

Deepening the Conversation: Feminism, International Policing and the WPS Agenda

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Abstract

Scholarship on international police reform and Women, Peace and Security (WPS) has flourished in the last decade and the potential for engagement across these two bodies of literature is promising. Given the increased use of police personnel in international peace missions and emphasis on gender mainstreaming policies, the need for assessing the impact of these two trends has never been greater. Thus, this paper seeks to bridge gaps between the mainstream policing scholarship and feminist scholars focused on post-conflict peacebuilding police reforms. We explore how feminist scholars can engage with policing literature's technocratic language and 'in the field' experience as well as how policing scholars can interact with feminist scholars to transform traditional approaches to security in the context of the WPS Agenda. We demonstrate the benefits of increased dialogue and interaction by highlighting the common and diverging challenges and developments in both fields in three areas: the design, implementation, and evaluation of international police reform. Finally, to illustrate the dynamic intersection of these areas of study and practice, we examine the transnational policing efforts to gender mainstream the Liberian National Police (LNP) in the context of the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

Key Words: Feminism, Police, Gender, Security Sector Reform (SSR), Peacekeeping

Policing is a significant component of international peacekeeping and peacebuilding.¹ Since 1999, the UN Security Council expanded its approval of peacekeeping mission mandates with broader police functions and larger UN Police (UNPOL) deployments.² Simultaneously, UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2000 emphasizes the need to increase women's participation in peace processes, leading to rhetorical, legal and procedural shifts in the global security agenda to include women and gender.³ 'Gendering' security institutions is a principal mechanism for implementing SCR 1325, particularly by increasing women's protection and participation via gender mainstreaming policies.⁴ Mirroring these developments, feminist scholarship has grown exponentially, analyzing the achievements, missed opportunities and negative consequences of the WPS agenda on gender equality in conflict-affected countries.⁵

Despite these notable developments in research and policy, little engagement exists within academic work between these two fields on gendered police reform.⁶ Gendered police reform comprises a spectrum of actions that seek to deconstruct patriarchal norms within police forces, increase women's representation in and access to the police, and increase gender equality within the police. Institutions and subjects are mutually constitutive and when historically

¹ See *Journal for International Peacekeeping* 15.1 (2011) and *Policing and Society* 19.4 (2009). Also, den Heyer, "Police as Nation Builders"; Durch et al., "Impact of Police"; Goldsmith and Sheptycki, *Crafting Transnational Policing*.

² Greener, "UN Police as Peacekeepers."

³ Hudson, *Gender, Human Security*.

⁴ Increasing women's quantitative representation as 'mainstreaming' is not without its critiques. See Whitworth, *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping*; Valenius, "A few kind women"; Dharmapuri "Just add women."

⁵ See Anderlini, *Women building peace.*; Raven-Roberts, "Gender Mainstreaming in United Nations"; Davies and True, *Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security*; Olsson and Gizelis *Gender, Peace and Security*.

⁶ It is important to note that there is an increasing amount of work on gendered police reform and security sector reform by practitioners and think tanks, including research, guidelines, and toolkits designed by the UN, the OSCE, NATO, and DCAF. These represent important advancements and resources. In this article, we are primarily focusing on academic literature and engagement.

masculine institutions, like policing, open up there is significant potential for both transforming the institution and for altering (or reinforcing) gender relations.⁷ This paper explores gaps between mainstream policing scholarship and feminist literature on post-conflict police operations. Specifically, we compare the literatures' conceptualizations, practices and theories to explore the intersections, silences, and contributions of each. Better understanding these overlaps and disconnects is critical for theoretical development and policy advancement. We explore how feminist scholars can engage with policing literature's technocratic language and 'in the field' experience to strengthen their understanding of police reform. Similarly, we examine how police reform scholars can interact with feminist scholars to challenge and expand traditional notions of security and improve the design and implementation of police reform.

This article seeks to better understand the academic, theoretical and practical gaps between international police reform scholarship and feminist security studies to demonstrate the benefits of increased dialogue by highlighting common and diverging theories, developments and challenges in three areas: the design, implementation and evaluation of international police reform.⁸ This includes police reform that is supported by international actors, including bilateral actors, regional actors, and intergovernmental organizations. First, we discuss the differing conceptions of security and gender, while highlighting similar challenges faced in Western-driven reforms.⁹ Second, we investigate reform implementation and highlight tensions

⁷ Kronsell "Methods for Studying"

⁸ Scholars like Nicole George and Georgina Holmes have done some exceptional work at this intersection, specifically looking at the cases of Fiji and Rwanda, respectively. Most recently, George found that gendered forms of policing - even those in hybridized security environments that engage "the local" - can result in restrictive gendered outcomes compounding gendered insecurity. George "Policing 'Conjugal'"

⁹ By Western, we are primarily referring to neoliberal, mainstream models of police reform as a component of broader security sector reform. These models tend to strongly influence UN frameworks on post-conflict peacebuilding and governance structures.

surrounding the proper ‘place’ of gender. Third, we examine the process of monitoring and evaluation and its implications for gendered reform.

Finally, to illustrate this dynamic intersection, we examine transnational policing efforts to gender reform the Liberian National Police (LNP) with the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Beginning in 2005, the LNP reform represents the first major international post-conflict reform to attempt to gender mainstream the police. While the LNP gender reform demonstrates an important advancement, it also highlights the shortcomings of tepid and shallow engagement between mainstream and feminist policing scholars and practitioners. Particularly, the Liberian case highlights how the prioritization of gender balancing reforms that seek to increase the representation of women relative to men within the institution, does not automatically lead to and can undermine more transformative gender mainstreaming reforms that seek to alter the gendered norms, cultures, and hierarchies within security institutions. Thus, this case study highlights how the theoretical and methodological gaps identified manifest within the complex challenges in gendering police reform. Lastly, we conclude with a discussion of the benefits of greater engagement for *both* feminist and international policing scholars.

Theoretical Framework

Police reform represents a highly complex and multidimensional process during which multiple local, national, and international actors with differing goals, priorities, motivations, and conceptualizations attempt to create a more effective, efficient, professional, and accountable police force. However, the diversity of approaches to police reform can create tensions, silenced voices, and ineffective reform process if they are not adequately integrated.

The following analysis explores how police reform is conceptualized, designed, implemented, and monitored by traditional police reform scholars and feminist scholars. Traditional police reform scholarship focuses on technical and logistical support to police forces that increase their effectiveness and professionalization. Gendered police reform seeks not only to improve these factors, but also desires to break down gendered hierarchies within police institutions that tend to privilege hypermasculinity. These two types of reform can be complementary, but often use different languages, have different priorities, and struggle with competing interests in the face of limited resources. As a result, gender reform can fall short of the expectations of both scholars and can undermine the success of even traditional gender reform. To analyze the success of police reform to address gendered issues, the analysis considers both women's physical integration into the police force and the breakdown to gendered hierarchies that privilege hegemonic masculinity.

