

Training for Peace – is it possible?

Kari Marie Kjellstad



Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Department of Security and Conflict Management



Security in Practice 1b · 2011

[NUPI Working Paper 784b]

Publisher: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Copyright: © Norwegian Institute of International Affairs 2011

Any views expressed in this publication are those of the author. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. The text may not be printed in part or in full without the permission of the author.

Visiting address: C.J. Hambros plass 2d
Address: P.O. Box 8159 Dep.
NO-0033 Oslo, Norway
Internet: www.nupi.no
E-mail: info@nupi.no
Fax: [+ 47] 22 36 21 82
Tel: [+ 47] 22 99 40 00

Training for Peace – is it possible?

“Then they have to take bribes. Everyone does it because they have to. All African police officers do it...”

African police instructor, as told to me during my stay in Nairobi.

Kari Marie Kjellstad

Summary

Training for Peace (TfP) is a programme which, through training, research and policy development, aims to strengthen Africa’s capacity to conduct peacekeeping operations through – among other things – strengthening the African Union (AU). The programme was established in 1995 and is financed through the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). TfP aims to teach the civilian components of peacekeeping, which also includes police work. TfP is part of a long-term Norwegian strategy to contribute to African peace and security.

The four research institutes participating in TfP have produced 119 publications and 10 policy briefs since the start of the programme. TfP has been evaluated several times, most recently in 2010, and the recommendation is to continue with the programme. This report looks specifically at the training of police and how knowledge from research is communicated to police instructors in the TfP programme.

The report shows that the police training has a high level of professional competence, but with little contact between researchers and police instructors and thereby little transfer of knowledge between the two groups. This is something all participants would like to see changed.

Furthermore, it is clear that many of the African police officers come from countries where the police forces are marred by corruption and enjoy little trust. Corruption, however, is not included as a separate topic in the training of the police officers.

The number of female police officers is on the increase, and the report also examines some of the challenges that accompany such an increase. The report concludes with recommendations.

The author wishes to thank Trine Halo for invaluable assistance during this project, as well as Jens Chr. Andvig for very helpful comments.

Acronyms

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, South Africa
AU	African Union
CMI	Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen
CPDTM	Core Pre-Deployment Training Manual
EASBRICOM	East African Standby Brigade Coordination Mechanism
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
ISS	Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa
ITS	Integrated Training Service
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Accra
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo
POD	Norwegian Police Directorate
NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo
RRR	Repatriation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
SAT	Selection Assistance Team
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
STM	Specialized Training Material
TfP	Training for Peace
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNPOL	UN Police
UNPOC	United Nations Police Officers Course

Introduction

The police are a part of the civilian component of peacekeeping operations. Since the first police contingent participated in a UN peacekeeping mission in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960, the tasks given to police in peacekeeping missions have expanded in number and complexity (Holm & Eide, 2000). The police are seen as an increasingly important part of the success of long-term peacekeeping work. The safety which a police force affords is a precondition for a society to be able to establish fundamental functions and also to attract investors.

Local police will often have been a part of the conflict in question. That entails serious challenges for building a new police force that can enjoy the trust of the surrounding community. It is vital for this to succeed, as a functioning and trustworthy police force is a necessary cornerstone for re-building a country.

According to Eirin Mobekk (2009), 'Mentoring and reform of local forces to establish a democratic civilian police force is an indispensable component to ensure prolonged and sustainable stability and rule of law in post-conflict environments.'¹

Therefore, it does matter how a police force is built up, and it is vital for such a force to operate in line with democratic principles.

The starting point for this report was a field trip to Kenya in order to follow a course financed by Training for Peace in Africa.

Training for Peace in Africa (TfP) is a programme which, through training, applied research and support to policy development, aims to strengthen Africa's capacity to conduct peacekeeping operations, through – among other things – strengthening the African Union (AU). TfP has four partners: the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC). The programme commenced in 1995, and is fully financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. TfP aims to train the civilian components of peacekeeping missions, including police forces and is part of a long-term strategy on the part of Norway to contribute to peace and security in Africa.

TfP utilizes several training facilities in Africa. One of these is the training facility in Embakasi, located outside Nairobi, Kenya, which trains civilians, police officers and military personnel. I participated as

¹ Mobekk, Eirin, Cooperating for peace, seminar co-organized by the International Peace Institute and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 10-11 December 2009.

an observer in a UNPOL (UN Police) course for police officers held at Embakasi, the United Nations Police Officers Course (UNPOC).²

In 2010, at the request of the MFA, the Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI) concluded a review of TfP with the recommendation that the programme should continue (see Tjønneland & Albertyn, 2010) TfP mainly offers training to civilians and police officers (both female and male) participating in an AU or UN mission through amongst others predeployment and in-mission training activities. The CMI review, however, did not review in detail what the training consists of, or its effect. Since the details of the training activities are not covered by the CMI report, I wished to study it with a special focus on the instructors at TfP courses. Specifically, I in this report observed the instructors of police officers at a UNPOC course. Furthermore, I aim to provide findings about the ways in which the instructors are kept updated on professional knowledge and recent research.

