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The International Community's Engagement in Gender and Community Policing in Afghanistan: Approaches and Challenges

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Declaration

I, Julie Bye Johansen, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature

Date.....

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Abstract

Afghanistan has a long history of discriminatory practices against women and distrust in the police. Since 2001, the international community has had a strong presence in Afghanistan. A focus area has been security sector reform (SSR) where community policing has received much attention. Community based police reform aims to get closer relations and cooperation between police and civil society and to ameliorate the human security situation. A factor that might be of importance for community based policing to succeed is to address gender issues.

Using document analysis and interviews, this research study reveals that Afghan laws and policies have been modernized and ensure equal rights for both women and men. However, the implementation of these laws and policies is limited, which leads to inequalities and a lack of trust in law enforcement institutions. Gender is integrated in the planning processes, policies and development programs on community policing of the international community. However, there is a long way to go for community policing, gender and women's rights to be respected and integrated into Afghan society.

This research provides a broader understanding of the approaches to and effects of community policing projects that includes gender in Afghanistan. It reveals that progress has been slow. There is therefore a need for all involved actors to reflect together on any need for changes in their community policing programs and approaches to achieving gender equality and human security for all Afghans in the long-term.

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List of Abbreviations

AA2J	Afghanistan Access to Justice
AANU	Afghan Athlete National Union
ACBAR	Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief and Development
ANA	Afghan National Army
ANDS	Afghanistan National Development strategy
ADPP	Afghan Democratic Policing Project
ANP	Afghan National Police
ASERD	Afghanistan Sustainable Energy for Rural Development
AWN	Afghan Women's Network
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COP	Community Policing
CSAS	Civil Society Advisory Committee
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSO's	Civil society organizations
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
EGEMA	Enhancing Gender Equality and Mainstreaming in Afghanistan
EUPOL	European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan
EVAW Law	Elimination of Violence against Women Law
FRUs	Family Response Units
GAD	Gender and development
GBV	Gender based violence
GIRoA	The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
GPPO	German Police Project Office
GPPT	German Police Project Team
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
ICT4COP	Community-Based Policing and Post-Conflict Police reform
IGO's	International intergovernmental organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOs	International Organizations
IPCB	International Police Coordination Board of Afghanistan
IR	International Relations

LoGo	Local Governance Project-Afghanistan
LOTFA	Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
MNCs	Multinational corporations
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
MPD	Ministry of Interior and Police Development project
NAPWA	National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NTM-A	NATO Training Mission to Afghanistan
NSD	Norwegian Center for Research Data
OHCHR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PCOP	Provincial Chiefs of Police
PeM	Police-e-Mardumi
PRTs	Provincial Reconstruction Teams
PSC	Political and Security Committee
SPM	Support to payroll Management project
PWCs	Police women councils
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNOCA	UN's Office for the Coordination of Assistance
UNOPs	United Nations Office for Project Services
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Councils Resolution 1325
UN Women	United Nations Women
WAW	Women for Afghan Women
WID	Women in development

1 Introduction

To justify the intervention in Afghanistan in 2001, world leaders, with the USA in front, used the “war on terror” and Afghan women’s severe human rights situation as main justifications. The Taliban regime created insecurity and their practices had led to severe discrimination against and human rights violations of Afghan women (Amnesty International, 2016; Fluri & Lehr, 2017). The international intervention led to the removal of the Taliban regime and to the international community urging the Afghan Government to install an interim Government. Guidelines for the interim administration and a power-sharing agreement were drawn up at the Bonn Conference in 2001. The Bonn Agreement in 2001 was “the first of a series of arrangements to rebuild the state of Afghanistan,” and setting out a political framework for the transition (UN, 2001; Wimpelmann, 2017, p. 41). In the agreement it was decided to “(...) end the tragic conflict in Afghanistan and promote national reconciliation, lasting peace, stability and respect for human rights (...)” (UN, 2001). Equal human rights for women and men were underlined as important. Since the Bonn agreement, the international community has had a strong role in peacebuilding in Afghanistan and in the reconstruction of the country.

Despite over 16 years of presence by the international community, the security situation in Afghanistan remains poor. This is seen in daily news bulletins in which attacks by insurgents are regularly reported. Also the 2017 mid-year report on civilian casualties by the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA) shows that armed conflict continues to cause severe harm. The number of civilian casualties remains high, and the worst affected of these are women (UNAMA & UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2017). This shows that there is a continuous need for development within the Afghan security sector.

Community policing has become a common approach of the international community in its development efforts in post conflict communities (Ziegler & Nield, 2002). As Sedra (2003, p. 32) argues, “Police reform is a vital component of peace-building and reconstruction activities in any postwar country.” With the presence of the International Community,

community-based police reform that includes reforms to gender and women's rights have been given priority by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIROA). The aim is to build closer relations, based on trust, between the police and civil society. Greater trust and closer cooperation between the police and civil society are important as the police is the law enforcement body in the GIROA that is closest to the Afghan people. Without a trustworthy relationship between the police and civil society, people's safety suffers (Goldsmith, 2005). The Afghan population's daily lives are dominated by insecurity, with women being the worst affected by insecurity and discrimination.

In Afghanistan, women are characterized as the weaker gender, and are subject to poverty, human rights violations, discrimination and violence (Yamamoto, 2017). Afghan women's situation has improved since 2001. However, despite improvements, there is still a strong need for greater inclusion of Afghan women in all aspects of society. To include women in the police and to create a unified respect for gender equality and women's rights among police officers will be of importance. The international community therefore urges inclusion of gender and Afghan women's human rights in their community policing efforts. It is believed that a well-functioning Afghan police force, in which women and men are equally included and respected, will be of importance for improved security. It is argued that to ensure human security, it is necessary to re-establish trust in rule-of-law institutions and to deliver justice and security services to the whole population, both women and men.

In 2014, Afghanistan started on the Transformation Decade. The aim is for Afghanistan to be able to ensure security for its people on its own. The international community, in 2014, started to withdraw and hand over the lead of their development projects to Afghans themselves. For Afghanistan to be self-reliant, it needs, among other things, to be able to manage its interior security situation autonomously. There is a need to re-establish confidence in the government and resilience among Afghan citizens to achieve full stability (UN, 2015). Despite the withdrawal of several international actors since 2014, the international community is still strongly present and involved in community policing efforts that include gender issues.

On the basis of this information, this research studies the international community's approaches to community policing, the efforts it makes and the impact (if any) that it has. More specifically, it examines the international community's approaches and efforts within

community policing that involves gender issues and analyzes their possible contribution to development and human security within post-conflict communities in Afghanistan. It questions:

To what extent might the international community's efforts to support gender within community policing influence the level of trust between the police and civil society and impact on human security for all?

There is a large number of international actors, national government institutions and civil society organizations (CSOs) that work on community policing and gender issues. Several UN organizations and the EU¹, representing the international community, are or have been active in the development of community policing. These claim to work together with Afghan national ministries, the Ministry of Interior Affairs (MoI) and the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA). The MoI is responsible for internal security and manages all branches of police in Afghanistan, while the MoWA lead the GIRoA's work on gender and women's rights. All these international and national actors underline in some way the importance of including and cooperating with CSOs in their work on community policing and gender. CSOs are engaged both in community policing initiatives and, particularly, in initiatives within the field of gender and Afghan women's human rights. To gain a holistic understanding of the international community's impact on community policing, if any, there is a need to understand the relations between actors at the different levels.

To do this, the following questions will be addressed. How do the different actors cooperate and coordinate their efforts? Does the international community cooperate with the Afghan Government and how is their relationship? To what extent are CSOs included in international and national government actors' approaches to and programs on community policing?

1.1 Background to the security and gender situation in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been a country dominated by conflict for decades. However, it was first in the 1990s that extreme religious restrictions on women were first fully integrated in Afghan society and its laws. In 1992 "(...) mujahedin leaders formed a government and declared Afghanistan an Islamic republic for the first time in its history" (Wimpelmann, 2017, p. 38). Under this leadership, women were restricted from having jobs, schools for women were

¹ These are only some of a large number of international actors.

closed, women could only leave their homes if absolutely necessary and they were not allowed to wear attractive clothes. Then, in 1996, the Taliban seized the capital, Kabul, and the Taliban regime controlled the country until 2001 (Laub, 2014; Wimpelmann, 2017). The Taliban regime integrated even more extreme thoughts and views on women in Afghan society.

Under the Taliban regime, discrimination against girls and women became extreme. The Taliban introduced their version of Islamic Sharia Law, which led to severe restrictions on girls and women (Amnesty International, 2016; Wimpelmann, 2017). Women were banned from working, girls were largely excluded from school, women were banned from leaving their houses without wearing burkas and being escorted by a male relative, they were not allowed to receive health care from men and they were not allowed to participate in politics or speak publicly. “The restrictions were intended to prevent immorality and adultery and revealed an obsession with female sexuality as a danger to be contained at all costs” (Wimpelmann, 2017, p. 38). A strong culture of discriminatory practices against women and a high level of insecurity then dominated Afghan society.

History shows that Afghanistan has been a war-torn country struggling with fragile state institutions for decades. Law enforcement bodies have been weak or absent. Afghanistan has a long history where the police and military forces have been seen as one. This is one reason why there is low level of trust in the police within the Afghan population. The last time Afghanistan had a legitimate national police force was in the 1960s and 1970s. Notably, the first Afghan policewoman took up her duties in this period (Hancock, 2013). This police force was developed with help from Germany, which provided training and resources (Sedra, 2003). Then in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, which was a setback for the established police force. In 1989, serious efforts were made to rebuild and establish a legitimate police force and the Kabul Police Academy was founded. However, in 1992, when the mujahedin leaders came to power, these efforts were stopped and the Kabul Police Academy was closed. Then, in 1996, when the Taliban seized power, women were banned from serving in the police. After 2001, initiated by the international community, new efforts to develop the police started. Community policing has since been a major focus, and one in which gender and women’s human rights have become a priority.

It has been difficult for women to join the Afghan National Police force (ANP). Since 2001, the Afghan Government, together with the international community, has actively worked to rebuild the ANP. A part of this work has been to include women in the ANP and to promote gender equality. This is challenging work, as there is lack of respect for policewomen both within the police and within Afghan society. The international community has devoted much effort to community policing and to policing with regard to gender and women's human rights issues. How effective this work has been is another question.

In this regard, the following questions will be addressed. How do international actors approach community policing and gender issues? Do the actions of the international community have their intended effect? How do international actors pay attention to the Afghan context? An Afghanistan dominated by insecurity, fragile national government institutions and strong historical and cultural norms and practices.

1.2 Structure

This research study seeks to understand what impact the international community has had on the development of community policing in Afghanistan with a main focus on gender issues. It examines the extent to which the international community cooperates with the national government and civil society actors.

The paper is divided into 5 main chapters. In chapter 2, the theoretical framework of the study, based on constructivism, is explained. In this chapter, International Relations (IR) theories on International Organizations are presented before constructivism is considered in more depth. Chapter 3 presents the methods used. Chapter 4 - "Cooperation and coordination between actors" - presents the different actors studied in this research. It begins with a discussion of the international actors representing the international community, and then looks at national government institutions and local CSOs. This chapter provides an overview of and background information about the different actors' development programs on community policing and gender. Following this, the analysis aims to ascertain the level and importance of cooperation and coordination between these actors, and how the cooperation and coordination of projects between them, and on different levels, influence the impact and extent of community policing projects. Chapter 5 then outlines the different development

approaches to community policing and gender issues used by the international community. The results of their efforts are discussed to understand their actual impact, if any. This research's core objective is discussed and analyzed in this chapter. Further, chapter 6 provides background knowledge on the Afghan context. Then the international community's contextual understandings will be discussed before the conclusions are elaborated.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter will introduce the theoretical framework of this research study. Theory illuminates and provides a framework for making sense of what you see (Maxwell, 2013). "The theoretical perspective [...] is a way of looking at the world and making sense of it" (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Here, theory is elaborated in order to deepen understanding of what is being studied.

First, this chapter will introduce international relations (IR) theories on international organizations (IOs), which are the main actors studied in this research. IR theories are used to explain, describe and predict various aspects of international relations (Karns & Mingst, 2010). After this, constructivist theory will be elaborated on in more depth, as it is the main IR theory used to understand and explain the social phenomena studied. Constructivism, together with the actor-oriented approach, will be used to better explain and understand the relations between actors and their influence on development projects within community policing and gender in Afghanistan. Other theories, such as the feminist theory of intersectionality, are also used to discuss and understand certain concepts. Intersectionality is used to provide a broader understanding and explanation of the concept of gender within the Afghan context. Following this, the main concepts in this research will be defined in order to clarify them and to achieve a common comprehension of them.

2.1 International Relations theories on International Organizations

A central aim of international relations theory is to understand the international system. In this research, the relations and activities of states and other actors are central. According to Karns and Mingst (2010), states and other actors are central actors in global governance;

“The pieces of global governance are the cooperative problem-solving arrangements and activities that states and other actors have put into place to deal with various issues and problems” (Karns & Mingst, 2010, pp. 4-5). Other actors include international organizations (IOs), which have become central, influential and important actors in international relations today.

Different central IR theories have different explanations, description and predictions of the role of different actors in international relations. Three of the main theories - liberalism, realism and constructivism - will be elaborated here to provide an overview of the different perspectives on the role of IOs in IR. Although there are several variants within these three theories, in this chapter they will be discussed in general. The aim is to develop an understanding of the different ways used to explain the presence of IOs in the international system.

Liberalism is an approach with a focus on freedom, cooperation, peace and progress. Liberalists have an optimistic view of human nature (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010), and believe that “(...) conflict and war are not inevitable; when people employ their reason they can achieve mutually beneficial cooperation not only within states but also across international boundaries” (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010, p. 97). All liberals have the belief that cooperation based on mutual interests is possible and will grow over time (Karns & Mingst, 2010). People engaged with institutional liberalism specifically believe that international institutions, IOs, promote cooperation between states; power is exercised within a framework of rules and institutions, which makes international cooperation possible.

Liberalists see IOs as arenas where states interact and cooperate to solve common problems. IOs play key roles in contributing to habits of cooperation and act as arenas for negotiating and developing coalitions (Karns & Mingst, 2010). They believe that peace is not a natural condition, but can be secured by creating IOs to regulate international anarchy (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2011). IOs are institutions for cooperation, diplomacy, and international peace. Institutional liberalism looks at the beneficial effects of international institutions. It argues that international institutions can promote cooperation between states and reduce the destabilizing effects of multipolar anarchy (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). By providing information among states, institutions make up for a lack of trust between them. They reduce states' fear of each other and function as a negotiation forum between them (Karns & Mingst,

2010). Institutions have an important independent impact on relations between states by providing information and framing actions. Liberalism's optimistic view on cooperation and IOs is criticized by the more pessimistic realist theory.

Contrary to liberalism, the theory of realism holds a pessimistic view of human nature. Realism believes that individuals act rationally to protect their own interests (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). In the same way, proponents of this theory believe that the main aim of sovereign states is to protect their own interests. Realists look at international relations, where states are the primary actors, as conflictual, with conflicts being solved by war. This is because of the strong values held by states of national security and state survival. Realists see states as "(...) entities that act in a unitary way in pursuit of their national interest, which is generally defined in terms of maximizing power and security" (Karns & Mingst, 2010, p. 45). The core assumption of realists is that world politics operates in a form of international anarchy (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). They believe that relations of states construct international relations. Other actors like IOs are less- or unimportant.

According to realists, the international system is anarchical, and exists without global government. "Realists do not believe it is prudent for a state to entrust its safety and survival to another actor or international institution, such as the United Nations" (Baylis et al., 2011, p. 87). Even though most realists believe in the absence of an international authority, the modern realist Morgenthau (1967) did include international law, morality and government in his work (Karns & Mingst, 2010; Morgenthau, 1967). He argues that IOs are tools used by states when desired. IOs may increase or decrease state power, but do not influence the basic characteristics of the international system; "(...) international organizations have no independent effect on state behavior and will not over time change the system itself" (Karns & Mingst, 2010, p. 46). As international institutions and agreements have no enforcement power, their impact on state actions or world politics will be limited. Realists do not accept the idea that IOs are influential independent actors.

As can be seen, there is a theoretical discord between realists and liberals concerning international relations. Liberalism is a theory of good governance between states worldwide, while realism is a theory of the domination of international anarchy (Baylis et al., 2011). This divergence was the starting point for the constructivist approach, which challenges both realism and liberalism.

Constructivism has become an important theory in the study of global governance, in particular, the role of norms and institutions. It is a social theory with several sub variants, all of which, however, “(...) agree that the behavior of individuals, states, and other actors is shaped by shared beliefs, socially constructed rules, and cultural practices” (Karns & Mingst, 2010, p. 50). This theory focuses on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). According to constructivism, the most important aspect of international relations is social.

Constructivism believes that states interests are socially constructed. States are influenced by norms, culture, ideas and interactions, domestically and internationally. This view is contrary to realism, which looks at states interests and identity as being given (Karns & Mingst, 2010). According to constructivist theory, the international system exists as a common understanding among people; it is ideas that constitute the system, not material forces. Because the international system is an intellectual and ideational human invention, they argue that it changes if thoughts and ideas in international relations change. As stated by Finnmore and Sikkink (2001, p. 394), and highlighted above, “(...) by ontological assumption, constructivists understand that actors are shaped by the social milieu in which they live.” Furthermore, constructivists highlight the importance of institutions being embodied in practices, norms and formal organizations.

For constructivists, international organizations (IOs) are agents of social construction in international relations. IOs are powerful as they use their authority to orient action and create social reality (M. Barnett & Finnmore, 2004). They operate as norm entrepreneurs attempting to change social understandings.

When “(...) examining international organizations (IOs), constructivists seek to uncover the social content of organizations, the dominant norms that govern behavior and shape interests, and to decipher how these interests in turn influence actors” (Karns & Mingst, 2010, p. 51).

IOs transmit the norms of international community to states (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010, p. 169). By “teaching” states what their interests should be, they constitute national policies. This is partly what this research looks at: how the international community (with a main

focus on IOs) and their norms / laws, impact the Afghan national system within the community policing and gender fields.

Norms are shared guidelines for and understandings of what is appropriate behavior for the actors in international relations (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001). They are easy to negotiate and may form the foundation of new international law (Karns & Mingst, 2010). According to Hopf (1998, p. 173), “actors develop their relations with, and understandings of, others through the media of norms and practices.” The norms, however, are not constant. The meaning of norms is created and may be changed by actors’ actions, how others perceive their behavior and how they interact with each other. What some constructivists study, which is of interest in this research, is how the norms of the international community affect the identity and interests of the Afghan state. In this context, the concept of power and power relations will also be of interest.

In the theories of international relations, power is central. Power give meaning to relationships. The different theories have different ways of conceptualizing power (Berenskoetter, 2007). A common way to look at power in IR is based on the definition of “A getting B to do something B would otherwise not do” (Berenskoetter, 2007, p. 4). Neoliberalism and neorealism argue that material power, like military and economic power, is most important and influential in international relations. Constructivism, on the other hand, argues that both material and discursive power are vital to understand world affairs (Hopf, 1998).

Power is a central theoretical element in constructivist approaches to international relations theory. In international relations, the study of power needs to include how social structures and processes lead to different social capacities for actors. According to M. Barnett and Duvall (2005, p. 39), “Power is the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their circumstances and fate.” Furthermore, they argue that international relations scholars need to work with several conceptions of power.

According to constructivists, power has several expressions and forms (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). M. Barnett and Duvall (2005, p. 43) divide power into four forms:

Compulsory power “(...) is power as relations of interaction of direct control by one actor over another.,” Institutional power “(...) is the control actors exercise indirectly

over others through diffuse relations of interaction (...); Structural power “(...) is the constitution of subjects' capacities in direct structural relation to one another (...)”; and productive power “(...) is the socially diffuse production of subjectivity in systems of meaning and signification (...)”.

These are the different ways in which power works in international relations.

In this research study, the concept of power will be important when studying the relations between and within actors. How actors at international, national and local levels interrelate and impact each other is closely interrelated with the concept of power. Further, within the theory of gender and development, power and power relations are essential factors. Power and power relations are present within and between actors from families and civil society to international organizations and the international community. To understand these relations, the actor-oriented approach is also important.

The actor-oriented approach is dynamic and seeks to understand social change. It stresses “(...) the interplay and mutual determination of ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors and relationships, and recognises the central role played by human action and consciousness” (Long, 2001, p. 13). Long argues that society is composed of social actors that need to be depicted “(...) as active participants who process information and strategies in their dealings with various local actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel” (Long, 2001, p. 13). The interactions, negotiations and social struggles that occur between different actors have an influence on the patterns of different social organizations. Furthermore, how actors tie together, act upon, attribute meaning to and recreate different elements is influenced not only by economic and political considerations, but also by life experiences and particular every day circumstances (Villarreal, n.d). When studying the impact of different development projects within the Afghan security sector, focusing on community-policing and gender issues, it is important to address all involved actors, all the way down to the individual. As Long (2001, p. 15) highlights, the links between small worlds actors and large scale global phenomena and actors, together with the critical role played by often conflicting forms of human action and social consciousness, are central elements in development. Actors’ identities and interests, together with their professional development personnel’s interaction with the local population, and vice versa, need to be taken into account to understand social change.

Both constructivism and the actor-oriented approach seek to understand social change. Together they help explain the behavior of actors, their relations and their impact on social change, which is an important part of this research. These theories together give a holistic understanding of actors' behavior from the international level down to the local level. Constructivists seek to understand the constitution of things, which is essential to explain behavior (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001); for example, it is important to understand Afghan gender relations and perceptions of gender in order to be able to say something about their impact on the development of community policing. Constructivism and the actor-oriented approach have been chosen as tools to do this as they help develop a broader understanding of the research objectives and concepts.

2.2 Concepts

The main concepts that will be elaborated on here include: the international community; development; community policing; gender; and human security.

2.2.1 The international community

The international community is a broad concept that can be interpreted in different ways. However, 'international community' has become a widely accepted concept, although how to define it is open to discussion. This research will look at different actors representing the international community.

There are numbers of different actors, political and non-political, that all together form the international community. These are states, international organizations (IOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations (MNCs), civil society organizations (CSOs), bilateral donors, and so on (Baylis et al., 2011). All these actors operate in different ways, on different issues, and within different contexts. However, they share values built on international law, resolutions, the declaration of human rights, guidelines, treaties, and so on as a common ground for their work. Kofi Annan (1999) argues that when international actors, or some of them, together with civil society, work for a shared goal, then this constitutes the international community. This does not necessarily mean that there is always cooperation between international actors and civil society when referring to

the international community. There are numbers of actors from the international community working on different issues and within different development areas in Afghanistan. Even though many of these work within the same development areas, they do not necessarily cooperate with each other, or with civil society.

