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Power in Numbers? The Impact of Female Formed Police Units on Women's Empowerment

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Abstract

Advocates hailed the deployment of female formed police units (FFPUs), or all-female units, as part of UN peacekeeping missions as a groundbreaking achievement for women's empowerment. Three FFPUs have been deployed to Liberia, Timor-Leste, and Haiti. Supporters of FFPUs claim that female police are better peacekeepers, less prone to violence, and more responsive to sexual and gender based-violence. Furthermore, FFPUs are expected to act as role models, challenge gender stereotypes, and encourage local women to participate in the security sector. However, little systematic research has been conducted to evaluate these proposed beneficial impacts of FFPUs. Using feminist discourse analysis and qualitative interview analysis with the current FFPU deployed in Liberia as a case study, this thesis evaluates the effects of FFPUs on women's empowerment efforts in local communities to determine the nature and sustainability of these impacts on women's empowerment.

Disclaimer

The views and opinions of third-party interview participants expressed in this thesis are accurately portrayed as to the best of my ability. All participants were informed of the nature of this research, gave their consent for interviews and were provided the proper documentation.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

In 2007, one hundred and five female Indian police officers deployed to the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Liberia as the first all-female Formed Police Unit, immediately sending peacekeeping circles, women and security scholars, and the media a buzz with anticipation. This experimental unit was perceived to be the answer to the problem faced by the international community of how to increase the number of female peacekeepers and how to incorporate a greater gender perspective into peacekeeping missions. Within the first few months of the unit's deployment, stories came rushing out of the nation of the wide ranging impact that the Indian Formed Police Unit (FPU) was having in Liberia: of increased women wanting to join the local police, of lowered crime rates, of enhanced community engagement, of local women more willingly reporting crimes, and general signs of women's empowerment.[1] Initial reports and investigations confirmed the anecdotes and declared the unit a success, prompting more Female Formed Police Units (FFPUs) to be sent to peacekeeping missions in Timor-Leste and Haiti. If these claims of success prove true, FFPUs could become an important tool to improve the efficacy of peacekeeping missions and promote the greater inclusion of women, a traditionally untapped resource, into the peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction processes. However, short term "success stories" can be possibly misleading and as the Indian FFPU reaches its seventh consecutive year of deployment, a new investigation of its impacts on the local population is critical to evaluate the unit's long term impacts.

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[1] Kristen, Cordell, *Gender-Related Best Practice,* 39-46.

The benefits of FFPUs can generally be divided into three categories: improved functioning of the peacekeeping mission, better relations with the host society, especially with the women, and improved experiences for the female peacekeepers in the unit. This paper will largely focus on the second category to examine the impact of FFPUs on local women's empowerment efforts. As the units are often deployed within missions that already promote a gender focused mandate and where there are extensive networks of women's nongovernmental (NGOs) and grassroots organizations, it can be difficult to isolate the impacts of the FFPU from the effects of other groups. However, it is imperative to distinguish these impacts to evaluate the efficacy of the unit in the realm of female empowerment. Do FFPUs have tangible influence on women's empowerment efforts in the host country? Using the Indian FFPU in Liberia as a case study and through analyzing previous research and personal-interviews, this paper attempts to discover the impact of the FFPU on women's empowerment in the host community and finds that the unit's most prevalent impact results from the success of its passive representation of women in a nontraditional role to encourage local women to join the security sector.

However, as much of the unit's impact relies on their passive representation, concerns arise as to the sustainability of these impacts. If the main benefit of the unit is the visibility of its female officers, what will happen when local women no longer see the officers on a daily basis after the unit's withdrawal? Will women lose their role models or will local women rise to fill the gap and continue the process? While the seeds of empowerment may have been planted by the FFPU, the ideals will need nurturing to take hold and grow within Liberian society and spread beyond Monrovia. Therefore, this paper argues that while the unit may initially prompt women's empowerment momentum,

as evidenced through interviews with women, peace, and security (WPS) personnel and UN representatives who identify the FFPU has having an important role in the de-stigmatization of the security sector for women and the increased recruitment of local women into security fields, this relies mostly on the unit's physical presence in the country. Therefore, in order for this impact on women's empowerment to be sustainable, more effort is needed on the part of either the FFPU or the UN mission to establish mechanisms to continue the process after the unit and the mission's withdrawal. This research holds important theoretical implications for conceptions of femininity and gender equality, especially in the security sector where traditional feminine values are often underappreciated and yet also praised as solutions to gender issues. Furthermore, this paper provides practical evaluations of FFPUs and other gender focused programs to promote gender equality and offers suggestions of effective mechanisms through which to achieve successful gender mainstreaming while considering the larger structural and institutional challenges.

Methodology

Focusing on the Indian FFPU currently stationed with UNMIL in Monrovia, Liberia as the case study, this paper aims to use anecdotal and empirical evidence to examine the multi-faceted impacts of all-female peacekeeping units on women's empowerment in the local host population. Specifically, this investigation seeks to confirm, problematize, or challenge benefits of FFPUs theorized by scholars and policymakers to determine the sustainable value of FFPUs as a tool for gender mainstreaming and female empowerment in post-conflict societies. While there are

several ways of conceptualizing and measuring women's empowerment, including
political participation, economic income and financial independence, access to
professional positions, social liberties and freedom, and cultural flexibility, this research
focuses largely on political involvement through participation in the security sector and
socio-cultural empowerment through increased examples of local women challenging
traditional gender norms and roles and of an increased acceptance of women in the public
arena by the host community.

The majority of analysis conducted in this thesis relies upon feminist discourse
analysis to evaluate shifts in political and social perceptions of women in the security
domain and qualitative interview analysis to appraise current perceptions of FFPUs.
Discourse analysis identifies discourse as "the field where the regulatory norms of sex are
observed,"[2] and scholars Michele Lazar and Judith Butler claim that, "power is
performed through language, and gender and gendered power relations are continually
performed through discourses."[3] As discourse is portrayed as "a site of struggle,"[4]
feminist discourse analysis provides a useful methodology with which to analyze the
political-social struggle the FFPUs may incite in local populations as they challenge
traditional gendered understandings of the security sector to identify in which ways FPUs
challenge, reinforce, or leave in place systems of patriarchy.

In this paper, I utilize discourse analysis to examine various sources of discourse
of FFPUs and WPS, including UN documents, national governmental documents and
reports, local, national, and international policy documents, and existing research of WPS

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[2] Stevens, *Reproducing the State*, 23.

[3] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge) 1990; Michelle Lazar, *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse* (London: Palgrave, 2007)

[4] Megan Mackenzie, "Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security, and Post-Conflict Development" (New York: University Press.)

advocacy and FFPUs. Furthermore, I apply discourse analysis and qualitative analysis of first-person interviews with various stakeholders in WPS and women's empowerment in Liberia. Conducted over a period of four weeks in Monrovia, Liberia and surrounding suburbs, these interviews were constructed with the goal of both observing current opinions of FFPUs and their work and also to develop a fuller picture of other factors, which may also impact women's empowerment and contribute to, challenge, or complicate the analysis of the FFPUs impact, such as other gender mainstreaming programs or contextual obstacles for women. In total, I conducted 43 interviews with a large cross-section of Liberian and international society, including UN officials, UNMIL representatives, Liberian public officials, international IGO and NGO personnel, and members of local civil society groups and women's organizations. The interviews focused on three main topics: perceptions of the Indian FFPU's work in Liberia and its impact on women's empowerment, perceptions of women's role in peacemaking, and challenges and successes in women's empowerment efforts in the country.

While these interviews included a wide range of members of the society of Monrovia, I was limited in my ability to engage with the rural population, which comprises the largest percentage of Liberian society. Therefore, the majority of my interviews represent the opinions of those who live within the city and are in the closest contact with the FFPU, relative to other members of Liberian society. Therefore, this should not be considered a comprehensive analysis of the impact of FFPUs on the entirety of a nation's population. While this limits the analysis to a specific geographical area, it allows for a concentrated analysis that focuses on the area where the impacts are felt the strongest. Furthermore, while the interviews represent a wide range of

stakeholders and project implementers in WPS in Liberia, my ability to interview average local Liberians was limited as a result of communication challenges and a lack of access. Despite this shortcoming, the stakeholders whom I interviewed were program implementers and experts in their field and therefore had a sound knowledge of the opinions of local women and provided me with second-hand accounts based on their interaction with locals.

The following analysis is divided into three main sections: historical information and a literature review of current research on FFPUs; a case study of the Indian FFPU in Liberia based on my first-person interviews; and my conclusion. During the case study, I attempt to include as much of my primary research as possible, including the raw data and interview material. Where appropriate, I have attempted to clearly distinguish between the "voice" of the person being interviewed and my own analysis of this information.

Security Council Resolution 1325

The origins of FFPUs may be traced back to UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which marked a fundamental shift in the dialogue on the role of gender in conflict by framing women's participation and protection in peace and conflict as a vital component of international security. The Resolution called for women's increased participation in conflict resolution initiatives and for their greater protection in conflict. Many consider this resolution to be the "first time that the UN Security Council dealt specifically with gender issues and women's experiences in 'conflict' and 'post-conflict'

situations and their contribution to conflict resolution and prevention."[5] Furthermore, in an important breakaway from previous conceptions of women's involvement in conflict and peace, the resolution recognized and promoted women as active agents in building peace and establishing security, not simply portraying them as victims.

By bridging the gap between the realm of development concerns and international security issues, SCR 1325 broke "a formal barrier…in terms of acknowledging a link between the promotion of women's rights and international peace and security – between traditional soft sociopolitical issues and hard security."[6] Through changing from the language of women's issues to directly establishing the link between women and peace and conflict, SCR 1325 liberated gender issues from the realm of soft, non-urgent concerns to a vital component of the international security agenda. As one of the UN's primary missions is "To maintain international peace and security…to take effective proactive measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace," the UN Security Council is obligated to address security concerns and by framing gender issues in the light of security, SCR 1325 effectively promotes these issues on the primary agendas of the UN Security Council and UN Member States.[7]

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[5] Nicola Pratt and Sophie Richter-Devroe, "Critically examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 no. 4 (2011): 490.

[6] Torunn Tryggestad, "Trick or treat? the UN and implementation of security council resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security." *Global Governance* 15 (2009): 541.

[7] United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI, available at: http://www.unwebsite.com/charter [accessed 9 July 1980]

Emergence of SCR 1325

The development of SCR 1325 mirrored a general trend taking place in international relations, in which human development and security, supported by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and humanitarian advocates began to influence the previously realist nation-state driven global community.[8] After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the subsequent shift in the international power paradigm, there was a notable increase in the number of smaller states advocating for their own interests and a reconsideration of the definition of international security and threats to security, most significantly seen in the adoption of a human development perspective of security.[9] Through this movement, feminist theories of international relations began to assert themselves in research circles, as international actors expressed growing concern for the impact of conflict on women and women's role in peacekeeping. This concern for the grassroots, local, and human causes of potential conflict was "mirrored in the theoretical shift in international relations (IR) theory away from the (neo-) realist state-centered to a more holistic, agent-centered conceptualization of security, proposed particularly in the field of security studies and feminist IR."[10] Although these theories and perspectives on global affairs had long been present and advocating for the interests of women, the increasing concern for human security and development presented an opportunity for feminist theories to influence research and advocacy.

While some bodies of the UN had promoted the advancement of women as a vital concern for the international community since the UN's founding, such as the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) and the General Assembly, women and

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[8] Antonio Cassese. *International Law*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2005).
[9] Tryggestad, "Trick or treat," 543.
[10] Pratt and Richter-Devroe, "Critically examining UNSCR 1325," 492.

gender issues had remained marginalized and often overlooked on the international agenda.[11] Relegated as a development issue, not as a security concern, gender issues were often neglected in favor of more "urgent" or "hard" issues. Although awareness about gender inequality and women's issues was increasing, the connection between gender issues and security was not yet realized by the global community at large. However, women's and civil society organizations continued to campaign their concerns for gender, development, and conflict through various mediums, including four UN global conferences on women held between 1975 and 1995.[12]

The origins of SCR 1325 lie in the breakthrough in WPS achieved at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The largest conference ever organized by the UN at that time, it drew more than 30,000 women's advocates from around the world to establish women and conflict as a priority issue area.[13] The outcome document from that Conference, the Beijing Platform for Action, emphasized the importance of adopting a gender perspective when approaching conflict and reiterated the vital contributions of women in building sustainable peace.[14] The Platform identified "[t]he effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation" as one of the 12 major areas of concern.[15] Therefore, in the interest of security, the Platform urged governments, international organizations, and civil society to adopt strategic actions to address these issues. Based on its establishment of women as being vital during conflict and explicitly linking "peace to gender equality and recommend[ing] that a

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[11] Karen Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." In *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice'"(*Taylor & Francis, 2010). 13.
[12] Pratt and Richter-Devroe, "Critically examining UNSCR 1325," 491.
[13] Tryggestad, "Trick or treat," 545.
[14] Pratt and Richter-Devroe, "Critically examining UNSCR 1325," 491.
[15] United Nations. *Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action.*

gender perspective be mainstreamed into all policies and programs," the Beijing Platform is often identified as the forerunner of SCR 1325.[16]

After the creation of the Beijing Platform, various programs and initiatives were established by the UN and international organizations, which reaffirmed the importance of women in security. However, during a review by the General Assembly five years later, it was determined that insufficient progress had been made in the implementation of programs to mainstream gender into the security agenda. Therefore, six members of the Women and Armed Conflict Caucus, a group of NGOs working together to advocate for increased awareness of gender issues, formed the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (NGOWG). In contrast to previous advocacy coalitions, this network explicitly worked to debate the importance of gendered security at the UN Security Council.[17] The Working Group greatly contributed to the creation of SCR 1325 and is often credited as laying the groundwork for its adoption by strengthening it with appropriate literature and scholarship, incorporating the perspectives and concerns of women from conflict areas, lobbying Security Council members, and adopting security focused language.[18]

Furthermore, NGOWG continued to develop strategies to increase the support for SCR 1325 around the world. For example, it has helped create and support continuing advocacy and outreach work to promote the continuing application of SCR 1325 to peacebuilding initiatives. Similarly other organizations generated a large network of NGOs dedicated to highlighting the importance of WPS, such as the Women's Caucus

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[16] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." 15.

[17] Carol Cohn, "Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation? *Global Governance: Feministy Perspectives (*2008): 187.

