# What is the relationship between the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection workers and gendered power dynamics?



**Derek Oakley**

**Department of Educational Research**

**Lancaster University**

**May 2020**

This thesis results entirely from my own work and has not been offered previously for any other degree or diploma.

The final word length of this corrected thesis, including all appendices is 58,214 words

**Signature**………………………………………………….

May 2020

Derek Oakley, BA (Hons), MSc, PG Cert

What is the relationship between the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection workers and gendered power dynamics?

Doctor of Philosophy, June, 2020

**Abstract**

This study used a mixed methods, grounded theory approach to investigate the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection (UCP) workers and its relationship to hegemonic gender regimes. It reviews the everyday situated learning of UCP workers in the context of and structures gender and race. UCP is understood as a unique 'Community of Practice' subordinate to and nested within the overarching humanitarian infrastructure. The definition and contestation of UCP by different workers and related, fluid dynamics of complicity with and resistance to structural power are explored.

The unique contributions to knowledge that this thesis makes are in three key areas:

1/ Firstly this study represents the first, hopefully of many forays into studying UCP via a new critical framing which situates the UCP practice in explicit relation to feminism, gender, identity and other subjectivities,

2/ Within this framing, and especially in the use of feminist care ethics, we can observe how care not only supports and makes possible knowledge creation and sharing, but is itself a form of social reproduction that sustains and 'makes' UCP. The differential distribution of the burden of care and knowledge creation in UCP teams demands further attention. This recognition of the centrality of Care

to UCP sheds new light on how UCP is practiced and experienced differently by not only men and women but by people of numerous intersecting subjectivities.

3/ Finally this thesis indicates that greater attention to the intersectionality of identities within the UCP community is essential to future scholarship and action around this practice; especially the importance of the eldership of older, more experienced men and women from the Global South, and the embodied knowledge that these elders recognize, carry and share with peers.

The findings of this study indicate ways in which UCP practice affects personal behavior, promotes critical reflection on questions of power and identify and that facilitates a diverse range of agency in their gender performance. However UCP is subject to the same structural challenges as other humanitarian work, including the privileging of certain types of white, Eurocentric masculinities and femininities. Unique components of the practice invert the masculinist security paradigm and foreground a radical ethics of care and collective knowing. However UCP practice currently exhibits only limited resistance to the disciplinary power of the technocratic 'security-development nexus'.

This thesis indicates the importance of further research and practice which attends to the intersectionality of identities within the UCP community; especially the importance of the eldership of experienced practitioners. Recommendations include greater attention to and diversity of learning approaches including mentorship and more concerted transnational exchange between practitioners in different countries and continents. These interventions, combined with organizational focusses on retention will consolidate and further the possibilities of agencies from UCP workers that actively embody resistance to dominative hegemonic regimes that normalize colonial, militarized ideals of gender.

Contents

**Dedication**

For Ade; mo nifẹ rẹ pupọ.


**Acknowledgments**

Thank you to everyone who supported with development of this thesis. Interactions with my 2014 ESJ PhD cohort, and the course faculty across the first half of my course helped lay a strong foundation for everything that has come since. Harum Mukhayer asked crucial questions at the very beginning of the process. Among others Dr. James Keziah Dawkins, Vincentia Osabutey-Anikon, Dr Sarah Koopman, Dr Gëzim Visoka, Professor Paul Higate and Dr. Emily Paddon Rhoads all provided important help at various points along the way.

My great appreciation goes to the participants, speakers and organizers of the conferences, seminars and summer schools which I had the privilege of participating in and presenting at during the course of writing this thesis. Your insights, challenge and encouragement were invaluable for an often-isolated distance learning student.

30 individuals and families donated to support my fieldwork. This gave material help and moral encouragement to sustain my efforts. My thanks also to all of the colleagues; trainees and students whom I have had the honor of 'doing' UCP with, and to the other friends whom I have had the honor of making along the way.

Thank you to the NP team in the Philippines and to my friends and hosts there; Kristin Valerio, Genesis Antonio, Kadu & Zey, Lynrose Genom, Mark Torres and the whole team within the IPDM team at Mindanao State University/ The Illigan Institute of Technology. Without your hospitality my primary field work would have simply not have been possible.

Felicity Gray, Chiedza Kurangwa, Farzana Ahmed and Amanda Paul gave essential feedback on a late draft of the thesis. Esther Mydla and Ruth Marsden took time out to sit with me and talk through the thesis in depth prior to my viva. Thank you so much. Your insights enriched this work and my relationship to it. All mistakes are mine alone.

My eternal gratitude to friends and family who lived this process with me and provided sustenance, nourishment and nurturance through light times and heavier ones. I love you.

Finally thank you to my examiners and to my thesis supervisor Professor Jo Warin.

**List of Acronyms Used**

BINGO Big International Non-Governmental Organisation
COP Community of Practice
CPC Civilian Protection Component
CPT Christian Peacemaker Teams
CSO Civil Society Organisation
EAPPI Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel
EU European Union
EWERS Early Warning and Early Response System
GBV Gender Based Violence
HR Human Resources
IA International Accompaniment
ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP Internally Displaced Person/People
IMT International Monitoring Team
INGO International Non-Governmental Organisation
ISIS Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
L&D Learning and Development
LGBTQIA Lesbian Gay Bi-Sexual Transgender Queer Intersex Asexual
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
INGO International Non-Governmental Organisation
MILF Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MENA Middle East and North Africa
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
NP Nonviolent Peaceforce
NPSS Nonviolent Peaceforce South Sudan
NPI Nonviolent Peaceforce Iraq
NPP Nonviolent Peaceforce Philippines
PBI Peace Brigades International
PPE Personal Protective Equipment
R n R Rest and Relaxation
SGBV Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SWEfor Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation
TL Team Leader
UCP Unarmed Civilian Protection
UN United Nations
UNSC United Nations Security Council
UN SCR United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
UNITAR United Nations Institute for Training and Research
VSO Voluntary Services Overseas

9

**List of figures in text**

**List of tables in text**

**Introduction**

This study investigates the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection (UCP) workers and its relationship to hegemonic gender regimes. It reviews the everyday situated learning of Unarmed UCP workers; oscillating between their interactions with each other and other actors in the settings where they work, and broader structural influences of gender and race, connected with the contemporary iteration of normative humanitarianism. UCP is understood as a unique 'Community of Practice' (COP) subordinate to and nested within the overarching humanitarian infrastructure; with which it has a complex and fluid relation. The research involved both observation of and interviews with current and former staff of a UCP organisation; Nonviolent Peaceforce (NP).

The study was motivated and informed by my own personal and professional identity and experiences. As cis-gendered man working within the humanitarian sphere, and having participated in UCP work, I am deeply implicated and present in the study. At the same time as a researcher approaching the Community of Practice with a specific critical frame and line of inquiry, I was acting partially as an outsider. My position relative to the research affected the method and analysis and I worked to use a reflective approach, employing auto-ethnography, which critically engaged with that position.

The unique contributions to knowledge that this thesis makes are in three key areas

1/ Firstly in establishing a critical framing of UCP practice which takes into account structural power, in particular that of gender this thesis adds to and enriches the literature on UCP from a new perspective. An ongoing dialogue about the nature of violence and nonviolence, with particular

reference to colonialist and gendered structures, would facilitate a constructive furthering of the critical tensions which this inquiry highlights.

2/ Within this framing, and especially in the use of feminist care ethics, we can observe how care not only supports and makes possible knowledge creation and sharing, but is itself a form of social reproduction that sustains and 'makes' UCP. The differential distribution of the burden of care and knowledge creation in UCP teams demands further attention. This recognition of the centrality of care to UCP not only sheds new light on how UCP is practiced and experienced differently by not only men and women but by people of numerous intersecting subjectivities.

3/ Finally this thesis indicates that greater attention to the intersectionality of identities within the UCP community is essential to future scholarship and action around this practice; especially the importance of the eldership of older, more experienced men and women from the Global South, and the embodied knowledge that these elders recognize, carry and share with peers. This is a new area of insight for UCP practice. As the practice has evolved and grown, so too has the workforce and their knowledge base. The achievements, progress and positionality of UCP workers from the global south, their relationships with practitioners in mixed working environments such as NP field teams, and their contribution to learning via 'mutual engagement' in the UCP COP have been highlighted in this thesis and will bear further research.

So what is Unarmed Civilian Protection? NP's current organisational definition is as follows:

> UCP is the practice of deploying unarmed civilians before, during, and after violent conflict, to
> prevent or reduce violence, provide direct physical protection to other civilians, and strengthen

or build local peace infrastructures. the purpose of UCP is to create a safer environment, or a 'safer space', for civilians to address their own needs, solve their own conflicts, and protect vulnerable individuals and populations in their midst. This 'safer space' is created through a strategic mix of key nonviolent engagement methods, principles, values, and skills.

(Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 p30)

In her extensive survey of UCP Furnari employs the broad definition of "civilian use of nonviolent means to protect people and prevent violence" (2016 p17). In a more recent literature assessment Julian and Gasser seek to further define UCP by clarifying the consensus on what its principles are, namely: (1) nonviolence is the underpinning principle, weapons are neither carried nor used; (2) the work of peacekeeping is done by civilians, rather than military personnel without weapons; (3) the 'primacy of the local' guides actions. (Julian and Gasser 2018 p17). Furthermore Julian & Gasser (Ibid.. p28) claim that that UCP is an "emancipatory, normative and democratic response to dealing with violent conflict", positioning UCP in direct contrast to Armed Military Peacekeeping (AMP).

Unarmed civilian protection is not necessarily employed as a blanket term by all organisations that may be seen or described as practicing it by others. A diversity of traditions, politics and approaches coexist within a loose set of groups and organisations which researchers have deemed similar enough to be considered UCP (Furnari 2016, Julian and Gasser 2018). All share a concern with the wellbeing of and care civilians living under conditions of armed conflict. Primarily rooted in the practices employed by North American and European solidarity groups connected to communities affected by violent conflicts in Latin America during the 1980s (Boardman 2006), UCP now occupies a space overlapping between voluntaristic activist movements and the infrastructure of humanitarian

work which consists of national and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and multilateral bodies. Notably, Australia integrated 'unarmed peacekeepers' into its peacekeeping work in Bouganville, Papua New Guinea between 1997 and 2003 (German et al. 2015),. Organisations around the world who are practicing UCP include Peace Brigades International, Nonviolent Peaceforce, Christian Peacemaker Teams, SweFOR, Meta Peace Team, Operation Dove, Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel and the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship (Furnari 2016). Several UCP groups draw upon spiritual values in their work, for example Ghandian 'Ahimsa' inspired by Hindu scriptures (Ackerman and Duvall 2001), or the biblical instruction to bear witness to injustice and suffering (Leppert-Whal 2017). Boothe and Smithey (2007) note that what they call 'accompaniment' work finds roots in the interventionist tradition of early Twentieth Century Humanitarianism.

The key tenets of UCP of the primacy of the local actors, the value of civilians working to protect civilians, and of UCP as a nonpartisan practice, are used to underpin 4 general categories of practice employed by NP:

• Proactive Engagement includes activities such as protective presence in civilian areas, protective accompaniment of vulnerable civilians and inter-positioning between armed parties are promoted as an effective means to reduce violence in specific situations and in so doing shift social relations.

• Monitoring includes formal or informal processes of tracking conflict and violence trends in order to anticipate and mitigate escalations e.g. UCP practitioners working as part of an international ceasefire mechanism or facilitating a community driven conflict early warning and early response system (EWERS)

14

• Relationship Building includes activities which build and maintain confidence between UCP practitioners, community members and armed actors to support their long term involvement in a community.

• Capacity development is broadly described as "the strengthening of knowledge, skills, and abilities for the purpose of violence prevention and civilian protection" (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 p151). This includes but is not limited to training and can extend to the creation and facilitation of local volunteer 'peace teams' including 'women's peace teams' which are intended to foreground local women's voices and participation in protection work.

This thesis research began in late 2017, prompted by my personal experience of and curiosity about the specific community it explores and its capacity to transform unjust gender relations. Global spending on armed peacekeeping dwarfs investment in comparable unarmed measures (Lees, 2019). Whilst figures are not available that break down UCP spending as a proportion of overall humanitarian expenditure by civil society organisations, it remains a relatively niche concern. The research base on UCP is modest (if growing) and building on the impressive work of others I wished to contribute to building it in order to inform more balanced and informed discussions not only about the relative costs and benefits of different forms of international humanitarian interventions but reflection on the ethic dimension of those interventions and unique insights that inquiry into elements of UCP might provide to enrich that reflection.

Using a mixed methods, grounded theory approach which employed observation, interviews and auto-ethnography this study looked at the ways in which UCP workers learn and shape their practice through 'knowing together' and legitimate peripheral participation, and how this is gendered and

affected by other social structures. It looks at how the definition and contestation of UCP by different workers reflects the fluid dynamics of complicity with and resistance to structural power.

The study yielded a number of key findings, highlighting that UCP practice affects personal behavior and promotes critical reflection on questions of power and identify and that it facilitates a degree of agency for workers to practice a diverse range of gender performances. However UCP is subject to the same structural challenges as other humanitarian work, including racism and power imbalances and the privileging of certain types of White, Eurocentric masculinities and femininities. Unique components of the practice do invert key principles of the masculinist security paradigm (Dalby 1994) and foreground a radical ethics of care and collective knowing. However without an underlying ethic of refusal that rejects the disciplinary power of the technocratic 'security-development nexus' the resistance of UCP to the worst abuses of this system is contingent at best.

During the course of the research I often found it difficult to draw out insights from men about their gender. It was more difficult to elicit reflections that distinguished the specific relationship between their work and working relationships and their understanding and embodiment of gender, by contrast to the women whom interviewed. This is to a large extent unsurprising. The current spotlight on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse within International NGOs, initially sparked by the exposure of actions by senior Oxfam staff in Haiti has prompted numerous revelations and disclosures that further illustrate the problem of impunity within the aid sector. I am grateful that my existing relationships with several respondents allowed for a degree of trust and dialogue that may not otherwise have been possible given the lack of men-men engagement around issues of vulnerability, care, responsibility and violence evident in the data. This is especially clear by contrast with women's reflections on these critical topics. As a man in the West one is engendered with an antipathy to emotional

vulnerability and reflexivity, especially through teenage years and early adulthood (Brand & Franz 2013). Furthermore our own privilege can blind us to the gendered aspects of social relations or, perhaps worse, lead us to justify and rationalize them with reference to hegemonic norms. The machismo, volatility and sexism (Hooks 2004, Samaran 2019) that accompanies this privilege does not melt away upon the entry of men into the humanitarian sphere (Fiuri 2014). If anything it can be amplified and molded through interaction with a savior complex, an intensely gendered and racialized mix (Smith 2004) (Flaherty 2016). Difficult conditions, heavy workloads and constant, shifting demands from a range of stakeholders can trigger short tempers and also influence unhealthy coping behaviors. Furthermore poor organisational implementation and accountability mechanisms for sexual misconduct, harassment and abuse leaves room for abusive men to target women colleagues and women and girls within the local community (HPN 2012), often with scant repercussions for them personally or professionally (Norbert 2017).

This thesis indicates that greater attention to the intersectionality of identities within the UCP community is essential to future scholarship and action around this practice; especially the importance of the eldership of older, more experienced men and women from the Global South, and the embodied knowledge that these elders recognize, carry and share with peers. Based on this research I advocate for greater attention to and diversity of learning approaches including mentorship and more concerted transnational exchange between practitioners in different countries and continents. These interventions, combined with organizational focusses on retention will consolidate and further the possibilities within UCP practice for workers to actively embody resistance against dominative hegemonic regimes that normalize colonial, militarized ideals of gender.

**Research Questions**

I have taken into account the current literature around the topic and gaps. This analysis led me to choose the main research question for this thesis as follows:

""What is the relationship between the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection workers and gendered power dynamics?"

This thesis will be beneficial for both practitioners and academics working on this topic. It highlights how learning is actually happening in UCP; the extent to which current organisational practices support this learning and whether or not this learning challenges gendered power imbalances. It helps build the specific evidence and literature on UCP practice and identifies additional lines of inquiry for future research in this area.

To support my primary question I employed the following additional questions

• How do UCP practices embody complicity with or resistance to hegemonic gender regimes?
• How does gender practice in UCP intersect with other structures and practice which shape identity?
• How does learning and knowledge production enabled and privileged by UCP enable transformative practices?

In the remainder of this thesis document I will proceed to review the relevant literature and gaps in it, describe my research methodology, discuss the data I collected through the research process, and draw some conclusions and recommendations in response to the research questions above

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Summary

This chapter discusses key literature relevant to the field of study of this thesis. It begins with a review of literature about gender as a social structure, and how this structure interacts with others in the context of humanitarian work. Then I identify the key components of situated learning theory and their value in in exploring the relationships between learning meaning and identity.  Finally I review UCP as described and analyzed in current literature and the gaps which require attention. In each sub-section I note how the theoretical insights from the literature informed the research design and discussion of the data.

UCP literature gives a grounding in how the work has been understand and presented to date. The vocabulary and concepts described therein do give an insight into the internal and external outlook and discourse of this particular COP. Furthermore some of the literature does document the history of the development of the practice. However the literature lacks critical perspectives on gender dynamics in UCP work. Thus to adequately address the research question it was necessary to employ theories and concepts from other literature.

The key educational theory employed in this thesis is derived from social learning theory; social learning situates knowledge production within the social realm, and is compatible with other concepts that can be used to critique social constructs that produce power inequalities. It helps to understand how the community of UCP is 'made' by its practitioners and their actions and lived, embodied, rather than being independently constituted outside of everyday social relations. The dual processes of 'identification' and 'negotiability' support understanding of the social production of UCP.

Literature exploring and critiquing the humanitarian system helps situate UCP within a wider industry and practice. The concept of the 'Security-Development' nexus support a political analysis of the humanitarian sector, which helps us to situate our understanding of UCP within a wider landscape and to understand where and how it is similar to or different from humanitarian practices.

Gender, de-colonial and intersectional theory provide tools to support understanding of the ethical and political dimensions of everyday practices and experiences; especially where the concepts of power, complicity, learning and identity overlap.

- The notion of hegemonic gender regimes gives a concrete model for understanding gendered power dynamics which can then be applied to UCP by clearly indicating how gender is constructed through antagonistic power relations. The notions of complicity and resistance in relation to hegemony provide a simple binary via which to categorize individual actions and patterns of behaviour.

- The concept of social reproduction supports the understanding not only of how labour is gendered but how, outside of paid work, acts of social i.e. not biological 'reproduction' sustain social mores and thus 'society' itself. It is a tool in highlighting the economic component of any social relation.

- Feminist Care Ethics provides tools for specifically understanding how specific types of labor the nature of embodied learning in UCP and its relation to the affective/emotional realm. This also supports reflection on the underlying ethics and politics which support or challenge the

values of hegemonic gender regimes.  Drawing upon literature which applies these tools in analysing humanitarian work enables a closer reading of UCP using the same tools; assessing if care work is being undertaken in UCP,  who is doing it and  if and how this impacts on learning and gender dynamics.

.

Undertaking Intersectional analyses entails an appreciation for the intersections between systems of power and oppression. Where this thesis takes gender dynamics as a primary point of inquiry, it will thus by necessity require the use of concepts which help to highlight how gender intersects and interacts with other constructs in UCP practice.

Two relevant concepts applied in the thesis which are drawn from de-colonial literature utilized in this thesis in order to produce a more intersectional analysis are those of Border thinking and Coloniality.

- Coloniality (or the 'Coloniality of Power') presents a significant challenge and resource for any researcher seeking to adequately address the ambivalent relationship of humanitarian work, and specifically UCP to past and present patterns of not only direct violence but other forms of physical and cultural displacement, erasure and domination generated from the historical relationship between 'EuroAmerica' and the rest of the planet.

- 'Border Thinking' serves to highlight the contradictions, nuance and pluralism of the experiences of individuals working at the edges of the physical and figurative borders created by geo-political power, and the unique learning and perspectives that they hold and bring to communities which they engage in.

The visual representation below illustrates how I framed an analysis of the situated learning of UCP practitioners within a context framed by overarching social constructs and phenomena. The experience and learning of any one individual should be considered in light of the dynamic relationships between these constructs.
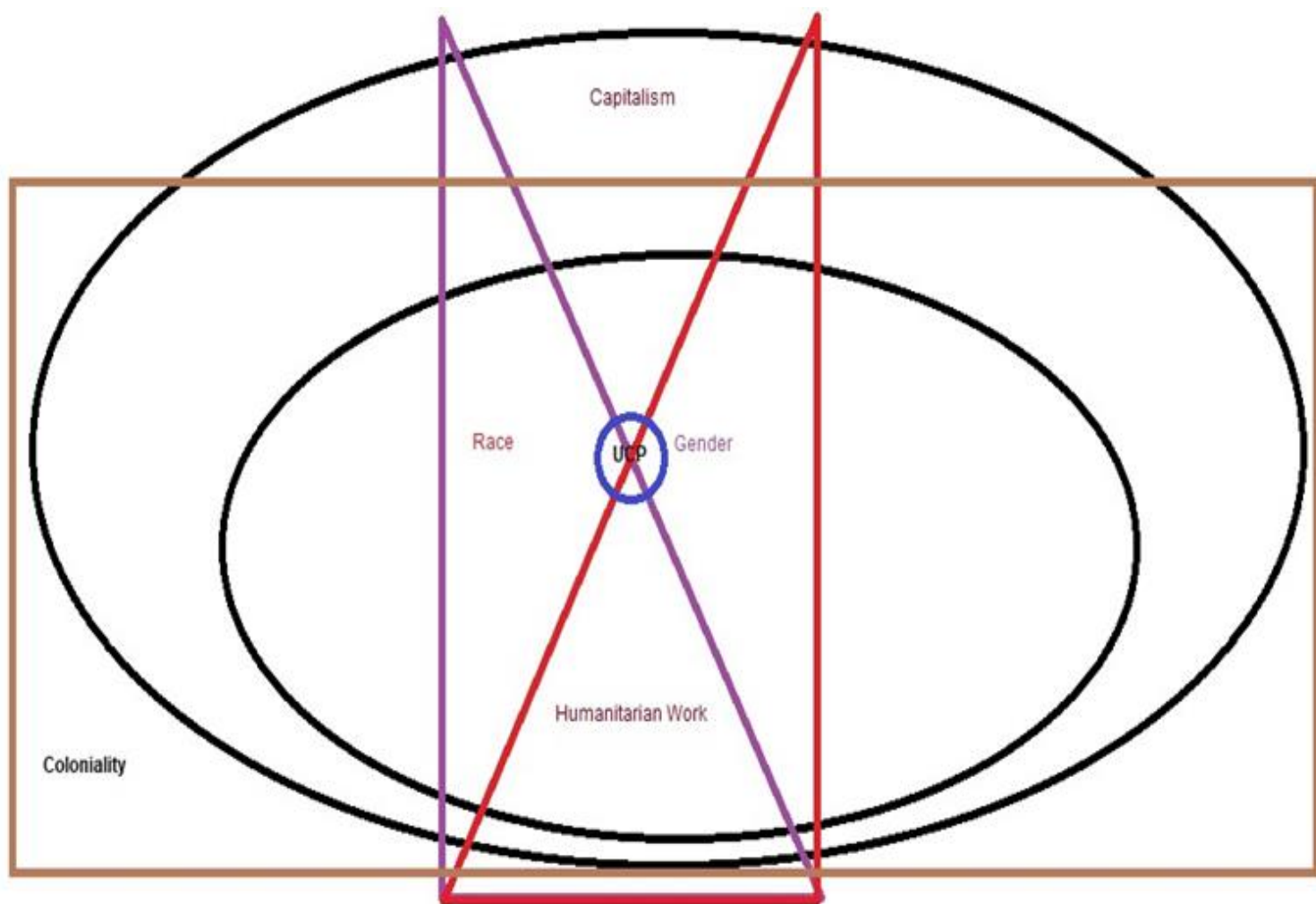


| Figure 1: Conceptual Framework | |
|---|---|
| Blue Circle | The COP of UCP |
| Puple Triangle | Race |

| Red Triangle | Gender |
| --- | --- |
| Brown Rectangle | Coloniality |
| Small Black Circle | Humanitarian Work |
| Large Black Circle | Capitalism |

UCP sits at the core of the conceptual framework, nestled within the field of humanitarian work. Race and Gender intersect in UCP work, but also have relevance within broader critical discourse about the relationship between UCP and the structures of coloniality and capitalism which, in my understanding frame all labour

In the sections below I expand in more depth on the literature reviewed in the process of researching the thesis and key relevant concepts which I draw upon from each literature in my research design and data analysis.

**2.2 Gender**

In this section I explore relevant literature which conceptualises gender as a relation of power. This directly links to my primary research question. I articulate the concept of hegemony and its use to describe and analyze local and global power dynamics.

Critical gender theory explores both structural and personal aspects of gender "The emerging world gender order is far from being a smoothly-running machine. Rather, it is a scene of conflicting hegemonic projects. It has multiple tiers, where different configurations of masculinity are at work, and come into conflict." (Connell, 2016 p313). Hegemony is always contested; aspiring to total

domination yet always incomplete (Howson 2006). Attention must be paid not only to 'external

hegemony' of men over women but of internal hegemony of some men over others. Thus gender

researchers should develop theoretical frameworks that can grasp changes, complexities,

ambivalence, ruptures and resistance (Christensen and Jensen, 2014 p70). Hooper (2001) defines

three interdependent dimensions to gender


- Physical Embodiment, including the body and the role of reproductive biology
- Institutions and the gendered social processes they encompass. This can include the family,
  the economy and the state.
- The discursive dimension. This accounts for the gendered construction of language and the
  norms this reproduces.


In the discussion of the research data I work to identify all of these dimensions in UCP practice and

the organisation Nonviolent Peaceforce. Butler (1990, 2000) shows that gender roles are performed

and malleable (Butler 1988).  Gender is contingent upon the specific social setting and grounding of

an individual/subject. This is about both social relations and physical space and embodiment. Some

gender systems are hegemonic, often tied to economic models and gendered divisions of labour.

Close attention to the local meanings attached to certain actions will produce a more dynamic view of

gender and power relations because it can recognize the resources for challenges to hegemonic and

binary gender norms that are already available within each community. (McElhinny 1994 p165).

Howson (2006) articulates the concept of Dominative Masculine Hegemony, a reconfiguration of

gender practice which embodies the 'currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of

patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the

subordination of women. However he further also notes (Ibid.. p27) that responses to the 'crisis' of

hegemony can be regressive or progressive. Progressive approaches involve the achievement of a new 'unstable equlibra' of forces by generating bottom up consensus around new aspirations for gender relations, a hegemony which is open to challenge, change and possibility.

The 'hegemonic' masculinity reproduced in discourse is rarely if at all experienced or practiced in full by individual men.  Indeed masculinity is often only visible and problematized when practiced by people outside of the hegemonic ideal e.g. typically those who are not white, cis-gendered, heterosexual men (Halberstam 1998) as this disrupts hegemonic assumptions. Violence is then used to marginalise and punish these 'others'. Men's extensive violence against themselves and others is rooted in "the conditioning of men towards aggression and women to submission as the patriarchal contract that the legitimization of violence and war is based on." (Weber 2006 p4). This undermines men's capacity for self-awareness and emotional self-regulation and their relationship to power; manifesting in a range of internal and external expressions of violence Kaufman (1998, 2004) influenced by factors such as assumed privilege and entitlement and the glorification of men's dominance of others; which intersects with racism and homophobia to produce a range of types of violence. Samaran (2019) describes this as "the entitlement in systemic oppression, the power that those conditioned into entitlement claim to define what is real socially." (p32). The social and economic costs of the risk behaviors and violence this conditioning engenders, with serious consequences for men and women alike, are well evidenced up to the present (Heilman et al 2019). Hegemonic Masculine power is reproduced in individual behaviours as rigid; about protecting, providing for and controlling others without admitting or displaying vulnerability or seeking help (Brand and Frayz 2013, Samaran 2019). bell hooks articulates that the 'first act of violence that patriarchy demands of males' is "that they engage in acts of psychic self-mutilation that they kill off the emotional parts of themselves. If an individual is not successful in emotionally crippling himself, he can count on patriarchal men to enact rituals of power that will assault his self-esteem." (p66).

Such rituals of power are expression of the logical 'restorative' tendency (Howson 2006) of hegemony. Idealized 'legitimate' actions associated with gender are aligned with physical sex characteristics and heteronormative sexual "to understand masculinity, we must appreciate how structure and action are woven inextricably into the ongoing reflexive activities of "doing" embodied sex, gender, and sexual practices" (Messerschmidt 2016 p277). For example queer and transgender people challenge and disrupt normalized gender by drawing attention to them as fluid structures which individual subjects are always in the process of negotiating and recreating. Their perceived 'deviance' is inscribed and policed as a means to re-naturalize hegemony and they suffer violence at disproportionate levels (The Human Rights Campaign 2019).  Skeggs (2019) reasserts the need for sociologists to study and theorize such violence which is driven and compounding by the intersecting structures of race, class and gender.

Analyzing a practice such as UCP; where the 'local' perspectives of people affected by violence are ostensibly centered, demands a frank assessment of the extent to which hegemonies are naturalised and universalised by dominant groups. Hence I work in my discussion to assess and critique the ways in which binary and hierarchical structures are reproduced or subverted.  Intersectional approaches (Crenshaw, 1989 Hill-Collins & Birge 2016) foreground the differential experiences of individuals depending upon key identity characteristics shaped by structural processes of division and hierarchy. This emphasizes the importance of making room for different subjects and their relationships to power structures to be understood. Walby (2015) asserts that these interactions are both systematic and dynamic; they change and shift over time. Gender regimes intersect with capitalism as well as with other regimes of inequality such as those based on ethnicity. Gender regimes are subject to change as a consequence of these intersections. The gender regime and

capitalism are mutually adaptive complex systems which shape each other (Walby 2015 p145, Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994, 2016, Connell 2016). McNally (2017) notes that intersecting social relations should be considered as "co-constituting parts of the differentiated unity that comprises a concrete social totality" (p107). Social reproduction theory focuses on the work of producing and reproducing society through providing emotional and practical support to others; "producing workers". Marginalized as unskilled or unimportant, often confined to the domestic sphere and undertaken largely by women, without a financial valuation or reward equal to the labor undertaken, this analysis highlights not only the gendering of work, but the integral work that women do that reproduces society. "A woman worker also sleeps in her home, her children play in the public park and go to the local school, and sometimes she asks her retired mother to help out with the cooking. In other words, the major functions of reproducing the working class take place outside the workplace." (Bhattacharya 2017). By integrating social reproduction into analysis of UCP work I emphasise different kinds of labour, how they are divided and valued within the dominant economic structures which shape humanitarian work and workers.

It is important to augment inquiry into power and resistance with a stronger awareness of place and context (Hopkins and Noble 2009). There is a micro level of bodies, personalities, and emotional experience. The macro level includes cultures, institutions, and societies. The connections between them are what Connell calls 'practices'. This emphasizes their active, reflexive, and political nature (Connell 1987, p61). The middle level of practice is where structural problems become visible. Actors negotiate situations based on their historic situation and location. Their practices produce and change antagonisms in the social configuration, which make structures visible; demystifying and de-essentializing them. Hammeron and Johannsen (2014) explore how 'homosocial' interactions between people gendered in the same way can produce both reification of hegemony and the possibility of change Miller (2002 p437) stresses the need to eliminate a circular view that

understands behavior as entirely governed by structure, emphasizing the need to recognize the 'transformative potential' of individual agency.

These dynamics produce ambiguities and conflicts in how individuals reconcile their own identities with the dominant hegemonic production of gender within a group. UCP teams consist of people of different genders, races and citizenships and operate within the wider global economy. Below I will expand further on the transnational dimensions of gender and its relationship to other power structures.

**2.3 Transnational Hegemonies**

Above I described key concepts in gender theory, including that of 'hegemonic' and 'multiple' masculinities, as well as the importance into our work on gender issues. In this section I will reference key literature that helps us understand how gender can be further affected by and understood in light of factors of power such as militarism, North-South relations, language, race, sexuality and age and particularly how these structures intersect in humanitarian work.

Boothe and Smithey (2007) articulate the challenge that 'interventionists' such as UCP workers must grapple with in understanding the heritage of their work and the potential negative implications this holds

> To prevent their work from re-inscribing the type of unequal power dynamics that fuel many of the conflicts they seek to transform, interventionists can at least recognize and acknowledge their own position within the predominantly white Global North. In short, they emerged from a

tradition of Western humanitarianism that has fed people, so to speak, without learning how they fish. (p47)

Discussing 'Racialized Capitalism' Virdee (2019) states the need for scholarship that "locates colonization and racism within the unfolding story of historical capitalism over the past half a millennium" and that this has the "added potential of entangling racism more explicitly with questions of class, gender and national belonging" (p7).Such scholarship  is highly relevant in appropriately situating UCP practice not only within the present but within a historical narrative of oppression and resistance.

Proceeding from these insights we can explicitly link contemporary humanitarianism to an ongoing colonial project:

> all forms of colonialism…were involved in the large-scale creation of transnational spheres of interest, control and conquest, and mobilized a series of discursive and practical strategies through which space was claimed as colonial and characterized as possessing a variety of attributes.

> (Kothari, 2009 in Duffield & Hewitt, p164).

De-colonial analyses highlight how persisting 'coloniality' in the present entrenches Western knowledge and perspectives as universalized norms. "What "coloniality" unveiled is the imperial dimension of Western knowledge that has been built, transformed and disseminated over the past

500 years. The local histories of European concepts became global designs." (Mignolo 2013 p 141-142). Grosfugel (2011) notes how hegemonic Eurocentric paradigms which "have informed western philosophy and sciences in the "modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system' (Grosfugel 2005) for the last 500 hundred years assume a universalistic, neutral, objective point of view." Lee-Smith (2006) explores the relationships between racialized hierarchies which 'other' particular populations whilst generating an ideal 'whiteness' as a global default reference point; providing a lasting rationale for appropriation, exploitation and destruction of 'other' peoples. Furthermore, the normalization of hierarchy inscribed in European colonialism underpins 'hetero-normative' gender discrimination (p5). Heathcote and Otto (2014), referring to the work of Kapur, note that "international instruments geared towards protecting women in the third world often rely on cultural essentialism to diminish the importance of local knowledge and understanding" (p 49). Andaluza (2012) identifies the multiplicity of identities embodied and expressed by people whose identity exists the intersection of borders created by dominative power via their refusal to accept or be limited by these binary categories. This is 'border thinking' a "critical response to both hegemonic and marginal fundamentalisms" (Grosfugel 2011 p3). In integrating de-colonial and intersectional lenses (Rutaziba 2019) with tools from gender theory my analysis prioritizes the linkages between different power structures, posing questions "not so much about the political will, operational implementation and technical capabilities of humanitarians" as "about the perpetuation of colonial power relations in seemingly benevolent activities" (p66).

UCP is often defined and described in contrast to armed peacekeeping. Analyzing similarities and differences between them more clearly illuminates UCP. Peacekeeping policy and discourse have shifted in recent decades to acknowledge and include women, most significantly with the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions (Shepherd 2011). This change is linked to the adoption of more liberal iterations of militarism by states, whereby military recruitment of

women and LGBTQIA people (Basham 2013) is used to bolster the image of the military as inclusive and benevolent. Shepherd (2016) discusses how the adoption of 1325 has not resulted in demilitarization but rather in states working to 'make war safe for women'. Duncanson (2015) researched the performance of masculinity by British soldiers in 'peace support operations' in Afghanistan asserting that the variation in roles undertaken in this context makes possible the adoption and performance of a broader, less violent range of 'military masculinities' than other types of deployment. By contrast numerous scholars (Whitworth 2007, Razack 2004, Higate & Henry 2004, 2009) demonstrate the numerous ways in which 'force protection' military peacekeeping reproduces and intensifies gendered violence and coloniality. Civilian interventions that exist alongside military peacekeeping are also implicated in this violence. Discussing the gendered dimensions of relationships between international aid workers and peacekeepers in Afghanistan Fluri (2011) notes that "[m]ale behaviors and masculine performances vary, yet are often categorized in relation to women and corporeal representations of violence, (in) security, loneliness or desire." (p526). Connell (2016) notes that "the NGO format of social action has been problematic for feminists, because of the way it is integrated into neoliberal politics (Alvarez 1999)" (p314). She articulates a challenge to researchers and NGOs who work on gender "...They seem, so far, no threat to the corporate masculinity of the new metropole. For such a challenge to develop would require a different structure of politics." (Ibid.).

Choo and Ferree (2010) take a complex set of structural interrelationships as a fundamental challenge for social scientists that should be accounted for: "if one theorizes intersectionality as a characteristic of the social world in general, intersectional analysis should offer a method applying to all social phenomena, not just the inclusion of a specifically subordinated group." (p133). Intersectionality thus presents a critical challenge for researchers. According to Choo and Ferree (Ibid..) social constructionist interpretations of intersectionality highlight dynamic forces more than

31

categories —racialization rather than races, economic exploitation rather than classes, gendering; gender performance rather than genders—and recognize the distinctiveness of how power operates across particular institutional fields. Because of its interest in mutually transformative processes, this approach emphasizes change over time as well as between sites and institutions (p135 Yuval-Davis 2006). As Wohrle et.al (2016) note in their study of Intersectional praxis in the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom "Inter-sectionality adds a multidimensional analysis by noticing that the self and the group have multiple characteristics which shape an individual's experience of society. Attending to these dynamic interactions helps us to avoid silencing one part of a person's identity while focus-ing on another." (p275).