This report will give an overview of the content of the training program; what, if any, professional advice is provided to the instructors; as well as an overview of some of the research relevant for the police that have been conducted for TfP. The report will also to some extent address the interaction within TfP between research activity and training courses, and how the results of research are communicated to those working in the field. In conjunction with my stay in Nairobi, I made some observations not directly related to the training itself. A few of these have been included in this report, in the paragraphs on 'The African Reality', 'Corruption', 'The Practical Reality', and 'The Gender Perspective'.

These findings will help to explain why our expectations are not always amenable to reality. The report ends with a conclusion and some recommendations.

Methods

A combination of participatory observation and interviews was chosen for this report. I was present during the training of the police officers, and participated in conversations with instructors, students and others we met in connection with TfP.

The interviewees were encountered more or less randomly during my fourteen-day research stay. Some of them were leading figures in TfP both in Nairobi and in Norway. I interviewed the seven course instructors, as well as the team leader. In addition, I interviewed nine other people affiliated with TfP. These included the Norwegian police liai-

² This is a pre-deployment course police officers must attend before participating in a UN operation, and is obligatory in Norway.

son Bjørn Hareide in EASBRICOM (East African Standby Brigade Coordination Mechanism, today EASFCOM); John-Erik Jensen, seconded training officer in the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), responsible for developing a training manual for police officers serving in the UN; Mats Ljungwald, Superintendent, Special Operation Division; desk officer, Special Operations Division, Ola Wolter; the coordinator for TFP in the Norwegian Police Directorate; the coordinator for UNPOL instructors at the Norwegian Police University College (PHS), the programme head at the MFA; and the programme head at NUPI. I also conducted an informal conversation with the person in charge at the MFA. Those who are not instructors are referred to as 'leaders' in the report.

In Nairobi, I participated in the training of the police officers, except for the practical exercises.³ I also observed the concluding exercise of the course on the final day. Of the sixty course participants, twenty-six were female. I mainly observed one of the two class groups, where the participants came from Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Norway. They had all been educated as police officers in their home countries.

My own background is that of a police officer, and I have attended a UNPOL course in Norway. I have also been on a mission in Liberia (UNMIL 2008- 2009) in this capacity.

Some of my interviewees had been deployed to the mission in Liberia at the same time as I was there. I participated in gatherings with the instructors during the afternoon and evening, and felt that I fit naturally into the environment. My observations and interpretations are made on the basis of my professional competence⁴.

Evenings were leisure time, and did not lend themselves to formal interviews. I did find the observations made during such times useful, however, and have included some of these, while keeping the sources anonymous. Everyone at the course was informed of my role there, and the course participants would frequently seek me out after school hours so they could explain aspects connected to my project.⁵

The advantage I hold is that I understand the professional culture of a police force. I was included in the group as a peer of the instructors, and was able to gain many professional insights during evening conversations.

³ These involved using map & compass, first aid, four-wheel driving, how to write a report, road safety/landmines, and radio communication.

⁴ This is 25 years as a police officer in the Norwegian police, one year as UN police in Liberia, Police adviser in NUPI since 2010.

⁵ I was introduced to all participants as an observer on the first day of the course. All those who were interviewed were informed of me and my role: my position as a research fellow at NUPI, my project, and my specific focus on instructors.

Training

The course lasts for two weeks. This is too short a time for achieving the goals set, so during the first week and one day of the second week, additional teaching was conducted after hours in order to complete the course material.

Classes follow the UN training manual (UN, 2009). This is a new manual, built up according to a unique pedagogical system and one which received much praise from the instructors. They all thought the manual was logical and easy to follow. Previously, no UN training manual had existed in this area, and each UN Member State was responsible for training its own cadre of UN peacekeepers.

While in Nairobi, I met with John-Erik Jensen, who was responsible for developing the training manual used in this course. He was seconded by Denmark to UN Headquarters in New York, where he worked with Integrated Training Service (ITS) in the DKPO. He worked there with two other persons, and together they were responsible for developing training manuals for civilians and police officers. All three were trained as police and had participated in various missions. Jensen had participated in six missions, principally UN but also EU missions. In addition, he twice served as election observer and worked as a security delegate for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in the Sudan.