[18] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." 17.

for Gender Justice, which emphasized the experience of women as victims during war and developed initiatives to increase access to justice for victims of gender-based violence, International Alert, which launched a Women Building Peace Campaign in support of women's demand for protection and participation in decision-making, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, Protection, and Participation Project, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.[19]

Further support for the developing WPS dialogue came with the passing of the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations. These documents urged the importance of incorporating gender into peacekeeping operations and declared that, "in order to ensure the effectiveness of peace support operations, gender equality must permeate the entire mission, at all levels, thus ensuring the participation of women and men as equal partners and beneficiaries in all aspects of the peace process."[20] Later that year, Namibia took up the presidency of the Security Council and the NGO Working Group, identifying Namibia as a potential ally, lobbied for the opportunity to petition the Security Council about the importance of women and security. In the resulting session on October 23, 2000, an Arria Formula meeting was held, personalizing the issue as members of "civil society organizations and representatives were able to present their experiences and raise their concerns to Security Council members."[21] Following this meeting, the Security Council held a special debate on Women, Peace and Security on October 24-25, 2000. One week later, the Security Council unanimously adopted SCR

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[19] Felicity Hill, "Nongovernmental Organizations' Role in the Buildup and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325." *Signs,* 28 no. 4 (2003): 1262.

[20] United Nations. *Windhoek Declaration,* 31 May 2000.

[21] Pratt and Richter-Devroe, "Critically examining UNSCR 1325," 492.

1325 on October 31, 2000 to applause in the chamber and an overwhelmingly positive response by members of civil society.[22]

Many of those involved in the development and adopting of SCR 1325 praise the diligence and commitment of civil society members and claim that "it was outsiders rather than those working within the UN who saw and acted upon the opportunity to bring about the Resolution."[23] These "outsiders" were able to frame women and gender issues in a security dialogue that enabled members of the Security Council to envision security in a new way, despite the protests of many people within the UN who claimed that the timing was not right for such a change in thinking. NGOs continue to remain a vital supporter of SCR 1325 and Resolution is the only of its kind to have a consistent support network from NGOs.[24] Determined to prevent SCR 1325 from becoming a "one time rhetorical gesture," NGOs and women's advocates continued to lobby the Security Council to remind them of their ongoing commitment to enforcing SCR 1325 and organized annual debates to promote discussion and debate on the effectiveness of SCR 1325, making it a "living document."[25]

In addition to SCR 1325, the Security Council passed six more WPS resolutions, which built upon women in security policy. Each resolution reaffirms and expands on an aspect of SCR 1325. SCR 1820 (2008) most specifically concerned sexual violence in conflict. Many women's rights advocates believed that sexual violence was not adequately addressed by SCR 1325 and campaigned for the Security Council to more specifically and sufficiently address wartime rape and sexual abuse of women. In 2008,

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[22] Sanam Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (2007), 7
[23] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." 18.
[24] Carol Cohn, "Feminist peacemaking," *The Women's Review of Books* 21 no. 5 (2004): 8-9.
[25] Cohn, "Feminist peacemaking," 8.

the Security Council passed its first Resolution devoted to this topic, effectively incorporating sexual violence into the security agenda of the UN. SCR 1820 recognized sexual violence as a tactic of war and established that mass sexual violence during conflict is a war crime, crime against humanity, and constituent act of genocide. Furthermore, the Resolution calls for the prevention of and response to conflict driven sexual violence and for parties involved in the conflict to condemn and punish such acts.[26] With SCR 1820, "the Security Council has a clear mandate to intervene and respond to the widespread sexual violence that occurs in conflict-affected contexts around the world," but some gender advocates argued that it portrayed women solely as victims, threatening the agency discourse established in SCR 1325.[27]

One year later, the Security Council adopted SCR 1888 on September 30, 2009, which stresses the importance of UN leadership in addressing sexual violence in conflict. SCR 1888, calls for the establishment of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG) to improve the response of the UN to sexual violence and "urges that issues of sexual violence be included in all United Nations-sponsored peace negotiation agendas, and also urges inclusion of sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes."[28] Soon after, SCR 1889 was adopted, which recalled focus from women as victims of sexual violence to the importance of women's increased participation in peace processes. With the Resolution, the Security Council, "reaffirm[ed] the key role women play in re-establishing the fabric of recovering society and stressing the need for their involvement in the development and implementation of post-conflict strategies in order to

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[26] PeaceWomen. "SCR 1820: The text." PeaceWomen.org, 2008.
[27] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." 28.
[28] PeaceWomen, "SCR 1888: The text." PeaceWomen.org, 2009.

take into account their perspectives and needs."[29] Furthermore, SCR 1889 recognizes that major obstacles remain that prevent women's full participation and calls for Member States to ensure that women are incorporated into peace processes.

In 2010, the Security Council unanimously adopted SCR 1960, which requested the compiling and publishing of a list of parties suspected of patterns of sexual violence during armed conflict. The Security Council expressed its frustration with the slow progress of attempts to quell the occurrence of sexual violence during conflict and the continued practice of systematic sexual violence by parties to conflict. SCR 1960 calls for Member States and the UN to actively implement monitoring and measures to help address and stop sexual violence, including the end of impunity for perpetrators, improved training mechanisms to improve peacekeepers' response to sexual violence, and increased numbers of female police deployed with UN peacekeeping missions.[30] The Security Council's concern with the implementation of SCR 1325 and most specifically with the prevention and persecution of sexual violence, was reiterated in SCR 2160 (2013), which called for the improved operationalization of states' existing obligations pertaining to WPS.[31] Lastly, in 2013, SCR 2122 renewed the Security Council's previous emphasis on the importance of women's leadership and empowerment on resolving conflict and building effective and sustainable peace. It called for the Security Council the UN, regional organizations, and member states to increase women's participation through establishing mechanisms and supporting women's organizations.[32]

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[29] PeaceWomen, "SCR 1889: The text," PeaceWomen.org, 2009.
[30] U.N. Security Council, 6453rd Meeting. "Resolution 1960" (S/Res/1960 (2010) 16 December 2010. Official Record.
[31] Natalie Hudson, "National and Regional Implementation," 3
[32] Ibid.

Overall, the seven Resolutions pertaining to WPS are mutually reinforcing and form a collective framework of commitments to both protect women from violence during conflict and also to empower women during peace processes to enable their participation.[33] All of the acts put forward by these Resolutions are partially or wholly dependent on each other to successfully address the importance of women and security. For example, a peace process cannot be fully successful without the participation of women, but women cannot effectively participate if they are not empowered, including if they are a victim or under the threat of becoming a victim of sexual violence. However, the issue of sexual violence is often not addressed if women are not present and vocal during the peace negotiation. Therefore, a feedback cycle has existed for decades that excluded women from effectively acting as empowered agents to vocalize their own concerns and interests. In order to break this cycle, the UN Member States must commit to incorporate the provisions included in SCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2160, and 2122 simultaneously throughout all levels and all stages of peace processes with the support of civil society. As the main implementers of Security Council resolutions, the main responsibility of implementing SCR 1325 and its companion resolution falls on Member States, which has resulted in uneven implementation as some States prove to be more effective at or dedicated to the implementation of the WPS agenda.

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[33] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325." 29.

Major Components of SCR 1325

SCR 1325 deviated from previous resolutions through its portrayal of women not only as victims, often paired with children and other vulnerable peoples, but also as productive agents in conflict, peacebuilding, and the guaranteeing of security. The Resolution emphasizes the importance of women's "equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution."[34] Additionally, the Resolution not only concedes that women play an important role in peacemaking, but it "suggests that their inclusion is an important dimension of these processes" and furthermore, it "recognizes their *right* to participate."[35] In general, the Resolution can be broken down into four main themes: representation, gender perspective, and protection.

The Resolution stresses the importance of incorporating larger numbers of women into decision-making and representation in peacemaking and conflict resolution. It urges Member States to "ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict."[36] Furthermore, the Secretary-General is encouraged to "appoint more women as special representatives and envoys" and to include more women in UN field operations, especially in military roles, police roles, and humanitarian roles.[37] These provisions outline the duty of the international community and the UN to actively incorporate more women into their programs and urge

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[34] UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security], 31 October 2000,* S/RES/1325 (2000).1.

[35] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325," 19.

[36] Ibid 2.

[37] Ibid

the creation of specific action plans with which to ensure successful inclusion. Given women's historical exclusion from conflict and peace programs and the accused patriarchal structure of the UN, these provisions recognize the right of women to participate and the duty of international organizations to incorporate women. Underlying this encouragement is the theory that women perceive and experience conflict in different ways than men and therefore have different concerns and perceptions during the peace processes,[38] that women "can more readily embrace the collaborative perspective needed to cut through ethnic, religious, tribal, and political barriers" necessary to establish peace, and that women, as half of the population affected by conflict, provide input that is vital to the creation of a sustainable peace.[39]

Secondly, the Resolution urges that a gender perspective should be adopted in the development and implementation of peace operations and negotiations. To incorporate a gender perspective, or gender mainstreaming, in a field operation, "has a specific meaning: to 'recognize the special needs of women and girls' and to protect their human rights during and after conflict."[40] While this call for gender mainstreaming incorporates an encouragement for gender balancing, or the equal participation of men and women in these processes, gender balancing does not necessarily achieve gender mainstreaming and therefore, separate mechanisms must be put into place. Once again recognizing that women have different experiences during, perspectives of, and concerns in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction, the Resolution urges implementers to consider such differences when designing their programs. Specifically, the Resolution encourages the

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[38] Barnes, "The Evolution and Implementation of UNSCR 1325," 19.
[39] Noeleen Heyzer, "A Vision for Human Security," UNIFEM Annual Report (2003): 3.
[40] Sheri Gibbings, "No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 no.4 (2011): 528.

development of gender training programs to increase awareness on the "protection, rights and particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures."[41]

Lastly, the Resolution calls for the protection and respect of women's rights in accordance with previous conventions, protocols, and norms. Specifically, it cites the responsibilities of all of the parties in an armed conflict to protect women and girls from gender based violence and all other forms of violence during armed conflict. Furthermore, SCR 1325 calls for all Member States to put an end to impunity for such crimes against women and prosecute those responsible. Similarly, it encourages parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee camps and reminds those involved in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) to consider the different needs of male and female combatants and the implications of DDR programs on families.

Significance of SCR 1325

SCR 1325 fundamentally changed the relationship between the legal and normative framework of the United Nations concerning security and women's participation in conflict, peace negotiations, and post-conflict reconstruction. With the passing of SCR 1325, women were officially recognized as an integral part of the security agenda, not only as victims who need a special form of protection as they suffer disproportionately more during conflict than men, with an estimated 80% of war victims

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[41] UN Security Council, *Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000)], 31 October 2000,* S/RES/1325 (2000).2.

being women and children,[42] but also as productive agents of change on whom the

success of a peace negotiation and post-conflict peace may lie. In a sense, SCR 1325

enfranchised women into global security institutions, both locally and internationally as,

"It provides a critical legal and political framework through which, for the first time in

history, women worldwide can claim their space and voice their views of peace and

security matters."[43] In addition to the moderate successes gained, many advocates

continue to lobby for increased and more efficient implementation of SCR 1325 and

evaluation of the status of women, peace, and security. As previously mentioned, SCR

1325 is the only UN Security Council Resolution to have an active following of civil

society members and advocates who, fourteen years later, continue to enthusiastically

campaign for, promote, implement, and, at times, criticize SCR 1325.

Many advocates see SCR 1325's most significant impact as its ability to empower

local women by providing a legal framework for women to assert their right to participate

in local institutions and peace processes. With SCR 1325, women had access for the first

time to a legal document, which clearly outlined not only their right to participate, but

also the vital importance of their participation. With this document in hand, women all

over the world began to demand inclusion into peace negotiations. As of 2014, SCR 1325

has been translated into 104 languages, with 5 more translations pending and 17

translations requested.[44] This has led to an increase in grassroots initiatives and

programing in which local women assert their right to participate and voice their

opinions, such as those in Iraq, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Melanesia, and

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[42] Catherine Onekalit, "Women in Peacekeeping: The Emergence of All-Female Uniformed Units in UNMIL and MONUSCO," *Conflict Trends* 2 (2013): 43.
[43] Anderlini, *Women Building Peace, 7.*
[44] PeaceWomen, *Security Council Resolution 1325 - Local Language Translations.* PeaceWomen.org

Kosova.[45] Numerous studies underline the importance of the inclusion of women into peace negotiations and decision-making as women tend to represent "more moderate voices advancing the interests of the most marginalized groups"[46] and a growing body of evidence demonstrates that gender equality and women's increased participation in political and social activities contributes to stabilization and helps lower the risk of recurrent conflict.[47]

Furthermore, at the national and international level, SCR 1325 has spurred the creation of outlined plans to most effectively and efficiently address gender issues. As a UN Security Council Resolution, SCR 1325 holds both legal and normative power to encourage Member States to actively work to fulfill the obligations and duties to protect and promote women as outlined in the Resolution. Therefore, forty-four nations have developed National Action Plans (NAPs) or other national level strategies to coordinate the implementation of SCR 1325 within their state. NAPs provide a framework that articulate priorities concerning gender and coordinate the implementation of SCR1325 at a national level. By forming a plan to specifically address the concerns and context of the nation and government, "NAPs serve as a guiding national policy document that is able to capture the diverse set of government bodies and stakeholders tasked with security, foreign policy, development, and gender equality," and "can facilitate non-duplicative interdepartmental coordination and accelerate gender mainstreaming."[48] Moreover, the UN has attempted to mainstream gender within its peacekeeping operations by increasing

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[45] Cohn, "Feminist peacemaking,".8.

[46] Sahana Dharmapuri, "Just add women and stir?," *Parameters (2011)*: 65.

[47] Theodora-Ismene Gizeis and Afua Pierre Nana, "Gender equality and Postconflict Reconstruction: What Do We Need to Know in order to Make Gender Mainstreaming Work," *International Interactions* (2013), 605.

[48] PeaceWomen, *National Action Plans,* PeaceWomen.org (2008).

the number of women in the organization, creating gender offices within missions, and incorporating gender concerns into the mandate of peacekeeping missions. Within the UN structure, the impact of SCR 1325 is demonstrated clearly through the significant increase in the number of female peacekeepers. Between 1957 and 1989, only 20 women served as peacekeepers in the UN, but as of 2013, out of the 125,000 UN peacekeepers, women make up about 3% of UN military personnel and 10% of police personnel.[49]

However, at all levels of the process, implementation has suffered great setbacks due to lack of political will and resources among policy makers or implementers, structural obstacles, and uneven implementation methods. While SCR 1325 was welcomed in a spirit of overwhelming optimism, in the years since its passing, an underlying disillusion has grown amongst scholars and implementers who express growing frustration with the lack of implementation. Critics point to the uneven implementation of SCR 1325 globally and across UN-mandated missions and argue that, "such discrepancies are often explained in terms of lack of political will and accountability mechanisms, along with organizational inertia and discriminatory attitudes toward women."[50] Many of these frustrations are rooted in the bureaucratic and patriarchal nature of the UN and its reliance on member states, which each have varying degrees of commitment to SCR 1325, to implement the Resolution. This has led to a handful of states achieving moderate success in addressing gender concerns relating to security. However, there are also states, which have made little to no progress in the implementation of SCR 1325.

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[49] Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?" *International Interactions* 39 (2013): 462

[50] Tryggestad, "Trick or treat," 541.

