionally associated with ‘masculinity’ and are linked to hypermasculine 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 ‘feminine’ qualities such as “quiet” and “soft”. In this way they are seen by NZPOL Six to have been ‘feminised’ by the more “machismo” style of policing. As such, we can see how the community style policing is subordinated within the PNTL, as it does not provide a means through which men can align themselves with the hegemonic ideal. A rather politically incorrect comment made by an officer in UNPOL, in which he suggested that many police do not like community policing because they see it as a bit “gay” captures this sentiment. Explicit in this comment is that some police officers in the PNTL view community policing as too ‘feminine’ to fit in with their ‘masculine’ self-image.

I was able to witness the prioritisation of militarised policing first hand when I attended a police parade in Suai that had been organised to celebrate the end of the ‘Ninja’ Operation, which was discussed in Chapter Four. The parade was made up of four groups of police. There were the three sub-units in the Special Police Unit, all with matching new uniforms and new semi-automatic rifles. This was in comparison to the fourth group, which was made up of the general patrol groups in their mismatched uniforms and old guns. The community police officers on the other hand were not even part of the parade. One (female) member of the unit was required to prepare food for lunch while another (male) officer had been tasked with making and delivering invitations. Clearly evident in this is the hierarchy within the PNTL. The Special Units, who display a militarised style of policing, are given more resources and status through their participation in the parade. This is while the community police are tasked with jobs that further cement the perception of their unit as not ‘real policing’.

An important means through which the links between militarised policing and masculinity can be maintained is through preventing women from engaging in militarised practices. Duncanson (2007) has suggested that practices retain their status as being ‘masculine’ through being associated with men’s bodies and men’s

participation in these practices. The presence of women in militarised departments would threaten the link between hegemonic masculinity and militarised policing. Therefore there is an effort within the PNTL to keep women out of the militarised policing units and militarised operations. In the parade mentioned above, there were no women as part of the special policing units. This is representative of a wider trend throughout the PNTL where women are concentrated in the 'soft' departments such as the VPU and are actively kept out of units such as the border policing units even when they have specialist training (Myrntinen 2009b). In an interview (2010) with PNTL Four who holds a leadership role in the PNTL, he discussed how there were no women involved in the 'Ninja' Operation because they are not 'operational' enough. Instead he suggested that women were good at community policing, at "saying 'hello' to the community". This acts to separate women and femininity from qualities such as being 'operational' and link them to qualities needed for community policing. This ensures that being 'operational' and militarised continues to be seen as 'masculine' and therefore prioritised.

Community policing principals are said to guide the direction of the PNTL and the PNTL leadership have spoken out in support of this approach. However looking at how the PNTL leadership tie their own male identities to militarised, operationalised policing makes the barriers to promoting community policing all the more apparent. Several of the civil society representatives that I spoke to suggested that the PNTL General Commander Longuinhos Monteiro was pushing a paramilitarised style of policing. I saw first hand Monteiro's pre-occupation with a militarised approach when I saw him arrive at the Suai parade armed and in what looked like full military attire. The representative from Fundasaun Mahein (Interview, 2010) linked Monteiro's pursuit of militarised policing to his desire to be seen as a man, "he love guns you know he likes to always carry guns with him, that shows him that he's a real man, that he's a handsome man [*sic*]." Within the accounts of the approach taken by the PNTL leadership it is apparent how some of the PNTL leadership and Monteiro in particular, continue to see being 'real men' as achieved through giving a militarised performance.

The PNTL leadership are able to maintain a militarised approach while suggesting they are promoting community policing by using community policing discourses to

describe militarised practices. Herbert (2001) suggests that police who are resistant to adopting a community policing mantle will often conflate community policing with other more traditionally 'masculine' approaches. PNTL Four (Interview, 2010) who was part of the operationalised PNTL leadership, clearly favoured a militarised approach to policing suggesting that militaries around the world are more trusted, strategic and disciplined than police forces, and that the PNTL needs to be more like this. He also spoke of the importance of community policing. However when describing how community policing is utilised by the PNTL, he gave the 'Ninja' Operation as an example. This is problematic given the militarised nature of this operation. Confirming this, the representative from Fundasaun Mahein (Interview, 2010) suggested that the style of policing utilised by the PNTL is increasingly mirroring the militarised approach to policing taken by POLRI during the Suharto-era occupation.

When talking about community policing generally, NZPOL Four (Interview, 2010) stated that it is a useful strategy to gain the trust of the community, which allows the police officer to "have them in his hands." This sentiment was evident in how he described the 'Ninja' Operation as a "community education" programme led by the (highly armed) Special Forces police to ensure that the community members were not convinced to join the 'ninjas'. This can be seen as a legacy of the Suharto era where people were seen as "stupid" and "easily manipulated" which justifies 'community policing' strategies centred on the control of people (Myrttinen 2011 pers. comm., 29 April). Therefore the particular historically created model of militarised masculinity that sees it as the role of the police to control people, acts as a barrier to the promotion of community policing in which the police work *with* the community to prevent crime. This model of militarised police masculinity is particularly difficult to challenge because it is labelled by the PNTL leadership as 'community policing'. Therefore it can appear that the police force is reforming when in actuality, they are continuing to carry out actions more in line with a militarised "masculinist model" (Herbert 2001:66).

The dominance of hypermasculine, militarised policing should also be seen as a consequence of the militarised models of policing exhibited by the United Nations Police which the PNTL have drawn from. Myrttinen (2009b:86) has cautioned that

the trends towards militarised policing seen in the PNTL are based partly on “imported notions of hyper-masculinity” brought over by “quasi-military” Formed Police Units (FPUs). A quote by the representative from Fundasaun Mahein (Interview, 2010) captures the influence of militarised UN policing on the models of policing adopted in the PNTL:

“It’s like army or it’s like the GNR Portuguese elite police [a FPU], not really show on the attitude of what we call the community police because the way they performs is very look like paramilitary police so I haven’t seen when they say the community police without the pistol, without the performance of the – the kind of show of force [*sic*]”

This comment shows that in some ways, the presence and behaviour of certain United Nations Police units, is acting to exacerbate the links between masculinities and militarised policing within the PNTL. In this environment, as is quoted above, community policing becomes less visible.

In this section I have shown how an operational, militarised style of policing has come to dominate within the PNTL because of its links to the hypermasculine, hegemonic ideal. This highlights the potential gendered problems in promoting a policing model based on co-operation and respect when exhibiting these characteristics does not allow police officers to align themselves with the hegemonic ideal. Therefore it is important for gendered approaches to police reform to take account of masculinities if they are going to challenge militarised policing cultures and promote respectful, community-orientated policing.

### **5.3 “The Softer Side of Things”: Exploring the community police officer**

The aim of this section is to show how the community police in the PNTL challenge and resist the hegemonic hypermasculine form of policing described in the previous section. Gender identities are fluid; therefore if police reform programmes are going to contribute to the challenging of police cultures that allow militarised policing to flourish, they need to challenge what is considered ‘masculine’ policing. Hegemonic masculinity can be challenged through making visible other masculinities and learning from the ways they resist the hegemonic norm. In this section I argue that the

community police in the PNTL provide an example of these alternative masculinities. They challenge the hegemony of hypermasculinity by framing violent, forceful policing as the less ‘masculine’ option, and instead emphasise the importance of policing based on communication and relationship building.

*Figure 3. Street art at Arte Moris art school, Dili (Marianne Bevan, 2010)*



To support the position described above, I will first give an overview of the process police officers can go through to promote a community-orientated policing masculinity using the New Zealand Police as an example, before moving on to discuss the PNTL in more detail. As I argued earlier, hegemonic masculinity cannot be seen as a stable construct, and rather is fluid and continually changing as it draws in new characteristics. In this way characteristics that were previously seen as subordinate can be promoted and previously hegemonic characteristics can be devalued (Hooper 2001). Within literature on community policing and gender, this fluidity of masculinity is rarely noted. The focus remains on how the use of force and control as a definer of male police identity has made it difficult for a community policing approach to be adopted because of its ‘soft’, ‘feminine’ qualities (see Herbert 2001; Rabe-Hemp 2008; Miller 1999).

While the literature on policing does not take into consideration that fluidity of masculinities, research on peacekeepers has shown the possibility of change in how masculinity is framed. As I discussed in Chapter Two, peacekeepers can reframe their

work so that qualities which have traditionally been seen as ‘feminine’ and discouraged such as negotiation, relationship building and withholding force, come to be valorised. This happens through a process of ‘masculinisation’ where these qualities are linked to other qualities traditionally associated with masculinity such as bravery and effectiveness. In this way the traditional links between masculinity and violence are disrupted and are replaced with links between masculinity, negotiation and relationship building (Duncanson 2007).

Within the New Zealand Police’s descriptions of effective policing, they described utilising a community policing approach. They employ a process of ‘masculinisation’ similar to that used by peacekeepers, to justify their use of community policing. NZPOL One (Interview, 2010), a male police officer, describes policing in a way that is illustrative of this:

“Policing by force is actually very easy, you know, being oppressive to resolve issues is actually very simple. Having strategic approaches like engaging your community and identifying their priorities that takes time and it’s a long slow process and it takes a real platform of trust and you know your talking about a country that by virtue of their history is not particularly sophisticated, they you know, the average education level is about 12 and then when you say well here’s a really technical strategy that countries like New Zealand, developed countries, are still not perfect at implementing ... I guess civic control through force. And I don’t necessarily think that that’s a deliberate strategy ... it’s easy, it’s the easiest thing to do.”

NZPOL One identifies practices such as “engaging your community”, “identifying their priorities” and “creating a platform of trust” as being important for policing. In traditional ‘masculine’ policing discourse all of these practices would not fit in with the image of police as “soldiers in a war against crime” (Herbert 2001:61). However NZPOL One also suggests that community policing is a “strategic approach” and a “really technical strategy” which are terms traditionally associated with ‘masculinity’. This can be seen as an example of ‘masculinisation’ as it links (‘feminine’) community policing terms with terms conventionally associated with ‘masculinity’. It then suggests that these practices allow the police to be more effective in carrying out their role of maintaining security. In this way the New Zealand Police disconnect the links between masculinity and force and control. They replace these with links between masculinity and community engagement and relationship building. This is

important in showing the process police forces can go through to promote a police culture that promotes a non-violent, respectful masculinity in their communities.

Utilising processes of ‘masculinisation’, the PNTL community police challenge hegemonic, hypermasculine policing by enacting masculinities that see security as being created through building good relationships with the community. Within the PNTL, the majority of officers I spoke to suggested that they considered good policing to occur when a police officer worked with the community. This is seen in PNTL One’s (Interview, 2010) description of what he sees as a good police officer:

“he’s a good police officer, he always talk to the community or create meeting and then ask the community opinion, what can we do for you that’s good ... we have to always move, always going round the *Suco* (village) to talk with the community, making meeting and getting their idea ... so they always ask sometime if they need help, they need information so we can do a community campaign and community meeting, we can also do a visit to school [*sic*].”

In this account there is a clear focus on building relationships with the community so that they can identify the security issues that are of concern to them.

To succeed in the relationship-building approach to policing the PNTL and the New Zealand Police suggest that police need good communication skills. According to the New Zealand Police, many of the PNTL community police they worked with had good communication skills. As NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) describes, the PNTL community police “know how to communicate with the leaders, work with the leaders, they’re all brilliant.” A number of PNTL also highlighted the importance of these skills such as being able to “listen to their [the communities] needs” (Interview with PNTL Six, 2010), “building the trust” with the community and acting as a “companion” to the community (Interview with PNTL Two, 2010). Therefore central to the PNTL community police’s approach was the utilisation of communication, trust and relationship building in order to improve civilian-police relationships. This is an approach Miller (1999) suggests male police officers have difficulty prioritising as they are seen to be associated with traditionally ‘feminine’ qualities and skills. Therefore the PNTL’s focus on relationship-building and communication shows that



they have adopted a policing approach that does not fit in with the traditional 'masculinist' policing paradigm described in the literature.

The approach of building relationships and letting the community identify security issues allows the police to take a preventative approach to policing. A preventative approach to policing resolves minor issues before they develop into conflict. According to NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010), "they [the PNTL community police] totally understand the theory of preventing it before it happens ... it's about being proactive". A number of PNTL officers highlighted how important relationship-building with the community was to carrying out preventative policing with PNTL Seven (Interview, 2010) suggesting that "through this collaboration they [the police] can prevent the problem". One success story highlighted by several PNTL officers in Becora was when the police built relationships with the community and saw that disputes were emerging over the management of water resources. As PNTL Two (Interview, 2010) explains, "they are close to the community and they see the problem, the water problem and the police also help to solve this water supply". This approach was also used to try and prevent cases of domestic violence, which the community in Becora highlighted as one of the main security concerns.

Prioritising preventative (rather than reactive) policing is something that Herbert (2001) suggests male officers are resistant to. This is because when the community is given the opportunity to highlight what they consider the main security issues, it takes away the ability of police officers to control and conquer the space. Instead they must "share governance over those spaces, not impose their own crime-fighting strategies" (Herbert 2001:64). Therefore by prioritising preventative policing, the PNTL once again acted outside of the traditional 'masculinist' policing paradigm. An effect of allowing the shared governance that results from preventative policing was that it allowed the community to identify security concerns such as water management not normally considered in the realm of 'normal policing' (Herbert 2001). Important from a gender perspective was that it also allowed the community to identify domestic violence as a key issue which the PNTL as a whole has been criticised for not taking seriously as 'real policing'.