 By centering individual perspectives and their relationship to the practice under study I demonstrate in my discussion the dynamic and fluid relationship that both practitioner and community experience and the location of this relationship within processes of change. Recent scholarship in international relation has foregrounded the everyday, micro-level perspectives and experiences of both the subjects and objects of peacekeeping (Randazzo 2016). The everyday is "constitutive of the international, and it is prudent to see it as an integral part of international processes." (Mac Ginty 2014).  Robinson (2008) notes how dominant discourses foreclose the possibility of counter-hegemonic identities "(there are) links between the denigration of the values and practices of care, the ascent and dominance of neoliberal, corporate-led globalization, and contemporary hegemonic, often militarized forms of masculinity" (Robinson 2008 p183) Parker (2012) however, underlines the importance of critical perspectives that account for both individual complicity with and resistance to hegemony:

Critically examining a historically specific subject's politicized relation to general economies of domination, by demarcating where she is complicit and where resistant, allows the agent to establish a critical distance from social norms even as she inevitably relies on them to constitute the intelligibility of the object of knowledge and her own subject position. (p2)

I worked in my data analysis to identify particular actions or behaviors within UCP practice as complicit or resistant and the ethics and politics underlying these behaviors. The following section will identify some key concepts from scholarship on the humanitarian sector that illuminate hegemony and complicity in that context.

## 2.4 Humanitarianism, Crisis and Care

In the section above I described the resources which critical gender theory, intersectional theory and de-colonial theory offer to dynamic critiques of identities and the situated power relations that shape them. In this section I further explore various critiques of the humanitarian 'industry' and it's situation within transnational capitalism. I highlight key relevant literature which provides valuable tools for reflecting on and interpreting data about humanitarian workers and make particular reference to the 'bio-politics' and 'geo-politics' of international intervention and the agency, complicity and resistance of individual humanitarian workers. Key to all of the literature covered in this section, and my related analysis of my research data, is the fundamental imperative to problematize and 're-politicize' humanitarian structures and labor (O'Sullivan, Hilton and Fiori 2016 p10).

Neoliberalism is embedded in modern aid/development programs (Klein 2008, Duffield 2010, Broome 2011, Cahill 2013,  Shuller & Maldonado 2016, Springer 2015) tying aid recipients to the economic and strategic imperatives of donor states, and via managerialism both facilitating and camouflaging the ideological and the political (Cahill 2013 p137). Olivius (2016) notes that this normative technocratic approach influences the construction of the humanitarian worker as "an administrator engaged in the promotion of gender equality as a technocratic project" which positions them as a "distant, detached observer who creates knowledge based on the application of standardized models rather than on experience in the particular local context" (p280). Duffield (2001) interprets the world system as promoting a combination of ostensibly altruistic humanitarian and self-interested security motives in the 'development-security' nexus. This approach forecloses any cosmopolitan internationalist ethic which commits to achieving certain basic standards for everyone. Extreme inequality and the disproportionate distribution of violence are normalized, with humanitarian work reserved for the purpose of maintaining subject populations of poor people in a situation of 'bare life'. 'Human Security' acts as an overarching concept used to justify for the exceptional categorization of humans into specific (subordinate) populations requiring management, governance, control to sustain their existence (and their exploitation). This is Bio-power (Duffield 2003) in action. In situations of armed conflict humanitarian work and military peacekeeping both act out bio-power. With the declared intent of security (Higate and Henry 2009) they regulate and restrict human bodies and their movement in specific, bounded spaces, in a highly gendered and racialized way. Power is differently inscribed in development praxis that foregrounds poverty alleviation, equity and participation, apparently neutralizing a colonial power apparatus but concealing global power relations between aid providers and recipients, (Kothari 2009 p173).

Mac Ginty (2014), emphasizing the importance of a critical peace research agenda that counters more pessimistic and technocratic approaches, advocates for close attention to everyday peace and

the actions which "may involve the transgression of social norms and may open opportunities that challenge the existing order." (p557). These small activities may: "constitute a more significant political phenomenon that holds out the possibility of making a qualitative impact on the nature of peace and conflict." (p559). It is useful to engage with literature about modern humanitarian action with the contingency of hegemony in mind. Calhoun (2004) explores the ways in which the discourse of humanitarian concern can be a tool of manipulation which reinforces dominant representations of specific places and communities, fixing them as sudden, shocking aberrations which demand intervention, whilst simultaneously foreclosing consideration of the political dynamics which have led to a particular moment or situation. He writes how the term "Emergency":

> naturalizes what are in fact the products of human action and specifically violent conflict…it represents as sudden, unpredictable and short-term what are usually gradually developing, predictable, and enduring clusters of events and interactions…it simultaneously locates in particular settings what are in fact crises produced, at least partially, by global forces, and dislocates the standpoint of observation from that of the wealthy global North to a view from nowhere. (p2)

This naturalisation justifies the reproduction of colonial frameworks and interventions. Käpylä and Kennedy (2014) note that compassion; considered a key liberal value, is invoked in order to generate responses to 'avoidable' suffering; distinguished in the humanitarian imaginary from 'ordinary' suffering. They highlight that compassion is a socio-political emotion that is both conditional and governed (p267). They further articulate the notion of the humanitarian 'crisis' as a depoliticized moment of suffering that can motivate (Western) outsiders to intervene; mostly in the form of financial aid, without examining their own position in relation to the political dynamics within which this moment

and their relation to it exist "external crisis dynamics are bracketed out, questions of blameworthiness are at best local and political debate is replaced by self-serving ethics and international paternalism." (Käpylä and Kennedy 2014 p284). Thus compassion must be reclaimed and situated in a more complex ethics that highlights the interconnectedness of peoples and states, rather than the exceptionality of people experiencing 'avoidable' suffering. Brun (2016) likewise insists on the political nature of humanitarianism in her discussion of the temporal implications of 'emergencies' and 'crisis' and the extent to which these limit the possibilities of just; ethical relationships between humanitarian workers and individuals within the communities where they work. 'Crisis' curtails the chances for individuals to reflect on and shape their future and reduces them to othered bio-political subjects. "when we care about an "Other", we acknowledge their future, their welfare and their ethical significance are bound up with our own future (Adam and Groves 2011). Within an ethics of care, care is always future directed and in the first instance, always attached to specific individuals.'". In this context it is possible to "understand care as more than simply a social relation with moral and ethical dimensions, it can also entail an alternative politics (Popke 2006), it becomes related to everything we do to maintain, continue and repair our world and make it livable (Tronto 1993)."(Brun 2016 p405). This is a position which rejects the validity of ethical limitations imposed by hegemonic worldviews. Brun (2016) argues for a critical feminist ethics of care to be foregrounded within emergency response; one which reintroduces geo-politics "responsibility and obligation in order to create a future for humanitarianism beyond biopolitics." (p406). Pringle and Moorsom (2018) echo the urgency to continually reassert and centre care for the other: "(the) humanitarian's goals become highly politicized insofar as they ultimately seek to bring about a 'revolution in the ethics of care'" (p293). A research approach that appropriately values the role of care ethics must also acknowledge already-existing care work and how equitably it is structured. Federici (2012) critiques the role of NGOs in subordinating women and their reproductive work in the context of an exploitative, neo-colonial global superstructure; particularly highlighting the racialised dynamics between women from different parts

36

of the world; dynamics which have severe implications for any humanitarian worker. I believe that it is useful to consider how specific vocational practices reflect different types and levels of institutionalized oppression and counter-hegemonic resistance. Noe (2018) notes how global inequalities and staff (international and national) attitudes which privilege and promote the supremacy and dominance of Western ideas and approaches sustain the "outsider role" of the international in the prevailing "International Development Structure". She notes that this role need not necessarily be negative; noting potential advantages to an 'ideal outside role'. However she also notes that similar "differentiation dynamics" to those she explores have been observed and critiqued for at least forty years at the global, structural and interpersonal level, demonstrating their resilience. The absence of critical reflection that links to changes in practice is reflected both in dominant organisational narratives and those of individual workers (Taithe and Borton, 2016) .The structure produces and disseminates norms that reinforce inequality and prejudiced colonialist attitudes and impede genuine "Quality Listening" (p44) between staff. Noe does not offer solutions beyond the need for international staff to start on the level of their own thought processes and behaviors; reminding the read that "good intentions are not enough." (p59).

 In NGOs one way which hegemonic power structures such as masculinism (Roberts & Jones 2005), racism (Smith 2005) and coloniality (Grosfugel 2011), assert themselves is via disciplinary practices of managerialism which may also be reproduced in organisational learning and training interventions. Pringle and Moorsom (2018) highlight that humanitarians seeking to live their principles must resist this power. "An ethic of refusal provides a conceptual reference for principled humanitarian actors, from which they can assert their independence from structures of political power that generate massive global inequality and that recreate the conditions that necessitate a humanitarian response " (p303). UCP workers may give us clues as to how gender can be 'done' differently/pluralistically, as part of an anti-geopolitics if we can also analyze the disciplinary knowledge/power and resistance to it

37

at work within their practices. "An ethic of refusal requires that we critically examine our own relationships of class, race and gender and consider the ways in which these influence our relationships with those we serve" (ibid..). Attention must be given to both the local and the international and the activities and structures that connect in order to attain fresh insight on the relationship between structure and agency and different forms of resistance.

## 2.5 Situated Learning

In the sections above I described the key literature pertinent to my research question that focuses the areas of gender and intersectionality. In the sections below I focus on the educational theory of situated learning, the specific concept of the 'community of practice' and the ways in which this literature supports critical exploration of the relationship between identity formation and knowledge production. I highlight different critical approaches to situated learning and the limitations of its application to date in studies which explicitly account for structural power as a factor affecting group membership and knowledge. I note why this learning theory is pertinent and useful in studying practices such as UCP.

As a constructivist body of theory Situated learning proceeds from the understanding that learning is a product of 'being in the world' and thoroughly intertwined with the experiences and participation of individuals together in local, social context.  Lave and Wenger (1998) do not understand knowledge as a pure resource to be obtained or accumulated but rather as a social object situated within relationships; produced and shared through what they call co-participation (p93). COPs embody an identity, and as such incorporate codes for how to behave, how to speak and interact with others and how to respond to situations in ways which reflect the value and qualities of the community. Individual

learning in a craft or vocation is contingent on relationships between practitioners and their social rituals and codes. Lave and Etienne Wenger posit that communities of practice are everywhere and that an individual will typically be involved in various such communities (multiple membership) in different ways and to different degrees. Organizations are 'social designs directed at practice' (Wenger 1998 p241). They are never synonymous with practice but are given life by a practice or constellation of practices. Thus, as in this thesis, to explore a practice, and the community around it, through a study of one organisation, helps generate learning about the tension between designed learning and emergent learning.

Three elements help distinguish a community of practice; domain, community and practice. Domain is the area of shared interest that members commit to sustaining and becoming competent in. The sharing and relationships that arise from this can be deemed the community. Finally the tools, ideas and frameworks that are refined through these relationships help define the practice itself. Lave and Wenger (1998) describe these as 'repertoire', the set of key concepts, terms and values that shape the identity of a community as a 'local regime of competence' (p137). As the community develops over time the repertoire is also informed by the accumulated memories captured and shared by the community. The means of 'carrying' and transmitting this repertoire may be in physical objects such documents or uniforms, processes such as typical routines for undertaking tasks, less formal processes such as stories and rituals and, at a more granular level, specific vocabulary or symbols.

Individuals become members by participating in the shared work practices and developing new ones. This way of approaching learning is something more than simply 'learning by doing'. Lave and Wenger's concept of situatedness involves people being full participants in the world and in generating meaning (Tennant 1997, 73). "…the purpose is not to learn from talk as a substitute for

legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation" [My emphasis] (Lave and Wenger 1991 p18-9). To shift from "the notion of an individual learner to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice is precisely to decenter analysis of learning." (Lave and Wenger 1991 p94). Pyrko et al. (2016) utilize the Polyanian notions of interlocked dwelling (literal and conceptual) and thinking together. They show how "thinking together can be associated with knowledge development under problematic circumstances, in contrast with routine, casual and well-structured exchanges of information that are insufficient for thriving practice." (p406). To them the fluid, dynamic knowledge production that is precipitated by conflict is valuable to the maintenance of a flourishing COP. Shared understandings are not applied in isolation.  Rather they develop and evolve via the active exchange between members of the community. Members experience a dual process of 'identification' with (and investment in) the group as it is and dynamic 'negotiability' of the groups practices and their meanings' (Wenger 1998 p188), which contributes to the ongoing production of the community as a changing entity. Members are brought together by participation in joint activities and by 'mutual engagement' in the practice itself (Wenger 1998). This mutuality is characterised by four dimensions of 'duality' (Wenger 1998, Yukuwa 2012):

*Participation and reification:* This refers to the relationship between socially produced meaning and the concrete expressions or representations of that meaning e.g. ideas, artifacts, and measures of competence, which make up its repertoire.

*Designed and emergent structures:* The interaction between intentionally designed structures and those that arise organically, accounting for the reciprocal and responsive relationships between the designed and the emergent. The focus is on the ways in which learning is 'an evolving, continuously renewed set of relations' (ibid.. 50).

***Local and Global:*** Refers to the relationship between different COPs and how they distinguish themselves and enter into exchange and dialogue through boundary practice. The COP has boundaries; porous and fluid borders which denote the implicit and explicit limits of the practice; what the practice is and is not. Across these borders knowledge is exchanged with outsiders.

***Identification and negotiability***: Refers to how individual identities are shaped and formed through participation in practice, learning trajectory within the COP and the occupation of multiple memberships of different COPs and how the individual negotiates their identity and influence over different communities.

How members of a community of practice negotiate their identity is intimately connected to the knowledge which they create. Pyrko et al (2016) advocate that COPs cannot be 'set up' as formal teams, and that "to better understand COPs it is important to pay attention to the nuances of the lived practice." (p392). As Curnow (2013) puts it, COPs are:

> constituted by individuals living in a materially gendered, racialized, and classed world, thus these communities tend to reproduce historical inequality and inequity within their activity in particular ways. Though these activities can be subverted, they are often unintentionally reproduced through the enactments of the dominant ideologies that coordinate daily life (p838)

It is the practices of the community and members' differentiated participation in them that structures the community socially (Eckhart, Mconnell-Ginet 1992, p8). To understand identity formation and

learning in communities of practice, it is useful to consider three modes of belonging; engagement, imagination and alignment:

- **_Engagement_** is the negotiation of meaning through the different trajectories or practitioner and how they intersect to develop histories of practice. Through 'mutual engagement' practitioners build a shared world which give meaning to actions; practitioners thus build their identity in relation to the practice. This shared endeavor can also curtail learning if practitioners are overly invested in reifying and sustaining a fixed identity.

- **_Alignment_** is how individuals become part of a bigger whole through their identification and ownership of it. Above the actions that make the practice alignment reflects how we commit to a collective set of values and boundaries; drawing power from the process but also potentially making ourselves more vulnerable to abuse or exploitation.

- **_Imagination_** is the creative act of situating one's trajectory within a limitless historical context; drawing together different historical resources as reference points and inspiration informing one's processing of events and experiences within a narrative; enabling a greater degree of alignment and the consolidation of individual learning .

These modes of belonging will serve as useful conceptual references in tracking the different ways in which UCP workers navigate their COP. Yukawa (2012) visually conceptualises the varied interactions between these three modes of belonging and the four types of duality (here characterised as creative tensions) as all contributing to learning outcomes:
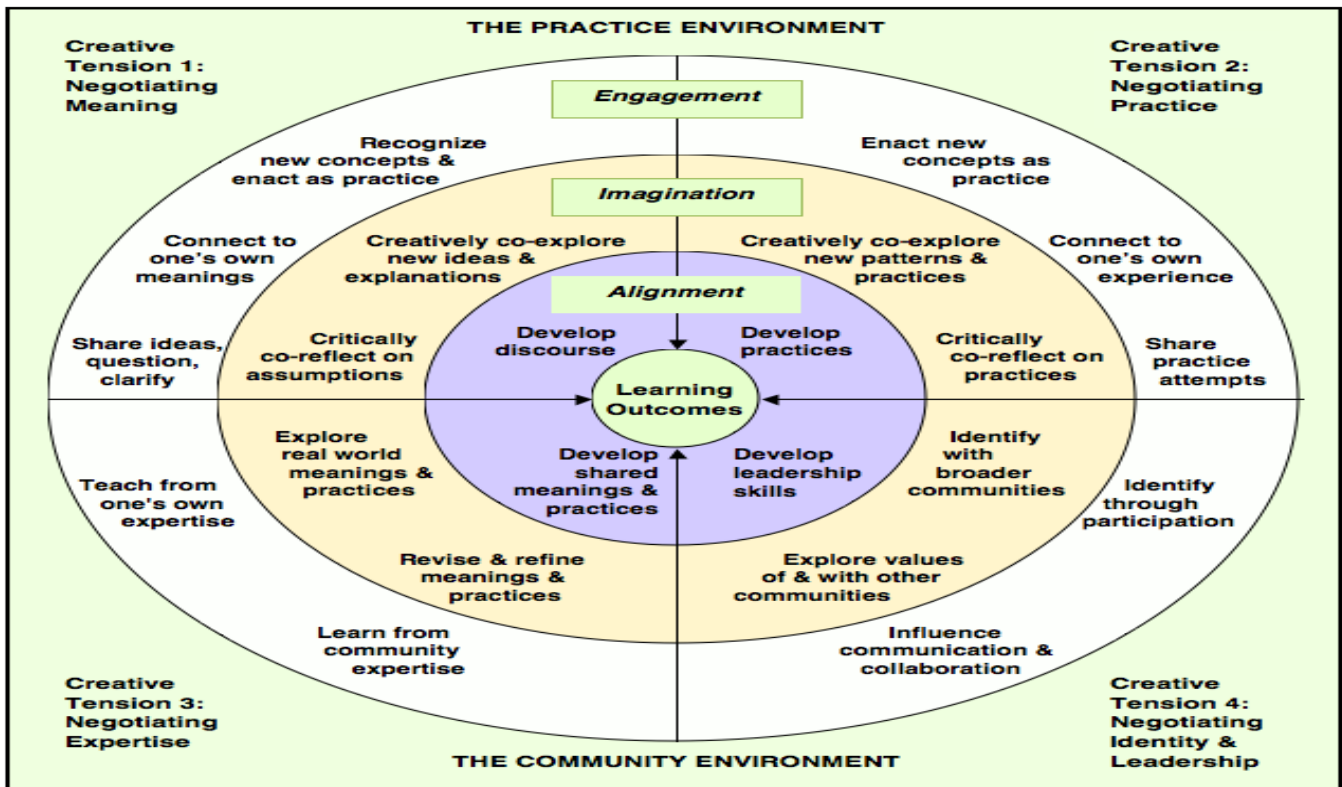
**Figure 2:** Community of Practice Learning Model (Yukawa 2012)

Yukuwa discusses how these tensions require 'negotiation' on the part of an individual practitioner in order to generate learning. Vocational 'mastery' and legitimacy, achieved over time, moves practitioners closer to the 'centre' of a COP as their respect and influence within their community grows even if their formal employment status remains relatively junior. This process is called "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger 1991, p55). This is described as an analytic tool for understanding; "learning through legitimate peripheral participation takes place no matter which educational form provides a context for learning, or whether there is any intentional educational form at all" (Lave and Wenger 1991 p40). This understanding of relations between apprentices and more experienced members; 'masters'; eschews linear ideas of hierarchical methods of knowledge

43

transmission. The "decentered view of the master as pedagogue moves the focus of analysis away from teaching and onto the intricate structuring of a community's learning resources." (Lave and Wenger 1991 p94). The figure below emphasizes how COPs reproduces themselves via cycles of participation and legitimacy:

Joining the community of practice –
Legitimacy and participation

Continuity through
connecting,
engaging, observing,
and participating
over time

Learning continuity in the
community of practice

Different patterns and forms of
participation over time
establishing legitimacy and
implicating learning

Time
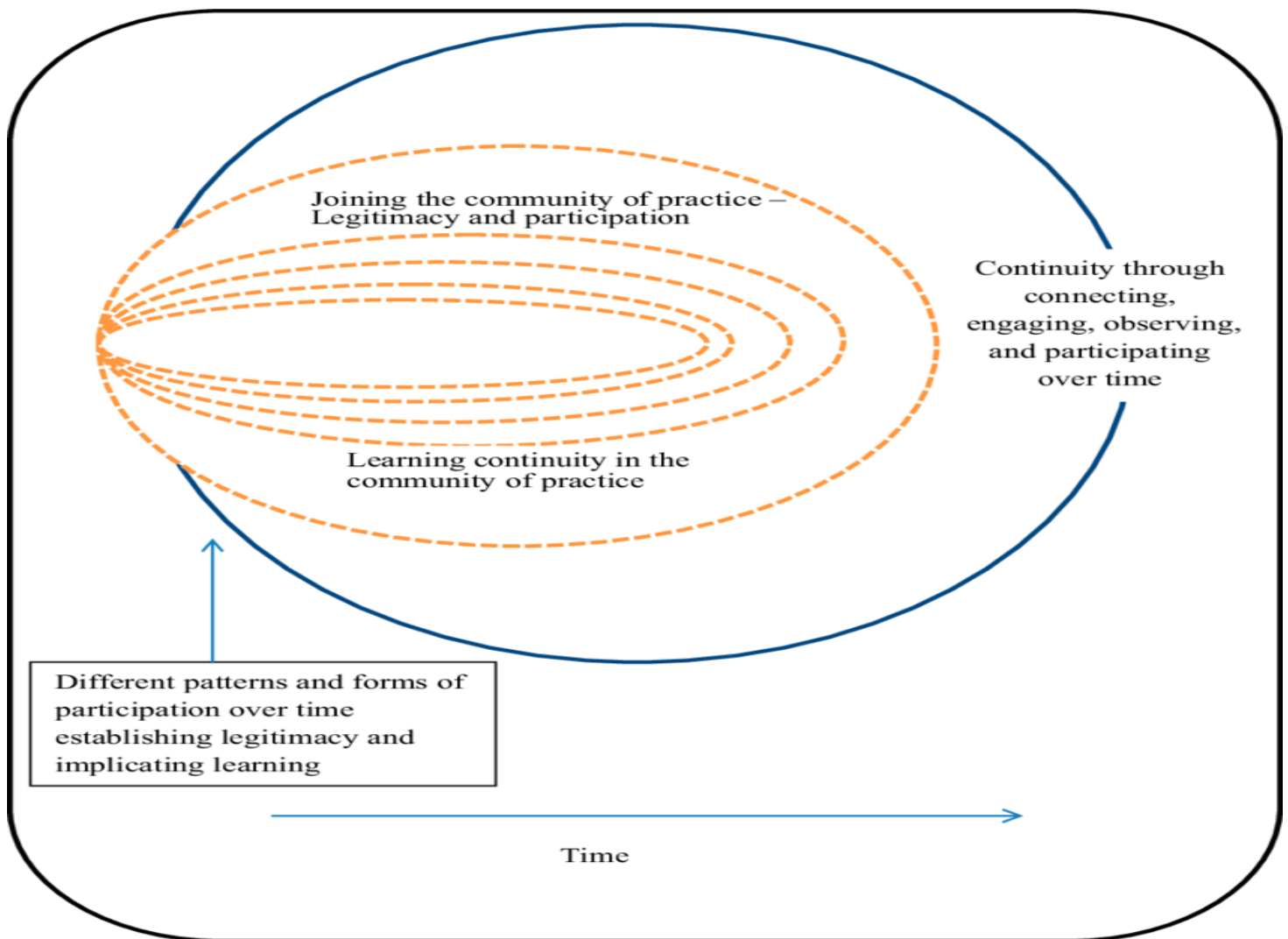
**Figure 3:** 'Learning Continuity through Legitimate Peripheral Participation (adapted from Konopaski et al. 2015)

Brown, Collins & Duguid (1989) emphasize the idea of 'cognitive apprenticeship', which "supports learning in a domain by enabling students to acquire, develop and use cognitive tools in authentic domain activity.". Paechter (2006) notes that these description of apprenticeship in COPs fit well with how people are socialized into masculinities and femininities. Paechter's analysis combines situated learning theory with Foucaldian power analysis to explore how "[p]power, knowledge and embodiment are intimately connected in the operation and perpetuation of local communities of sex/gender practice" (p24). Reflecting on the role and responsibility of individuals within such local communities to shift them, she concludes:  "If we want to intervene in and resist these power/knowledge relations within and between communities of masculinity and femininity practice, we are therefore going to need to work slowly, on small changes, as well as on national and international structures." (p24)

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) also suggest that gender identity is negotiated through the individuals' participation in COPs. They discuss the "learning and mutability in gendered linguistic displays across groups" with particular reference to intra-gender difference, noting that what constitutes 'men's talk' or 'women's talk' is contingent upon the particular situation and context and is fluid. Osterman (2003) emphasizes the importance of distinguishing how different women are situated within a professional and furthermore in a social class, race and particular life experience, and how they relate to these factors in framing their speech. This implicitly intersectional approach, toward the relationship between gender and COPs, rooted in anti-essentialist feminist theory (Butler 1990), has further potential for application outside of a strictly linguistic frame. Curnow (2013) combines situated

learning theory with conscientization theory in order to analyze the patriarchal 'culture of practice' within an activist COP, and the development of a counter-hegemonic, woman-centered and driven COP consisting of members of the main group whose 'knowing together' helped them to comprehend the systematic nature of their marginalization and the possibilities for resisting and subverting it. Firth and Robinson (2016) highlight the power of the feminist technique of Consciousness Raising (CR) as a tool for more equitable knowledge production "constructing the possibility for identifying and resisting new forms of oppression today requires conditions of collective knowledge-production in which different perspectives can be weaved together without privileging one or other voice in some form of polyphonic dialogue (Bakhtin 1984).". They specifically foreground the' social and affective character' of CR and its power as a tool to validate the reality of otherwise disavowed experiences of oppression, creating a standpoint outside the dominant regime of concepts from which the unthinkable could be thought. In discovering that the 'personal narrative is political' participants 'transform the dominant meaning of experience by bringing a different set of assumptions to bear on it' (Langellier 1989)". CR is thus considered a strong tool for enabling and validating resistance to disciplinary power as well as a concept by which to understand the processes of sharing and learning that are explicitly transformative. Its collective nature means that CR could be classed as a type of 'knowing together'.

Situated learning theory has been employed in quite narrow studies (Hotho et. al. 2014).  This reproduces "inattentiveness to how social structures at different levels interact in their influence on collective participation and situated learning." (p59). To realize the true potential of situated learning theory we must apply it critically to vocational groups. Such analysis must account for power relations within those groups.  The process of individual identity formation and the process of a community of practice undergoing collective change may highlight tensions and conflicts that might otherwise be

more difficult for a researcher to observe. This is of particular pertinence when considering communities of practice with humanitarian imperatives, such as UCP.

In this section I have established an understanding of the unique qualities of situated learning theory and its strengths not only in theorizing organisations and vocational membership groups but other identities in society more broadly, as well as noting various approaches taken by different researchers to combine the use of the COP as a concept with other theoretical tools in order to enhance specific studies. Below I complete my literature review by focusing on the existing literature on UCP itself.

## 2.6 UCP and Nonviolent Peaceforce

In this section I will refer to the existing literature on UCP; with particular reference to the outputs and discourse of NP. This will evidence their relevance as unique and potentially fruitful objects for further study. I will further note the potential applications of situated learning theory and critical gender theory to them.

UCP has taken on new forms and responsibilities and constitutes a small yet significant part of the global economy and polity. There is neither a long history nor an extensive academic literature on nonviolence in humanitarian work or indeed on nonviolence as humanitarianism, though there is on the rich and varied global range of traditions of nonviolence (Ackerman & Duvall 2001, Gederloos 2015, Kurlansky 2007, and Sutherland & Meyer 2000). NP explicitly situates UCP within a tradition at least one hundred years old (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 p18). In its training literature the organisation situates UCP at the intersection of sets of guidance, principles and methods (see figure below)

47
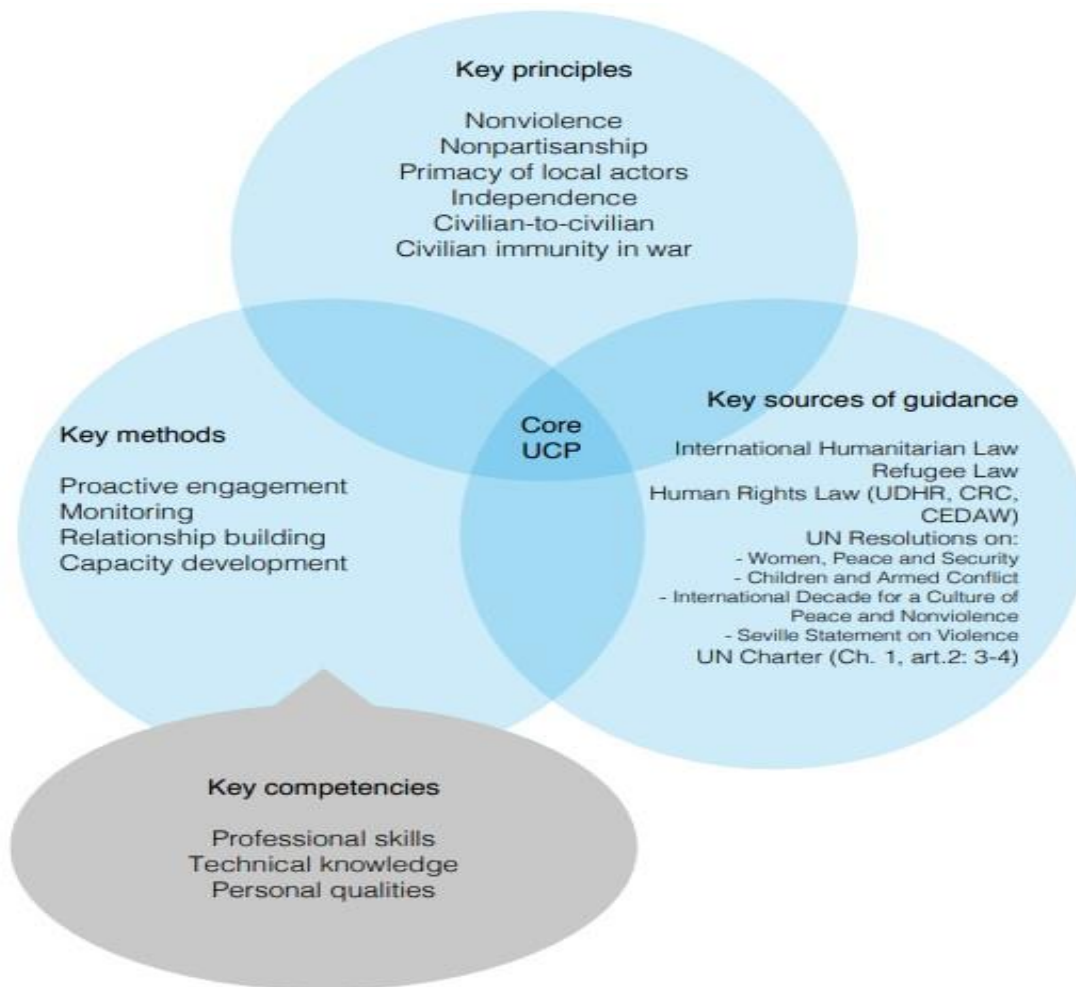
**Figure 4:** UCP Bubble chart (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 P22)

This chart represents the reframing of UCP as a specific nonviolence practice that is in concert with the normative international legal order, and as a profession, emphasized by the denotation of specific 'key competencies' that are desired and developed in practitioners. In this schema, UCP methods reflect its principles.
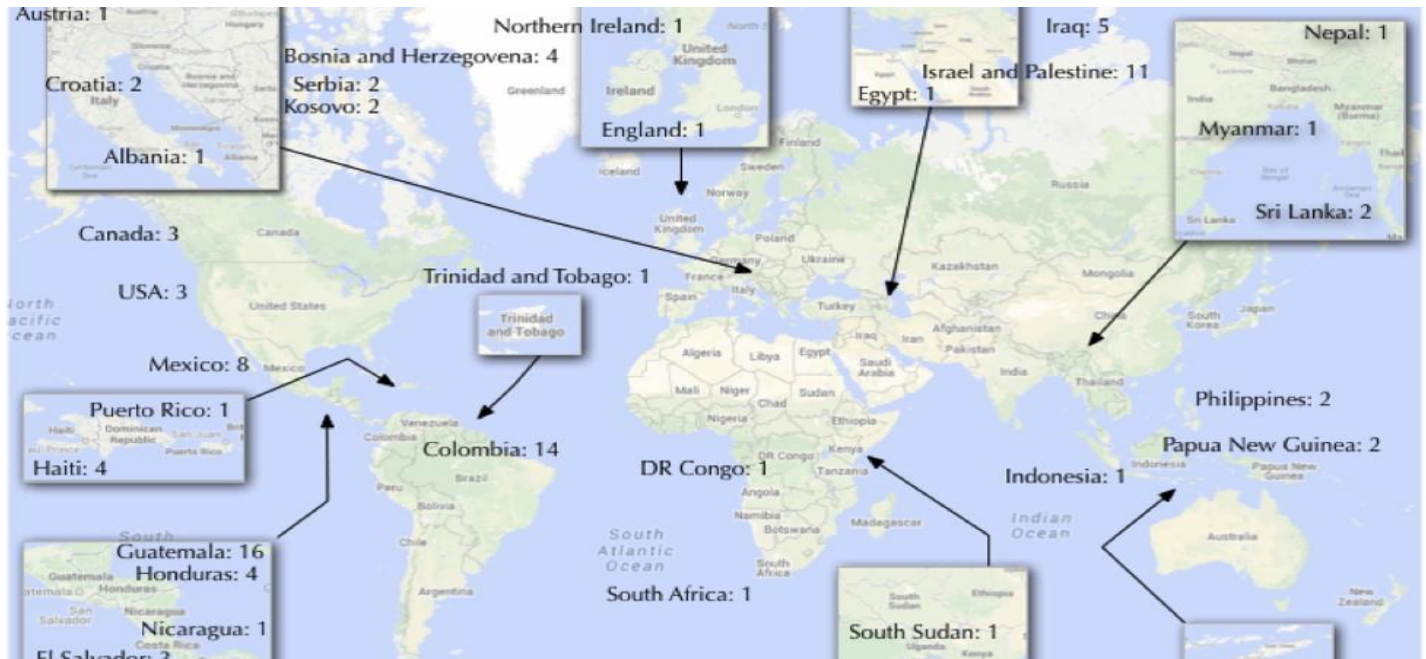
**Figure 5:** UCP interventions 1990-2014

The NP perspective should not be accepted as the only or ideal way of understanding UCP. Funari

(2016) documented over 90 separate interventions globally between 1990 and 2014 which fit her

working definition of UCP; including local and international groups and those with mixed constitutions

(See figure above). Different organisations in this data set defined as using UCP may use a different

selection of methods and have radically different organisational structures and politics e.g. non-

hierarchical and voluntarist vs. hierarchical and professional or religious vs. non-religious, whilst

sharing an emphasis on nonviolent methods of reducing human rights abuses, up to and including

direct violence against and between civilians in situations of conflict.

Three organisations which embody some of the distinctions are as follows

- ***The Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI),*** a faith based volunteer programme which places internationals from a range of countries in the West Bank of the occupied Palestinian territories for short-term placements to undertake accompaniment that combines "a strategic local presence with international pressure in order to be effective" (EAPPI) linking direct field experience to advocacy work in their home countries.

- ***Peace Brigades International (PBI)***; a largely non-hierarchical international network which employs a small number of paid staff to support International programming whereby volunteers from outside of a country affected by violence commit to long-term presence in support of local civil society, typically working very closely with specific organisations and individuals to deter violence against them and advocate for international pressure on conflict actors to respect human rights norms. A number of the key working concepts in UCP first emerged from the models promoted by PBI.  (Mahony & Eguren 1997, Mahony 2006)

- Finally, the subject of this research***; Nonviolent Peaceforce***; established in the early 2000s and operating long term with paid staff teams consisting of  both local and International members, eschewing direct advocacy and utilizing a wider range of tools to work for 'protection' (as outlined above). NP first articulated a model of 'Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping' and subsequently modified this to the current 'Unarmed Civilian Protection'. NP was founded on the vision of creating a "trained nonviolent army that would respond to invitations from local peacemakers in areas of violence and war around the globe" (Hartsough 2014 p170)

All of these different approaches involve international interventions in localized conflict situations. Boothe and Smithey (2007) note how in the work of organisations that relied on international

volunteers to support local social movements threatened with violence that "In some situations, deference to the privilege attached to interventionists can become hegemonic as it is perpetuated and made so commonplace that it becomes nearly invisible, especially to those whom it benefits." (p48). At the same time they noted specific criticism of Nonviolent Peaceforce as having "set up a "certain class" of individuals who were given greater privilege, a class based primarily on Western citizenship and English as a primary language." (Ibid.. p51) and having a management structure which "continued to reflect its Western, privileged heritage." (Ibid.. p52).  As UCP has developed, in no small part because of the evolving approach of NP and it's integration of local staff and focus on the broader civilian population, as opposed to individual Human Rights Defenders and activist movements, there has been little scholarship undertaken on how this relationship to privilege has changed. Whilst noting that UCP can reduce harm against civilians and achieve secondary outcomes such as promoting women's leadership, Furnari highlights the need for further research on the different iterations of UCP and their distinct characters and implications. She also encourages international UCP workers to constantly ask key ethical questions about their interventions "Are issues of neocolonialism and racism at play? Do we address the attitudes that some internationals arrive with- that of coming as saviours…? How do gender sexual orientation and other identities such as ethnicity or class affect the team and the work in the community?" (2016 p246).