This paper has examined and identified some of the main international actors working on community based policing and gender issues that are or have been active in Afghanistan today. The research will focus on the United Nation Development Program (UNDP), the European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL) and the Afghan Democratic Policing Project (ADPP) led by several international actors, with the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPs) and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) being the major ones. Furthermore, UN Women will be studied, as it is a leading IO addressing gender issues and women's human rights. The main focus of this research is therefore on IOs. These are actors representing the international community. As their relations and cooperation with national government ministries and local CSOs are influential in the implementation process of community policing reform and gender norms, these actors will also be studied.

As constructivists argue, the international community transfers norms to states and implements them through IOs. IOs teach states new norms of behavior (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001; Jackson & Sørensen, 2010). As M. Barnett and Finnmore (2004, pp. 1-2) state,

“Organizations such as the UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe are entrusted with drafting new constitutions and judicial arrangements, re-creating financial institutions, and creating civilian police – in essence remaking entire states.”

The main focus of this research is the impact of IOs on reforming the Afghan police, implementing community policing as a part of their development work. The concept of development will be elaborated below.

2.2.2 Development

Development is a broad concept and also an activity. It is a continuous process of change and transformation (Dickson, 2004). Development is a comprehensive process in which the links between economic, social, cultural and political fields are important (Sengupta, 2004). It is not only a process of economic improvement, but also of improved enjoyment of rights and of the well-being of all individuals. The United Nations General Assembly (1986) defines development in the Declaration on the Right to Development as:

“(...) a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development (...).”

Many actors claim that for development to succeed, peace and security are fundamental, together with gender equality and human rights for all (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2016; Schirch, n.d.; World Bank, 2001). However, as can be seen in an insecure post-conflict Afghanistan, development happens. The phrase “No Development without Peace, No peace without Development, Neither without Human Rights” (United Nations, 2010, p. 6) underlines this point.

In this research, development is connected to the community policing reform process and gender issues in Afghanistan. As a part of the development process in Afghanistan, community-based policing and gender have become an important aspect of the international community’s efforts. As Groenewald and Peake (2004, p. i) underline, when community policing is successful, “(...) it can both develop security and secure development.” Further, for the development process to be more effective and to succeed, promotion of gender equality, rooted in human rights, is essential (UNDP, n.d). As stated in the Beijing Platform for action:

“Women’s empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace; (...).” (United Nations, 1995, p. 2)

Sustainable peacebuilding or development arise when the true nature of things like class, ethnic equality, gender, and so on, are understood (Conteh-Morgan, 2005). The concept of

development in this research will be focused on community policing efforts together with efforts within the field of gender. There is a major focus on both these concepts within the field of development in Afghanistan.

2.2.3 Community policing

Community policing has become a popular strategy and an important aspect of state building interventions in fragile and conflict-affected states. “In the post-Cold War era, police reform in fragile and failed states has received increasing attention as an important component of successful state-building” (Upadhyay & Pawelec, 2016, p. 170). However, there are many different views and definitions of community policing in the policy and academic literatures (Denney & Jenkins, 2013). Despite these differences, there seems to be a common agreement that it is a philosophy and strategy for police and community to work together to solve problems of disorder and crime.

Community policing is a strategy and approach being used by international actors to develop the Afghan security sector. With community policing, the intention is to make Afghanistan more secure for its population. Its aim is to bring the police and civil society closer to each other to form a more trustworthy relationship. As DECAF (2009, p2) states, “ (...) community-policing is about integrating the concerns of citizens and communities into every level of policing policy, management and delivery.” It is about a change in the police from being a “force” to being a “service”, a “service” to the community to ensure their security. Police and communities need to cooperate to address community concerns and to create trust. As Groenewald and Peak (2004, p 2) state, “The end goal [with community-based police reform] is the creation of a professional, responsive, and accountable institution that works in partnership with the public.”

Furthermore, it is stated that for community policing to succeed, democratic norms and values such as human rights and equal protection for both men and women under the law are important. The international community has placed more and more focus on inclusion of gender and women’s rights in their work on community policing. This research study will therefore include gender as a main concept, looking at how the inclusion of gender might impact the efforts to develop community policing in Afghanistan.

2.2.4 Gender

The international community today is focusing more and more on the inclusion of gender in their development work. From having a main focus on women in development (WID), the focus has shifted to gender and development (GAD) (Moser, 1993). This shift emphasizes the importance of looking at women in relation to men and how their relationships are socially constructed.

Many tend to think of gender as synonymous with women. This is not right. As much as gender is about women and femininity, it is also about men and masculinity. Gender refers to the social differences and relations between men and women, and also between men and between women. These social differences and relations, together with gender roles, are learned and vary among cultures, communities and other social groups. To better understand the concept of gender and gender discrimination, the theory of intersectionality will be used.

Within the discipline of feminist thought is the theory of Intersectionality. The theory of intersectionality underlines the importance of studying different social identities - such as those based on religion, education, culture, race, sexual orientation, class, and so on - and social processes together (Ferree, 2009). These social identities may interact on several levels and influence people's living conditions. As Kumar (2010, p. 64) underlines, intersectionality "[...] seeks to examine how various social and cultural categories of discrimination interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels in the making of systems of power, contributing to inequalities". This kind of analysis can do justice to the actual complexity of social inequality.

Afghanistan is a male-dominated society in which discrimination and human rights violations of women are common (Echavez, Mosawi, & Pilongo, 2016; UN Women, n.d). The main focus of this research, when referring to gender is therefore on gender equality, with Afghan women's position and their human rights situation being central. To look at Afghan women's identities together with social processes and structures will provide a better understanding of gender issues in Afghanistan. Furthermore, it is important to include men's role and their perceptions of gender and women; this will help to give a more holistic understanding of the gender situation.

Other concepts that will be highlighted in this study are ‘gender mainstreaming’ (a strategy for promoting equality) and ‘gender sensitivity’ (which helps generate respect for the individual regardless of sex). Since gender equality and women’s well-being are seen as essential both for development to be more effective and sustainable in post-conflict communities and for maintenance of peace and security (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2016; Schirch, 2016; UNIFEM and UNDP, 2007), this paper seeks to examine the impact of the inclusion of gender within community policing. Further, it seeks to ascertain whether, community-based policing in which gender issues are addressed might impact human security and, if this is the case, the ways in which it does this.

2.2.5 Human Security

In the last few decades, there has been a shift from a perspective on security that is state-based to one that is human-based. According to Conteh-Morgan (2005, p. 69), analysts in international relations have broadened their conception of security to include issues of human security. Human security refers to security for all, individuals and communities (Schirch, 2016). At a minimum, human security means that everyone feels safe from direct threats of violence. “A comprehensive approach to human security includes three components: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity” (Schirch, 2016, p. 9); human security focuses on the protection of people from threats to individuals and communities and on empowering them to act on their own behalf. According to the UN Commission on Human Security (2003 p.2), “Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development.” Furthermore, human security covers many different issues.

Human security applies to both physical security as well as other security issues such as food-, economic-, health-, political-, community-, and personal security, and so on. Because it is a broad concept, it can be interpreted in many different ways (Baylis, Smith and Owens 2011). It is important to remember that people have different perceptions and expectations of what human security is to them (UN Commission on Human Security, 2003). Not only can there be a difference between people, but also between and within different actors and organizations (on local, national and international levels) working on human security. Therefore, when defining human security, local perceptions of security, peace, justice and

stability are central (Schirch, n.d.). In Afghanistan, human security must be studied in a post conflict context in which individual, group, communal and national insecurity are widespread issues.

This research will study human security using the constructivist approach. To ensure human security for marginalized individuals, groups, and communities, there is a need to understand human security at structural, institutional and individual levels of society (Conteh-Morgan, 2005). There is a need to try to understand human security or insecurity in terms of those experiencing it. Furthermore, as Conteh-Morgan (2005, p. 72) argues, “Culture and identity, ideas, knowledge, and structures within an interpretive "bottom-up" approach to peacebuilding [/development] are crucial for understanding human security of marginalized individuals, groups, and communities”. This research will consider how the international community’s community policing reform efforts, within which gender issues are addressed, might ensure development and human security in Afghanistan. What methods are used for this research is elaborated on in the next chapter.

3 Methodology and Research Methods

This chapter will describe the methods used for this research and discuss why they are used. It will describe how the data was collected and then elaborate on the analytical methods used to analyse the data. As the data for this this research study is based on political documents, already existing academic research, articles, books, and individual interviews, the qualitative research method is used. Before elaborating on the methods, the theoretical perspective behind this research and its methodology is described.

Theory explains the philosophical stance lying behind the research methodology and methods.

“Being constructionist/constructivist has crucial things to say to us about many dimensions of the research task. It speaks to us about the way in which we do research. It speaks to us about how we should view its data.” (Crotty, 1998, p. 65)

However, different theories have different philosophical stances. It is important to remember that theories have their own way of explaining their assumptions regarding the nature of reality. Theories may disagree or have complementary philosophical assumptions. There is not only one way to view things (Maxwell, 2013); different theories might have different explanations of a phenomenon whilst using the same “facts” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, critical use of theory impacts the credibility of the findings and the researcher’s contribution to understanding. The methods are influenced by the researcher’s assumptions of reality. It is therefore important to have clarity regarding the theory behind the research, as this impacts on how reality and human understanding are conceived (Crotty, 1998). This point is underlined by Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 105):

“Questions of methods are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of methods but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.”

The paradigms of theories are based on ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ontology questions the form and nature of reality. Epistemology questions the relationship between what can be known and the (would-be) knower. It provides knowledge of what is possible to know and how it is possible to ensure

that knowledge is adequate and legitimate. Methodology, on the other hand, asks, how inquirers find out whatever they believe can be known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). This research will be based on the constructivist paradigms.

The ontological assumption of constructivism is that the world is socially constructed. Constructivists focus on how processes and identities are created. They do not take identities and interests for granted, but seek to understand the processes from where they originate and change (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 111), there is no clear distinction between constructivist ontology and epistemology. The epistemological assumption of constructivism is that meaning and then knowledge is socially constructed; “Meaning is understood as the result of interactions between the subject and the object; it is thus constructed, and not discovered” (Méline, 2014, p. 34). Furthermore, findings and knowledge are created as the investigation proceeds and in the interaction between investigator and respondents. These constructivist philosophical assumptions have an impact on the methodology, that is, the strategy, that lies behind the choice of particular methods and analysis.

Constructivism does not have one single method or research design. It opens up a set of issues and researchers choose methods that are best suited for their specific research questions (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001). For this research study, qualitative methods are used.

Qualitative research is a methodological approach composed of different research methods. The most known characteristics of qualitative research are that: it emphasizes understanding (asking why and how); the data is written text; and it is an inductive approach (that is explorative and empirically driven) (Tjora, 2013, pp. 18-19). As stated by Maxwell (2013, p. 2), qualitative research designs are “(...) flexible rather than fixed, and inductive rather than following a strict sequence or derived from an initial decision.” Qualitative methods seek to explore and describe social phenomena and ask open-ended questions, as this research study does.

There are several different ways to conduct qualitative research. Qualitative research is carried out using diverse methods, and is characterized by creativity (Tjora, 2013). Most often it is based both on theory and empiricism. There are different ways to conduct and construct qualitative research. Interviews, observations and literature reviews are the main

methods for data collection. These, again, may be conducted in several different ways (Maxwell, 2013; Tjora, 2013) and it is common to use multiple methods to collect information. This is valuable as it ensures divergent perspectives and create a more complex understanding of the phenomena studied (Maxwell, 2013, p. 104). The most common purpose for using multiple methods is triangulation; this uses “(...) different methods as a check on one another, to see if methods with different strengths and limitations all support a single conclusion” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 102). Another purpose in using multiple methods is to acquire information about different aspects of the phenomena studied. This research study combines document studies and qualitative individual interviews.

The main method used for data generation is document studies. This is complemented by individual interviews. Document studies are used to gather the main data for the research, while interviews provide additional data. As Maxwell (2013, p. 103) argues, “Interviews can also provide additional information that was missed in observation, and can be used to check the accuracy of the observation.” This will be elaborated on below.

As the focus of this research is on the international community’s efforts with regard to community policing and gender issues in Afghanistan, much of the information is found in international and national policy documents, programs and reports. Further, individual interviews of people been working for most of the organizations studied have been conducted. These are used to examine the extent to which their experiences correspond with the information found in the study of the documents. They are also used to examine whether there are additional perspectives not found in the documents. Further, they provide valuable “on the ground” experiences in Afghanistan. In the following sections, the methods used, the reasons why they are used, how they have been conducted, the data analysis and ethical considerations will be elaborated on.

3.1 Data collection

For this qualitative research study, already existing documents and literature constitute the main data used. The main thrust was therefore to find relevant documents and already existing literature on the topics of this research. International and national policy documents, project documents and reports on community policing projects and gender issues are most relevant in the attempt to find relations between the IOs and between IOs and Afghan government- and civil society actors. Further, to find if the international community has had any impact on community policing and gender issues, reports on the different projects are useful. To compare policy documents and project documents with reports on the results of community policing projects and on today's situation in Afghanistan will give indications if any development has happened.

As the topic for this research is very broad, the data collection started out broad and during the process was narrowed down. Before starting the data collection, objectives with sub-research questions were developed. The purpose of these is to help acquire a more in depth and holistic understanding of topics of this paper and the main research questions (Maxwell, 2013). They help to establish more specifically what this study intends to understand and also help to focus the study and provide guidance on how to conduct it. To create an overview of these objectives and sub-research questions, a matrix was made.

The first step in the research process, therefore, was to create an overview of the objectives and their related sub-research questions. To do this, a matrix, which is a useful tool to evaluate coherence and compatibility, was made (Maxwell, 2013). The research questions were listed in this matrix, together with sampling decisions (where to find data and sources) and methods (what kind of methods to use) for each sub-research question. This provided a starting point for the research process and data collection.

Furthermore, the main concepts used in this research were defined clearly (see above) in order to clarify what to look for throughout the whole data collection. As the research seeks to find out the impact the international community has had on the progress of police reform in Afghanistan, with a focus on gender issues, the first step was to “map” all the relevant international actors present in Afghanistan.

Since the international community is a broad concept and there are so many different actors representing the international community in Afghanistan, it was necessary to limit the search. It was therefore limited to international actors that have been, since 2001, or still are, actively working in Afghanistan within the field of community policing and gender. Also, as gender is a topic that is addressed by almost all international actors no matter what area they address, it was necessary to narrow the focus down to actors working on gender within the security sector. This made the target institutions more limited.

After mapping international actors and national government institutions, these were again narrowed down. To cover all international actors involved in community policing and gender projects would have been too broad a focus. It was therefore narrowed down to international actors interacting with the Ministry of the Interior (MoI) or Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA). MoI and MoWA were chosen, as these are the national actors with most responsibility within the fields of police and gender and women's rights. The international actors were then narrowed down to international organizations (IOs) - including EUPOL, UNDP, UNOPS and UNAMA - which have had, or have, as their main focus community policing projects. The organization, UN Women, was also chosen, as this is one of the main IOs working on gender and women's rights. When decisions had been made regarding which actors to focus on, international and national policy documents on police reform and gender were collected. Furthermore, the different actors project documents and reports were sampled.

The main source of the data was the Internet. There are both negative and positive sides to using the Internet as a source of data (Berg & Lune, 2014). When using the Internet, it is important to bear in mind that there may be documents that are not shared on the Internet or that may be missed out in the search. For example, the MoWA web page has limited information about, and documents on, their work. Furthermore, as there are web sites that share fabricated and inaccurate documents, the reliability of documents and web sites must be carefully evaluated. However, most of today's international actors and Afghan national institutions have their own webpages where they share information about their projects and policy documents. The Internet was therefore considered to be the most effective source of the most important documents. Also, contacts have helped find relevant documents difficult to find at the Internet. After collecting the documents, an analysis of them was conducted.

3.1.1 Document analysis

During the research process, much time was spent on data collection. Many documents were gathered and read to ensure that important information was captured. As there are many relevant documents covering the security sector and gender issues, these had to be delineated. As Berg and Lune (2014, p. 33) argue, when the research field is broad, there is a need to limit the readings with the strategic use of additional keywords. For this research study, the readings were limited to the document chapters covering community policing, the development of MoI and ANP, and gender and women's rights. There are both negative and positive factors when there is that much information to gather. The negative side is that it might be difficult to know whether all the relevant information has been gathered and to get a good overview and control of the most relevant literature. However, the positive side to gathering a lot of information in this way is that it enables a wider perspective and provides a great deal of information and knowledge about the topics. With all these documents, it was important to systematize the information.

Developing an effective system for the information gathered during the research process was necessary to make the analysis easier.

“A clear and working storage and retrieval system is critical if one expects to keep track of the reams of data that have been collected, to flexibly access and use the data, and to assure systematic analysis and documentation of the data.” (Berg & Lune, 2014, p. 55)

Firstly, one folder was created for international policy documents and one for national policy documents. In these, the most relevant information were noted, together with the researchers' thoughts noted in different colors. This was also done with the documents gained from the different actors in the study. Secondly, to gain an even clearer overview of the information in the documents, the data was color-coded in tables (table coding). This data included: the information found on the actors and their most relevant documents; the most relevant international and national policy documents; and reports on community policing and gender issues. These tables were divided into five main areas: approaches to community policing and gender: gender and women's rights; police/community policing; actors; cooperation between actors; and results, if any. This process gave an overview of the main topics addressed and repeated points in the documents that were useful to compare and base the analysis on.

By comparing international policy documents with new national policy documents, it was possible to ascertain what policies Afghanistan has adopted from the international community. By comparing different actors' documents, it is also possible to find the differences and similarities in their areas of focus and their approaches. Further, reading and comparing reports can provide indications of the different effects, if any, of policy changes and development programs by the actors. However, even though many documents, articles and other information were gathered, reports on the effects of the different projects and policy documents were difficult to find. This may influence the findings and discussions in this paper. Furthermore, interviews were conducted as complementary information gathering.

3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Individual interviews were conducted to complement the collection of documents and written data. Berg and Lune (2014, p. 105) define interviewing as “[...] a conversation with a purpose. Specifically, the purpose is to gather information.” There are different basic types of interviews. For this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Before conducting interviews, decisions concerning site, sampling and population must be taken. For this research study, decisions concerning the method for the interviews were made during the research process. This was because there was uncertainty over whether it would be possible to conduct and reach relevant interview objects. Furthermore, it was difficult to know who would be able and willing to participate in the research. Therefore, an appropriate population was identified before the sampling process started.

The appropriate population for this research was defined before the sampling strategy was decided. First, relevant international actors and their development projects on community policing and gender were identified. When these were identified, EUPOL, UNDP, UN Women and UNOPS/ UNAMA, and the people who were or who had been involved in their work in Afghanistan, were identified as part of the appropriate population. The MoI and MoWA at national governmental level were then identified as the most relevant national actors for this study, and, therefore, people who were or who had been working for them formed another part of the appropriate population. Added to them, people who were involved

with CSO's working for or together with some of these international or national actors were also identified as an appropriate population. For this research study, purposive sampling was used.

Purposive sampling is much used by qualitative researchers. "When developing a purposive sample, researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population" (Berg & Lune, 2014, p. 52). Often, purposive samples are chosen after field investigation, in order to make sure certain types of persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study (Berg & Lune, 2014). This was done for this research, before the subjects for the interviews were chosen. Research was carried out into which actors (the international-, national- and CSOs mentioned above) should be represented and whether they had experience working on community policing and gender issues was ascertained. After this, with the help of contacts, it was possible to reach people that fulfilled these conditions. The aim of conducting these interviews was to complement the documented data and the literature review and to get a broader understanding of the objectives of this research. The sample is too small to generalize from, but it does provide a broader understanding.²

Using a purposive sample strategy means that generalization to a wide population is difficult. However, it does provide a rich description and a broader understanding of the data collected through the document studies and the literature review (Berg & Lune, 2014). Furthermore, it makes it possible to compare this data with the data collected through document studies and to discuss how people's experiences in the field correspond with the information given in the policy documents, strategies and reports. These interviews provide information that helps to test the data collected through the document studies and the literature review.

After deciding on the sampling strategy, it was necessary to decide how to conduct the interviews. First, it was decided to do semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interview were chosen, as opposed to structured or unstructured ones, as there was a need to ask some primary questions and to also be open for discussions. For the research, it was important to obtain information about certain main topics, including' international actors, community policing, gender, cooperation between levels and the interviewees personal experiences. At

² Appendix 1 – Table with an overview of interviewees

the same time, it was important to be open to discussion and to the possibility of important topics that the researcher had not thought about could arise during the interviews. As Berg and Lune (2014, p. 114) state,

“The flexibility of the semi-structured interview allowed the interviewers both to ask a series of regularly structured questions, permitting comparisons across interviews, and to pursue areas spontaneously initiated by the interviewee. This resulted in a much more textured set of accounts from participants than would have resulted had only scheduled questions been asked.”

As important information could be missed with a structured interview guide or with an unstructured one, semi-structured interviews asking open-ended questions, were chosen. Before the interviews, an interview guide was developed. Because the interview participants represented different actors studied in this research, the interview guide was adjusted before each interview. This was to make sure that all interviews covered the same main topics and also gathered information about the participants’ personal experiences in their organization. After the interview guide was developed, the time and place of the interviews, as well as the means for conducting them, were decided on.³

As the people who were relevant to this research were located around the world, all contact has been through the Internet. Since the research was conducted from Norway, e-mails were used to contact all interview participants. In the e-mail correspondence, they were provided with information about the research project, and were asked if they were willing to be a part of the research and to be interviewed; they were also informed about ethical considerations through a consent form. When they agreed to be interviewed, the time and place of the interview was decided.

Skype or similar communication methods through the Internet were used for the interviews. This is, as mentioned earlier, because the research was carried out in Norway and the interview participants were located around the world. As the interviews were conducted through Skype, the location and surroundings were difficult to control; where the interviewees chose to be during the interview was up to them. The only thing that was necessary was that they needed to have access to the Internet and to Skype. Also, as cameras were not used during the Skype interviews, the surroundings and body language were difficult to observe. It

³ Appendix 2 – The general interview guide

was therefore only their voice and other sounds around that could be observed in addition to what they said. The face-to-face non-verbal cues researchers use to determine the direction to move in and to pace their interview are lacking when Skype is used (Berg & Lune, 2014). However, for this research, this was the most effective means for gathering data.