I argue that the New Zealand Police and PNTL community police reframe the community-orientated approach to make it the most effective policing strategy and therefore redefine what is considered ‘masculine’ policing. When security forces incorporate new skills that have previously been marginalised because they are seen as ‘feminine’ and frame them as being central to the aims of the security forces, it acts to position that approach as more ‘masculine’ (Duncanson 2007). The PNTL community police use this process of ‘masculinisation’ by firstly linking ‘feminine’ qualities such as communication and relationship building to the central aims of policing such as providing security and protection which are traditionally ‘masculine’ characteristics. As PNTL Six (Interview, 2010) explained, the “function of all police is to serve and to protect ... what makes a good police officers is through co-operation they, they show the maturity in action, their presence in the community and they always together with the member and the people that they serve”. In this way qualities such as “co-operation” and being “always together” are linked to the core functions of policing which is to serve and protect.

Community policing, and the ‘feminine’ qualities it employs are also linked to the central aims of policing which is to solve crime. In particular, building relationships and taking a preventative approach to policing is framed as being more effective in solving problems because it allows the PNTL to gain access to information that is not available to other PNTL units. As PNTL Three described, “they [the community police] know ahead about something that will disturb the community ... they investigate before the national intelligence knows about this for example Jose<sup>12</sup> he has good relations with the community, he co-operates with them and they really inform and trust him”. In this way, by suggesting that traditionally ‘feminine’ qualities are crucial to the central aim of policing which is to solve security issues, the police frame community policing as more ‘masculine’.

The community-orientated approach that the PNTL community police use is contrasted with the hegemonic, hypermasculine policing style discussed in the previous section, which is framed as being the less effective approach to policing. In this way the community police sever the links between operational policing and

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<sup>12</sup> Not his real name.

masculinity. The force-based approach utilised by departments such as the Task Force was criticised for failing to allow relations of trust and respect to be created that are needed to prevent and mediate security concerns. PNTL Three (Interview, 2010) explains 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 [*sic*].” 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 of the police. For PNTL Two (Interview, 2010), “using force is not the right way to solve the problem, it can make it worse when you use the force like military style [*sic*]”, and “the violence will only create more violence” (Interview with PNTL Seven, 2010). NZPOL Five stressed these same points, suggesting that the PNTL he worked with were not “domineering and aggressive” which allowed them to be more effective police officers “because aggression does not solve anything”.

Despite espousing the importance of communication and relationship building with the community, two of the PNTL community police officers suggested that the militarised ‘Ninja’ Operation was an example of community policing, just as PNTL Four had. This shows the tension that remains between the different policing approaches especially given that operational, hypermasculine policing continues to be most visible and promoted by certain members of the PNTL leadership. However in most respects, both the New Zealand and PNTL community police challenged the idea that operational policing is more ‘masculine’ by disconnecting operational policing from characteristics that others use to qualify it as ‘masculine’ such as effectiveness at creating security. Therefore what results is a re-framed policing discourse in which links between masculinity, effective policing and the use of force and violence are disrupted. Instead, new links between masculinity, effective policing, communication and relationship building are created.

Within the re-framed community policing masculinity, masculinity also becomes associated with maintaining peace and security through non-violent means. This means certain police masculinities could potentially be used as a tool to create peace, rather than a hindrance to it as masculinity is often framed as being. To explore the means through which this could happen I will use a case study of how PNTL Seven

dealt with an incident of youth violence, and in particular how the young men involved in this incident were framed. According to Herbert (2001:58-59), the dominance of force-based masculinity is maintained through portraying catching ‘bad guys’ as a form of masculinity contest. A process of ‘othering’ the suspects takes place whereby giving them the label of ‘bad guy’ creates an image of them a threat to the peace, or a challenge to police authority. This makes it easier to legitimate the use of force to restrain them. Through this process police can align with hegemonic hypermasculinity but in doing so create more insecurity and violence (Herbert 2001:58-59).

The description of an incident of youth violence attended to by PNTL Seven (Interview, 2010) shows that in the case of the PNTL community police, suspects are not framed as ‘bad guys’ through ‘othering’ processes. PNTL Seven explains how he was contacted by the leader of a village where fighting was occurring so he went there and had:

“...dialogue with them and give the instruction, and give them 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 and give all these instructions. Finally they take picture together and they take all their names individually and they sign together then they promise they will work together and this will be the last violence they will do, then they all agree that it will not happen anymore.”

In this account, PNTL Seven does not see policing as a means through which to put himself in situations where he can engage in aggressive ‘masculinity contests’ (Cooper 2008) with suspects. Rather he sees policing as a process through which a masculine identity can be created by carrying out an effective mediation process. In the description above, PNTL Seven also stressed that a key component to creating calm through mediation is to provide alternatives to violence for the young men involved in violence and crime. While not mentioned in PNTL Seven’s account, a number of other PNTL community police noted that in order to provide people with alternative ways to act in order to avoid violence, the police must act as role models. They must “give mirror, good mirror for his members through co-operation, good co-operation and also direct contact to the people, to the community ... the police as mirror to the community, that’s why they show their attitude and respect” (Interview

with PNTL Six, 2010). Therefore the PNTL community police see their role as acting in ways that provoke men to question seeing masculinity as being synonymous with violence, which could be important for promoting peace and security in their communities.

The descriptions of policing given by the PNTL are important in showing the processes that police go through to challenge hegemonic, hypermasculine police models. These are insights that should be used to inform how gendered police reform is carried out, and signals the need to focus on promoting positive policing masculinities. Within policing this rarely happens as one of the biggest barriers to the widespread adoption of a community-orientated approach is that police officers do not get recognition or reward for pursuing a non-violent approach (Herbert 2001:59). PNTL Seven (Interview, 2010) however, felt that he received recognition for the community-orientated approach he took when dealing with the youth violence incident introduced above. As he explains:

“In the end the New Zealand Police give a certificate to me as recognition of this, so I got a reward from the New Zealand police, a certificate. That village gives gratitude to me because of my effort. Up til now everything is in peace in their village, that is a good approach and good effort from my part. Not only the community recognise my skill in how to approach that case but the higher levels recognise this especially the district commissioner of the PNTL and UNPOL and the local leaders, they know me very well.”

PNTL Seven shows how he appreciated the fact that the community and certain members of UNPOL and the PNTL valued the actions he took to contribute to the creation of peace, and that acting as a non-violent man, was socially sanctioned. This highlights the importance of ensuring that men feel that they will be recognised and rewarded for these non-violent policing practices when trying to encourage the widespread adoption of non-violent masculinities.

If gendered police reform is going to become a vehicle through which non-violent police masculinities - such as that evidenced above - are expanded, the first step must be to recognise the diversity of men's practices. There needs to be a recognition that change will not come from imposing outside models but by seeking out, supporting, promoting and expanding the non-violent models that already exist. After all, just

because the militarised history may be the most visible history in Timor-Leste, that does not mean that it is the only one. Timor-Leste also has a history of non-violent conflict resolution, mediation and advocacy. While the streets of Dili are covered in graffiti promoting the likes of Rambo and Jackie Chan and a plethora of other violent role models, more prominent are the words and symbols on almost every wall calling for peace and understanding. In a country that does in many ways have a violent history, the need is all the more urgent to illuminate the non-violent histories, the non-violent symbols and – crucially – the non-violent men.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter has given an account of the different forms of masculinities that are evident within policing practice in the PNTL. I have argued that in order to understand how non-violent, community-orientated policing is valued within the PNTL, attention must be paid to what masculinities dominate. I have shown that the continued hegemony of a hypermasculine policing masculinity acts to subordinate community-orientated policing masculinities. However, I have also shown that despite the fact that male police officers continue to be talked about as having a one-dimensional masculinity, the PNTL community police were active in reframing what was considered ‘masculine’ policing. Learning from the processes these police officers use to link masculinity with communication, mediation and non-violence can provide new avenues for gendered police reform programmes to contribute to developing a culture of peace.

## **6. “Hand in Hand to Serve Timor-Leste”: Masculinities and Collaborative Capacity Building**

### **6.1 Introduction**

A central aim of this thesis is to explore how police officers involved in the Community Policing Pilot Programme (CPPP) understand and conceptualise masculinities. This chapter contributes to this aim by investigating how different understandings of masculinities might impact on the relationship between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners. There has been an increasing call to investigate how masculinities affect the type of policing that dominates within post-conflict police forces and what effects this may have on the success of capacity building programmes; however there has been less attention focused on how masculinities within the United Nations Police might impact on how police officers conceptualise their capacity building role. This is problematic given that UNPOL continues to be a male dominated institution. Given that the success of capacity building programmes is partly contingent on the development of good relationships between UNPOL and the PNTL, it is important to understand how the different understandings of masculinities within the New Zealand Police may impact on this relationship.

While I suggest that many New Zealand Police officers appear to have prioritised building collaborative relationships with the PNTL, there were several barriers to this being done consistently. I explore how the construction of ‘task-oriented’ masculinities within the unequal socioeconomic environment of a United Nations mission can act as a barrier to police officers prioritising collaborative relationships. However I argue that when police officers challenge the racialised notion of themselves as ‘neutral experts’, it is more conducive to the development of collaborative relationships. Overall, I discuss the importance of paying attention to how masculinities operate within the United Nations Police when thinking about how gendered police reform programmes should be carried out.

## 6.2 Building Relationships

This section presents my argument for why the New Zealand Police need to develop respectful and equitable relationships with the PNTL in order to be effective capacity builders. I argue that successful capacity building can only occur when the United Nations Police build relationships with the PNTL where they acknowledge PNTL agency, acknowledge the local context, and treat the PNTL as equals.

According to the literature on police reform, a key determining factor in the success of police reform programmes is the extent to which the foreign police are able to build respectful and equitable relationships with the host country police force. Better relationships are developed when police engaged in police reform prioritise learning about the local culture of the country in which they are stationed (Goldsmith and Harris 2009; McLeod 2009; Greener, Fish et al. 2011). Also key is that police officers approach reform from the position of letting the local police, communities, leaders and organisations identify reform priorities, which is something rarely done (see for example Dinnen, McLeod et al. 2006; Goldsmith and Dinnen 2007; McLeod 2009).

The ability of UNPOL to prioritise building equitable relationships with the PNTL is seen by the civil society representatives and the PNTL themselves as a major contributor to UNPOL being able to mentor the PNTL successfully. Central to this type of relationship being developed is for UNPOL to introduce new skills to the PNTL in a way that fits in with their local context. This requires UNPOL to acknowledge the PNTL's existing knowledge and skills, as PNTL One (Interview, 2010) noted, they “need knowledge from another country to combine with our community policing culture here [*sic*]”. An example of this balance between introducing new skills while acknowledging existing skills and approaches to policing is seen in how some New Zealand Police approached community meetings. PNTL Three (Interview, 2010) noted that they had experience with community meetings; however the training provided by the Asia Foundation and the New Zealand Police built on this by giving them new ideas about how to work with the community in identifying and preventing crime. Therefore the PNTL appreciated that new preventive policing methods were introduced to them in the context of working with existing community meeting structures.



Central to equitable relationships being developed between UNPOL and the PNTL is that UNPOL officers learn about East Timorese culture. According to the representative from the Asia Foundation (Interview, 2010), when UNPOL try to overcome cultural barriers better relationships develop and the PNTL “like having person to person mentoring.” The PNTL noted the importance of UNPOL making a commitment to learn about the East Timorese culture through spending time in the community. PNTL Two (Interview, 2010) stated that UNPOL officers are appreciated by the PNTL when, “they’re very collaborative, they go directly into the community life ... they really immerse much into the community life ... they appreciate much the Timorese culture [*sic*].” PNTL Two (Interview, 2010) found it especially important that some New Zealand Police were prepared to learn about the situation in Timor-Leste and be prepared to adapt their behaviour to suit the context. As he stated, “they adapt to the situation, to the people, this is very, it is positive [*sic*].”

When UNPOL do not approach relationship building from a culturally aware and respectful position, there are negative consequences. PNTL Two (Interview, 2010) explained that the majority of UNPOL have “difficulty to deal with the community ... they have difficulty to adapt and relate and to contextualise the issue [*sic*].” Therefore many United Nations Police officers fail to engage with their PNTL counterparts and fail to build the respectful and equitable relationships needed if proper mentoring is to take place. What has resulted, as the independent consultant (Interview, 2010) I spoke to explained, is that often the PNTL and UNPOL will operate independently. UNPOL will carry out their own investigation and will fail to engage in mentoring which leads to resentment on the part of the PNTL who “are just saying this is ridiculous we’re being ignored in our own country”.

For context-specific, culturally aware relationships to be built, the PNTL required UNPOL to treat them with respect and not assume they are in a position of power. PNTL One (Interview, 2010) explained that if:

“...UNPOL come with the good knowledge, the good experience then why we not co-operate? But depend on the member of the UNPOL, if they come just show the power ‘we are the UN police you have to follow what we say’ ... they show bad attitude then when we have to ask their help not doing

something for us then how can we co-operate with them ... if the UNPOL come with good knowledge, good experience, good attitude then we will co-operate [*sic*].”

Therefore successful police reform is also an issue of power. The PNTL require that UNPOL officers resist reproducing discourses that see themselves as the powerful experts, in order to build respectful and equitable relationships. When UNPOL officers resist this discourse, it allows UNPOL and the PNTL to work, “hand in hand to serve Timor-Leste” (Interview with PNTL Six, 2010).