Whilst NP utilizes some language, concepts and imagery that tie it to a broader tradition of nonviolence, it has taken a distinct trajectory as an organisation. One key distinguishing factor that marks NP out from other UCP organisations is its commitment to maintaining a paid, professional workforce; in order to make its work more effective, farther reaching and more sustainable. It also explicitly seeks accommodation with and influence on existing multilateral governance structures through, for example, its consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ESOC).  NP emphasise the importance of "Specially trained civilians, in close coordination with local

actors" applying UCP to "prevent violence, provide direct physical protection to civilians under threat, and strengthen local peace infrastructures." (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 P16) These strategies require relationship building with key conflict actors, especially armed groups. NP conceptually positions UCP directly between the practices of 'nonviolence' and 'peacekeeping' (see figure below)
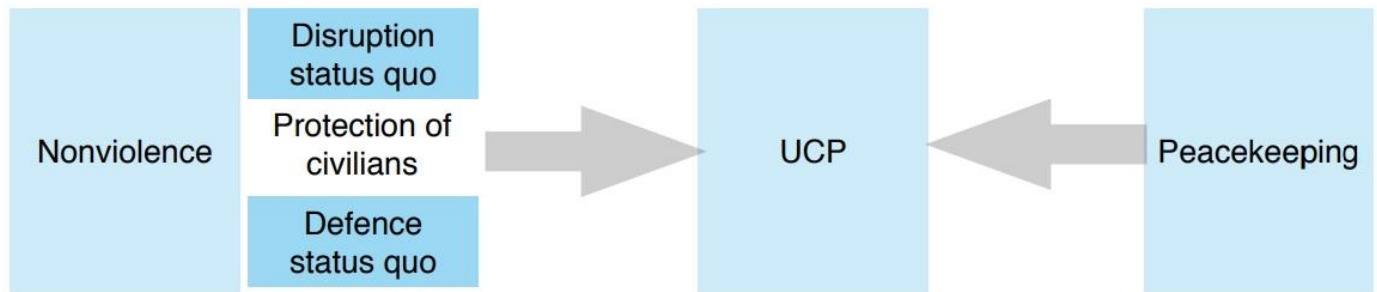


**Figure 5:** UCP as a composite of key features of nonviolence and peacekeeping (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 P56)

This separates UCP out from the wider community of nonviolence practices and movements, whilst emphasizing its parallel relationship to the field of peacekeeping. An external intervention with a purportedly humanitarian mandate and ethos; peacekeeping utilizes a distinct range of symbols and practices to project its power and generate a sense of security. Julian situates UCP as an example of 'emancipatory peacekeeping' that significantly challenges and subverts accepted norms of 'force' protection. Furnari et al (2016) note that UCP challenges the assumption that "violence is the last means (of keeping the peace) (p16). Within peacekeeping more broadly the notions of gender, space and security are tightly interwoven. Fundamental presumptions and norms reproduce one another through coded everyday practices of security that are explicitly and implicitly gendered. Henry and Higate (2008) analyze how the gendered performance of UN peacekeepers impacted upon the

perception and experience of security amongst people under the 'protection' of the troops. As no

physical resources are exchanged nor weapons used in the course of UCP the use of physical

presence by workers and thus their embodied participation in processes of security is integral to the

work.  Koopman (2014) analysing accompaniment by PBI volunteers; emphasizes how peace is both

shaped by and shapes space; highlighting both the power of this and the pitfalls of international

practitioners essentializing their own special contribution; "some accompaniers skimp on analyzing

and strengthening these chains and get seduced into thinking that their bodies alone provide

protection, particularly if their bodies easily stand out as different." (Koopman 2014, p14). This

researcher takes the view that, in its expressed ethics and its contemporary practice, UCP should

primarily be considered as component of the broader humanitarian sector, rather than as a

peacekeeping intervention. I take this position for two main reasons. Firstly, though present-day

humanitarianism is in many ways tied to and implicated in larger structures of militarism and

imperialism (see above) most of its disparate threads and tendencies reject physical violence as a

legitimate method of achieving their goals. UCP shares in this rejection. Thus it stands not just

opposite to military peacekeeping in this, but within a wider community of humanitarian philosophies

and approaches. Secondly whilst armed force is certainly not the sole preserve of states or state

supported actors alone, the discipline of peacekeeping has emerged from within a state driven

international regime and is typically carried out by contingents of forces deployed by nation states to

operate unilaterally or multilaterally in concert with groups from other militaries. UCP by contrast is a

practice that has come from civil society. Whilst an end goal of some UCP actors is to influence the

adoption of UCP by state actors, and state funding has been used to support UCP deployments, this

is again something which UCP shares in common with a range of humanitarian practices. With this

distinction established I proceed below to explore key components of UCP in more depth.

UCP is a practice which entails a physical, embodied presence in its intended area of effect. Assessing how this is understood and presented can give insights into how meaning and belonging are negotiated in the community and the relation of this negotiation to different power structures. Mahoney (2006) articulates proactive presence (analogous to what NP now described as 'Proactive Engagement, though this is one example of how certain terms change over time and become used as signifiers for different things within the community) as the opening up of political space by helping civilians become more informed about the actual types of threat and levels of risk that they face and to take more educated and responsible decisions factoring in that risk and the mitigating effects of international presence. Each action taken thus, in theory, helps to push for the reclamation of political 'space', and often literal physical space and spaces too. A danger is that the perceived heroism, glory or excitement of risk taking over-powers more sober and balanced analyses of the most effective approach. Proximity to violence may encourage risk-seeking activity that resonates with negative components of hegemonic masculinities and coloniality.  Understanding that, as Hooper (2001) states, "gender identity is perhaps best seen as something that is constantly negotiated and renegotiated as we simultaneously engage with our own physical embodiment, participate in social practices, and take up or refuse discursive positions that are enmeshed in a network of power relations whose intricacies are peculiar to our own epoch and culture" (38). One would expect to see a number of different subject positions and experiences reflected within UCP.

 Lave and Wenger (1991) describe how structural changes in economics and labour relations affect how apprenticeship functions in different contexts (p69). For example a practice may at one time have been learned in a household setting, with a parent teaching their child a practice to directly generate family income at a later time. Over time practitioners may become specialized professional labourers thus shifting the processes and locations of apprenticeship. Considering UCP in this context we can see the beginnings in a lineage of nonviolence with roots in a range of voluntary civic

and religious associations focused on social justice and nonviolence within predominantly local settings e.g. the civil rights movement in the US, which involved relatively large scale mobilisations of people from connected communities. This influenced a wide range of activism, including solidarity work that was transnational and required a smaller, often more privileged and well-resourced set of volunteers travelling long distances to stand alongside civilian populations threatened by violence from powerful actors, including states. Knowledge from these experiences has been documented and reproduced in a range of ways, alongside changes in the range and structures of organisations undertaking accompaniment work. Trainers working in nonviolence movements often had experience in a range of this groups, and in supporting reflective learning about the limitations and risks of primarily white westerners acting in this way. Direct education methods helped more people to learn about the methods and values of applied nonviolence, or as Boothe and Smithey (2007), following Lakey and Hunter (2003) term it, Third Party Nonviolent Intervention,

> Experiential or direct education helps destabilize privilege by preparing teams to relate to local movements while training for the intervention itself. Through direct education, participants discover their own social status, capacities, and weaknesses via small-group work. Facilitators help participants become aware of their own status and skills, appreciate others' skills, and uncover strength in diversity. The process is empathic and relational, and it focuses on communication.

> (Boothe and Smithey 2007 p52)

Whilst there was a complex, interweaving range of movements utilizing these approaches, and an element of replication or uniformity, derived from shared learning approaches and the developing

experiences of groups such as Peace Brigades International, the milieu this work sat within was still primarily voluntaristic. Eventually with NP we see a professionalisation of UCP practice, which enables the entry of both local actors into the workforce, and the recruitment of career driven staff with less or no experience within UCP, but with a range of other technical skills. Inevitably then not only will the practice have changed, but the experiences of the different staff will be divergent.

International staff may or may not already be socialised outside of their home context and used to international work, but the way that they learn UCP will be interrelated to their new context and the contingency of their outsider status. Likewise local staff, perhaps in greater correspondence with the experience of previous nonviolence movements, are often, though not exclusively, living the same home life that they were prior to their entry into the COP. Furthermore their experience of the practice will be bound to their identity as a member of the same community affected by the violence which the practice seeks to protect people from. If staff move from being a local worker to an international worker their experience and practice will again shift with their context. That these relations take place within an economic superstructure that moulds a distinct job type of aid worker should also be taken into account, not least given its key role in influencing where the practice is used or promoted. Where local people are taking on UCP work, this may connect to other changes in the local labour market e.g. less employment and productivity as a result of violence; greater deprivation and fiscal need and the creation of a new market for locals created by the international humanitarian presence. The economic positions, motivations, expectations and presumptions of local and international staff will thus be different. Furthermore, neither of these groups is a homogeneous bloc. These differences will always be gendered; as social relations and positions also change in conflict situations, and local workers of different sexes and gender identity will also have distinct entries to and experiences of UCP practices. Working from this broad generalisation of categories we can presume that the

physical location where labour happens, and its relationship to the broader social, economic and geographic context, will shape UCP practice in a range of ways.

Thus far, literature on UCP has not sufficiently accounted for the different subjectivities present within this new, professionalized workforce. Nor has it substantially assessed the relationship between different practitioners and the types of practice that they learn and develop. In reaching toward a normative framework for the practice, this literature has not sufficiently addressed the social nature of the practice beyond a strategic emphasis on relationship building. The implications of gender or coloniality are often integrated into the practice as a technical consideration rather than a constant component of the world where the practice is produced and reproduced.

UCP Practice is rooted in a historical narrative as well as current dynamics of participation and reification. I considered this from the outset in my research. The places and communities where the work takes places and the people who come to the work, and their individual situations and trajectories, are crucial to gaining insight into the practice itself. By situating my own exploration of UCP within an understanding of the world whereby learning is only socially constituted as an aspect of practice, I intend to identify new insights into how UCP practice interacts with social relations of gender and coloniality in a mutually constitutive way

## 3. Methodology

In this section of the thesis I will outline the methodology and research design, taking into account key theoretical, methodological and ethical considerations that were integrated into my data collection, analysis and write-up.

### 3.1 Research Questions

**Main Research Question**

Considering the current literature around the topic, the significant gaps therein and my belief that robust engagement with UCP and gender will be beneficial for both practitioners and academics working on this topic the main research question for this thesis is as follows:

""What is the relationship between the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection workers and gendered power dynamics?"

**Sub-Questions**

As a practitioner and researcher concerned with the potential of UCP to address manifestations of dominative hegemonic masculinity the following questions arise

•        How do UCP practices embody complicity with or resistance to hegemonic gender regimes?

• Which masculinities and femininities compliment or enable legitimate peripheral participation in the COP? Does this serve to legitimize or challenge the most dominative masculinities where UCP is practiced?

• What knowledge is being produced by the COP and what knowledge is being valued?

Lewis and Schuller explore the value of NGOs as a 'productively unstable category' for researchers (specifically but not exclusively anthropologists) who can make progress by working "through" NGOs to get at "what is going on in the world" in terms of power, work, aid, gender relations, and activism. As noted in our paper, NGOs are important precisely because of the roles they play, and studying them contributes to understanding these wider themes. NGOs can serve as "portals" into these other productive questions (2017 p15). I worked under the assumptions that UCP can be understood and articulated as a community of practice that could be researched "through" the NGO Nonviolent Peaceforce. There are everyday practices, norms and concepts that are held in common by UCP members as well as key underlying values; not least that UCP is overtly nonviolent. Whilst studies focused on practice, or 'praxiographies' increasing in number, they are pluralistic rather than standardized in character:

> Praxiography is not a singular strategy. It has to be tailored to the problems and practices at hand. It requires mixing and blending different strategies into each other or inventing new ones in response to the material studied. Moreover, it is one of the core messages of practice theory that knowledge and practice are intimately linked. Hence, doing a praxiography requires 'learning by doing', that is, actually writing one.

> (Buger 2014 p385)

Therefore I had to build my own praxiogrpahic approach from existing components. I selected the community of practice itself as the primary object of study but targeted the data collection on practitioners associated with one prominent organisation associated with the practice. Subsequently I drew out a small number of specific components of theory to use as theoretical starting points during my data collection, also identifying complementary critical lenses from the literature which could be employed in further scrutinizing the data. Before expanding on these in detail I highlight my own relationship to UCP and Nonviolent Peaceforce, highlighting how this has informed my research interest.

## 3.2 Researchers Role

I have a personal connection to UCP practice stretching for over eight years. My research interest, access and analysis have all been informed by this connection. In 2011 I worked in South Sudan in the same town as the first NPSS field team; often working in close cooperation with them. This was my first introduction to UCP. In 2012-13 I undertook a volunteer placement with the EAPPI programme in the West Bank of the occupied Palestinian territories. From January 2014 to May 2015 I worked with Nonviolent Peaceforce South Sudan; first as a protection officer, then subsequently as a team leader, I undertook my own Mission Preparedness Training in May 2014 and, in early 2015, I was invited to lead the delivery team for two back to back MPTs for national and international staff.

In August 2015 I traveled to Lebanon as part of the initial team spearheading the launch of NP Middle East and North Africa (MENA). I worked as a project officer contributing to the development of a UCP training manual to be used in delivering a capacity building programme targeting Syrian Civil

Society Organisations. This UCP programme was a partnership with an American NGO and a Syrian civil society network. After the completion of this manual and two rounds of training I left Lebanon in August 2016, contributing remotely to additional MENA work and officially leaving in September of the same year.

Subsequent to my beginning the research for this thesis I was invited to be part of a consultancy team undertaking a Gender Needs Assessment for Nonviolent Peaceforce Philippines; a task which overlapped thematically and chronologically with my primary research. I was separately approached during my stay in Mindanao to lead an MPT for staff of NP Iraq, whilst also researching and preparing three case studies of how UCP was being adapted and implemented there since NP launched in 2017. During the drafting of this thesis I took a role with the German branch of Peace Brigades International; supporting a violence monitoring project in Nepal. My own insights into UCP have been shaped by each of these experiences.

## 3.3 Research Design

Each COP has its own core and periphery, constantly being reproduced via the individual practice trajectories and the collective relations and learning of its members. However this does not exist outside of bigger transnational dynamics of centricity and marginalization. Any community of practice which does not consciously and directly address these dynamics and work to positively de-centre dominant groups will reproduce oppression to one degree or the other. The question of how UCP might subvert hegemonic gender regimes cannot be seriously considered within looking at the extent to which UCP de-centres dominant identities and cultivates practices which center and promote

individuals of marginalized identity/identities. Thus I decided that I would need to observe in some way the interactions and relationships that define and constitute the community.

The dual focus on how individuals learn to participate in a community of practice (developed initially through a consideration of the learning of apprentices (Lave & Wenger, 1991)), and on acceptable, socially embedded, performance as a major factor in full participation in the community, is central to the potential usefulness of this body of theory for understanding gender. (542, Paechter 2003) Whilst concerned with UCP as a whole I chose to focus predominantly on Nonviolent Peaceforce, with a view to this work informing broader observations and discourse around UCP.  The reasons for this focus are as follows;

1.    I sought to select an approach that could speak to and account for the diversity of UCP practice whilst maintaining modest enough limits to allow for a practical, realistic and productive research process. Taking into account the limited timeframe and resources at my disposal and the strong advantages that I enjoy as a practitioner-researcher; namely my own networks of current and former Nonviolent Peaceforce personnel allowing for more direct access.

2.    Nonviolent Peaceforce has been instrumental in articulating and naming UCP and as such is an important site of knowledge production albeit one of at best partial legitimacy. In engaging with a range of external actors in order to advocate and share knowledge about UCP, with a view to increasing its profile, acceptance and support; both political and material. Studying processes of learning, knowledge production and staff relations amongst NP staff will thus give insights into the character and politics of wider UCP practice.

3.  Nonviolent Peaceforce, in contrast to other UCP, organisations, employs a combination of international and local staff in direct protection work.  Furthermore NP Intentionally seeks to develop, promote and support local staff including encouraging their applications for international positions in other country programmes. This promotes a distinct diversity and plurality of experiences and subject positions which I felt would allow for the collection of thicker and richer data around gender and race identities and relations in UCP.

There would be a great deal of value in exploring the relationship that UCP practitioners have with the local communities where they work and the people whom they aspire to serve. Given the limitations of time, scope and language shaping my research, such an exploration is beyond the means of this research.

Grounded Theory approaches involve regular comparison and reiteration of data and theory in relation to one another. I undertook an initial literature review but returned regularly to the literature to mine for relevant concepts that would help me to better analyze and understand the data, based on emerging themes. Furthermore decisions to change or extend elements of data collection directly arose from reflections on the theoretical reading of data that had been collected to date. Thus my process saw me moving back and forth between stages in a cyclical manner. As Bryman (2016) states "A strength of qualitative research, because the prolonged participation in the social life of a group over a long period of time allows the researcher to develop congruence between concepts and observations" (p302). Grounded research approaches are complimented by interpretivist epistemology. Taking a direct interpretivist approach allowed both for a greater degree of subject-researcher interaction prior to and during interviews and for participant observation that supported the

construction of a richer data from which the researcher can interpret and derive meaning. Furthermore, given the conceptual emphasis on situated learning and everyday practice, it was important for the researcher to experience and reflect on daily work in UCP.

According to Choo and Ferree Intersectional research in sociology should;

*   emphasize the inclusion of perspectives, not only persons, from the margins of society,

*   problematize relationships of power for unmarked categories such as whiteness and masculinity

*   treat inequalities as multiply-determined and intertwined

Interpretivist approaches allow for different understandings of reality and an appreciation of the social construction of key features of the everyday. If sufficient work is done to recognize and de-centre dominant perspectives, a grounded theory approach with interpretivist epistemology can meet the criteria of intersectional research. Some of the key practical questions of power, privilege and responsibility raised by committing to this approach are identified and responded to in the ethics section below.

By adopting a standpoint rooted firmly in everyday situations and relations researchers can maintain an awareness of " The community of practice is where the rubber meets the road — it is where observable action and interaction do the work of producing, reproducing, and resisting the organisation of power in society, and societal discourses of gender, age, race etc." (Eckhart & Mconnell-Ginet 1992 p9). Where situated learning theory reaches the limits of its utility here, without the introduction of other theory, is in its relative silence on the politics and ethics of societal structures

and identities. However its progenitors advocate a 'plug and play' approach that introduces other theory with more of an explicit focus on social justice and this is precisely what I do in my work. Taking Hooper's three dimensions of gender as a reference point here, we should expect to see this challenge evident in how UCP practitioners understand and express gender in their physical embodiment, in the institutional approach of the groups seeking to build or influence institutions through their UCP practice and the discourse which practitioners use, develop and iterate to express their worldview, their practice and their sense of community. My approach corresponds with the assertion of Adler and Pouliot (2011) that "one of the key epistemological consequences of taking international practices seriously is precisely to bring those scholarly debates 'down' to the ground of world politics in order to empirically scrutinize the processes whereby certain competent performances produce effects of a world political nature." (p6).

## 3.4 Research Approach

In the table below I articulate how I outlined my initial approach to the research process. Based on my research questions I identified key aspects of the UCP Community of Practice which I was interested in and reflected on how, in my data collection, I would identify tangible evidence of each. I further identified the most relevant theoretical concepts from my literature review which would be used to critique evidence generated in this area.

In the column: 'Aspect of the COP' I expand on aspects of the Community of Practice which I took as starting points to identify and interrogate, drawing upon concepts identified in the 'Situated Learning' section of the literature review.

In the column 'How will it be identified' I then specify the characteristics of this aspect of the COP which I looked for in my data collection and how, based on situated learning literature, I decided that it would be identified.

In the third and final column 'Relevant Critical Lenses' I list the range of different critical tools highlighted in the literature review, which I then sought to apply in my interpretation and analysis of the data.

| Research Approach | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Aspect of the COP** | **How will it be identified?** | **Relevant Critical Lenses** |
| Participation: Doing as learning; everyday practices and how members negotiate their meaning through legitimate peripheral participation. | 1/ The speeches and actions observed as part of UCP practice; the physical artefacts utilized and produced as part of the practice (which may be distinct from those of other practices or similar e.g. conflict analyses, standard operating procedures, risk assessments).<br><br>2/ The variety of localized interpretations of these tools as demonstrated in practice by field team; their articulation, manifestation etc. | <ul><li>Peripheral and Legitimate Participation</li><li>Dualities/Creative Tensions</li><li>Engagement,</li></ul> |

| | 3/ Individual actions which staff members/practitioners exhibit and reflect on which characterize their lived experience and production of their role including specific bodily movements.<br><br>4/ How members obtain, share or transmit knowledge about practices: instruction, observing, modelling. | Imagination, Alignment |
|---|---|---|
| Gender: How gender is constructed and reflected in UCP practices and how practitioners critically engage with gender identity, especially as it intersects with other social structures | 1/ Observing the practice of gender by practitioners as evident in bodily movements and actions e.g. interactions between male and female staff member.<br><br>2/ Observing the production and maintenance of the 'space' and 'security' in the field site and how the practice is affected by and affects them e.g. who can go where when. What is different for men and women? Do female and male practitioners interact with the space differently? | • Hegemonic Masculinity: complicity and resistance<br><br>• Feminist Care Ethics of refusal/Radical Care |

| | | • Social Reproduction |
|---|---|---|
| Controversies: Contested moments which highlight conflict within a COP and indicate shifts in communal learning. | 1/ Records of organisational/communal decisions and debates e.g. documents or other records (including individual testimonies) of specific divergences in different interpretations of a practice | • Coloniality |
| | 2/ Day to day localized debates and discussions which reflect different understandings of the practice artefacts etc. | • Modes of belonging |
| | 3/ Observation of the production of aberrant or innovative acts which challenge the existing underlying assumptions of what the practice is and how it is done including identifying and categorizing new parts of the practice. | |
| Boundaries: How the COP reproduces itself in relation to other practices and generates learning through the maintenance of boundaries and exchange and cooperation | 1/ How practitioners distinguish themselves from other practitioners and communities via actions, movements and artefacts | • The security-development nexus |
| | 2/ Exceptions and challenges to those | • Border |

3/ Observing power relations between members of the COP.

| | boundaries which might demonstrate the limits and fluidity of the COP  3/ Proactive actions to negotiate boundaries through cooperation with other actors or groups. | Thinking  • Boundary Maintenance and multiple membership |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

**Table 1:** Research Approach

This table supported with how I approached my initial research. However as codes emerged and were eventually sorted into themes I was able to hold my assumptions lightly and move with the data, amending my analysis and theorizing new positions out of the grouped, coded data.

**Epistemology**

I took an interpretivist approach to the data. Overall the interpretivist approach falls within the broader constructivist paradigm. Below I summarize some key features of interpretivist epistemology and how the process of researching and analyzing data for this thesis corresponds to these features.

| Features of Interpretivism | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Feature** | **Characteristics** | **Application in this thesis** |
| Nature of reality | Socially constructed, multiple. | The researcher assumes in the thesis |

| | | that individual subjectivity is reflective of the pluralistic character of reality and that the researchers own position and perspective should also be acknowledged and integrated into data analysis. |
|---|---|---|
| Goal of research | Understanding, weak prediction. | Explores the experiences of practitioners to generate insights into the relationship between individual agency, learning and structural power. Whilst some recommendations are made, prediction of future phenomena was not an intended outcome of the research. |
| Focus of interest | Looks for the deviant or unique. | In searching for transformative potential in UCP practice I am looking for resistance to structural norms. These may give insight as to how to bolster or reproduce this resistance. |
| Knowledge generated | Meanings as relative; bound by time, context, culture. | This thesis is a snapshot of an emergent and developing practice. It is not intended to be holistic or definitive but rather to provide one perspective based on the different experiences and |

| | | views of various practitioners. |
|---|---|---|
| Subject/researcher relationship | Interactive, cooperative, participative | As a member of the COP I was able to establish strong and equitable relationships with both individual practitioners and the organisation which I worked via. By adopting a partial participant observer position I sought to make an asset of my insider/outsider status. |
| Desired Information | What *some* people think and do, what kind of problems they are confronted with, and how they deal with them | The 'type' of person involved is the UCP practitioner; a grouping made up of very diverse people, and their 'problem' is the relationship of UCP practice to power, specifically gendered power. |

**Table 2:** Features of Interpretivism

## 3.5 Data Collection

Organizations…are developing new and creative forms of nonviolent intervention, answering a palpable need in our war-weary and violent world. Ethnographic researchers can aid in that effort, helping to chart the mean and even the effectiveness of various project and the tactics they employ. In the end, wrestling reflexively with ethical dilemmas is a prerequisite not only for effective international observers, but also for responsible ethnographers. It may be the surest way to move both enterprises forward simultaneously. (Coy, 2001, p602)

I used ethnographic methods, with a focus on the key artefacts and objects of the practice and the implicit and explicit knowledge at work. Ethnographic approaches, as noted by Bryman (2016) mean that the researcher

- is immersed in a social setting for an extended period of time

- makes regular observations of the behavior of members in that setting

- listens to and engages in conversations

- interviews informants on issues that are not directly amenable to observation or that the ethnographer is unclear about (or indeed for other possible reasons);

- collects documents about the group

- develops an understanding of the culture of the group and people's behavior within the context of that culture

- and writes up a detailed account of that setting (p336)

My data collection incorporated all of these components. It was broken into three stages; observation, semi-structured interviews and auto-ethnography. The combination of tool employed, types of data collected and primary data sources are summarized below and the individual methods are described in detail in sub-sections.

| Data Collection | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Data Sources | Data Collected | Data Collection Tools |
| Field Work | Field Notes | Observations |

| Personal Reflections | Reflective Writing | Auto-ethnography |
|---|---|---|
| Primary Contributors | Interview Transcripts | Semi-Structured Interview |

**Table 3:** Data Collection

**Observation**

I undertook 15 days of embedded non-participant observation with a Nonviolent Peaceforce field office on the Filipino island of Mindanao. The country programme was selected based on the accessibility and ease of access and security on the ground and the longevity and uniqueness of the specific programme. The specific location in the Philippines was agreed in consultation with Nonviolent Peaceforce Philippines and with the direct consent of the team members. The time on this observation was limited by my availability and budget as a self-funded part-time student with a full time job in London. I was fortunate enough to subsidize my working budget via a successful crowd-funding campaign. As Bryman (2016 p354) observes; short site visits are becoming more common in ethnographic research, a deviation from the 'classical' approach.

The Philippines programme (NPP) is the longest established of current Nonviolent Peaceforce operations. The programme there has had stable presence and capacity for over a decade; giving an institutional history and memory and producing less security concerns and access constraints than other active working countries at the time of site selection. NPP is an official partner of the CPC civil society monitoring mechanism, which is predominantly constituted of national NGOs. Thus it is constantly engaged within an international peace architecture which requires formalized cooperation with both military and civilian government and non-state actors.

In my field work I had to adapt to circumstances whereby I found myself, in the typology outlined by Bryman (2016, p348) as a partially participating observer. In some circumstances my presence was much more prominent and impactful than I may have otherwise imagined or desired. In others I consciously made it so. I found myself intervening to ask questions and provide reflections intended to provoke further responses. As a practitioner of UCP I was moved to actively present examples or questions for consideration, comparison and contrast against the experiences of staff in our local context. In so doing I sought neither to dominate nor close the dialogue nor to presume common assumptions about the practice which we ostensibly share. Nonetheless my presence affected interactions. This was especially evident in meetings with other Filipino NGO workers and civil servants who exhibited high standards of English language fluency and varying degrees of interest in my presence and role. In some instances these interactions were cursory; in a couple of other instances, specifically in meetings in Mindanao with other civil society workers this resulted in me being brought directly into discussion.

Where there were external activities and meetings I did my best to be unobtrusive and note down key questions for later. Sometimes I was able to ask these in the car on the way home, amidst less formal exchanges. As I noted observations I reflected on how these could inform my interactions with the Team Leader, who returned during my final week. His presence shifted the mood a little and after a full day of activities on day 1 of week 3, day 2 was cleared for admin. We were able to sit for over 2 hours and discuss some of the key themes of the research and his personal experiences from 9 years in the country and a number as TL in that specific field site. This concentrated burst of interviewing was one of the highlights of the trip in terms of the ground covered and the scale and quality of relevant data obtained. It helped that the previous day had featured participation in two

unique activities (a multi-agency humanitarian assessment of mooted relocation sites for internally displaced people (IDPs) and a formal military handover ceremony of the command of a battalion which had recently seen combat in Marawi) which I hadn't experienced previous during the observation. These activities further enriched my research data. The process gave me constant pause for thought; with echoes of my own work experience, prompting a series of auto-ethnographic reflections. I found it necessary to be very nimble and flexible. As Dauphinee states, we are training to see fieldwork as a linear and planned process. In reality:

> all sorts of considerations, from visa and institutional clearance forms, the (limits of) generosity and guidelines of funding agencies, to future chances of employment, come into play in deciding where to go...Often these intersect in such curious ways that we can only say that we have 'stumbled upon' our research decisions. Things happen in a similar fashion during research.

(Dauphinee 2010 p83)

This research dis-abused me of this 'training' as I 'stumbled' through the process. 'Data derived from this fieldwork was recorded chronologically and reviewed and grouped after the research trip; with coded themes developed upon repeated readings. I determined that insufficient data was available based on this site visit alone. The themes and questions that arose upon thorough review of my field notes reinforced my desire to revisit and expand upon the initial research design and augment and diversify my data collection via semi structured interviews with a range of UCP practitioners.

**Interviewing**

I arranged thirteen semi structured interviews with current and former staff including both men and women from the global South and global North. After a period of processing and coding data I developed a set of additional themes and approached participants to request follow-up exchanges.

Interviewees included former and present staff of Nonviolent Peaceforce. However their experiences take in a broader range of organisations and practices including volunteering and paid roles within other notable groups which practice UCP, such as EAPPI and PBI, as well as other NGOs and agencies including the Red Cross Movement and the United Nations. I hoped that my approach would facilitate reflection on the continuity and differences between different groups and their approaches as well as the relative relevance and / or efficacy of UCP in other humanitarian settings.

**Interview Structure and Process**

The candidates whom I had initially approached were re-contacted and, where logistically possible, Skype interviewees were arranged. In selecting interviewees, I approached workers who represented several different demographics within the UCP COP:

- Men and Women[1]

- New and old, current and former workers

---

[1] I accept that the gender binary is a problematic and reductive rubric by which to perceive gender. I asked interviewees how they would identify their gender and all responded either man or woman. The definition given here reflects that. In noting this distinction I do not wish to replicate or promote a biological essentialism in discussion of gender. I hope that the remainder of the text reflects an overall more fluid and critical engagement with gender.

- Individuals who had served as national Staff and international Staff with NP, and on some occasions both

- Individuals who had taken different professional trajectories both within NP and outside it.

- Staff from the Global South and Global North

- The current Global Director and former board member/interim Director

I developed twelve basic questions and scheduled a minimum 90 minutes for each interview, making allowance for variation and deeper exploration of key themes via follow-up questions. Several of the interviews exceeded this duration, with the longest taking place over more than two and a half hours. The majority of the interviews were conducted online via Skype due to the dispersed nature of the interviewee demographic and recorded for future reference. Two participants were unable to schedule time for an interview and answered questions by email and text (Facebook messenger). One interview was conducted face to face in Iraq during a working trip there (see below). One interview was conducted by email due to scheduling difficulties. Due to technical difficulties one interview had to be conducted via WhatsApp and was not recorded so the transcription of this conversation was incomplete. I was able to engage one staff member with whom I was unable to coordinate an interview via an ongoing Facebook dialogue which reflected our own mutual interest and engagement in questions of masculinity and patriarchy as relating to UCP. This took a different form and produced a different richness of data. One interview was conducted face to face in the field location where the worker was based at the time. On several occasions, I sent follow up questions to interviewees where I either felt more clarification of a specific point was needed, or that the interviewee could provide insight on a new question area that had been developed after the original discussion with them. I submitted these follow-ups by email and Facebook. The transcripts were provided to the interviewee with a longer lead time for response in order to reflect the expected lower

accuracy of the transcription. As noted in the analysis and interpretation section below these questions were regularly reviewed and changed as the interview process continued.

Working on conducting these interviews within a relatively tight timeframe enabled me to gain a sense of confidence and momentum in my questioning; keeping the same basic questions in place and honing further questioning based on the development of my ideas upon reflection after each interview and the unique characteristics and experience of each participant. The diversity of interviewees produced a broad range of responses to even basic questions, leading to a greater plurality of topics and sub topics in the process of categorization. Furthermore responses to questions about key influential figures in a respondent's experience of UCP produced further suggestions for interviewees. These suggestions were considered based on the relevance of the suggested person's profile to my core research aims and available time. As my planned research period proceeded towards a close, the latter resource became scarcer and the flexibility to my schedule to accommodate further interviewed reduced in respect to the additional workload of transcription, data processing and data analysis that would accompany each fresh interview.

Most of the interviewees were with people whom I have some kind of professional and/or personal history and relationship. Our primary bond of identification being vocational meant that there was an element of trust and respect present in our interactions that may have taken an entirely 'external' researcher much longer to establish. There were also ethical concerns raised by these connections. I address these in the dedicated ethics section below. Initial questions were selected with a view to establishing a chronological understanding of an individual's personal trajectory within UCP, and highlighting key moments and people that they consider to have furthered their understanding, confidence and ownership of UCP, in order to determine the social context and nature of their

learning. Further questions address interviewee understanding of practices and boundaries within UCP and their understanding and experience of gender. As the interviews progressed I reflected on each and adapted and reformulated questions as well as specifically adding in questions around care.

When subjects did disclose or reflect on difficult or controversial topics outside of formal interview structures I would note my desire to record and potentially refer to the conversation as part of my research, seeking to give the person agency in the degree to which they chose to share at that juncture and offering the opportunity to keep the succession either anonymous or off the record entirely. Interviews were recorded using windows audio recorder. Unfortunately as they were Skype interviews, for the most part, the sound quality is poor and the volume low. I worked using another programme to clean them up and enhance the sound quality.

The demographic of my interviewees is summarized in the table below. I have changed all the names of people and re their current working location only given country, rather than a more specific working base. Where individuals are no longer NP staff I have not given the name of their present employer. The gender identification given is that provided by the specific individual. A note of their current professional designation is provided alongside their involvement with UCP work specifically.

| Interviewees | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Current Position and location** | **Involvement with UCP** | **Country of Origin** | **Gender Identification** |
| Sinita, Global Director | Current Global Director of | North America | Woman |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nonviolent Peaceforce | Nonviolent Peaceforce; 10+ years of experience of senior positions across multiple continents; has written and co-written policy and academic pieces on UCP | | |
| Jaime, Regional Lead, BINGO, Mexico | 5 Years.  Experience with both PBI and NP across 3 continents Regional lead for BINGO, | Latin America | Man |
| Sylvester, Senior Worker, Iraq | 9 years of experience beginning as national staff | East Africa | Man |
| David, Security Specialist, INGO, Iraq | 7 years of experience starting as national staff ; subsequently team leader, trainer and security lead | South Asia | Man |
| Marielle,  Protection officer, INGO in Democratic Republic of Congo | 1 year experience in South Sudan, primarily in IDP camps | South America | Woman |
| Amina, Protection Specialist, UN System, Bangladesh | 3 Years total experience in South Sudan, including as a team leader and trainer; subsequently as a consultant in different areas. | North Africa/Western Asia | Woman |
| Victoria, Child Protection Specialist, Major BINGO | 2 years predominantly in South Sudan | Europe | Woman |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beatrice, Research Fellow (Gender) BINGO and Freelance researcher and trainer | 2 Years in South Sudan including as a team leader | South Asia | Woman |
| Max, Consultant with major multilateral military body | Ten years board level responsibility, including a spell as interim director | Europe | Man |
| Karen, Nonviolent Peaceforce Myanmar | Ten years, initially in the Philippines | East Africa | Woman |
| Mahesh, Nonviolent Peaceforce Myanmar | 4 years, beginning in the Philippines | South Asia | Man |
| Mick, Assistant director, NP Iraq | 5 years, beginning in South Sudan as a team leader | Europe-North America | Man |
| Janik, Project lead, Nonviolent Peaceforce Myanmar | 8 years, beginning in South Sudan; has trained and contributed to research articles and curricula development | Europe | Man |

**Table 4: Interviewees**

**Auto-ethnography**

As a final addition to the research mix I began to draw upon reflections from my own time as a NP employee in South Sudan and Lebanon I was able to include a reflexive component based on additional contracted work which I was approached to undertake in Iraq during my research period. Undertaking work as a trainer and researcher in this context provided additional research insights. Auto-ethnographic research:

- Uses a researcher's personal experience to describe and critique cultural beliefs, practices, and experiences.

- Acknowledges and values a researcher's relationships with others.

- Uses deep and careful self-reflection—typically referred to as "reflexivity"—to name and interrogate the intersections between self and society, the particular and the general, the personal and the political.

- Shows "people in the process of figuring out what to do, how to live, and the meaning of their struggles."

- Balances intellectual and methodological rigor, emotion, and creativity.

- Strives for social justice and to make life better.

(Adam, Jones, Ellis 2015 p6)

Having written some articles and personal reflective pieces when active as a staff member I had some pre-existing resources to hand for direct reference. Furthermore observation and interviews prompted recollection of specific incidents and activities which may otherwise have remained sublimated. I actively engaged in the research process, acknowledging and allowing for my own position within it. As Dauphinee (2010) states "The researcher is not an empty vessel to be filled with knowledge that is then poured forth through publications and lectures in some charade of authenticity." (p804) As a practitioner active within this field I bring my own experience and prejudice to this research project and the individual discussions and reflections which constitute it. By making explicit my own connections to the culture that I describe I intended to more authentically engage with it. In the words of Adams et al (2015) "autoethnographers intentionally use personal experience to create nuanced, complex, and comprehensive accounts of cultural norms, experiences, and practices" (p33). I believe that by acknowledging my position relative to the research and my place in the data I more authentically and holistically engage with the key issues raised by my research topic and questions.

## 3.6 Data Analysis

theories and theoretical frameworks provide inspiration for the researcher, but during "fieldwork" and the case analysis, a particular theory or hypothesis should not prevent the researcher from gathering different observations about the case as comprehensively as possible. Different theoretical and methodological perspectives to the data should keep the researcher's eyes open to all kinds of observations instead of narrowing his or her vision.

(Alasuutari 1996, p375)

I used a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006), to analyze the extensive notes recorded throughout my fieldwork; audio recordings and transcriptions of interviews and my own memories, written notes and other media.

I followed the following process for analysing the data:

1. Descriptive Coding
2. Theoretical
3. Theorising

**Descriptive Coding**

During my field work observation I took extensive written notes describing events which I had observed and interactions I had.  I typed these up at the end of each day, adding them to a simple table that also contained two additional columns. One column to record my reflections on these notes and one to note potential connections and potential code.

Through multiple thorough readings I identified a number of recurrent topics and developed codes, reviewing these daily and grouping relevant data underneath them as I went. If some notes partially or mostly fit under an existing code but I felt that there was something distinct about them then I created a sub-category so that I could maintain nuance If more notes seemed to fit underneath a sub-heading then in time I might separate it entirely and name a whole new code.