Police Reform Design

During the design of international police reform, the government, police and international partners establish their priorities, structure and mission.¹⁰ While police reform is largely state-centric, there is increasing space and value for the local community to serve as a source of authority and knowledge.¹¹ However, even community policing produces a mix of positive and negative results, especially for vulnerable groups.¹² Thus, it is critical to examine the varying

¹⁰ Toft, *Securing the Peace*.

¹¹ Baker and Sheye 2007

¹² See for example, the work of Lisa Denney at <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8656.pdf>.

perspectives that policing and feminist scholars hold regarding the purpose and goal of police reform, the role of various actors and the proper place of gender.

First, both literatures define and conceptualize gender differently. Feminist scholars define gender as a socially constructed and performative concept, distinct from biological sex.¹³ Additionally, feminist scholars reject gendered dichotomies, instead embracing a continuum of gendered practices.¹⁴ While police reform scholars may acknowledge gender's social foundation, there is a tendency to conflate gender and sex.¹⁵ This reduces gender reform to women's reform, overlooking hegemonic masculinity in police institutions, disadvantaging not only women, but non-hegemonic masculinities.¹⁶ For example, gender reform often becomes synonymous with increasing women's participation without challenging conceptions of masculinity and patriarchy embedded in police forces. These differing conceptions of gender influence how gender reform is designed, prioritized and implemented.

Second, a divergence arises regarding the conceptualization of security. Traditionally, police literature defines security as the protection of citizens and the state from violence through the enforcement of law and order.¹⁷ Increasingly, police scholars emphasize the importance of legitimacy, respect for human rights and police-citizen cooperation.¹⁸ While feminist scholars appreciate the importance of law and order, they argue that this conceptualization is over-

¹³ Millett, *Sexual Politics*; Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

¹⁴ However, it is also important to note that there exists a wide range of beliefs, perspectives, and theories within feminist literature. Generally, in this text, we are referring to the mainstream WPS feminist literature.

¹⁵ Harris and Goldsmith, "Gendering Transnational Policing"; Vallmuur, "Gender-neutrality of police." Whitworth, "Militarized Masculinities," MacKenzie, *Female Soldiers*

¹⁶ While certainly not all police reforms overlook masculinities, and we applaud these efforts, many feminist scholars have critiqued military and police reform processes for leaving harmful masculinities in place. For example, see Enloe, "How Do They Militarize a Can of Soup?"; Whitworth, "Militarized Masculinities."

¹⁷ Murray, "Police-Building in Afghanistan"; Koci and Gjuraj, "Community policing and human rights"; Hughes and Hunt, "The Rule of Law".

¹⁸ Koci and Gjuraj "Community policing and human"; Hughes and Hunt "The Rule of Law"; Osse, "Police reform in Kenya".

simplified, state-centric and inefficient or even harmful to long-term security. Feminist scholars critique the tie between security and the militarization of society and its reification of the state as sole protector, which ignores state perpetrations of violence against women.¹⁹ Feminists maintain that security must consider individuals' lived experiences and argue that basic needs and individual security are key components of security.²⁰ Therefore, in contrast to traditional notions of security, which privilege the state and the men who control it, often at the expense of overlooking women, feminists consider security not only as power over, but also power with and power through.²¹

In contrast, police literature highlights the complex process and crucial nature of re-establishing security, which requires the prioritization of certain reforms given material and social constraints.²² As a result, practitioners facing time and resource constraints often intentionally or unintentionally prioritize its state-centric components.²³ For example, Murray attributes the failure of police reform in Afghanistan to the prioritization of state and military security over civil security.²⁴ Police reform requires trade-offs, but the extent of these challenges and the choices made deserves further exploration.

While differing conceptions of security can be complementary, lack of engagement leads to partial, incomplete reform. For example, the perceived role of police differs if security is conceived in terms of the state or of individuals and communities. In the former, the police serve as state agents to impose state-sanctioned law and order to protect state stability as much as

¹⁹ Tickner, "What is Your Research Program".

²⁰ Galtung, "Violence, Peace"; Tickner, "What is Your Research Program", 435.

²¹ Murray, "Police-Building in Afghanistan"; Koci and Gjuraj, "Community policing and human"; Hughes and Hunt, "The Rule of Law".

²² Toft, *Securing the Peace*; Celador, "Peacebuilding through 'democratic policing'".

²³ Brogden and Nijhar, *Community Policing*; Hughes and Hunt, "The Rule of Law"; Brzoska, "Evaluating Post-Conflict Reconstruction"

²⁴ Murray, "Police-Building in Afghanistan"

citizen safety.²⁵ In the latter, police function to ensure the welfare of individual citizens and a safe environment with basic resources, freedom, and liberties.²⁶

Another point of divergence is the ‘proper’ prioritization and timing of gender reforms. While many international security actors and scholars are receptive to gender concerns, there is a mentality that gender is secondary to more urgent concerns, such as disarmament. For Western actors, police reform is self-evidently necessary for post-conflict reconstruction.²⁷ Under this framework, police reform firstly and primarily focuses on ‘hard’ security, or the conceptualization of security as a state-centric, militaristic phenomenon, and only turn to gender reforms after solving the ‘more urgent’ security issues.²⁸

However, feminist scholars urge that gender reform be considered integral to police reform and not a secondary ‘add on.’²⁹ First, they claim that gender reforms are central to security since they target inherent security issues in citizens’ lives. Thus, some scholars argue that gender reforms improve operational effectiveness.³⁰ However, feminist scholars caution the use of instrumentalist justifications for gendered police reform that both ignore the larger institutional and cultural obstacles to gender reform and overlook women’s right to participate in and be adequately protected by the police.³¹ Second, since security institutions form their own, often hyper-masculine gender norms, gender reforms must be incorporated from the outset to reshape the institutionalized culture. Gender reforms added to a partially completed reform are

²⁵ Brogden and Nijhar, *Community Policing*; Hughes and Hunt, “The Rule of Law”; Brzoska, “Evaluating Post-Conflict Reconstruction”; Murray, “Police-Building in Afghanistan”

²⁶ Hills, *Policing Post-Conflict Cities*.

²⁷ Brogden and Nijhar, *Community Policing*

²⁸ Brogden and Nijhar, *Community Policing*; Osse, “Police reform in Kenya”. Koci and Gjuraj, “Community policing and human rights”

²⁹ Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*; Duncanson, *Forces for Good*; Dharmapuri, “Just Add Women”

³⁰ Egnell 2014

³¹ Hudson, “*Gender, Human Security*”

largely unable to overturn institutionalized gendered norms, and instead will operate within them.³² Therefore, while feminist scholars benefit from engaging with the hierarchy of security needs outlined by police scholars, the latter would also benefit from increased examination of the importance of ‘soft’ security issues.