When conducting the interviews, notes were taken. The interviews were not recorded as it was decided that the most important and essential information would be written down during the interview. When choosing this method, some information might be missed and the transcription will not necessarily be verbatim. However, the interviewees were all open to be contacted after the interview if more information was needed or something was unclear. This helps the researcher ensure that the information they obtain is as accurate as possible. After the interviews were conducted and transcribed, they were coded and analyzed

3.2.1 Analysis of interviews

The analysis of the interviews was conducted in the same way as the document analysis. Color-coding combined with table coding was carried out⁴. To get an overview of the major findings, different colors were given to the different categories. The focus in the analysis was to obtain an overview of the content of the different interviews, to ascertain whether there was a consensus among the different interviewees' answers, or disagreements, and to compare the interviews. Furthermore, the information gathered in the interviews was used as information to complement and supplement that of the document analysis.

3.3 Ethical considerations

During the whole research process, it was important to pay attention to ethical issues and considerations and to follow ethical obligations. As Berg and Lune (2014, p. 61) state, "Social scientists [...] have an ethical obligation to their colleagues, their study populations, and the larger society". As this research has included different people in the research process, the main important principle was "*do no harm*" (Berg & Lune, 2014, p. 61). It has been important to ensure the rights, privacy and welfare of the study population and community.

⁴ Explained under the chapter "Document analysis"

Both data storage and how to conduct interviews in an ethically justifiable way have been the main ethical considerations in this research study. Firstly, it was important to ensure safe data storage. Documents were saved on a personal computer with a password lock. Secondly, it was essential that the guidelines for the Community-Based Policing and Post-Conflict Police reform (ICT4COP) research project and the use of SharePoint were followed. As SharePoint gives access to unpublished information and documents, it was important to make sure that these were confidential and not shared. It was also important to ensure the correct use of references throughout the paper.

To respect and ensure the interviewees' rights was another main focus. Consent, anonymity and confidentiality are three factors that it is important to ensure during the interview process (Berg & Lune, 2014). First, before conducting the interviews, a consent form was prepared⁵. Here interviewees were provided with information about the project, the aim of the interview, and the fact that confidentiality was assured; they were also asked to give their consent to participate. The consent form was sent to all interviewees by mail; they had time to read it and ask questions if they had any. Consent was given in written form or orally before each interview. Secondly, this research project was registered and approved by the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD). During the process of writing the application to NSD, the approach taken to several important ethical issues and consideration was explained.

Confidentiality and anonymity are both important to consider when conducting interviews. "*Confidentiality* is an active attempt to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subjects' identities" (Berg & Lune, 2014, p. 93). Anonymity is concerned with ensuring that no identifying information is noted together with the responses. Anonymity is hard to ensure 100 % in qualitative research. Therefore, it is important to provide a high degree of confidentiality. To maintain interviewee confidentiality, safe storage of the transcribed interviews was ensured. Furthermore, names and other clear identifying marks were separated from the transcribed interviews to ensure interviewee anonymity in the best possible way.

⁵ Appendix 3 - consent form

During the interviews, notes were taken. Immediately after the interviews, the notes were transcribed using Word on the computer. The transcribed interviews were then directly saved on a memory stick. Names and other easily identifiable information were removed from the transcriptions. Names were noted on paper with different codes and stored separately from the transcribed interviews. This was to make sure that the respondents could not be identified in the transcriptions. However, the organizations they were working for or had worked for were noted in the transcriptions. As these are large organizations where a large number of people have worked or work, it would be almost impossible to identify the participants through this information.

Skype and Viber were used for the interviews. These were used because the interviewees were stationed in different countries. When it comes to ethical considerations, Skype and Viber are not the best ways to conduct interviews. As the communication is through the Internet, there is always a chance that others might obtain access to the data. However, the chat was not used to share any sensitive data and the interviewees agreed to participate in the interviews through Skype and Viber without any objections. The chats and call history was deleted to ensure that they were not found at a later time.

3.4 Validity

Testing the validity of this research study is important. Validity is often referred to as credibility in qualitative research. As a researcher, there is a need to establish and test the credibility of the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Golafshani, 2003). In qualitative research, both researchers and respondents have their own perceptions and thoughts about reality, which may impact the validity and credibility of the research (Franklin, Cody, & Ballan, 2010). For example, the researcher may ignore information not supporting his or her view and respondents may forget or present information differently to what others would have done. Furthermore, the documents published by the actors studied are most likely influenced by their views and perceptions. Therefore, the data collected should be treated critically. This research has therefore combined different methods to verify the data found.

Triangulation is used as a validity procedure in this research. "Triangulation is a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of

information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). This study has used document studies, interviews and already existing literature as sources and evidence. Instead of relying on a single incident or data point, it relies on several forms of information and evidence (Creswell & Miller, 2000). This research has examined several different documents, a range of literature and has conducted interviews to find common patterns, different point of views and to verify the different findings. What is found in the document studies was tested, when possible, by the findings of the interviews, and vice versa. However, the focus of this research focus was not to generalize the findings to a larger population, but to develop a wider understanding of the topic.

One common test for validity (mostly used in quantitative methods) is the ability to generalize the findings to a larger group and circumstances (Golafshani, 2003). To generalize the findings of this research is not the aim or the focus. The purpose of this research is not to generalize to the international community and Afghanistan as a whole, but rather to create a broader understanding of the research topic. As Golafshani (2003, p. 600) highlights, rather than seeking prediction, casual determination and generalization of findings, as in quantitative research, qualitative researchers seek understanding and illumination. Furthermore, constructivism is a paradigm in qualitative research which aim is to facilitate a deeper understanding rather than examining surface features. People have different perceptions of reality, which constructivism values. Triangulation is therefore a way to obtain reliable and valid diverse realities (Golafshani, 2003). Although the perceptions and lens of the researcher will always have some impact on the results, the aim is to be as neutral as possible.

3.5 Important remarks

It is important to remember that when talking about Afghan women in general as victims of violence and discrimination, this does not mean that all Afghan women have the same experiences. There might be Afghan women who have never experienced violence and feel their rights are preserved. Also, women may have discriminatory perceptions of other people and exercise discriminatory actions. The same is true for the men. When talking in general about Afghan men’s discriminatory perceptions of and actions against women, this does not mean that all Afghan men are the same. There are men who respect women as equals. Men may also experience discriminatory actions and violence because of their social status.

Furthermore, the issues discussed are complex, interrelated, and vary within and between the different Afghan areas and communities.

It is important to bear in mind when talking about the different community policing projects in Afghanistan that these do not cover the whole country. The different projects and actors operate in different areas. This research therefore refers to common tendencies that illuminate the overall situation.

This research is mainly based on documents easily available to the public. Most have been found on the Internet, while contacts has been given assistance to find documents not published at Internet. This means that there are most likely to be several other relevant and important documents that this research has not included, documents that might have provided other perspectives and findings. However, the wide variety of documents found do provide valuable data for the analysis and a broader understanding of the research subjects.

4 Cooperation and coordination between actors

There are several important international actors active in the development of the Afghan security sector. There are several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are known to work closely with and promote the interests of civil society (Karns & Mingst, 2010). There are also several bilateral donors and bilateral projects, including the German Police Project Team (GPPT) (Larivé, 2012, p. 189). Furthermore, there is a large number of IOs present, one of which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), who are actively supporting the Afghan authorities to provide security across the country (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2017). Although they have been working with the ANP, their main focus has been on military capacity. Their NATO Training Mission to Afghanistan (NTM-A) believed the ANP had to “prioritize combating insurgency until the country permits a phased transition to a conventional police force” (Planty & Perito, 2013, p. 9). Because NATO is a huge actor working within the Afghan security sector it is important to mention them. However, as this research concerns community policing and gender issues, the focus is on actors whose main focus is on these areas.

Because of the broad spectrum of actors present within the security sector in Afghanistan, a selection has been made⁶. The main focus will be on IOs that manage, or have managed, significant development programs on community policing in which gender issues are integrated. These include UNDP, EUPOL and UNOPS/ UNAMA, actors that do not seem to intersect the military with the police. UN Women is included as the main IO within the gender and women's rights field. These IOs' approaches, efforts and projects on community policing and gender will be explored. After this, the efforts of the national government institutions, the MoI and MoWA, will be presented. These have been chosen as the MoI is the main body responsible for leading and managing the ANP, and MoWA is the main body responsible for ensuring gender equality and women's rights in Afghanistan. Furthermore, there is a great number of CSOs active within the gender and women's rights field. An important Afghan CSO within the gender and women's rights field is the Afghan Women's Network (AWN). Their work will therefore be explored.

This overview of the different international, national and civil society actors' efforts and programs on community policing and gender is explored in order to understand what the aim of their work is. To understand the relationships between actors, it is necessary to know about the culture, institutions, procedures, norms, rules and social practices that form the actors and their structures. As Hopf (1998, p. 173) states, "Actors develop their relations with, and understandings of, others through the media of norms and practices." An understanding of the different actors' identities and interests provides valuable background information for the analysis and discussion.

Coordination and cooperation between the actors will be explored and analyzed further below. It is useful to understand the differences between these concepts before the analysis and discussion.

"The difference between coordination and cooperation is that, in the latter category, coordination results in joint action, whilst in the former it results in independent or separate action. In both cases, the behaviour of the agents has changed as a result of the coordination that has taken place, but 'cooperation' implies that they have reached agreement on and actually implemented joint action" (Coning & Friis, 2011, p. 256).

Within the field of community policing and gender in Afghanistan, there is both cooperation and coordination between the involved actors. However, the extent to which there is

⁶ The selection process is explained in the Methodology and Methods chapter.

cooperation and how successful it has been is another question. Other important questions include: How well do these actors cooperate and coordinate their projects and efforts? What power relations exist between the international community, national actors, and local communities? Who takes the lead on what, and what are the implications of this on local ownership and sustainability? Are alternative relationships that would strengthen local ownership and participation possible?

When studying the extent of cooperation and coordination, power and power relations between the actors are important factors. As Conteh-Morgan (2005) highlights, peacebuilding or development efforts are to a large extent characterized by a language of power. Power is present in and through social relations and affects the capacities of actors to determine their circumstances and fate (M. Barnett & Duvall, 2005). When studying coordination and cooperation between the actors involved, power through social relations - looking at how actors impact the beliefs, interests, or actions of each other through mutual agreements and interactions - is central.

The international actors studied claim to cooperate and include either or both the MoI and MoWA and CSOs in their projects. Both ministries claim to cooperate with international actors and work towards developing civil society. However, cooperation between the MoI and MoWA seems to be lacking and there is potential for improvement in the cooperation between the international actors. CSOs work with both international and national government actors to ensure that the civil society's interests are heard. However, the extent to which they are included varies. The overall impression when doing research on the programs and projects where international, national and civil society actors are active is that most often their interests are similar while their levels of coordination and cooperation are weak. As interviewee from EUPOL says, "Everyone wants to coordinate, but no one cooperates."

4.1 International Organizations

History shows that, for decades, the international community has been present in Afghanistan in many different ways, through different actors with different areas of expertise within different fields. They have been and still are present in, among others, the areas of military power, humanitarian aid, development projects, as well as acting as donors. From 1929 until

1978, Afghanistan experienced relative peace. In this period, with foreign help, Afghanistan was able to build modern state institutions and an economic infrastructure (Hayes & Sedra, 2008, p. 28). The period between 1963 and 1973 is called the “Decade of Democracy”. In this period, more than 40% of the Afghan state budget was financed by foreign aid (Goodhand, 2002; Hayes & Sedra, 2008, p. 28). This positive development suffered a setback with the pro-Moscow Communist coup in 1978, which led to the Soviet military intervention in 1979. After this intervention, the Soviet Union controlled urban areas and provided them with resources and subsidies. This led to Afghan dependency on foreign aid.

The Afghan-Soviet war ended in 1989. This led to an increase in resources provided by the international community to Afghanistan. This was, among others, a result of the presence of the UN Office for the Coordination of Assistance (UNOCA) and Operation Salam⁷. According to Goodhand (2002, pp. 843-844), “ (...) principal features of the contemporary aid regime were established during (...)” the early 1990’s. At this time, the UN, the international Red Cross and several NGOs were the primary aid donors within the aid system in Afghanistan. Then, when the Taliban came to power in the second half of the 1990’s, it became difficult for international actors to be present in Afghanistan. However, as highlighted earlier, since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001, the international community has been strongly present in Afghanistan.

As the Afghan state institutions had been destroyed after almost two decades of war and insecurity, it is argued that, “(...) building sustainable security institutions, establishing the rule of law, and creating economic opportunity need to be the prime focus of reconstruction” (Hayes & Sedra, 2008, p. 32). For over one and a half decades now, the international community, in cooperation with the Afghan Government, have focused on Security Sector Reform (SSR). As Gross (2009, p. 9) argues, “A functioning security and justice sector is a key measure for stability.” Therefore, to improve governance in post-conflict countries, SSR has become a key concept for the international community. It has been and still is a main element in international efforts to “rebuild” and stabilize Afghanistan (Bloching, 2011).

A part of SSR has been to establish a trustworthy community-based police force. The aim is to build an Afghan National Police (ANP) force that can autonomously ensure safety and enforce law and order for all Afghan citizens, regardless of their gender or age, in rural and urban areas (UNDP, 2016). Important factors in this work are the inclusion of women and

⁷ Operation Salam managed by UN, coordinated humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghanistan.

ensuring equal rights for women and men. In this regard, the international community has developed several projects on community policing that include gender issues. Through these projects, they have established training programs, donor communities, new national strategies, programs and policy documents and so forth. The questions which will be considered below include: What community policing actions or programs do the international community support or lead?; Are gender and women's rights included in these actions or programs?; and what actions are taken to create a more trusting relationship between civil society and the police?

4.1.1 United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

UNDP is the UN's global development network and has been active in Afghanistan for over 50 years (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016a). They are present in all Afghan provinces. UNDP's mission in Afghanistan is to work together with the Afghan Government and Afghan institutions to provide Afghan solutions for Afghanistan. Their main focus areas are: crisis prevention and recovery; democratic governance; poverty reduction; and sustainable livelihoods. In line with the goals set in the Afghanistan National Development strategy (ANDS), UNDP supports the Afghan Government within

“(…) the field of security and the rule of law, civil service reform, transparency and accountability, local governance, political processes, civil society empowerment, youth, gender equality, human rights, environment and rural energy, the reintegration of former combatants into society, as well as rural development and private sector development” (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016a).

The UNDP has several development projects in Afghanistan within the different fields mentioned above (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016c). These include: Afghanistan Sustainable Energy for Rural Development (ASERD); Local Governance Project-Afghanistan (LoGo); Afghanistan Access to Justice (AA2J); Enhancing Gender Equality and Mainstreaming in Afghanistan (EGEMA); and the Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan (LOTFA). This research will focus on and study in greater depth the LOTFA projects. These projects are carried out in collaboration with the MoI regarding both community policing and gender issues.

Since 2001, LOTFA has funded police salaries, worked to include more women within the Afghan National Police (ANP), improved police capacity, enhanced police- community partnerships and capacity development of MoI. “(...) LOTFA was established [...] as a mechanism for the international community to mobilize resources for the establishment, salary payment, infrastructure creation, capacity development and gender empowerment of the police force in Afghanistan” (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan & UNDP, 2014, p. 2). It is a part of the UNDPs and the donor community’s work to strengthen Afghanistan’s ability to maintain law and order autonomously in the future. They support the MoI in implementing reform priorities and in building and maintaining a professional police force (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016d), a police force that works to solve crime and follow the rule of law, rather than being a counter-insurgency force. Today there are two projects funded by the LOTFA: the Ministry of Interior (MOIA) and the Police Development (MPD) project; and the Support to Payroll Management (SPM) project.

The MPD project’s main aim is to strengthen community policing and strengthen the police–community partnership. In this project, the MoI is the implementing partner. It is a project that

“(...) will enhance the capacity of the MOIA to review and reform its policies, civilianize certain administrative roles, develop its institutions, modernize administration systems to increase responsiveness and accountability, provide professional training, enhance police-community partnership, and improve police service delivery to the citizens” (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016b).

The project also works to strengthen the role of women in the ANP. Several women has been trained at the Sivas Police Academy in Turkey to become police officers, a gender work plan has been developed and trainings have been provided to change attitudes towards female police officers (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016b). The project has also, together with the MoI, established more Police-e-Mardumi (PeM) units in several provinces. The PeM (community policing) units work to improve police-community relations and strengthen civil society’s trust and confidence in the police. Another focus area of the UNDP’s work has been the payment of salaries to the police.

As Afghanistan’s economy and its capacity to pay police salaries have been weak, the LOTFA project has funded police salaries (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016e). The SPM project is working on the police payroll by supporting the MoI to build capacity in finance and human

resources departments; the aim for the future is that the MoI will take over payroll management. When it comes to salaries, the UNDP is also working for women to be offered decent pay on an equal basis as men. Gender equality is another important focus area for the UNDP.

The UNDP is, together with, among others, MoWA, working to implement key commitments on gender mainstreaming, gender equality and women's rights (UNDP Afghanistan, n.d.). They have established the Enhancing Gender Equality and Mainstreaming in Afghanistan project (EGEMA)⁸, which builds upon the closed Gender Equality Project II (GEP-II) (UNDP Afghanistan, n.d.). The EGEMA project is a collaboration project between the Afghan government and the UNDP with the aim of strengthening MoWA's work regarding gender issues.

The EGEMA project is in line with the National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) and gives technical assistance to MoWA (UNDP Afghanistan, n.d.). According to UNDP Afghanistan (n.d.), they give assistance to MoWA in order

“(...) to build its capacity and advance gender mainstreaming in the government policy and planning process, coordinate and monitor implementation of the National Action Plan for Women, and take [sic] a stronger role in women's economic empowerment, behavioral socio-cultural changes [sic] toward [sic] gender equality, as well as creating a cadre of nationally educated gender experts that are ready to be employed in public and private sectors.”

These projects, LOTFA and its “sub-projects”, and EGEMA, show that UNDP Afghanistan is active in development work on both police and gender issues. However, they are not from the only ones in the international community to cover these development issues in Afghanistan. All their projects have several state donors. They also have international partners on their different projects. One of their partners in the LOTFA projects was claimed to be, the European Union Police Mission (EUPOL) in Afghanistan⁹.

⁸ This project was started in 2015 and is supposed to end in April 2018. Despite the fact that the end date is approaching, there are no public project progress reports that exist (UNDP Afghanistan, n.d.). It will therefore be difficult to explore and analyze the influence of this project.

⁹ Interviewee EUPOL claimed that their cooperation with the UNDP was weak

4.1.2 The European Union Police Mission (EUPOL) in Afghanistan

EUPOL Afghanistan operated in Afghanistan from 2007 until 2016. At the beginning of their mission, the intention was to be present for a period of at least three years, which became a period of 9 years (EEAS Press Team, 2016). Their presence in Afghanistan until 2016 and the project and its impact is important to this research, as they have been an important international actor in police reform in Afghanistan.

EUPOL Afghanistan operated under the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), led by the EU Political and Security Committee (PSC) (EEAS Press Team, 2016). The CSDP is an aspect of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management and runs two kinds of missions: civilian and military (European Court of Auditors, 2015, p. 11). EUPOL Afghanistan was a civilian CSDP mission in which helping the Afghan government introduce principles of civilian policing was central. Their mission, according to EUPOL themselves, was aimed at

“(…) contributing to the establishment of sustainable and effective civilian policing arrangements under Afghan ownership and in accordance with international standards. More particularly, the mission will monitor, mentor, advise and train at the level of the Afghan Ministry of Interior, regions and provinces.” (European Union Council Secretariat, 2007, p. 1)

During their time in Afghanistan, EUPOL carried out a number of projects with a main focus on community policing. They worked with the Afghan Government to rebuild and reform the Afghan National Police (ANP) force and MoI. They supported the reform process to create a trusted police service that respects human rights and that works in accordance with the rule of law (European Union External Action, 2011). Moreover, they had six strategic objectives:

“(…) 1) police command, control and communications; 2) intelligence-led policing; 3) criminal investigation department capacity building; 4) implementation of the anti-corruption strategy; 5) police-justice cooperation; and 6) strengthening gender and Human rights aspects within the Afghan National Police (ANP)” (European Union External Action, 2011, p. 2).

To implement its mandate, EUPOL divided its work into three lines of operation: operation 1 involved advancing the institutional reform of the MoI; operation 2 entailed professionalizing the ANP; and operation 3 involved connecting the ANP to the wider justice system (European Court of Auditors, 2015; European Union External Action, 2015). Their work was led by

EUPOL staff, who mainly consisted of police, law enforcement and justice experts from European member states (European Union External Action, 2011). They were stationed around the country at central- (Kabul), regional-, and provincial levels with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs).

EUPOLs mission focused a great deal on training and mentoring, advising and monitoring the senior leadership of relevant Afghan institutions. At the Police Staff College and Crime Management College, EUPOL trained senior leaders of the ANP and detectives. They also developed Train the Trainer courses (European Union External Action, 2014). In addition, EUPOL helped introduce the principles of community-based policing both in Police Districts in Kabul and outside the capital. Through training, advising and mentoring, they introduced projects that helped “(...) reform police districts into models for a more effective and more community oriented policing (...)” (European Union External Action, 2014, p. 2). At national governmental level, EUPOL experts advised the MoI to build and command an effective ANP. For the public to increase its trust in the Afghan justice system, EUPOL placed a great deal of emphasis on cooperation and coordination procedures between police and prosecutors. In these efforts, EUPOL started the Coordination of Police and Prosecutor Trainings. Gender and human rights issues in the police were also included in their work.

EUPOL has developed a human rights booklet and an accompanying training package for both international and Afghan trainers to use when training police personnel on basic human rights. In 2014, the EUPOL Head of Mission, Karl Ake Roghe, and Acting Minister of the Interior, General Mohammad Ayoub Salangi, signed a Memorandum of Cooperation to create a Female Police College in Afghanistan (Eqbal, 2015, p. 9). In addition, EUPOL and the Ministry of Interior agreed to utilize a comprehensive approach to an Afghan-led support to female police officers in Afghanistan.

The main aim of EUPOLs mission was to ensure their projects became Afghan-owned. “The aim was to contribute to the establishment of sustainable and effective civilian policing arrangements, under Afghan ownership, that would ensure appropriate interaction with the wider criminal justice system” (European Court of Auditors, 2015, p. 11). To make sure their activities did not end with their withdrawal, EUPOL developed a comprehensive phasing-out plan (EEAS Press Team, 2016). This plan was to ensure a sustainable transition of their activities to both international and local partners. To what extent their partners have followed this plan is difficult to say as until now, documentation or reports on this have not been found.

However, before ending their mission, EUPOL, together with the UNDP, was the implementing partner in the Afghan Democratic Policing Project (ADPP).