*Figure 4. Police checkpoint, Dili (Marianne Bevan, 2010)*



### **6.3 Task Orientated Masculinities and Collaborative Relationships**

In this section I discuss how the understandings the New Zealand Police have of what is considered ‘masculine’ policing, influences the types of relationships they develop with the PNTL. I investigate this in the context of their having to play a dual executive policing/capacity building role. I argue that when the police adopt a ‘task-orientated’ policing masculinity, it can act as a barrier to them promoting the skills needed to develop the collaborative relationships required for capacity building.

There has been little discussion of how the dominance of certain policing masculinities could affect police officers’ abilities to operate as capacity builders in

the United Nations environment. Some work that has been done on peacekeeper masculinities can provide insights into this issue. As I introduced in Chapter Two, in order for soldier and police peacekeepers to develop skills such as cultural sensitivity that are required in the peacekeeping environment, traditional militarised and police masculinities need to be reframed. This is because the development of cultural sensitivity relies on the existence of qualities such as compassion and communication which are rarely promoted in traditional militarised and police masculinities (Stiehm 2000; Duncanson 2007).

As was discussed in Chapters Two and Five, the New Zealand Police already utilise a community policing approach which prioritises qualities such as communication. According to Greener-Barcham (2007:107) the “softly, softly” approach they utilise could be more well suited to the peacekeeping environment in which police officers are required to build relationships with the host-country communities. This is articulated by the representative from PRADET (Interview, 2010) who suggested that in Timor-Leste, the New Zealand Police displayed a non-violent approach to their work which is well respected by the PNTL. She stressed that this provided the male PNTL with non-violent role models which was something also commented on by PNTL Seven (Interview, 2010) who said he appreciated the New Zealand Police’s non-aggressive approach. This is in contrast to some other UNPOL contingents - for example the GNR FPU – which as I discussed in Chapter Five, have been criticised for acting in aggressive ways which can influence “a trend towards a militarisation of policing, based often on hyper-masculinised role models” within the PNTL (Myrtilinen 2009b:87).

The display of non-violent, community-orientated policing does not necessarily translate into all the New Zealand Police having the appropriate qualities to develop collaborative relationships with the PNTL. In line with this, NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) suggested that the New Zealand Police needed to adopt new qualities in order act as capacity builders. In particular, he highlighted the qualities needed to develop collaborative relationships with the PNTL. According to NZPOL Six, this approach requires taking time to observe, to listen and to learn; there needs to be more focus on talking: “you go and talk to that cop and you talk to him all day long and make him become your buddy and persuade him to come to these forums.” He gave the example

of a New Zealand Police officer working in Suai who spent a long time talking with his PNTL counterpart, finding out about her life and encouraging her. This allowed the New Zealand Police officer to eventually get “past the barrier of formality into relationship”. From this point he was able to engage more in actual capacity building and she “was quite a good success story”. This is in line with Harris and Goldsmith’s (2009) assertion that the success of peace operations hinges on the ability of police officers to encourage others to co-operate.

According to Harris and Goldsmith (2009), there is more chance of police officers encouraging others to co-operate if the police involved have an understanding of the local context. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) suggests that this understanding comes from police officers spending time getting used to the situation by listening and observing. As he explains, “the best thing you do when you get over there is just do nothing, put your hands in your pockets and just have a cup of tea with someone and nothing else.” Central in this is that it requires giving up control over situations. He suggests that following through on the observing, listening and talking can allow police to “work on this together” and have a “more collaborative approach” to capacity building. This collaborative approach is similar to that identified as important by the PNTL as it focuses on learning about, and adapting to the local context.

Within the New Zealand Police there was a development of a ‘task-orientated’ masculinity by some officers. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010), who is critical of the task-orientated approach in environments where capacity building is needed, suggests that police officers that adopt this approach are “action-orientated” and always need to see concrete outcomes from these actions. This is evident in how some of the New Zealand Police describe their own behaviour, where they stress that their main attribute is that they are always active. NZPOL Two (Interview, 2010) explains that, “Kiwis work hard you know we don’t go to work to sit in a smoking hut to smoke and chew the fat all day, you know we want something to do because we know that it’s going to be beneficial to whoever we’re going to be dealing with each day.” An important aspect of the task-orientated approach is that police officers take initiative in all situations and do not wait around for orders when something needs to be done. As NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) explains, “we’re the just get it done approach.”

Unsurprisingly, given that a number of the New Zealand Police commented on their similarity with Australian police officers, the Australian police are described as having a similar ‘task driven mentality’, ‘can-do’ attitude and strong work ethic to the New Zealand Police (Goldsmith and Harris 2009:198-207).

Within the task-orientated model there are many admirable qualities such as the focus on hard work and taking initiative; however I would argue that when the New Zealand Police promote a task-orientated policing masculinity there is the potential that it can act as a barrier to the prioritisation of qualities needed to build collaborative relationships with the PNTL. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) suggested that while a lot of New Zealand Police were good at “talking to the PNTL...some were better than others” and those who were not skilled in this were “task-orientated cops”. NZPOL Six also suggested that activities such as observing and listening were easily perceived as “doing nothing” by task oriented police officers. The descriptions the New Zealand Police officers gave of their action-orientated policing strategy where they criticised anyone who would “stand back and do nothing” (Interview with NZPOL Seven, 2010), could therefore be at odds with this collaborative, “doing nothing” approach. In discussing these issues, the use of task oriented policing must be seen within the environment of the dual mandate 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.

The problem, I argue, goes beyond the tension between the dual mandates. Another reason task-oriented policing practices are promoted by some police officers, is that these practices align more closely to traditionally ‘masculine’ notions of policing. A description by NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) reinforces the tension between the approaches mentioned above and a close examination of the language he uses to describe this tension highlights how the collaborative approach is seen as less traditionally ‘masculine’. As he explains:

“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 the 'Western' gendered dichotomies of the masculine/feminine, active/passive, where the masculine/active half of the dichotomy is privileged (Hooper 2001). Therefore, traditionally 'feminine' activities that focus on talking and listening are seen as 'passive' and therefore rejected by task-oriented police.

Task oriented policing can also be seen as gendered in that, as mentioned previously, it requires activities be carried out that have measurable results, activities such as developing training programmes. In comparison, measuring the results of developing relationships with PNTL officers through talking and listening is a lot harder to do because it is more subjective. Within 'Western' gender dichotomies, subjectivity is framed as 'feminine' while objectivity is considered 'masculine', with the latter being privileged over the former (Hooper 2001). Therefore the focus within task orientated policing on achieving measurable results can be seen to align more closely to traditional notions of masculinity. Overall, task-orientated policing more closely aligns with traditional notions of masculinity than relationship building does. 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 'masculine' ideal.

In Chapter Five, I suggested some theorists have argued that male police officers are resistant to adopting policing strategies that utilise traditionally 'feminine' qualities such as communication and relationship-building (see Miller 1999; Herbert 2001; Rabe-Hemp 2008). I suggested that this argument did not apply in the case of the New Zealand Police and PNTL community police I spoke to who re-framed what was considered 'masculine' policing in order to incorporate these previously discouraged qualities. However based on how some New Zealand Police officers approach capacity building I now suggest that those traditional biases against traditionally 'feminine' qualities such as relationship building still have some influence over the types of

policing that are prioritised. Therefore like Steihm (2000) and Duncanson (2007) suggest, attention needs to be paid to the potential for security sector officers to have difficulty adapting to a change in role within the peacekeeping environment if it goes against what they have previously seen as ‘masculine’.

#### **6.4 Intersecting Identities in the United Nations Intervention Environment**

In this section I explore how New Zealand police masculinities are constructed within the wider unequal socioeconomic environment of a United Nations mission. I investigate the intersection of other identities (such as ethnicity and nationality) within this environment, and the ways in which this might affect their relationships with the PNTL. The ways in which the New Zealand Police construct their policing masculinities must be understood within the context of the unequal socio-economic environment of a United Nations mission. While United Nations missions are often framed as neutral interventions, peacekeeping practice is intimately tied up with power, and should not be seen as a benign, “neutral enterprise” (Higate and Henry 2009:157). Feminist critiques of United Nations missions have explored how peacekeeping practice is often framed in ways that reinforces particular gendered, racialised hierarchies between peacekeepers and people in the host country (Orford 1999; Whitworth 2004). This happens when peacekeepers are portrayed as “heroic agents of progress, democratic values, peace and security” which draws on an image of white masculinity that is civilized, rational and decisive (Orford 1999:692).

Within the criticisms above, the relationship between peacekeepers and the host country population is framed at the ‘macro-level’, “away from the everyday experiences and realities of those on the ground” (Higate and Henry 2009:156). Therefore, Duncanson (2007) and Higate (2007) suggest that more attention needs to be paid to how these ‘macro-level’ discourses affect the ways peacekeepers understand their role in the United Nations environment. As Higate (2007:114) explains, masculinities must be investigated in a way that takes account of the unequal socioeconomic environment of a United Nations mission because:

“the intersection of gender with socioeconomic context and power may offer a more persuasive explanatory framework than that preoccupied with what military men “are like”. More usefully it could be said that these men’s gendered practices can be seen in terms of global structures, giving rise to particular forms of (oppressive) social masculinities.”

These issues are important when considering the role of the New Zealand Police within the United Nations environment. The ways they construct their policing masculinities will be influenced by how they view their role in the United Nations intervention environment. When considering their understandings of their capacity building role, it is therefore important to explore whether they reinforce the ‘macro-level’ discourses that place them in positions of power and authority, and as neutral experts. It is also important to investigate how the requirement that they play a dual executive policing/capacity building role could affect this.

The New Zealand Police are often framed as having an advantage working in the United Nations environment. The belief is that the New Zealand Police operate in a bicultural country, which allows them to transverse cultural boundaries and build relationships with the PNTL. Numerous people within Timor-Leste suggested this to me anecdotally and it was also something commented on by some New Zealand Police officers. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) stated that the “lack of fear of another race” allowed the New Zealand Police to build good relationships. Along similar lines, NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) explained that, “we come from a culture, well we have a culture, the Maoris, so everybody kind of understands that culture so they know how to work with it”.

The comments above are interesting when looking at masculinities in a United Nations mission environment. As was introduced previously, peacekeeping missions have been criticised for placing ‘white’ masculinity as the norm and measuring other masculinities against this (Higate and Henry 2009). In some ways the description by NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) reinforces this. He equates Maori culture together with all other non-white cultures (such as East Timorese culture), which are differentiated from the unspoken ‘white’ culture which is placed as the norm. However the suggestion that the New Zealand Police see a central aspect of their identity as being culturally aware could also show that police officers enact this



‘white’ masculinity in different ways. Crucially, this could include ways that promote good cross-cultural relations.<sup>13</sup>

With regards to the potential impact of coming from a bicultural country on how the New Zealand police operated, I argue that it did not guarantee that all officers built collaborative relationships with the PNTL. This is because they were still operating in an environment characterised by inequalities between UNPOL/PNTL, and in which they had executive policing authority. Higate and Henry (2009:118-122) have suggested that peacekeepers’ behaviours are generally understood as a product of their national identities. Their concern with this is that these perceptions often appear based more on “stereotypes of assumed national and ‘racial’ trait...the apparent fixity or truth of which was rarely questioned”. Therefore it is important when thinking about how the New Zealand Police carry out their capacity building role to not rely on what are potentially views informed in part by stereotypes about New Zealanders. Instead there is a need to look more critically at how individual officers understand their role in the United Nations environment, and whether any officers reinforce the racialised notion of themselves as neutral experts.

There was evidence that some New Zealand Police officers framed their role in Timor-Leste as being both in the position of power and authority, *and* as neutral experts. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) was concerned that some New Zealand Police officers he had worked with conceptualised their role in this way. These police fell victim to what he terms the *Bwana*<sup>14</sup> 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?” Within this comment there is a suggestion 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.

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<sup>13</sup> This was not an area that my research originally set out to investigate which means that I cannot explore it here fully. However it is an area of research that deserves more attention.

<sup>14</sup> *Bwana* is Swahili for master or boss.

The perception that the PNTL should learn from the New Zealand Police because they have the 'right' style of policing is shown in comments by other New Zealand Police officers. NZPOL Eight (Interview, 2010) described how he:

“...found them [the PNTL] very childlike ... we would become frustrated with their ineptness, their slowness, and we would do the job ... and we would just take them along for the ride. Sometimes we would hope that they would learn off us, but I feel often they would just be going along with the ride.”

Similarly, after complaining about the inactivity of the PNTL, NZPOL Two (Interview, 2010) complained that, “many times it was very frustrating and we would come away thinking what are we doing here, why are we here when they just don't want to learn?” Within these descriptions there is a perception that the PNTL should learn from the New Zealand Police because they have entered Timor-Leste as the experts, as those who are bringing the 'right' style of policing to Timor-Leste.

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. As was discussed previously, the PNTL drew attention to the need for UNPOL to recognise their agency as a prerequisite for building good relationships. However the descriptions of how some New Zealand Police officers conceptualised their role does not allow for recognising this agency. The framing of the PNTL as lazy and inept by NZPOL Eight (Interview, 2010) and other officers shows evidence of what Hansen (2006) has called radical Othering. Within this process, some New Zealand Police officers create hierarchies between themselves and the PNTL officers by linking PNTL behaviour to qualities traditionally associated with 'femininity' such as being childlike and unintelligent. In this way the intelligence, agency and authority of the PNTL is diminished. This adds weight to Orford's (1999) assertion that when the international community are framed as the neutral experts, it can act to diminish the agency of the people in the host country.