Jensen explained that he had focused on the police training, whereas the other two also worked on the training of civilians. He based the UN manual on existing ones developed by member countries for pre-deployment training. More than 70 countries contributed with their experiences. Jensen fashioned a manual for UNPOC, one Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) and one Training of Trainers (ToT).

The UN training manual provides training goals for each topic. The point of this training is that the participants are to achieve these goals, and it is up to the instructors to decide how to communicate this knowledge.

The UNPOC manual consists of two parts. The first is the Core Pre-Deployment Training Manual (CPDTM), which concerns general organizational issues.⁶ The second part is the Specialized Training Material (STM). This is specifically directed at police. At present, there are twelve STM. These are the minimum needed, and the instructors are free to add more. The course demands that the instructors make the material their own and fashion their own presentations. The pro-

⁶ This material provides the instructor with little leeway, as it concerns the organization, how to establish a mission, personal conduct, gender perspectives, etc. This part of the teaching is general, and is given to both military and civilian personnel entering UN service.

gramme allows for flexibility and contains activities-based training with tasks and discussions, etc. Participants may ask questions. The training programme also provided some suggested questions, with possible answers.

The contents of the manual has been chosen on the basis of Lessons Learned,⁷ which are the Member States' own previous manuals as well as the ITS team members' own previous experiences. Jensen also has a background in education and pedagogy. The manual is a combination of UN policy and recognized needs based on previous experiences.⁸ Jensen explained that he reads research and operation reports as well as annual mission reports. He did not know of any research reports TfP. He was familiar with TfP through his Norwegian contacts, but TfP had not made an impact at his level. Nor was he in a position to evaluate if TfP had made an impact on the UN in general.

The training consisted of both theory and praxis, and concluded with an entire day of practical exercises.

The theory component was mostly based on lectures, with little time set aside for group work or discussion. The teaching was clearly under time constraints. Several important and interesting discussions emerged, but there was no time to include them. This was also the case with group work, which had been allocated insufficient time. The participants clearly enjoyed the group work. The course was conducted in English, and participants had previously taken the UN Selection Assistance Team (SAT) test, which meant they had already been tested by the UN and were deemed to possess the knowledge necessary for taking part in a UN mission.⁹

⁷ The Peacebuilding Committee in the UN established the 'Working Group on Lessons Learned' in 2007 in order to develop *best practices*. This is a platform for sharing experienced from on-going and previous peacekeeping operations.

⁸ The modules are as follows:

- RRR (Repatriation, Resettlement and Rehabilitation) (policy based)
- Census, identification and vetting (policy based)
- Rule of Law
- Different legal systems
- Human rights and arrest and detention, Human rights and use of force
- Community-based policing
- Mentoring and advising
- Negotiation and mediation
- Report writing
- Road safety
- Radio communication
- Land navigation

⁹ SAT is a UN team that travels around testing candidates for UN service in language skills, driving skills, and firearms.

Research

TfP consists of four partners: NUPI, ACCORD, ISS and KAIPTC and all of them have contributed with research since the start of the programme.¹⁰ I have looked into some the research done by NUPI below.

Ole Jacob Sending has written several publications and policy briefs (see Sending 2009a, 2009b, 2010) in which he explains why permanent peace is often difficult to achieve through peacekeeping operations. He notes that there is wide agreement that for success in building a democratic state, two factors must be present: ‘local ownership’ and ‘local context’, concepts that the UN also uses in its policy documents. In his work, Sending explains these concepts, and he also explains why this approach is vital in gaining the legitimacy needed in order to achieve the goals of the peacekeeping operation. He shows why such operations often fail both in achieving local ownership and in viewing the situation in its local context, and offers suggestions for accomplishing this.

Benjamin de Carvalho and Niels Nagelhus Schia have written a policy brief titled ‘The Protection of Women and Children in Liberia’ (2009b; see also 2009a). The brief is based on a Norwegian project in Liberia that aims to provide women and children with better legal protection against abuse. Unfortunately, the project has not succeeded to the degree it should have due to a lack of understanding of the two-part system of customary and statutory law and the insufficient development of the prosecutorial and the legal system. The most important factors for project success were therefore not present.

Randi Solhjell has also published a policy brief on sexual violence as a strategy of war in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the strategies for combating such abuse (Solhjell, 2009). She describes the unfortunate consequences of solely focusing on and supporting women when seeking to deal with violence against women. She stresses the importance of viewing the society as a whole, and brings to light the fact that men as well as women are victims of this strategy in wartime. Therefore, she concludes, it is essential for projects to combat sexualized violence in war to be aimed at both women and men.