During the interview process I began with these codes but also kept the process open and added more codes as they emerged. I kept interview transcripts and recordings and reviewed then to the code the data therein. I wrote memos beginning to pull potential groups of themes together. After interviews were completed I moved to grouping the codes under themes.

## Grouping

On reviewing the accumulated codes I moved back and forth between interview transcripts, my observation notes and personal writings and communications in an iterative process, amending and began to shape on the final themes under which the analysis in the discursive sections below is grouped. 17 codes were consolidated into 3 framing themes: Learning, Gender and Intersectionality. The next step was to theorize working hypothesizes based on these themes, which ultimately aligned with broadly with my three sub-questions.

A summary of the codes, grouping and themes from my coding process is included in the second appendix to this thesis.

## Theorizing

## Learning

*How does learning and knowledge production enabled and privileged by UCP enable transformative practices?*

Moments in the trajectory of practitioners where learning outcomes can be identified and the various approaches to structured and emergent learning in the COP. This is interdependent with how practice knowledge is produced and shared by and between practitioners and external audiences.

How knowledge is produced and shared by and between practitioners, formally and informally can be determined from the acts, processes and patterns in the data and how these reflect the 'what' and 'how' of UCP as undertaken and understood by the COP. My working hypothesis based on my grouping of the coding and data here was that there is a link between the longevity and diversity of an individual's tenure as a UCP worker and the power and extent of their influence over what UCP is considered to be and how others internalize and align themselves with this.

**Gender**

*How do UCP practices embody complicity with or resistance to hegemonic gender regimes*?

How the work is defined and bounded and key assumptions about gender and gender norms which this demonstrates. UCP practitioners demonstrate both complicity and resistance with regard to hegemonic knowledge/power; especially that pertaining to gender. My working hypothesis based on my grouping of the data was that where the practice of UCP workers is transformative in addressing and challenging gendered oppression, this is incidental or secondary rather than a core characteristic of the practice itself.

**Intersectionality**

*How does gender practice in UCP intersect with other structures and practice which shape identity?*

An assessment of the various different identities and relationships which are seen among UCP workers and the relative power and agency this affords in different situations, in particular in the relationship between the gendering of individuals and other facets of their identity such as how they are racialized and their nationality and age.

My working hypothesis here was that the experiences of women and people from the global south, especially their experiences of structure oppression, change their participation in UCP, and the learning that they contribute to via mutual engagement.

## 3.7 Ethics

I had to account for a number of ethical concerns in planning and executing this research. I have summarized these concerns and my responses under the following headings:

- ***Data Protection and Confidentiality***
- ***Psycho-Social Risks***
- ***Personal Safety***
- ***Independence and Integrity***
- ***Power and Privilege***

I expand on each of these individually below.

***Data Protection and Confidentiality:*** As the researcher I had to take responsibility for sensitively dealing with the personal information of people involved in this study and third parties, whether they were encountered during the course of the research or mentioned during interviews, in the pursuit of my research objectives. I took measures to preserve the anonymity of participants and others, and to avoid the inclusion of unnecessary identifying information, in my presentation of the data within the context of the thesis. Consent was obtained from all participants in primary data collection. When I was working in Iraq as a freelance contractor for NP I made a specific agreement with the management that I could also collect data during my time there. Participants in training and other work which I undertook there were advised of my research and given the opportunity to opt out. One interview was conducted in Iraq. The team that I observed collectively agreed to the process and were given the opportunity to opt out at any time during the observation period. The names of all participants and interviewees have been replaced with fictional names. In a few instances I elected to remove attribution from a quote in order to further protect the identity of the participants involved. Nationalities have also omitted, though the region a participant originates from is noted. The names of any employers other than Nonviolent Peaceforce have also been removed and general types of organisation e.g. "large international NGO" inserted instead. I spent a large amount of time around the team that I was observing, including social time, and had to draw distinctions between information that was directly relevant to my study and could be considered as data, and that which was superfluous. Similarly interviews were far ranging and included sharing and discussion of personal anecdotes and information. If any participant requested before or after the research that specific information be excluded I did so. If I considered something to be personally sensitive in useful data that also indicated specific identifying characteristics of the individual, whether identifiers or location, I edited such details out.

Precautions were also taken to secure data after it was collected. An information and consent form was drawn up and shared with participated in this research, transcripts of interviews were made available for interviewees for checking and feedback, and an option was extended for interviewees and staff observed in their duties to withdraw from the study within a six week time frame after the end of my data collection. Where third parties were present during the observation period they were notified of my presence and research. Participants were made aware of the scope of the research and the range of potential future outlets and publication and requested to consent to data collected being used in this media, under the agreed conditions as previously stated.  Where photographs have been included in this thesis these do not display identifying features of the people in them. Specific locations are not stated.

A confidentiality statement, including explicit explanation of the limits of participant confidentiality and in what circumstances it may need to be breached, was included in the information provided to participants, including any information sheets and consent forms distributed. From final submission the research data for this thesis will be retained for a period of 10 years, in the first instance I will have stewardship of the data. Upon completion of my PhD stewardship will revert to the administration team of the Educational Research Department at Lancaster University (LU) and be stored on the LU Data Repository (https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/research/research-services/research-information--systems/pure/) and be designated private access.

***Physical and Pyscho-Social risk to participants:*** All of the participants and interviewees, as well as myself have worked, and in many cases are still working, in environments characterized by armed conflict, physical violence, structural inequality and often extreme poverty and deprivation. As such

they may have been subject to violence, injury, trauma and stress, among other phenomena. I worked to make my research approach sensitive to these possibilities. Having previously received psycho-social first-aid training I had an awareness of what I could do in the first instance to support someone who exhibited a trauma response to any part of the research process. This also gave me an understanding of the limitations of my own capacity to identify or provide such support. I researched suitable facilities and resources for additional support that could be recommended to participants on request as well as taking steps to ensure that I personally had access to suitable support if required. I also elected to ensure that my interventions as a research did not oblige participants to recollect and share the details of potentially traumatic experiences. As my own research interests do not center direct physical violence or conflict this could be done without compromising the quality of data collected. Some participants in the study were LGBTQIA. They are not 'out' in the course of their everyday duties and in some circumstances for their sexuality to be disclosed might undermine their work and their personal security. Thus it would have been unethical to name them or otherwise indicate their sexuality in this study.

*Personal safety:* As noted above, having elected to research UCP workers associated with Nonviolent Peaceforce the specific field-site was discussed and agreed with the organisation based on logistic viability and the security situation in each working country. The Philippines programme was selected on this basis. At this stage I had to take separate measures, in communication with the organisation and my university, to assess and mitigate risks during this process. Mindanao, where the team was located, is the site of multiple armed conflicts, not all of which are governed by peace agreements. The period preceding my visit had seen the highest levels of violence in a decade, as a new non-state armed actor emerged to contest the legitimacy of more established non-state groups and the government. Meanwhile the state had initiated a controversial 'war on drugs' in urban areas, which was claiming the lives of thousands of citizens. During my observation visit I was around an

NPP field team on a daily basis during their working week. This included attending travelling to various parts of their working area including areas which had recently been sites of direct armed combat, military installations and areas where displaced populations were temporarily residing.

I made an explicit agreement in written form with NP as to our respective responsibilities regarding the research. This included an agreement with NP that any final decisions about my participation in a specific activity would be left to the team leader or responsible staff member of the team on the ground with operational responsibility at the time. I took out travel and health insurance to cover me for the duration of my stay and beyond, in case I needed to stay in the Philippines for longer than intended due to ill-health or logistic difficulties arising from escalations in conflict. My subsequent travel to Erbil, Iraq, was made as part of contract work for Nonviolent Peaceforce Iraq and as such security was governed by my contract. Mobility was much more restricted in this environment and the majority of my work during this period was headquarters based.

*Independence and integrity*: As articulated above I have a longstanding relationship with NP, having worked with them in a number of different capacities before and during the research period. I had direct working and personal relationships with several of the participants involved in the research. There were ethical considerations that had to be taken into account in light of this. For example, some interviewees described situations which I was aware of, or even directly involved in. Three interviewees had been colleagues in field teams; one as a direct report whom I line managed. It was interesting hearing their perspectives and interpretations of events, and of the learnings and meanings underlying both events and concepts. Moreover in each instance they also shared additional reflections on situations and work which I had not been involved with. I am not a purely objective observer nor a representative 'insider' who embodies all there is to learn about this work. I

worked to maintain adherence to my question lists and themes and not to respond to or insert myself into aspects of narratives that were familiar, in order not to compromise the perspectives of interviewees. I was not able to account for how their presentation of their thoughts and feelings may have been affected by their relationship to me. However because of other steps taken to balance out the space afforded to different people and perspectives this bias should not have unduly affected the data.

*Power and Privilege*: My experience and views are limited and bounded; as well as shaped by my own identity as a European cis-gendered man who is racialized as White and identifies as heterosexual, and is afforded the privileges (McIntosh 1990) that can accompany these identities. By assuming the role of researcher and conferring upon myself authorial voice, whilst also aspiring to academic worth and quality, I am exercising my own power and agency within systems and spaces where I am allowed a great deal of access and ease rarely afforded to others who are identified differently and othered by institutions and the people who make them (Lake 2015). The state of which I hold citizenship, the United Kingdom, carries a bloody legacy of colonial domination and violence in many parts of the world (Akala 2018, Newsinger 2013, Rodney 2018), including some where UCP is practiced and furthermore where some of my interviewees are from (Akol 2015, Charney 2009, Fish 2003, Johnson 2016). I was raised in an environment where a particular brand of racist militarism was and is glorified in everyday life, the education system and the media (Baker et.al 2016, Basham 2013, Gee 2014). Furthermore my proficiency in English, as opposed to other languages, has been advantageous to my academic endeavors. A critical awareness of these factors and their effect on my standpoint and perspectives is integral to my work. For the researcher as much as the UCP worker, it is important to maintain a "reflexive awareness of the ways in which intervention depends on the economic, political, and symbolic capital of the West or Empire." (Boothe and Smithey 2007 p41).

These facts have not only shaped my position in the world in general but specifically my career path and academic interests. It is important to critically consider my position with regard to my work in light of this. As Rutaziba (2019) states "Privileged research agendas shape academic career paths; and, increasingly, careers in 'the real world' shape academic disciplines. In this context, the marginalization of critical de-colonial perspectives in research and in practice becomes mutually reinforcing" (p66). It was thus incumbent upon me to consistently consider my own position 'in' the research. Auto-ethnography made this explicit "it (auto-ethnography) is not an appropriation of others (at least not any greater in terms of its violence than the academic voice, which pounds others into manageable interview material), but rather a reflexive awareness of the self as a perpetrator of a certain kind of violence in the course of all writing and all representation – a violence, incidentally, that cannot be avoided." (Dauphinee 2010 p808). This reflexive awareness requires practical considerations and measures. Muhammed et al (2014), build upon the work of Wolf (1996) in describing four considerations about power in research. Below I list these (Muhammed et al. 2014 p6-7) along with reflections arising for this consideration in the context of my research and what actions I took in light of these considerations.

| Considering Power in this Research process | |
| --- | --- |
| **Power Consideration** | **Application to this research** |
| (1) the positionality of the researcher to the communities being researched and to their academic setting – the extent of privilege of identity(or identities) within societal norms and within the specific community and academic relationship; | As noted above I am a partial insider to the community being researched, with relationships and trust within the community. This afforded a privileged degree of access. Furthermore by writing about and representing the community I exercised power. However as a doctoral researcher operating via explicit agreements with the |

| | individuals and organisation and under the supervision of an experienced faculty member my academic influence was limited. |
|---|---|
| (2) the research process – who defines the research design, decision making processes, and levels of power sharing | In consultation with my supervisor and the organisation involved I developed a mutually acceptable process for observation. Decisions as to participation were devolved to the lowest level of the organisation possible at each stage i.e. no workers were included without their explicit consent. Opt-outs were made clear to participants with no caveats regarding excision of data. During the primary field work I made provisions to stay separately from the team I was observing in order to preserve privacy and not compromise their personal time and space. Likewise steps were taken throughout the interview process to arrange interviews at times and via means of the most convenience to interviewees and to give them a right of review. Informed consent was sought throughout. |
| (3) the representation and writing of the findings; whose voices are privileged and being heard. | In identifying interviewees I extended my reach beyond my own immediate network, connecting with interviewees from the Global South and obtain and representing perspectives from men alongside women. I did not want to reproduce inequalities of labour whereby women bear the burden of addressing gender issues. I also strove to represent conflicting or dissenting perspectives fairly in the text. |

| | I reflected on my own positionality and integrated old and new personal writing into the research process, in the editing process I felt that this affected the balance of representation of perspectives in the thesis and scaled the personal content back. |
| --- | --- |
| | One set of voices excluded from this research was that of the host communities where UCP workers undertake their practice. This was a clear decision undertaken based on respect for their privacy. I interacted with many people outside of my target group during the observation. Their perspectives might be valuable in informing further research on UCP. During this research it would have been of questionable relevance, impractical and irresponsible, to do so. |
| (4) the epistemology of power – how power is exerted in the construction of knowledge. | I integrated intersectional and de-colonial theory in my research and attempted to de-centre the dominant philosophies utilized in the Eurocentric (Dussel 1993, Grosfugel 2011) academy. However my own education and standpoint mean that my perspective remains heavily biased toward particular types of knowledge production. I did my best to represent and contextualize my choices clearly. As the significance of different identities and visible and invisible |

| | hierarchies within the COP became evident I worked to honor this in my data coding and analysis. |
|---|---|

**Table 5:** Considering Power in this Research process

## 3.9 Quality Criteria

In closing the methodology section I share. I elected to utilize the quality criteria developed by Yardley (as referenced in Bryman 2016 p304-5); reviewing my study against each of the four criteria. I identified key measures which I employed in my work that satisfied one or more of the criteria. These are broken down in the table below.

**Meeting Quality Criteria**

| Quality Criteria | Measures taken to meet criteria |
|---|---|
| Sensitivity to context: sensitivity not just to the content of the social setting in which the research is conducted but also to potentially relevant theoretical positions and ethical issues. | Strong risk assessment and ethical review with appropriate contingencies put in place (see ethics section above) <br><br> Review of literature across several relevant intersecting fields and integration of key concepts. |
| Commitment and Rigor: substantial engagement with the subject matter, having the necessary skills, and thorough data collection and analysis. | Triangulated data collection methods. <br><br> Extensive engagement with data, incorporating personal experience, reflexivity and application of relevant theory. |

| Transparency and Coherence: research methods clearly specified, a clearly articulated argument and a reflexive stance. | Clearly delineated range of data collection methods Use of reflexive auto-ethnographic method Conclusions and recommendation clearly linked back to research design and questions |
| --- | --- |
| Impact and Importance: having an impact on and significance for theory, practitioners, and the community on which the research is conducted. | First such study of its kind; setting precedents and identifying areas for further research. Analysis and recommendations of immediate relevance to practitioners and organisations in the field[2] |

**Figure 6:** Meeting Quality Criteria

[2] **\*The true significance of any piece of research is unlikely to be understood for some time after completion and, in most cases, will be modest, especially if the work is not published in some form. I intend on submitting abstracts to several conference and publication committees in order to maximize potential academic outlets for the data and conclusions of my research. In the meantime, I will share the full thesis and a condensed executive summary with Nonviolent Peaceforce and the individual interviewees who took part in the study as part of a more comprehensive dissemination strategy intended to maximize reach and impact with a range of audiences.

## 4. Data Analysis

This section incorporates the main discussion of research data. The material is divided into five sections; each corresponding to a key theme derived from the data and further divided into a number of short sub-sections. The three overarching themes that were derived from the process correlate roughly to each of the three sub-questions identified in the research design:

- Learning: How does learning and knowledge production enabled and privileged by UCP enable transformative practices?

- Gender: How does gender practice in UCP intersect with other structures and practice which shape identity?

- Intersectionality: How do UCP practices embody complicity with or resistance to hegemonic gender regimes?

In each of the sections I will refer back to the literature, note specific trends in the data and cite key examples from observation, interviews and auto-ethnography. On occasion these are used to illustrate trends and in others to highlight exceptional or extraordinary pieces of data.

### 4.1 Learning

In this section I will explore evidence from my research data that demonstrates how knowledge is produced and shared by and between UCP practitioners, formally and informally and how this process is gendered. Situated learning presumes that learning is socially mediated rather than an independent object which can be shared or transmitted unchanged. Thus, whilst I look at experiences

98

of training and organisational learning approaches I do so in the context of the wider relationship between structured and emergent learning and the dual processes of identification and negotiability (Wenger 1998 p188) within COPs.

## 4.1.1 Personal Trajectories and Participation

Learning the 'how to' of UCP a different process is for each practitioner; taking in elements of spontaneity, risk, experimentation and failure.  Karen reflected on her initial surprise at the way UCP teams lived their commitments to centering the community

>  it was quite a shock to find out that field sites were located between conflicting parties, that the military are your neighbors and the MILF have set up camp just over the hill, and sometimes you will see armed conflict breaking out and people evacuating. We were so on the ground...you almost become one of them (the community)....I was struck that this is what made NP so successful and effective.

> Karen (November 19th 2018) Skype interview

The 'primacy of local actors' is not just relational but is spatial too. In my time as team leader in Koch County, Unity State, South Sudan, we did more walking than travel by any other form of vehicle. For half of the stay there we had no access to our own vehicles. In fact there were no civilian cars in the entire county. We hired two motorbikes and riders or we moved by 'footing' as local staff would have it. The county had not been altogether abandoned by humanitarians by any stretch of the imagination, but the 'footprint' there was light and access to resources and services was very scarce. The UN had

long canceled any permanent presence there and many of the outlying communities within the area had not had contact with NGO staff for months and in some cases years. The reception that we received when we visited these communities, carrying no gifts or assets, was overwhelmingly warm. Contact and conversation brokered solid connections. David shared the following anecdote about a memorable and changing experience with a difficult case that spoke to structural violence and touched upon some of his own worst fears and prejudices as a young Tamil man in a society characterized by inter-communal violence and division:

> I spoke to one respected member of the community, an old man. One day he rang me and said; we are going to talk to them about this work…he took me to an inter-religious meeting with military generals present. I spoke about the case in front of everyone. It kind of eliminated my fear about engaging with the military. On a bus as a youth I would go to Colombo and pass 15-20 checkpoints overnight. I was scared of the military as I described them. I learned how to engage and approach. You don't joke around. I don't know the technical terms but you have to build confidence and do it non-partizanly (sic). This is especially hard for national staff.

> David (21st March 2018) Skype interview

In this example the power of a positive role model who actively modelled a new behavior changed David's horizons as to the possible means and outcomes of engaging with military power. It is interesting that this initiative did not come from within his staff peer group, but from an elder man within the community. Janik also pinpoints the example of local actors as key in shaping his own participation and progress with UCP; as an 'apprentice' national staff member. He explicitly notes how

his understanding of the power relation implied by 'protection' is challenged and subverted in his understanding of UCP.

> We provided protective presence to a local partner...It was fascinating to see how the partner used our presence as an 'excuse' to strengthen the nonviolent action that they staged. It was also interesting for me to learn where I was going to position myself, as I shouldn't be seen to support the protest and officially provided accompaniment to the local partner. The partner had also built strategic relationships with cronies that were in close contact with the police and often hired to do the dirty work for the police (the partner had received death threats)... I learned a lot about UCP from the people I was 'protecting' and it showed me that UCP is not a one-way relationship of protector providing protection service to the beneficiary, but a much more interdependent affair.

> Janik (September 13th 2018) email interview

Janik's understanding of the tools and terms of his role became meaningful in the context of that situation and his participation in it. It makes visible his peripheral status as an apprentice to the COP without marginalising him socially. The partners that he was serving and supporting were active co-participants in this process. He felt more connected to and more knowledgeable about the work via the experience of negotiating practice, "creative tension 2" in the framework outline by Yukawa (2012). Jaime notes the progressive learning that comes from experience in testing a specific tool:

> The first few times we were experimenting with negative deterrence. It didn't take us long to understand that this wasn't sustainable. We started work on relationship building. Mostly with

actors around the airport and the camp. We tried to achieve access in an out for people we

worked with.  An example would be airport accompaniments which began after the attack of

April 17th 2014. First bodies in between, then engagement beyond that. A couple of more

sympathetic actors came along. Still government but empathized more and maybe identified.

The approach is Deter- Encourage -and -Influence. I still apply this in everyday work

Jaime (October 13th 2018) Skype interview

In this example relationships are at the centre of learning, and are a key skill which practitioners cite

that carries across their work, regardless of the different trajectories they take, which vary greatly.

This is also reflected in the NP emphasis on relationship building as one of four key categories of

UCP method (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017). David was amongst the local translators in

Sri Lanka who advocated for their recruitment as local staff, when NP had not yet committed to doing

so.  He argued resolutely that the practice demanded that this power gap be reduced and if he was to

work, it would be as a full staff member, not a mere translator. This is an excellent example of

legitimate peripheral participation. In this first pilot programme, where NP was still experimenting with

how to bring its idea of a UCP 'Peace Army' to life, local people grasped the initiative and in so doing

actively altered the direction of the overall practice. Without this conflict NP may never have moved

toward a model employing both local and international UCP workers. This resonates with a common

trend amongst research participants who often note that either their realization of the 'what' of UCP or

their feeling that they understood 'how' to do it came from learning from local people; not necessarily

employed staff. A team leader in the Philippines, now a respected veteran of nine years, pinpoints his

moment of realization as follows

For me it was when I was sent to (remote field site) and I was the only international that I lost this attitude. I was acting team leader and realized that I knew nothing about the area and that the local staff knew more. I needed them. And even sometimes they will say "I'm not just a translator". There were also some experienced Internationals who had been in Sri Lanka. I could see and learn from them. We were doing the hardcore UCP.

Tariq (January 18th 2018) Face to face discussion

Tariq associates his own learning with the positive relationships he established with key local actors. His learning and shift in attitude toward a more grounded and reflective practice is here linked to the experiences as shared with three key groups of people; local partners, experienced international staff and, perhaps most pivotally the local staff who challenged and rejected his initial approach. Resistance of dominant or superior behaviors created the space for reflection on how to do the work. Referring back to the Yukawa (2012) we identify this learning as a product of creative tension 4: Negotiating identity and leadership. That Tariq notes the length and quality of his relationships with local civil society almost a decade since these initial experiences underlines their importance to him. His participation in practice helped him to explore values with other communities and ultimately to step into leadership roles. The community he learned with and the environment that they inhabit help give the work context and meaning. "..It was protective presence and accompaniment. I also built really good relationships with CSOs (Civil Society Organisations). Spending time with them. Going on mission. Leaving the car by the side of the road and walking barefoot to far parts. Trusting in them that I was safe. They remember this." (Tariq January 18th 2018 face to face discussion). He feels that physically stepping into their space and entrusting them with his security made possible the

working relationships that endure to this day. "Leaving the car" by the side of the road is more than just a sound bite or a metaphor. UCP seems to often entail going where a car can't take you. What is of further interest here is the notion of protective presence and accompaniment as 'hardcore UCP'. For Tariq they are part of the primary UCP repertoire; even though they are not a regular component of his current practice, because they were fixed in his imagination during these crucial formative experiences.

Similarly powerful learning is derived from the adaptations staff make in cycling through from one programme to another, especially when they are national staff in one context and then become internationals in another. For example Mahesh, a Nepali national, also worked in the Philippines before moving to the Myanmar programme. He reflected on the challenge of this transition given the different context and the importance of adapting to the requirements demanded by the local hierarchies. "You have to engage with the cultural context…bring some gifts or bring a monk or religious leader. Once the initial phase is done…they're not bad people. They are following instructions. Once people know that the ice is broken (engagement is easier)". (October 26th 2019, Skype Interview).

## 4.1.2 Training and Structured Learning

Training is the most common form of structured learning NP works to promote. It is also something common to all participants in this study. Below I explore how UCP worker experiences of training reflect the value of facilitated processes for personal reflection on practice. NP has been proactive at seeking to facilitation reflection on and codification of this practice. To date in addition to internal

training materials and processes and practice documents NP has undertaken numerous boundaries practice including:

• Cooperating with The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) to produce an online course in UCP aimed at UN staff in peacekeeping missions

• Developing face to face and online university courses hosted by universities in the USA and Canada

• Convening a series of regional seminars on UCP bringing together professionals, activists and scholars involved in humanitarian work and applied nonviolence.

• Advocating to influence policy, especially at the UN

These serve the function of generating UCP knowledge and artifacts whilst also fostering exchange with a range of different practitioners from within NP, the wider UCP community and other COPs. The most recently publically available UCP training material; co-produced by NP and UNITAR in relation to their joint online training activities, does not feature a training methodology. Rather it states four simple linear objectives for the document.

"At the end of the manual, readers will be able to:

•Recall the key UCP definitions, principles and sources of guidance

•illustrate UCP methods and required skills

•Summarize key steps to go through in preparation for entering a community

 •outline key actions to undertake while living in and exiting a community."

(Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017, p17)

Even understanding that the manual is part of a wider training programme, it is curious that there is

no attempt here to articulate an understanding of what knowledge has and how learning happens.

Knowing that this training work exists within a specific lineage I returned to various UCP documents

to look for such a statement. From the book used to inform the first ever NP pilot training (Hunter and

Lakey 2004) to the training manual produced for the programme 'Violence Reduction and Civilian

Protection in Syria' (Nonviolent Peaceforce, Madani and Cure Violence 2016), such statements were

noticeably absent. The first NPSS Manual (2013) does feature a statement of training methodology,

rooted in participatory principles:


"

- Appropriate use of language

- Participation is not just about including people in activities or discussions

- Encourage participants to appreciate/listen to each other

- Encourage learning by raising the bar – push participants out of their comfort zone

- Process determines outcomes

- Empower fellow team members!

- Goodbye to any comforting certainty."


(p218)


These principles are stated in relation to training being delivered by UCP practitioners in the

communities where they work. However in my experience they reflect the typical approach to internal

training delivery. Initial NP training work was informed by the approach of the Philadelphia based institution 'Training for Change'. The manual 'Opening Space for Democracy', which weighed in at 628 pages, featured a large section for 'enhancing your training'.

In NP a newcomer will typically receive a short three to five day induction training (if they are part of a newly recruited cohort) or orientation (if they arrive alone).  This training will include basic country orientation, essential input on security protocols and a light introduction to the method and tools of UCP. It will be delivered by national level staff from the country programme where the worker is deploying. Within their first few months they should take part in a full Mission Preparedness Training. In its initial iteration this was a three week programme which also included a selection component. Now it can be anywhere between seven and ten days depending upon the available resources and when an individual might participate varies greatly. If they begin their role just after a country wide MPT programme has finished it could be a year before their opportunity arises. Furthermore depending upon the political conflict within the programme location some local staff may not be in a position to join due to the risks involved in travelling.

Informed by historical developments in Nonviolence activism and training (Lakey 2010 Lakey and Hunter 2013 Brooke and Smithey 2007) the MPT itself typically follows an experiential method. An average day in the training programme is split into three thematic sections; each either focusing on one mode of response/set of competences, or incorporating shorter activities that work primarily in different modes; case studies are used to illustrate how a specific tool has worked elsewhere or, later in the process, to challenge participants to apply their knowledge and judgment in developing a strategy for assessing and intervening in a situation. Sometimes these exercises are purely discursive; often they involve role play. Typically the denouement of the training will be an extended

role play scenario with various actors, events and other variables, sometimes playing out over more than a day of training. The MPT is often delivered by a combination of experienced practitioners from inside and outside the country programme. There is not one common roster, structure or certification system within NP for UCP trainers; thus the available pool is relatively small and diffuse.

After the MPT individual staff may identify and access specialist training. However there is often an expectation that teams will either formally or informally take on specialist roles and learning or share the work together. Physical and electronic documentation denoting best practices in a range of areas (including specialised practices such as child protection) also exist and may be shared between staff. Team Leaders are also brought together on a periodic basis to share experiences and reflect on their work. These sessions may include external or internal inputs on issues such as self-care and stress management, intended to better equip team leaders to fulfil their roles.

Most participants in both the field research and the interviewees received full training well after being involved in field work and none talked about experiences in training as the most impactful. Rather the emphasis on core understanding of basic shared values; an understanding solidified through reflection on concrete experiences; often facilitated by others; both colleagues and community members (non NP). During the primary fieldwork Guro and Ernesto reflected on their own experiences of the MPT. Guro, a significantly older man with a strong cache within the local community, derived from previous high profile work, was dismissive of the training that he had received, indicating that everything in it was "things I was already doing". He also claimed that the training they had been attended the previous year, shortly after Ernesto joined the team, was the only MPT that he had participated in over eight years. Something which Celeste contradicted when she mentioned doing an MPT with Guro toward the beginning of their respective tenures. The lack of

importance that Guro attached to it was reflected in his individual and idiosyncratic approach to the practice; very much grounded in his own life history, network and constituency. Ernesto, by far the junior of the team at that time, held the training in greater regard and the insights he had gained from the visiting trainers; Hugo and Veira, and their experiences in clarifying his understanding of what UCP was. However he did not seem confident to challenge or question the perspective of the more senior man in that specific social context. Sometimes a lack of confidence or concern around legitimacy ("is this UCP?") arises, especially with newer 'apprentice' staff and this can be compounded by the social relations between people of different ages or genders. Likewise without exposure to different perspectives and influences arrogance and complacency can set in. Training helps as a space to recheck assumptions and make key distinctions, ultimately leading to increased ownership of and confidence in the work. Karen's reservations were quelled by her engagement with the key UCP practice in the form of her MPT

> When I did get a training, which was amazing, in that it was so blatantly obvious that these skills I have been using were what I needed. Rebuilding relationships, working with the local community, focusing on programmes that are community led, finding the root issues and trying to bridge between different perspectives...though I needed to learn more, I needed to know UN SCR that I didn't know before... But not having a PhD in (UN Security Council Resolutions) 1325 or 1612 was not going to stop me implementing it or helping others to do so.

> Karen (November 19th 2018) interview

Training can and should play an important role in these learning processes; perhaps the key is the extent to which training can serve as a space (and time) where participants can talk not just in order

to share knowledge but can develop a nuanced intercultural understanding of how best to communicate with one another and to 'know together'. Victoria feels that there was a lack of easily accessible guidance in written form available to new additions to the team and that this meant that human resources were valued over static or fixed protocols; she contrasts her experience at NP with a subsequent role at a major Child Protection INGO where the primary source of guidance was in the form of written objects

We had one handbook or package about UCP about designing programming. I left NP with the impression that people are the tools; that investment in staff capacity and soft skills is important. Whereas at (new employer) they have the checklists of how to do a CFS (Child Friendly Space) and all the tools but not necessarily the tools for themselves.

*and at NP?*

(a big thing) was the MPT. Some parts resonated and lasted a long time. The focus on interactions with your colleagues in a culturally diverse group was important as was the emphasis on how to live a life of non-verbal and verbal nonviolence. More so than the training what I got on the job about learning on the job; watching colleagues and learning about leadership and leading teams. Staying calm at the airport accompaniments. I am a very visual learner so there was a lot of on the job learning, a lot of learning by mistakes. We did jump into some quite scary issues, perhaps without the requisite training.

Victoria (March 27th 2018) Skype interview

Whilst there is documentation of UCP and a range of resources for training and programming it was, in my working experience, fragmented and difficult to access. There was not a single global database for workers available for them to cross-reference or share experiences. Nonetheless a significant amount of intellectual labour has been expended in redefining and refining key working concepts. The lengthy NPSS UCP Manual of 2013 includes both a lengthy hagiographic history of the history of NP and an overwhelming range of checklists and bullet pointed explanations of dos and don'ts for UCP. The 2017 UNITAR course manual; perhaps due to its production for external audiences; is more clearly and concisely structured and clearer in its overall framing of UCP practice; exemplified in the use of the UCP 'wheel' as a reference point. This wheel (below) articulates the objectives; practice categories and specific tools of UCP as currently understood by NP:
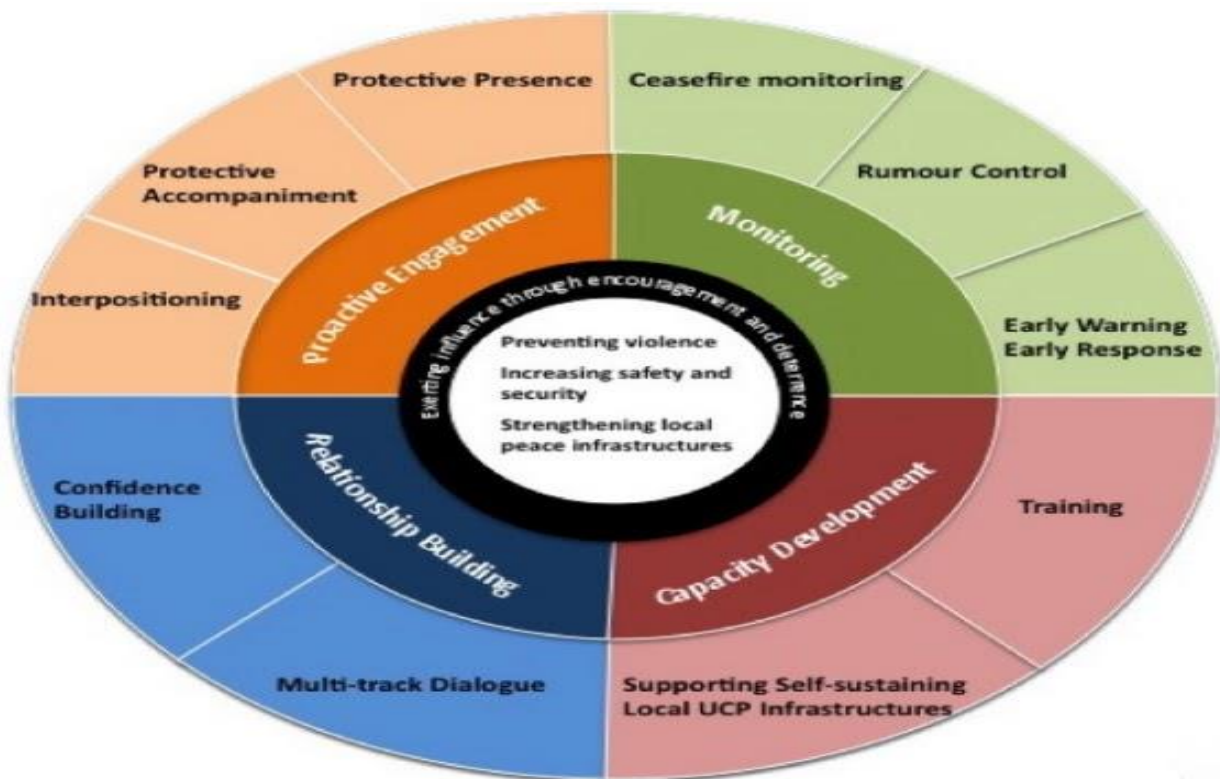


**Figure 7:** Methods and Applications of UCP (Nonviolent Peaceforce and UNITAR 2017 P117)

UCP workers have to participate in the MPT so it provides a common foundation of experience and understanding. Modelling this formally or informally in further work develops an individual's interpretation of key aspects of the practice. Victoria also noted that in her MPT she felt pressured to participate in a potentially traumatic exercise by a dominant male trainer and that this knocked both her personal confidence and her confidence in the practice, which took time to rebuild. Karen reflected that her own participation and development as a trainer supported her to revisit and reinterpret key UCP values and practices actively and consistently over time; not only through her own improved communication but through their active internalization and reproduction by community members on the ground.

> it has helped me to see UCP as a non-specialized tool in a way that I hadn't before they are teaching me more about UCP than I ever taught them.... People have been protecting each other since time immemorial...in fact they have been doing non-partisanship in dealing with people in their village, with their wives. You are simply asking them to broaden the horizons and practice it with...even with non-violence....in their villages...they have been displaced maybe they have been raped ...you're not telling them anything new. They're interested; they want to address violence

> Karen (November 19th 2018) Interview

This indicates how boundary practices highlight what in UCP is shared or resonates with the communities where it is implemented. Similarly UCP workers may seek to expand those boundaries; taking on work that may have been at the edges of their mandate, especially where there is a dearth

of other actors taking responsibility. In my experience this led to a mixture of achievements and failure. Being alive to the need to learn; to review and document the process as it unfolded not only gave a sense of perspective on our challenges but saw us taking control of our own learning process, devising and testing new protocols for situations that we had not been briefed or trained for and which were not, in fact, accounted for in the training that I would later receive, at least in the written training curricula. For me, writing sometimes functioned as a sense making process. As a trainer I struggled with my own confidence in introducing or creating new training exercises or documents that more accurately reflected the practice. A sense of duty to and respect for the practice hung over me. But I knew that in many respects the training did not reflect the full nuance of the repertoire which UCP workers use in supporting people threatened by violence. Designing 'for learning' (Wenger 1998 p227) whilst at the same time integrating reference to all of the principles, methods and especially the 'sources of guidance' for UCP (refer to figure 3 in the UCP section of the literature review above); which necessitates some didactic teaching, was challenging. Whilst specific role plays involved women characters and gender issues the only module that foregrounded gender was an explicitly legalistic one which integrated relevant international law and international humanitarian law on women and children. In a later training programme our team adopted and included 'best practice' checklists from other agencies regarding how to support survivors of sexual violence. None of these emphasize the relevance of how the individual practitioners doing the work are forced to some degree to directly confront their own gender identity and practice in doing such sensitive and volatile work.