Despite these differences, both literatures recognize the complex challenges in conflict-affected countries. SSR is dependent on the mission’s operational environment – which the mission cannot directly control given political demands and tensions combined with insufficient resources.³³ In this environment, police reform encounters lack of political will, resistance to foreign intervention, and civilian distrust of police.³⁴

These challenges particularly impact women’s experiences.³⁵ For example structural obstacles and gender norms, such as familial obligations, inadequate transportation, or ill-equipped police stations, limit women’s access to the police. These limitations are not only a product of security actors’ inability to take women’s lives seriously, but also reflect challenges identified by police scholars, including being underfunded, over-extended and insufficiently supported.³⁶ Therefore, feminist scholars must recognize that their critiques regarding political will and funding are not unique.

Undoubtedly, there is pressure from international donors for quick, identifiable results, which endangers the quality and sustainability of reforms.³⁷ For example, Celador argues that international attempts to quickly democratize and ethnically balance Bosnia and Herzegovina’s

³² Kunz, “Gendering Differently?”.

³³ Durch et al., “Impact of Police”, 2

³⁴ Osse, “Police reform in Kenya”; Hills, *Policing in Africa*; den Heyer, “Measuring capacity development”; Marenin, “The Futures of Policing”; Bayley, “Who Are We Kidding?”.

³⁵ MacKenzie, *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone*.

³⁶ Osse, “Police reform in Kenya”; Marenin, “Understanding Mission Environments”

³⁷ 2013 Interviews

police force undermined police effectiveness and worsened ethnic tension.³⁸ Conflict-affected states face immense external pressure to quickly rebuild and professionalize police forces and re-establish law and order, while many non-conflict-affected states have spent longer attempting to undergo similar reforms with little progress.³⁹ Additionally, donor demands may differ greatly among donors. Further, even the same donor's priorities may change overtime or across contexts based on political, structural, and contextual constraints.⁴⁰ Thus, the design of police reform can be pulled in multiple directions, which may influence the prioritization and timing of gender reform.

This tension between local, long-term and sustainable desires and short-term, service driven programs is particularly troublesome with gender reform.⁴¹ Gender reforms require long-term investments with nonlinear progress markers since they entail institutional and cultural change within and outside the police. Thus, these two fields could rely upon one another to better articulate the need for long-term investment informed by multiple sites of local authority.

Implementation of Police Reform

While both literatures recognize the obstacles to successful implementation, feminist scholars find a troubling lack of will to fully implement gender reforms not faced as uniformly by police reform given gender's secondary prioritization. Gender reform often includes programming that seeks to increase women's representation in police roles, increase women's access to the police, and ensure that the police are sensitive to gendered crime, such as SGBV. These institutional and structural changes are key components of gender reform by creating an institution that

³⁸ Celador, "Peacebuilding through 'democratic policing'"

³⁹ For example, Souhami, 'Institutional racism'

⁴⁰ Ansorg and Haastrup, "Gender and the EU's Support."

⁴¹ Debusscher and Martin de Almagro, "Post-conflict women's".

descriptively and substantively represents women. However, feminist scholars argue that gendered police reform is also tied with larger societal norms. In other words, successful gender reform requires the transformation of gendered norms in police culture – rejecting hypermasculinity and gender binaries, deconstructing gendered power hierarchies and re-valuing femininity. In other words, while institutional, structural changes are important immediate steps, if they are not complemented by deeper changes in police culture, the threat of regression back to patriarchal norms remains.

Feminist scholars emphasize that gender reform cannot successfully be implemented with a ‘just add women and stir’ approach.⁴² A common gender reform, gender balancing seeks to increase women’s representation relative to men’s within the police. While increasing women’s representation is vital to gender reform, these policies tend to rely on essentialist or unproven assumptions about women’s impact on police effectiveness. Hudson argues that while gender balancing can improve operational effectiveness, instrumentalist arguments uphold gendered roles, overlook cultural differences, over-rely on female personnel to invoke change, and ignore larger institutional cultures.⁴³ In other words, assumptions that women’s presence will reduce police corruption, improve legitimacy, and increase responsiveness to women’s issues, require first that women are less corrupt, more trustworthy, and more concerned with SGBV and second, that they will be able to express these characteristics and influence their male colleagues.⁴⁴ However, individuals are likely to assimilate into an institution’s norms rather than challenge them.⁴⁵

⁴² Clarke, “Security Sector Reform; Dharmapuri, “Just Add women”; Mobekk, “Gender, Women and Security”

⁴³ Hudson, “*Gender, Human Security*”

⁴⁴ Dharmapuri, “Just Add Women”; Mobekk, “Gender, Women and Security”; Baaz and Utas, “Beyond ‘Gender and Stir’”.

⁴⁵ Dharmapuri, “Just Add Women”; Mobekk, “Gender, Women and Security”; Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*; Heinecken, “Conceptualizing the Tensions.”; Jennings, “Agents of change”; Beardsley, et al., “Gender Balancing.”; Kronsell 2006

Most feminist scholars call for reforms that both challenge women's underrepresentation and alter institutionalized gendered norms, perspectives, and hierarchies. Feminist institutionalist scholars remind us that 'a gendered logic of appropriateness' informs the written and unwritten rules of formal institutions and demonstrates the power of the informal in sustaining gender hierarchies.⁴⁶ These gender mainstreaming reforms are nested in particular masculinist organizational cultures reinforced by exclusionary decision-making structures.⁴⁷ Thus, while gender balancing reforms are one component of gender mainstreaming, they are not sufficient unless the larger social and institutional cultures gendered discrimination are addressed.⁴⁸

Local Approaches to Police Reform and Gender

One shared implementation challenge is tensions between Western-driven reform and the local population's desires.⁴⁹ To address this tension, police reform has shifted to focus on community police. One community policing model assumes that local understandings of security can reduce crime; here the police are central and 'the community' is engaged to serve the police.⁵⁰ This approach is Western in its emphasis for locating spaces of power and the legitimate use of force as coming from a strong, centralized state. Thus, it faces several challenges in local contexts, including sustaining volunteer enthusiasm, threats from local criminals, and police devaluation of community assistance.⁵¹ In short, these programs function more for the police to carry their message to the community than as vehicles for meaningful community participation.

⁴⁶ Chappell, "Comparing Political Institutions", Chappell "New, Old, and Nested Institutions".

⁴⁷ Mackay, "Conclusion: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism," p. 583.

⁴⁸ True and Parisi, "Gender Mainstreaming"

⁴⁹ Marenin, "Understanding Mission Environments."

⁵⁰ Kyed, "Community policing."

⁵¹ Baker, "Policing Partnership."