If research findings could be communicated to the instructors, that would make a considerable difference in their development of the teaching materials. It would also impact on how the instructors understand and communicate the importance of, for instance, local ownership, local context and traditional legal systems. It is important for instructors to have such knowledge when they meet those whom they

¹⁰ According to TfP’s webpage the partners have distributed 119 publications and 10 policy briefs per October 2010. Of these, NUPI is responsible for 21 publications and 10 policy briefs. See www.trainingforpeace.org.

are training and preparing for local service. With this knowledge the instructors can gain a different and enhanced understanding of central concepts vital to success, which are part of the UN training manual. This would provide the instructors with a more scientific platform from which to develop their own courses according to the UN manual, as well as to approach their teaching from a more knowledge-based and flexible starting point. It is decisive that the instructors themselves have this information from the researchers, so that they can further communicate it to their students.

Findings

- **Relationship between researchers and instructors**

Cooperation between researchers and instructors seems to be lacking when it comes to police training. Neither Danish, Swedish, nor Finnish instructors were familiar with TFP, even though they had previously instructed at Embakasi. UNPOC courses are held regularly and receive financing from various sources. TFP finances the ‘Norwegian’ courses, and the team leader is usually Norwegian as well.

None of the interviewees with some form of higher function in training police in the TFP programme had any plans for communicating research results to the instructors. Nor did they have any reflections on the issue, although all agreed that such a system should be in place. None of the instructors had received reports written by the research institutes participating in TFP, nor were they in direct contact with the researchers. The Norwegian instructors had participated at a seminar once, and attended a lecture at NUPI, with a TFP researcher present; the audience had been given general information about the research.

Cooperation between TFP and the Norwegian Police Directorate (POD) is described as excellent, but this takes place on the administrative and financial levels. There is no professional collaboration between the two. Whereas the Norwegian Police University College is in charge of the TFP instructors, it has no cooperation with researchers at NUPI or any of the other TFP partners. Nor is there formal cooperation between the various Scandinavian instructors. This means there is absolutely no collaboration between the academic sphere and training. Finally, no one is responsible for keeping abreast of the latest research in the field or of disseminating the latest findings.

- **Instructors: importance, guidance, and updating them on research**

The findings regarding instructors and leaders are similar. Everyone agreed that the role of the instructors is very important. All the instructors expressed the sincere wish to help their students, and wanted to make a difference. On the leadership side, instructors are seen as instrumental to the success of the course.

There is no formal relationship between academe and instructors as regards TFP, and it seems no one is consciously aiming to use the results from research in order to train the instructors. Only Sweden has a deliberate strategy for the development of their instructors. Few leaders were informed of the latest research, and none of them engaged in routine collaboration with researchers in order to be updated on relevant research. In the course of the past year, however, the Swedes have revised their routines for preparing and advising their instructors. For example, they have initiated a biannual conference lasting one week, bringing together all their instructors to provide them with professional guidance. In addition, they communicate through an e-learning system, where new information and new modes of teaching are made available.

Everyone agreed on the importance of establishing contact between instructors and researchers, and everyone, except for the Swedes, felt there was not enough guidance and advising of instructors. All the instructors opined that the training manual was good. Although much of the content was the same as before, the re-organization of the material worked well. It encouraged discussion of the various topics – but here, again, there were severe time constraints. Instructors agreed that the course should have lasted longer, to allow the necessary time for reflecting on the material as well as for discussion.

Few instructors keep themselves updated on the research, although all feel that they ought to do so. They serve as instructors in addition to holding regular jobs in the police force at home, so any updating on the latest research would have to take place during their spare time. Moreover, none of them used the concept ‘local ownership’ in any conscious manner in their teaching, despite this being listed in the new UN manual under ‘criteria for success’.¹¹ None of them had been taught what this meant. Nor had any of the Scandinavian instructors been taught about the customary justice system or had a conscious relationship to the phenomenon. By contrast, the African instructors were familiar with the term, as it was part of their daily life. The customary justice system is a part of the traditional, informal legal system

¹¹ In its training manual, the UN argues that local ownership is a criterion for success. See CPTM Unit 1: A Strategic-level Overview of UN Peacekeeping. Part 2: Other success factors.

practiced in the villages, differing from location to location. It consists of many elements, and may consist of anything from wise conflict resolution to serious human rights abuses, as exemplified by ‘trial by ordeal’.¹²

One of the Africans explained that Kenya has forty-two tribes, each with its own kind of legal justice: ‘All over Africa, traditional justice is present and important.’ The African police usually accept this kind of justice, since the council of elders in each village will help to resolve many local conflicts.¹³ The police cannot, however, accept that the council renders judgment in serious criminal matters: that is a matter for the police. Indeed, the customary justice system can create problems for the police – for instance, by defending and protecting violent and harmful traditions like female genital mutilation. This is a strong tradition in Kenya, followed in many villages. There is now a law forbidding this practice, which presents police officers with a dilemma. It may be forbidden, but is also likely to be a part of the officers’ own tradition, making it hard for them to act to prevent it from happening. As one of them said, ‘They put it into the laws, but it is difficult to follow up.’