A further potential consequence of some New Zealand Police officers framing their role as that of neutral experts, is that instead of prioritising building collaborative relations with the PNTL, they instead take control of situations. A common critique of

the PNTL that NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) 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. However when looking at the dual executive policing/capacity building role the New Zealand Police had, taking control of situations can be seen as a practice that is in line with the executive policing role they were required to take on. In this role they were put in a position of power and authority, which could potentially influence and exacerbate the perception some officers had that they were to act as neutral experts.

In situations where police officers ‘take control’, they are less likely to build relationships with the PNTL and more likely to work independently of them which is not conducive to capacity building. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) gave an example of one officer who did this. This particular officer spent all of his time setting up community groups but the problem with this is that he did not involve the PNTL in this and:

“the golden rule was that if you go somewhere and a PNTL officer isn’t with you then you’re wasting your time ... unless you’ve got someone who is going to take ownership of it you’re wasting your time and those concepts are hard to get across to a lot of task-orientated cops.”

This is something echoed in the evaluation of the CPPP where some officers were thought to be “pursuing their own objectives at the expense of engaging more strongly in capacity building of PNTL staff” (Emmott, Barcham et al. 2010:4). However what is particularly important in this circumstance is that it appears to be the interaction between ‘task-orientated’ masculinity and the police understanding their role as neutral experts that can influence the adoption of a ‘take control’ approach.

When thinking about how the New Zealand Police operate, we therefore cannot rely on the idea that because they adopt community policing principals and come from a bicultural country, an ability to carry out capacity building will automatically follow.

Instead, like Higate (2007) I suggest that police officers' individual behaviours should be understood as a product of (among other things) the interaction between certain policing masculinities and the unequal socio-economic environment of a United Nations mission. However this must also be seen in the context of the specific dual mandate the New Zealand Police were required to carry out. This shows that the United Nations must pay attention to what masculinities are able to be constructed within the specific structural conditions they create if they hope to encourage the development of collaborative relationships between UNPOL and the PNTL.

## **6.5 Building Collaborative Relationships**

I have focused throughout this chapter on some of the barriers to the New Zealand Police building collaborative relations with the PNTL. However while spending time with the police in Becora, I was struck by what I perceived as a collaborative relationship between the New Zealand Police and the PNTL. As I argued in Chapter Three, I felt the strength of this relationship personally when I was able to quickly build relationships with the PNTL officers in Becora because, as a New Zealander, I was trusted and respected. Therefore I will end this chapter with an exploration of what masculinities might have allowed these positive relationships to develop and what lessons can be learnt from this with regards to promoting positive UNPOL capacity building masculinities. I argue that when the New Zealand Police acknowledged the agency of the PNTL and challenged the notion of themselves as neutral experts, the potential for creating collaborative relations with the PNTL was increased.

Anti-military feminists paint all peacekeeper masculinities as being created through a dichotomy of the 'West' as 'civilised', 'heroic saviours' of the 'uncivilized', conflict-inherent developing world (Orford 1999; Whitworth 2004). However this does not take into consideration the ways in which peacekeepers could potentially construct their masculinities through the creation of "relations of democracy, mutual respect and equality" between themselves and the people in the host-country (Duncanson 2007:190). Duncanson (2007:24) suggests that these relations can be conceptualised when peacekeepers recognize the agency of the people in the host-country, and

therefore do not see themselves only as “white, male heroes”. It is therefore important to see security sector officers working in the United Nations environment as having the agency to adapt their behaviors to the context. This is especially the case if positive masculinities are to be theorized (Duncanson 2007).

A number of New Zealand Police officers conceptualised their role in Timor-Leste in a way that challenged the idea of themselves as neutral experts. These officers recognised the PNTL’s existing approaches to policing, something the PNTL identified as being important for building collaborative relationships. For example, NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) suggested that the New Zealand Police did not bring community policing with them, rather the PNTL “were good community cops before we, before I got involved.” An important part of acknowledging PNTL agency comes from having trust in PNTL officers policing abilities which NZPOL Nine (Interview, 2010) talks about in reference to running the domestic violence mediation sessions<sup>15</sup>. They ensured that, “once we kind of got to grips with things we would let Jose<sup>16</sup>, that was their baby so to speak, you run it we’re just there for advice if you need it ... we were really just there in cases where there was any doubt and in the end of the day we would just trust them to do it”. Having trust in the abilities of PNTL officers is important for ensuring that a capacity building model develops where the New Zealand Police actually develop the capacity of the PNTL rather than justifying taking control over activities.

Some New Zealand Police saw themselves not as having a superior model of policing, and not as neutral experts, but as needing to adapt their practices in order to fit with the capacity building context. A number of New Zealand Police emphasised the importance of treating their PNTL counterparts with respect, which included respecting their unique knowledge, with NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) explaining that you must:

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<sup>15</sup> In many incidences domestic violence cases will be brought to the police station and instead of it being prosecuted through the formal justice system, one of the community police officers will organise a mediation meeting either with just the couple or also family members in order to try and resolve the issue. However the introduction of the Law against Domestic Violence in 2010 makes it a legal requirement that all cases are prosecuted through the formal justice system. I discuss these issues in more depth in Chapter Eight.

<sup>16</sup> Not his real name.

“...treat them with respect, you treat them as your colleagues, they’re your equals, they’re not below you. You might be mentoring them but they’re still equal to you because you might be more knowledgeable than them about something but I can guarantee they’re more knowledgeable than you about something else so you’re no better than them.”

Central within this description is the assertion that knowledge the New Zealand Police have is not paramount, but is context specific. In this way they do not suggest that their policing style is superior, but are open to learning about new approaches and letting that guide how they carry out their mentoring roles. NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) explains how relationships based on respect can be developed when police are willing to adapt their policing practices. He argues that:

“It’s more treating them as equals than anything else and then I think you work on the relationship ... it takes a bit of time it will generally take you a couple of months to get to know sort of thing ... if you’ve got no relationship going you’re wasting your time and the Timorese will just fade away from you if you’re not working in the right way.”

This account is important not just because it highlights the need to treat the PNTL as equals. It also suggests that in order to build equitable relationships, the New Zealand Police must be “working in the right way” which may include altering their behaviour to achieve this aim. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, NZPOL Six argued that when police officers are able to change their behaviour to spend time listening, observing and talking, they are much more likely to be able to build collaborative relationships. In this way, some New Zealand Police officers constructed their policing masculinities as being adaptable because they are focused on creating relationships based on equality and respect with the PNTL, and will adapt their behaviour to pursue this goal.

I argue that the ability of the New Zealand Police to prioritise developing a policing masculinity based on equality and respect centres on their ability to resist United Nations intervention discourses which frame them as the neutral experts. As previously mentioned, a major criticism of United Nations interventions is that the interveners do not acknowledge the power dynamics involved and instead see themselves as neutral experts. This is how a number of New Zealand Police officers saw themselves; however a number of New Zealand Police officers not only

acknowledged these power inequalities but also attempt to challenge them by resisting the role of neutral expert. When this happens they are more likely to create relationships with the PNTL that challenge – in small but potentially influential ways – the power inequalities inherent in the United Nations intervention environment. Below I give two more specific examples of the ways in which New Zealand Police officers challenged power inequalities.

The first example was commented on by several New Zealand Police officers working in Becora where a policy was introduced in which PNTL officers would ride in the front of the United Nations vehicles. NZPOL Seven (Interview, 2010) recounts the concerns some New Zealand Police officers arriving in Timor-Leste had when they discovered that the majority of United Nations police barely interacted with their PNTL counterparts. Many PNTL had complained that this approach made them feel ignored in their own country. This was something that NZPOL Nine was concerned about as they had entered Timor-Leste as guests and yet were - literally - relegating the PNTL to the backseat. Therefore several New Zealand Police officers made the decision to ensure that (along with working more closely with the PNTL) one PNTL officer would ride in the front seat whenever they were out driving. NZPOL Seven explained the positive results of this where, “just a small change like that it was amazing to see you know the chest got puffed out and you’d drive past somewhere and they would wave and talk out the window at people.”

The second example concerns how NZPOL Six (Interview, 2010) challenged the notion of the PNTL as lazy and unreliable. As noted, a number of New Zealand Police officers focused on the laziness and unreliability of their PNTL counterparts and in particular their failure to attend agreed upon appointments. NZPOL Eight (Interview, 2010) complained that, “they would just never turn up, it was like I’ll agree to that but I’m not going to do it, they found it hard to say no to me in anything, I don’t know why. I found them very childlike.” However NZPOL Six had taken a different approach to conceptualising how relationships should be built with his PNTL counterparts and thought more deeply about the power differentials in the system thought of this issue differently. He explained that when the PNTL officer he was working with would often not turn up at agreed times it was because:

“someone has borrowed his vehicle but he doesn’t want to come and tell me that one of the bosses has commandeered his vehicle so he’s embarrassed to talk about it and you could perceive that oh he’s just being lazy but it’s because he doesn’t want to embarrass his own police force so he’s got all those dynamics to deal with.”

Therefore NZPOL Six made an effort to work around these issues.

The relationships described above can be seen as a better basis from which collaborative relationships could be developed. In both of these cases there is awareness on the part of the New Zealand Police that they have entered Timor-Leste at the top of socio-economic hierarchies created by the United Nations Mission. The inequalities that they identified are manifest in the form of the United Nations Police having more access and control over resources. However these officers saw the negative effects of this hierarchy in that it made it harder for the PNTL to relate and work with them. Therefore they acted to challenge the hierarchy in order to create situations in which it would be easier to work as equals. By doing so they challenged understandings of themselves as the neutral experts who do not need to alter their own behaviour. This can make them more prepared to consider adapting their policing behaviour to better develop collaborative relationships. Therefore like Duncanson (2007:177), I suggest that there is “some space” for police to subvert United Nations intervention discourses and act in ways that “treat both the soldiers [and police officers] and the civilians in areas of conflict [or post-conflict] as having agency and the ability to build democratic relations”.

The previous discussion has shown that when thinking about how collaborative or “democratic” relations can be developed, masculinity should be seen as a fluid and varied construct, and that police officers have the agency to engage with it in different ways. Some New Zealand Police officers had the agency to reject what they saw as harmful capacity building masculinities and adopt an approach that they thought would contribute to the building of collaborative relationships with the PNTL. Problematically, much of the research on peacekeepers does not acknowledge the agency peacekeepers have to reframe what they consider ‘masculine’ practices to be, which acts as a barrier to learning lessons about how positive masculinities are created. Therefore, like Duncanson (2007) and Higate (2007), I suggest that it is through acknowledging police agency, that strategies can be developed in which



positive UNPOL masculinities are promoted within the unique socio-economic environment of a United Nations mission.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has explored how different understandings of masculinities might impact on the relationship between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners. By investigating this I have shown how New Zealand Police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities, which was a main aim of this thesis. I have shown that when looking at gender and police reform, it is important to look at the relations between men as the different notions of masculinity the New Zealand Police ascribe to can potentially affect their capacity building role. This means that when talking about masculinities and police reform, attention must be paid not just to PNTL masculinities, but also to New Zealand Police masculinities. In particular, this chapter has shown that United Nations Police masculinities must be understood as being created in the United Nations mission environment. United Nations missions continue to be framed in ways that create gendered, racialised hierarchies between peacekeepers and host country security forces. Some New Zealand Police officers reinforce these discourses. However, there is a significant number of New Zealand Police officers who reject the notion of themselves as neutral experts. It is the methods they use to do this that we should pay attention to in order to promote UNPOL masculinities based on equality and respect through gendered police reform.

## **7. “Gender is not really a problem for me”: Discourses of Gender in United Nations Police Reform**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I move on from looking at masculinities evident in the PNTL and UNPOL, to look at how masculinities are framed in the United Nations’ approach to gender. One of the main aims of this research is to assess how police officers’ understandings of masculinities with regard to policing compare to how masculinities are conceived in United Nations’ gender policies. This chapter contributes to this aim by exploring how police officers interpret the United Nations’ policy on how gendered police reform should be carried out. Currently, the majority of research has focused on how United Nations’ policies on gender are ‘masculinities-blind’. However there is little exploration of how the police involved in police reform programmes interpret these policies (Mobekk 2003; Bendix 2009).

Therefore in this chapter I discuss how the police interpret gender policies. I explore how the New Zealand Police interpret the way the United Nations frames gender and gender issues broadly. I also explore how the police interpret the United Nations’ approach to addressing gender issues within the PNTL. Lastly, I investigate how the police interpret the PNTL’s response to addressing Gender Based Violence (GBV). Overall, I argue that the police interpret the United Nations’ approach to gender in a way that perpetuates the notion that gender is ‘women’s issues’ which reproduces ‘masculinities blindness’.

### **7.2 New Zealand Police Understandings of Gender**

This section explores how the New Zealand Police interpret the ways in which gender issues are framed by the United Nations in their gender awareness training. For gendered police reform to incorporate an understanding of men and masculinities, the New Zealand Police need an understanding of gender as a fluid and varied social construct that influences women’s *and* men’s behaviour in UNPOL and in the PNTL.

It is through the gender awareness training the United Nations Gender Affairs Unit (GAU) provides, that the New Zealand Police are given guidance on how they should act in a gender aware manner. This means it is crucial to understand how the New Zealand Police interpret the notions of gender put forward through this training.