Furthermore, others argue that SCR 1325 presents a stereotypical conception of femininity that largely reflects westernized and northern views of women and gender.[51] Nonwestern cultural traditions attribute different gender roles to women and may find the provisions of SCR 1325 to be inconsistent with or offensive to their cultural beliefs. Therefore, nations and advocates may be resistant, reluctant, or hesitant to apply the provisions of SCR 1325 to their own contexts for fear of perpetuating female stereotypes and nontraditional western ideals. Some scholars argue that "there is limited insight of the impact that prescribed policies of gender mainstreaming might have. In fact, often ignoring the context in which policies are implemented leads to adverse outcomes."[52] As a result, some institutions resisted the implementation of SCR 1325 for fear of insulting local cultural beliefs, especially in conservative Muslim communities or traditionally patriarchal societies.

Moreover, gender stereotyping that categorizes women as peaceful and men as violent presents a one-dimensional view of their lives and denies women and men full personhood by limiting them to the values outlined in socially constructed gender roles. Not only does this assumption blur the line between gender and sex as it "presents a deterministic account of human nature," but it also limits women to socially predefined roles and virtues relating to motherhood[53]. However, a growing body of literature[54] rejects this assumed and imposed femininity by demonstrating that while women can

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[51] Chanta de Jonge Oudraat, "UNSCR 1325 - Conundrums and Opportunities," *International Interaction,.* 39 (2013): 614.

[52] Louise Olsson and Theodora-Ismene Gizeis, "An Introduction to UNSCR 1325. *International Interactions,* 39 (2013): 425

[53] Hilary Charlesworth, "Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-building." *Feminist Legal Studies,* 16 (2008): 349.

[54] See Cohn "Feminist peacemaking."; Anderlini, *Women Building Peace.;* O'Flynn and Russell, "Should Peace Agreements Recognize Women?"; Oudraat, "UNSCR 1325 - Conundrums and Opportunities,"; Charlesworth, "Are Women Peaceful?"

exert a positive influence in peacemaking, they can also exert negative influences or support the conflict.[55] Therefore, while some women may be pacific and nonviolent, others either actively participate in the conflict or support the conflict passively.[56] Just as men are diverse and represent a variety of interests, neither are women who "are not a unified group; they emulate the same class, ethnic, and social divisions that society at large has. Consequently not all women share the same views, and opinions of the specific needs of women in a particular situation will differ."[57] Beyond simply reinforcing stereotypes, the tendency of SCR 1325 and its advocates to equate womanhood with peacefulness may undermine women's desire to be taken seriously, especially in the conflict and security fields where attributes traditionally associated with men are valued more than values associated with women. Therefore, it is important for women to be portrayed as multi-dimensional and varied to prevent their being type cast as the token peace advocate.

Despite these challenges, SCR 1325 represents a groundbreaking change in the WPS dialogue and established a legal and important connection between the protection and participation of women and sustainable peacemaking. However, as a broad and overarching issue, which involves various processes and structures, including cultural, political, or economic issues, women and gender concerns permeate all aspects of the security agenda. Seeking to incorporate women into the "3 P's" of participation in conflict prevention, peace-building and reconstruction, protection of women and girls' rights, and the prevention of gender-based violence, SCR 1325 attempts to incorporate

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[55] Anderlini, *Women Building Peace,* 4.

[56] Ian O'Flynn and David Russell. "Should peace agreements recognize women?" *Ethnopolitics* 10 no. 1 (2011): 41

[57] United Nations Association in Canada, *Women's Issues in Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*, 119.

women into all stages and levels of peacekeeping and conflict-resolution processes.[58]

Therefore, the incorporation of women, the role of women in conflict and peace, and the

international community's perspectives of it, will require a slow process of change.

Consequently, it is vitally important to devise new, creative, and sustainable methods

with which to successfully implement SCR 1325's provisions and challenge the structural

complications and the lack of international, national, and local political will, which

hamper effective implementation and prevent women's voices from being heard.

Female Formed Police Units (FFPUs)

In order to address two of the most prominent measures of SCR 1325, the call for

increased representation of women in UN peacekeeping missions and the concern for

better protection regarding sexual and gender-based violence in post-conflict societies by

including a gender perspective, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)

created and deployed the first all-female peacekeeping unit in 2007. A range of media

coverage in the immediate years following the unit's deployment, cite the women's

success in addressing gender-based violence,[59] the unit's duty of guarding the Office of

the President,[60] and the unit's role in inspiring local women to join the security sector[61] or

challenge gender roles in general.[62] However, it is worth noting that the majority of these

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[58] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. *Women for Women International.*
[59] Tristan McConnell, "All-Female Unit Keeps Peace in Liberia," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 21, 2007.
[60] Doreen Caravajal, "A Female Approach to Peacekeeping," *New York Times,* March, 5, 2010.
[61] "Liberia: Female Indian Formed Police Unit an Inspiration for Liberian Women and Girls," *All Africa*, December 14, 2010.
[62] Moni Basu, "Indian Women Peacekeepers Haild in Liberia," *CNN*, March 2, 2010.

news stories also prominently emphasized the women's role as mothers, daughters, and sisters and their feminine characteristics, rather than their role as security officers.[63]

Advocates hailed the unit as a groundbreaking method to challenge stereotypes concerning female police and to promote women's empowerment. Furthermore, analysts argued that the unit would significantly improve the ability of the mission of achieve their mandate as,

> Compared to their male colleagues, women police officers – across cultures- have
> significantly lower rates of complaints of misconduct, improper use of force, or
> inappropriate use of weapons; are less authoritarian when interacting with citizens
> and lower-ranking officers…and are more likely to diffuse potentially violent
> situations.[64]

In addition, female officers are believed to respond more effectively to violence against women and address sexual violence.[65] In light of the seemingly successful deployment of the first FFPU, over the next several years, the UN deployed other FFPUs to East Timor and Haiti. Susana Malcorra, the United Nations Under Secretary-General for Field Support supported the deployment of the FFPU to Haiti, saying,

> The greater use of female police is not just a tokenistic attempt to increase the
> number of female blue helmets – it's a fundamental component of making our
> missions more responsive to women's needs. As the Secretary-General has
> stressed, we should be deploying female units "not just because deploying more

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[63] See footnotes 59-62 and Lesley Pruitt, "All-Female Contingents: Feminism and the Discourse of Armed Protection," *International Peacekeeping* 20 no. 1 (2013): 74-75.

[64] Dyan Mazurana and Eugenia Piza Lopez, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Support Operations: Moving Beyond Rhetoric to Practice* (International Alert: July 2002), 27. As cited in Dharmapuri. "Just add women and stir?" 61.

[65] Dharmapuri. "Just add women and stir?" 61.

women reflects natural justice…but because women bring an essential extra dimension to one of our most important tasks – bring peace, stability and development to populations recover from conflict.[66]

However, FFPUs represent a unique characteristic beyond the simple fact that they have increased the presence of women in their missions overall. More importantly, their nature as an entirely all-female unit, instead of being part of a mixed-gender unit, presents its own benefits and criticisms. The FFPU structure offers a potentially more welcoming environment for female recruits, who may face internal discrimination in an integrated unit or who may be limited by social or cultural expectations. However, by incorporating women into a single unit, FFPUs may perpetuate the perspective that women and men should not work together and it does not adequately reflect the public, which are not segregated by sex. Furthermore, with all the female officers in one unit, other male units lose the potential benefits that may accompany the presence of female officers and the incorporation of another gender perspective.

Benefits and Criticisms of FFPUs

Despite the large amount of media attention devoted to FFPUs and wide ranging anecdotal reports of the successes of FFPUs, empirical data based evaluations of their performance and impact on the overall success of their missions are few. This scarcity can certainly be traced to the plethora of challenges confronted when attempting to evaluate social change in a dynamic environment where there are multiple forces acting upon the subject in question. This is a common problem faced when evaluating gender-

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[66] Susana Malcorra, *What is the role of the united nations, particularly for peacekeeping forces and missions in post-disaster situations? an overview from a gender perspective, (*Brazil: United Nations Office of Field Support 2010)

based change as "It is difficult to identify whether any changes in gender equality and the status of women can be directly attributed to the specific interventions due to gender mainstreaming policies or whether other factors may be at play in the observed outcomes."[67] Since FFPUs are deployed in the midst of a peacekeeping operation, their actions occur within a larger framework of gender mainstreaming programs and institutional reforms, which make it difficult to differentiate one root cause from another when evaluating women's empowerment. Moreover, they are deployed into a variety of cultural contexts where gender relations and gender rights can vary dramatically, complicating the evaluation of the impact of the unit's in society. Additionally, lack of effective data collection in post-conflict societies, especially regarding sensitive gender issues, such as rape and abuse, complicates feminist research. Although there have been many anecdotal claims of the FFPUs positively impacting society, these claims have been criticized and questioned and there is a lack of supporting data.[68] Despite these challenges, scholars, practitioners, and advocates have continued to attempt to systematically assess the impact of FFPUs on both the UN peacekeeping mission's mandate fulfillment and the local host population.[69]

In the growing body of literature concerning FFPUs, several themes have emerged as the most prominent theorized results of the deployment of FFPUs in peacekeeping missions: more peaceful interactions with the host population;[70] reduced

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[67] Gizeis and Nana, "Gender Equality and Postconflict Reconstruction," 606
[68] Onekalit, "Women in Peacebuilding," 45
[69] Beardsley 2013, Kristen, Cordell, *Gender-Related Best Practice*.; Karim "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect"; Kember, "Impact of Indian Formed Police"; Pruitt, "All-Female Contingents: Feminism and the Discourse
[70] Dharmapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir," 61.

hypermasculinity;[71] improved perceptions and de-stigmatization of the security sector;[72] lowered crime rates and increased security;[73] improved response to sexually-based crimes;[74] improved engagement with the community;[75] general signs of women's and girl's empowerment;[76] and increased recruitment of females into local security institutions.[77] The majority of the studies of FFPUs have centered around the Indian FFPU that is currently stationed in Liberia as it is the first and longest-running FFPU. While it is often assumed that the same results achieved by this unit in Liberia could be replicated in other peacekeeping missions, caution should be taken to remain conscious that the beneficial or harmful impacts of these units could vary depending on the host country. However, much of the research on FFPUs also pulls information from other sources in addition to the Indian FFPU, such as domestic all-female police and military units or gender mainstreaming or gender balancing experiences in general.

Peaceful Engagements

In line with the theories that prompted the passing of SCR 1325 originally, one of the most prominent proposed benefits of FFPUs are that as a unit composed entirely of women, in general the units are less prone to resort to violence and will reduce conflict and confrontation with the local population. This follows theories that women are

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[71] Gerard De Groot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping,* 8 no 2 (2001): 23-28
[72] Sabrina Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect Post-Conflict Security Sector Perceptions Survey Evidence from Liberia," (2013) 1-50.
[73] Kristen, Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid
[77] Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect Post-Conflict Security Sector Perceptions Survey Evidence from Liberia"

naturally or socially constructed to be more peaceful than men and therefore more willing to employ methods other than aggression or force to mediate a potentially volatile situation. Claims of examples of all-female units' preference for nonviolent mediation over aggression abound. For example, one cited story of FFPUs' less violent nature and use of effective conflict mediation skills occurred shortly after the Indian FFPU arrived in Liberia in 2007.[78] Within a day or two of arriving in Liberia, the Indian FFPU was called to help control a riot. When the unit arrived, the officers found a chaotic scene with many of the male peacekeepers violating protocol by chasing or aggressively engaging with the rioters. According to eye witness accounts, the female police arrived and were able to calmly disperse the crowd without resorting to the use of violence. Whether this success was a result of the inherent peaceful nature of the unit, simply due to the "shock factor" they may have had on the local population, or the possibility that they had better training is debatable. However, reports have shown that female soldiers in UN peacekeeping missions tend to receive fewer complaints of misconduct or aggression lodged against them by locals than their male counterparts.[79] Again, there could be a plethora of reasons for this, such as the possibility that as women, they are seen as less of a threat by male members of the population, who therefore act less aggressively towards them than they may act towards a male peacekeeper.

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[78] Lesley J. Pruitt, Fieldwork Data, 2013.
[79] Dharmapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir," 61.

__Reduced Hypermasculinity__

Relatedly, proponents of FFPUs claim that the units improve the legitimacy of the mission by reducing hypermasculinity and increasing the community's trust in the mission. As a male-dominated institution, a UN peacekeeping mission can often assume a hypermasculine character, in which typically male values become over exaggerated.[80] This can lead to male soldiers and police acting more aggressively toward the local population. Furthermore, this male dominated atmosphere can result in a "boys will be boys" mentality amongst colleagues, meaning that comrades and superiors are willing to overlook improper behavior conducted by male police by blaming it on their "maleness", especially when they are deployed for long periods of time.[81] This becomes especially dominate when there are not women present to mitigate the effect. Scholar Gerard de Groot argues that a female presence has a "civilizing" effect since it "means the operation more closely resembles civilian society.[82] Its members are therefore more likely to observe social conventions that define civilized behavior"[83] With the presence of women, male peacekeepers are more likely to feel bound by social standards of behaviors and the "boys will be boys" mentality will deteriorate as there is an expectation that female police will monitor and correct any observed unsanctioned behavior by security personnel.[84] However, in various cases where women have been deployed along with male police,

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[80] De Groot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping"
[81] Tristan McConnell, 2007. All-female unit keeps peace in liberia. *The Christian Science Monitor*.
[82] De Groot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping"
[83] Ibid.
[84] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 471

witnesses observed that female units often remain aloof and separated from their

comrades and therefore, would not have many opportunities to correct such behavior.[85]

De-stigmatization Security Sector

Moreover, in general, women are viewed as being less corrupt and more

trustworthy than men by the local population. In accordance with common social

expectations, "they [women] are perceived as having little interest in the possible abuse

of their authority."[86] The root of this perception lies partially in social conventions that

women are not supposed to be as concerned about amassing power, but instead should be

more interested in the common good and public welfare.

Having the local population perceive female police as being more sympathetic

and trustworthy, "can boost protection and response strategies as local women and

children more readily confide in female peacekeepers – especially in the case of sexual

violence."[87] The increase in trust between police and the local population garnered by an

increased female presence can be correlated to the increase in reports of rape or sexual

violence in Liberia and Haiti, signaling that the local population now feels that they can

report such incidents instead of staying quiet.[88] Consequently, the increase of female

peacekeepers achieved with the addition of FFPUs in a mission can make the security

sector reform more inclusive[89] as female police are able to access both male and female

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[85] Summer 2013 Interview with Civil Society Leader (Participant 25) and UNMIL Representative (Participant 16)

[86] Dharmapuri. "Just add women and stir?" 61

[87] Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, *Integrating a Gender Perspective Into the Work of the United Nations Military in Peacekeeping Operations,* United Nations (2010), 19

[88] Kristen, Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."