As for the concepts of ‘mentor’ and ‘advice’, all instructors were familiar with them, but there was little reflection among instructors and leaders over how difficult it is to achieve good mentoring and advising in practice. For instance, an operation lasts quite a long while, whereas mentors are often regularly replaced. Jensen at the DPKO explains:

‘My deputy was an advisor for a police chief in Bosnia. The deputy was simply called number seventeen, and when he asked why, it turned out that he was the seventeenth advisor to the police chief.’

Other findings

- **African Reality**

In the classroom, I listened to the instructors and the discussions. My general impression is that the instructors were professional and competent. They taught international law, human rights, gender issues and different kinds of law. From my own experience in Liberia, and from reading reports, I know that the background of African participants may differ sharply from that of Western students. As indicated above,

¹² This is an old practice whereby a suspect must prove his own innocence by being subjected to rather harsh methods, some of which may be life-threatening.

¹³ This is a typical African institution whose function is to assist the town chief in making good decisions.

throughout much of Africa there exist two systems of rules and laws: the informal traditional one, and the formal legal system.¹⁴

I spent one day in the slums of Nairobi together with a Norwegian who works there. She informed me that the Nairobi slum is divided into villages, each with its own council of elders. One of the slums is made up of seven such villages, each with its own town chief and council of elders. The tradition of letting the elders solve conflicts and mete out punishment is well established among the population in Africa. This conclusion is supported by both research as well as personal conversations with Africans I met while there. (See Isser et al. 2009.) I was struck by how natural it seemed for these societies to operate with two parallel justice systems.

One of the African instructors teaching ‘International Law’ asked his students: ‘In Africa it is common to beat your woman, in fact in my tribe a woman would not think that I loved her if I didn’t beat her. Would we go to the police with that?’ ‘No!’ the class responded.

‘Yes, maybe a woman would’, the instructor continued, ‘but then the elders would come and they would go to the police and ask to get the man and the case, and then they would solve it in a traditional way with the two families. Then maybe the man would have to buy his wife a new dress, and if she was very angry he had to buy her two dresses so she would agree. Would we see a man convicted and go to jail because he beat his wife? No never.’

The instructor explained that even if a woman does report her husband for domestic violence, she would never want to see him go to jail. There is no use in a man sitting in jail and not being able to work.

Then, the instructor asked the Norwegian female course participant whether she would report her husband to the police if he beat her. ‘Yes’, she answered. The instructor continued, ‘Would you see him convicted and sent to jail?’ She replied that yes, of course she would. This prompted huge laughs from the rest of the class, without the Norwegian woman understanding why they all found this so funny.

This incident illustrates the different points of departure on the Western and on the African side, and thus the challenges involved in achieving a universal understanding of justice. It also exemplifies the pragmatic relationship that civilians have with the two different systems of justice in Africa. Many Westerners are not aware of how

¹⁴ By ‘Africa’ or ‘African’ I refer to certain sub-Saharan countries of East and West Africa. This is a cultural description that does not include the entire continent. The people I spoke with during this field trip described themselves as ‘African’, and referred to ‘Africa’ in that manner.

strong this two-part system is, and act as if the unofficial system were non-existent.

Another thing I observed was that there were twenty four women from the same country, and only one man. These women had all been SAT-tested and passed the English language test. In class, however, usually only one of the women ever spoke. The others remained quiet and were often not able to answer when asked a question by the instructor. I cannot say why this was so – there may have been language problems, cultural problems, or simply shyness. But in this class it was clear that in Africa the police are a male-dominated profession.

During those weeks in Nairobi I got the impression that the Kenyan police do not enjoy much respect. This was expressed many times, both in the military camp where we stayed at as well as many other places. I was also told this by instructors who had served in Africa, and by the African instructors themselves. Human Rights Watch has issued several reports detailing Kenyan police abuse. As recently as June 2010, a report was written on abuses committed against Somali refugees in Kenya, consisting of beatings, rape and bribes.¹⁵

During the class on ‘Key human rights relating to arrest and detention’, the students had many things to say. For one thing, they noted that in serious cases a detainee might be ‘pressured’ to confess. This is not uncommon in Kenya and Uganda. In one class, the African instructor explained that there is a difference between Kenya and the UN. The students were told that in the UN, a direct order to conduct torture from a higher-ranking official is not a legitimate reason for doing so, even if it is in Kenya.