### 4.1.3 Boundary Practices

Here I look at how UCP workers identify and regulate practice that they consider to be 'outside' of the community norms and the circumstances under which this happens. Boundaries represent the limits

of the COP; it's outer border and thus it's restrictions but also the point where the community looks

and connects outward; where its constituents and its discourse begin to interact with each other and

the outside world. These interactions generate new learning about the practice "discontinuities are

revealed by the learning involved in crossing them" (Wenger 1998 p103). It was clear from my

research that UCP sits at the intersection of other COPS (see figure below):
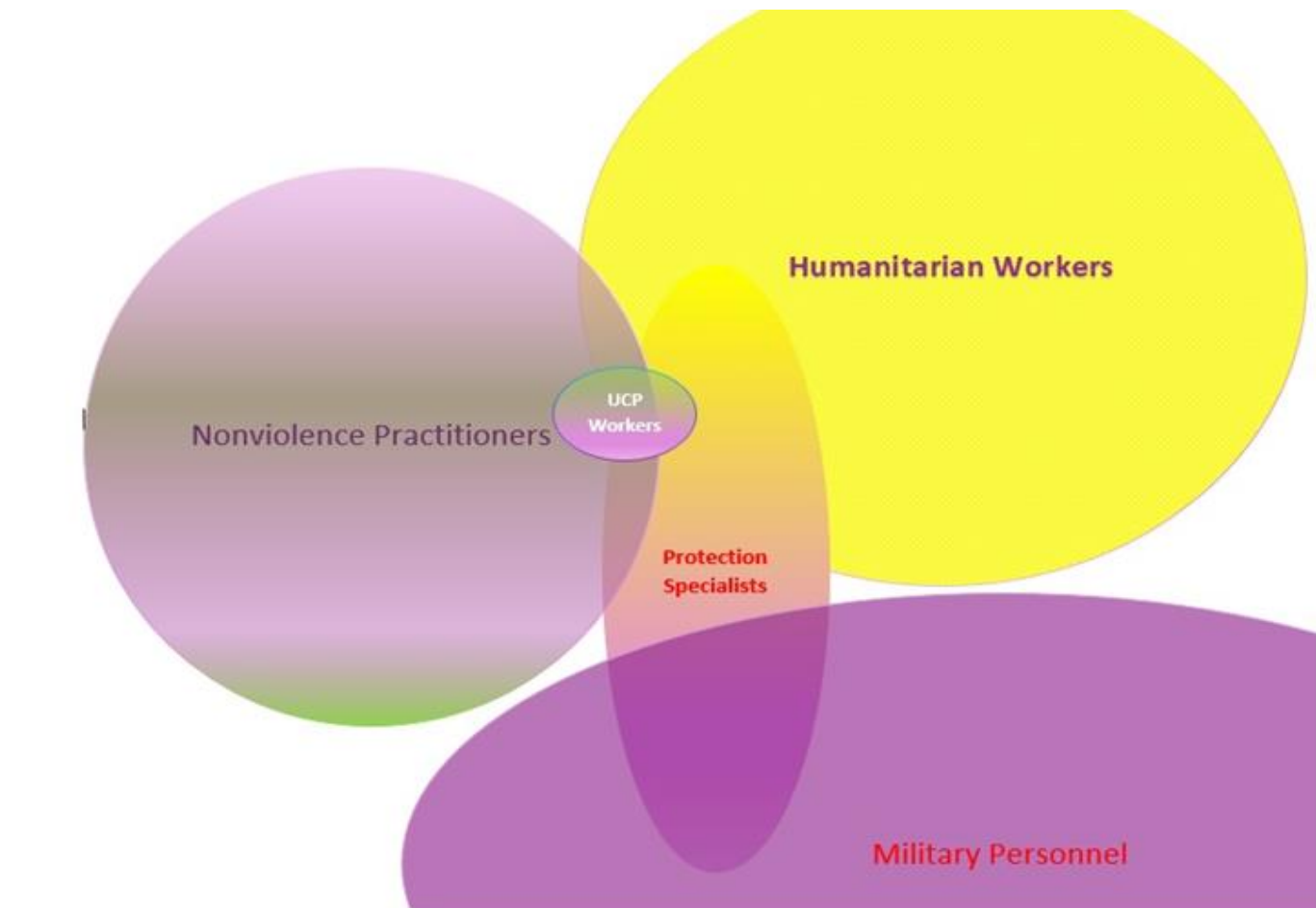


**Figure 8: UCP in relation to other COPs**

The representation above is intended to represent the extent to which the practice and membership of the COPS correspond rather than their physical proximity or working relationships. For example in many circumstances UCP practitioners are likely to find themselves directly facing and engaging with military personnel than with anti-militarist activists. These margins are fluid and porous.

Mick notes UCP represents value in contrast to other types of protection work "I think it (UCP) helps to challenge the paradigms of violence that lead to bloated, ineffective peacekeeping missions where billions are spent to finance units which make no real concerted effort to protect those they've been sent to help." (Mick, 7th October 2018 Facebook messenger interview). His critique here is rooted in cost effectiveness. To Amina the worth of UCP is concentrated in its versatility and utility across boundaries "It (UCP) is at the intersection of various things. Conflict Mitigation is one discipline. Protection is another. UCP works between these kinds of things ...NP sits in the middle somewhere. Well UCP because UCP is bigger than NP. It is multi-sectoral or multidisciplinary." (Amina 3rd May 2018 Skype interview). Janik likewise positions UCP as a practice that traverses and bridges disciplinary gaps, but also notes that this makes articulating its unique identity more difficult

> I feel UCP operates in between the humanitarian sector and the peace and conflict sector. As those sectors often operate too much in isolation from each other, it provides a lot of opportunities to spot/fill gaps and connect people/efforts. At the same time UCP is easily misunderstood, especially within the humanitarian sector.

> Janik (September 13th 2018) Email Interview

Here we can observe the way in which boundary exchanges shape practice through imposed meaning. The dominant narratives and norms of the humanitarian 'community' can change how UCP practitioners understand what they do within a strong sense of their own identity in relation to these communities and the narratives that they communicate. Sinita noted how the distance from and relationship to armed actors changed contingent upon the location which a team is rooted in.

Teams outside of POCs have a heavily critical perspective of peacekeepers. Most likely to be actively independent. For the teams inside the POC. We feel bad for those teams. We are at the point where we are not questioning that we are delivering humanitarian assistance on a military base e.g. military presence at food distribution. They lack the personal experience of limitations of the efficacy of those peacekeepers.

Sinita (March 26th 2018) Skype interview

Marielle describes blunt contrasts between UCP and UN peacekeeping practice which she experienced while working in an IDP camp.

"They are very concerned about their own safety, perhaps overly concerned. They won't come in with a civilian in to the community if something happens. The Human Rights officer can't come in (to the camp) without 15 robocops. This woman who has been through domestic violence is confronted these scary people who are just there to protect the UN member. This can breed a lot of resentment."

Marielle (March 27th 2018) Whatsapp interview

I identified with this, based on my experiences in South Sudan. My colleagues and I often found ourselves attempting to avert or mitigate the negative impacts of UN interventions. In doing so we strongly felt our differences and boundaries.

> I found it quite ironic that we wouldn't use the same tools of dialogue and trust-building with the UN. For the two sides it was easy to judge and not cooperate and to point the finger. This was not helpful for anyone and I found those dynamics quite complicated. Quite a few times we would have to refuse to do something or not be part of something we felt or didn't agree with or something like that.

> Marielle (ibid..).

Again I personally found this relatable. There was a point where the resentment and irritation that I and close colleagues felt at some of the tactics employed by elements of the UN structure fueled a confrontational and divisive attitude. Over time we learned from our mistakes and worked on a more diplomatic approach, though one that still entailed drawing lines and choosing to take different actions from other actors, sometimes in complementary ways, sometimes not. If I had not previously been exposed to UCP in other contexts, I feel that my understanding of its applications and possibilities would have been much narrower.

During the same period another experience reflected internal boundary maintained by practitioners. One colleague wrote an article describing their work, to support with raising the profile of the organisation. Several workers took issue with elements of the piece. We felt that it deliberately played

into an unhelpful image of the work as gung ho. Our vigorous objections, stoked by peer to peer discussions, led to amendments to the piece. In the short term there was an ongoing, unhelpful resentment toward the staff involved in writing the piece. This was calmed and dispelled thanks to the interventions of senior staff. The writer also 'proved' themselves demonstrating their willingness to take constructive criticism. Whilst the reaction was arguably disproportionate the collective resistance to an official portrayal of 'our' work which we considered inaccurate, and as a colleague from the Global South, in the course of this research noted, employed settler-colonial tropes (Jaime interview March 21st 2018) is an illustrative example of a COP acting to regulate the conduct of its members in a normative way. In this instance the harm was little and people moved on without a significant loss of credibility or trust between members of the COP.

When the conduct of a member fundamentally undermines the legitimacy of their membership of the COP the regulatory mechanisms can appear harsher and starker. Victoria gives one example of a situation where she and her colleagues felt that the actions of a team member showed their incompetence and that their lack of contrition or awareness rendered their continued participation untenable.

> that member of staff shared confidential information to UN staff about a child whom they posed a threat to. I was angry about it. It's one of the few times I've felt physically aggressive... that member of the team showed they didn't understand risk; that they weren't committed to the community. They made concrete errors (and) my trust in and like for that person was gone... I could have made more of an effort earlier on to get to know them better and not be cliquey (but) certain boundaries were crossed that made it hard for me to come back to that.

'Commitment to the community' is perhaps the definitive quote here. Whilst this could serve as little more than a platitude here it clearly demarcates between acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. Victoria was referring directly to the local community. However the statement can be read as also highlighting a neglect toward fellow members of the COP. Wenger (1998 p81) states the importance of mutual accountability in the joint enterprise of a practice. This "plays a central role in defining the circumstances under which, as a community and as individuals, members feel concerned or unconcerned by what they are doing and what is happening to them and around them, and under which they attempt, neglect, or refuse to make sense of events and to seek new meanings." Without a sense of this accountability a member of the COP risks perpetual marginalisation. It is useful to thus distinguish between moments where concerns are raised and processed by the community and this supports the learning of others, and where a transgression highlights a total break; a step into non-participation.

## 4.1.4 Boundary maintenance and multiple membership

Boundaries are contingent. Depending upon the circumstances they will be experienced differently across the workforce. Amina discussed clear distinction that UCP practitioners strive to make that separates their work from other more philanthropic or transactional types of humanitarian action, via the example of involvement in a food distribution

> I have gone back and forth with colleagues at some points as to why we can't be more
>
> involved in for example registering 'vulnerable' or beneficiaries people...At the time on the

ground it can be "why can't we just help out more" and why it is important to stay observing and doing other things. The battle is more understanding UCP as a methodology or principles versus the day to day reality on the ground. It's a continual battle.

Amina (May 3rd 2018) Skype Interview

Mick gave insight into how and when an individual's boundaries could shift or expand depending upon the demands of the context, using the same methodology and principles Amina cites:

In (second field site) the work was far more varied; however, the levels of Sexual and Gender Based Violence in the areas surrounding the camp meant that an emphasis was placed in the latter months of my tenure there on patrolling and proactive engagement. However, along with this there was also case management of at risk individuals, engagement with youth gangs, and a large scale child protection programme.

Mick (October 13th 2018) Facebook messenger interview

I personally experienced practice being molded in new ways by the demand of the contexts and conflict teams faced. In South Sudan my first team incorporated one child protection officer charged with family tracing and reunification work; a task traditionally associated with the Red Cross that involves finding, connecting and reuniting families divided by war. This was one example of how UCP had been bridged and combined with other disciplines. Our approach to child protection broadened when an attack on the camp resulted in deaths, injuries and medical evacuations. We had to find ways to get urgent cases from one place to another, and ensure their safe reception in a different city,

monitor their condition in hospital and find their relatives and connect them with one another. These were tasks that we had performed previously ad hoc. The situation demanded a different scale and combination of tasks. Pressure necessitated new approaches and innovations which enabled staff to exercise their repertoire in different ways. As the context changed quickly teams adapted and adopted new and different approaches to their work, with mixed results. Mapped against organisational and communal boundaries we can read in the testimony of individual contributors the outline of the personal boundaries of themselves or others and how particular aspects of engagement with UCP practice have led them to negotiate new meanings opening up new opportunities and possibilities for reflecting on and expressing their identities. Referring to the work of a male South Sudanese colleague in a complex child protection case Victoria notes how their work together enabled a re-negotiation of his own engagement with the work, and with his own self-image:

> (a national colleague) who, initially perhaps was a little bit reluctant and found certain elements of the case difficult but through conversations and planning and debriefing with him we were able to reach a point where he felt confident to intervene straight away…we facilitated a space for a younger male national staff to build a relationship with a child that struggled to have healthy relationships with adults.

> Victoria (March 27th 2018) Skype interview

Understanding and experience of how to distinguish UCP from other practices would appear to be at least some degree contingent upon the seniority of the individual and their specific responsibilities more so within a hierarchical organisation such as NP. For example repeatedly staff interviewed and observed noted the clear avoidance of 'name and shame' tactics. Public highlighting of abuses and

participation in legal processes of accountability and justice are not typically considered as core UCP tools. However in Iraq NP is actively engaging with actors within the justice system detainees and their families. This delicate work has demanded a re-evaluation and reiteration how NP implements UCP, as it typically avoids such direct advocacy (unlike other UCP organisations). Without a specialized and understood functions within the humanitarian sphere UCP (or indeed specialized practice) could become diluted to the point of disappearing altogether. Those in the upper echelons appear to have spent much more time and resources on investigating and clarifying specific 'hard' boundaries whilst closer to the ground practitioners play more loosely with some of the language of the work but maintain certain non-negotiable positions which help to insulate them and distinguish them from peers and other actors in the spaces where they operate for example declining offers of logistical support from military actors and performing ways of distancing themselves as humanitarian workers from peacekeepers. In each instance where there is a process of distinction it is clear that NP staff seek to cultivate a clear role for UCP that emphasizes both its commonality with other 'protection' practice and its own unique qualities:

> So many NGOs do 'protection'. It's a 'protection' NGO that I work for now. UCP is more direct, more physical. The other organisations are more general; food, shelter etc. all contribute to protection. UCP is unique in that it is direct protection to address direct threats affecting that person... In Sri Lanka hundreds of people; former cadres, under-nineteens, civilians, journalists; under threat, all moved to safe places, transport and travel to safety, access to rehabilitation programmes for getting ID and getting reintegrated. No-one else did it. **That** to me is UCP.

> David (March 21st 2018) Skype interview

## 4.1.5 Emergent Learning

Situated Learning theory emphasizes the emergent nature of much learning that cannot be designed into work, but only designed for. My research reflected how much learning occurs around and beyond structured learning activities such as training whilst highlighting how these activities can be valuable. Whilst Jaime underlines how for him the MPT introduces an objective element of distinct knowledge that isn't mediated by the other staff around the individual. This speaks to a desire for a degree of formalization; not just of training content, but of the whole process of recruiting and integrating new staff

> UCP is a methodology. You can be coached into it. It can be knowledge based or competency based but why can't it be part of these things…it's also a funding thing but in South Sudan and  the Philippines unless you did the MPT then you don't learn so much about UCP…You're basically relying on younger staff to be coached by older staff. Then there is an issue with culture…with turn over…you're losing the essence or you're being exposed to different interpretations of it at different times. You also need the coaching aspect from staff who know how to do it…that's a problem if you don't have the funds to do that or the staff don't stay long enough then that's a problem.

> Jaime (October 13th 2018) Skype interview

He observes that peer to peer learning only maintains a principled quality when individual staff are retained over a longer period and further notes that where there is high attrition and turnover the 'essence' of the work is at risk of being lost. Prompted to expand he reflected on the challenge of establishing a shared legitimacy within a practice where different 'generations' of workers share very different experiences depending upon the context of the conflict and the organisation when they joined yet co-exist within a single 'domain'. Nostalgia for his own formative moments aside, whilst Jaime here bemoans inconsistency in the availability of training to new staff he also underlines the need for on the job 'coaching' from elders within the group as a means of passing the essential knowledge on. Karen shared similar feedback on the importance of co-participation and sharing within the team

> The kind of work that we do requires constant mutual co-coaching and dialogue...when we have a meeting with a key stakeholder we have to discuss what happened and what we should do next....it's mutual mentorship...Shi (Burmese colleague) mentors me through Burmese culture in meetings and I mentor him through nonpartisanship

> Karen (November 19th 2018) Skype interview

The exchange here is characterized by the different resources and skills each participant had to offer; resources deeply rooted in their personal identity and life experiences. As Lave and Wenger put it 'the purpose is not to learn from talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation' (1991:108).

In our field site we had imagined what had happened and might happen. What is more or less likely? We had done a conflict analysis…of a hot spot area. That really helped and we knew among national staff who could deal with what; it was clearly defined. Even if we had nothing to do we would just visit (the) military and MILF  for example…it was helpful …at one point they become really close (to fighting).the leader was on leave and he was following (the situation), but he asked for my opinion if they should fight back or not .For five seconds I was stunned…but then I told him that I spoke to the camp monitors and they told me it was safe. I don't know if he trusted me but he trusted us.

Mahesh (October 26th 2018) Skype interview

Here a sustained, consistent pattern of communication internally and externally led to a pivotal moment where an armed actor reached out to Mahesh and he felt equipped to respond. A combination of internal talk, mutual engagement, and external, boundary engagement, had built his knowledge and confidence to be present to the challenge and act accordingly.

Janik referred on several occasions to the publications and resources that he has helped create. They appear to be anchors and indicators of his experience and living resources that he, as an active practitioner in the field, values. He is proud of his contributions to the ongoing development of UCP in the world. However as a practitioner his emphasis on the contingency and ongoing change of that knowledge reflected his own trajectory through different contexts and roles, toward a level of mastery. His seniority also means that he is well aware of the need for UCP to be received and understood by a range of external audiences.

A purist focus on UCP that fails to effectively facilitate knowledge exchange and fruitful border practice has strong limitations, some of which may only become evident once a practitioner participates more consistently in another COP. In Victoria's case as someone who has built expertise and skills in the field of child protection she now has pause for reflection on the limitations of how we as a team approached a child protection case with a UCP 'lens'.

> possibly because we were approaching it through the lens of UCP and because none of us were particularly child protection specialists… in retrospect it really made me feel a bit worried that that child could have told us something and we could have helped him more if we had a slightly more child focused expertise or less of a UCP lens in community interactions, just looking at him rather than how others described him.

> Victoria (March 27th 2018) Skype interview

NP does hire child protection and gender specialists; and has obtained funding to undertake a range of specialised child and women's protection work. This reflects a long process of change and external exchange with other practices that seen the integration of knowledge from other humanitarian practice. Max, the board member, shed light on the long term process of iteration and reiteration, mediated through interpersonal interactions, debates and conflicts, and captured in key documents and visual representations;

> if there was such a thing as a process (there were) Two different schools: the early model that (presumed) UCP should be an integrated part of how governments running peacekeeping. Integrated and embedded…Then there is the more South Sudan approach. Living out there

with the community. Less contact with duty bearers, more government, less army. For me UCP is mobilizing civil society to protect themselves. There is so much power. They need to release it and have some steps…The basic thing that it was about was getting the basic concepts down 2011-12 all the way through to 2015 when I left it was still being developed. To get it done mattered. Whether you agree or not.

Max (March 28th 2018) Skype interview

To Max it was very important to capture some kind of representation of the practice to work from, fraught though that process was. This is still a work in progress. Amina expressed frustration that too little attention was paid to acknowledging personal experiences and expertise "make people have as many meetings as you want and write as many reports as you want. You realize after a while that you have a lot of institutional memory that hasn't been captured anywhere (Amina Interview May 3rd 2018)". Documentation of events is not sufficient to sustain the practice without human interlocutors who know and understand the practice and can reiterate it in new contexts. The Institutional memory that Amina is talking about is embodied, What is apparent here is that different working conditions as shaped by the cultural and political context and the specific structure and resources of a country programme help determine the inner workings of a team and the precise ways in which -boundaries can be broken, re-molded and reset. Nonetheless there are recurrent themes that resonate in what UCP workers learn. There is a strong sense of recognition that their learning is a constant process of negotiation involving staff and other actors they engage with. Moreover at its best this learning is dynamic, iterative and cumulative. Mick refers to the importance of examples in building his understanding and confidence in his appointed leadership role

The work done by that team was my personal inspiration, in particular the airport accompaniments. It was important for me to have external inspirations because I joined as a TL, so I never had the opportunity to learn as an IPO and had to set the direction immediately in my field site. Reflecting on the work of other teams was thus both instructive and inspirational as to the standards I wanted to set.

Mick (2018, October 7th) Facebook messenger interview

At this time the accompaniments to which Mick refers were still a relatively new, and ongoing, practice. They were contemporary, live examples of how UCP could be done. Whilst Mick would probably had an initial induction where these examples may well have been mentioned, he was not to undertake a full training for almost a year after his arrival in South Sudan. His exposure to stories of work by other teams would mostly have come from informal interaction with other staff. In Mick's case his immediate working context was different, and the experience that he named as most important one he was in role was the example of local leaders taking risks in order to set a nonviolent example to conflicting parties.

My experience in my first field site deeply moved me and made me understand the scale of what could be achieved by those willing to take risks and support local structures. Watching the neutral chiefs walk into an oncoming army was one of the bravest acts I have ever witnessed.

Mick (October 14th 2018) Facebook messenger interview

The contribution that Mick and his team had made to this process consisted of transporting and accompanying these elders into the fray. A simple, concrete act that most other humanitarian actors would have been unlikely to take in wartime in rural South Sudan. His informed risk-taking and engagement with local actors in support and partnership generated a new level of understanding and belief in the work. This process is iterative. Later Mick became Team Leader in a POC (Protection of Civilians camp) environment; and implemented some activities directly influenced by the same stories that he had heard earlier about UCP as practiced in a similar environment. Jaime reflects that there was an element of fortune in how this played out

> Who's to say who can update or change what can be done and when? I really think it's an organisational question. In NPSS there was a point where a lot of people were winging it and it could really depend on the personalities in there team as to who could say which part of the winging it to continue. When the accompaniments continued from one field site to another there was a similar process of figuring it out, scenario building and adapting it to that context. You're doing those attempts to adapt. Who's to say? The TL had the legitimacy but if there was a different TL then, who knows?

> Jaime (13th October 2018) Skype Interview

There was a period of accelerated experimentation and learning; "winging it". A couple of male interviewees who had were recently promoted team leaders during this time reflected on the bravado and hubris which accompanied their initial successes. Their learning was framed as personal whilst clearly indicating the relationships in play e.g. with the community and large and with other staff. The sharing of these stories is a step in the process of the reification of practice. Over time examples such

as this become case studies in training, but usually in the first instance they are passed via word of mouth in formal (Team Leader meetings) and informal (in social settings and via social media) settings. Stories are documents of practice in development and monuments to its achievements, serving, as Mick notes, both instructional and inspirational purposes. They help new members negotiate the world with a new locus of meaning, one which can also be normative, and reliant upon access to certain social spaces and activities, in particular homosocial activities such as exercise or drinking, so their codification in training materials is key to sustainable and equitable learning and sharing. Nonetheless their retelling is also a reproduction of the practice.

Whilst questioning bigger narratives of 'crisis' that drive humanitarian imperatives, we can understand that humanitarian workers experience personal and collective crises, and these experiences, as suggested by the examples above, are linked to their legitimate peripheral participation. To begin, a personal reflection. Shortly prior to my initial deployment with Nonviolent Peaceforce South Sudan in January 2014 civil war broke out in the country. During my first three months in the country there was a large degree of turbulence in our working conditions and a number of instances of NP staff being directly confronted with violence. My own 'mission preparedness training' intended to equip us for deployment came in my fourth month in the country after a particularly busy and violent time in my field-site   More than half of my own training cohort had similarly been actively working for some months prior to this training. The training proved invaluable as much for the opportunity to connect and create a common sense of identity and responsibility for each other as for the chance to acquire the correct tools and terminology for certain situations. For the newcomers in our group who had yet to deploy, many of whom brought a great deal of experience from elsewhere, there still seemed to be an appreciation that those with some 'field' time already under our belts could endorse or challenge the logic of concepts and tools as presented.

The incongruity of being considered knowledgeable or expert in our work at such an early and formative stage is clear to me in this moment. In 'crisis' situations groups can experience a distorted sense of time; emergencies generate opportunities for growth and the acquisition of legitimacy in their eyes of our peers. When you have felt thrown into an experience it seems only right to take the opportunity to forewarn others and provide them with some basic advice; even anecdotal, on how best to navigate that experience. Likewise the fact that all of our trainers had been active in similar situations, and in the case of two out of three of them, in the same country, gave them much more legitimacy than any other kind of credentials could provide. This was also the first genuine opportunity to learn and share with national staff and to ground oneself in the lived reality of the conflict for South Sudanese people outside of the camp. Experiential training and situated learning are not synonymous or identical, but they should be complementary. I came into that training interested in how it could enhance my work and that of my peers, and also in the possibility of being involved in such training, as a facilitator, in the future, I left it resolved to lead one. Within a year this intent was realized. Outside of a 'crisis' setting I am not sure that such opportunities would have presented themselves.

In discussing how to shift unhealthy organisational cultures around gender, a staff member in NPP touched upon both the potentially transformative impacts of crisis, how these disrupt norms and to the importance of creating space and time for reflection in 'safe spaces'

> During the early stages of the Marawi crisis our team members came to us and said; "people are telling us these things and we don't know what to do so we stopped". I told them that this was the right thing to do. We began to work on how to deal with cases. Before people would talk about the issues (abstractly) clearly and openly but say "we don't have that here". Now

they can't maintain that. In fact we held a session and during the lunch break the staff just kept

talking, and the recognition of what is happening now opened up sharing about what happened

during the MILF conflict, especially around 2007, and the sexual violence against women and

men, because men were raped too.


(January 22nd 2018) face to face discussion during field work




**Figure 9:** NPP staff visit returning householders in Marawi, January 2018 (Author's personal

photograph)


Here we observe how an escalation in conflict sees UCP workers reaching the limits of their

vocational expertise and their personal comfort zones in an area that demands emotional

engagement and sensitivity. They sought support from a colleague with different experiences and

knowledge, and in that context were also enabled to seek more explicitly seek support from each

other. This precipitates a more far reaching and honest conversation about the legacy of gendered

violence in the region; a conversation that includes the overt acknowledgement of patterns of

violence; an acknowledgement which is typically taboo in Maranao Filipino society (Piang 2008). Here the disciplinary power of typical masculinity was disrupted and men could, without delegitimizing their status as UCP workers, share things that they would not otherwise have shared in such a group. This engagement contributed to the deepening of their practice with others. The labour required to create an enabling environment for this, whilst not always visible, is key to maintaining a group identity open to emotional vulnerability and nurturance.

**4.2 Gender**

In this section of the data analysis I will focus more closely on how UCP practice relates to social structures of gender and the agency of UCP workers in complying with or resisting hegemonic gender norms. I will look at how UCP and UCP practitioners 'do' gender and the extent to which this can be considered as transformative.

**4.2.1 The personal**

Not all of the respondents in this study articulate an understanding of UCP as a distinct practice. Often their reflections on UCP are blended with memories and critiques of the overall experience of their careers as humanitarians. The practice is perceived in contrast or correspondence to the overarching structures and themes of that response, and that perception is mediated by individual experience and interpretation. This strongly influences how the relate UCP to gender.

> I think as I have grown older I have become a stronger feminist. Where I am less sure, is if that
> is a product of UCP, or in witnessing the horrifying effects of mass rape perpetrated by the

patriarchal social structures in South Sudan. Thanks to UCP I think I'm analytically more inclined to always be questioning how oppression takes place, but emotionally, I think the horrors of South Sudan were what truly awakened me.

Mick (October 10th 2018) Facebook messenger interview

Here Mick actively links his own political shifts to 'local' experiences of sexual violence in war. He distinguishes the affective and intellectual dimensions, positing UCP as situated within the latter, putting it at the periphery of his personal change. However Mick also clearly takes pride in the efficacy that he feels UCP has in addressing these ills, especially in distinction to traditional peacekeeper measures. In promoting and enabling the former he exercises agency toward a more feminist future. It is arguable that in giving a critical framework to process and respond to injustice, his identification with UCP has enabled a deeper connection to the meaning of his experiences. This sense-making is a form of legitimate peripheral participation. David similarly articulated how UCP prompted a re-negotiation of his personal identity:

UCP has been very influential on me and very positively. For example knowing what Tamils have gone through in Sri Lanka I still believe that everyone should reconcile and put our past conflicts to the back. Otherwise we won't all be Sri Lankans; we will always fight. It's a challenge to speak with my friends. I will find it easy to look at a conflict in a non-partisan manner because of my engagement with the other side of the community. UCP is something that all can use. A male and a female can both use it.

David (March 31st 2018) Skype interview

134

Janik, who has been more deeply involved in conceptual reflections and constructions of UCP discourse, demonstrates a different perspective on the centrality of the affective dimension to UCP, characterizing it as 'feminine' on a structural level

> One of the things that fascinates me is the feminine side of UCP. Centuries of patriarchy have created an imbalance in most of the global systems, part of why the world is in such a mess. Nowhere is that felt more than in the security sector and its reliance on the threat of physical force: "the dude with the biggest rocket is the alpha male". UCP challenges that paradigm as it relies more on relationships to provide security.

> Janik (September 13th 2018) email interview

Janik then proceeded to reflect on why he considers UCP to be of worth for practitioners and local communities

> This is a rather feminine approach and it is not surprising that women often get this paradigm shift better than men. Women have always had to live with threats of physical force inside their city walls or their own homes. They may keep their brother close in order to keep her husband in line. That is textbook UCP

> Janik (ibid.).

This position emphasizes how Janik feels that UCP is distinct from other forms of protection practice whilst reifying the same fixed gender binaries which result in women's victimisation, by framing these components as distinctly 'feminine'.

**4.2.2 Location, Gender and Intimacy**

Looking at everyday practice entails considering how teams interact, the extent to which they 'live' together depending upon the context and team configuration and how this affects the practice. In my primary field work I had anticipated being in a position to observe from a distance. It became evident early in my stay that this would not be the case. The first afternoon after my arrival in Mindanao the team hosted a meeting of local civil society representatives and leaders; all woman, and I was welcomed and included in their sociable discussion at the end of the meeting.  The team is small and diffuse. Three out of four team members were locals who lived off site in the local area. The fourth, the team leader, is an Asian man; resident in the country for a decade, with a home in a nearby city. Their collective time together was limited. With the majority of the team being from the local region and having built strong relationships with civilians and combatants locally over a decade, they had a different model of work to that which I had experienced. Later in Iraq I spent two nights in the guesthouse of a field team that operated in a more familiar, and in some respects familial, way. Four of the international staff, three women and one man, stayed in the house, but the national staff, plus drivers and housekeepers, were regularly around. The place had a vibrant, lively feel and an ease that I responded too. Communal meals and discussions were more common. The socialization between staff of different ages, gender and cultures shared provided different opportunities for internal dialogue and reflection. Mahesh describes how time and space are shared by practitioners, and the importance of his own approach of informality

You have to say "Come to me at any point; 12 at night, 3 in the morning" It's about breaking the barriers so that you can be comfortable together and let your guard down... Now my team member and I get on really well. Me and this guy have been in the field for a month at a time on and off for a year.  Being that close together for so long helps with bonding...

*How do you know when a barrier is 'broken'?*

(Laughing) My team member swears at me! In a friendly way of course. All of these informal things count. We were in the field in October for 10 days and he brought his family with him. That kind of thing makes him happy and that brings about some change. For me what works really well is for the international and national to understand each other so you can say whatever you want (to each other). I can even give take him aside and give him critical feedback and it will be well received because it's understood that it is constructive.

Mahesh (October 26th 2018) Skype interview

Could this level of ease be established between a man and a woman in a similar cultural setting, or even between two women? The social conditions, family situation and labour required of local staff shapes their capacity to engage in practice without boundaries. Karen discussed how to negotiate norms of visibility and participation in conversations as a woman, and how a senior role prompted her to overcome her own inhibitions in this regard

Some people will grab the attention. Perhaps women value what they have done less and talk less about it ..."I went there and spent six hours talking about and met this person" I think maybe women will be less gregarious. It is only in follow up conversations that you will see the contribution of the women and maybe those form a non-western background who will not speak up...it's culturally less appropriate...I come from a culture where speaking out is seen to be showing off and it comes that other people should see your work rather than hear about it...

Does being a woman in a leadership position make a difference?

Yes! As a programme manager I am duty bound to speak up...I would be failing if I didn't....any reticence is overcome by my responsibility to my objectives, my team etc. It goes past the….it's not even shyness, it's a cultural thing...I need to speak up because I do.

Karen (October 19th 2018) Skype interview

Staff from global south countries who have experienced similar conditions to their places of work, especially those from other countries affected by violent conflict, subvert dominative dynamics. They may hold a different recognition and solidarity with locals and provide a bridge culturally.

I feel that we are on the same wave length...sometimes the national staff would come to me and say "this guy is doing this and now the community feel that he is not respecting them"....I can see and feel how that is working and even how the perpetrators are thinking and why they would commit certain acts of violence,...It made 'it'(these concepts) "nonpartisanship", "practical" (clear)... it became clear that it is an activity and about how you are viewed......once I stopped seeing it as an academic exercise...you know how to work to build a range of

relationships...how to value the hierarchies whilst not only building relationships with the top people.."

Karen (ibid.).

By reconsidering her relationship to these them in the context of her own experience Karen was able to realign her relationship to this rules and to establish empathy with colleagues and community members. This is an example of how an individual negotiates the meaning of practice through a connection to their own meanings, facilitating their engagement and enabling their alignment with the identity of the COP. Karen's engagement leads her to identify with a key element of UCP discourse; empathy with others.  Empathy, especially with armed actors or those using or planning to use violence was continually stressed by respondents as a crucial component of the work. "I think that empathy is crucial to being a good protection officer. The ability to forge relationships is so integral to the work that we are forced to draw on deep reserves of empathy, even at times when staff found themselves deeply 'burnt out' and having to engage with the instigators of brutal violence." Mick (October 7th 2018) Facebook Interview. This empathy requires greater sacrifice than the 'compassion' critiqued by Moorsom and Pringle (2018). However it also means engaging with a very wide range of different actors whose practice differs from and conflicts with UCP.

## 4.2.3 Gender in UCP in relation to other Humanitarian practice

UCP workers strive to understand and communicate their practice in relation to others; not without conflict. For some workers their UCP experience is amongst their first roles in the humanitarian or development sectors.  How individuals relate to their own identity as a UCP practitioner also reflects

what they perceive as the accepted ideal for what a practitioner does and how they seek to influence or change this. I asked if the fluidity of the practice enable or attract certain 'types' of people.

Not for the national colleagues I have worked with or from international colleagues from the Global South, but seems to be two 'types' sometimes combined in the same person: deeply-rooted moral compass and sense of right and wrong; and a certain level of seeking adrenaline and adventure.

Victoria (September 14th 2018) email interview

Some of the most experienced practitioners interviewed have been actively involved in shaping learning processes and resources and want to further develop UCP. Janik discusses how important communication is to his practice:

the actual protection interventions tend to consist of lots of meetings: in order to negotiate the release of arrested civilians, you need to talk to the police, the prisoner, the family etc. If you are doing an accompaniment or you patrol an unsafe area, you will end up speaking to soldiers at checkpoints, with villagers on the way, and with the person you accompany. Then there are lots of internal meetings, a lot of which are used to analyze the information obtained from the external meetings or strategize how to obtain meetings with people that are difficult to reach. All of these meetings are used to build trust and exchange information.

Janik (September 13th 2018) email interview

By exploring what the practice means in the real world and discussing it with a range of internal and external actors, Janik negotiated UCP expertise and contributed to the development of shared meaning. Most practitioners consider relationship building and trust building to be key practices; these are characterized by actual physical presence; visits, spending time and being seen to (and actually) going over, above and beyond what other agencies do. This means not making promises, keeping your word and always striving to put locals first, even moving in areas characterized as 'red zones' by other agencies:

> I have been fortunate to work in a variety of contexts that have required the flexibility of approach that I view as inherent to UCP. In (first field site) we responded to clan war by providing logistical support to neutral chiefs so that they could interposition themselves between the warring sides. This action, which helped to de-escalate tensions on a day when the conflict threatened to escalate into full blown clan war, gave us the legitimacy to engage with both sides throughout the subsequent negotiations and involve ourselves in shuttle diplomacy at moments of high tension.

> Mick (October 7th 2018) Facebook messenger interview

The flexibility to stretch and adapt to new challenges and risks promotes legitimate peripheral participation. It necessarily involves uncertainty, but via the development of shared understandings of practice in a team individual practitioners can embed their learning and better negotiate their practice toward expertise.

Programming focused on women was core to the programme in South Sudan and this can influence staff behavior and perceptions as to what is core to the UCP practice. This was less the case in the Philippines but it was clear during my visit that the challenges experienced during the "Marawi crisis" had exposed certain gaps in their practices at that time and made it possible to open up spaces, even established practitioners; men and women, to reflect on systemic patterns of abuse in conflict and acknowledge the need to deal with them and their impacts. During my time in Mindanao Shakti, the key staff member from the national office, leading on issues related to GBV, was visiting with the team to support with the implementation of learning and new practices around gender issues. Likewise similar reviews and adaptations were mentioned with regard to the work in Iraq and the Mosul 'crisis'. Again a period of crisis results in challenges to the existing practice and changes and is followed by a period of reflection and review after the 'crisis' is felt to subside. Many staff noted their own learning and growth (as well as their relationships with colleagues) taking on new clarity and strength during such peak moments. This is the sphere of imagination where practitioners are creatively co-exploring their ideas and practices and the assumptions and explanations that they hold regarding the practice and its application and efficacy in different contexts. This level of commitment and engagement, if not offset by support, time out and changes in work, was noted to affect longer term capacity to engage in the work (Mick Interview, Karen Interview, Fieldwork). The imaginative process must to some extent result from the shared engagement of practitioners of different levels of mastery.