As I discussed in Chapter Two, the United Nations have been criticised for reproducing biological understandings of gender, that construct understandings of men and women based on fixed identities and qualities through their gender policies (Väyrynen 2004; Whitworth 2004; Charlesworth 2008). As Charlesworth (2008:359) states, these understandings do “not capture the relational nature of gender, the role of power relations, and the way that structures of subordination are reproduced.” When gender is portrayed in this way it can easily reproduce notions of gender relations as being characterised by static victim/perpetrator dichotomies (Väyrynen 2004; Charlesworth 2008). In this way gender easily becomes an issue that is concerned only with women and women’s rights issues (Nduka-Agwu 2009). The gender awareness training that I witnessed produced these understandings of gender where the focus was on ensuring that women are not discriminated against and that issues such as violence against women are taken seriously. These goals are no doubt of central importance but they were portrayed in ways that equated gender only with the “particular needs of women” (Nduka-Agwu 2009:182). This left the impact of different social constructions of masculinities within the United Nations environment unexplored.

The New Zealand Police reproduced the idea of gender centrally being a concept to describe a person’s sex. As NZPOL Two (Interview, 2010) stated, “well it’s the two sexes”. There was no mention of the social construction of gender roles. This is problematic given that the gender awareness training aims to give police officers basic gender analysis skills (Mackay 2003) which should come with an understanding of gender identities as being socially constructed. In interpreting the goals of the gender awareness training, the New Zealand Police saw it as being focused on ensuring that men did not engage in problematic behavior. When referring to what they saw as the focus of the gender awareness training, the majority of police suggested that it aimed to ensure that men did not sexually assault women, that men did not use prostitutes, and that men did not discriminate against women. In this way ‘gender issues’ were

framed as being issues caused by men (as perpetrators) oppressing women (as victims) and the static victim/perpetrator dichotomy was reinforced.

The framing of gender in this static way did not encourage the New Zealand Police to think critically about gender issues. Men from the New Zealand Police did not feel that the training was aimed at them with NZPOL One (Interview, 2010) explaining that, “you know it’s [the training] about capturing their audience so it’s aimed at the lowest common denominator so a lot of it is you know, tell you to treat women as equals ... that sort of training is not that useful to us.” In comparison, the New Zealand Police saw themselves as having gender relations that are sufficiently progressive to warrant not seeing gender as having any relevance to them. This is clearly shown in NZPOL Five’s (Interview, 2010) statement that “gender is not really a problem for me”. Therefore the only conception of masculinity that is presented in the training is a form problematic male behavior that allows the oppression and sexual exploitation of women, which the New Zealand Police do not identify with.

In the descriptions of gender discussed above, ideas of ‘race’ and nationality interact with notions of gender, where a number of New Zealand Police officers comment on how it is only those with a certain “cultural identity” (Interview with NZPOL One, 2010), who have these problematic constructions of masculinity. By having no discussion of male (and female) behaviors as being socially constructed or varied, the police do not think critically about *masculinities* either in relation to their own, or to other police officers, gender identities. This confirms that the police officers involved in police reform interpret the United Nations’ gender policies in ways that reproduce the invisibility of masculinities.

### **7.3 Gender issues within the PNTL**

In this section I investigate how the police interpret the United Nations’ approach to addressing gender issues within the PNTL. I argue that the framing of gender as ‘women’s issues’ acts as a barrier to the police pursuing a gender strategy that takes account of how different constructions of masculinities affect the treatment of both women and men within the police force. When approaching gender in Timor-Leste, a

key area of concern for UNPOL has been increasing the numbers of female police officers both in the United Nations Police and in the PNTL (UNIFEM 2007). The focus on increasing the number of women as a central means to address gender occurs when the term gender becomes equated with women. Therefore adding a 'gender perspective' is seen to come from adding women to the institution. As Peterson and True (1998:18) state, equating gender with women is problematic because gender is relational and:

“women cannot simply be “added” to categories (e.g., the public sphere) that are constituted by their masculinity because such categories are defined by the exclusion of femininity ... the category must be transformed to accommodate the inclusion of women and femininity. Doing so transforms not only the meaning of the category but the meaning of masculinity.”

Therefore there is a need to have a gender strategy that moves beyond just 'adding women', to also include attempts to destabilise the links between hegemonic masculinity and power, which causes the marginalisation of most women and some men within the police force (Peterson and True 1998; Väyrynen 2004; Whitworth 2004).

Pursing gender as a 'women's issue' has implications for how men and masculinities are framed with men coming to be seen as generic, problematic and most importantly an un-gendered group. Charlesworth (2008:259) cautions that when the term gender is equated with women, problems facing women come to be “understood as the product of particular cultures”, where the roles of men and male gender identities remain “unexamined, as though they were somehow natural and immutable.” This is illustrative of the 'problematic male discourse' where dualistic and oppositional understandings of the relationship between 'men' and 'women' positions “women as courageous, capable heroines, and men as rather useless and irrelevant figures who leach their energies and resources” (Cornwall 2000:21).

When approaching gender in their work, the New Zealand Police see gender issues as equated with women's issues. When discussing the main gender issues within the PNTL, the New Zealand Police identify the overall lack of women in the PNTL and UNPOL, the under-representation of women in operational and leadership roles, and the over-representation of women in clerical roles within the PNTL as the main

issues. When discussing how they dealt with internal gender issues through their programme, a number of officers noted that there were no provisions to deal with *women's* issues. As NZPOL One (Interview, 2010) notes, there was nothing “specifically that it said this is aimed solely at women”. However, a number of New Zealand Police officers felt that they were encouraged to take a gendered approach by promoting certain women, “we were kind of encouraged to kind of liaise with females to a certain extent ... to show an interest in them, to kind of find out what they wanted to do and what they had to do to get there and try and encourage them” (Interview with NZPOL Nine, 2010). Within these descriptions there is clear equation of the terms gender and women. This means that any attempts to promote gendered reform come from the premise that it requires working solely with women as a unified group.

When gender came to be seen as only a ‘women’s issue’ men within the PNTL came to be seen as a generic, problematic and un-gendered group. Male officers were seen by a number New Zealand Police officers as less interested in pursuing extra education or learning new policing skills than the female police and were often described as an inherently lazy group. As NZPOL Two (Interview, 2010) says of male police officers, “their culture is different, their way of life is different. PNTL in Suai were very idle, they didn’t do a lot, they chose not to do a lot ... In regards to how the PNTL went, the females worked harder ... It’s just the caste here.” When asked if there were any exceptions to this the reply was, “no, there was no difference, no, basically they were all pretty idle.” Wider female participation within the PNTL is seen to be held back because of the “particular cultures” (Charlesworth 2008:259) in Timor-Leste where ‘men’ as a “homogenous category” (Cornwall 2000:18) are uniformly inactive. In this way, when gender comes to be equated with women, masculinity becomes not a fluid and varied construction that men engage with in different ways, but a uniform construct of men’s inherent natures.

The problem with using unexamined notions of ‘male domination’ to explain gender relations is that it does not allow a proper understanding of how masculinity can operate to marginalize both women and men. Accounts given by some New Zealand Police officers about how female police in the PNTL were treated shows the importance of understanding how some men potentially exclude women in order to maintain their sense of ‘masculine’ identity. I discussed in the previous chapter the

positives that came with the development of community policing masculinity. However both NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) and NZPOL Seven (Interview, 2010) made comments that suggested the re-framing of community policing as ‘masculine’ in some instances also saw the phasing out of women’s role within it. NZPOL Seven, when discussing the treatment of female police suggested that with relation to paperwork:

“I sort of thought that some of the cops thought that they were a bit above doing that sort of stuff and that was for the ladies to do and we’re for out in the community talking and doing the policing ... I think that they sort of thought that’s below us you know, we go out and we do the real policing.”

NZPOL Five noted a similar phenomenon where women were not allowed to do the ‘real policing’. Therefore a type of policing that was previously seen as more ‘feminine’ because of its focus on communicating and building relationships with the community, once adopted as a more ‘masculine’ approach can potentially push women out. This can be seen as a method through which the connections between ‘masculinity’ and policing are maintained which was an issue discussed in Chapter Five with regards to female PNTL officers being kept out of operational roles. It also mirrors MacKenzie’s (2009:18) work where female soldiers in Sierra Leone were (inaccurately) framed as having only been in support roles while male soldiers were framed as having done the ‘real soldiering’. Therefore as True and Peterson (1998) argue, because gender is relational, ‘adding’ women requires challenging the meaning of masculinity. This shows the importance of having a gender strategy that takes account of masculinities.

The marginalization of some female police officers discussed in the previous section, shows the importance of having a masculinities-aware gender strategy that aims to promote masculinities that endorse non-violent behavior *and* prioritise equality with women. Duncanson (2007:211) has suggested that gender strategies need to be adopted which promote “‘softer’ more feminized form[s] of masculinity such as peacekeeper masculinity [or community policing masculinity]” but ensure that these masculinities are “constructed through relations of equality”. My research highlighted some examples of community policing masculinities that are, “constructed through relations of equality” within the Becora community policing department. Several New

Zealand Police officers noted that women appeared to be treated better within the Becora community policing department.

According to the representative from the Asia Foundation (Interview, 2010), female police are treated better in the Becora community policing department because police there are more “people orientated and when you’re people centered that tends to reduce any sort of bias based on gender, ethnicity etc.” These “people orientated” masculinities (and femininities) closely align to Connell’s (2000:30) notion of democratic gender relations which are relations based on “equality, non-violence, and mutual respect between people of different genders, sexualities, ethnicities and generations.” Building on my conclusions in Chapter Five, this highlights the importance when thinking about promoting non-violent masculinities, to ensure that attention is paid to promoting specific “people centered” masculinities. These may be more beneficial to promoting gender equality.

If the promotion of “people centered” masculinities is to be utilised in a gender strategy, the United Nations and the New Zealand Police need to first start conceptualizing gender as beyond ‘women’s issues’. However at the moment, as this section has shown, the New Zealand Police interpret United Nations’ gender policy in a ‘masculinities-blind’ manner which may act as a barrier to utilizing a masculinities-aware gender balance strategy.

#### **7.4 Gendered Violence: Male Victims and Male Respondents**

This section explores how police officers interpret the United Nations’ approach to addressing GBV. A central aim of gendered police reform is to contribute to the development of police cultures in which Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is viewed as a key security concern (UNIFEM 2007). The United Nations continues to portray gender relations as being characterised by a strict women as peaceful/victims, men as violent/perpetrators dichotomy. Within this, GBV continues to be framed as a ‘women’s issue’, in that only women are affected by it and only female police have the right qualities to deal with it (Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrttinen 2009b). In order to bring more of a balanced perspective to discussions about how GBV is addressed by the police, it is important to look at how masculinities are understood



within these discussions. Therefore in this section I explore the extent to which the United Nations' portrayal of GBV encourages police officers to take account of men's varied roles in relation to GBV.

The majority of both the New Zealand and East Timorese police officers I spoke to identified domestic violence as the main gendered security issue they dealt with which I will focus on in this section. Domestic violence is a form of GBV that is defined as violence committed by intimate partners and family members and includes "physical, mental, economic and sexual mistreatment" (Ferguson 2011:54).

When gender relations are characterised by a women as victims/men as perpetrators dichotomy, it can make strong assertions about who can legitimately be seen as a victim of gendered violence (Dolan 2002; Carpenter 2006; Bendix 2009). This is important to gendered police reform because if the New Zealand Police are going to be encouraging the PNTL to prioritise addressing GBV, it must be done in a way that all victims – female or male – are given attention through the proper channels. Most definitions of GBV see it as violence that can affect females or males "based on his or her specific gender role in society" (Human Rights Watch 2002 cited in Carpenter 2006:86). In line with this, there is a growing body of research suggesting that while GBV has typically been violence associated with female victims, there are forms of violence affecting men that should be considered gender-based such as sexual assault (Carpenter 2006). However the United Nations' definitions of GBV do not extend to male victims as their definition of GBV is synonymous with violence against women and there is no definition in existence outside of that (Carpenter 2006). This makes invisible possible male gendered insecurity.

Similarly, when gender relations are characterised by a women as peaceful/men as violent dichotomy, it can make strong assertions about who is best equipped to deal with domestic violence cases. In encouraging the prioritisation of addressing domestic violence, the United Nations must be wary about portraying domestic violence only as a 'women's issue' in that women are framed as being better at addressing it. This risks absolving male officers from responsibility for dealing with it (Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrntinen 2009b). When police treatment of domestic violence is framed in that way, it is often based on stereotypes carried through gendered police

reform programming that see women as naturally more empathetic and peaceful. Conversely, men are seen as not having the desire or ability to address domestic violence because of their more aggressive approach to policing and lack of empathy (see Bendix 2009; Mobekk 2009; Myrtilinen 2009b).

In observing the United Nations gender training, there was little discussion of men being actual or potential victims of domestic violence with only women being discussed as victims of domestic violence and men being discussed only as perpetrators. Within the descriptions of domestic violence by the East Timorese and New Zealand Police, it was seen as an issue that largely affected women. Three PNTL officers spoke of cases where wives had been violent towards their husbands and only one New Zealand Police officer suggested that in rare cases men can be victims of domestic violence.

It was reported by several civil society representatives that they had heard about cases in which men - albeit a very small number compared to women - were the victims of domestic violence (Interviews with JSMP and women's rights organisation, 2010). These interviewees suggested that it is difficult for men to report this violence because of the stigma, "they also feel difficult because when we decide to bring these cases to the police and report to the police we will receive stigma where the community will say oh the male has been beaten by the female [*sic*]" (Interview with JSMP, 2010). Domestic violence against men is also difficult to report because it does not fit in with their masculine self-image, "it's hard for men to report because they need to be strong" (Interview with women's rights organisation, 2010). Therefore the fact that men do not want to report these violences because of their gender identities makes reporting domestic violence difficult. This emphasises the need for police officers to be sensitive to dealing with it if it should occur.