[89] Hudson, "A Development Fund Takes on Police Work," *WIIS (Women in International Security) Words*.

segments of the population while men may be barred from effective interactions with local women, either because of cultural restrictions or a reluctance on the part of the female population to engage with male peacekeepers. Moreover, studies have shown that men in the local population prefer interacting with female peacekeepers.[90] Furthermore, as populations of conflict-affected nations, the local people have most likely had more encounters with men as transgressors than they have had with women and therefore, may feel that women are less associated with past victimizing and more approachable. Therefore, by increasing the number of female police and thereby distancing itself from previous transgressions, the mission may improve its own reputation and that of security institutions as a whole.[91]

However, Sabrina Karim's recent study in Liberia indicated that this result may be more complex than originally thought as racial perceptions also effect local views of the security sector. On one hand, "people are more reassured by people 'that look like them'" and therefore, a female officer can potentially be reassuring to all local women.[92] However, as a foreign unit, the Indian FFPU also has a barrier between itself and the local people. At times, this acts in the unit's benefit as "when people interact with foreign women, they are more likely to perceive security institutions as less corrupt."[93] However, the unit's foreign origin also led Liberians to doubt the unit's efficacy and abilities as many Liberians in the study believed that foreign women were less competent than local police in conflict situations. Contrastingly, many locals viewed Liberian women as more capable in conflict circumstances, a dichotomy perhaps stemming from the locals'

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[90] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing"
[91] Ibid. 471
[92] Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect," 14
[93] Ibid.

previous witness to Liberian women fighting during the civil war, while they have not seen foreign women engaged in combat.[94]

Increased Security and Reduced Crime

As police units, the FFPUs' mandated duties focus on security issues, not gender issues. Therefore, signs that their presence has reduced crime in the areas where they are deployed demonstrate that their ability to fulfill their mandate and their competence as peacekeepers is equivalent to male police. In fact, members of the FFPU regard their work securing the community as their greatest achievement, as one officer stated "people say they feel confident, safe and secure when they see us."[95] According to a Congo Town police chief, Congo Town, the area where the unit is stationed, witnessed a 65% drop in armed robberies after the arrival of the Indian FFPU.[96] Similarly, others claim that the FFPU's instituting of group night patrols and their insistence on the installation of a lighting system in public areas of Congo Town significantly reduced the number of intruders in the area.[97] However, much of this evidence continues to rely on anecdotes, which are susceptible to criticism, due to challenges confronted when trying to obtain accurate crime statistics in a post-conflict community, such as Congo Town.

Moreover, as previously stated, FFPUs have the potential to access a large portion of the population that may have otherwise been inaccessible to male peacekeepers, which contributes to establishing security. Unlike male peacekeepers who may intimidate local

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[94] Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect Post-Conflict Security Perceptions?" 28
[95] Kristen, Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[96] Olivia Kember,, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit in the United Nations Mission in Liberia," (master thesis, 2007), 35
[97] Kristen Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."

women, "female peacekeepers are able to interact with an often-neglected 50% of the

population about particular women's concerns."[98] Therefore, FFPUs can be an

operational advantage in sensitive situations regarding gender, including body searches,

women's prison care, sexual or gender based violence interviews, and the disarmament,

demobilization, and reintegration of female combatants.[99]

Improved Response to Sexual Violence

Female police in FFPUs are not only perceived as being more trustworthy to take

reports of sexual violence, but are also expected to be more capable at addressing and

preventing sexual violence, as well as being more concerned about women's issues in

general.[100] It is believed by many that in areas in which FFPUs operated, instances of

sexual abuse and exploitation sharply decreased.[101] Moreover, many have cited increased

reports of sexual violence as an optimistic sign that victims are no longer willing to suffer

in silence, no longer view sexual violence as "normal," and trust the security forces to

properly address their claim. This report of reduced sexually related crimes and increased

reporting is supported by the UN, which argued that these two incidents create a feedback

loop in which increased reporting leads to the cases being properly assessed, which

reduces sexual assault cases further, which then leads to further reporting as a result of

increased trust in the police and a "de-normalizing" of sexual crimes. Some officials

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[98] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 471.
[99] Anderlini, *Women Building Peace.*
[100] Dhumapuri, "Just Add Women and Stir," 61.
[101] Onekalit, "Women in Peacekeeping," 44.

within UNMIL credit the FFPU as the main enabler of this "success" in the mission to decrease sexual violence.[102]

While if proven true, this can lead to female soldiers being able to more successfully prosecute sexual crimes and offer better protection for women, it roots itself in the assumption that women are more qualified to handle sexual abuse than men, simply because they are women. However, in the past, it has been demonstrated that specialized training is much more important than gender as being a woman does not necessarily dictate that a female police officer would be able to effectively address a case of sexually based violence.[103] Moreover, it is difficult, if not impossible, to clearly establish that this increase in gender-based crime reporting, is the result of the *female* FPU active in the area and not simply because there is heightened security overall with the presence of more UN police regardless of gender.

Improved Community Engagement

Other scholars argue that it is the FFPUs' unique interactions with the community that fostered trust and increased communication that improved the security of the areas in which they work and also distinguish the all-female units from male units. Again whether this interaction stemmed from the all-female nature of the unit or from other factors can be debated, however, in previous studies, it has been shown that women are often more likely to be engaged with the local population than men. Specifically, in the case of the Indian FFPU in UNMIL, during the first several years of the mission, the unit was one-of-a-kind in its community outreach programs, such as medical clinics, clean drinking

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[102] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 33.
[103] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing."

water projects, monthly community clean-ups, the installation of lighting systems, and the adoption of an orphanage and school where they taught self-defense, first aid and Indian dance to the students, and held summer camps.[104] These community centered projects may not only have contributed to the "reduction in the number of poverty motivated crimes," but also has "inspired community pride in the area, an effect which has been shown to dramatically decrease crime through stronger community participation and ownership.[105]

As the unit's mandate does not require community outreach, any community-centered programs run by the Indian FFPU were purely optional and volunteered by its members. By devoting their personal time and resources, members of the FFPU increased their interaction and communication with their community and many argue that this had a strong influence on their relationship with the locals and helped further secure the area.[106] These programs encouraged trust- and relationship- building between the FFPU and the local population, which may have contributed to the public's willingness to report crimes to the police.[107] These sustained and relatively stable relationships between the FFPU and the community improved the unit's ability to effectively address crime within the area as "this range of environments, which included informal as well as formal settings, and sustained, regular relationships-building as well as spontaneous street-based interaction, enabled the Indian police to develop detailed understanding of their community."[108] Not only did this relationship and knowledge of the community result in the unit developing a clearer knowledge of the specific, prevalent, and unique challenges faced by the

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[104] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 29.
[105] Kristen, Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[106] Onekalit "Women in Peacekeeping," 44.
[107] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 36.
[108] Ibid. 32.

community, but it also allowed for the women of the unit to be more sensitive to changes in community or individual behavior that signaled a problem or a need for intervention. For example, it has been noted by observers that if a member of the Indian FFPU noticed that a woman or man they normally interacted with suddenly became withdrawn or absent, they would actively try to encourage the person to share their problems or seek help.[109] This seems to validate feminist peacekeeping theories that regard women as more caring and concerned about community matters and human security, especially as male FPUs also deployed in Liberia had no such programs for the first several years of the mission and it is possible that they only developed similar programs after observing the success of the Indian unit's programs to positively impact security or after receiving pressure from UNPOL or UNMIL leadership.[110]

However, in direct contrast to studies and reports that discuss the active engagement of the Indian FFPU in the local community, a number of researchers refute this claim and instead argue that the FFPU purposely separated themselves from the community at the start of their deployment and that their community outreach programs developed later. Although the FFPU viewed themselves as role models for the local women and the community as a whole, they have been accused of being "aloof" toward local women and that they "deliberately minimized interaction between themselves and the Liberians."[111] Furthermore, others have found that the FFPU was "not particularly empathetic towards local women" and often looked down upon Liberians, and specifically upon their traditional gender roles.[112] There are various theories that could be

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[109] Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[110] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit."
[111] Ibid. 28
[112] Pruitt, "All-Female Contingents: Feminism and the Discourse," 69

argued as to why an all-female unit would feel the need to distance themselves from the local community, including their desire to emphasize their similarity with male FPUs and unwillingness to appear characteristically "feminine." Perhaps, once the members of the unit felt that they had distinguished themselves as competent and respected by men and women both in the host population and in UNMIL, they felt more able to implement their desired programs.

In fact, it appears that the unit has become more outright with and committed to their community outreach projects as "with each rotation [of the unit], the FFPU's roles broadened beyond the mandated tasks to include a wide range of community-focused programmes, with particular interest in Liberian women and girls."[113] However, it still could be debated whether the unit had always planned to implement such programs, but hesitated in an attempt to resist gender roles and expectations, or if the motivation to devise the programs developed as a result of the FFPUs engagement in the nation. Furthermore, the unit's mandate does not require community outreach programs and upon their original arrival, the FFPU may have been eager to fulfill their mandate, especially as the nation's initial instability may not have been fitting for the creation of such programs at that time.

Women's Empowerment

Moreover, the presence of FFPUs in post-conflict communities may assist in the promotion of women's empowerment amongst local women. According to Sabrina Karim, female peacekeepers promote women's empowerment through active and passive

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[113] Onekalit, "Women in Peacekeeping," 44

representation.[114] By simply being a visible presence in the community as they perform their daily duties as female police, members of the FFPU passively represent women and encourage female empowerment by challenging accepted gender roles and inducing changed behavior and perspectives in the community. Seema Dhundia, former commander of the Indian FFPU in Liberia, described her hopes that her unit would successfully lead by example and act as role models for local women by declaring, "Women see us out on the streets every day putting on uniforms, carrying heavy [weapons], and performing our duties. It will definitely get them inspired and motivated to come forward."[115] However, FFPU members may also participate in active representation of women when "when they promote the rights of women through their actions within the mission…these efforts go above and beyond the scope of typical military contingent duties."[116] For example, FFPU members have been documented to engage in community outreach activities, mentoring, or lobbying for women's rights.

It soon became clear that after the arrival of the unit, women's empowerment movements began to grow and local women began to challenge traditional gender roles. By legitimately acting as leaders in the community and in the security sector, FFPUs contribute to the breakdown of stereotypes, which bar women from traditionally male roles or careers. For example, as a result of the Indian FFPU in Liberia's close interaction with the Victory Chapel School in Congo Town, there have been dramatic improvements in the treatment and actions of young girls. Although Liberian girls are notoriously undereducated in comparison with Liberian boys, clearly demonstrated through class ratios, which show a sharp decrease in the number of girls to boys each year, especially

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[114] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 472.
[115] Seema Dhundia,quoted in McConnell,." All-Female Unit Keeps Peace in Liberia."
[116] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 472

toward the end of primary school and in secondary school,[117] the number of girls

enrolling in the Victory Chapel School has risen significantly.[118] In direct contrast to the

national average, which has double the amount of male pupils as female, the Victory

Chapel School boasts a ratio of girls to boys of 7:3.[119] As increased education for girls is

often seen as the first indication of women's empowerment overall, this example could

indicate that the unit will have a long term and significant impact on women's

empowerment. Furthermore, in Congo Town, it has been noted that "less girls are on the

streets or involved in sexual relationships with older men," which is the most common

reasons that girls drop out of school.[120] In 2009, according the principle of the Victory

Chapel School, "the girl students are getting tutored how to take care of their body and

forget about the other issues, about men, every day the FPU are keeping them busy and

the girls are excited by what the FPU is doing."[121] By acting as role models and teaching

women and girls basic knowledge and skills regarding hygiene, safety, and medical care,

the Indian FFPU not only strengthens the security of the community, but also helps plants

the seeds for Liberian women to realize their own potential.

Security Sector Reform

Another well-documented and touted example of FFPUs impacts on local

communities, and women's empowerment in particular, is the increased recruitment of

women into the security sector, a traditionally male-dominated area. In Liberia, after the

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[117] International Development Law Organization, *Liberia Country Report: Strengthening the Legal Protection Framework for Girls in India, Banglades, Kenya, and Liberia'* (International Development Law Organization 2010.
[118] Cordell, *Gender-Related Best Practices,* 25.
[119] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 33
[120] Kristen Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[121] Ibid.

deployment of the Indian FFPU, there was an astounding increase in the number of women joining the local police force, the Liberian National Police (LNP). While there were other gender mainstreaming programs in Liberia advocating for a gender balanced security force, many researchers trace the impetus for the increased recruitment to the passive representation of the Indian FFPU.[122] The impact of the unit on recruitment was almost immediate as the number of female applicants to join the LNP tripled from 120 to 350 in two months after the unit arrived.[123] This pattern continued for the next several years as the number of women at the police academy and in the LNP continued to increase. Before the unit's arrival, there was an average of four women per class at the police academy. After the units was deployed, the number increased to 30 female students per class in 2007 and 100 per class in 2008 and 2009.[124] As of 2013, the LNP was approximately 17% female.[125] UNMIL claims that the unit served as "an incentive and an attraction" to bring Liberian women into the public, both to lodge complaints and to join the police force.[126]

In her study on the effects of gender balancing in the LNP, Karim found that "moving from no exposure to maximum exposure may lead to a sixty-one percent increase in the likelihood of being inspired to join the security sector due to the presence of other women in the security sector."[127] Furthermore, Karim finds that contact with female peacekeepers is likely to inspire women to join the security field. Therefore, it seems fitting to assume that the presence of the unit, their passive representation of

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[122] Onekilt, Kristen, Cordell, "Liberia: Women Peacekeepers and Human Security."
[123] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 31.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Laura Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," *Foreign Policy* (2013).
[126] Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect Post-Conflict Security Perceptions?" 15.
[127] Ibid. 36

women through both their fulfillment of daily duties and media focus, and their

community interaction helped inspire Liberian women to join the LNP. Once an initial

representational increase occurred in the LNP, this contributed to more women seeing

female security officers, which amplified the effect. However, it could be argued that the

dramatic increase of women in the LNP may not be the most beneficial gender

mainstreaming method for the community as many anecdotes argue that female police

and peacekeepers are not considered as competent as their male counterparts[128] and are

not as well trained.

All-Female Composition

However, it could be claimed that the majority, if not all, of the benefits of FFPUs

could be applied to any increase in the number of female peacekeepers and are not

uniquely tied to the unit's all-female nature. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the

value of the all-female unit design versus a mixed-gender unit design. For the most part,

the value of the all-female structure of FFPUs lies in its ability to convince more women

to join the peacekeeping mission and the police force from both the troop contributing

countries (TCCs), police contributing countries (PCCs), and the host country. UN

peacekeeping missions are dependent upon PCCs to provide the police for peacekeeping

missions, and therefore have little control over the amount of female police that they

receive from PCCs.[129] Therefore, FFPUs' all-female design may be able to persuade

more women from PCCs to apply for peacekeeping missions as this structure may help

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[128] Karim, "Do Gender Balancing Policies Affect Post-Conflict Security Perceptions?" 18.
[129] "Troop and Police Contributors," *United Nations Peacekeeping*,
    http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors.shtml

them feel safer or present the unit as more socially acceptable.[130] Similarly, the same

logic could be applied to the host country. As previously mentioned, women in the local

community may suspiciously view and distrust security institutions as being an extension

of the male violence they experienced during conflict.[131] However, by seeing an all-

female peacekeeping unit, they may feel that it is safer to join their own security forces or

pressure their own security institutions to create similar units.