4.1.3 United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS), United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and the Afghan Democratic Policing Project (ADPP)

UNOPS has been supporting the Afghan Government since 1995. They describe themselves as “(...) an operational arm of the United Nations, supporting the successful implementations of its partners’ peacebuilding, humanitarian and development projects around the world” (UNOPS Afghanistan, n.d.). In Afghanistan, they have been active in the national government’s reconstruction and development efforts. They also support multi-country programmes with activities in the peace and security sector in Afghanistan. Among others, they were one of the main implementing actors in the Afghan Democratic Policing Project (ADPP), together with UNAMA.

UNAMA was established by the UN Security Council Resolution 1401 in 2002 and is a political mission. Their mission

“(...) provides political good offices in Afghanistan; works with and supports the government; supports the process of peace and reconciliation; monitors and promotes human rights and the protection of civilians in armed conflict; promotes good governance; and encourages regional cooperation” (UNAMA, 2017a).

UNAMA supports both the people and the government of Afghanistan in achieving peace and stability (UNAMA, 2017b). They work to achieve this in line with the rights and obligations enshrined in the Afghan constitution. UNAMA works and supports Afghanistan within several areas. They support efforts to achieve peace and stability, efforts to guarantee the rule of law and accountable governance and respect for human rights. Within the area of human rights, one of their main areas of focus is the elimination of violence against women and the promotion of gender equality. They pay particular attention to enabling women to participate in the public sphere, especially politically and in peace and reconciliation processes. They also, “[L]ead and coordinate the international community in support of the Government’s priorities to advance peace, governance and development for the benefit of all Afghans” (UNAMA, 2017b). With regard to development projects within the security sector, UNAMA, together with UNOPS, supported - and was the main implementing partner of - the ADPP.

According to the ADPP annual report 2015, the ADPP was funded by the Government of the Netherlands and UNOPS and UNAMA were the lead implementing partners (Eqbal, 2015). They worked in partnership with the MoI and together with eight local Afghan implementers (Tadbeer Consulting Inc., Sayara Media & Communication, Sanayee Development Organization, Paiwastoon Networking Services, Women's Health and Development Organization, Afghan Women's Network, Afghan Civil Society Forum Organization, and Global Rights). However, according to UNAMA Kabul (2013), it was UNOPS that implemented the ADPP, with funding from the Government of the Netherlands, while the UNAMA Police Advisory Unit coordinated all stakeholders and brought them together. However, both UNOPS and UNAMA were important partners in the project.

The ADPP lasted from February 2013 until February 2016 (Eqbal, 2015). Its aim was “(...) to empower Afghan civil society to hold police accountable and simultaneously increase police capacity and motivation to serve and protect people, especially the most vulnerable groups of society – women and children” (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014, p. 7). The ADPP was implemented through six different components:

“(...) (1) expansion of community-police consultations, (2) a safety outreach campaign to promote public trust in police, (3) building relationships between Family Response Units (FRU) and Health Care Providers (HCP), (4) placement of legal fellows for women justice, (5) support for police women councils, and (6) enhancement of police women's literacy” (UNOPS, 2013, p. 6).

However, after the first year, the enhancement of policewomen's literacy component was closed as the implementing actor, Global Rights, withdrew from Afghanistan (Eqbal, 2015). This meant that, after 2014, the project had five different implementing components. Furthermore, they operated within 10 of Afghanistan's provinces.

According to UNAMA Kabul (2013), the aim of the ADPP was to expand and complement the already existing programs led by the UNDP and EUPOL. They worked to expand and complement their work in the areas of community-police engagement and strengthening the capacity of women police. The project supported the PeM (community police) teams, which conducted police-community consultations and school outreach programs with a focus on gender that aimed to strengthen the position of women police. What was aimed at improving access to justice for women and children in local communities. The activities of this project

were conducted in partnership with the MoI (UNOPS, 2013). PeM strengthened the MoI's management of and investment in democratic policing and in women police.

4.1.4 UN Women

UN Women is the UN organization committed to gender equality and the empowerment of Women (UN Women, n.d.-a). They support member states to set global standards to achieve gender equality. Furthermore, UN Women “(...) works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programmes and services needed to ensure that the standards are effectively implemented and truly benefit women and girls worldwide” (UN Women, n.d.-a). UN Women works globally to ensure that the Sustainable Development Goals become reality for all women and also that women and girls get to participate in all aspects of life. To obtain this, they prioritize five areas: increasing women's leadership and participation, ending violence against women, enhancing women's economic empowerment, engaging women in all aspects of peace and security processes, and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting.

UN Women has been present in Afghanistan since 2002. Until 2010 they were present as the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (UN Women, n.d.-b). Their current programs are closely aligned with Afghan “(...) national priorities, focusing in particular on violence against women – both in terms of protection and prevention – leadership and economic empowerment” (UN Women, n.d.-b). UN Women works both with national government institutions and local partners. They provide financial and technical help to strengthen women's role and promote attitudinal, institutional and behavioral change at all levels.

Protection of women and the prevention of violence against women is one of the areas in which UN Women works. They have the Ending Violence against Women Special Fund, which funds 11 Women's protection centers and 5 Family Guidance Centers (UN Women, n.d.-b). At these centers, women that have survived violence, and their children, have a safe place to shelter. These centers help rebuild their lives. They provide legal support, health checks and psychosocial support. Furthermore, in 2015, UN Women launched the HeForShe campaign in Afghanistan, a campaign that works to change attitudes and behaviors that

violate women's rights, especially among men and boys. Also, UN Women works together with, and gives support to, the national Government at the policy level.

Afghanistan has signed several international treaties concerning women's rights and empowerment. "UN Women works to promote institutional accountability for legal frameworks and international obligations on women's empowerment, including reporting against the international treaties that Afghanistan is party to" (UN Women, n.d.-b). The Afghan government has developed, among others, the National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) and the National Action Plan for UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, which UN Women helps to implement and works to mainstream (UN Women, n.d.-b). In this area, they chair the Technical Gender Working Group, in which government and CSOs are involved. As a part of their work, UN Women supports national legal reform processes. Among other laws, they have been active in the development of the Elimination of Violence against Women Law (EVAW Law). As can be seen, UN Women works on gender issues, women's rights and empowerment at all levels in Afghanistan.

UN Women has a strong focus on the implementation of new laws and policies. They support a stronger result-based programmatic approach and promote national execution (UN Women, n.d.-b). Their Afghan Country Office, therefore, focuses on three pillars in their program: the Elimination of Violence against Women (EVAW); Political and Economic Empowerment; and Coordination and Advocacy (UN Women, n.d.-c). They are all three managed by a national Manager and Deputy Manager, while international staff are only employed to provide specialized technical support. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) implement the projects, which, according to UN Women, strengthens their sustainability.

No information on UN Women being active within community policing has been found. However, with respect to this research, UN Women is an important international actor within the gender and women's rights field. UN Women claim to focus on both cooperation with and inclusion of government institutions and local actors in their work on gender and women's rights.

In this regard limited documentation and reports about their work at local level is found. What is found is that they have been active towards MoWA and in designing new laws and policies

ensuring afghan women's rights. EVAW Law and NAPWA are two of the documents they have supported MoWA in developing. Because of limited data on UN Women's work it will be difficult to elaborate on the effects of their work. Therefore, further in this paper they will be mentioned in those contexts where information is found.¹⁰

4.1.5 Cooperation and coordination between international organizations

As seen from the presentation of the different international actors, they all have many of the same intentions and goals for their projects and programs. The main focus of everyone, except UN Women, is on community policing; on strengthening trust between police and civil society. However, they all include gender and human rights in some way in their programs and projects. While the UNDP, EUPOL, UNOPS and UNAMA have the strongest focus on strengthening gender and women's rights within the MoI and ANP, UN Women aims to ensure Afghan women's right to participation in all aspects of life and to change attitudes towards gender discrimination at all levels of the society.

Even though UN Women is the lead IO on gender and women's rights, there is very little cooperation with them. The UNDP cooperates with UN Women to implement Resolution 1325. They are also interested in creating an effective collaboration with UN Women within the gender equality field (United Nation Development Programme, 2014). According to the United Nation Development Programme (2014, p. 23), they do address many of the same development challenges as UN Women, but have done this through different entry points. UNDP female field staff interviewee reported that although they did not cooperate with UN Women on their projects, they did share experiences, information on what was going on in the projects, issues faced and other necessary information. The other IOs studied were not found to mention any cooperation or coordination with UN Women within the gender field in their documents. However, EUPOL police official interviewee reported that they cooperated with UN Women at the lower level. However, she claimed that UN Women was ineffective. She said that, "they did not seem to have any head of mission. Therefore, they did not become an active partner." This might be because the focus of UN Women is on local ownership, which

¹⁰ According to contacts, UN Women has got much critique for its work. Wimpelmann (2012, p. 3) states that, "(...) UN Women in Afghanistan has struggled with security restrictions, international recruitment, and a level of mistrust between (...) some of the Afghan women's organisations whose advocacy efforts it is supposed to co-ordinate."

differs from EUPOL's focus on the development of capacity in the MoI and ANP. However, the UNDP interviewee thought UN Women had some very interesting and effective gender projects. This is interesting as the EUPOL representative is from Europe and the UNDP representative is a native Afghan. Despite many of the same interests, therefore, this research found that the lack of cooperation and coordination between international actors is an issue.

All the international actors studied do, in some way, underline the need for better cooperation and coordination. As stated in the report published by European Court of Auditors (2015), there was a lack of coordination and cohesion among international actors. In conversations with contacts in Afghanistan and in the interviews, the lack of cooperation between international actors was emphasized by the majority. Even between UN agencies representing the same IO, there is an absence of cooperation and coordination, despite UNAMA's mandate to achieve increased coherence and enhanced coordination between UN agencies and other stakeholders (UNAMA, n.d.).

One of EUPOL's objectives was also to improve cooperation and coordination between international actors. However, the results of their work were limited (European Court of Auditors, 2015). One reason for their unsuccessful efforts that was highlighted was their size, which affected their power with respect to other actors. This can be seen in their relation to NATO. EUPOL was a minor player compared to, among others, the NATO led NTM-A. The NATO led NTM-A was seen as more powerful and therefore difficult to influence. However, coordination platforms to address the problem of cooperation and coordination have been established. The International Police Coordination Board of Afghanistan (IPCB) is one of these¹¹.

The IPCB was established as the main body for coordinating police reform in Afghanistan (IPCB Afghanistan, n.d.). Of the actors studied, EUPOL, UNDP/LOTFA, UNAMA and the MoI were all members of the board, which was supposed to coordinate, guide and prioritize international police reform efforts. It was also meant to assist the Government of Afghanistan in reforming the ANP in accordance with the vision and priorities of the MoI. However, it is stated that the IPCB's work was unsuccessful (European Court of Auditors, 2015) as they did not achieve the level of power needed to be able to make a difference.

¹¹ It is unclear if the IPCB still runs or if it is implemented as a part of MoI.

The IPCB efforts to promote coordination and cooperation between international actors has had very limited results. According to Planty and Perito (2013), the IPCB never functioned as an effective coordination mechanism. Lack of consensus among donors, a lack of resources and limited operational authority are some of the reasons for its limited success. Added to this, “International stakeholders have been unwilling to be coordinated and have perceived the IPCB as an ambitious effort on the part of the EU to take the lead in the policing sector” (European Court of Auditors, 2015, p. 19). Both a lack of consensus and different interests among board members hampered the IPCB’s ability to act.

As M. Barnett and Finnmore (2004, p. 4) state, “As there is variation in states’ interests there is a need to recognize that there is variation in IOs’ interests too.” As neo-realists and neo-liberalists argue, interests are the same as self-interests (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001). If the different actors’ self-interests are not met, this might be one explanation for the IPCB’s¹² limited results. Self-interest can be stronger than the desire for cooperation, even though their objectives to implement community policing and gender equality are the same. Research indicates that lack of cooperation between international actors has been a problem for continuous development and success in the security sector. It is also important to understand levels of cooperation and coordination between international actors and Afghan national governmental institutions, as it is the government’s main responsibility to ensure that their population experience equal human rights and security.

4.2 National Government Institutions

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIROA) has a central, mandatory role to play in ensuring the security and development of the country. States have a responsibility to uphold five social values: security, freedom, order, justice and welfare (Jackson & Sørensen, 2010; UN Trust Fund for Human Security, n.d.). Furthermore, it is the GIROA that has the primary responsibility for ensuring their population’s survival, livelihood and dignity. These are all fundamental values that must be protected or ensured in order for everyone to experience human security. According to the UNDP (2015b, p. v), GIROA has in this regard identified several challenges to be addressed by the MoI and ANP within the

¹² Who was in charge to lead the IPCB is also unclear.

security area. These include: the rule of law, government leadership issues, lack of public trust in the police, gender and human rights issues, “(...) low quality working and living conditions and health care services for police and a low level of national police education” (UNDP, 2015b, p. v). This indicates that community policing within the security sector and an overall goal of inclusion of gender and human rights in their development work are a priority. There are two main questions that need answering here. What actions / programs does the Afghan government support or lead to include more women in community policing? What do they do to create a more trusting relationship between civil society and police?

The next two sections will look more closely at the MoI and MoWA. Together, these two cover the areas that are the focus of this research study: areas, community policing and gender issues in Afghanistan. Their priorities with regard to community policing and gender will be discussed, as well as the efforts they have made to develop these areas. After this, their attempts to coordinate and cooperate with each other will be considered. For the security and gender situation in Afghanistan to improve, there is a need for the Government to set a good example.

4.2.1 Ministry of Interior Affairs

The Ministry of Interior (MoI) is the ministry responsible for the management of all branches of the police. One such branch is the Afghan National Police (ANP). The ANP is a part of the MoI and serves as the single national law enforcement agency (Planty & Perito, 2013). The MoI and ANP together serve as the law enforcement entity on behalf of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIROA) (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2011). They are responsible for enforcing laws, protecting citizen’s rights, providing security and providing national unity among all Afghans. A priority for the MoI (and the international community) is to achieve a better and more trustworthy relationship between the ANP and civil society.

To achieve this trust between the police and civil society, community policing is significant. MoI has established the Police – e Mardume (PeM) section¹³. The PeM (community policing) section has been developed under the MoI, in cooperation with the International Community and with civil society (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-a; Secretariat of Police-e Mardume -

¹³ International actors most often refer to PeM as a project, while MoI claim that PeM is a section established under them.

Ministry of Interior, n.d). Its objective is to build an easily approachable police force that is trusted by civil society. Furthermore, it aims to establish a police force that protects people's human rights and that ensures the rule of law in order to uphold human security at the local level. Gender is also included in sub-projects and is also mainstreamed in the MoI's policies and work.

Another issue that the MoI has paid more attention to is gender and women's rights. The goal is that by the solar year 1402 (Gregorian year 2023), at least ten per cent of all MoI and ANP personnel are women (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2013). For this goal to be reached, the MoI have included their own chapter on Women in the MoI and ANP in the Ten-Year Vision for the Afghan National Police (Ten-year Vision) (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2013), in which they present their strategy for achieving the long-term goal of gender equality. They have, in addition, established the General Directorate of Human Rights, Child Rights and Gender.

The General Directorate of Human Rights, Child Rights and Gender was established as a part of the MoI's efforts to include human rights and gender in their work. The Directorate is charged with ensuring that Afghanistan adheres to the international human rights and gender treaties and conventions which they have signed and with ensuring that gender equality and human rights values are promoted within the police (Ministry of Interior, n.d). However, with regard to public trust, the MoI and ANP have as their main responsibility the enforcement of the rule of law with no gender, ethnic or language discrimination (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2015).

“The Ministry of Interior and the Afghanistan National Police, a nationally structured and community based force, serve as the primary provider of law enforcement, public order and security, stability, and specific public services to the citizens of Afghanistan” (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2015, p. 5).

As can be seen, the MoI, leading the ANP, has a main role to play in ensuring security for the Afghan people in a trustworthy way. They also have the responsibility for ensuring the inclusion of gender and women's rights within the security sector. With the change of leadership in 2015, the new minister Mr. Noor-ul-Haq Ulumi gave top priority to community policing and the advancement of women in the police (Eqbal, 2015, p. 9). However, although MoWA is the main national government institution within the field of gender, the MoI does not seem to cooperate with them.

4.2.2 Ministry of Women's Affairs

Much has happened since 2001 at the ministerial level in Afghanistan when it comes to gender equality and women's rights. After intervening in Afghanistan, the international community has become far more focused on women's rights. As stated in the Bonn Agreement (UN, 2001), one of the aims of the Interim Authority was to ensure women's participation. As part of the development work on gender equality and women's rights, the Government was urged, by the international community to establish a Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) (Wimpelmann, 2017). Mandated by the 2001 Bonn Agreement, MoWA was established in 2002.

MoWA's mandate is to lead governmental efforts in the areas of gender and women's rights. They work to eliminate violence against women and to ensure women's access to justice. It is the task of MoWA to oversee programs on women's advancement, public education and outreach regarding women's rights (Manjoo, 2015). Furthermore, it is the task of MoWA to ensure that other government institutions mainstream gender in all their policies, programs and activities (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014; Wimpelmann, 2017). As an aspect of this work, gender units have been established.

MoWA administer gender units in the other Afghan ministries. These are established to ensure, among other things, that the National Action Plan for Women in Afghanistan (NAPWA) is actually implemented by all ministries (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007), as all government institutions have agreed to fully cooperate in its implementation. The gender units are therefore a part of the work of MoWA to ensure and oversee programs on women's rights and gender equality:

“Under MoWA's supervision and guidance, state institutions are expected to mainstream gender in their policies, annual plans and activities, and ministries are encouraged to dedicate at least 30 percent of their budget to it” (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

When doing research on MoWA's work and mission, the information found was very limited. They have their own web page, but this gives almost no information on their mission or their work. Contacts in Afghanistan and interviewee MoWA stated that it is very difficult to find any documents or reports on their work. The reasons for this might be that MoWA lacks

access to resources like computers, educated staff members, acceptance and respect from other ministries and government institutions (Interviewee MoWA). An important enquiry is to look at how well MoWA and MoI cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

4.2.3 Cooperation and coordination between national government institutions

Both the MoI and MoWA work to mainstream gender equality in their strategies and projects. The MoI's main focus is community policing in which gender and women's rights have got much attention. As MoWA holds the main responsibility for ensuring gender mainstreaming at Governmental level, logically there should be close cooperation between the MoI and MoWA. Furthermore, MoWA is responsible for supporting other ministries in their efforts to implement NAPWA (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007). NAPWA's 1st pillar covers the security sector and urges that a review of security sector policies and programs from a gender perspective ensures women's rights and the inclusion of women in the security sector. However, limited information on the relationship and cooperation between the MoI and MoWA was found; it seems that cooperation or coordination between MoWA and the MoI has been very limited, if it has happened at all. They do not refer to each other and the interviews carried out support this finding.

With respect to the gender units, which are supposed to be established in the ministries under the command of MoWA to ensure full implementation of NAPWA, these are not present in the MoI. The gender units are not as effective as intended. As discussed by the Interviewee MoWA, the gender units face challenges when performing the tasks they are assigned. One of the issues is that the gender units have a low-ranking position and because of this, they are not taken seriously by other ministries, which hampers their power to impact their policies. Furthermore, as Wimpelmann (2014) emphasizes, MoWA does not have as much capacity to influence other ministries as they should have and has had problems meeting the expectations placed on them. The concept of power is also influential here.

MoWA lacks the power to influence other more powerful ministries like the MoI. The MoI seems to be a more powerful ministry with more resources compared to MoWA. Also, working on the development of the security sector and the police might be seen as more accepted by Afghans than solely working on gender issues, a very sensitive issue in Afghan

society, where religion, cultural practices and patriarchal norms remain strong (Parto & Martin, 2015). Furthermore, as it was the international community that initiated the establishment of MoWA, Afghan people may feel a lack of ownership of and affiliation with its efforts. For the Afghan population to feel more included in development processes, there is a need to cooperate with local CSOs.

4.3 Local CSOs

Local Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are important actors within the field of development. The development and peacebuilding process needs the voices of non-state informal sectors of society (Conteh-Morgan, 2005, p. 82). It is believed that CSOs have a positive influence on the political, social and economic changes necessary for the reduction of poverty and inequality. Despite the recognition of CSOs as important actors, the development and peacebuilding processes have been critiqued for their state-centric approaches (Clayton, Oakley, & Taylor, 2000); “(...) CSOs are often marginalized and oppressed by governments, or instrumentalized as mere service delivery channels for international donors” (Better Aid, 2010, p. 7). However, since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the recognition of CSOs as influential actors in national development. They are important actors as they are non-state actors operating at a local level close to local communities and civil society. CSOs are, among other things, better at including marginalized people, who are often women. For this reason, cooperation and coordination with local CSOs might make an important difference to the development efforts of international and national actors.

As this paper focuses on gender and women’s rights, the local CSO, Afghan Women’s Network (AWN), which works on gender issues and women rights, will be studied. No CSOs were found that worked primarily on community policing. However, the Afghan Women’s Network (AWN) will be examined more closely as they work within the field of women, peace and security (Afghan Women’s Network, 2017a). Also, AWN has been an active partner in implementing the Afghan Democratic Policing Project (ADPP)¹⁴.

¹⁴ As limited information on CSOs working on community policing is found, the main focus is on AWN, while other CSOs efforts will be highlighted and referred to when relevant.

4.3.1 Afghan Women's Network (AWN)

The Afghan Women's Network (AWN) is a foundation for the Afghan Women's Movement and is an umbrella for its 125 member organizations (Afghan Women's Network, 2017a), all of which are women's organizations. Through advocacy and lobbying, they represent and promote Afghan women in political and social arenas. They address gender-based violence, youth empowerment and education for girls. "The AWN envisions an Afghanistan in which women & men live in a justice and discrimination free society." (Afghan Women's Network, 2017a). The three strategic areas they focus on are women's political participation and leadership, women's social and legal protection and women, peace and security.

AWN builds their strategic area, women's political participation and leadership, on the belief that this is essential to build a democratic society (Afghan Women's Network, n.d.-b). They support women to participate in decision-making organs at community, subnational and national levels. They empower women "(...) to overcome social and cultural barriers that prevent them from participating in society on an equal footing with men" (Afghan Women's Network, n.d.-b). Methods used for this are trainings, networking and lobbying activities.

The second strategic area of the AWN, women's social and legal protection, is one of their most central activities (Afghan Women's Network, n.d.-c). The focus within this area is on women's rights in family affairs, women's access to legal protection and quick responses to gender-based violence. They seek "(...) to address and highlight the existing gender inequality and the lack of institutions and structures to protect women in Afghanistan" (Afghan Women's Network, n.d.-c). The AWN approaches this area by monitoring the implementation of women's rights laws like the CEDAW and EVAW laws. In addition, they undertake awareness-raising initiatives in communities and conduct lobbying to influence decisions within the area of women's rights.