When discussing domestic violence, police officers had difficulty seeing men in states of victimhood and vulnerability. When I asked NZPOL Seven (Interview, 2010) directly whether he had seen cases of domestic violence against men he commented that, "I don't think the ladies would do that over there would they?" When I suggested that I had in fact heard of cases his response was, "some of those men can be real asses can't they?" A similar issue came up with PNTL One (Interview, 2010) when he

suggested that men can be victims of domestic violence but only in retaliation from already having abused women. Implied in these statements is that even when men are placed in states of victimhood, they are still seen to be to blame for it, and are perpetual perpetrators. The representative from PRADET (Interview, 2010) criticised how GBV is currently conceptualised by the United Nations for not allowing women to be seen as perpetrators of violence which does not allow proper provision for dealing with these cases. The same could be said of dealing with cases of male victimhood. Even when men are seen as victims of gendered violence, the male as perpetrator/female as victim continues to act as a barrier to men being seen as *legitimate* victims. This highlights the barriers to incorporating an understanding of masculinities into gendered police reform when the police officers are not encouraged to see men as legitimate victims of gendered violence.

Within the context of Timor-Leste, the United Nations' approach to encouraging police to prioritise domestic violence in some ways acts as a barrier to expanding domestic violence beyond being seen as a 'women's issue'. To explore this issue I look at the experiences of two female New Zealand Police officers. Both were at some point in their time designated to be involved with the Vulnerable Persons Unit (VPU)<sup>17</sup>. In the words of the first she was, "for want of a better word, forced into doing it because I was the only female there." NZPOL Three (Interview, 2010) was particularly critical of how it is assumed that women are better suited for the VPU when she felt that she was not. As she states:

"I think that the UN, they are still of the mindset that females are better to deal with the VPU ... and that's why when I came I was immediately picked for that position but I don't think that that's the case [that women are always more suited], like I said I wasn't suitable for that role and I think that there were guys that were more suited for the role than I was."

This adds weight to Mobekk's (2009) criticism that women are often assumed to be more suited to addressing GBV when they actually do not have the proper skills and find this assumption constraining. This highlights the continued perception within the United Nations that female officers have a specific aptitude for addressing domestic

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<sup>17</sup> The VPU is a unit whose role it is to deal with crimes such as rape, attempted rape, domestic violence (emotional, verbal and physical), child abuse, child neglect and sexual harassment. It is therefore the unit through which most GBV cases go (UNFPA, 2005).

violence. This channels men and women into certain roles where female police are linked with femininity, empathy and compassion. This is differentiated from male police, masculinity, strength and aggression. Through this process these links are naturalized which makes it harder for women's roles to be expanded beyond the VPUs. It also makes it harder for the type of compassionate, empathetic policing needed in the VPU's to be expanded into the 'masculine' territory of the rest of the police force as this style of policing could be seen as 'feminine' and discouraged.

Some New Zealand Police officers reproduced the notion that East Timorese men have an ineptitude at addressing domestic violence in an empathetic way. There were differing opinions within the New Zealand Police about the extent to which the PNTL saw domestic violence as a major security concern. Some suggested that it was treated as a major concern, some said it was completely ignored and some said that it was only taken seriously when it involved serious injury<sup>18</sup>. When New Zealand Police officers criticised the PNTL for failing to address domestic violence, this failure was often attributed to East Timorese men's inability to communicate or empathise with victims. As NZPOL Two (Interview, 2010) explains:

“Male PNTL officers need to learn how to communicate on a more positive level, especially with the victims you know but unfortunately they're in a culture where the males are always going to be dominant ... how do you eliminate that apart from where I sit, actually learning and getting down to the bare facts of becoming better communicators and becoming more empathetic. Can men become more empathetic?”

In this way, the failure of the PNTL to prioritise domestic violence is blamed specifically on East Timorese masculinity, on a culture where “males are always going to be dominant”. In this way masculinity is framed as a generic, static construct where problems facing women come to be “understood as the product of particular cultures” (Charlesworth 2008:259).

In highlighting the issue above, I believe that the New Zealand Police are correct in observing that many male PNTL officers do not take domestic violence seriously. It is

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<sup>18</sup> A major issue in how domestic violence is treated by the PNTL in Timor-Leste is that police officers often differentiate between 'serious' and 'minor' cases. Only in those cases where serious injury has been sustained is prosecution pursued. 'Minor' cases are dealt with through traditional justice mechanisms (Judicial System Monitoring Programme, 2005).

well documented that this is a problem (see International Rescue Committee 2003; Swaine 2003; Judicial System Monitoring Programme 2005; UNFPA 2005; Fernandes Alves, Sequeira et al. 2009). However, my argument is that it is problematic that within these discussions, men are essentialised as having an inability to be communicative and empathetic. This reproduces the notion that addressing domestic violence is ‘women’s work’ which could act as a barrier to developing a gendered reform programme that encourages men deal with domestic violence professionally and empathetically.

Within the New Zealand Police’s descriptions of how the PNTL addressed domestic violence, there was a counter-trend where male PNTL officers were framed as having the ability to develop the required skills to address domestic violence. These descriptions generally came outside of discussions of gender, instead occurring within discussions of community policing. According to the representative from the Asia Foundation (Interview, 2010), given that domestic violence is a social problem, community police can play an important role in its mitigation when police are involved in the community responses. By identifying “who the trouble makers are” and focusing “on trying to hold community workshops and meetings” they can “get to the root of the problem rather than just reacting in a traditional policing style of showing up and arresting someone and throwing them in jail”.

When talking about what a police officer needs to play the role in domestic violence discussed above, the common skills were similar to those described by the New Zealand Police as being needed for a good community policing strategy such as communication. As NZPOL Seven (Interview, 2010) stated, “it’s just the communication and talking to people and trying to treat the victim with a bit of respect”. NZPOL Nine (Interview, 2010) notes similar skills needed which the PNTL she worked with had or had learnt, “good communication is what they needed and he had it.” In this way, when community policing was discussed, male police officers’ behaviour was not seen as being solely determined by a static and uniform, problematic masculinity. This suggests that an understanding of *masculinities* was better conceptualised outside of explicit discussions of the United Nations’ approach to gender.

Within the PNTL descriptions of how they used a community policing strategy, addressing domestic violence was framed as being central within this. The majority of the PNTL discussed how a community-orientated approach was needed in order to prevent further cases of domestic violence by monitoring what was happening in their communities. In several of these descriptions it was noted that by building up relationships with the community, the police were able to have an avenue through which they could encourage cases of domestic violence to go through the formal justice system. Or they could be involved in the traditional justice system dealing with domestic violence to ensure that the issue was taken seriously (Interviews with PNTL Two, PNTL Seven and PNTL Five, 2010). Serious issues remain with regards to the use of traditional justice mechanisms to address domestic violence, particularly with regards to how female victims are treated which was discussed in Chapter Four. However the fact that the PNTL suggested that they wanted a role within these systems in order to ensure that domestic violence cases were taken seriously is potentially promising<sup>19</sup>.

In Chapter Five I discussed how community policing can be re-framed by police officers as the more ‘masculine’ approach to policing. Building on this, when links are created between masculinity and preventative policing, domestic violence becomes central in carrying this approach out effectively. Within this approach, characteristics such as communication and empathy which male police officers have been accused of not possessing become prioritised. Furthermore, approaching domestic violence in this way makes it easier to frame it as a central security concern, rather than it being framed as ‘women’s issue’ which has allowed it to be marginalised by male police officers. Gendered police reform strategies should aim to promote this reshaping of police masculinity. However this can only be promoted by the United Nations when they adopt an approach to gendered police reform that is based on a conceptualisation of gender that includes an understanding of *masculinities*.

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<sup>19</sup> This issue of how police officers work with traditional justice mechanisms in cases of domestic violence is something that needs more research, as does the different community responses to domestic violence in general as these vary widely.

## 7.5 Male Perpetrators

The final section in this chapter explores how the police interpret the United Nations' explanations for high rates of male violence against women. I argue that when it comes to conceptualising the links between masculinities and violence, there continues to be limited understanding about *how* particular constructions of masculinities lead to violence. Instead, a generic construction of masculinity continues to be blamed for all violence. Gaining a more nuanced understanding of the links between masculinities and violence could potentially be of benefit to how the police work with the community to prevent and address domestic violence. Therefore understanding how the police currently interpret the ways the United Nations frames these issues is important for highlighting any barriers that may exist to getting this more nuanced view of the links between masculinities and violence.

When speaking to people about the causes of sexual and gender-based violence I had witnessed being addressed by the police, and experienced myself, I was struck with how no one seemed to have any proper explanation for why these incidents happened: why one boy had chosen to rape a 12 year old girl but not another, why one man had chosen to kidnap and torture his niece but not another, why one group of boys had chosen to assault me but not another. Overall, there was no understanding of why men use violence “under some circumstances and not others” (Dolan 2002:57). People’s explanations ranged from the fact that there is too much pornography in Timor-Leste to the fact that there is not enough. There was also the stereotype that in Timor-Leste men want sex so much they will do anything to get it. The most common explanation remained that when there is male domination, violence will naturally ensue. I was struck by how *biological* all these explanations were, that people continue to understand male behavior as being uniformly controlled by aggressive and sexual urges.

The biological understandings of male behaviour are problematic given that research has stressed that it is different social constructions of masculinities that contribute to violence, especially in post-conflict environments. Within post-conflict environments, the diminished economic opportunities brought about by conflict and changing global economic systems are leading changes in patterns of masculinities (Clever 2002;

Dolan 2002; Bannon and Correia 2006; Sommers 2006). Now unable to play the male breadwinner role many men believe their masculinity is based on, and offered no alternative options for how to be a man, many men resort to domestic violence. In these instances, Dolan (2002:78) stresses that it is not masculinity in itself that causes violence:

“...although there appears to be a correlation between ‘masculinity’ and violence, the use of violence is probably better understood as a potential means to achieve an end, namely masculinity, rather than an integral component of that masculinity ... there is little within the model [of hegemonic masculinity] which explicitly encourages or celebrates the use of violence. Rather, there is a kind of silence on the issue.”

Therefore it is the “thwarting” of masculinity which occurs when men’s lived *experiences* of masculinity do not match their lived *expectations* of masculinity that can lead to their adoption of violent practices (Dolan 2002:79). I introduce this to highlight the continued theoretical silences on *how* the relationship between violence and masculinity plays out, and how we need more of an understanding of this in order to prevent domestic violence.

As was discussed in Chapter Four, in the context of Timor-Leste, the changing social, political and economic situation following years of occupation and violence has made it difficult for men to carry out their breadwinner role. There has been a ‘crisis of the gender order’ (Hovde Bye 2005:80) where many men are no longer able to achieve either a ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’ masculinity but are caught uncomfortably in the middle (Myrntinen 2009a). The representative from PRADET (Interview, 2010) elaborated on what could be the potential consequences of this tension in the form of domestic violence. She told of how she was at a community workshop where the community was discussing how a father had been beating his daughter and someone questioned this man about whether he loves his daughter. His response was that of course he loves his daughter, he does not enjoy hitting her but feels that he has to in order to make sure he is still seen as strong, and as a man, in front of his community. This is in line with Dolan’s (2002) assertion that in contexts where there are histories of violence and unstable socio-economic environments, violence can become a means to achieve masculinity in response to perceived ‘emasculatation’.



The issues mentioned above were not presented in the United Nations' gender training, rather high rates of domestic violence were blamed generically on patriarchy and *barlaki*. The New Zealand and East Timorese police's descriptions of domestic violence were similar to those given by the United Nations such as patriarchy and male domination, *barlaki* and economics issues.<sup>20</sup> High rates of domestic violence were most commonly linked to a system of patriarchy and male domination. It was also stressed how *barlaki* is tied up in this by creating a system of male ownership over women. NZPOL Five (Interview, 2010) talked about the influence of the "male dominated society", while PNTL One (Interview, 2010) suggested that "in our culture we put women as a second line so when men get married to the women they have to pay so if women do something wrong we<sup>21</sup> always hit or beat [*sic*]." Another common theme was economic reasons, with PNTL Six (Interview, 2010) describing how, "the economic background that create the domestic violence" and PNTL Three suggesting that, "the domestic violence arises because of lack of job ... when the husband become lazy ... they have no money and the wife ask for money and argue with the husband and there is no solution to the argument and finally they fight each other."

Within the New Zealand and East Timorese Police's descriptions of domestic violence, there is a disconnect as to how exactly male role expectations interact with other factors to produce violent masculinities. For example, how do the changes in the economic environment interact with male role expectations to produce situations in which men are more likely to commit domestic violence? And when we talk about patriarchy and male domination, how does this specifically contribute to the use of violence, and how does it explain all the men who choose not to use violence? Within these descriptions around men's use of violence against women in Timor-Leste, there is an automatic link made between a generic understanding of 'men' as a group and violence. This is done without looking at how it is the relationship between men's lived *expectations* of masculinity and their actual lived *experiences* of masculinity that can cause it. There is, as Dolan (2002) has suggested, a continued silence, a continued disconnect in how people understand what it is in some models of masculinity that provoke men to use violence.

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<sup>20</sup> These are similar to the causes detailed in reports on GBV in Timor-Leste (see International Rescue Committee 2003; Swaine 2003; Judicial System Monitoring Programme 2005; UNFPA 2005).

<sup>21</sup> He uses 'we' to describe the collective behaviour of East Timorese men, not as a way to describe his own personal behaviour.