Alternative approaches, called the African Model, view national and international police efforts as supporting local approaches and understandings of security.⁵² By leveraging dense networks of pre-existing conflict resolution and law enforcement mechanisms, this model can be the ‘optimal way for putting in place the best performing delivery system.’⁵³ Autesserre argues that successful peacebuilding requires a thorough understanding of local political, religious, and cultural history instead of an over-reliance on technical expertise.⁵⁴ While such ‘global-national-local’ partnerships are seen as good practice, international policing advisors often fall back on state-centric approaches, which ensure political support.⁵⁵ These state-centric policies also lead to urban bias policing, further marginalizing rural populations.⁵⁶ This holds strong implications for rural women who often face different obstacles than urban women, specifically over land rights, marital violence, and lack of access to justice systems.

The ‘African model’ does, however, raise concerns regarding gendered power dynamics embedded in local approaches to social control and policing crime that may threaten women’s rights or deny their access.⁵⁷ In this way, engaging with the local does not necessarily consider the extent to which the local may be a ‘gendered space’ that generates its own ‘victimized and ethnicized’ feminized norms.⁵⁸ For example, local perceptions may not view SGBV as a crime.⁵⁹ Baker finds that women disagreed on the fairness of local chiefs and male-dominated customary courts, especially in cases of adultery.⁶⁰ This further highlights that not all local actors share the same concerns, priorities, and approaches to police reform and justice as these may be influenced

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, 381; Mullen, *Traditional authorities*, 2 (as cited in Baker).

⁵⁴ Autesserre, *Peaceland*.

⁵⁵ Hughes and Hunt, “The Rule of Law”, Albrecht and Buur, “Uneasy Marriage.”

⁵⁶ Abatneh and Lubang, “Police Reform and state formation.”

⁵⁷ Bøås and Stig, “Uneven Partnership; Abramowitz and Moran, “International Human Rights,” 6

⁵⁸ Björkdahl and Selimovic “Gendering Agency in Transitional Justice,” 167.

⁵⁹ 2013 Interview with Social Worker and UNMIL Representative

⁶⁰ Baker, “Policing Partnership.”

by gender, wealth, ethnicity, religion, and urban-rural status. Thus, when designing and implementing police reform, it is critical to consider multiple forms of power dynamics, bias, and discrimination in the local context. Importantly, when gendered police reform is undertaken without addressing other forms of power hierarchies, these other forms of discrimination that are highly interwoven with gender will hamper the reform and vice versa.

Further, policing literature reminds practitioners to distinguish between international mandates focusing narrowly on training police and multifaceted mandates focusing on capacity and integrity development.⁶¹ Capacity refers to the resources needed to sustain reform and integrity refers to good governance and human rights compliance.⁶² High levels of capacity and integrity must be present both among individuals within the police and within the larger organization. However, capacity and integrity reforms may have important gendered implications as men and women experience capacity and integrity, individually and institutionally, differently blurs the line between institutional and individual capacity.

Monitoring and Evaluation of Police Reform

Police scholars and practitioners emphasize the importance of monitoring and evaluation (M&E), which have become critical requirements of donors who desire quick, measurable results to assess their investment.⁶³ The UN has noted that current M&E frameworks and SSR assessment methodologies often do not comprehensively incorporate gender issues.⁶⁴ While there are sophisticated M&E models that incorporate gender, these models are not fully integrated.⁶⁵

⁶¹ den Heyer, “Police as Nation Builders.”

⁶² OECD, 60. See Appendix A

⁶³ den Heyer, “Police as Nation Builders.”

⁶⁴ UN Gender and SSR Toolkit

⁶⁵ Minto and Mergaert; Curth and Evans, “Monitoring and Evaluation”

Traditional M&E models emphasize accountability in resource allocation, funding, implementation, and reporting to decrease corruption.⁶⁶ Often viewed as “neutral,” transparent, and robust, M&E hopes to ensure donor commitment and investment, preventing defection, the mis-use of funds, or ineffective programming. While these evaluations are critical, there are several shortcomings. First, traditional frameworks prioritize measurable, quantifiable outcomes. This may help ensure accountability, but only to the point where one can quantify the gender equality, gender roles and identities within an institution, and their impacts on gendered security. For example, there are few cost-effective, easy ways to quantify gendered norms without a costly and possibly misleading (due to social acceptability bias) survey.⁶⁷ While costly evaluations can lead to highly valid and reliable results, the costs can be prohibitively high, especially if the investment required to adequately gauge gender relations is considered unnecessary.

Additionally, reliance on quantitative measures can unintentionally silence or blend together unique gendered experiences. Further, given gender’s embeddedness within institutions, multidimensional reform processes may not progress in a linear fashion. Thus, quantitative measures may obscure the larger transformation.⁶⁸

Further, quantitative measures may provide shallow indications of larger structural and cultural gendered power hierarchies, which at best may not tell the full story of gender reform and at worst, may present a false illusion of positive change, while hiding harmful, entrenched gendered hierarchies.⁶⁹ For example, one common indicator of gender reform is the number of women within an institution. However, as explained above, the number of women alone does not

⁶⁶ UNDP, “Handbook on Planning Monitoring.”

⁶⁷ Several studies use experiments and surveys to evaluate gendered SSR. See Karim, “Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness”; Karim, “Restoring Confidence”; Karim et al. “International Gender Balancing”; Beber et al. “Transactional Sex.”

⁶⁸ Batiwala and Pittman, “Capturing Change”

⁶⁹ Curth and Evans

necessarily demonstrate improved gender relations. This can lead to a false sense of achievement even when troubling gender hierarchies remain. Similarly, these measures may over-rely on indicators of male versus female equality and overlook inequality within masculinities or femininities. Feminist scholars point to “the need for evaluative tools that attend to the complexity and fluidity of gender norms and focus on context-specific agency to confront gender hierarchies.”⁷⁰

Gender reform is inherently a complex process.⁷¹ Increasingly, gender sensitive M&E frameworks emphasize the importance of participatory processes through the use of focus groups and interviews.⁷² These qualitative methods capture daily lived experiences and provide vital context to illuminate the reform’s strengths and weaknesses.⁷³ Further, it may incur less social desirability bias by providing a more welcoming format for the respondent to elaborate on their attitudes and by remaining aware of the political, social, historical, and economic context. Finally, feminist M&E tools challenge assumptions that there are observable, linear cause and effect relationships between reform interventions and outcomes.⁷⁴ Instead, they recognize the complexity and multidimensionality of gender change that require both formal and informal institutional changes and are influenced by factors beyond the institution, such as political, legal, social, or family spheres. Thus, these frameworks develop flexible systems of outcome markers to track implementation.

Traditional policing scholars should integrate the more fluid and robust nature of feminist M&E, especially as many aspects of police reform are also complex and nonlinear. Further,

⁷⁰ Liebowitz and Zwingel, “Gender Equality Oversimplified.”