This was said in a manner that told me that some elements of the human rights being taught in this class were not normal practice in Kenya, and was therefore deliberately underscored for the benefit of the students, to make sure they understood how things were different in the UN. Most students expressed the opinion that the police are corrupt and take bribes. Furthermore, the police will jail people without cause, letting the person go only if he pays up. This was explained as due to the poor salaries of police officers, who have to take bribes in order to survive.

When in the Nairobi slums I met a man who did volunteer work. He himself lived in the slum with his family and told me he was one of eight people voluntarily running a local football club. They had started this project ten years ago because of the huge problem with young boys doing drugs and becoming involved in criminal activity. The solution as thought to be a football club aimed at changing the course

¹⁵ Human Rights Watch report ‘Welcome to Kenya’, 17 June 2010, hrw.org

these young boys were on. The volunteers had got the club up and running, and had created teams for various age groups. Every weekend there was a game, which attracted the entire village as spectators. In addition, the players were given the task of picking up garbage every Friday, for which they received a few shillings. The club also offered help with studies and homework. Although this project had not managed to get established drug users off drugs, it had successfully prevented potential new drug users from starting. Now, after ten years, the village was peaceful with little crime.

The crime came mostly from the outside, from criminal gangs in other parts of the slums. Because of this, people had established their own security force to watch over their village. I asked whether they received any help from the police in guarding their village. The answer was surprising: they couldn't contact the police, because that would be dangerous. 'You know, we have community policing here.' The police know and cooperate with the local criminals, and there is a danger that slum inhabitants will get killed if they witness. But they can sometimes get help from non-local police.

They originally viewed themselves as a society without police. The police were corrupt and would take bribes. This was an unexpected observation, because in the UN 'community policing' is considered *the* measure of good police work. It is viewed as a model that can create trust between the police and civilians, and is assumed to reduce corruption. This shows that models that work well in one culture will not necessarily have the same effect in another.

- **Corruption**

Describing the police as corrupt is commonplace. As one of the African instructors told me, 'I am so glad that I work with training, because that is the only place where you can't take bribes. No one wants to work with training, because you only get your salary. An ordinary police officer gets 140 USD a month. That is not enough to rent a house, pay for school, clothes, food and so on. And so they have to take bribes. Everyone does it because they have to. All African police officers do it...'

'For instance in my country there is a norm of favouring your own, meaning your family and your tribe. I went to school with friends; they are from the same tribe as the police commissioner. They were promoted more than their education and experience explains. Others from the same class with the same education were not promoted at all. We make jokes about it when we meet. And I say, 'Come on guys, we all know why.'

- **Practical reality**

Toward the end of the course a practical exercise was conducted where the students were tested in many of the topics covered. Among other things, they were to try their hands at negotiations. The scenarios were: car hijacking; cooperating with a difficult and corrupt local police officer; and dealing with trafficking and human rights abuses perpetrated by the police. Some of the exercises were tough and even humiliating, especially the one exercise where they had to negotiate their own release from the kidnapping.

I was not impressed with what I saw. Firstly, the female participants were quite passive. They did not speak, even when pressed. During the kidnapping exercise they were probably quite scared, but were only able to say their names. They did not speak loud and clear. As previously mentioned, I am not sure why this was, but what is clear is that they were completely lacking in authority. A lack of authority characterized many situations, with males as well as females. For instance, when pressed on principles, they were willing to negotiate their principles immediately in order to achieve the ‘right’ solution. This meant compromising the UN police, their colleagues and the civilian population they were meant to protect. For instance, they were willing to give up all of their personal belongings and police possessions such as notes, flash light, car keys etc. in order to meet the local police chief for whom they were supposed to be advisors. This meant that police documents containing information concerning a woman reporting police abuse were made available to the police officers charged with the abuse. I am unsure whether the authority of the instructor, combined with the desire to be ‘good pupils’ produced a result different from real life, or if that was in fact how they would react in a real situation. From a Norwegian standpoint, it would be deemed unacceptable behaviour lacking in integrity.

Of course, this was a school exercise, with instructors and observers present, and my conclusion is based on the observations made in this situation. I have not observed the officers in their natural environments in their home countries. Nor did I observe all the students during the exercises, but I did observe several groups and was left with the same impression every time. The instructors I talked to confirmed that such performance was fairly uniform across groups.

There is no doubt that African and Norwegian police officers have different starting points. The question becomes: how can training help level out the difference?