Their third strategic area of the AWN is women, peace and security. This area is rooted in the UN's Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNCR1325), which among other things, stresses the importance of equal participation by women in peace-building processes (Afghan Women's Network, 2017b); "AWN endorses women's participation and full involvement in all efforts related to the maintenance and promotion of peace and security in Afghanistan" (Afghan Women's Network, 2017b). The AWN promotes women's participation in peace talks and

engages in capacity building activities with members of the Afghan High Peace Council. Moreover, the AWN was an implementing partner in the ADPP project, in which they were responsible for support for the Police Women Councils (PWC) component (Eqbal, 2015). They arranged, among other things, outreach visits, trainings and capacity workshops.

4.3.2 Cooperation and coordination between CSOs

Local CSOs seem to coordinate their work and do cooperate with each other. There are several CSOs that are umbrella organizations, like the AWN and the Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief and Development (ACBAR). These work to ensure better cooperation and coordination between CSOs. No documents or reports on the AWN's work on coordination and cooperation with CSOs have been found and it is therefore difficult to elaborate on this further. However, the AWN has its own networking department, which attempts to exchange opinions, share experiences, coordinate actions and arrange monthly coordination meetings between its members (Afghan Women's Network, n.d.-a). They are also working on better coordination and networking with other CSOs, GIRoA and with IOs. CSOs are important ambassadors and lobbyists in the interests of civil society towards authorities.

4.4 Cooperation and coordination between actors across levels – international organizations, national government institutions and CSOs

As highlighted earlier, the extent of actors' coordination and cooperation influences the outcomes of development efforts. As stated by Coning and Friis (2011, p. 251),

“There appears to be consensus that peace and stability operations will be more efficient and effective, and thus have a more meaningful impact, when the different actors engaged have a common strategy, based on a common understanding of the problem, a common theory of change, and an agreed synchronized plan for implementing and evaluating such a strategy”.

All actors underline the importance of cooperating with other actors (international, national and civil society actors) within the same development field and of coordinating their efforts. For example, the United Nations Security Council (2014) resolution 2145 on UNAMA's mandate highlights the importance of cooperating with the Afghan Government and local

CSOs. They argue that it makes them better able to monitor the situation of civilians, to coordinate efforts to ensure their protection and to promote accountability. Also, EUPOL and the Afghan Democratic Policing Project highlights the importance of cooperation between actors at all levels (European Court of Auditors, 2015; UNOPS, 2013). EUPOL cooperated closely with the MoI, but should have cooperated more closely with CSOs, according to EUPOL police official interviewee. The ADPP, on the other hand, promote cooperation between all actors (international, national and locals), with a special focus on local ownership.

The international community does cooperate with national government institutions. Both the MoI and MoWA highlight their cooperation with international actors¹⁵. However, according to the ANDS annual progress report, “The coordination mechanism between the government and the international donors has not been [as] effective as expected or does not exist at all” (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Economy, 1389 (2011), p. 47). Furthermore, the information found shows that the international community is more active in cooperation with the MoI than with MoWA; the exception to this is UN Women, which is found to only cooperate with MoWA. Reasons for this trend, as highlighted above, might be that the MoI seems to be a stronger ministry, with more resources than MoWA and that the MoI is the central government institution to cooperate with on community policing.

When doing research on the cooperation and coordination between international actors and national governmental institutions, it was found that the IOs’ main focus is on capacity building¹⁶ of ministries. IOs and the ministries all refer to each other, in some way, in the programs and the reports found. As they do work in the same development field, they see the need for coordination to some degree. They coordinate by sharing information, partly in order to avoid conflict. The IPCB project, in which an effort to coordinate IOs’ and the MoI’s interests and programs in order to avoid overlap, is an example of this.

What was found is that the actors most often cooperate on small-scale projects within a limited time frame. Cooperation is when actors with overlapping objectives choose joint or collaborative actions (Coning & Friis, 2011): “They retain their organizational independence, but are willing to go rather far in organizing activities together with others, although such

¹⁵ See that international actors have influence and form new Afghan interests. This will be elaborated on in later chapters.

¹⁶ Their capacity development approach will be elaborated on further in the chapters on approaches to community policing and gender issues below.

arrangements are typically temporary (...)” (Coning & Friis, 2011, p. 256). The ADPP is an example of a project for which coordination and cooperation between IOs, the MoI, MoWA and CSOs were central. Its aim was to build upon the UNDP’s and EUPOL’s work to avoid overlap and to include and create cooperation between actors vertically and horizontally (UNOPS, 2013; UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). However, this was within a limited time frame. Another example is the PeM section within the MoI, which was developed in cooperation between IOs, the MoI and civil society (Ministry of Interior, n.d.).

The MoI claims that PeM is a section underneath them for whom they are in charge¹⁷, while IOs claim to be a part of the PeM project, and that they are in charge of establishing PeM units and leading the trainings. This may indicate that IOs use a rhetoric that indirectly claims power over the MoI, as they do not give any clear credence to the MoI’s leadership. The UNDP, in 2016, claimed to have established 12 new PeM units (UNDP Afghanistan, 2016b), while EUPOL claims to have led the training of PeM teams. Furthermore, it underlines the suggestion that actors’ different interests and their desire for independence, can be challenging for actors, making it difficult to unite for a common purpose or action. The male trainee at MoWA had the impression that IOs’ concern for their reputation was stronger than their interest in meeting Afghan needs. These are factors that hamper development projects. The “(...) lack of coherence is one of the factors often cited as contributing to the poor success rate and lack of sustainability of international peace and stability operations” (Coning & Friis, 2011, p. 246). For this reason, the comprehensive approach has become more common.

The comprehensive approach stresses the importance of improved coherence between actors and their actions. It is an approach that has become more and more common among actors operating in Afghanistan. As mentioned earlier, EUPOL was a part of the EU’s comprehensive approach. UNAMA, particularly, as the UN’s coordination organization, stresses the importance of a comprehensive approach to addressing security, governance and development challenges in Afghanistan (United Nations Security Council, 2014). However, there is no common accepted definition of this approach, and all actors have their own interpretations. However, it is aimed at developing “(...) mechanisms and cultures of understanding, sharing and collaboration both vertically between nations and international organisations and horizontally between nations and organisations” (Rintakoski & Autti, 2008,

¹⁷ Information from contacts and ICT4COP

p. 9). Vertically, there is a need for international organizations and national government ministries to include CSOs. As the civil society is an important actor in community policing and gender efforts, the question is how CSOs can be included and whether international actors and the GIRoA should cooperate and coordinate their efforts with CSOs.

The research revealed that international and national actors state that they cooperate with CSOs, but the information shared on this is limited. As seen above, both the ADPP and PeM underline the importance of including CSOs. However, the research gives the impression that the extent of CSO participation in development projects on community policing and gender issues is limited. When they are mentioned in the different actors' programs and strategies, most often it is in general terms. All IOs, the MoI and MoWA state that it is important to cooperate with and include local actors; their actual actions to achieve this, however, are rather diffuse. Nevertheless, ACBAR has developed a report, which highlights the inclusion of CSOs by GIRoA and the international community.

The ACBAR report provides a picture of a GIRoA without mechanisms for coordination with CSOs, and a UN that aims to coordinate UN actions with CSO activities (Durand Dr. Marine, 2015). The Afghan government has some administrative and financial interactions with CSOs, but no organized support. There is no coordination between ministries to assist CSOs. Furthermore, the report elaborates on the efforts of UN organizations to coordinate their actions with CSOs. UNAMA does not have any specific program for CSOs. However, they have supported coordination between CSOs both at national and regional levels. UNDP, in 2013, established the Civil Society Advisory Committee (CSAS) to reinforce their relations with CSOs. Its purpose was to improve dialogue and consultations between UNDP staff and CSOs. It opens the way for CSOs to provide advice on policies and strategies and to give Afghan civil society a stronger voice. It is a platform for cooperation between CSOs and the UNDP.

Cooperation with CSOs is important in the development of community policing and gender issues. According to the human security approach, "(...) actors, particularly those close to and familiar with the realities on the ground, are especially important in building responses that are proactive, preventive and sustainable, and they should be assisted by the international community" (UN Trust Fund for Human Security, n.d.). CSOs with knowledge of political nuances and cultural sensitivities are important actors in the promotion of human security.

Nonetheless, coordination and cooperation with CSOs on police reform by the different actors seem to be limited. As stated by Coyne and Nyborg (2017, p. 1), “Most police reform efforts focus primarily if not exclusively, on capacity building of the government, namely the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the police force.” This is called a ministry-centric approach, in which cooperation with CSOs is limited. In the next chapter, approaches to community policing and gender issues by the different international actors will be elaborated on.

5 Approaches to community policing and gender

Within development, several different approaches might be used. These may be divided into three main approaches: bottom-up, top-down and partnership (Nikkhah & Redzuan, 2009). Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009, p. 171) define these three approaches in the following ways. The bottom-up approach “(...) is initiated and managed by the community for the community.” Within this approach, the government plays a supportive role as facilitators and consultants. The main activity of the top-down approach to development “(...) is initiated by the government, and the community members are passive.” It is an approach that emphasizes central planning. The partnership approach, on the other hand, is when these two approaches are combined, when the development efforts are initiated both by the government and the community.

Many scholars argue that a “bottom-up” approach to development is stronger and more effective than a “top-down” approach. Ultimately, the “bottom-up” approach is, according to Coyne and Nyborg (2017, p. 1), “inherently stronger than top-down driven approaches because it is rooted in and led by communities and civil society.” Conteh-Morgan (2005, p. 72) argues further that a “bottom-up” approach is crucial to understanding the human security of marginalized individuals, groups and communities. Afghan women constitute a large marginalized group and are more easily included in development projects by meeting them where they are.

Gender and women’s rights have an important place in the international community’s development programs and projects. It is widely recognized that gender and women’s rights play an important role in development processes (World Bank, 2012). However, the focus has shifted from strongly focusing on women’s roles only to women’s roles within the gender

aspect. In this regard, the approach within the field of development has shifted from women in development (WID) to gender and development (GAD):

“GAD focuses on social, economic, political and cultural forces that determine how men and women participate in, benefit from, and control project resources and activities differently. This approach shifts the focus from women as a group to the socially determined relations between women and men” (Najimi, 2018, p. 9)

To actively include both men and women is central if gender equality is to be achieved. Even though women are the ones suffering the most from violations of their legal, social and economic rights, this does not mean that solely addressing women solves the problem. Gender equality is not achieved without working with both women and men (Echavez et al., 2016). This is more specifically addressed in the GAD approach. It is important to remember that there is a need to address equality issues not solely for women but for both women and men in order to obtain gender equality and human rights for all.

Linked to this, the human rights-based approach (HRBA) has become common in the international community’s development programs and work. The human rights-based approach to development aims at contributing to the realization of human rights for all (UN HRBA Portal, n.d.). It works to strengthen the right-holders to make their claims and to enable duty-bearers to meet their obligations. Human rights standards and principles are at the core of the development programming and processes. “It [HRBA] seeks to analyze inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress” (UNICEF, 2016). Discriminatory practices and unjust power relations are both issues that need to be addressed in Afghanistan. Therefore, gender equality has become a crucial component in the development work that seeks to achieve human rights and security for all. In this regard, gender mainstreaming has become a common strategic approach.

Gender mainstreaming was initiated in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. It is a strategic approach used in policies and programs to promote gender equality and empower women at all levels of development (Moser, 2005; UN Women, 2014). All actors, UN entities, member states, the international development community and civil society actors are committed to action by the Beijing Platform. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) has developed a widely used definition of gender mainstreaming:

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (ECOSOC, 1997).

Gender issues are widespread within the Afghan security sector and in Afghan society as a whole. This chapter seeks to examine the international community's understandings and approaches to community policing that involve gender issues and to consider the effects of their efforts, through answering the questions that follow. What are the most common approaches used by international actors? What role does the international community play? International documents are well-formulated on paper with regards to gender and gender equality, but how are they implemented at national and local levels? In what ways (that is, as leaders, coordinators, supervisors, advisors, mentors, and so on) and at what level (at local or national level) is the international community most and least effective? Do the actions of the international community have their intended effects? To obtain a holistic understanding of the international community's impact on community policing and gender issues, this research will analyze and discuss their impact from national policy level down to civil society level.

5.1 The International Community's understandings of and approaches to community policing

How the international community understands and approaches community policing that includes gender issues will be elaborated on in this section. What is seen is that they all highlight the importance of a high level of trust between the ANP and civil society. Furthermore, several of the actors argue that to increase the level of trust, there is a need to ensure better gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity, both at ministerial level and within the ANP. All the international actors include gender and women's rights in their programs in both different and similar ways. However, they all underline the importance of including gender and women's human rights in their community policing efforts for better results. As will be seen, there are many similarities and some differences in the various actors' understandings and approaches to community policing.

All of the above mentioned international actors, except for UN Women¹⁸, work together with the MoI and ANP. When looking more closely at the areas these actors focus on in their community policing efforts, they look similar. In their development programs, the UNDP has focused on developing a professional ANP, strengthening community-oriented policing and enhancing police and community partnerships. They see the police as the most visible institution. As the police are the most visible institution of the state, it is therefore possible to help build trust in the Government by working professionally and in the best interest of the people, (UNDP, 2015b). EUPOL also worked to professionalize the ANP and the MoI. They supported the Afghan Government in building a civilian police service, bringing the police closer to the people and enhancing public confidence in the ANP. In addition, EUPOL, as part of their community policing efforts, strongly encouraged better cooperation between the ANP and the judicial sector. UNOPS and UNAMA¹⁹ through the ADPP also focused on strengthening democratic policing and increasing community confidence in the police. However, this project focused both on cooperation with the MoI and ANP, and on inclusion of civil society and CSOs as implementing partners. While the UNDP and EUPOL's main focus has been on capacity development at governmental level, the ADPP to a larger extent focused on strengthening civil society's ownership of the project. In addition, the ADPP, too, worked on capacity developments at governmental level. As can be seen, international actors have similar overall objectives. They all seek to increase the level of trust between the police and civil society and the professionalization of the ANP by introducing them to community policing. What, then, are their understandings and approaches to community policing?

In the same way as there are several ways to understand community policing, there are several ways to approach it. The approaches of the different actors to community policing might then often reflect their understanding of community policing. What has been found is that the international community's approaches to community policing and gender issues are most often based on capacity development at the governmental level.

¹⁸ UN Women will not be included in this section as no information has been found on UN Women and community policing. Their understanding of and approaches to gender will be elaborated on below when discussing gender and women's rights.

¹⁹ As seen above, UNAMA and UNOPS are two separate UN organizations. However, this research focuses on the approaches they use in the ADPP.

Of the IOs studied, all use a form of top-down approach. What is repeated in the research on their approaches to community policing is the need to strengthen the MoI and ANP. This is mainly done through policy changes and trainings. The UNDP has used different approaches in which capacity development is their central approach to project implementation. The overall impression of the UNDP's approach to the LOTFA project and its underlying projects is that it is top-down. The UNDP see the MoI as their most important implementing partner. They therefore work with the MoI for their capacity improvement while the MoI works towards capacity improvements within the ANP. With a main focus on capacity development, there is less of a focus on the involvement of CSOs. However, the UNDP is not alone in using a top-down approach; EUPOLs approach is very similar to the UNDP's.

EUPOL's focus was on advancing the MoI's institutional capacity and on the professionalization and efficiency of the ANP as a civilian police service (European Union Council Secretariat, 2007; European Union External Action, n.d.). They worked within the framework of the EU comprehensive approach and had much of a focus on the monitoring, mentoring, advising and training of the MoI and ANP in regions and provinces. Furthermore, as with the UNDP, the impression is that EUPOL limited the inclusion of CSOs. In most of the UNDP's and EUPOL's reports and programs, cooperation with CSOs are most often only mentioned in statements which highlight the importance of cooperating with civil society and CSOs. They do not explain how they do this in their community policing projects.

The ADPP, on the other hand, aimed at complementing the top-down capacity development approach taken by, among others, the UNDP and EUPOL, with a bottom-up civil society-driven approach (UNOPS, 2013). In the project programs and reports found on the ADPP, what is highlighted is not one specific approach, but a combination of approaches, which is similar to the partnership approach. For the ADPP, coordination at all levels - international, national and provincial - was essential. However, their approaches are very focused on the inclusion of communities and on building a trustworthy relationship between them and the ANP. Furthermore, they argue that Afghan CSOs are equally as important as the government in constructing a new society and creating a social contract between civil society and the government (UNOPS, 2013), as can be seen in the quotation below:

““Afghan leadership” of a program does not exclusively mean “Afghan government leadership.” Afghan civil society organizations are equally important players in

shaping a new society and social contract between citizens and government. Civil society may be more dedicated to these efforts than the government, especially in the case of the gender initiative, but also in terms of police accountability” (UNOPS, 2013, p. 8).

This differs from the UNDP, which underlines the particular need and importance of the development of a capacity that supports the institutional level, as institutions are at the heart of human development (UNDP, 2015b). They argue that developing the MoI’s and ANP’s capacity is central to the success of their LOTFA projects (UNDP, 2015b). The aim is for national institutional capacity to replace international support; that the MoI may lead a community-based ANP autonomously. This was also the aim of the EUPOL project. EUPOL worked to set up proper command and control structures to strengthen the MoI and ANP and to promote Afghan ownership (Larivé, 2012, p. 192). Furthermore, the top-down centered capacity-building approach seems to be EUPOL’s and the UNDP’s main approach within the gender field too. They seek to strengthen the inclusion of gender and women’s rights in the work of the MoI and ANP, while the ADPP on the other hand, underline the important role of communities and CSOs when approaching gender issues.

Gender and human rights are central concepts in community policing efforts in Afghanistan. Gender mainstreaming and gender sensitive approaches have become common, integrated, as they are, in community policing programs and projects. However, the extent to which, and the ways in which, this is achieved differs.

Of the actors studied, EUPOL seems to be the one with the least focus on gender issues. Gender and human rights are supposed to be mainstreamed in their projects. However, in their factsheets and the 2015 Special Report, there is limited information on concrete actions and approaches to gender (European Court of Auditors, 2015). The EUPOL police official interviewee also stated that EUPOL did not do enough with respect to gender issues. She also highlighted the issue of a lack of knowledge of gender among EUPOL staff stationed in Afghanistan. Without knowledge, they are not capable of addressing gender issues. However, EUPOL did perform some concrete actions on gender and women’s rights: they assisted Family Response Units (FRU’s), established a female police college and provided human rights and gender training to the ANP. Gender and women’s human rights were also implemented in the UNDP’s approaches to community policing.

The UNDP has included gender in all their projects and has established its own projects on gender issues. Gender and human rights are mainstreamed in the LOTFA projects. In these projects, among other initiatives, policewomen councils (PWC) have been established to bring female officers together to share their experiences and ideas for improvements (UNDP, 2015b). They also support and arrange the training of female police officers in Turkey. Furthermore, the UNDP underlines the need for a multi-sectorial approach to security reform, and to gender and human rights issues, as the MoI should not be alone in addressing these issues. In 2015, the UNDP started their EGEMA project, aimed at addressing gender issues more effectively.

The EGEMA project aims to strengthen MoWA by providing technical assistance to build its capacity²⁰ (UNDP Afghanistan, n.d.). As MoWA is the organization with the primary responsibility for ensuring gender equality and women's rights in Afghanistan, it is important to include them in the work on gender issues. However, based on the information found, the MoI does not seem to be included in their EGEMA project and MoWA does not seem to be included in their community policing projects, despite the fact that one of the essential elements of a multi-sectorial approach is the promotion of cooperation and coordination between key sectors. Therefore, with a multi-sectorial approach, the UNDP should have established cooperation between the MoI and MoWA in their community-policing projects that include gender.

The ADPP seems to have adopted a multi-sectorial approach in a more effective way. At the governmental level, they included actors from both the security sector (the MoI and ANP) and from the gender and women's rights sector (MoWA). The ADPP engaged all actors - the MoI, MoWA and local CSOs - as implementing partners in their small-scale projects (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). Their aim was to strengthen gender and women's rights as important concepts in the community-policing projects. As with their community policing efforts, these concepts were addressed with a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches.

Another important IO within the gender and women's rights field, as seen in chapter 4 on actors, is UN Women. UN Women is a major IO within the gender and women's right fields. In cooperation with MoWA and local actors, they work specifically to address gender issues

²⁰ The UNDP has other programs that address gender issues that are not covered in this research. The programs on community policing are the ones relevant to this research.

and improve women's rights in Afghanistan (UN Women, n.d). They base their work on normative support to national and local actors. At the national governmental level, UN Women provides technical and financial support, support for legal reform processes, and support for national action plans on women and gender; they also help to raise awareness of women's rights and gender issues (UN Women, n.d.-b). At the local level, they have local partners with whom they cooperate to raise awareness of the causes and consequences of violence against women. They work together with Community Development Councils to raise awareness within communities and they fund women's protection centers. Based on this information, it seems as though UN Women uses a partnership approach, a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches, as the ADPP does. However, further research indicates that they mostly focus on the normative approach at the governmental and policy level.

The different approaches show that there are several ways to understand community policing. There are different perceptions of the different actors' roles and what issues to focus on. However, the two main approach "groups" reflect the major lines of understanding. Top-down capacity development reflects an understanding that weak national government institutions are the main issue to focus on. There is a need to strengthen these to ensure professional services to civil society. The MoI and ANP are therefore seen as the main actors to approach and strengthen in efforts to develop community policing. On the other hand, the bottom-up civil society approach demonstrates an understanding that communities are the most important actors to approach and strengthen; they are the ones that need to lead the way, as they are the ones affected by any changes and by the MoI's and ANP's actions.

Common to all the various ways of understanding and approaching community policing, all the international actors underline the importance of trust and gender and women's human rights. Furthermore, what has been found is that capacity development at the governmental level seems to be the international community's main focus, with few exceptions. This is clearly reflected at the Afghan national policy level. To develop a holistic understanding of the international community's understandings and approaches to community policing and gender issues, this research will analyze and discuss their efforts in practice from national policy level down to civil society level.

5.2 The International Community's efforts on community policing at policy level

The international community's top-down approaches are strongly reflected in the Afghan national policy level. They are clearly present in Afghanistan's new national laws, policy documents, strategies and programs. Since 2001, the international community has put a great deal of pressure on the Afghan Government to review their laws and has urged them to include equal human rights for all, including women and children.