Nevertheless, FFPUs still have many critics who voice concerns that the creation

of all-female units strengthen stereotypes against women, segregate women, and result in

tokenism of women in peacekeeping. In this view, the creation of all-female units

operating under an assumption that they will be more attuned with and concerned for

women's issues relegate female peacekeepers to a separate realm of peacekeeping and

security reform than male peacekeepers. This can lead to the work of female

peacekeepers being devalued and limit their worth to gender issues alone, ignoring their

contributions to larger security sector reform. Furthermore, it supports the common

assumption that women and men cannot or should not work together, but need to be

separated. Scholars in WPS, such as Sahana Dharmapuri, warn that:

> Institutionalizing all-female units can lead to tokenism of women in peacekeeping
>
> missions and may give credence to the idea that men and women cannot work
>
> well together. Not only do surveys of female peacekeepers underscore their

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[130] United Nations Association in Canada, *Women's Issues in Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*, (2007), 113

[131] Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," *Foreign Policy* (2013).

willingness and ability to work with their male counterparts, they also show that

mixed (male and female) teams are more effective.[132]

If FFPUs become too entrenched as the simple and easy solution to gender balance

missions to fulfill the calls for gender mainstreaming, the units will become a relatively

impotent token, unable to address the larger issues concerning gender and unable to

effectively perform their duties as police and peacekeepers. Therefore, FFPUs must be

careful to balance between promoting their femininity as a tool through which to

empower local women and drive security sector reform, and downplaying their gender in

order to be seen through the same lens and afforded the same respect as their male

counterparts.

While it could be argued that these impacts could be replicated with gender

balancing spread through the UN mission instead of deploying specifically all-female

units, a number of studies demonstrate that female representation is only likely to make

an impact if the ratio of women to men is extremely high or if the group is entirely

female. The number of female peacekeepers UN missions receive from PCCs and TCCs

is historically low, it is unlikely that a mission would ever receive a sufficient number of

women to achieve a gender balanced force. In fact, female peacekeepers are often a stark

minority and therefore when they are integrated into the larger force, they are spread

across various offices and units. Many claim that this mitigates their beneficial impact as

women in male dominated groups "are subject to performance pressures, role entrapment

and boundary heightening…[and] generally cannot achieve influence in group decision-

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[132] Sahana Dharmapuri, "Not Just a Numbers Game: Increasing Women's Participation in UN Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping Institute.*

making until they reach a representational threshold of 35 or 40 percent."[133] When

women are the minority in a group or police unit, they may self-censor in order to blend

in with their male counterparts[134] or accept and internalize the masculinized setting of the

mission and adopt the "boys will be boys" attitude.[135] Furthermore, when men are present

in groups with women, even if the women are a majority, men tend to be more

aggressive, assertive, and argumentative and "there appears to be strong evidence of male

backlash and female restraint when women are integrated."[136]

    While some of these obstacles were overcome when women reached a

representation of 35%, which is the gender balancing goal of many UN missions, such as

UNMIL, some of the positive impacts of increasing the number of women in the group,

were not evident until the group was entirely made up of women. Therefore, the success

of FFPUs may lie within their all-female character and imply that "female representation

is likely to be more effective when women are organized in a sizeable group, rather than

spread thinly across units, contingents and battalions."[137]

    However, others continue to argue that the all-female nature of the units

negatively impacts a mission's gender mainstreaming goals as it loses the ability to

demonstrate cooperation between men and women as a key component of gender

equality, represent the population, and sensitize male colleagues to women's issues.[138]

Furthermore, the society in which they work is not simply divided by gender, but by

other barriers, such as language, race, and religion, to which gender is secondary, which

[133] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 7.
[134] Ibid. 8; R.M Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books 1977). 973.
[135] Pruitt, "All-Female Contingents: Feminism and the Discourse," 69.
[136] Karim and Beardsley, "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing," 21.
[137] Onekalit, "Women in Peacebuilding," 46.
[138] Kember, "Impact of the Indian Formed Police Unit," 39.

limits the units impact as a fairly homogenous group. This evidence indicates that the all-female character of the unit is most beneficial for the unit's internal functioning and while it may improve public perception of the unit or willingness to collaborate with the unit, it is difficult to prove that these same results could not be obtained by a mixed-gender unit.

Sustainability of Impacts

While there has been research that demonstrates the positive and inconclusive impact of FFPUs in local communities, there has been little research into the sustainability of these impacts and whether or not the community has sufficiently internalized the gender mainstreaming influence of the units to continue the process after the unit withdraws. Some evidence points that the main influences have been to increase gender balancing of the security sector. However, while gender balancing seeks to equalize the number of male and female representatives, it does not necessarily lead to gender mainstreaming, or the incorporation of a gender perspective into policy making and project implementation.[139] This is a particularly relevant question now as UNMIL, the first mission where a FFPU was deployed and is currently the longest deployed FFPU, has declared its intent to withdraw from Liberia in the near future, although it has not explicitly given a pullout date as of the time of this writing. As the unit begins to leave the country, it is vital that a careful examination of its impacts in the community is performed to determine whether or not a fundamental change in gender roles and perceptions has occurred in the host population. The sustainability of FFPUs' impact is

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[139] "Gender Equality Tool," *International Labour Organization*,
http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/newsite2002/about/defin.htm

the ultimate test of their success as the purpose of peacekeeping units is to *temporarily* establish peace and withdraw, and if an FFPU, especially one which has been present in a community as long as the Indian FFPU in Liberia, cannot successfully influence the community to re-evaluate its gender roles in a sustainable way, the value of these units will be called into question in comparison with other gender mainstreaming methods, which may prove more sustainable.

Case Study: Indian FFPU in Liberia

Much of the existing literature on FFPUs focus on short-term impacts, but do not examine long-term effects of the unit and the sustainability of the "women's empowerment" that the Indian FFPU has encouraged in Liberian society. In order to successfully evaluate the impacts of FFPUs on female empowerment in host societies and the sustainability of those impacts, one must not only examine the reported results of the unit in their community, but also the context in which the Unit is working, which includes a variety of other influences on the status of women in the country, including UN gender mainstreaming programs, Liberian government policies and programs, nongovernmental and civil society work, and the larger political, economic, and cultural factors, which largely dictate the long-term status of women.

In order to examine the long-term effects of FFPUs, and particularly whether positive impacts would survive after the removal of an FFPU, I conducted field work in Liberia in the summer of 2013. I chose Liberia as a result of the nation's particularly interesting history with women's empowerment and the unique status of the FFPU stationed there, as the first and longest deployed FFPU. To obtain an overarching view of the context of the nation and women's empowerment efforts that may influence the

impacts of the Indian FPU, I conducted 43 interviews with a range of stakeholders in Liberian society and civil society groups to gauge to what extent other forces are either contributing to or challenging women's empowerment. These interviews included representatives from the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the Liberian legislature, the Liberian National Police, Liberian public officials, international humanitarian NGOs, religious groups, peacemaking organizations, and local women's organizations. Through these interviews, I gained perspective on the plethora of complimentary and contrasting factors supporting and competing with the impacts of the Indian FFPU, which allowed me to more effectively evaluate the impact of the FFPU in isolation from these other factors.

Liberia's Civil Crisis

Once a prosperous African nation, Liberia's previous citizens would hardly recognize their nation, which was torn apart by civil war and strife. Emblazed on public buildings and printed on official documents is the Liberian national motto: "The love of liberty brought us here."[140] Unfortunately, the majority of Liberians have never experienced true liberty having spent decades oppressed by an ethnic elite, terrorized by fourteen years of civil war, and now struggling to rebuild their nation from the ashes of violence and chaos. Liberia suffered two consecutive civil wars between 1989 and 2003, which destroyed much of the nation's infrastructure, severely damaged the economy, resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians, and displaced of many more civilians both internally and externally into the surrounding nations. Although the wars began as a power struggle after a coup d'état removed the president, the violence quickly

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[140] Bram Posthumus, The Making of Liberia, *Index of Censorship*, 19.

escalated as a result of numerous rebel groups vying for political power, a fight to control the nation's resources, ethnic rivalries and tensions, and influences from other nations.

In 2003, the various factions and rebel groups signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Accra, Ghana, which created the Liberian National Transition Government to govern the country until January 2006 when President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was democratically elected.[141] Shortly after the peace accord was signed, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established by Security Council Resolution 1509 on September 19th 2003. As a stabilization force, UNMIL's purpose was to support the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and the peace process, support humanitarian activities, protect government and UN workers, and assist in national security reform, including national police training and the formation of a new military.[142]

Media accounts and histories of the two successive civil wars in Liberia, primarily, if not solely, focus on the men that waged the war, the male president, the boy soldiers, the "princes" of the rebel groups and hardly, if at all, mention the role of women in the conflict. However, women played a vital role during the conflict as fighters, supporters, and peacemakers. During the war, many women participated directly as combatants or supported rebel forces as cooks and bush wives, both voluntarily and non-voluntarily. Furthermore, even if women were not directly involved in the conflict, many women supported the conflict and encouraged the combatants.

In a way, the war represented an opportunity for women to assert their capabilities and challenge gender roles. Traditional Liberian society often discriminated

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[141] "A Short History of the Conflict in Liberia and the Involvement of NGOs in the Peace Proccess," *World Movement for Democracy*, http://www.wmd.org/resources/whats-being-done/ngo-participation-peace-negotiations/history-conflict-liberia

[142] U.N. Security Council, 4830th Meeting. "Resolution 1509" *(S/Res/1509 (2003).* 19 September 2003. Official Record.

against women by restricting their roles in society to those of mothers or agricultural

workers, denying them the right to own land, and enforcing morality ideals through

female genital mutilation (FGM).[143] However, with some women actively carrying arms

during the war and with others having to take on masculine roles in the absence of the

community's men, Liberian women were able to challenge and overcome some gender

discrimination. A local Liberian woman described how the wars and the ensuing

upheaval of daily life changed gender relations and provided an opportunity for women

to step into nontraditional roles:

> When the civil war came, everything changed. You had to go to war or else you
>
> got killed. If you wanted to protect yourself during the war, you had to join a side.
>
> So a lot of the men who were not able to take arms couldn't work so it was the
>
> women who had to raise the arms for the cause and that trend continued. It
>
> continued long after the war.[144]

However, to picture the civil wars as a time for empowerment for women would be

misleading as women were disproportionately negatively impacted by the war through

the use of rape as a weapon, sexual and gender-based abuse, the destruction of homes and

families, and the projected responsibility of women to continue to protect the family once

men were enlisted as soldiers, killed, or fled. Furthermore, women and children were the

majority of refugees and internally displaced persons during the war.[145]

During the negotiations to end the first civil war, women were largely excluded

from both formal peace processes and informal NGO initiatives. Not only did this

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[143] Ayodeji Olunkoju, *Culture and Customs of Liberia*, (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press 2006).

[144] Summer 2013 Interview with Liberian Women's Rights Advocate

[145] George Kieh, "Ending Liberia's Second Civil War: Religious Women as Peacemakers," *Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs,* 7.

contribute to an unstable peace, but it also encouraged groups of women to mobilize to demand their voices be heard. For example, the West Africa Network for Peacebulding (WANEP) was founded in 1998 to promote a better understanding of women's experiences in war and their contributions to peace processes[146] Women continued to campaign for peace during the second civil war when a coalition of religious women formed the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace movement, which pressured Charles Taylor to join the peace talks in 2003.[147] However, even after the peace agreement was signed, the women of Liberia were not satisfied to return to the background, but continued to push for their inclusion in both formal and informal peace processes, including Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programs and government reforms.[148]

UNMIL and the Indian FFPU

Eleven years after the ceasefire, UNMIL remains an important presence in Liberia as the mission works to restore the government, infrastructure, and security in the nation. Originally authorized to deploy with a troop strength of up to 15,000 and a large number of civilian and support staff, UNMIL was designed as a multidimensional operation to enforce the ceasefire, coordinate humanitarian and development activities, and assist with

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[146] Ibid. 6.
[147] Dorina Bekoe and Christina Parajon, "Women's Role in Liberia's Reconstruction," *United Stated Institute of Peace* (2007).
[148] Ibid.

governmental reform.[149] Furthermore, UNMIL was the first UN peacekeeping mission to explicitly include gender into its mandate,[150] which according to UNMIL:

> Reaffirm[s] the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and post-conflict peace-building in accordance with resolution 1325 (2000), recalls the need to address violence against women and girls as a tool of warfare, and encourages UNMIL as well as the Liberian parties to actively address these issues.[151]

As part of this mandate, UNMIL included a senior gender advisor as part of the Office of the SRSG and established an Office of the Gender Advisor (OGA) to support the gender mainstreaming of Liberian institutions.[152] The OGA actively worked to integrate gender mainstreaming into the various processes and programs associated with UNMIL's operation and encourage the restored Liberian public institutions to do the same.