⁷¹ The call for increased use of qualitative measures is not restricted to feminist scholars. See Fielding and Innes, “Reassurance Policing.”

⁷³ See Tickner, “What is Your Research Program?”

⁷⁴ Batiwala and Pittman, “Capturing Change”

given the broad use of more traditional M&E, feminist scholars must continue innovate ways to combine the clear and standardized strengths of quantitative M&E with the more flexible, contextually grounded, and fluid nature of feminist analysis. Feminist scholars must take care to make those tools understandable to broader audiences.

Liberian Police Reform: Success and Missed Opportunities

Although police and feminist scholars recognize the importance of gendered police reform, they tend to hold differing conceptualizations, prioritizations, and recommendations in its design, implementation, and monitoring. These intersects, oversights, and gaps in scholarship translate to similar tensions during post-conflict police reform. The following section traces the gendered reform of the Liberian National Police (LNP) to demonstrate how engagement between feminist and police scholars resulted in positive advancements in police reform, but was hampered by the highlighted tensions.

We draw primarily from interview evidence gathered in June and July 2013 in Monrovia, Liberia with stakeholders in gender and SSR, including representatives from UNMIL, UN agencies, the government, the LNP, NGOs, IGOs, and local women's organizations. Interview participants (42) were selected based on their participation in gendered SSR and women's empowerment.⁷⁵ Throughout this section, we will refer to several claims made about female officers, including that they decrease corruption, improve SGBV response, and increase trust in the LNP. While we recognize the problematic nature of these claims – which rely on essentialized assumptions and reinforce gender dichotomies – they played an important role in

⁷⁵ Not all participants were directly engaged in women's rights – some worked in human rights, religion, education, politics, and security, but had exposure to gendered SSR and women's rights.

the design, implementation and evaluation of Liberia's gendered SSR and therefore, we, at times, repeat them, while also problematizing their use.

Liberia represents a strong case to explore the theoretical framework as it represented the first major UN-led SSR after the adoption of UNSCR 1325. Liberia's post-conflict police reform was particularly thorough, including a complete restructure and re-staffing of the LNP that presented a unique opportunity to promote transformative gendered change. However, the Liberian police reform also faced limited resources, continuing security threats, a culture of corruption, and weak infrastructure. Thus, the Liberian case presents a most likely case for our theory. However, it is also likely to be highly generalizable to other post-conflict SSR, especially in contexts of destructive, long civil wars and extensive international intervention.

In particular, the LNP reform illustrates how tensions between the differing conceptualizations and prioritizations of gender within the design of police reform conflate gender and sex, leave in place harmful gendered hierarchies; how the secondary prioritization of gender resulted in a state-centric focus that did not address women's access to the police; and suffered to adequately meet the demands of international donors. These oversights and tensions in the design of the LNP reform were then further aggregated in its implementation. In particular, although the implementation process could be considered a success at a first glance given its ability to increase women's integration into the police and the creation of new institutional structures to address gendered crimes, a feminist analysis demonstrates that the implementation's focus on women's physical representation overlooked harmful gendered norms in the police culture, over-relied on assumptions that women would naturally act differently than men, and overlooked the connections between institutional integrity and capacity and women's ability to thrive as police officers. Finally, as described above, while the evaluation of the LNP reform

process focused on quantitative success in improving women's representation, a feminist evaluation highlights enduring, harmful gendered hierarchies.

Design of the Gender Police Reform

After fourteen years of civil war, Liberia suffered extensive damage to its infrastructure, governance capacity and legitimacy.⁷⁶ In 2003, the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), a multidimensional peacekeeping operation mandated to, among other tasks, reform Liberia's security institutions, was established as the first UN peacekeeping mission to include gender mainstreaming in its mandate.⁷⁷

The LNP and UNMIL attempted to mainstream gender within the LNP in several ways. The LNP set a 15% quota for women in 2005, which was later expanded to 30% in 2012.⁷⁸ The push for gender balancing largely relied on instrumentalist arguments that female police officers would increase the LNP's effectiveness and legitimacy.⁷⁹ In 2004, the LNP adopted a gender policy, which called for increased women's representation, improved response to SGBV and the creation of gendered units.⁸⁰ Soon after, the LNP created the Women's and Children's Protection Unit (WCPU or WACPS) in 2006 and established a Gender Affairs Office.⁸¹ WCPU is charged with responding to SGBV and crimes against children and changing cultural norms surrounding

⁷⁶ Moran, *Liberia: The Violence of Democracy*; Aboagye and Bah, "Liberia at a Crossroads."

⁷⁷ Jacob et al., *Engendering SSR*; Bacon, "Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform"; Ackerman, "Rebuilding Liberia"; Sherif and Maina, "Enhancing Security and Justice," 23. Aboagye and Bah, "Liberia at a Crossroads"; Karim and Beardsley, "Token gestures"; Karim, "Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness"; Bacon, "Liberia Leans In."

⁷⁸ Karim and Gorman, "More competent security sector."

⁷⁹ 2013 Interview with UNPOL Representative. Many interviews corroborate evidence also found by Karim, "Reevaluating Peacekeeping Effectiveness."

⁸⁰ Karim and Gorman, "More competent security sector."

⁸¹ Karim and Gorman, "More competent security sector"; Bacon, "Liberia Leans In"; Bacon, "Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform"; Aboagye and Bah, "Liberia at a Crossroads"; Ackerman, "Rebuilding Liberia".

SGBV.⁸² In 2009, Criminal Court E and a crime unit were established to handle SGBV cases.⁸³ Moreover, the LNP's Gender Unit works to implement the gender policy through awareness campaigns, incorporating women in decision-making and monitoring sexual harassment.⁸⁴ It trained focal persons for gender in all counties and worked to integrate gender into police training.⁸⁵ The LNP appointed the first female Inspector General, Beatrice Munah Seah, and Deputy Inspector General, Asatu Bah Kenneth by 2007.⁸⁶ Finally, in 2011, regional justice and security hubs were created and in 2013 a new recruitment campaign targeted rural women.⁸⁷

The LNP reform design shows a higher than average inclusion of gender mainstreaming as a result of UNMIL's gender focus, a large NGO presence and political will expressed by President Johnson Sirleaf.⁸⁸ However, there are several important limitations. First, although gender reforms were considered from the beginning, many initial programs focused on increasing women's representation, without addressing institutional gender culture.⁸⁹ This reflects the harmful tendency to conflate sex with gender, overlooking hegemonic masculinity within police cultures. Therefore, when a new police culture was formed, the institution fell back on traditional gendered hierarchies. It also did not address other important gendered issues, such as access to police services. For example, most early reforms excluded rural areas.⁹⁰ This reflects the more traditional reform process that emphasizes-centric, 'hard' security-focused police reform that predominantly sought to improve security surrounding the capital. As a result, many

⁸² Bacon, "Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform."