Research done by constructivists shows that "global culture" has shaped national policies, especially those of developing countries, in many different policy arenas (Conteh-Morgan, 2005). IOs in particular disseminate new national norms and "teach" states new norms of behavior (Finnmore & Sikkink, 2001, p. 401). This section will show that the international community has contributed to changes of policies and development of new national policies in Afghanistan. By having Afghanistan implement international laws and policies, international actors aim to eventually change Afghans ways of behaving. The UN in particular, as a leading IO promoting human rights, has had a great deal of influence on Afghan national policies, which oblige Afghanistan to adopt international human rights norms.

The Afghan national policy documents, strategies and programs studied for this research, all refer to international policy documents such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), resolutions on women, peace and security, where Resolution 1325 is central, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)²¹. These are all documents that address gender and women's human rights.

CEDAW is a key document for development cooperation. It seeks to ensure women's rights and eliminate discrimination against women. By signing CEDAW, the GIRoA has agreed to embody the principle of gender equality in their constitution and other appropriate legislations (OHCHR General Assembly, 1981). Resolution 1325 stresses the importance of women's equal participation and inclusion in all peace and security efforts (United Nations Security Council, 2000). It focuses on women's rights in conflicts and urges increased inclusion of women at all decision-making levels, regional, national and international. Another main

²¹ And there are several more.

principle in the UDHR concerns everyone's entitlement to human rights regardless of gender or any other distinctions (OHCHR, 1948). Article 3 in the UDHR states that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person", while article 4 underlines the principle that "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law". These are all rights that GIROA, as a signatory to these documents, is obliged to ensure for its people.

The Afghan Government has signed these international policy documents and others that together constitute international law (UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, n.d.). They are therefore obliged to include and implement them in their own legislations and actions. Further, the Afghan state has the duty and obligation to respect, protect and fulfill the human rights of its people. As the UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (n.d.) says with regard to these obligations:

"The obligation to respect means that States must refrain from interfering with or curtailing the enjoyment of human rights. The obligation to protect requires States to protect individuals and groups against human rights abuses. The obligation to fulfil means that States must take positive action to facilitate the enjoyment of basic human rights."

GIROA has developed and reframed their policy documents in accordance with international law. This started at the Bonn Conference in 2001 where the 2001 Bonn Agreement was signed, an agreement that served as a framework for establishing democratic governance in Afghanistan (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007). In the Bonn agreement, Afghanistan agreed to respect international law and to "(...) act in accordance with basic principles and provisions contained in international instruments on human rights and international humanitarian law to which Afghanistan is a party" (UN, 2001, p. ch. V). To meet the expectations of the international community, as a first step, the Afghan Constitution was changed.

The Constitution of 1964 was changed with pressure and assistance from the international community. It was expected that the new Constitution would be consistent with the Bonn agreement and with the international legal obligations to which Afghanistan is a party (UN, 2001). The former President Hamid Karzay formally ratified the new constitution in 2004.

The new constitution reflects international law and guarantees democratic liberties for both women and men. This is stated in article 7 of the Constitution: “The state shall observe the United Nations Charter, inter-state agreements, as well as international treaties to which Afghanistan has joined, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (...)” (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004). Of these agreements, human rights for all, men and women, are central. This is, among others, included in article 22 of the new constitution.

Article 22 in the new Constitution prohibits gender discrimination, which is a widespread issue in Afghanistan. It states that, “Any kind of discrimination and distinction between citizens of Afghanistan shall be forbidden. The citizens of Afghanistan, man and woman, have equal rights and duties before the law” (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004). Other human rights that are guaranteed in the Constitution are, among others, the right to peaceful assembly, the right to life and liberty and the right to freedom of expression and speech. This shift of focus to equal human rights by GIRoA is also seen in new policy documents, strategies and programs on community policing reform and gender, where the MoI and MoWA are central national actors.

5.2.1 Central documents on community policing and gender

Community policing is a concept that has been introduced to Afghanistan by the international community. With guidance from the international community, GIRoA, with the MoI in the lead, has developed several new national policies, strategies and programs on community policing and its implementation. Some of these include: The Police Law, the Afghan National Police Strategy, the Ten Years vision for the Afghan National Police 1392-1402 (2013-2023), the Afghan National Police Code of Conduct and the Ministry of Interior Affairs Plan for 2015-2017. All these documents focus on community policing. Furthermore, they all highlight the importance of gender mainstreaming in the security sector, within both the MoI and ANP in some way. The main aim is increased and better inclusion of women in the security sector.

The Afghan Government’s goals on community policing is underlined in the Ten Years Vision for the Afghan National Police. The Ten Years Vision for the Afghan National Police describes the status they want the ANP to have in ten years as well as the long-term objectives and strategy for the MoI. It highlights both the use of the community policing approach,

operating without gender discrimination, and improved inclusion of women in the MoI and ANP (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b). By using the community-policing approach the aim is to win public confidence in the police. The importance for the ANP in incorporating community policing in their services to civil society is underlined:

“Community policing is not a separate branch of the ANP but an approach to the delivery of services that all police should understand and use to establish continuous friendly relations with the people and to earn their confidence and support” (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b).

Their goal is for the ANP to be a capable, unified and trustworthy civilian police service within ten years (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b), an ANP that, in accordance with article 4 of the Constitution, serves the people. They will protect the freedom and human rights of all Afghans and their services will be provided without any discrimination with regard to gender, social status, religion or ethnicity. This, they underline, will be done in accordance with Afghan laws and the international conventions to which Afghanistan is a signatory. Thus, many of the objectives in the Ten Years Vision are clearly influenced by international policies and actors. This can be seen, for example, in the UNDP’s MPD project work to enhance the capacity of the MoI to review and reform its policies (UNDP, 2017). Moreover, the international community, as seen, underlines the importance of including human rights and gender issues in national strategies on community policing. This is evident in the Ten Years Vision document.

The Ten Years Vision for the Afghan National Police document underlines the responsibility of the MoI to “Ensure observing human rights and gender and ethnic balance in ANP [sic] ” (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b). According to the vision, the goal is to include more women in both the ANP and MoI and also to better ensure their security in the workplace. By 2023, at least 10 per cent of all ANP and MoI personnel should be, women. Further,

“Women will be provided with physical and intellectual amenities as well as security in the workplace, including mechanism to prevent gender-based harassment and violence, to persuade families to allow their wives and daughters to join the ANP and serve the people” (Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b).

The Ten Years Vision will also ensure that women, through policies and regulations, are provided with the same appointments and opportunities for professional development as men

(Ministry of Interior Affairs, n.d-b). These above-mentioned goals are in line with international standards and their focus on policies at the strategic level within community policing.

The influence of the international community on policies and strategies is also seen in the field of gender and women's rights. After the Bonn agreement and the establishment of MoWA, the Afghan Government has developed a focus on gender in their policies and work. Several new national policies, strategies and programs on gender and women's human rights have been written by MoWA to support both their own efforts within the area of gender and those of the other ministries. These include: the National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA), the Strategy and National Action Plan on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 2016-2020, the National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325- Women, peace and security 2015-2022, and the Law on Elimination of Violence against Women (EVAW Law). These all highlight the widespread problem of violence against women and gender discrimination and therefore illuminate the need to address gender issues. They also, in some way, mention the need for better inclusion of women within the security sector and the police.

An important policy document is the National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA). It is "the Government's main vehicle for implementing policies and commitments to advance the status of women" (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 1). Its vision is that "Afghanistan will be a peaceful and progressive country where women and men enjoy security, equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life" (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 13). One of the main highlighted pillars in the report is security:

"The NAPWA pillar on security presents the government's strategy in creating a secure environment for women within both the public and private spheres that is conducive to their empowerment and the attainment of gender equality" (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 23).

NAPWA emphasizes that the government needs to take a holistic and broad view of national and human security. In the security pillar, they include rule of law, good governance, peacebuilding and security sector reform (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007). Within the security sector, the lack of a perspective on gender and the limited representation of women is highlighted. This may be because Afghanistan lacks a

gender-sensitive culture as can be seen in the fact that gender discrimination and violence against women are widespread. As underlined in NAPWA, in order to “... eliminate deeply rooted discriminatory practices and improve protection of women and girls, gender needs to be taken up at strategic and program levels of the security sector” (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 26). Some of the government’s objectives within the security sector are therefore to promote gender perspectives and women’s participation, which also is a focus at the international level.

NAPWA refers to many important international policy documents regarding gender and women’s rights. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, CEDAW, and the Beijing Platform for Action and Resolution 1325 are some of them. In addition, UN Women has been an active actor in the process of developing policy documents on gender and women’s rights, including NAPWA and the EVAW Law (UN Women, n.d.-b). This shows that the international community is strongly present at the Afghan national policy level. As M. Barnett and Finnmore (2004, p. 7) stress from a constructivist perspective:

“IOs have helped determine not only who is in violation of human rights but also what human rights are and what should be done to promote or protect them. In this fundamental respect, IOs shape both how the world is constituted and our agendas for acting in it.”

The influence of the international community shines through these Afghan policy documents, strategies and programs on community policing and gender. Both the MoI’s and MoWA’s new policy documents have a strong focus on strengthening their own work on community policing and gender issues and to implement national policy documents. Moreover, as international actors, they both highlight the importance of human rights and gender mainstreaming in their policies and practices. This chapter shows that the international community, with its capacity development approach at the governmental level, has a strong impact on national policy. However, this does not say anything about how the international community’s efforts influence Afghan civil society’s daily life in practice. The next section will elaborate on the international community’s community policing efforts in practice. To understand whether and how their community policing efforts have had an impact, what they do in practice needs to be studied.

5.3 The International Community's efforts on community policing in practice

The international community has had a great impact on national policy in Afghanistan. They have emphasized the reform of the security sector and community policing has become the main focus of this reform. They have also promoted the importance of including gender and women's rights in national policy documents in accordance with the international declarations, conventions and resolutions to which Afghanistan is signatory. UN Women, in particular, has been active in ensuring that gender and women's rights are implemented at policy level. In addition, the other IOs studied have worked on, or work on, their own programs on community policing that includes gender.

The international community is, as can be seen, strongly engaged in developing community policing and improving the gender situation in Afghanistan. The efforts of international actors on community policing in practice influences the extent of its implementation, which again impacts the progress of community policing in Afghanistan. Research indicates that there have been some positive results and progress in the field of community policing and gender because of the presence of the international community. However, the progress seems to be slow.

When studying the efforts of the international community with regard to community policing and gender, it is important to remember that it is a complex problem. As seen above, one of the issues all actors underline as important is trust in the ANP. The low levels of trust in the ANP has been rooted in Afghan culture for decades. One reason for this is the history of a highly militarized police force²². To address this issue and to increase levels of trust in the police, most of the international actors (as seen above) have focused on the training, mentoring and awareness raising of the MoI and ANP.

As seen in the previous section on understandings of and approaches to community policing, the UNDP and EUPOL base their work on capacity development at the national institutional level. In this regard, they both have a strong focus on training, mentoring, awareness raising and technical assistance within the MoI and ANP. As the UNDP (2015b, p. 23) points out,

²² There are other issues like corruption that hampers people's trust in police. This will be elaborated in the below chapter on contextual understanding.

“The [LOTFA] Projects will focus on national institutional capacity that can replace international support providers in providing technical assistance, workshops, systems development and organizational development to national personnel in the future (...) [where] such capacities will include research, assessments and evaluation, creation of training tools and materials, delivery of training and technical assistance, creation of systems and work processes and assistance for putting them into practice, and coaching of leaders and managers.”

EUPOL’s mandate was to address police reform at central, regional and provincial levels. A central approach to this work was in “training the trainers”; this approach was used to promote Afghan ownership and improve the sustainability of training activities. Moreover, (as mentioned in chapter 4.1.2 on EUPOL) the mission focused a great deal on monitoring, mentoring, advising and training of the MoI and also at regional and province levels (European Union Council Secretariat, 2007; European Union External Action, n.d.). It was found that the training and mentoring approach is one of the most common approaches used by IOs, so the questions concerns the efficacy of this training and mentoring approach in practice?

Numbers found in the Asia Foundation report show that despite international efforts with regard to community policing, the level of trust in the police by civil society is low. According to the report, 43.3 % of the Afghan population fear encountering the ANP, compared to 40 % that fear encountering the Afghan National Army (ANA) (Tabasum et al., 2017)²³. The UNDP (2015b) refers to data on public perceptions and national expert polls that indicate that Afghanis have high confidence in the police being able to provide security against external influence and attacks. However, their confidence in the ability of the police to develop community-police relations, respond to crime and ensure fair treatment of civilians is much lower. The special report on EU’s mission in Afghanistan says that the “(...) national police have made significant steps towards the development of civilian policing but they remain a highly militaristic organisation” (European Court of Auditors, 2015, p. 22). After years of effort in community policing in Afghanistan, these findings indicate that low levels of trust in the police, who are seen as highly militaristic in civil society, persist.

Based on these findings, the effects of efforts to develop community policing efforts seem limited. There is, among other things, a need to look more closely into the training and mentoring approach used. Although it is not claimed that this approach is completely

²³ Numbers from early 2000, when community-policing efforts were started, have not been found.

ineffective, there are pitfalls to it. One issue that hampers the effects of this approach is illiteracy.

Lack of education is a widespread issue in Afghanistan and there is a high rate of illiteracy among Afghans and among Afghan police (Thruelsen, 2010). Illiteracy is an issue that most international actors involved in Afghanistan mention and need to take into account. It is a very common issue faced by actors working in community policing and a major obstacle to mentoring and training approaches (Parto & Martin, 2015). Illiteracy among police officers makes training less effective as there is a need to include basic education on literacy. As Thruelsen (2010, p. 83) states, a “(...) key issue was illiteracy among the police cadets, most of whom needed to learn to read and write while learning how to be a policeman.” To learn how to read and write distracts attention from the main aims of the trainings, namely, awareness raising and professionalization of the police. All actors studied, as well as a number of academic articles, highlight illiteracy as an issue, especially for Afghan women.

The high rate of illiteracy hampers both the development of the police and human rights, gender equality and the inclusion of women in the police. The high rate of illiteracy is a fundamental problem, especially for Afghan women and policewomen. According to the Asia Foundation survey (Tabasum et al., 2017), Afghan women believe that one of the biggest problems they face in their local areas are illiteracy and lack of education.

It is claimed that education is central to the empowerment of women. Through education about rights, women are empowered within society. Afghan female police are victims of discriminatory practices and human rights violations every day. Furthermore, they are most often ranked lower than their male colleagues and seldom placed in leadership positions, partly because of their low levels of literacy (Parto & Martin, 2015). The provision of training and education to policewomen is intended to increase their status within the ANP and more generally, in civil society.

The UNDP and EUPOL focused on the gender-responsive training and education of policewomen. Afghan policewomen are sent to the Sivas Police Academy in Turkey for education and as a means of increasing the number of female police officers. This is a part of the UNDP’s LOTFA project. As the UNDP argues, enhanced police training and education “(...) will promote an environment where female and male police officers are supported in

advancing their careers through training and education” (UNDP, 2016, p. 59). EUPOL was named by GIRoA as the coordinator of improved literacy of the ANP and EUPOL established a female police college. The ADPP also had its own component on illiteracy with high focus on illiterate women. As UNOPS Afghanistan (2014) states, the international community and MoI have prioritized literacy trainings. Despite this, illiteracy among female police remains a fundamental problem. This is highlighted in the Afghanistan Public Policy Research Organization’s report on women in the ANP:

“Illiteracy remains a fundamental problem for policewomen despite the efforts of the international donors in providing literacy classes. Not all policewomen for whom literacy classes were organized attended classes on a regular basis. Some reported that literacy classes were offered irregularly. When asked why female officers did not attend literacy classes the response was that women simply ‘did not have the time’ and that if women were to attend courses there would be no women filling their policing duties” (Parto & Martin, 2015, p. 14).

As is clear, the problem is more complex to solve than simply offering training and education to women police. There are a large number of issues with this approach. In literacy trainings offered by the international community and the MoI, women police officers are often excluded or deprioritized (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). Another issue, as EUPOL highlighted, is that Afghan female police recruits may only participate in trainings conducted by women (European Court of Auditors, 2015). Furthermore, Afghan women’s access to education has been restricted by the society and by their families for decades. This is because of cultural norms that are important to include when addressing gender issues and women police officers²⁴. Even though the international community has put effort into literacy development of policewomen, this has had a limited effect, and it is important to bear in mind that better literacy contributes to the advancement of policewomen and respect for the police in general (Eqbal, 2015; Planty & Perito, 2013). As stated by Planty and Perito (2013, p. 6), the ability to read also increases the respect that police receive from the public. Furthermore, it has been shown that literate, educated female police officers are reassigned to improved positions in the police and that educated women are more likely to join the ANP.

One important goal in community policing is to recruit more women to the ANP. This is a shared goal at both international and national level. It is argued that recruiting more female

²⁴ This will be elaborated on more below.

police has positive effects on development efforts and also creates a more trusting relationship between civil society and the police.

The recruitment of more women in the ANP is supported by international, national and local actors as a way to obtain gender equality and to improve Afghan women's human rights. According to Hancock (2013, p. 1), the recruitment, training and protection of female police officers is crucial for upholding the rights of Afghan women. Furthermore, the inclusion of more women in the police could contribute to more sustainable peace and development efforts. Both the Beijing Platform for Action and Resolution 1325 underline the importance of including women in peace processes. The Beijing Platform for Action states that peace is inextricably linked to the advancement and participation of women (United Nations, 1995, p. 3). Resolution 1325 highlights the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts (United Nations Security Council, 2000). Women's equal participation is important in efforts to maintain and promote peace and security. Therefore, to facilitate and recruit women the ANP might have an important impact on both Afghan women's human rights situation and on human security. Despite the fact that the international community and the MoI have worked on the recruitment of more female police officers for several years, the results have been limited (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2013; UNDP Afghanistan, 2016b).

Reports indicate that the recruitment of women to the ANP has been slower than expected and wanted. In 2014, women comprised about 1 % of the police force, while in 2016 they comprised approximately 2 %. These numbers show that the representation of women in the police is low and that the increase in numbers is slow (Afghan Women's Network, 2016a; Manjoo, 2015; Ministry of Woman's Affairs, 2014). According to Eqbal (2015), there were approximately 1800 women in the police in 2015 and this figure was expected to rise to 5000 in 2016. This shows that there is a long way to go to reach the MoI's goal of 10% of the police force being female by 2023. These numbers, together with the numbers on levels of trust, also indicate that there might be reasons for the international community to reconsider their approaches. There is a need for more than just capacity development at ministerial level based on the mentoring and training of officers within the community police force that includes gender. An alternative to this approach is the bottom-up civil-society-driven approach.

The bottom-up civil-society-driven approach is much closer to civil society, which gives it a stronger role in community policing efforts. The ADPP that had a stronger focus on the civil society driven approach

“(…) demonstrated the potential of a civil society to develop creative, effective engagements to build public trust in police, as well as to strengthen the willingness and capacity of police and the Ministry to embrace community policing” (Coyne & Nyborg, 2017, p. 1).

The ADPP has shown that a civil society driven approach to community policing efforts is more effective in terms of inclusion and of gaining trust in the police. In the project, CSOs had an important position. CSOs were implementing partners for several of their project components to better include and approach communities. According to UNOPS’ annual report, 2015, their community-police consultation component - in which workshops were held for both police and community participants together (UNOPS, 2013) - was successful (Eqbal, 2015). The report states that participants believe there is a need to continue and to expand to other areas, provinces and districts, as it is very helpful to build trust between the community and the police (Eqbal, 2015). Furthermore, their policewomen councils (PWC) project is stated to have had a positive effect on levels of trust and has improved the female police conditions.

The actor responsible for the implementation of the PWC was the Afghan Women’s Network (AWN). In this project, the AWN used the engagement approach, where they “(…) held meetings with policewomen to explain the concept of councils, goals, history, format for elections of leadership, frameworks used to identify objectives, and ground rules for meetings” (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). This made the female police members of PWCs able to establish the councils themselves, while AWN had a mentorship role. The goal was to empower female police, who are seen as the most vulnerable and as having little power.

The aim of PWC is to unite police women, to represent and address policewomen’s needs and to be a forum for advocacy, awareness, skills improvement and networking (UNOPS, 2013). It is a forum where female police can address and discuss issues they meet in their work life and raise awareness of the importance of policewomen in communities. Furthermore,

“PWC coordinated with Police-e-Mardumi to conduct school outreach and community/police consultation meetings with girls and local women to spread the positive image of police women to people and ask for their commitment and support

to PWC” (Eqbal, 2015, p. 32).

Furthermore, according to the interviewee from AWN, the PWC advocated for better working conditions for women in the police. A lack of basic facilities hampers women’s ability to be police and needs to be addressed. Problems such as a lack of changing rooms and a lack of toilets for women made it both dangerous and difficult for women to be police (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). For example, it is dangerous for women to be in uniform on their way to and from work and they are not allowed to share changing rooms with their male colleagues; there is therefore a distinct need for women to have their own changing rooms.

With the PWC project, improvements have been made. According to the interviewee from AWN, interest in the police and understanding of the importance of women police among communities has increased. However, according to this interviewee, awareness raising was not carried out with boys in the school outreach programs, but only with girls. This is a limitation of the project, as men are the ones with the strongest discriminatory perceptions of and actions towards female police²⁵. This interviewee also stated that facilities for policewomen have improved; there are now established changing rooms, female toilets and some kindergartens in the provinces where the PWC project was implemented. As Afghan women are seen as being responsible for being at home with their children, kindergartens improve their ability to work. Lastly, the capacity of female police officers has increased as a result of the project (Eqbal, 2015; UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). They have better positions within the police and are able to speak to their police leaders, which is not common in Afghanistan.

Despite the improvements made by the PWC project in the areas it was implemented, there are still challenges that remain and a much work still to be done (UNOPS Afghanistan, 2014). However, what is shown is that the ADPP with its civil society driven approach seems to have had more of an impact at the level of the community with their efforts than the UNDP and EUPOL have managed with their capacity development approach. The civil society driven approach with CSOs as implementing partners provokes a much stronger sense of ownership to and trust among civil society. As Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009) state, community development depends on people’s participation; they need to be involved in the decisions that affect their lives in order to gain confidence. CSOs are known by civil society and are seen as

²⁵ The need for inclusion of both women and men is discussed below.

their representatives, working in their interests, while large IOs are unknown to many local Afghans. CSOs may therefore have more respect in civil society than IOs, which are often seen as superior to them. While IOs represent a third party for many, CSOs represent civil society, both women and men. Furthermore, the capacity development approach has a strong focus on building to capacity of national government institutions, which are seen as weak by a large number of Afghans and therefore struggle to obtain respect and trust from their people. However, national government institutions are key actors in development efforts in Afghanistan and, as shown above, are the ones with the primary responsibility for ensuring their people's rights and security.