It can never be the role of the police to try to mend the incredibly complex causes behind high rates of domestic violence. This is well beyond their mandate. However what is in their mandate is an aim to work with communities to try to prevent domestic violence. These efforts could potentially be aided if the police addressed domestic violence as a gendered issue in a broader sense than how it is currently conceptualised. Domestic violence must be seen as gendered in that the majority of victims are women because (at the most general level) stubborn patterns of women's marginalization in many areas persist. But it also must be seen as gendered in that the male perpetrator's behavior stems partly from an inability to live up to social expectations that suggest the man must be the protector and provider for the women.

Seeing domestic violence as a gendered issue in a broader sense of the concept could bring forth new ways for the police to try to prevent domestic violence. Hovde Bye (2005) suggests that efforts to address domestic violence within Timor-Leste need to take account of masculinities. This includes involving men more in prevention efforts but also through ensuring that male perpetrators have access to support, counselling and self-help programmes. If these services were developed the PNTL could have a role in referring men to them.

Within the PNTL's descriptions of how they address domestic violence there was evidence of other potential ways they can prevent domestic violence for example by acting as non-violent role models. There has been little research done on the positive impacts having police acting as non-violent roles models could potentially have on reducing rates of domestic violence. However masculinities research in general has often shown that a major contributor to men avoiding violence is having non-violent male role models (Barker 1998). This was an area touched upon in Chapter Five and building on this, there was evidence of one PNTL officer seeing addressing domestic violence as an opportunity to show the (mainly) men committing the violence alternative ways to act. As PNTL One (Interview, 2010) explains, "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 [*sic*]." If this approach to addressing domestic violence was widened, it could potentially make a small contribution to preventing domestic violence by ensuring

that young men are shown alternative ways to express frustrations that do not involve violence. However for this to occur, gendered police reform needs to attempt to connect the current disconnect in how the relationship between masculinity and violence is understood in order to see domestic violence as gendered in a wider conceptualisation of the term.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter has explored how police officers involved in United Nations police reform interpret the United Nations' policy on how gendered police reform should be carried out. By doing this, I provided an account of how the 'masculinities-blindness' is carried through United Nations' gender policy to the police officers involved in a policing programme. In particular, the framing of gender issues as women's issues, when reproduced by the police had a variety of problematic effects. It had the effect of not encouraging the police to critically reflect on gender. It had the effect of making the complexity of how male behavior can act to marginalize women invisible, and the fluidity and potentials for positive change also invisible. Finally, it made male victims of domestic violence, male supporters of prioritizing addressing domestic violence and the complex causes of male violence all invisible.

However as previous chapters, along with certain counter-narratives within discussions of gendered police reform have shown, there are a plethora of ways that understandings of men and masculinities could potentially be incorporated into gendered police reform. Broadly speaking these include the promotion of non-violent, community-orientated, "people centered" police masculinities and the promotion of United Nations police masculinities, which prioritise building collaborative relationships. For this to happen though, United Nations' gender policy needs to be changed in a way that takes account of the fluidity and diversity of men's practices that are evidenced in how the police understand masculinities *outside* of United Nations' gender policy.

## 8. Conclusion

The central aim of this thesis was twofold. It aimed to investigate how police officers involved in United Nations police reform understand and conceptualise masculinity. It also aimed to investigate how these conceptualizations compared to how masculinities are characterized and depicted within United Nations' gender policies.

This thesis is situated within emerging research on the importance of incorporating an understanding of men and masculinities into gendered police reform. Looking at masculinities in the study of gender and policing is important because how male police officers behave and are treated within the police force is influenced by how social expectations suggest 'men' should act. Therefore understanding *how* certain problematic policing practices come to dominate within post-conflict police forces comes from understanding how these practices are linked with certain notions of masculinity. As I discussed in the context section, the violent and militarised history of Timor-Leste has led to the hegemony of police masculinities linked to the use of force and control. However, men engage with masculinity in different ways. Therefore paying attention to men's gender identities is particularly important for understanding how some men resist defining their male identity through the adoption of violent and oppressive masculinities.

The importance of masculinities is something that is often ignored within current approaches to gender-aware police reform as men's gender identities continue to remain invisible within policy. This is because gender continues to be seen as something that only affects women. My research built on the critiques of 'masculinities-blindness' in gender policy by providing an account of how police officers themselves conceptualise masculinities and interpret how the United Nations conceptualises masculinities. I explored this through the use of feminist discourse analysis. This allowed me to identify the complex and varied ways that police officers understand and value policing practices based on their connections to certain gendered characteristics.

In the remainder of this final chapter, I summarize the findings of the three sub-questions my research explored in order to answer the central research objectives illustrated at the beginning of this chapter. Following the summary of these issues I explore some of the theoretical and methodological implications these findings have for how policing masculinities are understood and conceptualised. I then explore some of the theoretical and practical implications my research findings have for conceiving of how an understanding of masculinities could be better incorporated in gendered police reform. I end this chapter with some thoughts of areas for future research and concluding remarks.

## **8.1 A Summary of Analysis**

The first question I explored was: what different forms of masculinities are evident within policing practice in the PNTL? This contributed to the main objective of understanding how police officers understand and conceptualise masculinities in the PNTL, and in particular what types of policing they think should be promoted. From this investigation it appeared that a dominant aggressive, militarised, hypermasculine style of policing had become hegemonic within the PNTL. This was due to its connection with traditional notions of masculinity, which see ‘manliness’ as equated with having the ability to use force and have control over people. However there was also another strand of subordinated masculinity utilised by the community police in which community engagement, communication and mediation were promoted.

The descriptions of the New Zealand and East Timorese Police show that despite the marginalization of community policing by the PNTL leadership, the community police officers reframed their style of policing to be seen as more ‘masculine’. This was through framing the characteristics needed for community policing as central to the aims of policing such as providing security and solving crime. 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. This will be elaborated on in later sections.

The second question I explored was: how might different understandings of masculinities impact the relationship between the New Zealand Police and their East Timorese partners? This contributed to the main objective of understanding how New Zealand Police officers understand and conceptualise masculinity in their own police force, and in particular how this understanding is utilised in their capacity building work. As my research discovered, the ways in which the New Zealand Police frame relationship building is directly related to how they conceptualise their own police masculinities. The promotion of certain ‘task-orientated’ masculinities has a negative impact on how police officers framed their approach to relationship building. The adoption of task-oriented masculinity is characterized by the promotion of action-orientated policing in which 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 collaborative relationships.

However, given the fluid nature of masculinity, some police officers adapted what they considered ‘masculine’ policing to be, in order to make it more appropriate to the capacity building environment. They did this through prioritizing listening, observing and communicating in order to build collaborative relationships. The likelihood of the New Zealand Police prioritizing building collaborative relationships was influenced by the interaction between their gender identity and other identities such as nationality and ethnicity. When the New Zealand police challenged the racialised notion of themselves as the neutral experts, they were more likely to prioritise approaches conducive to building collaborative relationships. This included not just adapting their practices to incorporate those qualities mentioned above such as communication and observation; it also included challenging the position of power they were in by acknowledging the agency of the PNTL. Understanding the different ways New Zealand Police officers conceptualised their masculinities provided insights into possible avenues for promoting positive capacity building masculinities as part of a wider gendered reform strategy. This will be elaborated on in later sections.

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.

## **8.2 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. The recommendations I include below are focused mainly on how the United Nations’ gender training could potentially be improved. Firstly, the discussions around what are considered traditional ‘gender issues’ such as the treatment of female officers in the PNTL and how GBV is addressed need to be expanded to include discussions of masculinities. This could include more focus on men’s different relationships with GBV including how they can be affected by it, and how men’s perpetration of it must be seen as a socially constructed product of their history and current socio-economic situation.

If gender awareness training is to be *genuinely* gendered, it needs to encourage UNPOL officers to reflect on how masculinities affect the behavior of PNTL officers and their own behaviors. 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” (Cleaver 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 PNTL, 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.

The training could also encourage UNPOL officers to think about how masculinities can be reformed both within the PNTL and within their own practices. This could be done through considering how negative aspects of masculinity can be separated from positive aspects. For example, 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. In other words, gender needs to be portrayed as an issue that *does* affect how New Zealanders carry out their role in post-conflict capacity building.

To provoke United Nations Police officers to question their own behaviors, the United Nations must ensure that gender relations are not portrayed in a way that reinforces the perception of the United Nations Police as neutral experts. There are good lessons that can be learnt from how some New Zealand Police officers conceptualised 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; Myrtilinen 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.

### **8.3 New Areas of Research**

This research provides an early exploration into what is hopefully an emerging field of research. Specific research on the development of gendered hierarchies in different country contexts, and how this affects their policing is needed. Given the large numbers of countries contributing police to UNPOL, it would be beneficial to have specific research on patterns of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities within each of these as this will influence how they operate in the UNPOL environment. More research is also needed on how specific policing contingents understand concepts

such as gender. If gender training is going to be done in such a way that resonates with many different UNPOL contingents, this research needs to be done, and the gender training needs to be adjusted accordingly.

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 from that fact that the New Zealand Police, or any other police fully 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, the United Nations would be more likely to contribute to locally-owned police reform.

## **8.4 Final Thoughts**

When explaining my research on masculinities to a friend in Timor-Leste, his response was that it was in some ways a manifestation of the ‘Cassandra Complex’. Cassandra, a famous figure in Greek mythology, was granted the gift of prophecy however after refusing the romantic advances of Apollo, she was cursed never to have her prophecies believed. There continues to be ‘Cassandra’s’ in all contexts, those who prophesise alternative futures but are often not believed as these ‘visions’ do not match up to what people currently understand as ‘reality’. This happens throughout discussions of gender and policing. The idea that police masculinities *could* exist to promote peace and security in post-conflict environments does not match the ‘reality’ that much United Nations’ gender policy promulgates in which men are framed in an essentialist way as violent and problematic. It should be the role of the United Nations, of the New Zealand Police, of the East Timorese Police to imagine alternative realities, to use their policies and programmes to prophesise a world in which masculinity is not associated with problematic practices such as violence. However getting to a point where the

United Nations can imagine alternative realities requires showing how our current 'realities' are created, in other words showing how particular constructions of problematic police masculinity are created. It also requires showing how these notions of 'reality' can act to make invisible other realities, that the existence of non-violent masculinities can be made invisible as they do not conform to the norm portrayed in constructions of 'reality'. I hope that this thesis has contributed in some small way to the imagining of alternative futures by documenting how I discovered the unexpected: some positive masculinities in a United Nations' gender discourse that suggests they do not exist.

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## Appendix One: Map of Timor-Leste (Source: La'o Hamutuk)



## **Appendix Two: Formal permission from the New Zealand Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee to conduct research with the New Zealand Police**

### **NZ Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee**

#### **Comment on the proposal:**

*A gendered approach to Police reform: Addressing masculinities in Policing Programmes in Timor- Leste*

**Researcher:** Marianne Bevan

**Date:** 4 May 2010

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**The Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC) supports the contribution of New Zealand Police to the project subject to the following:**

1. That the researcher will be responsible for her own safety in Timor-Leste.
2. Because the NZ Police working in Timor-Leste are seconded to the UN, the researcher needs to enquire from the UN whether she needs to seek their permission to interview the members of the NZ Police on site in Timor-Leste.
3. That a security clearance is obtained and a research agreement and deed of confidentiality are signed and returned to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee prior to the commencement of the research.
4. That a draft report is provided to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee for comment 2-3 weeks prior to completion.
5. That a bound copy of the thesis is provided for the Police library along with an electronic copy in PDF format and a separate short ( 5 page maximum) PDF summarizing practice or policy issues for police arising out of the research. The summary should be written so as to be suitable for a Police audience. These should be provided to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee upon completion of the final thesis/report.

#### **RESC members also made the following points:**

- A review of the CCP has recently been completed and will be available on the IDG website within a month.
- NZ Police officers in Timor-Leste are part of a multinational effort under the umbrella of the United Nations (UN). It may be that the researcher needs approval from the UN to carry out this research. NZAID should be able to assist there.
- By choosing to interview only New Zealand Police officers, who make up perhaps 25 out of 1600 in the total UN capacity building group, the researcher could be forming a view of the PNTL through a very small lens. Her proposal looks at the views of staff from one country about one aspect of the programme.
- Interviewing a mix of staff in Timor-Leste and staff who have returned from Timor to New Zealand is likely to provide some useful comparisons. It is likely that staff back in New Zealand will feel more able to comment.

- Concern was expressed regarding the researcher's safety and the safety of her research documents while in Timor-Leste. There is potential risk to the individuals stationed in Timor-Leste should the information they provide become more widely available. The researcher and her supervisor are advised to get specific advice from other researchers who have worked in Timor regarding protection of the researcher's own security and her papers recordings etc when in Timor.
- Has the researcher considered carrying out all the interviews with NZ Police who have returned to New Zealand? This would remove the need for UN permission, and also concerns for the researcher's safety and the security of data while in Timor-Leste. Staff who have returned would be more able to "stand back and reflect" on the values/ characteristics questions. Also - if the researcher interviews those who have returned she may be able to get a better representative sample ( % of women, age groups, type of experience/work undertaken in Timor) because it is a person's experience before they went - and while they were there, that will lead them to develop /articulate their views about gender/ masculinities.
- It is suggested that the researcher includes interviews with some staff from the wider NZ Police group because they have received the Community Policing training and their duties would offer them a different perspective. All are involved in capacity building.
- The proposal is a bit underdeveloped in relation to police culture. NZ police attitudes to gender violence and masculinity in Timor are not simply a reflection of police culture; rather, they are products of a complex interplay between a variety of issues, including, personal biography of officers, personal views about gender, and also including police culture. The overarching point is that the work risks being over-deterministic of police culture (and importantly - and in contrast to criminological work - assumes that there is only one culture).
- The researcher will need to be mindful of the language she uses when interviewing police officers. As is appropriate for the purpose of an academic thesis in its discipline, the proposal is rich in feminist terminology. However, for the uninitiated, it is rather obscure. For example, the title of the project would not invite a prospective participant to read further; it may be seen as confrontational and too confusing to be of interest. The concept "gender" needs explanation....'gender-based violence' ' gender issues' 'gender relations.' It differs from 'sex' which is the more familiar term for police.
- The proposed questions need considerable refining and simplifying and to be expressed in a language more used by the Police officers themselves. The interview questions are too long for the time allowed. There are two questions at the bottom of page 1 of Appendix A (why no question numbers?) which would be likely to elicit names of PNTL officers. For security reasons it is not appropriate to include any names in the discussion or the field record. More work is needed on the question sequencing.
- The research may have potential to contribute to New Zealand Police policy and /or practice.