- **The gender perspective**

With UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, the UN has put women on the agenda. This means women are to be recruited at all levels of peacekeeping operations. The female African police officers at the course were to be sent to Darfur and Somalia. My observations showed them as hesitant and lacking in initiative. They did not behave like operative police officers. The instructors informed me that in their native countries, their tasks were different from those of the male police officers, and my impression was that their jobs were more like that of a secretary. If it is the case that women in certain cultures are subordinate to men and are unable to exercise authority toward men, then this is an element to be considered when pursuing the UN's ambitious policy on female recruitment. There are now 38.8 per cent female TFP-trained personnel. This is an extremely high percentage, considering Norway has yet to reach its goal of recruiting forty per cent women to its Police University College – and that in a country that has had female police for one hundred years.

When I was in Liberia, one of the UN's goals had been to recruit women to the police force. This goal was ambitious, and was actively pursued. The problem was finding enough qualified women to serve as police officers. During the war, few girls attended school, and the result was a lack of educated women in the pool of potential recruits. Therefore a parallel program was started – a kind of 'high school light' – where women would cover the syllabus in three months, so that they could then be recruited to the police force. The consequence, however, was that many of the women were still ill-qualified and had problems reading and writing.

Another factor was motherhood. Men and women alike were stationed away from their families, and this posed a special problem for the mothers, single ones in particular. In this instance we have already compromised our duty to these women in the name of gender equality. The result could be negative to the cause of gender quality, as we risk generating disrespect toward the women because of their lack of necessary qualification. We also subject the recruited women to danger, and fail to take into account the fact that they are mothers. In my opinion it is irresponsible to press for so many women simply in order to reach a set goal of gender equality.

Serving in the UN means passing language and driving tests. Many African women are not adept at driving. TFP has recognized this as a problem and is taking steps to remedy the situation. In Ghana, TFP has financed its own driving school for women embarking on UN missions, thereby helping otherwise qualified women to succeed.

Conclusions

On the basis of my fieldwork in Nairobi, I identify three main issues.

1. Lack of contact and knowledge transfer between instructors and researchers

All those involved in TfP have the best of intentions. What is missing is someone who is responsible for the big picture. Researchers and instructors live in different worlds. Those who should have identified the need to connect those worlds have not done so. Everyone, however, has expressed the need for this. It is also difficult to see why certain research projects get started, and who decides what research should be conducted. If the research is intended to help training, it would seem natural to establish contact between researchers, instructors, and those who have served in the field, in order to identify relevant issue areas.

There is no doubt that much important research is being done in the name of TfP. These research findings must be transmitted to the instructors to provide them with updated insights and help them in their teaching. This is the best way of communicating research to those about to go out in the field. Much of what the research unearths is vital to succeeding in peacekeeping work.

The training manuals are made in such a way that much is left to the individual instructor. For that reason, it is important that the instructors start with a shared level of knowledge. That is in the interest of TfP as well as the UN.

The various research institutes are not well coordinated, so organizing the common transfer of research findings to the instructors presents an important challenge. In order to take advantage of the potential of both the research and the training part of the TfP programme, this situation should be rectified.

2. Significance of diverse backgrounds of police officers serving internationally

To be aware of the police officers' diverse backgrounds is important when training UNPOL officers. In addition to the mandatory UN manual, consideration should be given to adding specific classes for participants from countries that suffer from corruption and lack of trust in the police. In addition, it is important to recognize the role that traditional justice play in African police work. We must ensure an understanding and acceptance of international norms on the part of these officers. These African police officers will serve as mentors for the local police out in the field, which means that any real changes in norm acceptance and norm following will not come from simply teaching them standardized international law and human rights. Cor-

ruption and trust should be treated as separate topics so as to make the officers aware of their responsibility in assisting the host country in the transition to a democratic police force. Basic values are central: What does it mean to be a police officer? What does it mean to ‘serve and protect’? Police officers coming from a background of corruption and abuse must learn a whole new approach to police work. This entails focusing on changing attitudes and one’s understanding of the police. There is little use in learning new techniques as a police officer if a basic understanding of why you are a police officer is lacking.

In addition corruption and its consequences must be discussed, along with how to create trust and why that is fundamental to a functional, professional police force. This is where TfP has the potential to make a difference, as a programme involving both researchers and instructors. The researchers must help in adjusting the training to ‘real life’, and this should be done in cooperation with the instructors. They should also describe how such service is different in Africa and the West, and how one can combine traditional African systems with international law and human rights. The researchers, with their unique knowledge, have the ability to create new concepts for African police service.

3. Women as UN Police

The third issue is female UNPOL officers. Sending unqualified women to serve in dangerous operations can have fatal consequences.¹⁶ African policewomen do not have the same opportunity to decline service that Scandinavian women have. Their command system is different, making it harder to say no; moreover, the daily pay as a UN officer equals a month’s salary for an African police officer, making UN service highly attractive. The operative skills displayed by the African female participants during the practical exercise, combined with my own experience with recruiting female police officers in Liberia, lead me to question the manner in which women are recruited to peace-keeping operations. Norway does not employ radical gender quotas because this can do harm to the cause of gender equality. Yet in the UN we see unqualified women being recruited.¹⁷ This is an issue that must be dealt with if the goal is to have female UN officers who are equal to their male counterparts.