Therefore, there is a need for capacity development of the MoI, ANP and MoWA, as UNDP, EUPOL and UN Women have focused on. It is necessary to cooperate and coordinate with these national agencies in order for them to develop the competence needed for community policing, as they are the leading national actors within the security sector. The MoI is the one responsible for the police and their education, while the ANP is the one that interacts with communities and civil society. They are the government's "face" in civil society, the face that enforces the law. Furthermore, there is the same need and possibly a stronger need, to develop MoWA, which is seen as a weak ministry, as the body with the main responsibility for ensuring the implementation of gender and women's rights policies. In this regard, a combination of the two approaches, what Nikkhah and Redzuan (2009) call a partnership approach, is needed. As Coyne and Nyborg (2017) argue, the civil society driven approach can make it more likely for ministry-centric efforts to succeed. However, there is a need to include civil society, as it is here that people are the worst affected by security and gender issues, even though the MoI and MoWA are the ones mainly responsible from GIRoA for ensuring security and equal rights for all Afghans, regardless of gender.

As the Afghan Government is the main implementing partner in most of the community policing projects, there is also a need to look at their efforts in community policing. This may give a more holistic understanding of community policing efforts of the international community in practice, and the extent of the implementation of these projects. What actions and /or programs do the Afghan government support or lead in the area of community policing that includes gender and women's rights? What do they do to create a more trusting relationship between civil society and the police?

5.4 The MoI and MoWA's understandings and approaches to community policing including gender issues, their efforts and practices

The Afghan Government has a greater focus on both the importance of a trustworthy police that enforces people's rights and on gender mainstreaming and women's participation in the security sector and the society as a whole. They want to build an easily-accessible police force that is trusted by civil society and they want to increase the number of women within the ANP. Like most international actors, the main focus of both the MoI and MoWA is on capacity development at governmental level. According to the 2015 final progress report for LOTFA Akheri, H.E. President Ghani listed institutional development and reform as the number one priority for the MoI (UNDP, 2015a). MoWA's main focus is at ministry level and, as seen above, their main focus seems to be on ensuring gender mainstreaming at the governmental level. Furthermore, both the MoI and MoWA support changes at policy level. To guide their efforts in community policing and gender, influenced by the international community, they have both developed strategies for community policing and gender mainstreaming²⁶ which they are obliged to implement.

The MoI and MoWA, as part of the Afghan government, are committed to making sure that the new policies are implemented and that they benefit the whole population. According to international law (as highlighted above in chapter 5.2), the Afghan state has a duty and obligation to respect, protect and fulfill its people's human rights (UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, n.d.).

It is an improvement that the Afghan Government has developed new national policies, strategies and programs on community policing and gender. However, the implementation of these new policies, strategies and programs is as important if not more important if all Afghans are to experience improvements and human security. The research indicates that community policing and especially gender are mainstreamed at the Afghan policy level. However, the implementation processes is slow or almost non-existent in certain cases. UN Women (2016, p. 3) argues that the implementation of new policies, strategies and programs in Afghanistan remains a challenge. There are "no standardised procedures and appropriate mechanisms for operationalising the laws and policies; a lack of budget has led to poor

²⁶ As discussed in the chapter on national policies

physical facilities and services.” This may be why few reports on the implementation of the government’s new policies, strategies and community policing efforts have been found.

The limited number of reports make it difficult to find information on the implementation of strategies on community policing and gender. This is especially seen with the Ten Years Vision for the ANP and NAPWA. How far the MoI has come in the implementation process of the Ten Years Vision for the Afghan National Police is unclear. According to the Ministry of Interior Affairs (n.d-b),

”In order to ensure implementation of this vision within the proposed time, this document will be supported by a series of two-year police plans that will contain the details of the programs and strategies required for achieving this vision. Necessary changes in structures of MOI will be made in accordance, and for realizing, this vision.”

In the research process, no reports on the implementation process and no two-year police plans referring to the Ten years Vision for the Afghan National Police were found. They might exist, but they are obviously not easily available to the public. It is therefore difficult to say anything about the extent of the implementation process. However, the European Court of Auditors (2015, p. 22) states that “While the Ministry of the Interior has produced many internal policy statements, to date few have been implemented countrywide.” The same is true of the implementation process of NAPWA by the MoWA.

Few reports have been found on the implementation of NAPWA. Its time frame is 2007-2017, which means that many of its results should be visible today. However, only one report from 2013, published by MOWA – called the Analytical Report on the Implementation of National Action Plan for the Women of Afghanistan (NAPWA) in the Government Institutions – was found (Ministry of Woman’s Affairs, 1392 (2013))²⁷. This report shows some improvements, but these are limited. According to the report, the level of awareness of the NAPWA and gender has increased in comparison to the year before (Ministry of Woman’s Affairs, 1392 (2013)). There was an increase in the efforts by government institutions to better implement NAPWA through their policies and programs. There was also an increase in female staff in government agencies, in leadership and in decision-making positions. Whether women in

²⁷ This does not mean that there are no other reports; however, if they exist, they are not easy available to the public. This research was carried out on the Internet and interviewees were asked if they know about any reports, which they did not.

these positions are heard and respected is not mentioned. It is unclear what indicators are used to compare figures when referring to the year before. The reliability of this report is therefore questioned. The interviewee from MoWA confirmed the lack of reports and the slow implementation of the NAPWA.

Some factors have been found that point to possible reasons why there is a lack of results with regard to the implementation of NAPWA. According to the interviewee from MoWA, the implementation of NAPWA is poor because of a lack of resources, knowledge and education among MoWA employees. The document is perceived as overly complicated and with limited resonance among Afghan policymakers (Wimpelmann, 2012). Moreover, as stated in NAPWA, “Peace and security are preconditions to the full implementation of NAPWA” (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 27). Today, Afghanistan is still a country characterized by insecurity where women are discriminated against and lack human rights. However, this does not mean that it is impossible to improve the situation of women’s rights. There is a need for development in order to achieve stability and stability is needed for development to succeed. Another factor that might impact the implementation of NAPWA and other Afghan strategies, policies and programs are the strong presence of the international community.

According to Wimpelmann (2012, p. 2), the Afghan government’s strategy for gender mainstreaming and women’s rights, NAPWA, relies heavily on international consultants embedded in the MoWA. This is also highlighted as a problem by the interviewee from MoWA, who argued that “the problem is that when the international community is developing documents, it’s far away from Afghans. They develop documents based on their own western thoughts without thinking on the Afghan culture and values.” Research found that the MoI and MoWA are influenced by the international community’s norms and expectations not only at policy level, but also in their approaches and efforts in community policing and gender.

Both the MoI and MoWA use the training approach, which leads to the problem of illiteracy. As there is a high level of illiteracy among their target population, this limits their efforts to implement the policies and to achieve their strategic goals. How do they reach out to the Afghan society and the ANP with new policies when they cannot read? All written information will only impact on those able to read. Laws, strategies and guidelines developed by international and national actors that the police are supposed to follow in their work are

written; to what extent are illiterate police officers able to enforce Afghan law, which is written? Also, to be able to file and investigate cases, the police need to be able to read and write to do a proper job. In addition, as illiteracy is especially high among women, this means they are not able to read and understand the laws and documents, like NAPWA, which have been developed to ensure their rights. How are they then supposed to be able to claim their rights, when they do not have “access” to these policy documents?

The research found that the MoI and MoWA mostly focus on capacity development at governmental level and that there is limited information on their work with regard to CSOs²⁸. However, the MoI has made some effort in community-policing to collaborate with civil society²⁹. The MoI has, as mentioned previously in chapter 4.2.1, established the PeM section in cooperation with the international community and with CSOs³⁰. This section has a cluster-based approach and conducts community outreach programs and police and civil society joint action programs (Ministry of Interior, n.d.). Programs under PeM, like other outreach programs in schools and in joint action sports programs, have been conducted in cooperation with both international actors and CSOs. These encourage interaction between civil society and the police, which is essential in community policing.

School outreach programs have been conducted in several places. One example is the program organized at Tarjrubawi High School, in which both girls and boys were included (Hoegedal, 2014). The PeM unit gave a lecture on their objectives, the importance of security, community policing and the types of police and their activities, and so on. All students were able to ask questions and what is interesting is that most questions were asked by girls. In this session, a formula was created by both PeM and the students: “Police + People = Peace” (Hoegedal, 2014).

These outreach programs initiate interaction and raise awareness among community members and the police. In this case, students were able to learn about the importance of a well-functioning police force that cooperates with them as citizens, while the police were able to

²⁸ It was found that CSOs that want to be members of umbrella organizations like AWN and ACBAR need to register at different ministries (Durand Dr. Marine, 2015).

²⁹ As highlighted in the chapter on MoWA, limited information has been found on their work. This research has not found information to elaborate more on their projects.

³⁰ Most information on this PeM section was found at the MoI web page. However, the last updated information is from 2014 and it is therefore difficult to know how operational they are today. However, international actors still mention PeM units on some occasions.

talk and learn about the students' perceptions and expectations of them. These interactions encourage cooperation and communication between police and both the men and the women in civil society, which is necessary in community policing. The joint action sports programs are also good examples of initiatives taken to create better relations between police and civil society. Several football matches between communities and police have been arranged. As stated by Soma (2014),

“This sport’s outreach is one of the initiatives of the Police-e Mardume teams throughout the country attempting to encourage interaction between young people and the police, with the objectives of breaking down barriers, building relationships and trust”.

These PeM programs are good examples of how to build good relationships and increase trust between the police and the population. This shows the positive effect of cooperating with local CSOs. The joint action sports programs were initiated and organised by the CSOs. One of these was the Afghan Athlete National Union (AANU). As Soma (2013) highlights, the board of AANU is cooperating with the MoI to train and improve police behavior through sports activities. They “(...) play an important role on promoting the civil society and getting good reputation among young generations in Afghanistan” (Soma, 2013). Further, this particular PeM section, under the MoI, shows the positive effect of cooperation between actors from all levels - international, national and civil. However, these projects were only arranged in certain area and although this is a good beginning, for community policing to be a natural part of the MoI and ANP, there is a need to implement it throughout Afghanistan and with a long-term perspective.

Despite the positive effects of the MoI’s PeM programs, there are still a large number of challenges that remain. For example, police behavior that disrespects the law and people’s rights creates negative perceptions of the police in the population. Some of the questions asked by the students in the outreach program were about police actions and behavior: for example, “Why do the police drive very fast and ignore traffic rules? (...) Shouldn’t the police recruit honest people and be a model to others?” (Hoegedal, 2014). Questions like these highlights the need to work on police behavior and attitudes to increase trust in them on the part of civil society. Furthermore, gender discrimination and human rights violations against women by the ANP are widespread issues. The police are perceived by many to be a role model, so the question is why should people act in accordance with the law, if the police

are regularly breaking it? As an institution exercising power, the police's actions influence the relationship between the police and the Afghan population.

Power is existent in every relationship and interaction between actors. As Divon (2016, p. 2) states, "(...) power is a mechanism that governs relationships between elements (...)". This is a central notion of interactions. Power is especially central in the context of interaction between the police and civil society, as the police are a social and political institution that serves on both the state's and the people's behalf (Divon, 2016). Therefore, how the police exercise power or how the state projects power through the police, has an impact on the relationships between the state and the police, among the police and between the police and the people. As long as the police exercise power in a negative way - not representing people's interests in justice - their relationships are hampered. This impacts not only the level of trust between the police and civil society, but also between the MoI and civil society. It is interesting to note that many of these police actions, as well as people's perceptions, are rooted in Afghanistan's norms and culture, and it is necessary for all involved actors in community policing to be aware of this issue.

As discussed in this chapter, at policy level, positive changes have been made; MoWA has placed more attention on gender mainstreaming and women's rights and community policing including gender have received much attention from the MoI. However, the implementation of new policies is limited and efforts on community policing including gender by the international community and GIROA have had limited results. Possible reasons for this have already been discussed, including, for instance, that there has been too much focus by the international community on top-down capacity development approaches at ministerial level and too few bottom-up civil society driven approaches. Further, it has been seen that the MoI and MoWA too have focused mostly on strengthening their work at the governmental level and do not have the capacity to implement the policies and strategies demanded by the international community. Another reason for these limited results and the lack of implementation might be a limited respect for the Afghan identities. There is a need for all actors to understand and respect Afghan culture and norms when intervening in Afghanistan. This will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

6 The Afghan context

The Afghan context is a wide concept to study and involves a long history of many different cultural and religious practices, traditions, norms, and so on. For development programs to better succeed they need to be anchored in the Afghan context (Wimpelmann, 2012). Contextual understanding is important for more successful adaptations of development programs in Afghan civil society. There is a need to understand why the relationship between the police and the Afghan population is tense and lacks trust. Furthermore, there is a need to understand why gender discrimination and human rights violations against women are such a widespread problem in Afghan society. The answers to these questions are many and varied. This research is not able to elaborate all contextual aspects, but will look in some detail at some of the most essential. The long history of an untrusted police force and a culture of gender discrimination and inequality are two factors that are important to understand.

As discussed in the previous sections the international community's and GIRA's overall objective is to develop an accountable and professional ANP that civil society trusts. In this regard, the reason why distrust in the ANP is such a widespread issue needs to be understood. There are several reasons for this culture of distrust. Among these is a history of a corrupt, politicized and militarized police. Many Afghans do not trust official police officers, and tend rather to trust local elders, strongmen or insurgency groups (Bloching, 2011). These are factors that still hamper community-policing efforts to increase civil society's trust in the ANP. They are all repeated points in the documents and the literature, although the culture of a strongly militarized police is frequently highlighted.

The ANP is strongly connected to the military by Afghan civil society. They interchangeably use the words 'police' and 'soldier' when referring to the police (Nimruzi, 2016). Historically, the Afghan police have been responsible for protecting the state rather than their citizens. According to Nimruzi (2016)

“(...) in almost all epochs of Afghan history, the police has been used and acted as an agent of the state to enforce the new and most-of-the-time unpopular regime changes. The police have internalized this as their main character and the contrast between law and order-oriented police and a soldier has faded.”

The police have also been active in the fight against insurgency groups rather than solving criminal cases at local level (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2013). Because of these tendencies, together with occasionally predatory nature of the police, many Afghans have low trust in the police. They are therefore not willing to cooperate on reporting crime and terrorism to the ANP (UNOPS, 2013). This distance between citizens and the police often drives people to help and join insurgency groups. The MoI's vision is therefore "(...) to return police to the traditional duties they perform under the Afghan Police Law and to cease their participation in combat operations that require heavy weapons" (Ministry of Interior Affairs, 2013, p. Part 1). Today, despite several years of community-policing efforts, distrust in the police is still a widespread issue in Afghanistan and is therefore still an important issue to address in community policing efforts. Another main issue is the low status and numbers of women in police and gender discriminatory practices. Gender and women's rights play a central role in community policing efforts. A reason for this is because Afghan women are the worst affected by human rights violations and their lives are dominated by insecurity.

Afghanistan has for several years been named the most dangerous country in the world for women and girls (Parto & Martin, 2015; Women for Afghan Women, 2017). Furthermore, it is found that 87 % of Afghan women are victims of one or several forms of physical, sexual or psychological abuse ³¹ (Hancock, 2013). Women remain the most vulnerable and discriminated in the Afghan society and they are mostly excluded from the peace process (Karlidag, 2015; UN Women, 2016). To include more women in the ANP is stressed by the international community, as this is a key component for improved gender mainstreaming efforts at national governmental level. It is therefore important to understand why there is a low number of women in the police and the reasons for gender discriminating practices.

Gender and women's rights are complex issues to approach in Afghanistan. Afghan women are severely affected by discriminatory practices and human rights violations. To understand why, their identities and social status need to be understood. There is a need to understand social processes and structures together with Afghan women's identities as it is necessary to understand gender within the Afghan context and as a social construct. This gives a more holistic understanding of Afghani women's situation and why they are discriminated against

³¹ As these are numbers from 2008 they may be different today. However, it gives a picture of Afghan women's situation.

and subject to human rights violations on a daily basis³². As highlighted in the chapter on concepts and gender, intersectionality underlines the view that the classical systems of oppression in society do not act independently (Kumar, 2010). As Ferree (2009) states, to study different social identities and social processes together may do justice to the actual complexity of social inequality. The statement by the Special Rapporteur on violence against women (Manjoo (2015, p. 15) provides a picture of the connections between social processes and women as those who are most exposed to violations,

“The consequences of conflict, poverty, underdevelopment, social norms and practices, and the use of religion and culture as justification for control of women in every sphere, all continue to contribute to human rights violations, with women being disproportionately affected.”

Patriarchy, weak rule of law and impunity, insecurity and religion do all underline Afghan women’s vulnerability (UN Women, 2016). These, seen together with women’s status as marginalized, provide a better understanding of Afghan women’s situation.

The concept of gender does indicate both socially constructed inequalities and also power relations dominated by inequalities. Patriarchy, which dominates the Afghan culture, is characterized by strong hierarchical norms where women are seen as the weaker gender. Men are superior to women; they control and have power over them. “Women are mostly perceived as second citizens and vulnerable” (Afghan Women’s Network, 2016b, p. 3). Patriarchal norms can be identified in social, economic, cultural, religious and political practices at every level of Afghan society. Even though the Afghan Constitution and other new Afghan policy and strategy documents³³ underline men and women as equal, cultural norms and practice are different. In Afghanistan, it is the strong patriarchal practices and norms that prevail in the law. These patriarchal practices and norms are strongly present in the ANP.

In Afghan society, there is a common negative perception of working women. Women, in particular female police officers, are subject to sexual harassment in the workplace (Afghan Women’s Network, 2016b; Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2013). There is a common perception by women in the security sector that there is no culture

³² Important to remember that there are groups of marginalized men, who are also subject to discrimination and human rights violations (Adlparvar, Wardak, & Thevathasan, 2014).

³³ As elaborated on in above chapter 5.2

of respect for women. Patriarchal norms and practices stand strong among male police officers, which leads to discriminatory attitudes and actions aimed at their female colleagues. The Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women reveals a widespread practice of harassment of female police by their colleagues and superiors (Manjoo, 2015). Furthermore, female police officers face threats and violence outside their work place, too. They experience threats and violence from radicals, anti-government groups and also from family and community members (Manjoo, 2015). As the interviewee from UNDP said:

“The problem is that women police are not respected. There is a need for more women police, but families say no to send their girls to the police. Numbers show that there are 7 women per day being harassed in the police sector by their male colleagues. Therefore, it is not easy to recruit more women to the police.”

These above- mentioned factors do all weaken both the retention and recruitment of female police officers. The low number of female police has a negative impact on Afghan women’s lives in different ways. The lack of female police and the weak rule of law interrelate and create an insecure environment for Afghan women.

At national policy level, as seen, changes are made to ensure women’s rights. However, as there are limited efforts to ensure the implementation of new policies on women’s rights, then law enforcement practices are dominated by cultural norms. Afghan women are the ones who suffer the most as a result of the weak rule of law and impunity, issues that correlate with patriarchal norms and practices. Male police officers do not only have discriminating practices towards their female colleagues, they do also discriminate against women in civil society. As the police is a male dominated profession, these are severe obstacles to women’s access to justice and security. If police practices in real life are examined, it is clear that these illuminate a culture based heavily on patriarchal norms.

Firstly, male police officers most often do not take women’s complaints as seriously as men’s. If women file their cases at a police station dominated by men, they are regularly not believed (Parto & Martin, 2015; UNAMA & OHCHR, 2015). Policemen do often talk and act in the male suspect’s favor. Secondly, women are often not allowed by family members to file their cases or to seek help at the police stations. If they are allowed, they have to talk to a female officer, as they are not allowed to approach male police officers. The lack of female police officers then hinders these women from filing their cases. Thirdly, in the same way as women

are not allowed to approach male police officers, male police officers are not able to investigate women's cases – such as those involving gender based violence - properly. These are reasons why women have limited access to justice and are the ones who suffer the most from discriminating practices, rights violations and impunity.

Furthermore, there is little cooperation between the police and the judicial system. There is therefore a need to coordinate the ANP and the judicial system. They both need to address gender issues as the majority of women are denied fair treatment before the law by both organs (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007). As stated in the NAPWA,

“The State's duty to uphold its citizens' human rights will remain unfulfilled without a legal and judicial system that reaches the whole country, and which is able to guarantee and protect the rights of its female and male citizens” (Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2007, p. 38).

In addition to patriarchy, weak rule of law and impunity, insecurity is another aspect of Afghan women's vulnerability. The high levels of insecurity impact on Afghan women's situation' women are the worst affected. Reports show that civilian casualties are high and that women are the one suffering the most (UNAMA & UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2017). The first six months of 2017 showed an increase in women casualties because of conflict, compared to the year before. According to the UNAMA mid-year report on civilians in armed conflict, anti – Government elements caused the majority of female casualties. The Taliban and other insurgent groups, like ISIS, not only retain control but are increasing control over areas in Afghanistan (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, 2017; Women for Afghan Women, 2017). These insurgency groups, according to the interviewee from UNDP, reverse advances made in the women's situation.

The Taliban carry out strong discriminatory practices against women, as seen in the background chapter. The situation regarding women worsened when the Taliban came to power in the 1990's and it is therefore believed that their stronger presence has a negative impact on the situation regarding women's human rights. As the UNAMA report shows (UNAMA & UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2017), anti-Government elements impose parallel justice structure punishments on women that they perceive as acting “immorally”. Furthermore, they exercise target killings of working women, including policewomen, for immoral behavior. Women in the workforce, particularly government

employees, are targets. Insurgency groups exercise discriminatory practices against women and continue to impose restrictions on women's human rights based on extreme religious practices.

Afghan society is based on strong religious norms. This is seen in interactions from policy level down at the community level. Even though the new Afghan constitution emphasizes equal rights for women and men and the development of the EVAW law solely addresses women's rights, Islamic law is considered the supreme law in Afghanistan (Hozyainova, 2014, p. 1). "Islamic law is viewed as more credible at the community level and as more progressive with regards to women's rights than most customary norms and practices" (Hozyainova, 2014, p. 1). As Wimpelmann highlighted, when the written penal code is not adequate or does not address the case to be solved, then the Afghans use Sharia law (Wimpelmann, Hakimi, & Athari, 2018). This principle is also written in Article 3 of the Constitution: "No law shall contravene the tenets and provisions of the holy religion of Islam in Afghanistan" (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004). This shows Afghanistan's strong commitment to Islam, which promotes a culture based on religious norms and practices. Conservative religious practices put restrictions and impact Afghan women in all aspects of their lives.