If you would like to discuss the feedback, please do not hesitate to contact me at [lynn.jenner@police.govt.nz](mailto:lynn.jenner@police.govt.nz) or (04) 470-7088.

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 Wellington 6140

## **Appendix Three: Victoria University of Wellington Ethics Forms**

### **Appendix 3a: Interview Information Sheet for semi-structured interviews with New Zealand Police officers**



#### **VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

#### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

##### **Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

**Researcher:** Marianne Bevan: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. In this research I will explore how gender issues are addressed in policing programmes in Timor-Leste, looking specifically at men's role in promoting equality between men and women. Using the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme as a case study, my research will investigate what New Zealand Police officers think about how men's identities affect policing styles in the Timorese Police Force. It will also explore how equality between men and women is being promoted within the Timorese Police Force in order to ensure that the best approach is being taken to improve gender equality through policing programmes.

Responses collected will form the basis of my research project. All material collected will be kept confidential and no individual names or specific job titles will be attributed to specific opinions in the production of the research. Participants will be identified as being from the New Zealand Police and a pseudonym such as NZPOL 1, will be used when attributing specific opinions. No other person beside my supervisor, Dr Megan Mackenzie, and me will listen to the tape recording of the interviews. The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

The University has granted me ethics approval to conduct this research.

#### **What is involved?**



- The interviews are designed to take 50-60 minutes and can take place at a mutually agreed time and place. You will be interviewed by Marianne Bevan. You will be required to sign the attached consent form prior to the semi-structured interviews.
- Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you agree to take part in the interviews you are free to withdraw at any stage without having to give a reason. You are free to withdraw any information you have provided before data collection and analysis of the project is complete on 01/12/2010.
- You will be asked a list of semi-structured interview questions regarding your perceptions on police behaviour in Timor-Leste. You do not have to answer all questions.
- The interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. The recording will be used to complement the notes taken during the interview.
- All raw data collected during this interview will be accessed by the principal investigator and research supervisor only. These will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and destroyed after 5 years

Please feel free to contact the researcher or research supervisor if you have any questions or would like to receive further information about this study

**Principal Investigator:**

Marianne Bevan

Masters of Development Studies student – Victoria University of Wellington

[Marianne.bevan@gmail.com](mailto:Marianne.bevan@gmail.com)

Ph: +64 4 463 9463

(Telephone number will be provided once I get to Timor-Leste)

**Research Supervisor:**

Dr Megan Mackenzie

Lecture at School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations – Victoria University of Wellington

[Megan.mackenzie@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:Megan.mackenzie@vuw.ac.nz)

## **Appendix 3b: Consent form for semi-structured interviews with New Zealand Police Officers**

### **VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

#### **CONSENT FORM FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

##### **Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

- I have read and understood the attached 'Information sheet for semi-structured interviews'. I have had an opportunity to ask any questions I may have about the study and about participating in the interview and have had them answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in these semi-structured interviews and understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project by 01/12/2010 without having to give reasons.
- I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed, and that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to this material. Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her Supervisor.
- I understand that all written material and taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and then destroyed after 5 years.
- I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.

I \_\_\_\_\_ (full name) hereby consent to take part in this study by being interviewed.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview conducted by: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I would like to receive a summary of the research findings **Yes / No** (Please circle)

### **Appendix 3c: Question guide for New Zealand Police**

- 1) Are there any PNTL officers who you think could be considered role models for other officers in the PNTL and what is it about them that make them role models?
- 2) How would you describe the dominant police culture in the PNTL? What style of policing is privileged?
- 3) Can you tell me about any officers/departments that do not fit in with this dominant culture?
- 4) From your experience, how do you think that community policing is treated/viewed within the PNTL?
- 5) How you describe the dominant police culture in UNPOL? How do the New Zealand Police fit within this?
- 6) What are some of the main security issues/crimes that you saw the PNTL deal with?
- 7) Were there any officers that were particularly good at dealing with [crimes detailed in previous question] and what made them good at this?
- 8) From your experience, do male PNTL officers police differently to female police officers and can you give examples of this? How does it make them capable or less capable at dealing with particular tasks?
- 9) What do you understand the concept of gender to mean? What are gender issues?
- 10) What do you think are the main gender issues the PNTL deals with in the community?
- 11) Do you think that there are any internal gender issues within the PNTL and can you tell me about these?
- 12) Can you tell me what policies and practices the community policing programme you were involved in had to build the capacity of the PNTL to address gender issues?
- 13) Can you tell me about any training you received to deal with gender issues while working in Timor-Leste? How did it help you to deal with gender issues?

## **Appendix 3d: Interview Information Sheet for semi-structured interviews with officers from the National Police of East Timor (PNTL)**



**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

**INFORMATION SHEET FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

**INFORMATION SHEET FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

**Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

**Researcher:** Marianne Bevan: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. In this research I will explore how gender issues are addressed in policing programmes in Timor-Leste, looking specifically at men's role in promoting equality between men and women. Using the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme as a case study, my research will investigate what police officers think about how men's identities affect policing styles in the Timorese Police Force. It will also explore how equality between men and women is being promoted within the Timorese Police Force in order to ensure that the best approach is being taken to improve gender equality through policing programmes.

Responses collected will form the basis of my research project. All material collected will be kept confidential and no individual names or specific job titles will be attributed to specific opinions in the production of the research. Participants will be identified as being from the Timorese Police and a pseudonym such as PNTL 1, will be used when attributing specific opinions. No other person beside my supervisor, Dr Megan Mackenzie, and me will listen to the tape recording of the interviews. The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

The University has granted me ethics approval to conduct this research.

### **What is involved?**

- The interviews are designed to take 50-60 minutes and can take place at a mutually agreed time and place. You will be interviewed by Marianne Bevan.

You will be required to sign the attached consent form prior to the semi-structured interviews.

- Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you agree to take part in the interviews you are free to withdraw at any stage without having to give a reason. You are free to withdraw any information you have provided before data collection and analysis of the project is complete on 01/12/2010.
- You will be asked a list of semi-structured interview questions regarding your perceptions on police behaviour in Timor-Leste. You do not have to answer all questions.
- The interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. The recording will be used to complement the notes taken during the interview.
- All raw data collected during this interview will be accessed by the principal investigator and research supervisor only. These will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and destroyed after 5 years

Please feel free to contact the researcher or research supervisor if you have any questions or would like to receive further information about this study

**Principal Investigator:**

Marianne Bevan

Masters of Development Studies student – Victoria University of Wellington

[Marianne.bevan@gmail.com](mailto:Marianne.bevan@gmail.com)

Ph: +64 4 463 9463

(Telephone number will be provided once I get to Timor-Leste)

**Research Supervisor:**

Dr Megan Mackenzie

Lecture at School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations – Victoria University of Wellington

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**Appendix 3e: Consent form for semi-structured interviews with officers from the National Police of East Timor (PNTL)**

**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

**CONSENT FORM FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

**Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

- I have read and understood the attached 'Information sheet for semi-structured interviews'. I have had an opportunity to ask any questions I may have about the study and about participating in the interview and have had them answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in these semi-structured interviews and understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project by 01/12/2010 without having to give reasons.
- I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed, and that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to this material. Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her Supervisor.
- I understand that all written material and taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and then destroyed after 5 years.
- I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.

I \_\_\_\_\_ (full name) hereby consent to take part in this study by being interviewed.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview conducted by: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I would like to receive a summary of the research findings **Yes / No** (Please circle)

### **Appendix 3f: Question Guide for semi-structured interviews with PNTL officers**

- 1) What do you think makes a good police officer in Timor-Leste? What makes a good community police officer?
- 2) Are there any police officers in the PNTL that you have worked with or met that you think make particularly good police officers and why do they make good police officers?
- 3) Are there any police officers in the PNTL that you have worked with or met that you think do not make good police officers and why do they not make good police officers?
- 4) Do you think that there is a style of policing that is promoted throughout the all departments in the PNTL?
- 5) What style of policing is used by UNPOL? What differences are there between UNPOL units?
- 6) Are there any UNPOL you have worked with who you thought were very good police officers and why was this
- 7) Are there any UNPOL you have worked with who you thought were not very good police officers and why was this?
- 8) What are the main crimes or security issues the PNTL deal with? What characteristics does a police officer need to be good at dealing with this crime? Can you give me an example of a time you have seen a police officer deal with this well?
- 9) From your experience, do male PNTL officers police differently to female police officers and can you give examples of this? How does it make them capable or less capable at dealing with particular tasks?
- 7) What do you understand the concept of gender to mean? What are gender issues?
- 8) What do you think are the main gender issues the PNTL deals with in the community?
- 9) Do you think that there are any internal gender issues within the PNTL and can you tell me about these?
- 10) Can you tell me about any training you received to deal with gender issues while involved in the community policing programme? How did this help you to deal with gender issues in the PNTL?

## **Appendix 3g: Interview Information Sheet for semi-structured interviews with civil society representatives**



### **VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

#### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

##### **Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

**Researcher:** Marianne Bevan: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. In this research I will explore how gender issues are addressed in policing programmes in Timor-Leste, looking specifically at men's role in promoting equality between men and women. Using the New Zealand Police Community Policing Pilot Programme as a case study, my research will investigate what New Zealand and Timorese police officers think about how men's identities affect policing styles in the Timorese Police Force. To put this case study in the broader context of police reform in Timor-Leste, I will also be conducting interviews with individuals involved in work on policing in Timor-Leste.

Responses collected will form the basis of my research project. All material collected will be kept confidential and no individual names or specific job titles will be attributed to specific opinions in the production of the research. It is your decision whether or not your organisation be named in the production of the research and there is a tickbox on the consent form where you can highlight whether you would like your organisation to be named, or whether you would like it to stay anonymous. If you would not like your organisation to be named, you will be identified as 'a an individual involved in police reform', when opinions are attributed in the research. If you would like your organisation to be named, you will be identified as 'a representative from [insert name of organisation]' when opinions are attributed in the research. No other person beside my supervisor, Dr Megan Mackenzie, and myself will listen to the tape recording of the interviews. The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

The University has granted me ethics approval to conduct this research.

#### **What is involved?**



- The interviews are designed to take 35-45 minutes and can take place at a mutually agreed time and place. You will be interviewed by Marianne Bevan. You will be required to sign the attached consent form prior to the semi-structured interviews.
- Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you agree to take part in the interviews you are free to withdraw at any stage without having to give a reason. You are free to withdraw any information you have provided before data collection and analysis of the project is complete on 01/12/2010.
- You will be asked a list of semi-structured interview questions regarding your perceptions on the work of your organisation in regards to police reform, police behaviour in Timor-Leste and the relationship between Timorese and foreign police in Timor-Leste. You do not have to answer all questions.
- The interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. The recording will be used to complement the notes taken during the interview.
- All raw data collected during this interview will be accessed by the principal investigator and research supervisor only. These will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and destroyed after 5 years

Please feel free to contact the researcher or research supervisor if you have any questions or would like to receive further information about this study

**Principal Investigator:**

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736 2600

**Research Supervisor:**

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## **Appendix 3h: Consent form for semi-structured interviews with civil society representatives**

### **VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

#### **CONSENT FORM FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

##### **Title of project: Exploring the Relationship Between Men's Identities and Policing in Policing Programmes in Timor-Leste**

- I have read and understood the attached 'Information sheet for semi-structured interviews'. I have had an opportunity to ask any questions I may have about the study and about participating in the interview and have had them answered to my satisfaction.
- I agree to participate in these semi-structured interviews and understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project (before data collection and analysis is complete) without having to give reasons or without penalty of any sort.
- I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed, and that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to this material. Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her Supervisor.
- I understand that all written material and taped interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or as password protected electronic documents and then destroyed after 5 years.
- I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.

I \_\_\_\_\_ (full name) hereby consent to take part in this study by being interviewed.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview conducted by: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ I would like my organisation to be named in the research **Yes / No** (Please circle)
- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the research findings **Yes / No** (Please circle)

### **Appendix 3i: Question Guide for semi-structured interviews civil society representatives**

- 1) How would you describe the dominant police culture in the PNTL?
- 2) Can you tell me about any policing departments that do not fit in with this dominant culture? How are they viewed/treated within the PNTL?
- 3) How would you describe the dominant police culture in UNPOL?
- 4) How would you describe the relationship between UNPOL and the PNTL?
- 5) What do you think are the main gender issues that PNTL and UNPOL deals with in Timor-Leste are? How successfully are they currently being dealt with?
- 6) Do you think that there are any internal gender issues within the PNTL/UNPOL and can you tell me about these?