⁸³ *Ibid.*; Aboagye and Bah, "Liberia at a Crossroads"; Ackerman, "Rebuilding Liberia".

⁸⁴ UN Liberia. "Gender Equality in the Police Service."

⁸⁵ Griffiths, "Mapping Study."

⁸⁶ Bacon, "Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform."

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; Bacon, "Liberia Leans In"

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; Brogden and Nijhar, *Community Policing*; Koci and Gjuraj, "Community policing and human rights"; Osse, "Police reform in Kenya".

⁹⁰ We appreciate the challenges of implementing reforms in rural areas. This highlights how comprehensive reform can be challenged by practical obstacles.

women, especially in rural communities, were not targeted in the initial police reform design, leaving a large gap in police reform for the majority of Liberian women. Overall, while the LNP's gender reform design marked a major advancement, it lacked a comprehensive strategy for implementation and did not challenge dominant gendered norms and hierarchies.

Implementation of Gender Police Reform

To implement gender reforms, UNMIL sponsored a female recruitment program. During the pilot program, the LNP successfully trained 150 female officers. Similar successes were achieved in 2007 with two classes of 110 and 87 female recruits.⁹¹ Interview participants recalled the overwhelming positive response to the recruitment push, recalling that by 7:00 am on the first day of the 2007 campaign, women gathered in a recruitment line that crossed several blocks.⁹² The program was hailed as an innovative technique;⁹³ notably, the LNP increased the number of female recruits more than 25 times over from four in 2004 to 105 in 2008.⁹⁴ Women's representation increased from 2% to 19%.⁹⁵ As a result, the government raised the LNP's female representation goal to 30%, which would outperform many developed Western nations.

The successful female-focused recruitment reflects changes in local perspectives, including a growing trust in the police and transforming attitudes towards gender roles. Several interviewees identified a growing acceptance of female security officers and greater encouragement of young women to consider the police force as a career. This is notable as the

⁹¹ UNMIL OGA 'Best Practices Report.'

⁹² 2013 Interview with Liberian WPS Advocate

⁹³ Bacon, "Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform."

⁹⁴ UNMIL 2010

⁹⁵ 2013 Interview with UNPOL Representative; Karim and Gorman, "More competent security sector"; "Poverty Reduction Strategy".

population was highly distrustful of the security sector and several interview participants cited common views of security personnel as ‘killers’ and ‘corrupt.’⁹⁶

There is evidence that women’s increased participation in the LNP enhanced security, capacity and relations with civilians, or, at least, did not harm institutional capacity and integrity. For example, contact with female police officers improved perceptions of LNP legitimacy.⁹⁷ Additionally, several interview respondents claimed that the women’s increased representation provided role models for women and girls.⁹⁸ Further, Mvukiyeye found UNMIL had a positive effect on the probability of joining women’s groups.⁹⁹

However, simply increasing female police representation may not lead to ‘successful’ gender balancing, let alone gender mainstreaming, as described above. A closer look at the recruitment campaign uncovers how an expedited recruitment led to unintended consequences within the LNP and society.¹⁰⁰ These complications predominately arose from the dearth of qualified women. According to LNP guidelines, all police officers must be high school graduates. However, most Liberian women are not high school educated.¹⁰¹ Further, high school educated women are often reluctant to apply due to low or unpredictable salaries,¹⁰² low incentives, negative perceptions of the police, familial demands and a fear of being assigned to rural counties.¹⁰³ Unable to quickly address these larger structural issues, the LNP reduced the educational requirement for women.

⁹⁶ 2013 Interview with WPS Advocate and Women’s Organization Executive Director

⁹⁷ Karim, “Restoring Confidence.”

⁹⁸ A similar role model effect was found by Pruitt, “Women in Blue Helmets.”

⁹⁹ Mvukiyeye, “Promoting Political Participation.”

¹⁰¹ UNMIL OGA, “Best Practices Report”

¹⁰³ 2013 Interview with LNP Gender Office, Liberian WPS Advocate, Women’s Organization Representative

The LNP and UNMIL created a unique expedited three-month schooling program called the Educational Support Programme (ESP) that replaced the high school diploma requirement for women, which was widely celebrated as a ‘best practice’ to mainstream gender in security institutions.¹⁰⁴ However, while the program taught basic education that supposedly equaled a GED, it lacked a comprehensive nature. An UNPOL representative maintained, ‘Three months of school doesn’t mean that you are able to read or write. That doesn’t make you literate. So, when they entered the police, there was a huge difference between the female who had high school certification and those women.’¹⁰⁵ For example, many of the female recruits could not read or write outside of the specific words taught in the academy. As a result, when they encountered unusual situations, they struggled to properly handle it or write the report.¹⁰⁶ This led to a perception that these women were unprepared and under-trained.¹⁰⁷

The perceived skill gap resulted in a ‘caste system’ between male and female officers and the ESP female recruits.¹⁰⁸ UNMIL’s Commissioner of Police, John Nielson, reported that the caste system developed as women with high school degrees ‘looked down’ on the ESP officers and the ESP officers were ‘condemned’ to low-ranking positions.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, many of the qualified men and women resented that the new candidates circumvented the qualifications, arguing that they had been subjected to the same circumstances and obstacles; however, they were held to higher standards and were not offered additional education.¹¹⁰ This tension not only degraded women’s status, but also reinforced stereotypes that women are less capable in security

¹⁰⁴ Bacon, “Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service.”

¹⁰⁵ 2013 Interview with UNPOL Representative

¹⁰⁶ 2013 Interview with Liberian WPS Advocate

¹⁰⁷ Bacon, “Liberia Leans In”; Bacon, “Liberia’s gender-sensitive police reform.”

¹⁰⁸ 2013 Interview with UNPOL Representative

¹⁰⁹ Bacon, “Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service,” 16

¹¹⁰ 2013 Interview with UNPOL Representative; Bacon, “Liberia’s gender-sensitive police reform.”

as the number of unqualified women surpassed that of qualified women. However, there is no consistent evidence that ‘quota-women’ are less qualified. In fact, Karim et al. found that female and male LNP officers had similar levels of job knowledge and skills and that mixed gender units did not suffer from decreased collegiality. Crucially, these studies find that job competency and training are key predictors of performance, two factors sacrificed in ESP training.¹¹¹

Although later studies demonstrated equal levels of competency among male and female officers, the common perception reported by interview participants that female officers were less effective than men led to public disillusionment with female officers.¹¹² Many felt that they had failed to live up to expectations that they would be more responsible, trustworthy or concerned about SGBV, highlighting the problematic nature of the use of instrumentalist arguments in favor of gender reform.¹¹³

Moreover, female police officers have not proved to be more perceptive to SGBV and the LNP continues to struggle to adequately address SGBV. For example, despite instrumentalist and often essentialist claims that the increased representation of women in the police should improve police responsiveness to SGBV, Karim et al. found that women were no more likely to detect gendered crimes than their male colleagues. This partially demonstrates the culture of

¹¹¹ While the ESP Program improved women’s competency, compared to the normal requirements of a secondary school diploma, author interviews emphasize that the ESP graduates had lower capabilities.