According to UNDPKO's Progress Report on Peacekeeping Best Practices, these efforts included significant outreach to women during the DDR process, including the first instance of a "Women Associated with Fighting Forces" (WAFF) category to ensure that women were not excluded from the process, the establishment of a Gender Policy for the National Police and a gender training manual for police training programs, the establishment of the Women and Children's Unit in the Liberian National Police, large-

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[149] "UNMIL Background," *UNMIL United Nations Mission in Liberia.*
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/background.shtml
[150] United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Operations Progress Report.*
[151] U.N. Security Council, 4830th Meeting. "Resolution 1509" *(S/Res/1509 (2003).*
[152] "UNMIL Background," *UNMIL United Nations Mission in Liberia.*

scale advocacy campaigns for women's rights, extensive advising to reform the Rape Law in Liberia, and similar activities.[153]

UNMIL's mandate has been extended several times since 2003 and in recent years, the mandate's focus shifted to transitioning the control of the nation to the Liberian government. Announcing its intended departure from the country in the next few years, UNMIL has initiated a drawback and reduced the number of troops on the ground and focused its efforts on reforming Liberian public offices.[154] According to current plans, UNMIL hopes to reduce its military presence to 3,750 military personnel, but also plans to increase the number of police personnel by sending an additional 3 FPUs.[155] The most recent renewal was established by Resolution 2116 (2013) on September 18th, which emphasized the need for the Liberian government to assume responsibility of the nation's security, and called for further strengthening of the LNP.[156] Moreover, the Resolution strongly urged for more attention to be paid to the gender-based abuses in Liberia and called for the government to end impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence. Furthermore, the Resolution reiterated the import role women play in security, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution and called for the government and UNMIL to continue to encourage women's participation in these processes.[157]

To assist UNMIL in establishing and maintaining security, the United Nations Police (UNPOL) component includes eight Formed Police Units, which respond to civil

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[153]United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, *Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Operations Progress Report*

[154] "Liberia Mission Renewal: Phase Two of Drawdown Begins, *What's In Blue,* http://www.whatsinblue.org/2013/09/liberia-mandate-renewal-drawdown-phase-two.php

[155] "Frequently Asked Questions," *UNMIL United Nations Mission in Liberia* http://unmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=5361&language=en-US

[156] United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 2116 (2013)*. 2116 (2013)

[157] Ibid.

disorder and support the LNP and are the only armed police units of UNPOL.[158]

Currently, there are two FPU's from Jordan, three FPU's from Nepal, one FPU from

Nigeria and two FPU's from India, including the Female Formed Police Unit, which was

deployed in 2007. The FFPU consists of around 100 female police officers and several

male support staff every year. As of the summer of 2013, the current FPU consisted of

105 female officers and 5 male support staff, including a driver, a chef, and logistics

personnel.[159] Similarly, all-male FPUs contain male officers and various female support

staff. All the FPUs follow the same mandate to support the LNP through joint patrol

support, joint exercises, technical advice to the LNP, raid response, the escorting of

important officials, prison security and escort, and the protection of government

facilities.[160] Therefore, FPUs participate in the same general activities, although their

tasks may differ slightly, for example in which government facility they protect or in

which prison they work.

Furthermore, FPUs participate in community outreach hoping to increase public

confidence and trust in law enforcement officers. While not officially mandated, FPUs

are highly encouraged by UNPOL to create community outreach programs to improve

engagement with the local population and increase security. These activities include

neighborhood clean ups, school visits, public appearances at civic events, LNP

recruitment drives, and free medical clinics. Although early reports claimed that the

Indian FFPU was the only FPU participating in outreach projects, all eight FPUs now

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[158] "UN Police Component," *UNMIl United Nations Mission in Liberia,*
    http://unmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3959&language=en-US
[159] 2013 Summer Interview with UNMIL Representative
[160] "UN Police Component," *UNMIl United Nations Mission in Liberia,*

engage in community outreach.[161] The impetus for the increase in community outreach

programs is unclear as to whether other FPUs elected to launch similar programs to those

of the Indian FFPU or if it was mandated by UNPOL. Once again, the specific

community outreach activities of the FPUs may differ slightly. For example, the Indian

FFPU often specifically targets women with its activities through visits to women's

prisons, clinics which specialize in pregnancy, and dance classes.[162] Overall, while the

FFPU's activities and task may differ slightly for reasons both related to the gender of the

officers and for unrelated reasons, the FFPU shares the same mandate and general roles

and duties as its male counterparts.

Impact of FFPU on Local Community – Interview Analysis

The Indian FFPU's relatively long-term deployment in Liberia, in comparison

with other FPUs, both male and female, in other missions, presents a unique opportunity

to observe the unit's impacts in the local community as the unit has had time to establish

itself, the community has adjusted to the unit's presence, and any potential impacts have

likely matured and taken hold within the community. The majority, about two-thirds, of

participants asked in the Liberian case study were aware of the unit's presence, had

positive reactions to it and opined that the unit had a positive impact on women's

empowerment. However, participants voiced varying degrees of approval with some

espousing the success of the unit directly led to the recruitment of hundreds of women

into the security sectors with others indifferently claiming that the unit may have had an

impact, but a negligible one. Contrastingly, there were several participants who critiqued

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[161] Ibid.
[162] Summer 2013 Interview with UNPOL (Participant 15)

the media hype surrounding the FFPU and claimed that the unit was no different than male units or that its influence was limited to a very small percentage of the Liberian population. Therefore, while the majority of persons interviewed indicated that the FFPU had a positive impact on women in society, there was no clear overwhelming opinion or consistent narrative.

Context

As stated, the Indian FFPU's work operates in conjunction with various factors, forces, and programs that target or effect women. This includes a plethora of other gender mainstreaming programs and policies, but also contextual factors, such as domestic politics, economics, and social and cultural traditions that may hamper women's empowerment. Women's issues have been a major focus of the international donor community, prompting hundreds of programs to be executed with the aim of providing services to women. According to interviews,[163] most women's programs focused on skill-building and capacity building, especially with low-skilled women. However, during interviews, several participants[164] identified this international "fad" of women's issues to be a potential source of future challenges as many of the programs focus on short-term impacts, rather than establishing mechanisms to institutionalize and sustain the impact. Therefore, the concern is that once donors stop focusing on women's empowerment or if

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[163]Summer 2013 Interview with Representatives from six Women's Organizations (Participants 2, 6, 10, 11, 17, 31) UN Women Personnel (Participant 42), a Religious Organization (Participant 10), and the Swedish Embassy (Participant 23)

[164] Summer 2013 Interview with representatives from Women's Organizations (Participants 17 and 26), Ministry of Gender (Participant 22), UNMIL (Participants 32 and 40)

their attention is drawn away from Liberia to another country, the funds and programs

will leave with them.

In addition to this concern that could threaten women's empowerment success,

interview participants identified several other factors that challenge women's

empowerment, many of which are beyond the mandate, let alone the ability of the FFPU

to address. The most frequently cited concern among participants was a lack of education

among women and girls.[165] A representative from an international humanitarian group

explained the problem by saying:

> The country has come from a period of conflict and instability. That essentially
>
> has an effect on many things in the lives of women. First and foremost is
>
> education. 14 years is almost, if not certainly, a quarter of a woman's life …so the
>
> instability has caused the women a disservice because of not having the
>
> opportunity to get an education. And not only to get an education but to get
>
> quality education that would enable them to compete with others on equal footing,
>
> on equal standing.[166]

Without education, women are largely unable to empower themselves and to compete

with men for opportunities and services. Furthermore, uneducated disadvantaged girls are

more susceptible to end up on the streets and be sexually exploited.[167] In this way, even if

the FFPU were to spur a desire for women's empowerment, it would still be difficult for

women to act upon that inspiration as their lack of education would prevent them from

pursuing opportunities. This highlights the structural challenges that deny women access

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[165] See Appendix

[166] Summer 2013 Interview with Representative from International Humanitarian Organization (Participant 21)

[167] Summer 2013 Interview with Representative from Women's Organization (Participant 11)

to entry points into institutions and public positions, which further inhibits women's

empowerment as a result of the lack of visibility of women in the public realm and also

the underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions.

Similarly, another area of concern identified by interview participants was

teenaged pregnancy, which was the largest cause of young girls to drop out of school.

The rate of unintended teenaged pregnancy is 35% in Liberia, but the entire amount of

teenaged pregnancy is larger as many girls marry as teens, which does not contribute to

the "unintended" pregnancy category.[168] A representative of a religious organization that

worked closely with women's empowerment program explained:

> We have a problem with teenaged pregnancy…When a girl gets in the sixth grade
>
> and she gets pregnant she [doesn't] reach high school and after having a child she
>
> [doesn't] have the support to support the child. So we have a lot of teenagers who
>
> have dropped out because they have kids.[169]

As women are expected to be the primary care giver to their children, when girls and

young women become pregnant, they must leave school to take care of their child as "the

identity of being a mother overrides the identity as a [student]."[170] Once a girl drops out

of school because she has become pregnant, she will likely not return to school. Teen

pregnancy, expectations that young girls will forego their education to raise their

children, and a lack of community commitment to support the children of young mothers

to help the mothers return to school further contributes to the major educational challenge

to women in Liberia. This lack of education largely dictates the young women's entire

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[168] Summer 2013 Interview with Peace Corps Volunteer (Participant 7)
[169] Summer 2013 Interview with representative of Religious Organization (Participant 10)
[170] Summer 2013 Interview with Peace Corps Volunteer (Participant 7)

lives and restricts them to more traditional and private lives, or, if they are able to enter the professional workforce, confines them to lower-level positions.

Another major problem identified by participants was cultural traditions that dictated gender relations and gender roles. The most prominently mentioned of these was female genital mutilation (FGM)[171] and traditional cultural groups, such as the Sandee Society for women and the Poro society for men.[172] While several participants claimed that Liberian society in general was welcoming to women's empowerment,[173] many identified that men and women committed to cultural traditions often resisted challenges to culturally established gender roles.[174] This highlights another area in which the FFPU may be less capable to encourage women's empowerment as these cultural traditions have proven to be resilient to the short-term influence of foreign presence. Furthermore, traditional practices are more entrenched in rural communities where gender inequality is high and gender programming to promote women's empowerment is limited. This urban-rural divide results in the capital, Monrovia, witnessing an influx of donor funding and gender-focused programming, and becoming more gender equitable, while the rural areas continue to perpetuate traditional gender norms. While the FFPU, stationed in Monrovia, may achieve success in promoting women's empowerment in the city where the local community is already familiar with gender programming and "progressive" in their

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[171] Summer 2013 Interviews with Ministry of Gender (Participants 22 and 27) , international humanitarian organization (Participant 21), and UNMIL (Participants 24 and 43).
[172] Summer 2013 Interviews with UNMIL representatives (Participants 24 ,40 and 42) and Ministry of Gender representative (Participant 27)
[173] Summer 2013 Interviews with Representatives from UNMIL (15, 18, 24, and 43), Domestic Women's Organizations (Participants 6, 10, and 29), and International Humanitarian Organizations (Participants 30, 31, 33), U.S. Military Observer (Participant 1), Ministry of Gender (Participant 27)
[174] Summer 2013 Interviews with Representatives of Religious Organization (Participant 10), UNMIL Human Rights and Protection Section (Participant 43), UN Women (Participant 42), and UNMIL Field Support (Participant 40)

conceptions of gender roles, its impact does not extend into rural communities where the greatest inequality exists.

Lastly, several participants believed that, as a result of many of the before stated factors, women do not have the ability to act as agents and negotiate their place within society. In some ways, this is reflected in women's choice to remove themselves out of the public life as they do not feel comfortable there.[175] For example, a Peace Corps Volunteer reflected that based on her experience teaching in a classroom, she observed that "[Women] don't have much experience handling the male-dominated public life...I feel [men] do want more female participation in public life, but the females often find the high-flying topics of conversations about politics to have little relevance to their lives." As many women are limited to the private sphere and are viewed as a "weaker vessel,"[176] there is, "[an] inability of women to negotiate their places and spaces in Liberia because their inability, or their unequal power relations, so to speak, of negotiation power in Liberia."[177] Therefore, until women are more involved in the public sphere and develop the tools and skills needed to effectively campaign for their own interests, they risk remaining as a second tier group in society.

It is important to remain conscious of these challenges and factors that influence women's empowerment and may impact the FFPU's ability to encourage women's empowerment. In the following sections, I discuss the impacts of the FFPUs on women's empowerment efforts as identified by interview participants.

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[175] Summer 2013 interview with Representatives from U.S. military (Participant 1), Religious Organization (Participant 10), Ministry of Gender (Participant 22)
[176] Summer 2013 Interview with Liberian Legislature representative (Participant 28)
[177] Summer 2013 Interview with International Humanitarian worker (Participant 21)

Impact as Role Models

The FFPU's most dramatic impact, based upon interview responses, appears to be its role in challenging traditional female roles with the female officers acting as role models to encourage local women to join the security sector, or more broadly to simply pursue their interests in the public sphere that may or may not correspond with traditional female roles. Most specifically, the unit's presence led to an increase in the number of women interested in joining the security sector. In Liberian society, as in the majority of societies, the security sector is viewed as a traditionally male field and women are often barred from joining due to social expectations. However, participants argued by seeing the Indian FFPU, Liberian women are exposed to women in uniform and this may have an inspirational effect on those women.[178]

This impact was most strongly witnessed through several interview participants' mention of an "If they can do it, I can do it" mentality. For example, a member of a local community-based women's organization in Congotown explained, "Our girls look at them and think if these people can do that, maybe I can do that."[179] Another women's organization representative supported the direct connection between the unit and their position as role models by saying, "[The FFPU] serve[s] as a prop for the Liberian women to see that you can be anything you want to be, all you have to do is to take that step."[180] This same perspective was echoed further by another prominent member of a large women's organization who explained "[The FFPU] has helped out young women to

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[178] Summer 20133 Interviews with Representatives of Women's Organizations (Participants 6, 11, 17, and 29), UNMIL (Participants 16, 18, 19, and 20), and Ministry of Gender (Participant 22)

[179] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's and Children's Organization (Participant 17)

[180] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 29)

help them understand that you can be anything once you are determined."[181] The

respondent than contrasted this type of encouraged thinking with typical complacent

mentalities among Liberian women, which often discourages them from pursuing

opportunities.

Applying the distinction between passive and active representation, these

interviews indicate that the FFPU's most potent effect may come from its passive

representation as the unit's female officers performed their daily duties, which inspired

local women to believe they too can pursue traditionally male-dominated careers. Several

accounts[182] recall the local community's bewildered and amazed response to the unit's

arrival with people traveling miles simply to stand across the street and watch as the

Indian FFPU guarded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this way, the Indian police

officers are acting as role models and challenging gender norms simply by fulfilling their

duties. This perspective emphasizes that the unit's benefits arise largely from the officer's

ability to perform the same duties as male officers and not because they act differently

than men. Furthermore, the stunning visual impact of the FFPU speaks to the benefit of

the deployment of an all-female unit as a mixed-gender unit where women are not as

represented may not have as strong of an optical effect.

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[181] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 11)
[182] Summer 2013 Interview with representatives from Women's Organization (Participant 17) and Ministry of Gender (Participant 27)

Impact on the De-stigmatization of the Security Sector

Moreover, the Indian FFPU acted not only as role models, but also contributed to the destigmatization of women in security and of the security field in general. Although many Liberian women had contributed to the war effort in various forms, many had held arms illegally and their "illegitimate" status as arms bearers was further enforced by the exclusion of many women from DDR programs. Therefore, although Liberian society is not unfamiliar with the sight of an armed woman, these images were often accompanied by uncomfortable memories and a rejection of women's demonstrated ability to bear arms.

With the arrival of the Indian FFPU, these negative perceptions began to ease as people saw "women dressed smartly in uniform and carrying legitimate guns."[183] Not only does this help "destigmatize" former female combatants, but it also demonstrates to the locals that women are capable of carrying and using weapons and can be endowed with responsibilities that men are given. In addition, the unit increased the acceptance of women in the military and in the police force by demonstrating the equal capabilities of men and women in the security sector and accustoming locals to seeing women in security positions. Furthermore, the Indian FFPU is stationed in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which houses the Office of the President. Having women guard the highest office in the nation further supports the perception that women are just as capable as men to serve in security. The commander at the time of the interview of the Indian FFPU explained the impact of the unit's activities on local women by saying,

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[183] Summer 2013 Interview with Commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18).

