

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Gender, Security, and Development: A Bougainville case study

A thesis presented in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in
Development Studies at Massey University, Palmerston North

Sharon Cuddy

2012

Abstract

Research on contemporary alignments of development and security agendas has paid limited attention to how gender relations, roles and issues of equality are constructed and experienced within post-conflict contexts. While practices like gender mainstreaming have been committed to in principle and in policy by organisations and countries heavily involved in development and security interventions, more research is required into actual practices and outcomes.

This thesis utilises a case study, the Bougainville Community Policing Project, to examine the efficacy of gender approaches practiced within a merged security-development intervention. The research highlights how increased participation of women within such interventions, while important for meeting practical gender needs, is not in itself enough to enable more strategic gender needs to be met. In seeking to understand more fully the gendered impacts of such interventions on communities the prioritising of particular development issues over others, including gender equality, becomes visible.

Acknowledgements

To the Peace and Education Disarmament Trust, for making my fieldwork in Bougainville possible through a generous project grant. To the New Zealand Police for supporting my research request and providing access to personnel and information. To the New Zealand Police in Bougainville for their assistance, hospitality and willingness to share their experiences. To The National Research Institute in Port Moresby, for supporting my application for a research visa for Papua New Guinea.

To everyone in Bougainville who participated in this research and shared their stories and experiences with me, a stranger from far away, with such openness and warmth – thank you.

To my supervisors, Regina Scheyvens and Beth Greener, thank you for the support and direction you have given me over the last year. Finally, to Guillaume, for your unwavering encouragement and support in this endeavour and others.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of figures and tables.....	vii
Abbreviations.....	viii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research questions	5
1.2 Thesis structure.....	6
1.3 Conclusion.....	8
2. The merging of development and security	10
2.1 Understandings of development	10
2.2 Understandings of security	12
2.2.1 ‘Failing states’ and the ‘new wars’	13
2.2.2 The ‘arc of instability’	15
2.3 The merging of development and security	18
2.4 Security sector reform and international policing	20
2.4.1 SSR in Melanesia.....	21
2.5 Anti-politics.....	24
2.6 Conclusion.....	26
3. Gender, development and security: Theories and practices	27
3.1 Introduction: Gender, development and security	28
3.2 Feminist criticisms of International Relations.....	30
3.3 Gendered discourse	32
3.4 Security Council Resolution 1325.....	34
3.5 Gender mainstreaming: participation versus transformation	37
3.6 Practical and strategic gender needs.....	45
3.7 Empowerment	46
3.8 Conclusion.....	48
4. Methodology.....	50
4.1 The fieldwork	50
4.1.1 Ethical considerations	53
4.1.2 The participants.....	54
4.2 Theoretical influences	55
4.3 Making myself visible	57
4.3 Conclusion.....	59
5. Bougainville: Conflict, peace and justice	60
5.1 The conflict and the peace process.....	60
5.2 The role of women in conflict and peace	62
5.3 Kastom and restorative justice	66
5.4 The Bougainville Community Policing Project	68
5.5 Conclusion.....	70

6.	Key findings: The gendered effects of current strategies	72
6.1	Practical gender needs:	
	Female CAPs addressing women’s practical security needs.....	72
	6.1.1 Female CAPs primarily dealing with ‘women’s issues’	74
	6.1.2 Examining a specific security-development issue: Domestic violence	80
	6.1.3 Access and control	84
6.2	Empowerment and transformative change	87
	6.2.1 Masculinities	95
6.3	Externally driven interventions and local law and order practices	96
6.4	Conclusion.....	107
7.	Conclusion	109
7.1	Research questions and answers.....	109
	7.1.1 Research Question One.....	109
	7.1.2 Research Question Two	112
	7.1.3 Research Question Three	113
7.2	Practical applications for this research	115
7.3	Areas for further study	116
7.4	Concluding thoughts.....	117
	References.....	119
	Appendices	135
	Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet	135
	Appendix 2: Responsibilities of CAPs	140
	Appendix 3: The Bougainville Constitution.....	142

List of figures and tables

Figure 1: Map of Bougainville	51
Table 1: Participant categories.....	55

Abbreviations

ABG	Autonomous Bougainville Government
AROB	Autonomous Region of Bougainville
BCL	Bougainville Copper Limited
BCPP	Bougainville Community Policing Project
BPS	Bougainville Police Service
BRA	Bougainville Republican Army
BRF	Bougainville Resistance Forces
CAP	Community Auxiliary Police
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CPE	Complex Political Emergency
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
GBV	Gender Based Violence
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NZPOL	New Zealand Police
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PGK	Papua New Guinean Kina
PMG	Peace Monitoring Group
PNGDF	Papua New Guinea Defence Force
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RPNGC	Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary
SCR1325	Security Council Resolution 1325
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TMG	Truce Monitoring Group
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOMB	United Nations Observer Mission Bougainville