¹¹² The belief that female officers were less effective than their male counterparts was repeated by multiple interview participants. While Karim and Gorman found that empirically female and male officers shared similar levels of effectiveness, the fact that many respondents held this view may have important social and political ramifications.

¹¹³ 2013 Interview with Liberian WPS Advocate.

normalized sexual violence within the LNP.¹¹⁴ The LNP's indifference to SGBV was highlighted by an UNMIL personnel:

‘When you advocate against violence against women, everyone will say ‘yes, yes, yes,’ but as soon as a woman brings a case to LNP, they will send you away saying this is a boyfriend, girlfriend issue.’¹¹⁵

This lack of police responsiveness to SGBV sharply contrasts the new expansive SGBV infrastructure, including the creation of the specialized Criminal Court E to address SGBV crimes and a SGBV crime unit.¹¹⁶ For example, only 34 cases were tried in Criminal Court E between 2009 and 2013.¹¹⁷ This perceived lackluster response to SGBV exacerbated public resentment, especially as SGBV remains the most common, yet underreported, crime in the nation.¹¹⁸ This illustrates that while institutional, structural changes are important to address gendered security concerns, if they are not complemented by changes in the police culture, they are unlikely to result in transformative change. Both gender and class lines intensify this disconnect and women were increasingly left feeling as though there was no purpose in seeking justice through security institutions.¹¹⁹

These cultural understandings of SGBV and police treatment demonstrate the tense relationship between ‘local ownership’ of police reform, which may deny access to security, and

¹¹⁴ Karim et al. “International Gender Balancing”; Karim and Gorman, “More competent security sector”; Blair et al., “Building trust”; Dharmapuri, “Just Add Women”; Jennings, “Agents of change”; Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*. Bacon, “Liberia’s gender-sensitive police reform.”

¹¹⁵ 2013 Interview with UNMIL Human Rights Protection Section Officer

¹¹⁶ Karim and Gorman, “More competent security sector”; Bacon, “Liberia’s gender-sensitive police reform”; Aboagye and Bah, “Liberia at a Crossroads”; Ackerman, “Rebuilding Liberia”

¹¹⁷ Bacon, “Liberia’s gender-sensitive police reform.” Criminal Court E was a specialized court designed specifically to try cases of sexual and gender-based violence.

¹¹⁸ “Poverty Reduction Strategy”; Bacon, “Inclusive, Responsive National Police.”

¹¹⁹ Abramowitz and Moran, “International Human Rights”; Bøås and Stig, “Uneven Partnership.”

state-centric, Western-drive reform.¹²⁰ Additionally, this example highlights the need to consider how socio-cultural norms within the police and the local community frame the expectations of gendered police reform and police officers. Cultural norms and gender stereotypes may limit the expected roles of male and female officers, further undermining the transformational nature of gender reform unless these socio-cultural norms are addressed within police reform. In this way, feminist analysis demands that we ask questions about the inherent value of ‘the local.’

In this way, the Liberian case study presents an interesting examination of the importance of individual and institutional capacity and integrity. To recruit women, the LNP sacrificed individual capacity by recruiting less qualified women, assuming that just having women would contribute to institutional capacity.¹²¹ Moreover, the perceived gap between more qualified officers and ESP female officers damaged institutional capacity and integrity by creating tensions and preventing collaboration among officers. Although the female recruitment programs and additional gender reforms appear to have enhanced the LNP’s institutional integrity through improved gender representation, the inability of the LNP to effectively integrate female police equally, the unchallenged masculine hierarchies and persistent masculine institutional norms, question whether effective institutional integrity has been achieved.¹²²

Monitoring and Evaluation of the Gender Police Reform

One of the main issues in the evaluation of the LNP gender reform is the reliance on quantitative indicators of success, such as quota systems. As explored above, quantitative measures can

¹²⁰ Abramowitz and Moran, “International Human Rights.”

¹²¹ OECD, 61.

¹²² It worth noting several studies, including Baker, “Policing Partnership.” and Durch et al., “Impact of Police”, mention (in a footnote) the ESP program’s negative impacts, however, neither discussed this finding nor its implications.

unintendedly silence the unique gendered experiences of women and men within the police, which is clear within the LNP evaluation that often obscured larger structural and cultural gendered power hierarchies in the LNP despite women's increased physical representation. The LNP is continuing to increase its gender quota. While an admirable goal, continuing tensions with traditional gender roles within LNP infrastructure and culture warn that it is not yet capable of providing a professional, safe and advantageous career for women. Without additional gender mainstreaming, the LNP is in danger of reinforcing traditional gendered hierarchies, while simultaneously being lauded as a successful example of gender reform.

Several important gender mainstreaming initiatives have been launched to address these concerns. These reflect important advances in the LNP reform process that partially resulted from qualitative evaluation techniques that examined gendered hierarchies and how external factors influence police reform. For example, entrance tests and requirements for men and women have been equalized. While this disadvantages the average Liberian women, especially rural women, who often lack a secondary education, it means that those women accepted will be as capable as their male counterparts. To combat the reluctance of female officers to be stationed in rural counties, the LNP has started to deploy female officers in their home area.¹²³ The LNP hopes that by placing female officers in their home community, they will be less likely to default:

‘The aim is to find some strong woman who maybe already have maybe family, husband, children and are really settled in the community... We hope...they will stay over there because that's their home. Then it will also help in the empowerment of women.’¹²⁴

¹²³ Interview with UNMIL OGA Representative

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Additionally, UNMIL and the LNP have deployed female leaders into rural areas to decrease prejudices against women in leadership.¹²⁵ UNMIL's withdrawal in March 2018 will be a crucial test of the LNP's ability to sustain gender mainstreaming.