There is also a comparative lack of experienced women switching countries. Where they do there are women amongst them from the global south but almost no women who have been national staff progressing into international roles. Practitioners stay within NP, but do not necessarily rise to senior positions. Maria; with over half a decade working in situations of violent conflict and experience of live fire situations, had decided not to progress an application for a post in NPSS after consulting with a

woman colleague who was already there and determining that it would be too dangerous for her. The women from the Global South whom I interviewed had all come to NP from outside; and with one exception already had experience with international organisations upon joining. Beatrice alone had previous experience with UCP, which was obtained in another situation with a different organisation. The exception, Amina, had lived in numerous places outside of her home country and completed a prestigious international postgraduate degree immediately prior to joining NP. Three out of four of them progressed to senior positions during their time in with NP but the fourth left after a relatively short stint, and had a number of criticisms to share about the organisation. There are implications here as to who gets to access employment in the humanitarian sphere. The levels of privilege, education and self-sufficiency necessary to begin and sustain a career within the humanitarian sector at large, let alone as a UCP worker in environments affected by armed violence, are high. Structurally there are barriers to many types of people who may be interested in such careers.  When they do succeed in beginning such a career, if they are not represented within the hierarchy or leadership of a group then unequal and unjust power dynamics may be reproduced, further marginalizing them (Noe 2018). For example local women recruits in addition to the extensive demands of the humanitarian role will still have to sustain their own work at home, which international workers do not have the burden of. Thus without due consideration their exploitation (Federici 2012) will be exacerbated.

Sometimes the position or power of one individual means that they can steer how the work is conceived and presented externally without accountability to others. For example two interviewees referred to one man in a senior position within the organisation appropriated and changed stories in order to aggressively 'sell' the work to external audiences, subverting the organic process of knowledge production in order to communicate at the 'boundaries' in a way that served the status of the community as a whole. As one interviewee whose work was misrepresented in this process put it:

We had done these accompaniments and there was some posturing. I thought it was cool. But

after a while you get distance and realise. A lot of it was about how the management

presented it later. I tried to talk about the actual risks and mistakes of those activities honestly

and then found out that this manager was going around talking up the success of them and

how we could do it all over. Because there was money there. You have to be honest about the

level of gamble that you are taking"

Despite censure from colleagues this staff member retained power and influence. Would this have

played out the same were the person concerned a woman? Feedback from female practitioners

indicated otherwise, with senior staff commenting on the more conciliatory and compromising models

of leadership exhibited by women negotiating the higher levels of humanitarian and civil-military

relationship building.  This speaks more to a socialized necessity rather than essentially 'feminine'

qualities. Another interviewee noted an occasion where a woman staff member was advised by a

senior manager, a man, against reporting sexual harassment as it could 'ruin the career' of the

perpetrator concerned. These behaviors conflict with the declared values of UCP; yet those involved

escaped censure; in fact in the latter case the manager invoked disciplinary power to shield another

man from accountability. The tacit 'permission' which Kaufman (1998) discusses as fostered by

patriarchal power is active in such behaviours. In an environment where men feel 'attacked' they may

close ranks to protect one another (Howson 2006). In such an instance they are not engaging in their

roles as UCP practitioners but rather in a more dominant and longer entrenched membership in a

particular kind of masculinity

## 4.2.4 Differential experiences of Risk and Security

Legitimate Peripheral Participation in UCP is often filtered via the distinct approach to risk and security that it embodies as a practice. For Karen, although she already had a significant amount of experience in a development agency, she is clear about what a great leap the move into UCP felt like, based on her perception of the distinction between the 'development' and 'peace' sectors and uncertainty about the relevance or transferability of her own skills set.

> At the time we (development NGO) would train volunteers the first thing that we would tell them is we are not a front line organisation...that they should avoid conflict etc. So it was an interesting switch to make to work with people to do things that I'd previously been advising people not to do!

> Karen (October 19th 2018) Skype interview

The UCP approach to security thus felt to Karen like an inversion of the 'common sense' applied in community development. The perceived extent of the shift in practice meant that Karen was uncertain about how well she would fit in. To 'do UCP' often means going where other NGOs cannot or will not

go; in the process generating more trust and gleaning better information. In my first days in the Philippines one team member related an anecdote of meeting another INGO worker who complained that a particular area was 'red-flagged' e.g. off limits for security purposes for months. NP goes there regularly, on a routine basis, and has good contacts so that the team knows that even though there have been some problems there, the area has typically been one of the safest for NGO workers. Compared to their peers from the other INGO, this worker felt better informed, more secure and more competent. This gave them confidence and facilitated a stronger identification with the broader UCP community.

At the core of UCP work there is a certain level of risk one must accept that comes with the job, and so if you use that as a baseline criteria for the kind of men the work attracts you begin to see a pattern. I think that yes the same theory applies to humanitarians in general, because it's a small niche group of the overall world population that is willing to engage in humanitarian work to begin with. However I think it is amplified or magnified when it comes to those who choose to do UCP, because to a certain extent UCP workers are the front-liners often. Those who are willing to immerse themselves completely in the communities they work with and assess the risks those communities face (which often means facing the same risks themselves to a certain extent).

Amina (May 3rd 2018) interview

This quote at first refers to men and then proceeds to generalize to a certain profile for all staff. Amina sees risk as central to UCP work; even more integral than other humanitarian practices. Most UCP workers" are necessarily front-liners in their temperament and approach, as part of their vocational

identity, not just the more hot headed men. However there remains an implicit masculine gendering of a particular set of actions (risk-taking). The image of immersion is a powerful one here. By being on the front-lines, immersing themselves (Amina ibid..), going where others won't (in Ernesto's) and 'going through some shit' (Jaime, October 13th 2018, Skype Interview)) UCP workers gain legitimacy in the eyes of their peers. They move from the periphery of the COP toward the centre. This chimes with the lineage of accompaniment as first and foremost about physical presence. Putting one's body (and therefore life) on the line, in the service of protection. Thus more sophisticated models of planning, risk assessment and programming notwithstanding, NP staff share this feeling of legitimacy as obtained through 'immersion' in this primary commitment and it's realization in specific, attributable acts of protection involving physical risk; a risk associated (consciously or unconsciously) with men by UCP workers. Below I include two pieces of personal writing that reflect my own participation and understanding of UCP at different points. The first is from my recollections of serving with EAPPI in the West Bank in late 2012 and early 2013:

Much of the work that my team did felt limited ...not only pedestrian but ineffectual. We collected testimony after testimony from people who had been arrested, beaten and tortured, and from the family members of those who could not speak for themselves; who remained in detention or who were dead. On a few occasions we did so in the immediate aftermath of raids by settlers and/or soldiers. The most unpredictable and active situations that we encountered were when we attended demonstrations where Palestinian marchers were met with tear gas and rubber bullets. Our role was strictly that of observer; we were to move at the sides of the march and not position ourselves in a way that might escalate confrontation. Other internationals such as those from International Solidarity Movement (ISM) had no such restraints on their participation. The soldiers didn't seem to have much patience with such distinctions. The tear gas canisters landed at various points in the midst of the thronged march.

A Swedish ISM volunteer took a direct hit from one. Fired downwards at high velocity into a crowd they function much like bullets. There was a bloody hole in her leg. I'm not sure if it was our principled impartiality or plain luck that meant that no one in our group suffered the same or worse...One evening we received a call from villagers fearing a repeat attack and requesting our protective presence. Policy dictated that before our team could agree to this activity we had to seek permission from our coordinators in Jerusalem. This was refused. That evening I became starkly aware of the implications of the EAPPI decision making structure compared to that used by ISM.

Personal notes (November 2018)

Here I was finding that the organisational approach constrained and contradicted what I felt UCP practice to be, and was also processing my observations of an alternate model (ISM) and seeing the potential consequences of their version of the practice (personal injury). I was very much an apprentice at this point; limited in my ability to engage with the work. By contrast in a reflection on a later period of accompaniment work In South Sudan (originally written in 2015) I am able to understand and embrace the limitations of my role:

Every day we turn up fresh faced and smiling to talk to the same men who wield the power to block the passage of those we accompany. On slow days we make small talk; family, football, food. On other days our discussions are less trivial. Sometimes our colleagues in Juba have to meet passengers on arrival there and accompany them to their final destination. We believe our accompaniment and our presence is making a difference; reduces the type and scale of

threat that people have to face when undergoing this process. So far no one has disappeared into the barracks to not return. So far.

If we are not present to ourselves than we cannot be truly present for others, only for our projections of them and their needs or desires. The best 'activists' I've borne witness to…don't sweat logistics...they can also observe when their voice or agency is not the important thing. In those times their NOT doing is just about the most important thing that they can DO.

De Souza and Renner (2018), p188

In this instance I could not only align my individual experience with a bigger 'we' more congruently but could explicitly situate this within a bigger worldview view imagination.

The range of activities that the practitioners engage in expands, shifts and adapts depending on context in a different way from both practices more bound by the allocation and distribution of physical resources and those characterized by elaborate and complex bureaucratic procedures and rules. Inevitably the organisation of UCP programming entails both large scale logistics and administration. This is not perceived by practitioners as an integral part of the practice itself, but rather as a necessary evil, a vehicle for getting people where they need to be and for drawing attention and support to the work. Indeed there is a tension when practitioners perceive that these machineries become focused on physical and fiscal expansion and growth at the expense of 'quality' and effective learning, sharing and dissemination of knowledge. This is negative reification of the practice, which can lead to stagnation.

**4.2.5 Care as Practice**

Care work is certainly done by UCP workers; I explored with interviewees where they saw care in relation to their practice, to determine its centrality to UCP specifically. Their responses communicate different interpretations of the term on an individual level whilst reflecting a collective concern with care as an important activity type; one that involves affective labour; imagining oneself in relation to others and using this inform work.  Janik commented on how he saw care-giving labor for others as integral to UCP practice in the community:

> Care is a crucial part of UCP work, if it is done properly. UCP concerns itself less with justice and more with reaching out to those that are threatened by violence, making them safer and feel safer …the more spectacular protection interventions are rare, but that there is all the more moral encouragement…we spent a lot of our time providing encouragement, sometimes simply by being there, and sitting in front of their office providing accompaniment, sometimes through a heart to heart conversation in the middle of the night during a difficult field trip.

> Janik (13th September 2018) email interview

Max, highlighted how the push to formally introduce organisational measures of care and pyscho-social support in NP came from the intervention of former military personnel, and went hand in hand with an overall thrust toward professionalization "it was worrying that there was no recognition of burn out. We were the first to introduce R n R. Me and another military guy introduced it. Mel (NP co-founder) wanted to give everything. If you're doing good for the world you give everything, including

your life." This anecdote gives insight into the specific conflict between different UCP advocates as to the direction and structure of the fledgling organisation. Max continued to reminisced

> In the beginning there was no salaries. Then came us boring institutionalists saying then you're just selling a different product there needs to be salaries, etc. A good peacekeeper is trained, rested and has time to deal with hardship. I don't think that that is in the manual. What about all the other parts: communicative, open minded, open to equality of all genders. That is a missing element. Duty of care should come in there

> Max (March 28th 2018) Skype interview

To me this is an interesting but unsurprising position. Max identified the problem of care as an economic one. NP as an organisation needed to fund the work appropriately in order to look after its workers in a way that kept them fit for their roles, to reproduce the labour force (Bhattacharya 2017, McNally 2018) Janik commented on the emotional cost of UCP and the ever-present risk that those working to confront and transcend violence may end up being spent of their compassion and indeed behaving violently toward their colleagues. This reflects an isolation and division between practitioners whereby their alignment to the collective is overwhelmed by the strength of an individual's personality or ego. Likewise Mick discussed the impact of his own dominative tendencies on his capacity to care for and nurture colleagues

> As a TL I have often had a single minded view, at times to my detriment, on how we should approach protection work. ...instead of trying to support all the team to build themselves to do the work I sideline those who aren't producing (largely internationals) and work primarily with

national staff and a few trusted international colleagues. This has the converse effects of often

creating great camaraderie and loyalty amongst those who have bought into what I want to

achieve and resentment from those who I rely on less. I write this because I don't think that

UCP plays a particular role in this, more my style as a manager and how I approach protection

work. This is obviously something that I've become more aware of as time goes by and I am

trying to learn how to better adapt my approach to be more inclusive.


Mick (October 10th 2019) Facebook messenger interview


Here Mick acknowledges the challenge of how to bring international practitioners into the practice

without undermining the overall group or work. Implicit in this is his devaluation of them based on a

perceived lack of resilience or adaptation. His personal priority on these qualities is not reproduced in

his ability to support others to develop them. It takes a degree of gravitas and self-awareness as a

senior worker to bridge between the 'masters' and the 'apprentices. What became clear through the

interviews is the importance internally of care and trust between staff. This can mean listening,

talking, cooking and looking after each other when sick. All vital actions to maintain the social fabric of

a small, intensely connected group of people


You could tell the difference between a team that trusted and cared for each other and one

that didn't. The difference was day and night. I also think that care within UCP organisations is

not always sufficiently applied towards each other, within UCP teams. I have seen UCP

workers displaying an incredible amount of patience and care to threatened human rights

defenders, embodying the values of nonviolence and primacy of local actors beautifully, while

at the same time having dismissively or aggressively towards fellow team mates (both at the

field level and the management level). And often times (?) that is the result of living together under difficult circumstances channeling all the care you can generate towards beneficiaries, then having none left for your own team.

Janik (13th September 2018) email interview

Karen shares this view, noting how on both an individual and collective level, practitioners suffer an emotional toll in the course of doing their work; one that is perhaps unavoidable in undertaking such charged and challenging work. Being 'good' doesn't mean being immune to this toll

I don't know that NP does enough of it officially. Maybe more needs to be done...this work. As you can tell. I love this work....it is draining...it requires everything from you...as much work as you can do...all your emotions...all of your stamina...just by the nature of UCP...I don't see a difference between the field sites that I have been in...I may have been doing different things...even spiritually it makes you question things and hold a mirror up to yourself...you meet survivors of violence and you go home and write a report and question yourself. "Did I do enough?" ", could I have done more?" "What more could be done?" and then in the team you can see it; the team having less energy.

Karen (19th October 2018) Interview

Karen does add that UCP teams develop responses to this reality, integrating the need to care for one another, in whatever shape or form that this took, into their assumption of roles and responsibilities, while also noting the importance (and limitations) of 'R & R' (rest and relaxation).

> Most teams tend to find a carer within them or to find a way to rotate it; getting people to do exercise and look after each other, "are you eating well?. Should you go on r and r?" or "I met IOM the other day, maybe they can help with this particular issue". People pick up those roles. I do think that maybe R&R (rest and relaxation break) should be something other than "go and collapse somewhere or go dive and forget that you ever did this thing.

> Karen (ibid.)

## 4.2.6 Gender and Social Reproduction

Caring is work. By looking at how the process of care work is done in UCP we can see how it reproduces gendered inequalities. Caring can mean reaching out, as Karen highlights, to colleagues who are exhibiting signs of stress and trauma. It can also mean taking on my responsibilities when we feel equipped to do so, taking the weight from colleagues, and sharing when we need someone to reciprocate in kind. If we trust and care for our peers then we are better placed to serve them by showing them our vulnerabilities and limitations. They will show either way eventually, but our doing so voluntarily and proactively means that collectively our teams can plan around them. Finally I would add that when we share difficult experiences then knowing that we are not alone is some solace in of itself, even if none of us can step outside of the experience to be the lead caregiver. Some believe

this care work to primarily fall on team leaders, some point out that women do it more and more often. Sinita points out the challenges that she faces in promoting more feminist approaches without promoting a logic that deems certain behaviors as inherent to men or women.

Time and time again female colleagues become the emotional caretakers of the team. Ones in the team who are really aware of the dynamics. Internal shuttle diplomacy using their good offices as a friend. Even in management teams. I resist the idea that women are inherently peaceful but it does seem that when we get a group of women it makes it more collaborative and competitive. When there is a dominant male they have to be managed.

Sinita (March 23rd 2018) Skype interview

This trend reflects general norms in society and in humanitarian work. In UCP, this emotional labor is foregrounded within the practice both within and without the team, and emotional connection and identification are considered by many practitioners to be key competencies. In this context this imbalance, if left unnoticed, unnamed or unaddressed, reproduces this fundamentally unjust distribution of labour. A woman in a UCP team reflected on having to deal with a case of alleged abuse within the team and the subsequent impact on her personally

(a female colleague) filed a rape case against one of the male colleagues...I felt that the female colleague gained confidence in telling it to me not just because of my senior role, but because I am also a woman. I tried hard to be nonviolent in the whole process, especially to the male colleague who was told (sic) to be the perpetrator. However, we had to suspend the male staff while hearing the case, as an SOP (standard operating procedure) of the

organisation. The evidence was there, and so we decided not to renew the contract anymore

after three months, and when he learned about it, he threatened my life. I felt vulnerable, and

even threatened, and thought that rape might be a form of revenge on me. (Anonymous

interview)

For her, the case itself was not a reflection on shortcomings in the practice, but rather, again, a

reflection of the structural realities of gendered violence. The factor that supported her to persevere

through the pressure of the experience was the serious and sensitive engagement from peers and

superiors within the organisation.

The case (whether proven or not) was a reflection of most cases of gender-based violence

(GBV): the male as a perpetrator and the female as a victim/survivor …that was such a

challenging moment for me, but without the support of the organisation, I didn't know how I can

stand better during those trying times. As the organisation works for the prevention of and

response to GBV, I think that the handling of the case was better than how I (might otherwise

have) expected it. The director themselves tried to handle it directly and a series of hearing

took place. (Anonymous interview)

They are anomalous. Crisis creates new possibilities. It destroys and destabilizes certainties.

Humanitarian work embodies a particular temporal understanding of crisis; one rooted in urgency and

helping. However if you are from the area which may externally be labelled as 'in crisis', 'a war zone',

'underdeveloped' then you may experiences this discourse as subjugating and marginalising. There

appears in this COP to be a relationship between crisis and care in legitimate peripheral participation

whereby trust is built or destroyed faster in what feel like 'crisis' situations; this can accelerate both

marginalization and acceptance. Men and women workers alike note the importance of trust, care and empathy to the work, however, for many men it can seem to be a functional requirement for the job rather than something integral to better human relations and humanitarian practice which this particular practice highlights. If learning UCP is to some extent learning to care then measures must be taken to move men to learn to take responsibility for intentionally caring in an equal way to their colleagues; doing care work rather than doing care as work. Likewise there is a need for all team leaders to be supported with more advanced training in the aspects of care and managing complex gender dynamics which would help in some ways to shift the duty of caring

## 4.2.7  Confronting the Gender Binary

In its focus on reducing violence NP centres women. However this carries with it the risk of reifying and reproducing binary understandings of gender and de-contextualising the complex set of power relations in humanitarian settings.  Janik, who most unambiguously of all interviewees designated UCP articulates an understanding of UCP as fundamentally challenging key normative structures and practices:

> What is unique about UCP, is its use of nonviolence as 'weapon of choice'. It challenges the paradigm that the use or threat of physical force and its mechanical extensions is the only/best method for providing protection. In a context of protracted conflict, that is a very powerful idea, because the threat of physical force tends to be precisely the thing that sustains the cycle of violence and oppression. Therefore, the power of UCP goes beyond being an 'effective alternative protection method', it tries to change the rules of the game, and it does it at the very centre of the culture of war; the hyper masculine security sector.

Janik (September 13th 2018) email interview

This is the closest that UCP workers in this study got to explicitly naming the practice as political, as a politics (or indeed an anti-politics), but it would be doing both the practice and the practitioners a disservice to claim that Janik is the exception to the rule. Indeed we can read their choice of career and practice in itself as implicitly political. The choices that people make to enter and navigate UCP, and to find alignment between their personal identity and the UCP community are significant. Sinita here reflects on the trajectories that international staff who are men take through UCP.

The profile that we are seeking is gender neutral in its construct and is based on skills, professional and personal experience. That being said, we probably do see certain types who are more prone to apply than others. For men, if I had to generalize, I would say that we get 2 types: 1) the hero/protector personality. These are the people who feel attracted to the idea of danger and identify with the protector role clearly and 2) those who are attracted to what we could generalize as peace work. These guys tend to be interested in training/teaching, dialogue, mediation etc. I think that in general, the first type is most likely to be a guy from the western/industrialized country - i.e. who did not grow up in conflict affected and the second type more commonly is a guy who grew up in conflict affected communities, often have been adjacent to or direct recipient of support from humanitarian organisations.

Sinita (September 12th 2018) email interview

Immediately we see a binary distinction between the dominative, risk-driven and potentially patriarchal man and the more emotionally engaged and reflective man. Of course any individual is likely to reflect a mixture of these characteristics, existing on a spectrum rather than in a fixed state. However it is instructive to look at how men reflect on their experience with UCP to see if and how they acknowledge and reflect on their position and power within the community. For Max, whose trajectory has taken him in and out of UCP via Military roles, and resulted in his commitment to advocating for UCP in difficult circumstances, his situation within a binary 'violence-nonviolence' model of thinking means that gender is not visible and therefore not a problem until it is acknowledged

> It's been a pleasure with NP. Gender as such has not been an issue. Sometimes I've felt that it's too female then it's too difficult. It develops a gender jargon. To me there's a difference. I have experienced locker room talk on both sides. That said it's more valuable to have female peacekeeping teams. It might be easier with a male dominated team to connect with soldiers. In Europe they see the value of diversity in the institutions. NATO is trying to use the masculinity of Russia. This is about efficiency in military terms. That's as far as it's possible to go within Europe that. Equality is not a given thing. Because we are so far away from achieving things. You cannot touch upon that.

> Max (March 28th 2018) Skype interview

This discourse reflects a strictly essentialist gendering that also presumes parity between different people without an awareness of the bigger social structures within which individuals are operating. The equation of being 'female' with 'gender jargon' implies that it is a uniquely female endeavor to

pursue a project of gender equality or justice and that this can make 'it' 'too difficult' (presumably for men). The 'it' is presumably the smooth running of the operation. Gender being 'an issue' or 'too difficult' communicates a disdain for discomfort or messiness in 'doing gender'. Max followed the statement above with "The success for peacekeepers is that nobody gets hurt whereas the underlying notion in UCP is that everyone is equal." The implication in this being that these are distant, if not exclusive goals. Though his own labours are expressly intended to close this perceived gap, Max himself does not articulate an understanding of violence as structural, nor of inequality itself as violent (Skeggs 2019) and experienced differently by people of different classes and races as well as genders (Crenshaw 1989).  The difference in perceptions and experience of genders is clear when comparing this input from Max with Victoria's reflections about discussions amongst women UCP workers about their experiences. The constant negotiation of one's position as a woman within gendered spaces and situations and how women UCP workers discuss this together seems very far from the locker room

> There is very much a conversation about sexual harassment and sexual violence against female staff and there has been discussion of whether UCP exposes female staff to a risk of violence more than other programming models.
>
> Victoria (September 14th 2018) email interview

This demonstrates a clear and active 'knowing together' done by women together; pooling their experiences and understanding of how UCP is gendered. Women workers are highly aware of the different ways in which their physical presence and social standing is structured in different contexts and they face an ongoing burden of sexualisation and harassment from other humanitarian worker

(Figure 2014). Work allocated to local women staff may lead them to their having a more strained workload and schedule where they are also subject to other domestic and social commitments. Support from men staff can be crucial in mitigating the impacts of these issues but the homo-social solidarity derived from being and knowing with other women provides a bedrock enabling sustained participation in the practice. We cannot consider the social relations between men and women without taking into account how different types of men and women act and are privileged or disadvantaged within the practice. Sinita reflected that women used to fighting for space in their own culture (Interview March 23rd 2018), upon entering the organisation, where equality is prioritized, may "end up taking a lot of space" It was unclear what this implied about the capacity of the organisation to effectively promote and integrate the leadership of non-Western women. In fact this implies that the 'making visible' of racism is dismissed as an individual peculiarity. The ways in which men and women engage together and support or undermine each other is different. During a field visit for an inter-agency assessment to review potential sites for IDP relocation my notes indicate the different gendered interactions occurring on the personal and professional levels.

I take pleasure in observing the male colleagues playfully touching and laughing together during the journey. They were friends before they were colleagues and there is a higher degree of trust and intimacy than one might always see during such journeys and definitely more than I have experienced thus far on this trip. The "banter" is cheerfully devoid of reference to women. Indeed it is more homoerotic than anything. This is reassuringly familiar for me…Tariq and Ernesto have a pre-existing relationship where their sexualities are known and understood and thus their humor can extend to embrace a comfortable degree of sexualized banter and flirtation. This is also easier because the senior staff member initiates it and because the two men involved are from different cultural backgrounds. In the car with two Moro men, especially with my presence as an outsider, I find it hard to imagine such a free, fun

exchange. There is also a physical element. Tariq is much bigger and more muscular than Ernesto, who can lean into a more submissive and playful identity in these moments.

(Field Work 30th Janikuary 2018)

In this more private space the men slip into comfortable routines. Tariq is older, bigger and more assertive and happy in playing into and mocking the differences between him and his colleague.

This dynamic changes when we reach the meeting itself. Tariq notes that there is a performative element to this process. The local government needs money to fully fund the camps etc. There are many photos and selfies. Not least because Tariq connects with a friend from another agency who, in a majority female group, has no qualms about talking at the back of the room during a presentation and otherwise disrupting proceedings. Later, during the assessment, this friend will say "I know gender. I have attended 4 gender mainstreaming trainings". NP presence there is about relationship building and maintenance. Patience. Engagement. Solidarity and recognition. Waiting around. Pitching in.

(Ibid..)

Implicit in this proud statement of Mr. "4 Gender Trainings" is the suggestion that he has pretty much 'done' gender now and gets it, and yet his dominant presence in this assessment and the very projection that the trainings mean anything highlight his insecurity about the situation. His performance of professional competence fits very well in the complicit position of the 'gender-sensitive' assessment, as undertaken to satisfy agendas other than immediate humanitarian need. Tariq bonds with "Mr. 4" and gels with him but not as with Ernesto. In fact his presence in the bigger

group was more subdued and stoic in the big group; a different kind of performance altogether. He seemed to mirror "Mr. 4" in his understated nonchalance. The fluidity and play that comes in the relaxed private space of the car and the strategic leaning in to different aspects of masculinity in context demonstrates a sense of nuance and flexibility that sometimes escapes UCP staff during more stressful times. However the second interaction is more rigidly hyper-masculine. In these two very different iterations of homosociality we are reminded that whilst there is an "underlying stream of homosocial desire, there are also constant attempts to suppress and rein in these streams in the heterosexual and normative order." (Hammaren and Johannsen 2014 p4). In this two connected moments we can see how one relationship allows for the subversion of those norms whereas another reinforces them.



**Figure 10:** NPP staff attend a humanitarian briefing with representatives from other agencies

However as a number of staff noted, the men, at least those from the Global North/West, may well be initially drawn to the practice because of their attraction to risk. Sinita noted how her own understanding of what makes a good UCP worker overlapped with the stereotype of how masculine the work is

I think UCP work (has) had more emphasis on its direct protection component which attracted a certain profile; Men who are drawn to work filled with adrenaline where you rely primarily on

your instincts in the moment, and make quick decisions confidently in very challenging

environments. It takes people who are risk-takers and those who cope well in volatile contexts

Amina (May 3rd 2018) Skype interview

Amina was here underlining the separation between the general competency required in certain parts

of the work, and the men who are drawn to the work; rather than an exact correspondence. From her

position of experience she can acknowledge the former without devaluing the latter. Whilst Sinita

(above) noted that there is another typical man who applies to NP; one who is more meditative and

archetypally 'peace' oriented she also described the need to push for a greater diversity of character

and gender across the workforce. It is clear that from a senior level within NP gender equality and

equity is prioritized. The current director discussed prioritizing and promoting female team leaders

and the benefits (despite it reinforcing certain stereotypes) for resolving conflicts and managing egos.

In addition a radical commitment to equality in recruitment was articulated in addition to pride

concerning the centering of work involving women. A male member commented on the personal

changes observed in military personnel (in ROSS) through personal engagement. Sylvester

commented on being exposed to female agency and leadership early and positively impacted his

personal approach on an ongoing basis. The initiative of men in making and holding space for women

to grow and excel in their practice is also important and was noted by Jaime, David and Janik, the

latter two of whom both noted that training and support should be explicitly tailored for women. Janik's

personal understanding of UCP is in fact rooted in a deep consideration of the 'masculine' and

'feminine' and which of these aspects of a person are best suited for non-violent conflict resolution;

one which in of itself reifies essentialised ideas of gender. Whilst this focuses his participation there

may be a time when this results in a controversy involving other practitioners. Victoria stated that her

initial binary understanding of the work had faded over time as her own confidence grew and she was able to identify herself more in the practice.

> I think I had at once point an idea of UCP as masculine, particularly around the idea of protective presence as quite a physical thing and the idea that to do it you need to be mentally strong...Maybe it's an internal reflection that (men that I worked with in the role) are literally physically stronger and might be better equipped to interpose yourself may have bothered me internally. I was lucky that I didn't ever work with people who put on a bravado.

> Victoria (March 27th 2018) Skype interview

## 4.3.8 Negotiating the security-development nexus

In the settings where NP works interaction with military actors is unavoidable. It is built into the work. This inevitably colors practice. Workers negotiate this working relationship in different ways. A team leader with long term engagement reflected on how UCP had affected and changed his personal behavior and perspective, on gender issues, family and conflict resolution, and suggested that military personnel recruited into UCP organisations could also undergo a similar process of change (Tariq, 28th January 2018, Field Notes). This staff member has been working closely alongside military personnel for over five years but admitted that very little genuine dialogue about UCP had taken place in these highly structured, if convivial relationships. Observing the ritualized attendance of NP at military ceremonies as a civil society 'friend' it was clear to see how this could occur.

David commented on how UCP helped him feel more empowered and strategic in engaging with military in his own country, where he used to feel scared and targeted, as a young man from a minority subject to persecution (March 21st 2018, Skype interview). He furthermore commented on the personal changes observed in military personnel (in ROSS) through long term personal engagement "The empathy part. How do we strategically work to deal with them and make them healthy conflicts? If we are avoiding conflict then there will be a huge explosions. UCP is a big way to tackle conflicts head on in a way that can prevent them having negative consequences." (David, March 21st 2018, Skype interview) In Mindanao, the team leader observed of a civil-military meeting hosted at the NP office.

> These kinds of meetings are important. It can be tough especially the communication between military and civilians. Since Marawi the military present at a lot of these meetings and always get the same questions. The civilians are angry and mistrustful re: flattening and not being able to return. This group today is made up of influential people who can speak. It isn't always so. Other civilians, even leaders, may not talk because they are scared or do not trust the situation.

> (Field notes January 18th 2018)

Militaries and armed groups are predominantly 'masculine' and UCP engages with that on its own terms. Maintenance of relatively firm boundaries between NP and military peacekeepers legitimizes and entrenches divisions and cedes space to force protection/military actors. In the Philippines localized ownership and integration into the system of managing conflict may have compromised independence and identity. For example staff uncritically replicated elements of the wider narrative

about the relative insignificance of gender based violence in Filipino context. Jaime commented that sometimes the maintenance of relationships with military actors and the mechanisms that facilitate become as much of a focus as the ultimate purposes that the relationships are intended to serve e.g. demilitarization of certain places and processes and the prioritization of civilian perspectives and engagement in defining and achieving security and peace.

When staff move on from a UCP focused position they often subsequently progress into other protection of security roles but within humanitarian organisations. One key exception would be Max; the senior staff member who prior to their position with NP served as a soldier and afterwards as an advisor for a multilateral defense cooperation organisation. He crossed a dividing boundary not once but twice and now considers himself an advocate and representative for UCP 'on the other side'; still a member of the community. His personal experience in an unarmed capacity within a military deployment in a live conflict has altered depth perspective on the use of force. He actively sought out UCP with their interest being as much practical and pragmatic as ideological. Very recently before this specific interview this person had supported the organisation of a forum within their current workplace for UCP to be represented and discussed; an incursion into alien territory and under no illusion of the uphill struggle that their advocacy in a specifically militarist institution represented. This border practice represents the uneasy relationship between UCP as an overtly anti-militarist practice and the intention of UCP organisations to engage and somehow reform militarist institutions. Mick clearly and cogently notes the importance of 'credibility' in speaking to 'the industry'.

I think we are starting to do a better job of mainstreaming the language of protection through presence and the efficacy of this approach. As we build a network of allies within the sector we

gain more credibility and our risk taking is seen not as being cowboys but as a principled

approach that calls into question the overwhelming risk aversion of the industry.


Mick (June 18th 2018) email interview


Credibility here is clearly distinct from the 'legitimacy' within the community that was discussed

elsewhere. Practitioners need allies and allies need to see efficacy in the work. This process of

generating credibility can be understood not as an integral practice of enforcing boundaries but as a

'border practice' promoting exchange and dialogue with others. The language seems to seek a

balance between the idioms of the COP and 'the industry', a term that serves to underscore the

financial implications of these relations. 'Mainstreaming' is very familiar within humanitarian circles; to

bring a practice in from the margins and to see it become common parlance, integrated into the status

quo. By mainstreaming UCP language Mick hopes that a common understanding of and respect for

the work itself will be generated amongst humanitarian peers. He holds faith that the same 'go where

others won't' approach mentioned by Ernesto as working in NP's favor in Mindanao has had

purchase in Iraq. However whilst there is an identification of in this environment the

'operationalization' of that attitude entailed a very different positioning relative to security actors. More

so than anywhere else UCP was used in alignment with armed force.


In Mosul much of the initial work was spent determining how to conduct UCP in the context of

urban war where staff were being targeted. This meant the team relied heavily on the local

security actors to provide security against IS attacks, whilst at the same time working to

monitor the conduct of these soldiers against local civilians.

In this situation closer to the violence that the practitioners were positioned, the more difficult genuine distinction became, as the team was relying on the good will and protection of one specific armed actor to facilitate its work, whilst at the same time seeking to hold that actor to account. This highlights the ethical and practical dilemmas within the practice of compromising certain principles in pursuit of a bigger objective (Schweitzer 2019). In the Philippines, where NP occupies an official role in relation to armed actors which are signatories to a peace agreement, a pattern of easy engagement seems to have been established that neglects the negative structural implications of such proximity. With the team I attended award ceremony for an outgoing senior military officer in the area where NPP is based, which was resplendent with all of the pageantry and valorizing of armed combat (as undertaken by men) that such events typically embody worldwide. I found the NP attendance, and implicit approval of this event incongruous (Field Notes January 23rd 2019). The duality of UCP practice means engaging in an open and constructive way with armed actors. In this context, where the team has been negotiating its boundaries with the military actors for a decade (the team literally lives next door to the local armed component of the international monitoring team) and seen little by way of genuine influence in the practice of the military, such uncritical participation in rituals that reproduce violent logics reflects an imbalance of power in the relationship which the team could do more to challenge.

**"Who can tell me what the Patriarchy is?"**

The awareness and resistance of men to hegemonic, patriarchal norms, is inconsistent and contingent across the UCP workforce. Tariq, team leader with long term engagement in one country context reflected on how UCP had affected and changed his personal behavior and perspective, on gender issues, marriage and child-rearing (Field Notes 28th Janikuary 2018). Jaime shared the difficulties of 'wrestling with the patriarchy' both internally and externally in militarized environments "If you have a male team leader who feels responsible then maybe he is less certain about putting staff out there. Especially female staff…as an element of the patriarchy you have a controlling element where you take agency away from staff." (Jaime Skype interview, March 21st 2018). Jaime acknowledges the systemic factors influencing individual patriarchal behaviors and the difficulty of noticing and changing these behaviours when in a position of formal power. One international TL reflected on how an internal complaint of sexual assault affected the local staff team and her struggle in addressing the situation. However as an outsider, she was not implicated in bonds of loyalty or affiliation that might affect her perception of the situation and felt better equipped to navigate the situation with due care and empathy. Within another team, an interviewee, as the team leader, admitted responding to an incident of sexual harassment (by staff of another agency) with an aggressive, patriarchal approach that excluded the voice of those affected. He noted that the resistance of his colleague to this dominative behavior, and the subsequent process of reconciling and reflecting on this experience together enabled him to learn from it and realize his own patriarchal position. The shared respect and personal connection between the individuals as practitioners, underpinned by the trust generated by shared endeavors, allowed for the learning to take place. Whilst this had positive implications for his future practice the learning demanded labor from his female colleague (Samaran 2019); enabling the possibility of a more 'positive' masculinity at the expense of a woman's initial subjugation and subsequent investment of time and energy to support the man through the process (Kaufman 1998). In situations of stress where the dominant masculine

culture might be more monolithic and consistent with some of the worst components of the hegemonic norm, resistance is less accessible or visible (Connell 2006). As Mick described:

> as the work begins to wear one down...a bravado appears that has a usefulness in keeping me going, but can appear cavalier and arrogant. This is often accompanied by the self-destructive behavior such as excessive drinking. As I become increasingly angry I am more prone to confrontation, with a desire to lash out. I do think it is testament to UCP though that I can largely compartmentalize these negative traits while in the field, and they are not accompanied by increased risk taking, which is my greatest fear. The idea that my burnout should lead teams to take greater risks is something I'm always cognizant of.

> Mick (June 3rd 2018) email interview

The deterioration of capacity to acknowledge failures indicates a strong degree of hubris which some staff who may have been gung-ho at first took responsibility for ensuring that mistakes and unnecessary risks were documented and shared to allow for nuanced and holistic learning. On an individual level, as Mick notes in the quote above, UCP can help to defuse some of the worst components of the 'psychic self-mutilation' which hooks (2004) describes. However as Janik noted "UCP still operates in patriarchal cultures and so female UCP workers often struggle more, as they are taken less serious or are simply excluded." (September 13th 2018 email interview). Female community members may likewise be excluded. During a visit to local officials at a municipality office in rural Mindanao, I witnessed sexist behaviors and the marginalization of a potentially vulnerable woman by two team members

Arrival at municipality: there is a dispute outside the building; one woman in distress, shouting at people, with a crowd observing. One woman trying to usher her away. One man laughing it off and when he sees us (me?) saying "she is crazy". Team ignores her. When we enter Guro greets the man, who has a municipality lanyard (so is staff) and the man looked at with a knowing familiarity and said "this is one of the crazy women we have here". Again the team did nothing. When the team had entered into the lobby of the municipality building I asked what happened/what she said. Guro said "maybe she is not normal". On the way in we had passed a banner proudly proclaiming "violence against women free community".