"Seeing the Indian female FPU encourages them to join the uniformed services especially when they see us standing in front of the ministry of foreign affairs we become a symbol of inspiration for the women here and the restructure rebuilding of Liberia is in progress. Seeing us in uniform and holding arms, legally holding arms, because they used to see illegally holding arms and they had woman who were actively participating in the civil wars so in a sense we give a sense of legal empowerment."[184]

This growing shift in the way the population views women in the security sector represents an important step in the rebuilding process of the security institutions and the nation in general, emphasizing long-term change occurring. As security officers were some of the main perpetrators of violence and crime during the war, especially gender-based violence, public opinion of these institutions remained very low and often hostile. According to a WPS advocate in Liberia, women continue to view the army as "killers" and therefore, it is vital to convince them that the army and police are there to protect the women.[185] To combat these negative perceptions and increase community trust in the security sector, many policymakers advocate increasing the number of women in the field as women are perceived as being less corrupt and more peaceful than men. During the portion of the interviews designed to gauge the perceptions of women in peacemaking held by local Liberians, multiple participants identified women as being naturally more peaceful than men and better able to negotiate a situation without violence. For example, the representative from the OGA explained, "[Women] are more peaceful than men and secondly, I think they actually know how to get, get information because you know

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[184] Ibid.
[185] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 17)

sometimes the male can be harsh."[186] This sentiment was echoed by the Indian FFPU commander,

> "We women, we try to solve certain things by verbal communication, it's through nature, it is engrained characteristic of women. Men if they are angry they result to fisting around with each other, but we women, we believe in verbal communication and association so in that sense in this part of our work helps us on the ground as well."[187]

As an illustration of the importance of incorporating women into the security sector for the before stated reasons, the director of a women's organization[188] who has been actively involved in the recruitment process of women for security institutions recounted a story between a mother and daughter who wanted to join the Army, but her mother adamantly opposed as she had been raped by an army officer during the war. During a mediation session between the two, the mother demanded to know why the daughter would want to join the same institution where the man came from who had hurt her so badly. To this her daughter responded, "So that I can make sure no one ever hurts you or another woman again."[189] This anecdote exemplifies the negative perception toward the security sector, but also the belief that increased numbers of women will prevent further abuses and the changing perspectives, especially among young people, towards the acceptance of women in security. The commander of the Indian FFPU commented on the perceived and observed difference between male and female officers by saying,

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[186] Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL OGA representative (Participant 20)
[187] Summer 2013 Interview with Commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18)
[188] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 17)
[189] Ibid

"We are not conscious of our femininity, but we make it our strength because, of course, if we are physically compared with our male counterparts, we are not physically as strong as them, but we try to be emotionally stronger than them…To some extent the physical strength emits fear because…[physical strength] is naturally seen as fierce." [190]

Female officers are often automatically assumed to be less intimidating than male officers, which could change public perceptions of police officers from negative to positive. Whether or not there is empirical evidence to support this assumption of female peacefulness, the perception that an increase in female officers leads to a more peaceful security force is still important as it will dictate community interactions with police. However, the conceptualization of feminine values as a "strength," combined with the desiring to be seen as equitable to and as effective as men, highlights a tension and contradiction in the experience of FFPUs. Officers in FFPUs are expected to be both essentially feminine, in expectations that they will be more peaceful, less aggressive, and more concerned for women's issues than men, but still, comparable and equal to male officers in FPUs in their duties and mandate.

Impact on Female Recruitment into the LNP

As mentioned, the majority of interview participants asked believed that the presence of the Indian FFPU and its interactions with the local population impacted in some way public perceptions and the resulting increase in the recruitment of women into the police force. Furthermore, two of the respondents recalled the first day of women-

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[190] Summer 2013 Interview with commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18)

targeted recruitment for the LNP after the arrival of the FFPU when women lined up for several street blocks to register.[191] This would have been a stark contrast to previous recruitments before the units' arrival when women only composed 2% of the LNP and the majority of women did not show much interest in the security sector. This may indicate that by seeing the Indian FFPU police officers performing their duties, Liberian women felt as though they too are entitled and welcome to work in the security field. After this initial increase in the number of women in the LNP, it is possible that the impact was magnified as the reach of the women went beyond the FFPU and extended as each new female LNP officer interacted with and inspired other women.

Interestingly, although the FFPU's contribution to the increase of female police officers in the LNP has been praised, the sudden and large increase of female recruits into the LNP may have triggered some unintended results, which harmed women's empowerment efforts instead of supporting them. In 2007, to quickly and efficiently increase the number of women in the security sector, UNMIL, with the support of the Indian FFPU, sponsored a recruitment program which recruited and trained over 300 Liberian women in a period of several months. This initial and subsequent recruitment programs increased the number of women in the police force by 15% to 17%.[192] However, simply increasing the numbers of women in the police force may not indicate that successful gender mainstreaming and female empowerment has occurred. Contrastingly, many anecdotes from those closely involved in the recruitment process indicate that this rapid and expedited recruitment of women into the police force has led to unintended negative results.

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[191] Summer 2013 Interview with Representatives from USAID (Representative 13) and Women's Organizations (Participants 11 and 17)
[192] Bacon, "Liberia Leans In," *Foreign Policy* (2013).

A representative of UNMIL's UNPOL identified a "caste system" atmosphere that has developed within the LNP between qualified officers and the less qualified new female recruits.[193] She claimed that as improperly trained and less educated women are being recruited, they are simultaneously reinforcing stereotypes against women in the security forces as they appear less capable of performing their responsibilities. Originally in an attempt to raise the percentage of female police officers in the force, the LNP lowered the qualifications for women to join, waiving the high school diploma requirement as the majority of Liberian women did not and continue to not achieve that level of education. UNMIL and the Indian FFPU began to reach out to local women, even those who were not qualified according to traditional standards, to encourage them to join the police force, with the promise of skills and literacy training.

To compensate for the lowered education of the recruits, UNMIL set up an expedited schooling program, called the Educational Support Program (ESP) to quickly educate women in certain key areas pertaining to their police duties during a three month period. However, the ESP lacked a comprehensive nature and did not properly prepare the new recruits. The UNPOL representative reflected that "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 females who had high school certification and those women." The less educated women are obviously less prepared and poorly trained compared to previously recruited more educated women who had been held to the same standards as male officers. This not only degraded the new recruits' status within the police force, but also reinforced stereotypes that women are

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[193]Summer 2013 Interview with UNPOL Gender Advisor (Participant 15)

less capable within the security field as the number of unqualified women greatly surpassed the number of qualified women.

Furthermore, the focus on quantity rather than quality led to the public's further disillusioned perception of women in the police force as unqualified female officers proved to be less effective than their male counterparts and failed to live up to the expectations of those who believed female officers would be more responsible, trustworthy, or concerned about crimes against women. For example, one member of civil society and the leader of a WPS group admitted that while she had always adamantly believed that women were inherently less corrupt than men, her belief had weakened slightly after witnessing female police officers to be just as willing to accept bribes as their male counterparts.[194] Furthermore, female police officers have not necessarily proved to be more competent at handling cases of sexual and gender-based violence as they lack specific training and instead are expected to rely on their assumed femininity and its corresponding compassion for other women. This lack of effectiveness dealing with the crimes they were specifically recruited to combat has further undermined the presumed positive impacts of increasing the percentage of women in the police force.

Furthermore, opinions differed on the degree of the correlation between the Indian FFPU's presence and the increase of female police recruits. About half of those who believed there was a correlation thought that the correlation was strong and direct; that women were seeing or interacting with the Indian FFPU and this directly encouraged women's empowerment in security. A representative of UNMIL acknowledged the importance of increased numbers of women in the security sector, but also the need for a

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[194] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 17)

larger effort by explaining, "Of course that is not the way you get women's empowerment entirely, but it is an indicator of women beginning to think it is something they can do or it is socially acceptable to do."[195] In this view, held by several other case study participants,[196] by acting as role models for young women, especially those who have had very few opportunities in their lives, the Indian FFPU may be inspiring women to challenge gender roles and assumptions, whether or not they involve joining the security sector.

Others doubted the direct connection between the unit and women's empowerment in the security field, but conceded that there may be some indirect connection. For example, when asked about the impact of the unit on local women, the director of a local women's and children's organization responded,

> "I think that they are having impact because I am finding that there are a lot of girls that are volunteering to join the force; they want to join the police, and they want to join the army so I believe somehow they must have had some impact. Maybe it might not be direct."[197]

A small number of participants were unaware of the FFPU. Others did not believe that the FFPU had much of an impact, if any, on women's empowerment overall. For example, a representative of UNMIL denied that the all-female FFPU had a direct role in women's empowerment, but did concede that the unit served to inspire Liberian women to join the police. The respondent argued that the FFPU's usefulness to women was limited to acting as role models for local women to join the security sector. The

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[195]Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL Office of SRSG Representative (Participant 16)

[196] Summer 2013 Interviews with UNMIL OSRSG Representative (Participant 16), UNPOL Gender Advisor (Participant 15), Women's Organizations (Participants 11, 17, and 29)

[197] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Organization (Participant 17)

respondent claimed that "I personally don't think that an all-female FPU has any particular other than the obvious and of course a certain element of benefit in terms of acting as role models for local women."[198] The respondent further reported a belief that the FFPU did not have other impacts that distinguished it from other male FPUs or other female peacekeepers, both civilian and military.

> "One you have to look at what the FPU is doing, the FPU is not fighting crime…
> FPUs are riot police to put it simply. The FPUs are sometimes doing night
> patrolling and security and showing visibility around high crime area. Of course
> there will be some relationship between those roles and crime in those areas going
> down. I think it would be a stretch to say that there because they are women doing
> that that there is any difference."[199]

This is a notable departure from common perceptions of the FFPU held by interview participants and by scholars who believe that the FFPU's femininity directly impacts their interaction with the community, which results in the variety of impacts as stated before, such as lowered crime rates, increased SGBV reporting, etc. However, this opinion of the secondary importance of gender to other factors is not isolated as several other interview participants emphasized that the training of an officer overrides the officer's gender.[200]Along this line of thinking, the Indian FFPU's actions would pale in their importance in comparison with other UN peacekeepers, LNP officers, or project implementers who are trained in gender issues.

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[198] Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL OSRSG Representative (Participant 16)
[199] Ibid
[200] Summer 2013 Interview with Ministry of Gender Representative (Participant 27), UNMIL UNPOL
Gender Advisor (Participant 15), Executive Director of Women's Leadership Organization
(Participant 17)

Impact Through Community Engagement

Moreover, the all-female FPU was also often credited by participants with being especially involved in the community through various outreach programs.[201] As previously mentioned, the FFPU hosts a medical clinic, visit female prison inmates, and teaches dance lessons at a local school to help encourage cooperation between boys and girls and cultural appreciation. Furthermore, one participant recalled when the FFPU participated in a community cleanup in Congotown.[202] This cleanup was not a mandated activity, but one which the FFPU elected to participate in. The participant acknowledged that she was not aware if other male FPUs were also involved in community cleanup projects, but she found it to be especially notable to see the FFPU doing such work.

It is interesting to note that in several interviews, the participants stressed that the medical clinics offer medical services to women, especially pregnant women, and children.[203] However, in the interview with the Indian FFPU, the commander did not mention any services at the clinic specifically catered towards women or children.[204] Instead, the commander and others within UNMIL emphasized that the Indian FFPU is not unique in its community outreach efforts, but that all UNMIL FPUs are engaged in various community projects. For example, one member of UNMIL explained"

We have seven others (FPUs) and they are all doing the same. They may not have

the dance class or the hospital stuff, but they are also providing medical

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[201] Summer 2013 Interview with Indian FFPU Commander (Participant 18), UNMIL UNPOL Gender
    Advisor (Participant 15), and Executive Director of a religious women's organization (Participant 11)
[202] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of a religious women's organization (Participant 11)
[203] Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL UNPOL Gender Advisor (Participant 15) and Women's
    Organization representative (Participant 11)
[204] Summer 2013 Interview with commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18)

assistance. They painting hospitals, movable schools and so on…So that is all

they do. They (FFPU) are not doing more, they are in the same line. [205]

This appears to highlight a tension between a desire for the FFPU to remain uniquely

feminine and concerned for women's issues, and simultaneously a desire for the FFPU to

not appear different than its male counterparts.

Additionally, the Indian FFPU and other UNMIL representatives stressed that

while the unit may have a special impact on the community due to their status as the only

all-female unit, their mandate was not specifically gendered and was the exact same as

the male FPUs. [206]The Indian FPU's commander explained,

> "No, we are not gender specific. It is only that our women officers are deployed
>
> with this combination of women only… They deploy for the public. The public is
>
> comprised of both males and females, it is not a women centric public. So we
>
> perform the tasks that the other FPUs perform."[207]

The Indian FFPU performs the same roles, has the same mandate as male FPUs, and does

not perform any specifically gendered role. While some claim that this demonstrates the

equality between male and female units, some participants in the case study lamented this

as it prevented the Indian FFPU from being more involved in women's empowerment.[208]

For example, one participant from a women's organization that is often involved

in the recruitment and training of female security personnel, explained that when the

FFPU first arrived they had much more interaction with local women and were a larger

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[205] Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL UNPOL Gender Advisor (Participant 15)

[206] Summer 2013 Interview with UNMIL UNPOL Gender Advisor (Participant 15) and Commander of
Indian FFPU (Participant 18)

[207] Summer 2013 Interview with Commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18)

[208] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Leadership Organization (Participant 17),
Executive Director of Women's AIDs organization (Participant 26)

part of the recruitment process.[209] Now that the FFPU focuses more on their mandated responsibilities, which does not include attending to female security recruitment, they are less involved in the recruitment and training of female officers. The participant saw this as one of the reasons that some young female recruits were not as invested in the process and more likely to drop out of training programs or more susceptible to corruption.[210] This contrasts earlier evidence that passive representation by the FFPU was sufficient to spur change and indicates that in order to effectively promote women's empowerment and encourage the increased participation of women in the security sector, FFPU members should be more actively involved in the process. However, this is problematic as it would potentially designate the FFPU to "women's" activities and harm the unit's desire to appear equal to its male counterparts.

Critiques of the FFPU

One of the most prominent critiques of the Indian FFPU voiced by interview participants is that the FFPU not only limited by its mandate, which prevents gender-focused activities, but also by its location. The unit is stationed in Monrovia and while this allows the unit to be exposed to the largest number of people at one time as the capital has the largest population of any Liberian city, it also leaves the majority of the Liberian people unaware of and unaffected by its presence. Liberia's population is largely rural based and therefore, an overwhelming proportion of the population has had no contact with the all-female FPU.