It is a fact that female police officers are a necessity in war-torn countries with female victims. This might be the victims’ only opportunity to get access to the help they need. The current UNPOL training is the same for female and male officers. We know that many policewomen

¹⁶ The women from this UNPOC course were being sent to Darfur and Somalia.

¹⁷ Norway too has problems recruiting women, and thus has lowered the demand for field work from six to three years (after graduating from the police university college) in order to qualify for UN service. This has been done in order to recruit more women to UN service.

come from countries with widespread sexism, and that female police officers often do not perform the same duties as their male counterparts. Rarely do such female officers work in the field. This means that we lack enough qualified female police officers to achieve the UN goal of recruitment. The recruitment goals need to be adjusted to fit this reality, and those women already selected for UNPOL service must receive all the help they need in order to perform their tasks competently.

The idea of a driving school for women should be further developed and transferred to other areas where female police officers are lacking in skills. Those going to areas with female victims should receive training in operative service and in investigating abuse. This does not have to include advanced technical tools, but should consist of a basic overview of the field and elementary investigation techniques. We owe this both to the female police officers and to the women who depend on them for help. Female officers should be made aware of their role as female police and their roles as regards their male colleagues. This should be a separate part of the UNPOL training, conducted with only the female participants.

TfP has a responsibility to report back to the UN with the finding that the current UN goal of recruiting forty per cent women is too ambitious, and that they cannot approve unqualified students.

Recommendations

1. Create routines for the exchange of information between researchers and instructors. Schedule regular meetings between NUPI, the Police Directorate, the Police University College, and instructors. It is important to have meeting places where instructors and researchers can meet on a regular basis to identify areas where new research is needed, and where the researchers can communicate relevant findings to the instructors, and the instructors report back from the field. This is something to be organized by the police directorate and executed by the police university college.
2. Regular international meetings with researchers from TfP, the Police Directorate, the Police University College, and the instructors. Possibly establish research projects involving both researchers and instructors.
3. Establish internet contact between instructors (both international and Norwegian), the Police Directorate and the Police University College, and provide links to relevant research. This should be organized by the Police University College. Here we can learn quite a lot from Sweden. The necessary resources must be devoted to this so that it will be practical and possible to stay updated on the latest research, and to organize regular meetings for instructors and exchange experiences.

4. A plan for future potential research topics must be made in cooperation with researchers, instructors, the Police University College and the MFA. Here it will be necessary to take into account what kind of knowledge is needed by the instructors to ensure the best possible training results. Using African realities as the starting point, new perspectives should be developed.
5. Evaluate the current methods of female recruitment to UN/African Union operations.
6. Prolong the UNPOC course, and add specific classes covering the themes explored above. There is a need for classes that cover topics particularly problematic in Africa, such as corruption, lack of trust and sexism. The focus should be on core values for police officers. It is also important to teach women skills such as driving and investigation of abuse, and to clarify the role of female police officers.

Bibliography

- Andersen M. & Sending, O.J. 2010. Liberia in “*Learning to build a sustainable peace: Ownership and everyday peacebuilding*” Sending O.J. (ed.). Bergen and Oslo: CMI/NUPI.
- de Carvalho, Benjamin & N. Nagelhus Schia. 2009a. ‘Nobody gets justice here!’ Oslo: NUPI.
- de Carvalho, Benjamin & N. Nagelhus Schia. 2009b. The protection of women and children in Liberia. Oslo: NUPI.
- Holm, Tor Tanke & Espen Barth Eide. 2000: Peacebuilding and police reform. London: Frank Cass
- Isser, D., S. Lubkemann & S. N’Tow. 2009. ‘Looking for justice’. Peaceworks Washington: United States institute of peace.
- Sending, O.J. 2009a. Why peacebuilders are ‘blind’ and ‘arrogant’ and what to do about it. Oslo: NUPI.
- Sending, O.J. 2009b. Why peacebuilders fail to secure ownership and be sensitive to context. Oslo: NUPI.
- Solhjell, R. 2009. Combating sexual violence in the DRC. Oslo: NUPI.
- Tjønneland, E.N. & C. Albertyn. 2010. Navigating complexity – a review of training for peace in Africa. Bergen: Christian Michelsen Institute.
- UN. 2009. UN Peacekeeping PDT Standard Core Pre-Deployment Training Materials, 1st ed. United Nations – Department of Peacekeeping Operations