(Fieldwork notes January 25th 2018)

I ruminated on this experience, ashamed that I didn't push more and ask more on this. I was watching and learning about the work, but present too interactions along the way. It was not possible for me to make my own judgment on what the woman was saying. However the body language and dynamics were all too familiar. A group of men with a modicum of power acting as gatekeepers and excluding a woman; justifying it by deeming her unstable and deviant. She was literally shouting outside a place of power and authority, and these three men UCP practitioners, myself included, breezed past her without pause, on our way to meet with a powerful man. Was this consistent with UCP practice or with patriarchal norms in that situation? I paraphrased the greeting that we received 'The "crazy women" that "we" (calm, rational and powerful men) "have" (possess) here and that you visiting men will have to forgive us for having to momentarily endure before you get on to your important business'. In interviews it was suggested that local expressions of patriarchal power like the one I described above are tolerated and enabled by the UCP focus on the primacy of local actors; however this fails to take into account the transnational components of patriarchy nor the historical processes

underlying contemporary 'local' hegemony. Inside the international organisation gendered power relations are often rendered invisible. Amina reflected, the working culture of UCP is not one of open and active discourse around gender issues, or rather at least where men are concerned

> I can't say I remember many instances where men have reflected back to me about their gender in the context of UCP work, as much as female colleagues have. I think that holds true across the board with humanitarian work - women are constantly reminded of the fact that they are a woman in these environments and so when female colleagues leave and start to decompress they look at all those interactions and experiences that were defined by their gender much more so than a man might.'

> Amina (September 8th 2018) email interview

This reflects the' default' nature of male dominated spaces and structures. The (often white and/or straight) man is comfortable because their presence is considered normal, giving them an extra sense of belonging and confidence that women cannot rely on, thus making women more conscious of their otherness in a particular space and leading them to seek or create alternate spaces which value different kinds of being (Curnow 2013). It was much more common for women to be forthcoming in their reflections on the gendering of their everyday experiences in doing UCP.  As Jaime stated in response to an inquiry about men challenging other men on their behavior "why would they?"  (October 13th 2018, Skype Interview) echoing the suppression of gender awareness by men noted by Samaran (2019).  To talk about such things wouldn't be "men's talk" Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). He reflected that UCP training fails to fully account for gendered structural power. A common opening gambit in a UCP training is to ask the group to tell the trainer what violence is.

Jaime noted that an equally crucial question for men in such trainings would be "who can tell me what the patriarchy is?" Beatrice, echoing Mick's reflection (quoted above) on his own emergent feminism, questioned how centrally UCP was to the critical gender consciousness of men she worked with

> some male colleagues discussed their gender, while we worked for UCP. But I think, while UCP might have contributed to their positive outlook (meaning challenging masculinity), this has been a result of a long process of understanding patriarchy and of different factors and experiences—relationships, media, community, family, among others.'

> Beatrice (September 10th 2018) email interview

Although there is space for a range of political subjectivities amongst UCP practitioners the trends in the data indicate that the work does sensitize men around gender issues of both equality and equity; representation and justice. Furthermore the practice makes opportunities for practitioners to express their genders in a range of expressions ways de-centre hegemonic patterns. There is still substantial cause to question the characterization of UCP as emancipatory however, in particular when gender is taken into account in combination with other factors such as race.

## 4.3 Intersectionality

In this section I describe and interpret data which reflects the relation between how different staff navigate, experience and participate in UCP and the different aspects of their identities. By analyzing individual subject positions in the COP within or relative to wider structural forces I apply an intersectional lens to the UCP community.

## 4.3.1 Rhetoric and Reality

The question of what is considered to be legitimate knowledge about UCP and how it is reproduced and communicated is crucial to understanding the transformative potential of the practice:

> I view UCP as a piece of the puzzle of a post-capitalist world system that is egalitarian, eco-friendly, decentralized, interdependent, and gender-balanced. UCP has a low carbon footprint; it is inclusive (not just the physically strong can participate); it is designed to bring people together (security with) instead of keeping people apart (security from); it balances the masculine and the feminine (finding strength in vulnerability); and it provides a blue-print for interdependent security (it questions the dualism of 'protectors' and 'protected' - unarmed protectors are partly protected by those whom they protect).
>
> Janik (September 13th 2018) email interview

This bold statement by Janik lays out an understanding of UCP as a practice that presents a serious challenge to dominant and dominative global hegemonies at a number of intersections. This imaginative positioning of UCP within a complex set of systems and binaries that have effects on different levels, is rarely voiced amongst UCP workers. Janik is interpreting UCP as a form of 'Antipolitics' (Koopman 2014). The official rhetoric of Nonviolent Peaceforce and the attendant optimism of Janik and others reflect a positive regard for the extent to which UCP holds a genuinely transformative potential; the capacity to change the world via a reduction in (direct) violence and the

protection of civilians. Often such positivity seems to come without a full interrogation of how UCP is complicit with these systems. For example, the relationships between workers from 'North' and 'South' and different places within the 'South' have a number of distinct dynamics which affect working relationships and ultimately legitimacy within the COP.

A number of examples from the data demonstrate international staff carrying the assumption that they know more than local staff. Sylvester recalls participating in a training after almost two years in post alongside newly recruited Westerners. On giving an opinion in the training issue he was rebuffed by his colleague, a White woman. "No! You will just present. We will tell you what to say. We are here to teach you." I was shocked" (Sylvester, April 23rd 2018, face to face Interview). The assumed racial superiority of the White newcomer trumped any gender imbalance; she dominated her colleague in a racialized, colonial fashion. This discrimination, resulted in the recruit being fired and sent home, is surely not uncommon within the humanitarian workforce. In fact, as discussed in the literature review; it is structurally reinforced within the aid system. Sylvester's shock and resistance is both an understandable reaction to such a dominative attitude and an indication of his own alignment with the values of UCP. On this occasion his resistance was echoed by the organisational responses. However this action was responsive rather than indicating a proactive systematic resistance to colonial attitudes. The incident reflects a spectrum of supremacist thinking that can manifest in a range of ways. Mahesh reflected on clearly seeing it amongst his peer group of newcomers in the Philippines

> When you just got there….6 got on well with national staff...5 were sort of "we are from the west, we are better". You work then you leave, it happens everywhere I think if you are international and you say "I have been to more places and so I know more" The community will

say to themselves "it's a lie! Guys you have been here 2 or 3 weeks and you don't know about here; we have been here our whole lives".

Mahesh (October 26th 2018) Skype interview

Mahesh later favorably compared his experience as an 'outsider'; an Asian man coming to a new context and working with local women staff. He compared the different ways in which men and women and national and international staff support each other to negotiate culturally sensitive situations and to "open up spaces" for one another

When I was a team leader in the Philippines I was the only man.it …we complimented each other… whenever ... (I can't) build relationships as a man with just anyone so I asked my team members (for help).In the Philippines as in most places in Asia as an international you are looked to for advice. We used that a lot…in the Philippines as a man they would listen to me then I would ask my national colleagues to speak to the particular situation and response that was necessary.

Mahesh (ibid.).

This cooperation seems to have come easier for Mahesh than North-South work. Perhaps this also reflects his comfort with a binary division of labour within the team that reinforces his own gender identity. In North-South relations he was more objectified, whereas as a male Team Leader he held power over the allocation of tasks.

## 4.3.2 Colonial Arrogance and Southern Resistance

UCP workers are subject to the arrogance and superiority that can afflict many humanitarians. They bring with them their own prejudices and perspectives which can be shaped and influenced not only by their gender but their nationality and cultural background. Reflecting on her UCP experience Marielle noted that she didn't experience UCP training as promoting self-awareness around racism and in fact that the ostensibly radical nature of the practice served to obfuscate the real dynamics at play

> A lot of times people from the global north can be condescending not only to people in the local community but also to myself and others from the global south...sometimes people from the global north have a hard time understanding nuances or dynamics and it is very easy to label; "this is stupid. This is rubbish. ".. Just because you "do UCP" (doesn't mean that you won't) still feel (superior).

> Marielle (March 27th 2018) Whatsapp interview

She criticized the assumptions workers make about 'the community':

> To me it's important to have people from the global south (as staff) because they can better see and understand nuance and will get things that the people from the global north won't... It's easier for someone from the global south to put themselves in the shoes of the community and

imagine "what would it be like if these people were coming to me! Whereas for someone from the global north that's a long stretch to imagine.

Marielle (March 27th 2018) Whatsapp interview

How this is processed and resisted, and the extent to which team power relations allow this, varies. Internationals can believe that they know or do more than local staff whereas an incredible amount of labor is done behind the scenes/off the clock by local staff.  This is a reflection of the 'racialised capitalism' Virdee (2019) described and is compounded by ignorance of the double duties, and in the case of women, triple duties of local staff who have to return home after work. Staff from other global south countries who have experienced similar conditions subvert this dynamic. They may hold a different recognition and solidarity amongst locals and provide a bridge culturally. David notes that "It's a general challenge."

They (International staff) don't feel that they are better but they act that way. That can be because of language…I can do something amazing and use simple ways to explain it and they might do something simple and have a better way of talking about it. National staff can do some great work and then say "but we do this all the time".  There is inter-communal violence and they have done so much to stop it. The communities have their ways…So much of this never gets reported or spoken. It's not just about laughing at them saying "they don't even get on the ground" but about seeing all the other things that they are doing when there is no shooting. Humanity is not over. People have ways to resolve conflict. We need to recognize that a little bit more. Sometimes in an emergency conflict it's hard to do that kind of learning.

David (March 21st 2018) Skype interview

That the learning is more difficult in an "emergency conflict" demonstrates how marginal it is within the dominant discourse of humanitarian work. Adequately including and taking into account local perspectives is all too often considered a costly option rather than a fundamental and indispensable premise underlying the work. David is highlighting points that are meant to be integral to UCP; in particular the primacy of local actors in producing responses to violent conflict and which he sees as modelled by local staff but undervalued by the COP as a whole. His own analysis entails situating these practices within a bigger 'global' narrative. His observation of the challenges which 'emergencies' present acts as a partial indictment of how knowledge is recognized in UCP. Conflict is the default setting for UCP, not an exceptional circumstance. The casual devaluation of what people whose embodied experience of conflict bring to UCP is problematic in that it is complicit with the concept of the 'emergency' which Calhoun (2014) refers to; an exceptional state beyond the boundaries of 'civilization'. In recognizing and reasserting the significance and nuance of local knowledges and actions to UCP practice David is reflecting an ethic of refusal (Pringle and Moorsom 2018); a rejection of dominant narratives and assumptions.

### 4.3.3 Solidarity through mutuality

Sylvester, the sole South Sudanese (and at the time of our interview one of only two Black African staff) staff member at NP Iraq, and one of the most experienced and long-standing UCP practitioners within the whole organisation globally, has to challenge prejudiced attitudes and behavior regularly within the communities where his team operates. Anecdotally he and colleagues report that this is

impacting and changing perceptions amongst local staff (April 23rd 2018 face to face interview). This is strengthened by his senior position and the amount he can contribute to their development through the sharing of institutional knowledge and memory. Because he can communicate directly in Arabic his expression of key UCP experiences to Iraqi colleagues is less mediated. Furthermore as a practicing pastor his work is grounded in faith values which resonate more readily with many local colleagues than the perspective of someone coming from a purely secular moral grounding. Thus he is able to leverage his elder status through lived professional experience and competence which gives him a more personalized, contextual elder status, all filtered through and imbued with his own personality and values. His eldership gives a relatable face and personality to the practice and its repertoire of tools. Central to the sharing of the repertoire is the literal and conceptual translation of UCP into different vocabularies via the telling and re-telling of stories "The generality of any form of knowledge always lies in the power to renegotiate the meaning of the past and future in constructing the meaning of present circumstances" (Lave and Wenger 1991 p34.) Sylvester embodies a mastery of UCP in this sharing with others, especially as that sharing recognises his colleagues as participants, not just recipients of knowledge.

> (when my colleague) is translating he tells me about specific words I should use and that leads to a whole conversation about...for example...peace ...if we cannot use the word peace at all with the government, how do we work around that and communicate what we need to differently whilst maintaining our principles, so we end up in a big and important dialogue.

> Karen (November 19th 2018) Skype interview

Localizing the practice and its lexicon is essential to its relevance and sustainability. In my work in Iraq we focused on sharing learning across three different teams who were working in different communities and all experiencing challenges with articulating key UCP concepts in Arabic. International workers who were fluent in Arabic took a key role as facilitators in this organic process of codification. Commonalities or cultural bridges are not so easily found. Beatrice, promoted to Team Leader, indicates how ageism, combined with a degree of internalized bias against staff from the Global South and sexism, made her initial time difficult, and resulted in a power struggle in the team.

> The first few months as a TL were tough as the 2 male staff (one is older than me, and really old) tried to show that they are more knowledgeable (of the local context) as they nationals, and of course this was true (that they know more… than me as an outsider). But this came to the point that they wanted to show power over the TL, and that they could decide on the use of the resources such as car for their personal gain. I remember during the discussion in the team, when they were forcing me to let them use the car for weeks, as it was Christmas break, and I would be leaving (for the capital), we had a clash— I had a feeling that the show of power was not just because I am a woman but also, I am from the global south.

> Beatrice (May 4th 2018) Skype interview

Here, in an environment where notions of male power and strength are privileged the physically slight Asian woman, in her Twenties faced a complex combination of prejudices that increased resistance against her; perceived and treated as undeserving of respect or inclusion because she did not fit the expected stereotypes of a team leader. This individual chose to confront these issues, not by the dominative exercising of hierarchical power that they had within their team, but by seeking common

ground; solidarity, based on similar experiences of oppression and resistance; expressed in an overtly politically conscious manner;

> based on what I have learned, on what I am: a woman activist… having a background of working on a grass-root level; a person from the global south, I made my team feel that we all came from the same experiences of oppression, of colonization and that we have (we shall have) the same aspiration for equality. My team had seen that I would make it clear with the local people, that I am from the global south—in a country experiencing poverty just like theirs. And that we need to be in solidarity. I would even start my welcoming remarks in the training or any events with: I am not a white person, I am from a country which has the same experience as yours, such as poverty and colonization. Our houses are built the same as them, having a roof made out of grass. With those efforts, after a few months, my team, especially the two men, showed respect to me as their TL.

> Beatrice (ibid..)

Here we can observe another intersection of identity; that of gender and position with coloniality and class relations, being acknowledged and invoked in order to challenge and transform internal team relations and to advance a sense of common purpose and care. Beatrice exhibits border thinking (Grosfugel 2011), a comfort in her ambiguous position and clear awareness of her own agency in the context of transnational structures that enables her and her colleagues to develop a shared meaning in their team.

### 4.3.4 Mastery over Intuition

Mastery in a COP is obtained through practice and the generation of legitimacy against the collective criteria of competence. UCP staff do not necessarily have equal ease of access to that legitimacy. A western staff member, in seeking to compliment local staff's capacities, sentimentalized their expertise "For some people UCP is intuitive. Your principles and ethics can be intuitive and be built upon. You can learn from them and gain and use tools. Some people have it and some don't." (Victoria, March 21st 2018, Skype interview)'. Whilst this interpretation stems from positive personal experiences it runs the risk of essentializing types of people who 'have' 'it'. In doing this Western staff avoid creating space to consider the knowledge and practices of staff whose approach does not fit typically linear Eurocentric paradigms of understanding humanitarian work and keep these knowledges marginalised. This means that essential, fundamental work becomes excluded and, the romantic image of the local 'other' which it contains, reinforce rather than challenges hegemonic power. This can also reinforce practices whereby local staff do not or are not able to share information with international colleagues.

Sylvester shared an example from his work where these 'differential dynamics' (Noe 2018) were clear. One NP team's programming was being subverted and subordinated to other agencies agendas due to personal relationships and career ambitions of their then team leader, an international. Meanwhile, unbeknownst to their international colleagues, staff members were at direct risk due to the perception of members of an armed group operating locally. This group believed that there was espionage at play, with the declared humanitarian mission of the UCP group a subterfuge. National staff; being the 'underground diplomats' doing the background work in the community were able to, in a parallel process, engage armed actors directly in order to prevent violence and buy time

for the team to prove themselves. Local staff only acted because they were invested in and convinced by the integrity of other national staff who carried their own personal experiences and institutional memory. Sylvester was also a national staff member in the same team but was not from the immediate area. As such at the time he was not entrusted with information about this situation. However they defended NP despite their personal trepidations on the basis of their personal trust in him and the trust and loyalty they felt that he modelled

Much later, in the course of an MPT that Sylvester was helping deliver, where these other national staff were participants, they shared this story with him. They felt that their faith and efforts had been validated within the ethical framework of UCP as he helped them understand it; at first through his personal example and now by reference to a bigger framework. This disclosure, coming many months after the work was done, was made possible by the deepened trust and legitimacy as practitioners they now felt in relation to the more senior national staff member. In situated learning language this can be understood as the progression from engagement with the practice to alignment to the structure of the community and its values. There are probably countless similar examples that remain undisclosed or unknown beyond small circles of practitioners. Sylvester's own negotiation of his identify as a leader within the COP was consolidated by his realisation that he was a role model for young men and they had taken action to protect people based on his example. He was modelling an ideal "insider" role (Noe 2018). Furthermore he was employing and demonstrating core UCP practices. They in turn were now confident because the saw the fruits and were able to put a theoretical framework to what they had been doing. Without their trust and faith in him they would not have reached that point. Here he was using his power and influence as an elder man to support a process of development that challenged violent local patriarchal norms, firstly in a defensive way and then through the setting of an example and holding space for the younger men. When they sought him out and he requested their support they were not versed in the conceptual framework of the

practice. Instead lived experience preceded and strengthened the acquisition of abstract knowledge because in the imaginative sphere they were able to explore the real world meaning of the expertise that Sylvester was modelling. In opening space for this conversation the group engaged in the process of 'knowing together' and developed their own meaning and practice (Creative Tension 4 in Yukawa 2012).

When Sylvester attended the training described toward the beginning of this section (as described above) having already learned his craft via doing, he felt equipped to resist and reject the authoritarian imposition of an outsider who presumed superior knowledge and legitimacy.  This is a strong example of 'legitimate peripheral participation' that also embodies resistance to normative knowledge/power relationships within the practice. We can locate this within Creative Tension 1: "Negotiating Meaning" in the schematic outlined by Yukawa (2012). Sylvester's interventions helped the group to critically examine key assumptions about and thus deepen it's shared sense of meaning Depending on the context other factors will also influence the extent of acceptance or respect an individual experiences in their work. Karen shared that overall the strong reputation of the organisation helped give new-comers some breathing space to make mistakes without compromising their credibility within the community. She added that this may not have been afforded equally to all staff and that as an African woman if she were the same young age as many of her colleagues, she would have been treated less kindly. However, her age and assumed experience and maturity whilst by no means eliminating gendered or racialized imbalances altogether, gave her a different level of influence and respect in her specific setting.

The strength of the organisation creates gaps; where you make mistakes as a representative you have more room to be forgiven. What I would say is that I am older and all of the places

where NP works have a value that elders should be respected. Whether you're in the Philippines, Myanmar… even Georgia. The fact that you are older falls in with the values of the community around you. Gender wise if I was the same age and male I would possibly have (even) more respect.

Karen (November 19th 2018) Skype interview

She mentions that with both local colleagues and the wider local community her age gives her a comparative advantage compared to younger colleagues when she speaks or delivers trainings. The life experience that age signifies and the respect that this demands trumps a bias toward the presumed superiority of Eurocentric knowledge

Automatically because of my age participants expect me to know what I'm talking about. Some of my younger colleagues have to actually prove that they know what they're talking about, so there is leeway. In terms of being African and female thank god that I was older. There would be a tendency to assume that westerners know more; not even (just) in NP, but also in the communities (where we work). Westerners have been there building capacity longer but the impression doesn't last long once they see that you know what you can do.

Karen (ibid..)

Karen also felt that this same internalized assumption of superior knowledge or skills being transferred from Westerners may well have affected her own presumptions and approach if she had been doing the work at a younger age. As it is her confidence in her own identity and self-knowledge

provides a powerful basis for her practice as a UCP worker. "I think that if I had joined NP in my Twenties I would be more on the western side but because I grew up in Kenya and worked there for 18 years. I had all this experience that I hadn't learned in a classroom." (Interview). Being an 'elder' here carries a transnational significance that also reinforced and bolstered Karen's self-efficacy and her capacity to transcend the insider-outsider division, and adopt an 'ideal' outsider position.

The participation and trajectory of practitioners such as Sylvester and Karen demonstrates how some individuals model elements of resistance not only to normative disciplinary power but to wider manifestations of bio-power. Their refusal to remain as part of a subject population or to reproduce the racist norms of their working sector not only demonstrates their own sense of agency and politics and how they contextualize and apply UCP practice consistently with this sense but the ways in which UCP can live up to the promise of its counter-hegemonic commitment to a different ideal of security. As has been discussed above the practice is also fraught and contradictory; complicit in some aspects of dominant systems. There is no core underlying 'ethic of refusal' that fully rejects the colonial dynamics of humanitarian interventions, and the ways in which these reinforce transnational gender hegemonies.

## 5. Conclusions

In this section I summarize the key learning drawn from this thesis, and establish conclusions in relation to the main research question "What is the relationship between the situated learning of Unarmed Civilian Protection workers and gendered power dynamics?" and the secondary research questions. Finally I venture some recommendations for both future working practice and academic research in UCP and related areas.

*UCP practice promotes reflection on gender roles but has an ambiguous relationship to patriarchal and colonial power*: It came through clearly from the research data that staff feel that their personal behavior, for example in the reflections of David, Jaime and Tariq on the relationship between their experience with UCP and their own critical reflections on their own values and boundaries. Whereas other UCP organisations take a more detached or confrontational approach to armed actors NP focus less on overt structural work e.g. advocacy against abusers, and instead concentrate on interpersonal connectedness and impact through the use of empathy as a strategic tool. In some respects this can be considered as a less paternalistic and judgmental approach that speaks to the complexity of violence and militarism. The perspectives of workers reflect an ongoing implicit assumption that everyone can shift and change their behaviours despite the structural forces in play. This assumption, held in tandem with a strategic rejection of armed force suggests that this iteration of UCP holds a genuinely transformative aspiration. Janik articulates this most boldly and several other staff intimated that an expansion of certain practices from UCP into other realms would influence a step change, including with regard to gendered patterns of oppression and violence.

Though the representation of women leaders at different levels in NP is high (Sinita interview), and in some instances visible leadership from women affected individual perspectives (Slyvester interview) this influence is not demonstrably transformative on a systemic level across the organisation, or UCP as a broader field of practice. That is to say that without a strong steer from the top of the hierarchy that promotes gender justice, recidivism is likely. It still takes vocal and influential women or men in positions of power to protect the gains and protections that other women access and set an example for the organisation to follow. On the 'local' level other factors affect gender relations. For example; socio-economic relations and structures both globally and locally (as in Beatrice's example) influence gendered behaviours. Furthermore the presence and nature of the state and civil society, as in the example from my fieldwork whereby Tariq displayed a very different form of homosociality when working with other humanitarians than during private, also have a role to play.

By largely rejecting militarism UCP offers a route toward a wider pluralism of masculinities and gender relations (Tariq interview, Janik interview, David interview). However it is not militarism alone that produces problematic masculinities. The very resistance to masculinity that men entering into UCP embody comes in different forms; some of which are still sexist and racist in character. To be truly transformative a community of practice should promote critical inquiry, reflection and change around wider questions of gendered and racialized social and economic relations, both internally, via mutual engagement, and externally via boundary practices. In so far as managerial structures and structured cooperation with military actors work to accommodate UCP to wider humanitarian norms it becomes more difficult for practitioners to influence and challenge one another via mutual engagement. Thus the urgency to 'save lives' and 'protect civilians' can override the deep seated need to do so in a way that doesn't repeat and reproduce unequal power relationships between

colleagues and between UCP workers and the communities that they aspire to serve (Marielle interview).

**UCP practice foregrounds a radical ethics of care but not an ethics of refusal;** It is questionable the extent to which UCP can transcend structural inequities especially given the extent to which it is currently embedded in what can be called the 'Non-profit industrial complex' (INCITE! Women of Color 2006). Militarized masculinity and the liberal human rights regime are both transnational hegemonic projects that seek legitimacy through multiple modes of governance, including that promoted by civil society (Duffield 2001, 2010). Those UCP workers interviewed for this thesis do not understand militarism and masculinity as immanently tied. Nor do they see all forms of masculinity among armed groups as the same; context, structure and hierarchy all matter. By making it an imperative to become intimately acquainted with these things and to learn them, teams produce new knowledge (David interview, Mahesh interview, Slyvester interview). Also by engaging in bordering practices like interfacing with military actors, UCP actors open up the possibility of bridging between those military groups and others; facilitating exchange and relationship building.

UCP  is considered by its advocates (Julian and Gasser 2019) to be a viable alternative to Armed Military Peacekeeping. Furthermore its proponents aspire to challenge and undo some of the key tenets of militarized approaches to civilian protection (Janik interview). The experiences of practitioners (Marielle interview) serves to highlight how that militarism is gendered and experience practitioners. However the iteration of UCP being produced by NP is neither anti-capitalist nor gender abolitionist and thus holds limited potential to contribute to the establishment of a new 'progressive'

hegemony (Howson 2006) in the gender regime. Institutionally at least it exists as a project with liberal feminist values, continuing to accommodate and draw succor from the dominant imperial forces and economic model of the time (Boothe and Smithey 2007).

The radical potential of UCP revolves around its notions of agency and space. In and of itself the space of the team can afford space for contestation, learning and recognition of and empathy with the 'other. It represents a break with or rupture in hegemonic militarism as expressed via the development-security nexus (Duffield 2001). However humanitarian rhetoric can essentialise 'crisis' (Broome 2011, Brun 2016) which can contribute to a representation of a space or community as violent or patriarchal without acknowledging contradictions within and resistance to that patriarchy (as in Slyvesters story involving the younger NP staff from within the community mitigating risks to their team). Furthermore this rhetoric mostly avoids and elides the patriarchal qualities of humanitarian practice and communities themselves. This superiority can be propagated by UCP staff from outside and internalized and subsequently reproduced by local staff unless they are able to resist such dominance either directly or indirectly (Noe 2018); by circumventing international staff in their own practice of UCP.

There are definitions of space articulated UCP which transcend notions of the humanitarian that are defined or controlled by states (Pringle and Moorsom 2018) and connect to an alternate definition of humanitarian space as well as an alternate temporality. This reinforces the emphasis on empathy and care that UCP has in it's the key foundational concepts and the transformative potential that this holds. However without leading figures seeing labor, knowledge and space differently (Tariq discussion) and focusing on how to centre the local UCP and its iterations and understandings of gender will remain firmly within Eurocentric borders as a project. Such a shift of approach will include

an overt engagement with the nature of violence and nonviolence which is beyond the bounds of this thesis. An untapped resource which I feel bears further interrogation is the concept of accompaniment as articulated by Archbishop Oscar Romero and given further exposition by Lynd (2015). Given the nods to these traditions within UCP discourse, both in the language formally employed by Nonviolent Peaceforce and other organisations, the implications of a yet more sustained engagement with the concept for a more consciously emancipatory UCP are promising. In some respects this requires a slowing down. The work holds great urgency for those holding it dear. Experience of crisis becomes both a mark of honor and respect and conversely a barrier to critical reflection and cross-cultural learning (Jaime interview, Mick interview). Colleagues may engage in mutual coping and support behaviours and their reflections that can produce new locally rooted and expressed forms of practice (as in the fieldwork discussion about men's experiences of sexual violence in conflict). These are not always accepted or understood by colleagues, especially across international-local divides. Reflective praxis is key in order to acknowledge and consider the numerous traditions and practices that exist within the UCP workforce and the communities where they work (Karen interview). UCP workers need to be living examples of what the work can do. The faster the rate of professionalization and expansion, the greater the risk that the emancipatory element of the work is diluted, or altogether neutralized, in the struggle with managerialism. To meaningfully reclaim the concept of care and refuse its co-option should be a key aim of UCP practice.

The key is not to enshrine or promote a simplistic or doctrinaire philosophy of nonviolence. Turning this gaze inward is a relational practice. Self-awareness and critique as a practice of applied nonviolence helps highlight how an individual replicates the 'structures' which they are in principle committed to tackling. Where humanitarian workers are trained to operationalize equality and equity via formulaic and static tools their practice in these areas either tends to ossify over time or not to be sufficiently developed in the first place (Victoria interview, Amina interview). The available training

193

within the sector and in NP specifically fails to account for the limitations in safeguarding and accountability and uneven and violent power dynamics within the humanitarian workforce itself (Victoria interview, Jaime interview). Relatedly there can be a toxic vector formed by trauma, stress and of poor practice and learning during intense periods of UCP work (Mick interview). When you live and work together, often in situations of deprivation, violence and other hardship, and your work demands constant engagement with the daily realities of this context and its effect on others, it has an impact on the practitioner's state. It is the pre-existing socialization of men that determines their default responses to changing conditions (Mick interview). Their capacity to exercise agency in confronting and changing their choices of coping mechanism and how they constructively use their homosocial (Hammeron and Johannsen 2014) bonds with other men to build their critical consciousness is key to challenging persistent hegemonies that actually transcend geography and differences in material condition. The socialized need of women staff to seek security and understanding through collective sharing in the face of patriarchal power and the social conditioning which gives many women more comfort and capacity in acknowledging and sharing emotional or affective reflections is demonstrated in the experiences of women UCP practitioners in the research. Homosocial solidarity was still undermined however by embedded racist attitudes.

If workers are not curious about how they can meaningfully increase security for local civilians via such acts; if their actions or words betray hubris or ego, the community has means of checking and regulating them. Where does it draw its common understanding from? Some UCP organisations focus on building community through shared faith, some on the grounds of a commitment to specific kind of groups process that are considered more just and equitable. Each of these can be considered exclusive and rigid to different degrees. NP, in recruiting and deploying mixed teams, including local staff, leaves open the possibility of a more diverse and inclusive way of working and of continually innovating and testing new methods underpinned by key principles (Jaime interview, Slyvester

interview, Tariq interview). However this is not often enough borne out in reality. The practice must exist in an antagonistic relationship with the corporate structure and with larger structures that shape its vocabulary. Thus the retention and encouragement of accomplished and experienced peers to engage both horizontally with their colleagues and vertically within the organisational power structures (and those it interacts with) is important.

**Plurality and Eldership are key to the dynamism and equity of UCP practice:** The trajectories of UCP practitioners from the Global South reflect both their personal tenacity and fortitude and their capacity to situate their practice within personal and communal histories and historiographies. This is not to deny the agency of other practitioners in situating their participation in UCP practice within their own narratives. However the specific subjectivities of practitioners with more comparable experiences to the communities where they work, have specific value in giving insight into how UCP can be organically adapted, moulded and applied for different circumstances as in the examples of Mahesh, Slyvester, David and Karen, all of whom moved country and adjusted their practice accordingly. The critical reflection which some practitioners demonstrated was most potent when taking into account a range of perspectives and experience, for example Janik's recollection of his formative experiences with local communities with PBI. The power of eldership to the practice shone through in the data. Eldership is not synonymous with seniority or hierarchy. It can be understood in terms of the modes of belonging articulated by Wenger (1998 p181).  In fact I believe that the swift rises through the official ranks that can come as part of UCP demonstrate strong *engagement* but can actively work against the cultivation of a true eldership. Status within the COP is obtained, cultivated and held in a range of ways and, in particular through *imagination*  (Wenger 1998 p188) which enriches the process of the negotiation of meaning for the COP; by interpreting and articulating the practice through actions such as storytelling . By participating in the imaginative life of the UCP COP When team leaders favor and push more aggressive approaches to engaging with sources of potential

danger to the team or community their decision could be based on a number of factors; previous personal experience of the practice (engagement), learning from examples from other times or contexts (alignment) and their own subjective dispositions and attitudes. Where those with an active or decisive voice in decisions are men we might more often see an aggressive interpretation of 'proactive' engagement or what constitutes 'hardcore' UCP (Tariq discussion, Mick interview, Jaime interview). This shows how restrictive gendered beliefs can constrain imagination in UCP practice.

At a grander scale the autonomy and influence of the UCP perspective and the way that knowledge is exchanged and shared is undermined by much more embedded discourses and processes so the potential to subvert becomes minimal, especially when autonomy is compromised by economic relationships (Brun 2016). The advocacy is driven by a depoliticized compassion which foregrounds urgency over critical engagement (Käpylä and Kennedy 2013). The efficacy of investing time in producing knowledge to disseminate vertically up the hierarchy of multinational and transnational institutions and horizontally into Human Resources and Learning and Development processes (Max interview) and higher education institutions represents an attempt to influence the bigger international hegemony. However, it is to a large degree separate from the emergent learning and sharing/apprenticeship processes of field work. It is more mediated and representative than embodied. A big structural factor mitigating against the adequately engaged maintenance of this ecosystem is the fact that much production or dissemination of knowledge is driven by the imperatives of external authorities or audiences; resulting in the altering commodification of key language and discourse. This diverts labor toward the creation of objects that serve bordering purposes. The motivation for this is often the 'growth' of the practice and its dissemination and promotion to different and wider demographics (Sinita interview, Janik interview). The dissemination

of knowledge about UCP is indeed a worthwhile endeavor[3]. However if this process is extractive it also risks being reductive, the discussion and analysis reverting to notions of efficacy and economy, as well as reinforcing structural coloniality by cementing 'universal' ideas of how the work can and should be done (Mignolo 2013). As Wenger articulates diversity in COPs can be generated internally through mutual engagement and externally via boundary engagement (1998 p128). An imbalance between the importance afforded to the latter over the former can make for a less equitable practice. In COPs, with Ideas typically expressed in English or other European languages, mutual engagement that generates diversity internal to the practice can be limited or channeled only via those who can speak and articulate in multiple relevant languages (among my interviewees individuals like Amina and Slyvester stand out in this regard). There were divergent perspectives (Janik, Marielle) as to how effectively UCP actively addresses this Eurocentricism but also strong practical examples of how South-South staff engagement resulted in positive outcomes in terms of how teams understood themselves in relationship to each other and the practice (Beatrice interview, Slyvester interview, Karen interview, Mahesh interview).

The modes of practice, knowledge production and gender performance within this work exhibit the potential to inform continued research and practice employing applied nonviolence toward transformative learning that changes existing relations of domination in gender relations. Essentially the more immersed the learning process is within actual field based praxis the more impactful the difference it can make (Victoria interview, Amina Interview). The work is inherently relational and where relations between different men and women are more even and interactions less mediated are hierarchy, organisational structure can open up some reflections on gender which make the 'invisible' visible (Halberstam 1998). This extends to relations with key actors/targets of the work e.g. individual behavioral change on the part of influential men in armed groups (and men more broadly) (David

---

[3] (as I hope that this thesis bears out!)

interview) and to the creation/co-creation of spaces and actions by/with women who push back against dominant/dominative gendered patterns of violence (Karen interview, Janik interview, Tariq discussion). The more embedded and institutionalized within a context that a group of UCP practitioners become the more likely it is that their presentation and practice of the work is adulterated through compromise/compliance with dominant logics (as in my fieldwork observations on civil-military interactions involving NP in the Philippines), or relations of dominance (as opposed to relations of power) of militarism, patriarchy and racism (Marielle interview), often through ostensibly benign managerial structures. Under pressure negative patterns of masculinist behaviour with a violent component (Samaran 2019, hooks 2004) can return to the fore (Mick interview, Jaime interview).

Negotiations of boundaries with other groups (both armed and unarmed) present opportunities to experience a steep learning curve, as emphasized in the literature (Wenger 1998 p254). This learning involves regular correction and change depending on how teams manage their interactions and knowledge (as in Sylvester's anecdotes). For example a volunteer or worker may choose to behave confrontationally or defiantly toward an armed actor, considering this an act of 'solidarity', whilst actually objectifying the people whom they presume to support, removing or ignoring their agency. This shows how dogmatic specific ideological commitments, underpinned by paternalist, racist assumptions about 'local' people, can compromise the possibilities of transformative learning (Lakey 2010). The possibilities afforded by opening up to the expertise of local people, including other UCP practitioners (Tariq discussion, Mahesh interview, Janik interview) are much broader than those afforded by a rigid notion of 'solidarity'. Expansion and replication, if combined with staff turnover, are enemies of institutional knowledge reproduction (Amina interview). Cross-pollination of experience between practitioners and non-practitioners and between practitioners with different experiences (life and professional) is best facilitated on the individual or small group level (Mahesh interview, Jaime

interview). More formalized processes of knowledge exchange are important for codification but lose weight/authenticity in the process of standardization. There is a tension between keeping things 'real' and documenting them effectively for sharing (Amina interview). People carry messages and values like pollen. The role of respected elder staff who can transcend certain cultural barriers and become gatekeepers or facilitators become important in this process (Karen interview, Sylvester interview). The imbalances in levels of education, economic security, non-work commitments and other variables between international staff and local staff can be more easily accounted for and balanced at the team level (Beatrice interview, Mahesh interview), if not overcome entirely (Marielle interview). Local staff navigate around it, and team leaders intervene and internationals learn in a 'sink or swim' fashion (Tariq discussion, Mick interview, David interview). The process weeds out those who are unable to adapt and let go of certain assumptions. Because the focus is on actually realizing rights in tangible ways then recourse to more paternalistic structural notions of rights have less relevance and credence. However the further one gets from 'the field' the more the audience changes to one that expects the work to be communicated in very particular discourse which reflects dominant 'common sense' (Max interview). The extent to which staff from the Global South can practice in way that diverge that from that 'common sense' and centre the excluded and marginalized, could open up a wider plurality of possible future directions for the work. Some of the preconditions for this would seem to be present. This can and should be informed by the ongoing engagement with and centering of accompaniment; a tool in UCP but also a powerful rhetorical and epistemological device for reconsidering and reframing humanitarian relationships.

In summary; UCP practice does hold potential to be emancipatory, normative and democratic (Julian & Glasser 2019) in its approach to security but embodies contradictions that also undermine this potential. UCP practice is influenced by the contemporary global context and humanitarian system. Whilst UCP practice affects personal behavior and promotes critical reflection on questions of power

and identity and facilitates a degree of agency for workers to practice a diverse range of agency in their gender performance, UCP is subject to the same structural challenges as most humanitarian work, including racism and power imbalances and the privileging of certain types of white, western masculinities and femininities (Noe 2018). Capitalist conceptions of humanitarianism 'crisis' (Walby 2017) generate economic demand for UCP to 'prove' itself within the 'mutually adaptive' and 'co-constitutive' structures of capitalism and the gender regime (McNally 2018) The current structure and practice of UCP does not adequately address these issues, which have long been identified as a challenge for applied nonviolence in transnational humanitarian work (Boothe and Smithey 2007). Unique components of the practice invert key principles of the masculinist security paradigm (Higate and Henry 2008) and foreground a radical ethics of care (Pringle and Moorsom 2018) and collective knowing (Curnow 2013). However without an underlying ethic of refusal that rejects the disciplinary power of the technocratic 'security-development nexus' (Duffield 2001) the resistance of UCP to the worst abuses of this system is contingent at best.