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[209] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's Leadership Organization (Participant 17)
[210] Summer 2013 Interview with Executive Director of Women's and Children's Organization (Participant 6)

The FFPU commander recognized this shortcoming by explaining, "It might affect the people who are living in the city of Monrovia but in the remote areas and counties it is another entirely different scenario."[211] This is particularly concerning as it is in the rural areas that gender inequality is at the highest. In contrast, the population of Monrovia is more educated and more tolerant toward gender equality. Therefore, it could be argued that while the FFPU may be able to be more successful in encouraging the recruitment of women into the security sector in Monrovia where women already have a foothold, their presence would be most beneficial in the rural area where the population has had very little to no contact with female security officers. However, it is important to note that as of the time of the interview, the Indian FFPU had been reaching out to the Ministry of Gender to increase its active interaction with local and more rural women and increase number of outreach projects to target these groups of women who would otherwise not have had direct contact with the FFPU.[212]

Furthermore, in an interview with the Gender Affairs Office of the LNP, the question of the FFPU's value in comparison with that of local female officers was raised as it is possible that local female officers would be more likely to inspire their fellow Liberian women. When asked about the impact of the Indian FFPU, the LNP officer replied,

> There is not much impact [on the part of the FFPU] because we already have
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> female in the emergency response unit. We have the police officer unit. We have

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[211] Summer 2013 Interview with Commander of Indian FFPU (Participant 18)
[212] Ibid.

females inside too. So definitely, they carry long range, we carry long range, we

carry short range…. They are female, we are female."[213]

This indicated that the LNP and its female officers may be desirous to distinguish

themselves from the Indian FFPU to emphasize their own capacity as police officers. It is

also possible that the FFPU's foreign nature causes a degree of friction, or at least a

degree of separation, between the local women and the unit. Furthermore, this emphasis

on the equality between the importance of the Indian FFPU and regular LNP officers,

calls into question the importance of having an all-female formed unit instead of focusing

on female police and peacekeepers being integrated into the system. If local female

officers prove to be more effective in promoting women's empowerment and addressing

women's issues as a result of their improved knowledge of local culture, the unequal

focus on the FFPU's work and impact may misplace funds and media attention. Increased

funding for the LNP could result in improved training and recruitment procedures for

female officers, improving their interactions with the local community and eliminate the

challenges outlined earlier of incapable female officers.

Overall, while there appears to be a general consensus among those interviewed

that there is a demonstrated connection between the Indian FFPU and women's

empowerment based on various indicators, but most significantly the increase of women

in the security sector, there were several participants who were disillusioned with the

impacts of the FFPU and denied the importance of their presence. As previously

mentioned, about 2/3 of participants interviewed responded positively about the work of

the FFPU. In the remaining 1/3, half responded that they did not know about the FFPU

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[213] Summer 2013 Interview with LNP Gender Affairs Office (Participant 39)

enough to respond and the other half was unaware of the unit's presence in the country. Many of those in the latter category worked in organizations or offices that did not directly deal with women or security. This finding questions how pervasive the unit's impact is if it is limited to those directly involved within the field of WPS. If the positive impact of the unit to inspire women's empowerment is limited only to those with direct impact with the unit, the majority of the host population remains unaffected, indicating a shift in local perspectives may not have yet occurred, threatening the sustainability of the impact. Of those who responded positively to the FFPU and admitted that their work was having impact, there were those who believed that the current impact was not enough and that the FFPU should do more gender-specific work or be greater involved in the LNP's recruitment and training of female police. This further presents a concern for the sustainability of the unit's ability to promote women's empowerment. Respondents voiced concerns that the unit's impact was limited to their visibility in the society and that more effort was needed on the part of the unit to establish mechanisms that will continue to support women's empowerment after the withdraw of the mission. Lastly, a small minority argued that the FFPU's impacts were unrelated to the officers' gender and denied that the unit contributed to women's empowerment.

Conclusion

Overall, applying a feminist security analysis to the fieldwork interviews highlights both the positive impacts of FFPUs, but also a shortcoming in the extent of the impact and its uncertain sustainability, and a tension between expectations and desires. The interview evidence confirms that in the Liberian context, through passive

representation, the FFPU was able to help shift local perspectives on gender roles to promote greater empowerment among women in the security sector in Monrovia. However, while this indicates a degree of change, the unit's lack of active engagement in gender focused activities represents a lost opportunity for the unit to fortify the women's empowerment ideals their presence has placed in society, degrading the sustainability of impact. Without further strengthening and entrenching these ideals into society through the placement of mechanisms and policies, the impact will likely decline greatly once the FFPU is no longer present and visible in the community.

However, this highlights a tension faced by FFPUs between unrealistic expectations that they should be able to improve gender relations simply as a result of their composition as an all-female unit, and their mandate and desire to be seen as equal to male FPUs. For example, the fact that FFPUs follow the same mandate and perform the same duties as male FPUs, emphasizes that women are as capable as men in the security sector and should be treated as such. However, in the realm of women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming in the local community, FFPUs would be more successful in achieving sustainable change is they included more gender programming in their mandate to increase their direct interaction with the local community and women's empowerment efforts. As of the current structure, FFPUs may inspire a desire for empowerment among local women, but are not involved in bringing that desire to fruition, effectively jeopardizing its continuation.

Therefore, in order for FFPUs to have a sustainable impact on women's empowerment, they would need to play a more active role in creating and supervising mechanisms and policies that would continue the process of women's empowerment that

they sparked. While this questions if FFPUs would be relegated to a feminine role, according to the provisions of SCR 1325, all FPUs, regardless of their gender composition, should actively participate in gender mainstreaming programming activities to engage with the local community through advocacy, community outreach, and the hosting of gender focused programs and support local security institutions in building effective gender policies. Multiple participants in the field study emphasized that in order for women's empowerment to be successful, both men and women must be actively involved. Therefore, if both male and female FPUs incorporated gender activities into their mandate, the efforts for women's empowerment would be more successful and sustainable.

This was demonstrated through the Indian FFPU case study when the unit was able to act as role models to encourage local women to join the security sector. However, the FFPU stopped at this passive representation and did not actively participate in the training of new female recruits. Without continuing their exposure to the well-trained and professional female officers of the Indian FFPU, the new recruits quickly began to lose their dedication to the training or were trained improperly. As the Indian FFPU has been widely regarded as being well-trained and as placing a high emphasis on the importance of proper training, it could be conjectured that if the FFPU had been more involved, they would have not only helped continue to inspire and aid the new female recruits, but that they would have recognized the shortcomings in the expedited training process.

Furthermore, although FFPUs' all-female structure provides a powerful visual impact, in regards to female empowerment, the value of the Indian FFPU appears to be more connected to the increase in the visibility of women, not necessarily the all-female

structure of the unit. While the all-female composition may increase the operational effectiveness of the unit by removing gender barriers to cooperation and increasing the initial "shock value" of the unit,[214] as seen in the local population's initial awed reactions to the unit's presence, it also limits the female officer's interactions with and visual impact on local men and women in other areas to promote women's empowerment. In fact, the concentration of female officers in a single unit reduces the impact of the FFPU to a single geographical area and therefore a single segment of the population. Further, the utility of the visual impact appears to decrease as the host community adjusts to the presence of the unit based on reports and observations that locals no longer stare at, appear awed at, or comment on a daily basis about the FFPU. Therefore, while the visual impact of the all-female composition proves beneficial in the initial stages of the peace mission, its importance wanes on the host community in the immediate area.

Consequently, in order to maximize the impact of increased numbers of female officers, it may be more beneficial to create equal representations of women in other FPUs and other UNPOL positions in which they would be more involved with local citizens, instead of single gender units or almost entirely male units with only one or two female officers or staff. For example, several participants suggested that the individual work of UNMIL personnel in the field in rural areas of Liberia who actively engaged with women was more successful in promoting women's empowerment than the FFPU.[215] Furthermore, while the all-female structure may convince PCCs to develop their own FFPUs and therefore increase the total number of female peacekeepers, local

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[214] However, a similar shock value be achieved if units were gender balanced as a balanced force would still be an unusual site for those who are used to seeing only 2% of women in the police.

[215] Summer 2013 interview with UNMIL Field Officer (Participant 19) and UNMIL Human Rights Officer (Participant 25)

police forces may not have the capacity to form similar all-female units and therefore, local women who may have felt "safer" joining because they saw the FFPU, may reconsider their intention if such a unit does not exist in the domestic force.

In conclusion, if FFPUs are the only way to encourage PCCs to provide more female officers, they retain their value because their presence does challenge gender norms and inspire women. However, as the benefit of the FFPU for women's empowerment seems tied more to the increase of women and not the formed unit, it would be better to have the female officers integrated throughout the mission, more specifically involved with gender-specific programs, or more engaged with local women as this would not only increase the geographical range of the impact, but would also help create a more sustainable impact as the representation would be more active and less passive, which would further create and entrench the mechanisms needed to maintain gender mainstreaming beyond the mission's withdrawal. Within its current structure, the unit appears to be struggling with an identity crisis, with half of its design to simply act as another FPU and fulfill its gender neutral mandate and half of its effort dedicated to female empowerment, whether or not it is intentionally done. This structure and tension limits women's empowerment efforts and places the female officers in a contradictory position as they attempt to navigate their professional duties with the expectation that they will explicitly address gender concerns in addition. While it could be argued that the unit's contribution to women's empowerment, even if it is not as full as it could be, is beneficial and more than would occur without it, UN policymakers should be cautious of overstating the beneficial impacts of FFPUs and assuming that the deployment of a FFPU will sufficiently address women's empowerment efforts in the host society.

Appendix

*Liberian Case Study Interview Participants Affiliation**

*Descriptions vary depending on the participant's confidentiality requirements.

Participant 1, U.S. Military Observer
Participant 2, Executive Director of Women's Organization
Participant 3, Peace Corps Officer
Participant 4, Save the Children Representative
Participant 5, Save the Children Representative
Participant 6, Executive Director of Center for Women and Children Empowerment
Participant 7, Peace Corps Volunteer
Participant 8, Peace Corps Volunteer
Participant 9, Peace Corps Volunteer
Participant 10, Representative of Religious Organization
Participant 11, Executive Director Religious Women's Organization
Participant 12, Liberian Baptist Woman's Missionary Union Representatives
Participant 13, USAID Representative
Participant 14, United Methodist Women Organization Representative
Participant 15, UNPOL Gender Advisor
Participant 16, Office of the SRSG Representative
Participant 17, Executive Director of Women's Leadership Organization
Participant 18, Commander of Indian FFPU
Participant 19, Office of the UN Police Commissioner
Participant 20, UNMIL Office of the Gender Advisor
Participant 21, Oxfam GB Representative
Participant 22, Ministry of Gender, 1325 National Secretariat National Coordinator
Participant 23, Embassy of Sweden, Economic Empowerment of Adolescent Girls and
        Young Women(EPAG)Program Coordinator
Participant 24, UNMIL Human Rights and Protection Section Representative
Participant 25, Director of Civil Society Organization
Participant 26, Director of Women's AIDS Organization
Participant 27, Ministry of Gender, Directory of Policy
Participant 28, Legislature of Liberia Representative, Human Rights Committee
Participant 29, Executive Director of Women's Organization
Participant 30, Mercy Corps Representative
Participant 31, Cooperative Housing Foundation Representative
Participant 32, UNMIL Human Rights and Protection Section Representative
Participant 33, Plan Liberia Representative
Participant 34, Executive Director of Women's Organization
Participant 35, Executive Director of Women's Health and Development Organization
Participant 36, Legislature of Liberia Representative
Participant 37, UN Women Representative
Participant 38, Director of Civil Society Organization
Participant 39 Liberia National Police Office of Gender Affairs Representatives
Participant 40, UNMIL Field Support Office Representative

Participant 41 UN Police Officer
Participant 42 UN Women Representative
Participant 43 UNMIL Human Rights and Protection Section Representative

Liberian Case Study Fieldwork Interview Questions

1. What programs does your organization/office currently support concerning women's issues?
2. What is the biggest obstacle or challenge that Liberian women face today that prevents them from becoming empowered?
3. Since you have been with this organization, have you seen any changes in the role or status of women in the local community?
4. Does it seem to you that local Liberian women and men are perceptive and supportive of women's empowerment programs?
5. Do you believe it is more important for an increased number of women to be actively involved in women's empowerment or men? Why do you think this?
6. Do both men and women work with your women-oriented programs?
    a. Has there been any noticeable difference in the way men and women interact with those you support?
    b. Do local women seem to prefer to work with one gender more than the other?
7. Has your organization received any support in any form from the United Nations Mission in Liberia?
8. Does UNMIL seem to be interested in women's issues? Are you aware if UNMIL has actively encouraged humanitarian organizations to address gender issues?
9. Do you feel that there are currently enough programs and services in place to encourage women's empowerment?
10. Are you aware of all-female units of UN peacekeepers in Liberia?
    a. If so, what kind of work have you observed them doing?
11. What impacts do you perceive that these units have had on local women?
    a. Has their impact differed from that of other mixed gender units?

Liberian Case Study Selected Interview Data

1. *What is the greatest challenge or obstacle that Liberian women face today that prevents empowerment?*

Challenge	Total Number of Responses	Participants
Education	19	3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 33, 40, 42
Teenaged Pregnancy	9	5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 24, 26, 33
Lack of Sustainable Donor Funds	9	6, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 40, 43
Gender Roles (Including, but not limited to child care, home care, private life, market selling, etc.)	8	7, 8, 19, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31
Traditional Practices (Including Female Genital Mutilation and Sandee Society)	8	16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, 40, 43
Violence Against Women	8	15, 16, 20, 24, 33, 39, 41, 42
Legal Restraints/Lack of Political Will	6	21, 24, 27, 39, 40, 42,
Lack of Property/Finance	5	10, 13, 21, 40, 41
Sexual Exploitation	4	5, 7, 15, 16
Misconceptions about Gender	2	22, 21
No Gender Related Challenges	1	28

2. *Does it seem to you that the local community is perceptive and supportive of women's empowerment programs?*

Response	Total Number of Responses	Participants
Yes (Supportive)	13	1, 6, 7, 10, 15, 18, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 43
No (Men Only)*	3	10, 27, 39
No (Men and Women)	1	19

*Does not signify that all men were resistant or for a long time, but that there may have been some problems

3. *Does UNMIL seem interested in women's issues?*

Response	Total Number of Responses	Participants
Yes	18	5, 7, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 39, 40, 43
No	2	6, 36
Unsure	2	23, 33

4. *What impacts do you perceive that these FFPUs have had on local women?*

Impact	Total Number of Responses	Participants
Role Models/Inspire Local Women	9	6, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 29
Increased Female Recruitment in LNP	9	6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 29,
De-stigmatize Security Sector	4	18, 17, 19, 20
Increased Community Outreach	3	11, 15, 18
No Impact Different from Male FPUs or local female police	3	16, 26, 39
Improve the Behavior of Male Peacekeepers	2	16, 19
Unsure Either Way	2	6, 24
Yes, but Unsure	1	33
More Peaceful than Men	1	18

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