While the LNP reform displays relatively high levels of gender programming, it crucially left unchallenged gendered power hierarchies, norms and assumptions that undermined its sustainability and effectiveness. Much of the gender reform was supported by beliefs that female officers would 'do gender' work and act differently. However, feminist scholars increasingly criticize this rhetoric as reinforcing gendered binaries, promoting gender stereotypes, undermining women's agency and ignoring institutional masculinity and gendered power structures.¹²⁶ Moving forward, scholars and practitioners should be careful to avoid rhetoric that supports women's inclusion as instrumental and instead focus on women's right to participate in and be adequately protected by the police. Additionally, the LNP should further dismantle its masculinized institutional structures and power hierarchies.¹²⁷

At the end of the Liberian civil war, domestic and international police reformers faced a daunting task: reconstruct the LNP while facing immense structural constraints and security threats. The LNP has undergone an impressive transformation. The LNP reform process exemplifies the need for greater engagement between international police reform and feminist scholars and practitioners by highlighting how successful gender reform and police reform are intertwined and face complex challenges. While the LNP reform demonstrates an important advancement in gender mainstreaming, it also highlights the shortcomings and missed

¹²⁵ 2013 Interview with UNMIL Human Rights Officer

¹²⁶ Karim and Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping*.

¹²⁷ For example, Beardsley et al, "Lab-in-the-Field Evidence" demonstrates female LNP officers continue to face discrimination.

opportunities that occur because of the tepid and shallow interaction between international police reform and feminist scholars.

Connecting the Lessons: Paths Forward

Increased engagement between feminist and ‘mainstream’ research on post-conflict policing is critical to advance gender equality and the WPS Agenda, and to create more comprehensive and transformative reform.¹²⁸ Police reform is a complex process, requiring input, cooperation, and support from a multitude of actors that may have different motivations, goals, and priorities. As a result, the design, implementation, and evaluation of police reform may create tensions between local, national, and international actors. While several issues may create problems, gender reform is particularly salient given that traditional police scholars and feminist scholars hold differing perspectives on its proper conceptualization, prioritization, design, implementation tactics, and how to effectively judge its success. This theoretical analysis emphasizes that to effectively evaluate gendered police reform, and police reform more generally, scholars must consider institutional, structural, physical, and cultural change simultaneously.

This analysis highlights that gender must be incorporated from the onset in ways that consider the cultural and institutional barriers in fragile contexts.¹²⁹ By designing police reform programs to address unique gendered challenges, policymakers will secure a more holistic and sustainable police force by allowing women to negotiate their spaces of security, which supports local views and context. As Greener argues, ‘the police as an organization which both *constitutes and challenges society* may also help continue to present challenges to gender norms,

¹²⁸ This call was explicit in UNSCR 2185 (2014) on the Role of Policing in UN Peacekeeping.

¹²⁹ Ansorg and Haastrup, “Gender and the EU’s Support.”

particularly if international policing is able to act as a transmission belt for WPS values globally.¹³⁰

Furthermore, policing literature's analysis on community policing and the importance of institutional and individual capacity and integrity provide valuable implications for feminist scholars by demonstrating the resource and institutional limitations, political pressures and donor demands that require trade-offs. While policing scholars recognize the importance of gendered concerns, they identify it as one of many structural challenges to address with limited time and resources. For example, while women may lack access to police services, so may ethnic or religious minorities. This points to some gaps and silences in the WPS discourse and practice. While feminist scholars acknowledge these resource limitations, many have not yet grappled with their implications for making 'trade-offs' in police reform. Further, feminist scholars should engage with police literature to gain a greater understanding of its technical language to facilitate communication.

Women, and the WPS Agenda, have the potential to make important contributions to police reform, particularly through community policing. Women introduce particular skills, especially communication skills, and concerns into policing activities.¹³¹ Gender analysis highlights the importance of ensuring that institutions have both the necessary capacity and integrity to ensure women's meaningful representation. Further, it highlights important links between female police's individual capacity, which when lowered, decreases their individual integrity and decreased institutional capacity and integrity.

Overall, this analysis highlights that gendered obstacles and concerns should be considered in the design, implementation, and monitoring of police reform to develop a sustainable

¹³⁰ Greener, "WPS and Policing."

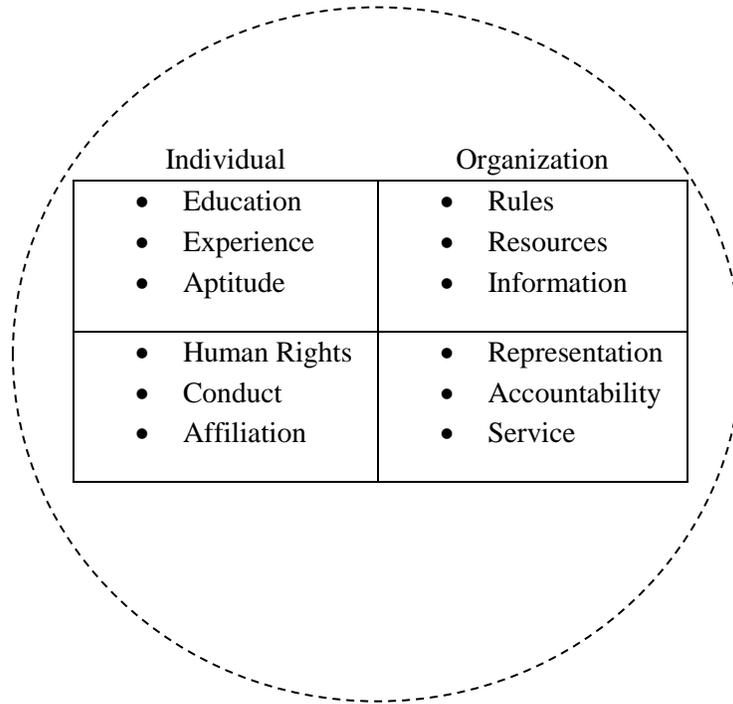
¹³¹ Pruitt, *Women in Blue Helmets*, 119.

procedure to promote efficient and ethical institutions. Additionally, both police and gender scholars must recognize the tensions between institutional cultural change and the associated, necessary long-term cultural changes. Ultimately, we hope this analysis creates points of engagement for mainstream policing and feminist scholars and new entry points for WPS advocates in conflict-affected countries.

Appendix A (OECD Capacity and Integrity Framework):

Capacity and Integrity Framework: a simple tool to assess and plan

A PUBLIC INSTITUTION



The two vertical columns represent the individual and organizational dimensions. The horizontal rows correspond to the two basic qualities of capacity and integrity. The resulting four fields represent a basic framework to comprehensively assess the status of an institution in a post-conflict context:

- 

Individual capacity relates to an employee's education and professional training, professional experience and competence, as well as her or his physical and mental aptitude.
- 

Individual integrity refers to an employee's adherence to international standards of human rights and professional conduct, including a person's financial propriety.
- 

Organisational capacity refers to institutional qualities such as the number of staff, the organisational structure, resources, infrastructure and information systems.
- 

Organisational integrity relates to procedure employed to establish the principles and values of an institution, including disciplinary and complaint procedures, oversight mechanisms, ethical guidelines, codes of conduct and representation (gender, ethnicity, geographic origin and religion).

Source: *OECD DAC Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p.60-61. Available at <http://www.oecd.org/development/incaf/38406485.pdf>.

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