To sum up, Afghan women's identity as the weaker gender, alongside the fact that they are marginalized and live within social structures and cultural practices and norms that are often detrimental to their well-being and restrict their human rights, together constitute Afghan women's vulnerable situation. These need to be taken together in order to more effectively approach the gender issue in community policing efforts. Furthermore, a history of a highly militarized police force, a society based on strong patriarchal norms, dominated by weak rule of law and insurgency, impact community-policing efforts. These factors create barriers to development to human security. There is therefore a need for the international community to understand and respect the Afghan identity and context; in doing so, it is more likely to earn respect from the Afghani people.

6.1 Contextual understandings by the international community

In order to understand community policing and gender efforts, and their impact, there is a need to understand the Afghan identity, which is linked to their historical, cultural, political and social context (Hopf, 1998), as seen above. It is important that these are taken into account in new policies, strategies and development programs. Finnmore and Sikkink (2001) underline the importance of understanding the Afghan identity as different states react differently to the same international norms. It is also important to understand the mechanisms by which norms are internalized within states, as these too differ. A lack of inclusion of Afghan identity, perceptions, and values in development processes initiated by the international community might hamper the implementation process. It might also hamper cooperation between the international community, national government institutions and local actors. Schirch (n.d.) underlines the importance for those intervening in conflict-affected areas of carrying out thorough background research into local people's perceptions. Unfortunately,

“Donor's priorities and perceptions of what to do about conflict too often trump or ignore local people's perceptions, resulting in local people seeing donor-driven programs as illegitimate, wasteful and even neo-colonial reflecting a “we know what's best for you” approach. Too often, planners sitting in foreign capitals conduct a conflict assessment based on their own cultural biases and untested assumptions that significantly depart from realities on the ground for local people experiencing conflict“ (Schirch, n.d., p. 14).

An example of this kind of situation is the statement in the report on the Afghanistan National Development Strategy (ANDS), which highlight the issue of ethical values imported from the west. “The ANDS is based on ethical values which are largely imported from western countries and are not fully shared by all sections of the Afghan citizens and members of the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan” (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Economy, 1389 (2011)). Furthermore, especially within the gender field, international efforts are not contextualized to the Afghan context, as Adlparvar et al. (2014, p. 18) argue:

“A significant proportion of the gender messaging supported by the donor community is not contextualised to the Afghan context. It is based on western concepts and ideas that are disconnected from Afghan realities, and which are mainly translated from English into Afghanistan's official languages. There is a need for gender and women's rights messaging to be culturally sensitive, to be grounded in an Islamic framework, and not only translated into but conceived in official languages and based on relevant topics.”

IOs tend to be eager to spread their expertise in and knowledge of norms that define what creates “good” and legitimate state behavior. For example, as M. N. Barnett and Finnmore (1999, p. 713) state, “The UN and the European Union are now actively involved in police training in non-Western states because they believe Western policing practices will be more conducive to democratization processes and the establishment of civil society”. This kind of thinking - that western practices are best - leads to programs that are poorly prepared in terms of respecting Afghan identity and practices.

The European Court of Auditors (2015) indicates that the EUPOL mission was not well enough prepared for the difficult operational Afghan context. Furthermore, according to the Final Progress Report for LOTFA, the MoI “(...) indicated that despite the acknowledgment of the importance of COP [Community Oriented Policing], and tremendous support from international partners in this area, there is still no unified understanding for COP implementation contextualized to the cultural and societal context of Afghanistan” (UNDP, 2015a, p. 23). The lack of contextualization is especially seen at policy level and a reason for this may be because of international universalism.

International universalism is based on the notion that human rights are universal and should apply to every human being in all parts of the world (Global Policy Forum, 2005). When this constitutes the basis of the efforts of the international community, they are less open to meet the Afghan culture and norms. Therefore, it is a need to find a balance between international universalism and cultural relativism in which supports traditional or local approaches to justice. Even though there is a need for changes in the Afghan society for the population to experience security and human rights, the international community should better contextualize their policies and efforts to the Afghan context. This international universalism is specially reflected at the Afghan national policy level.

As seen in the chapter on the international community’s efforts at policy level, Afghanistan has changed their laws and policies, as a result of input from the international community. Because Afghanistan has signed international laws, conventions and treaties, they are obliged to implement them in both their laws and their actions. However, Afghanistan has included them at policy level, but the implementation process has been weak. This can, among others, be because there are perceptions among local Afghans that these laws are “westernized” and do not represent their values and perceptions. An example is the establishment of MoWA

with pressure from the international community to ensure gender mainstreaming and women's human rights, both of which are adapted from international norms and standards. It is shown that MoWA lack integrity and necessary respect from other ministries and civil society. They have a hard time implementing women's rights policies, among others, because they conflict with Afghans culture and norms. As stated by Parto and Martin (2015, p. 7),

“Despite these significant reforms and provisions at the formal level, the case of Afghanistan demonstrate quite clearly that devising new laws, changing existing laws, or introducing affirmative action through establishing quotas in areas where discrimination against women is most serious are not sufficient for addressing fundamental causes of discrimination against women.”

Another example on international universalism is UN Women's work on gender and women's rights in Afghanistan, where CEDAW and Resolution 1325 are central. They have a strong focus on Afghanistan to implement universal human rights for women to ensure gender equality. In this regard, they have put pressure and supported MoWA to develop NAPWA and EVAW Law. However, what is seen is that there are difficulties for MoWA to obtain the respect needed to be able to implement these.

Policies that do not respect the Afghan identity hamper the implementation process. Further, universalism is also reflected in international community's efforts on community policing. Their community policing efforts are based on guidelines developed by the international community where international democratic values and human rights stand strong. However, lack of knowledge on the Afghan context by international community at central level further influences their fieldwork.

A lack of research and understanding of the Afghan context on the part of the international community may influence their work all the way down to their field staff. Individual staff members impact the progress and outcomes of the actor whom they represent (Long, 2001). For example, staff that lacked knowledge of gender were a problem for the EUPOL mission. As interviewee from EUPOL said, it was necessary to educate their own staff on gender and gender issues, as many lacked knowledge of this area. Furthermore, the interviewee from MOWA said that MoWA looked at international staff as people with money who were working on a project for a while before leaving. His impression that the most important for these staff was to say that they had been present in Afghanistan but that they were not that

interested to get to know Afghanistan and the results of the projects they worked on. Similarly, at the PRIO seminar, it was stated that internationals³⁴ were in Afghanistan for résumé collection and money (Fluri & Lehr, 2017); people went to Afghanistan to get the experience needed to later get a job in Geneva, New York, and so on, and those who dared go to Afghanistan had a great deal more money than they would have had in, for example, the USA. This does not mean that all field staff have “wrong” intentions. There are people that are dedicated and committed to their work in Afghanistan.

As the actor-oriented approach argues, individuals influence how organizations act and how their programs are implemented in actuality (Long, 2001). Field staff that are well prepared and feel a strong commitment to the mission of their organization will, most likely, strengthen the process and outcomes, while those who are there out of self-interest and who do not have the necessary knowledge about the mission and the Afghan context, will most likely hamper the progress and outcomes of their organization. As Karns and Mingst (2010, p. 50) explain, constructivists believe “(...) that how individuals talk about the world shapes practices, that humans are capable of changing the world by changing ideas, (...)” The knowledge held by field staff and their behavior is important, as they are the ones closest to the implementation process, the ones interacting with Afghani people themselves. Knowledge about and respect for the Afghan context and identity among field staff is important to better approach the issues within the security sector and the police.

These findings indicate that international universalism dominates the efforts of international actors at policy level and is reflected in their community policing efforts. There is therefore a need for the international community to develop approaches that are better suited to the Afghan culture. This will increase the chances of better cooperation between the international community and Afghanistan, which in turn is likely to lead to more success in community policing efforts.

³⁴ Staff from international actors

7 Conclusions and the way forward

Through constructivist lenses, this research has been able to look at the different actors and their views in community policing. As Hopf (1998, p. 192) puts it:

“Constructivism offers an account of the politics of identity. It proposes a way of understanding how nationalism, ethnicity, race, gender, religion, and sexuality, and other intersubjectively understood communities, are each involved in an account of global politics. Understanding how identities are constructed, what norms and practices accompany their reproduction, and how they construct each other is a major part of the constructivist research program.”

What has been interesting is that there are differences between international actors acting under the common term, the ‘international community’. They all have their own approaches to and interests in community policing. At national level, it was also found that there are differences between national and local actors. Despite these differences, constructivism sees the potential for social change if the different actors’ (international, national and local) identities are respected. When studying the concept of gender, constructivism again highlights the importance of looking at differences. Recognizing both the differences between men and women, between men and between women, and the different social identities and social processes they are engaged in and seeing that these differences are central, provides a holistic understanding of gender. Based on this constructivist lens, the conclusions of this research conclusions will be discussed below.

This research study has found that there are several issues with the efforts made by the international community in community policing that includes gender. As seen in the above chapters, there is a need for better cooperation and coordination between all actors studied, both between actors at the same level and between actors across levels. Furthermore, it has been discovered that there are limitations to their approaches that influence their efforts in community policing. Despite over a decade of international efforts in community policing in Afghanistan, the results seems limited. The level of trust in police on the part of civil society is low, as is the number of women in the police force. Furthermore, insecurity dominates Afghan people’s lives, and women are the worst affected, which indicates that there is a need for further efforts. However, the fact that the results are limited indicates that there is a need to consider changes in the community policing efforts of the international community.

This research has highlighted the fact that an effort has been made with regard to cooperation and coordination between actors. The international community has developed different coordination platforms in order to improve cooperation between international actors and also between international actors and the MoI. The IPCB is one example that has been highlighted, but was shown to be less effective. At governmental level, it was shown that cooperation and coordination between the MoI and MoWA was almost non-existent. The gender units coordinated by MoWA were not established under the MoI and no other connections between these ministries were found. Furthermore, limited information was found on efforts by IOs, the MoI and MoWA to cooperate and coordinate activities with CSOs. As Sedra (2006, p. 106) argues,

“Coordination has been problematic at various levels of the reform process in Afghanistan. Competing donor agendas and rivalries at the donor–donor level; capacity deficits and mistrust at the donor–government level; factional divisions at the intra-governmental level; and competition over scarce resources at the interagency level have all worked to undermine the coherence of reform activities.”

This statement highlights one of the findings of this research; there is lack of cooperation and coordination between actors. A lack of cooperation and coordination often leads to poor results and a subsequent lack of sustainability in international development efforts (Coning & Friis, 2011). Gross (2009) argues that the success of the efforts of international actors to reconstruct Afghanistan is put at risk both because of the worsening security situation, and because of the fragmentation of international and national actors and the lack of an overall strategy in their approach. This underlines the need for improved cooperation and coordination. One way might be to develop a comprehensive international approach. Such an approach would entail gathering the international community together to work on a common strategy, a strategy based on shared understandings of community policing and a common and agreed upon implementation strategy for community policing. This contrasts with what is currently seen; that there are distinctions between the approaches used by the international actors.

With regard to the community policing efforts of the international community in Afghanistan, the focus has primarily been on a top-down capacity building approach, an approach that would strengthen Afghan government institutions, such as the MoI, the ANP and MoWA. As these government institutions are fragile, there is a need to improve their capacity in order to

enable to ensure their people's security and to address gender issues. They need to be accountable and ensure the safety and rights of Afghan people, regardless of gender, to create trust. However, this approach does not involve civil society, which is important to improve the results of community policing efforts. Scirch (2011, p. 2) underlines the importance of civil society in development efforts in her statement:

“Stable governance and a durable peace require a citizen-oriented state working in partnership with an active civil society that has adequate space and resources to hold government to account. An active local civil society at the national and community levels is an indicator of a functioning and democratic state.”

It is important to include civil society in this discussion as it is the general population who are the ones affected by community policing efforts. Furthermore, it is the local people, and women in particular, that suffer from police abuse and incompetence (Coyne & Nyborg, 2017). They are therefore the ones that know the reasons why they do not trust the police and also what they expect from them. Moreover, civil society, as Coyne and Nyborg (2017, p. 1) state, has the potential to “(...) develop creative, effective engagements to build public trust in police, as well as to strengthen the willingness and capacity of police and the Ministry to embrace community policing.” In this regard, a civil-society-driven approach can make it more likely for the capacity development approach to succeed.

With respect to community policing and gender in Afghanistan, there is a need for both capacity development of the government institutions and participation on the part of civil society. There is a need for a partnership approach. Firstly, it is necessary to increase the MoI's capacity for them to be able to train and support the ANP to be able to meet community-policing values. Secondly, the capacity of MoWA to manage gender and women's rights issues at both government and community levels needs to be strengthened. Thirdly, in order to increase the level of trust in the police, increased inclusion of civil society in community policing efforts is needed. This could be done by including CSOs and developing community policing programs in communities. The ADPP and PeM projects demonstrate the positive effects of including CSOs as cooperative and implementing partners. Fourthly, there is a need to change perceptions of gender both within the government and civil society. Most particularly within the field of gender, there is a need for an approach that encourages cooperation across sectors.

Some of the actors studied mention the need for a multi-sectorial approach, an approach that encourages cooperation across sectors. This could be one of the many actions needed to accelerate the development of community policing and gender. The literature, actors, project programs, and reports repeatedly highlight a lack of education and impunity as problematic for community policing efforts.

As seen, a lack of education has resulted in a high rate of illiteracy, especially among women. This impedes actors who use the ‘train the trainers’ approach to educating the MoI and ANP in community policing practices. Women are the worst affected by illiteracy; a lack of education and an especially high illiteracy rate among Afghan women has a negative impact on their ability to join the police, to obtain respect from the police and civil society and to claim their rights. Despite these issues of education and illiteracy, no information was found concerning the international community cooperating with the Ministry of Education, which is the lead government institution within education. Based on these findings, the international community could strengthen their community policing efforts that include gender by urging cooperation and coordination with and between the MoI, MoWA and the Ministry of Education.

The problem of lack of cooperation between the Afghan security sector and the judicial sector is repeated in the documents. If community-policing efforts are to improve, there is a need for the judicial system to follow up the efforts made by the police. Lack of coordination and cooperation between the security and justice sectors often leads to impunity. Women in particular are victims of impunity in Afghanistan. Often, the police do not take women’s cases seriously. However, if the police does take them seriously, it is not assured that the judiciary will follow up their cases. What happens is that local elders or religious leaders with conservative views on gender often solve cases like violence against women. As conservative leaders most often view women as being responsible for the violence they are exposed or subjected to, the perpetrators go unpunished. Of the actors studied, EUPOL underlined the importance of enhancing cooperation between the police and the judicial sector. A part of EUPOL’s community policing efforts were aimed at the judicial sector. These two examples of a lack of education and impunity highlight the need for the international community to include multi-sectorial initiatives in their community policing programs. This will especially be important to have an increased impact on gender.

In the community policing programs and projects, gender issues are widely addressed. It was found that the lack of gender equality restrains the development of community policing and the level of trust in the police, as there is limited inclusion and respect for women in the police (Manjoo, 2015; Parto & Martin, 2015). As women constitute almost 50% of the Afghan population, there is a need for the police to create trust among them, on equal terms as men (Ghayas, 2015). Furthermore, how the international community defines, supports and approaches gender in their development programs within community policing can have an important impact on the outcomes of their community policing projects. This thesis argues that there is a need to include gender and women's rights in development work on community policing in order to achieve better results and to ensure human security for all.

As the World Bank (2001, p. 1) argues, in the work for gender equality there is a need for "an institutional environment that provides equal rights and opportunities for women and men and policy measures that address persistent inequalities." In the end, the costs of inequalities hurt everyone throughout the society. Therefore, when addressing gender issues and women's human rights, there is a need to consider both women and men. Both international and national actors highlight the importance of including gender in their policies and work. However, what is found is that efforts made with regard to gender almost exclusively concentrate on women, which of course is important, as they are the ones suffering the most from discrimination and human rights violations. However, it is equally important to include men.

It is necessary to include men so as to improve their perceptions of women, for women and men to better interact with each other. As Resolution 1325 emphasizes, women and men can complement each other in peacebuilding efforts. Adlparvar et al. (2014) point to the problem of an almost total lack of inclusion of men and boys in gender programming in Afghanistan. This has, among other effects, led to negative responses from men to gender programming and this limits the possibility of changing men's discriminating attitudes and behavior towards women. In this regard, the international community needs to include men in their gender efforts within community policing.

It is also clear that development programs on gender need to be long-term. Most community policing projects studied in this research have been carried out within a limited time frame. As Afghanistan is a fragile state, there is a continuous need for support. There is a need to ensure

that the Afghani people themselves are able to maintain the projects. If international actors withdraw, as they have done, their projects end and the situation may easily revert to how it was previously. The Interviewee from UNDP said that there was a need for further international presence in Afghanistan. From her perspective as a community worker, there is a need for the international community's presence, without which Afghanistan will go backwards, back to the Taliban regime. Furthermore, according to the Interviewee from EUPOL, after EUPOL's withdrawal, an Afghan Police General she spoke with asked EUPOL to come back as the situation was worsening without their presence. This is also shown in reports that address the situation after 2014. When international actors started to withdraw, the security situation worsened (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, 2017; Tabasum et al., 2017; UNAMA & UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2017). There has been a relapse in the security situation, with insurgency groups gaining more land and the numbers of civilian victims (especially women) increasing. For this reason, the Afghan Government states that there is still a strong need for the international community's presence and help.

As the security situation in Afghanistan is worsening, and women remain strongly discriminated against, there is, therefore, still a strong need for a continued focus on community policing that includes gender. Community policing and better inclusion of women in the police seems to be the basis for a cycle of positive development over several stages in Afghan society. If the police are enabled to do their work in the communities and create trust among the Afghani people, then areas will become more secure and a spiral of positives can start (Interviewee from EUPOL). Furthermore, points made in this research study indicate a number of conclusions. Firstly, an increase in female police officers makes women feel safer and facilitates women's access to justice. Secondly, people could develop respect for women and their rights. Thirdly, increased recruitment of women in the ANP might increase public trust in the police, among both women and men, which is an important component in community policing. Fourthly and finally, increase inclusion of women in the police, together with the implementation of community policing reform could be important factors in achieving development and human security for all. Therefore, more female police has positive effects on development efforts and also creates a more trusting relationship between civil society and the police. However, in order to achieve these, there is a need for the international community to include civil society, government institutions and both men and women in their projects.

Recommendations

Based on these concluding remarks, it is recommended that the international community develop a stronger, more comprehensive approach, a multi-sectorial approach and a partnership approach. Furthermore, it is recommended that their approaches be tailored to suit the needs of the Afghan culture and the social context. In this way, Afghani people may feel more respected and the international community could earn more respect from them for their work. This may, in turn, make it easier to address gender. Because gender is a very sensitive field dominated by a large number of cultural, religious and societal practices and norms, it is important for the international community to understand this. Also, there is a need to shift the focus when approaching gender issues from only women to both women and men. Finally, in a fragile state such as Afghanistan, with deep-rooted cultural, religious and societal norms and practices, changes are not made easily. This can be seen in the statistics on both the level of trust in the ANP from the Afghani people and in the number of women in the ANP. For this reason, it is recommended that community policing projects have long-term perspectives.

These recommendations are well intentioned. Every action made by every actor - international, national and individual - has the potential for improvement. For development to be a continuous process there is a need to always look at improvements that may be made. Therefore, it is important in community-policing visions that the expectations, methods and approaches used need to be evaluated along the way. This may lead to better success of the development efforts and increased respect for the international community and prevent the national government and the Afghani people from perceiving international actions as a threat to their sovereignty.

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Appendix 1

Organization	Sex and Nationality	Period of time working for the organization in Afghanistan	Role in the organization
MoWA	Male, Afghan	6 months (Has also work for IOs)	Trainee Worked on their policies
EUPOL	Female, European	2 ½ years	Police official
UNDP	Female, Afghan	Worked for UNDP for 1 year on the LOTFA project. (worked for several other IOs like OXFAM on gender since 2003)	Community worker. Involved in a one-year police project. A project that trained the police within the Police-e-Mardumi and the Family Response Units to better approach the communities.
AWN	Male, Afghan	Worked for a police women project initiated by AWN for 3 years	Worked towards the communities on the implementation of the project.

Appendix 2

Semistandardized interview

- Explain the aim of the research.
- Give information concerning consent, confidentiality and anonymity.
- Consent orally if not by e-mail

- How is (actor) working? How have you and your colleagues conducted your work?
- How is gender and community policing approached?
- In what way does (actor) cooperate with other actors at international-, national-, and civil society levels?
 - o How is their relationship?
 - o What role does the international community play? Where is the international community most and least effective?
- How is (actor) cooperating with local CSO's?
 - o In what way do international community's / national government's priorities correspond or conflict with local communities needs and priorities?
- What are the attitudes by civil society towards police? Male and female police?
- What are the attitudes by police officers towards civil society, men and women?
- In what ways do you feel your work has had an impact?

Appendix 3

Request for participation in Research Project

This research is for my master theses in International Relations at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) in Ås. The purpose of this research is to examine the international community's approaches and efforts on gender issues within community policing and analyze their possible contribution to development and human security within post conflict communities in Afghanistan. The research question for this research is; to what extent might the international communities efforts to support gender, within community policing, influence trust between police and civil society and human security for all?

While most of the research is based on international and national policy documents, and reports of relevant projects led by international actors in Afghanistan, it will also include interviews with persons that have or still work for these international actors in the fields of community policing and/or gender and development. It is also important to interview persons that know or have experience with relevant government ministries and local civil society organizations.

In this regard, one of my contacts has recommended that I interview you. It would be of great help for this research if you would be willing to share information of your experience within your institution. The questions will include how you and your colleagues have conducted your work, your approach to gender and community policing, how you cooperate with other actors at international-, national- and civil society levels and in what ways you feel the work has had an impact.

Participation in the interview is voluntary. If you agree to be interviewed, you can reserve the right not answer specific questions or topics during the interview, and you can withdraw from the interview at any time without being obliged to give a reason for it. Your responses will be kept confidential by the researcher and supervisor. No individually identifying information will be reported. Names will be separated from the information collected during interview and interviewees will be anonymous.

The research will end during autumn 2017, and its results will be handed in as a master thesis at NMBU and possibly as an academic article.

If you have any questions concerning the research you may contact me, Julie Bye Johansen, at julie.bye.johansen@nmbu.no or my supervisor for this study, Ingrid L. P. Nyborg at ingrid.nyborg@nmbu.no.

This study is registered at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

I have received the information about the research, and I am willing to be a part of it.
(The consent will be given either orally or by email)



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