## 6. Contribution to Knowledge

Following from the above I contend that this study makes the following unique contributions to knowledge

1/ Firstly in establishing a critical framing of UCP practice which takes into account structural power, in particular that of gender, this thesis adds to and enriches the literature on UCP from a new perspective. An ongoing dialogue about the nature of violence and nonviolence, with particular

reference to colonialist and gendered structures, would facilitate a constructive furthering of the critical tensions which this inquiry highlights.

2/ Within this framing, and especially in the use of feminist care ethics, we can observe how care not only supports and makes possible knowledge creation and sharing, but is itself a form of social reproduction that sustains and 'makes' UCP. The differential distribution of the burden of care and knowledge creation in UCP teams demands further attention. This recognition of the centrality of care to UCP not only sheds new light on how UCP is practiced and experienced differently by not only men and women but by people of numerous intersecting subjectivities.

3/ Finally this thesis indicates that greater attention to the intersectionality of identities within the UCP community is essential to future scholarship and action around this practice; especially the importance of the eldership of older, more experienced men and women from the Global South, and the embodied knowledge that these elders recognize, carry and share with peers. This is a new area of insight for UCP practice. As the practice has evolved and grown, so too has the workforce and their knowledge base. The achievements, progress and positionality of UCP workers from the global south, their relationships with practitioners in mixed working environments such as NP field teams, and their contribution to learning via mutual engagement in the UCP COP have been highlighted in this thesis and will bear further research.

## 7. Recommendations

In this final section I state some formative recommendations which lead on from the discussion of the research data, the conclusions drawn and it's unique contribution to knowledge.

The recommendations which I make based on these findings are divided into three broad categories:

## 7.1 Research

More research should be undertaken with the intention of further fleshing out understandings of UCP practice; based on a holistic understanding of the specific experiences of UCP workers, especially those from the global south, both those who thrive and progress in the work and those whose experience is negative or curtailed. Within this group the experiences of women should be centered. The specific dynamics of relationships and relations between local and international staff and the communities whom they serve, should also be researched. The different motivations and trajectories which workers take as a result of their work being professionalized, in opposition to volunteer accompaniers or peace workers, should be taken into account in this research, especially where this reflects changes in local economics and social relations as a result of external humanitarian presence.  There is a strong chance to build further evidence about the internal learning and values of UCP through considering how the perceptions and practices of gender, space and security held by practitioners relate to those of 'local' people and other actors such as military peacekeepers.  By foregrounding the stories and perceptions of the perceived beneficiaries of UCP academics and practitioners alike will garner a much richer evidence base that will help assess the unique qualities and impacts of the work and situate it more accurately in the wider literature on different forms of humanitarian action.

 In this study I have not explicitly explored the role of sexuality or sexual relationships with regard to the practice. The space to do so effectively and sensitively is not afforded by my research design

here. This is an essential dimension to take into account in future such research. A greater appreciation for the diversity of the UCP workforce and the ways in which this diversity shapes engagement with and development of the practice will provide insight into its most transformative potential.

**Learning and Development**

Close attention should be applied to identifying the specific formal and informal learning approaches and methodologies being applied within UCP teams and the role of care as a specific type of labor within teams. Specific attention should be paid to how men support, challenge and learn from one another and appropriate ways to create ideal conditions for men to acknowledge and assume responsibility for caring and nurturing colleagues. Similarly the different approaches which 'local' staff take to apply UCP in practice and the ways in which they name and articulate them should be respected and shared.  Formal coaching and mentoring training would support more experienced staff to support 'apprentices'. Furthermore as well as the constant review and customization of formal training curricula, training should be scheduled, without exception, prior to deployment of international staff which critically facilitates reflection on power and privilege in humanitarian work generally and UCP specifically, especially around gender. These topics should not be considered peripheral but integral to UCP.

**Worker development and organisation**

UCP organisations should focus on the retention of staff, not only for vertical hierarchical progression but for horizontal progression, especially of women from the global south through different teams,

environments and countries. To complement this regular transnational exchange between practitioners; exposing them to different practice and experience, should be facilitated. UCP workers themselves should consider how to initiate and facilitate such exchange and other components of peer-to-peer support outside of any one organisational culture or hierarchy. For UCP to grow and sustain itself may well take a further degree of formalization of the practice outside of existing humanitarian definition or categorization.

**END**

**Bibliography**

Ackerman P, Duvall J. (2001) A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict, St Martins Press

Ahmad A., Smith J. eds. (2018) Humanitarian Action and Ethics, Zed Books

Akala (2018) Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire, Two Roads

Akol L. (2015) South Sudan: Colonialism, Resistance and Autonomy, Gilgamesh Publishing

Alasuutari (1996) Theorizing in Qualitative Research: A Cultural Studies Perspective, Qualiative Inquiry 2:4 pp371-384

Anzaldua Gloria (2012) Borderlands/La Frontieria; the new mestiza

Autesserre S. (2014) Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention, Cambridge University Press

Baker C.; Basham V.; Bulmer S.;Gray H.; Hyde A. (2016) Encounters with the Military: Toward a Feminist Ethics of Critique, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 18:1 pp14-154

Basham, V.M (2013) War, Identity and the Liberal State: Everyday experiences of the geopolitical in the armed forces, Routledge

Berg, B., .l Lune, H. (2012) Qualitative Research Methods

Berger M, Wallis B., Watson S (eds.) (1996) Constructing Masculinity, Routledge

Bernal Victoria, Gerwa Inderpal (eds.) (2014) Theorizing NGOS: States, Feminisms and Neoliberalism, Duke University Press

Bhattacharya T. (ed.) Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression (2017) Pluto Press

Bhattacharya T (2017) "What is Social Reproduction Theory?" Published online at

https://marxismocritico.com/2017/10/17/what-is-social-reproduction-theory/ 17th October 2017 [Last

accessed on August 26th 2019]


Billet S. (2007) 'including the missing subject: Placing the personal within the community' in Hughes

J., Jewson N. Unwin L (2007), Communities of Practice: Critical Perspectives, Routledge


Boardman K. (2005) Taking a Stand: a guide to peace teams and accompaniment projects, New

Society Publishers,


Boege V, Rinck P. (2019) The Local/International Interface in Peacebuilding: Experiences from

Bouganville and Sierra Leone, International Peacekeeping 26:2, pp 216-239


Boege V., Brown A.M, Clements K.P (2009) Hybrid Political Orders, Not Fragile States, Peace

Review 21:1, pp 13-21


Boothe I. Smithey L.A. (2007) Privilege, Empowerment, and Nonviolent Intervention, Peace and

Change, 32:1, pp39-60


Boyer K, Dermott E., James A. MacLeavy J. (2017) Men at work? Debating shifting gender divisions

in care, Dialogues in Human Geography, 7:1, pp 92-98

Brand N, Frantz O. (2013) The Masculine Mystique, The Good Men Project,

https://goodmenproject.com/featured-content/brand-the-masculine-mystique/, [Last accessed August

15th 2019]


Broome A (2011) Negotiating Crisis: The IMF and Disaster Capitalism in Small States, The Round

Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, 100:413, pp 155-167


Brown, J.S., Collins A., Duguid P (1989) Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning, Educational

Researcher, 18:1, pp32-42Y


Brun C. (2016) There is no Future in Humanitarianism: Emergency, Temporality and Protracted

Displacement, History and Anthropology, 27:4, pp 393-410,


Bryman A. (2016) Social Research Methods, Oxford University Press


Bueger C. (2014) Pathways to practice: praxiography and international politics, European Political

Science Review, 6:3 pp 383-406


Butler, J. (2009) Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?, Verso


Cahill R. (2013) Nichole Georgeou: Neoliberalism, Development and Aid Volunteering, Journal of

Australian Political Economy, 71: 3, p136

Calhoun C. (2008) a World of Emergencies: Fear, Intervention and Limits of Cosmopolitan Order, Canadian Review of Sociology pp 41:4

Chapman P (2007) Jungle Capitalists, Canongate

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis. London, UK: Sage

Charney N.W (2009) A History of Modern Burma, Cambridge University Press

Chisholm A., Stachowitsch (2017) (Re) integrating Feminist Security Studies and Feminist Political Economy: Continuing the Conversation, Politics & Gender, 13, pp 710-751

Chistensen A., & Jensen S.Q (2014) Combining hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality, NORMA, volume 9 Issue 1, pp 60-75

Choo, Y.H, Ferree, M.M (2010) Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities, Sociological Theory 28:2,

Choudhry A., Kapoor D. (2013) NGOization: Complicity, contradictions and prospects, Zed Books

Cockburn C. (2010) Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 12:2, pp 139-157

Cockburn C., Zarkov D. (2002) Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, Lawrence and Wishart, London

Connell R, Pearse R (2009) Gender in World Perspective, Polity

Connell, R. (2014) Margin becoming centre: for a world-centered rethinking of masculinities Norma, Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies, Volume 9, issue 4, 2014, pp 217-231

Contiu A., Wilmott H. (2013) Re-Embedding Situatedness: The Importance of Power Relations in Learning Theory, Organisation Science 14:3, pp283-296

Cornwall A. and Lindisfarne N. (eds.) (1994), Dislocating Masculinities: Comparative Ethnographies Routledge

Cornwall A., Karioris F.G and Nancy Lindisfarne (Eds.) (2016) Masculinities Under Neoliberalism, Zed Books

Coy, P.G (2012) Nonpartisanship, interventionism and legality in accompaniment: comparative analyses of Peace Brigades International, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and the International Solidarity Movement, The International Journal of Human Rights, 16:7, 963-981,

Cramer C.(2006) Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries, C.Hurst and Co.

Coy, P.G. (2001) Shared Risks and Research Dilemmas on a Peace Brigaes International Team in Sri Lanka, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 30:5, pp575-606

Creswell, John W. (2009) Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches, Sage

Curnow J. (2013) Fight the power: situated learning and conscientisation in a gendered community of practice, Gender and Education. 25:7, 834-850

Dalby S (1994) Gender and Critical Geopolitics: reading security discourse in the new world disorder, Environment and Planning: Society and Space, 12, pp 595-612

Dauphinee E. 'The ethics of autoethnograpy' (2010) in Review of International Studies Volume 36 Issue 3, pp 718-818

De Sousa Santos, B. (2007) Beyond abyssal thinking. From global lines to ecologies of knowledges, Eurozine Magazine [Online] https://www.eurozine.com/beyond-abyssal-thinking/ last accessed 30/06/2019

De Souza S. & Renner D. (2018) Not Doing: The Art of Effortless Action, LID Books

Duffield M (2010) The Liberal Way of Development and the Development Impasse: Exploring the Global Life-Chance Divide, Security Dialogue 41:1 pp 53-76

Duffield, M., Hewitt V. (eds.) (2009) Empire, Development & Colonialism, Boydell and Brewer

Duffield, M. (2001) Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security, Zed

Duncanson C (2013) Forces for Good: Military Masculinities and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq, Palgrave Macmillan

Duncanson C. (2015) 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations' Men and Masculinities, Vol. 18:2 pp 231-248

Duncanson C. (2016) Gender and Peacebuilding, Polity

Dussel E. (1993) Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the FrankFurt Lectures), boundary 2, 20:3, pp67-76

Easthom T, (2015) The South Sudan Weapons Free Zone, Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 27:1 pp 31–36

Ebrahim A. (2003) NGO and Organisational Change, Cambridge University Press

Eckert P., McConnell-Ginet S. (1992) 'Communities of Practice: Where language, gender and power all live; 89-99 in Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwomon eds., Locating power, Proceedings of the 1992 Berkley Women and Language Conference

Elias J (2008) Introduction: Hegemonic Masculinities in International Politics, Men and Masculinities, 10:4, pp383-388

Emerson R.M, Fretz R.L, Shaw L.L (2011) Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes, University of Chicago Press

Engelbrecht G & Kaushkil V (2015) Community-Based Protection Mechanisms, Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 27:1, 43-51

Enloe, C (2014) Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of Politics, University of California Press

Enloe, C. (2017) The Big Push: exposing and challenging the persistence of patriarchy, University of California Press

Evans, B., Carver, T. (2017) Histories of Violence: Post-War Critical Thought, Zed

Federici S (2012) Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction and Feminist Struggle, Oakland, PM Press

Fine C. (2010) Delusions of Gender, Icon Books

Firth R. & Robinson A. (2016) For a revival of feminist consciousness-raising: horizontal transformation of epistemologies and transgression of neoliberal TimeSpace, Gender and Education, 28:3, pp 343-358

Fish S. (2003) When Britain Ruled the Philippines, 1762-1764: The Story of the 18th Century British Invasion of the Philippines During the Seven Years War, 1st Books Library

Fisher W. (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGOs'

Fluri, J.L. (2008) Geopolitics of gender and violence 'from below', Political Geography 28, pp 259-265

Fluri, J (2011) Armored peacocks and proxy bodies: gender geopolitics in aid/development spaces of Afghanistan, Gender, Place & Culture, 18:4, pp 519-536

Fluri J. (2012) Sexual Misconduct and International Aid Workers: An Afghanistan Case Study, Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies 10, pp 72-101

Fraser N. (2010) Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World, Colombia University Press

Furrnari E., Oldenhuis H & Julian R (2015) 'Securing Space for local peacebuilding: the role of international and national civilian peacekeepers' in Peacebuilding, 3:3, pp297-313

Furnari, E., Julian, R., & Schweitzer, C. (2016). Unarmed Civilian Protection: Effectively Protecting Civilians Without Threat of Violence. Discussion Paper 52, Bund für Soziale Verteidigung e.V.. available at https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/48015 [Last accessed August 24th 2019]

Furnari (eds.) (2106) Wielding Nonviolence in the Midst of Violence: Case Studies of Good Practice in Unarmed Civilian Protection, Institute for Peace Work and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation

Galeano E. (1997) The Open Veins of Latin America, Monthly Review Press

Gederloos P. (2015) The Failure of Nonviolence, Left Bank Books

Gee, D. (2014) Spectacle, Reality, Resistance: Confronting a culture of militarism, Forceswatch

Gehrmann R, Grant M & Rose S (2015) Australian Unarmed Peacekeepers on Bougainville 1997-2003, Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 27:1, pp 52-60,

Gill, P. (2016) Today We Drop Bombs, Tomorrow We Build Bridges, Zed Books

Godfrey R, Brewis J, Grady J. Grocott C (2014) The Private military industry and neoliberal imperialism: Mapping the terrain, Organisation, 21:1,pp 106-125

Grosfugel G (2011) Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Coloniality, Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World (1) 1, [Online] accessed

http://dialogoglobal.com/texts/grosfoguel/Grosfoguel-Decolonizing-Pol-Econ-and-Postcolonial.pdf 29/6/2019

Halberstam J (1998) Female Masculinities, Duke Press

Hallward P. (2010) Damning the Flood: Haiti and the Politics of Containment, Verso, London

Hammeren N. & Johansson T. (2014) Homosociality: In Between Power and Intimacy, SAGE Open 1:11, available at https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2158244013518057 [accessed 16/08/2019]

Handley K., Clark T., Fincham R. & Sturdy A. (2007) Researching Situated Learning: Participation, Identity and Practices in Client-Consultant Relations, Management Learning 38: pp 173-191

Hartsough, D., Hollyday, J. (2014) Waging Peace: Global Adventures of a Lifelong Activist, PM Press, California

Heathcote G. & Otto D. (2014) Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security, Palgrave McMillian, New York

Heilman, B., Guerrero-López, C. M., Ragonese, C., Kelberg, M., and Barker, G. (2019). The Cost of the Man Box: A study on the economic impacts of harmful masculine stereotypes in the United States. Washington, DC, and London: Promundo-US and Unilever.

Higate Paul, Henry Marsha (2009) Insecure Spaces: Peacekeeping in Liberia, Kosovo and Haiti, Zed Books

Hildalgo D.C (2008) 'Non-violence in conflict zones; Peace Brigades International', Convergencia, October-December 2008, 48, pp 120-143

Hockey J (1986) Squaddies: Portrait of a Subculture, Liverpool University Press

hooks b. (2004) The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity and Love, Atria Press, New York

Hooper, C. (2001) Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics, Columbia University Press

Hotho JJ., Saka-Helmut A., Becker-Ritterspach (2014) Bringing context and structure back into situated learning, Management Learning 45:1, 57-80

Howson R. (2006) Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity, Routledge

Hughes J, Jewson N, Unwin L (eds.) (2007) Communities of Practice: Critical Perspectives, Routledge

Hunter D, Lakey G (2004) Opening Space for Democracy: A Manual for Third Party Nonviolent Intervention, Philadelphia, Training for Change

INCITE! Women of Color (2006) (eds.) The Color of Violence, South End Press, Boston

Janikzen R. (December 2014) Shifting Practices of Peace: What is the current state of Unarmed Civilian Protection? Peace Studies Journal (3) pp 46-60

Julian R. & Gasser R. (2018)  Soldiers, Civilians and Peacekeeping-Evidence and False Assumptions International Peacekeeping, 26:1 pp 22-54

Julian R. & Schweitzer C (2015) The Origins and Development of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping, Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 27:1, pp1-8

Johansen D. & Driscoll M. (2004) Handbook of Research on Educational Communications and Technology A Project of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology, Taylor and Francis, Oxford

Johansson T. & Ottemo A. (2015) Ruptures in hegemonic masculinity: the dialectic between ideology and utopia, Journal of Gender Studies, 24:2, pp 192-206

Johnson D.H (2016) The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars: Old Wars and New Issues, James Currey

Käpylä J. & Kennedy D. (2014) Cruel to care? Investigating the governance of compassion in the humanitarian imaginary, International Theory, 6:2, pp255-292

Kaufman M. (1994) Cracking the Armour: Power, Pain and the Lives of Men. Viking/Penguin

Kaufman M.  (1999) The Seven Ps of Men's Violence, retrieved from
http://www.michaelkaufman.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/kaufman-7-ps-of-mens-violence.pdf
[last accessed August 20th 2019)

Kirby P, Henry M. (2012) Rethinking Masculinity and the Practice of Violence in Conflict Settings, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 14:4 pp 445-449

Kleanthous, Irene; Wenger-Trayner, Etienne (2016) Communities of Practice as a Social Theory of Learning: A Conversation with Etienne Wenger, Farnsworth, Valerie, British Journal of Educational Studies, 64:2,  pp 139-160

Klein N (2008) The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism, Picador

Konopaski M., Hamilton E. Jack S. (2015) How Family Business Members Learn About Continuity, Academy of Management Learning & Education, 14:3 pp 347-364

Koopman S (2011) Alter-geopolitics: Other securities are happening, Geoforum 42, pp 274-284

Kothari U. (2009) Spatial Practices & Imaginaries, p161-175  in Duffield M. and Hewitt V,. Empire, Development and Colonialism (2009), Boydell & Brewer

Kurlansky M. (2007) Nonviolence: The History of a Dangerous Idea, Modern Library Chronicles

Lave, J., Wenger, E. (1991) Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation, Cambridge University Press

Lees. O (2019) "UN Peacekeeping faces Funding Crisis" published online at https://theowp.org/un-peacekeeping-faces-funding-crisis/ [Last accessed May 31st 2020]

Leppert-Whal, Marlaina A. (2017) 'Christian Peacemaker Teams in Israel/Palestine: Beyond Accompaniment" (2017) in Journal of Global Peace and Conflict, Volume 5, No. 2, pp 1-14

Levine I. and Bowden M (2002) Protection from sexual exploitation and abuse in humanitarian crises: the humanitarian community's response, Forced Migration Review 15, pp 20-21

Lewis D. and Schuller M., (2017) Engagements with a productively unstable category: anthropologists and non-governmental organisations. Current Anthropology 56 (5), accessed at

http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/65236/


Lilja M & Vinthagen S (2014) Sovereign Power, disciplinary power and biopower: resisting what power with what resistance? Journal of Political Power 7:1, 107-126


Lusher D., Robins G. (2009) Hegemonic and Other Masculinities in Local Social Contexts, Men and Masculinities 11:4 pp 387-423


Mahony, L. (2006) Proactive Presence. Field Strategies For Civilian Protection, Geneva: Henry Dunant Centre

for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva [Online] at https://www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Proactive-Presence-Janikuary-2006.pdf (accessed 1/06/2019)


Mahony, L. and Eguren, L.En. (1997) Unarmed Bodyguards. International Accompaniment for the Protection of

Human Rights. Kumarian Press, West Hartfort


Mac Ginty, R., (2012) Against Stabilization. Stability: International Journal of Security and Development, 1:1, pp.20–30.


Mac Ginty R. (2014) Everyday peace: Bottom-Up and local agency in conflict-affected societies, Security Dialogue 45:6 pp 548-564

Martinez, D.E (2011), the Logical Framework Approach in Non-Governmental Organisations, University of Alberta

Marx Ferree M. (2018) "Theories Don't Grow on Trees" Contextualizing Gender Knowledge, in Messerschmidt, J.W, Yancey Martin P., Messner M.A, Connell R. (eds.) (2018) Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research, New York University Press

Mazurana D (2002) International international peacekeeping operations: to neglect gender is to risk peacekeeping failure, in Cockburn C., Zarkov D. (2002) Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, Lawrence and Wishart

McElhinny B. (1994) "An object of affect: Objectivity, Masculinity and the Gendering of Police Work" p158-170 in Dislocating Masculinities: Comparative Ethnographies Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne (eds.) 1994, Routledge

McNally D. (2017) Intersections and Dialectics: Critical Reconstructions in Social Reproduction Theory, in Bhattacharya (2017), Pluto Press

McTavish, Don G, Loether Herman J. (2002) Social Research, an Evolving Process, Pearson Education

Mendez X (2015) Notes Toward a Decolonial Feminist Methodology: Revisiting the Race/Gender Matrix, Trans-Scripts 5, available at http://sites.uci.edu/transscripts/files/2014/10/2015_5_mendez.pdf [Last accessed August 25th 2019]

Messerschmidt J.W, Yancey Martin P., Messner M.A, Connell (eds.) (2018) Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research, New York University Press, New York

Mignolo, W (2013) Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On (De) Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience, Confero, 1:1, pp129-15 doi: 10.3384/confero.2001-4562.13v1i1129 [Last accessed 25th August 2019]

Mignolo, Walter D. (2011) The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options, Duke University Press

Muhammed M, Wallerstein N., Sussman A.L, Avila M, Belone L, Duran B (2014) Reflections on Researcher Identity and Power: The Impact of Positionality on Community Based Participatory (CBPR) Processes and Outcomes, Critical Sociology 41:7-8, pp 1-20

Newsinger J. (2013) The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire, Bookmarks

Nobert M. (2017), Humanitarian Experiences with Sexual Violence: Compilation of Two Years of Report the Abuse Data Collection, Report the Abuse, available online at https://www.eisf.eu/library/humanitarian-experiences-with-sexual-violence-compilation-of-two-years-of-report-the-abuse-data-collection/ [last accessed 18th August 2019]

Nonviolent Peaceforce and The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (2017) Unarmed Civilian Protection: Strengthening Civilian Capacities to Protect Civilians Against Violence, Nonviolent Peaceforce & UNITAR (Online) [Last accessed 24th August 2019]

Nonviolent Peaceforce, Madani and Cure Violence (2016) Violence Reduction and Civilian Protection in Syria' (unpublished)

Olivius E. (2016) Constructing Humanitarian Selves and Refugee Others, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 18:2, pp 270-290

Osterman, C.A (2003) Communities of Practice at Work: Gender, Facework and the Power of Habitus at an All-Female Police Station and a Feminist Crisis Intervention Center in Brazil, Discourse & Society,  14(4): pp 473–505

O'Sullivan, Hilton M., Fiori J. (2016) Humanitarians in Context, European Review of History-Revue Europeene D'Histoire, 23: 1-2, pp 1-15

Pasoe, C,J & Bridges, Tristran (eds.) (2016) Exploring Masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity and Change, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Pacheco-Vega R (2019) 'Writing Field Notes and Using Them to Prompt Scholarly Writing', International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18 (online) https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919840093 [Last accessed 25th August 2019]

Parker, J. (2012) Questioning Appropriation: Agency and Complicity in a Transnational Feminist Location Politics, Journal of Feminist Scholarship 3:3, pp. 1–18.

Paechter C. (2006) Power, knowledge and embodiment in communities of sex/gender practice, Women's Studies International Forum 29:1 pp 13-26

Parker M 'Managerialism: Who Are Its Critics?' in The Sage Handbook of Organisational Behavior: Volume 2. Macro Approaches (2008) (Eds S Clegg and C Cooper) London: Sage, pp 85-98

Piang D. (2008) Women suffer most in Mindanao conflict, The New Humanitarian (Online) published 28 November 2008, available at https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/81708/philippines-women-suffer-most-mindanao-conflict [Last accessed 24th August 2019]

Pringle J. & Moorsom, T.L (2018) An Ethic of Refusal: The Political Economy of Humanitarianism under Neoliberal Globalisation, in Ahmad A. & Smith J. Humanitarian Action and Ethics, Zed, London

P.de Wet J. & Schoots J. (2015) The learning organisation: conditions of possibility in a feminist NGO,

Development in Practice 26:1, pp 64-

Pyrko I, Dorfler V., Eden C. (2016) Thinking together: What makes Communities of Practice work?, Human Relations, pp1-21

Randazzo E. (2016) The paradoxes of the 'everyday': scrutinising the local turn in peace building, Third World Quarterly, 37:8, pp1351-1370

Razack S, Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism (2004), University of Toronto, Toronto

Richmond R. (2011), A Post-Liberal Peace, Routledge

Roberts, S. M and Jones III, J.P (2005) 'NGOs and the Globalization of Managerialism: A research framework' in World Development, Volume 33, no 11, pp 1845-1864

Robinson F. (2011) The Ethics of Care: A Feminist Approach to Human Security, Temple University Press

Robinson F, (2008) The importance of care in the theory and practice of human security, Journal of International Political Theory 4:2, pp  167-188

Rodney W. (2018) How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Verso

Rutazibwa O.U (2019), What's There to Mourn? Decolonial Reflections on (the End of) Liberal Humanitarianism, Journal of Humanitarian Affairs 1:1

Salminen-Karlsson, M. (2006) Situating gender in situated learning, Scandinavian Journal of Management 22, pp31-48

Samaran N. (2019) Turn This World Inside Out: The Emergence of Nurturance Culture, AK Press

Schirch L (2006) Civilian Peacekeeping: Preventing violence and making space for democracy, Uppsala, Life and Peace Institute

Schuller M, Maldonado J.K (2016) Disaster Capitalism, Annals of Anthropological Practice 40:1, available online at https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/napa.12088 [Last accessed August 24th 2019]

Schutte R. (2013) Civilian Protection in Armed Conflicts: Evolution, Challenges and Implementation, Springer, Berlin

Schweitzer C (ed.) (2010) Civilian Peacekeeping; a barely tapped resource, Institute for Peace Work and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation [Online] available at http://www.ifgk.de/fileadmin/ifgk/publikation/AP_23.pdf (accessed 1/06/2019)

Schweitzer C. (2019) Documentation of Workshop onGood Practices in Nonviolent, Unarmed Civilian to Civilian Protection; 12-14 November 2018 in Narobi, Nonviolent Peaceforce (Online) [Last accessed August 24th 2019]

Shepherd L. (2011) Sex, Security and Superhero (ine)s: From 1325 to 1820 and beyond, International Feminist Journal of Politics, 13:4, pp 504-521

Shepherd L. (2016) Making war safe for women? National Action Plans and the militarization of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, International Political Science Review, 37:3 pp 324-335

Skeggs, B. (2019) The forces that shape us: The entangled vine of gender, race and class, The Sociological Review, 67:1, pp 23-35

Smirl L. (2015) Spaces of Aid: How Cars, Compounds and Hotel Shape Humanitarianism, Zed Books

Sutherland B., Meyer M. (200) Guns and Ghandi in Africa, Africa World Press

SU Gender (October 10th 2017) Cynthia Cockburn's Keynote Speech at Gender and Peace Conference in Istanbul, May 2017 [Video File] retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NiOH5qWS-50 [Last accessed August 25th 2019]

Springer. S (2015) The violence of neoliberalism, in Springer S., Birch K. & MacLeavy J. (eds.) The Handbook of Neoliberalism (2016) Routledge

Springer S (2016) "Fuck Neoliberalism" ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies 15 (2). 285: 92

Taithe, B. & Borton J. (2016) History, memory and 'lessons learnt' for humanitarian practitioners, European Review of History, Revue eopeenne d'historie, 23:1-2, pp 210-224

The Human Rights Campaign (2019) Violence against the transgender community in 2019. Available online at https://www.hrc.org/resources/violence-against-the-transgender-community-in-2019 [last accessed August 20th 2019]

Tucker K. (2018) Unraveling Coloniality in International Relations: Knowledge, Relationality, Strategies for Engagement, International Political Sociology, 12:3, pp 215-232,

Turse N (2016) Next Time They'll Come to Count the Dead: War and Survival in South Sudan, Haymarket

Twain M. (1992) Mark Twain's weapons of satire: anti-imperialist writings on the Philippine-American War, Syracuse University Press

Umererwa Rutazibwa O. (2019) What's There to Mourn? Decolonial Reflections on (the End of) Liberal Humanitarianism, International Journal of Humanitarian Affairs 1:1, PP65-67, available online at https://www.manchesteropenhive.com/view/journals/jha/1/1/article-p65.xml [Last accessed August 25th 2019]

Venturi B. (2015) Mainstreaming Unarmed Civilian Protection, Peace Review, 27:1, pp 61-66

Virdee S. (2019) Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation, Sociological Review, 67:1 pp 3-27

Walby, S. (2015) Crisis, Polity

Wenger, E. (1999) Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity, Cambridge University Press

Whitworth S (2004) Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis, Lyyne Rienner Publishers, Boulder Colorado

Woehrle L.M, Coy P.G, Maney G.M (2016) The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the challenges of Intersectionality praxis, Peace & Change 41:3, pp273-301

Zarkov D., Cockburn C. (eds.) (2002) The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, Lawrence and Wishart

Yukawa J (2012) Communities of Practice, retrieved from jyukuwa/main/cop [Last accessed August 25th 2019]

**Appendix One**

Example transcript of interview (extract)

**Appendix 1: Example Transcript of full Interview**
Interview Date: 26/10/2018 (Skype)
Interviewee: 'Mahesh', Nepali Man
Current Role: Senior Project NP Myanmar
Experience with NP: 3.5 years Myanmar, 8.5 NP
Previously United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMN): election monitoring

*What do you think are essential Characteristics of UCP?*

From my perspective it's about really reaching the community..i see it as two stages…build the capacity and then give them ownership. Once they have the capacity they can take over the knowledge and power..they can protect themselves and they can do it for themselves. Not that you don't need a third party …you still will sometimes…but that's the key…

*What people and experiences stand out for you in influencing your understanding of UCP?*

When I was in Nepal we were doing Monitoring and reporting. In Myanmar we are in Kachin and Salah states; it's very volatile,,,no one focused on it in international media..there is fighting there

every day..when I arrived there was a lot of context understanding I needed…people were really excited to learn how to do this for themselves..In Nepal and the Philippines I was responding…here it is satisfying because you are transferring the skills. You feel real proud because they are responding themselves…and they have..to hundreds of incidents. For me that was a big learning…you might be there for 3,4 5 years. The knowledge stays with them…they transfer knowledge too, it trickles down….

In the Philippines as an international Skill wise there was not much challenge…it was more about learning the context of Mindanao…the actors etc.…in teams that was amazing…you meet some people that you don't get along with everyone…but there isn't much to talk about with that..we supported each other in mosts cases..you are working together, living together, eating together…complimenting each other…of course you have some differences in the team.broadly speaking compliment each other…once you work in that close you become family and friends..we still keep in touch…

*What facilitates that?*

You know people quickly when you first meet them. You have similar motivation and respect for each other..you go for dinner , drinks and talk about experiences in the past…when I do capacity building here I talk about work in Nepal and the philippines..i try to contextualise those skills and interventions and adapt it to Myanmar…

*Do you think that you are received differently as  an Asian man?*

Definitely..and I keep a beard…When I got here…there was an earthquake and. Used to go to a tea shop ...this guy knew I was Nepali but would say I was Pakistani and Taliban..it was a joke,but it wasn't a joke anymore..next time I took a Burmese colleague..I was headed elsewhere in Myanmar central and was warned by colleagues to shave before I went into town. There is mistrust.
I know a Dutch guy walking in the capital working for a bank who was stopped and harassed one day. Asked what work he was doing here…if he'd said NGO then it might have been trouble. There was a Rally against the internationals saying something like "ISIS can't come to Myanmar'? that day was difficult for me
In general in Myanmar it's a different working experience; a smoother small team…you see each other every day…in the Philippines there are bigger teams in different sites…more transparent and connected ...nothing like hierarchy..you go straight and ask…more people = more issues ...There are disagreements everywhere…in the Philippines at one point …there was a big turnover; 4 or 5 people left at the same time and that created a big vacuum

*As an experienced staff member how do you make yourself open to the others?*

Come to me at any point 12 at night 3 in the morning ...breaking the barriers…people have different ways of doing it…me and this guy has been in the field for a month at a time for a year..it helps with bonding…of course you get tired of seeing the same face…it's about being there…answering…
How have you related to other Internationals?
When you just got there…11 in the batch…6 and 5  two groups….6 got on well with national staff..5 were sort of "we are from the west…we are better…" the office was there..village was there..it didn't

work out they got cut off..in Nepal too..there was a girl from the UK..you work …you leave ...it happens everywhere I think..if you are international and you say I have been to more places, it's like guys you have been here 2 or 3 week.ss… we  have been here our whole lives…if you address that you can become best friends

For me the challenge in myanmar is language…in philippines I could understand …here I can not. It brings about an element of doubt. You don't know what's going on…there is a pride factor…they don't speak about rido in front of everyone..it's very hierarchical…the monk order ...the elders..etc..you have to find ways to ask questions, raise doubts etc…

*How do you know when the barrier is broken?*

My team member swears at me…in a friendly way…All these informal things..we were in the field in October for 10 days he brought his family with him…that kind of thing made him happy…that brings about some change. For me what works really well is for the international and national to understand each other..you can say whatever you want..even give critical feedback…Yangon is not like Mindanao,,,it's not that you can't go out…
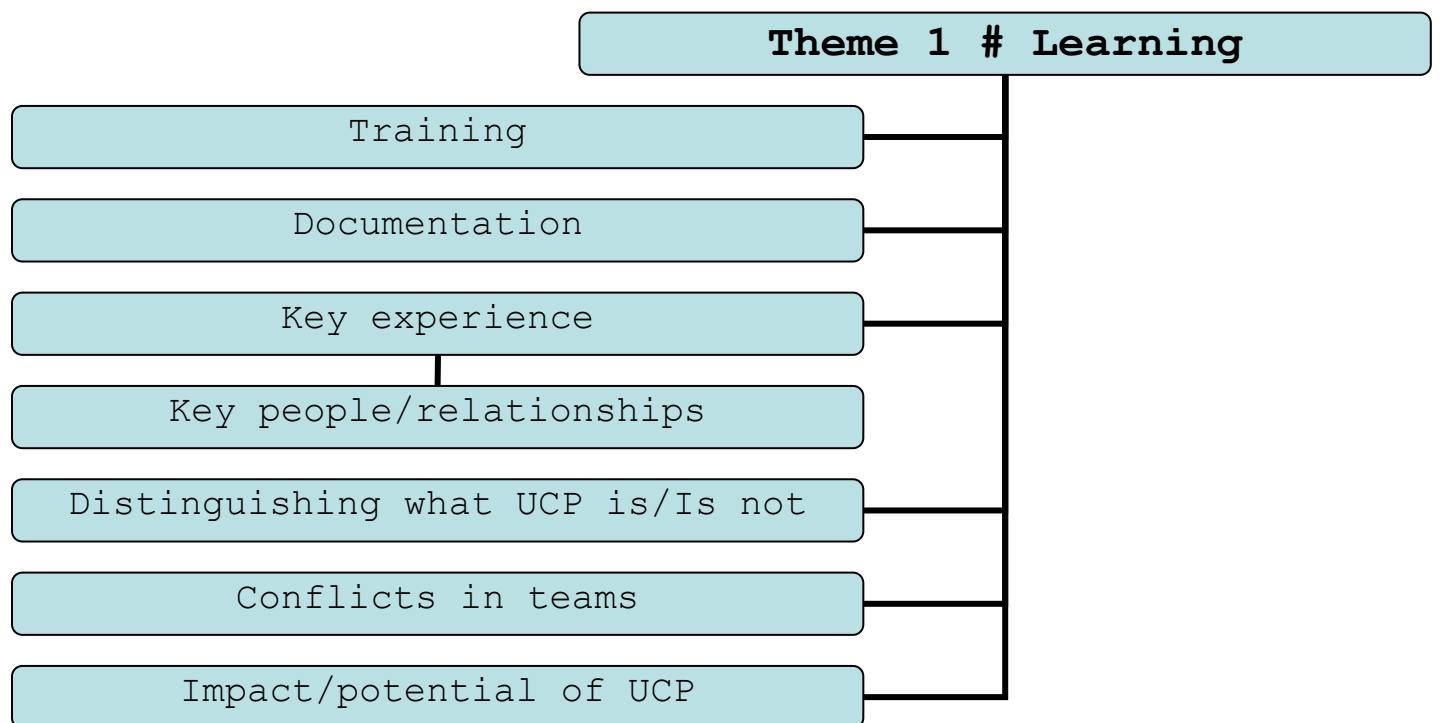
**End**

**Appendix Two: Code Book**


## Code List


| Code | Definition of Code |
|---|---|
| *Training* | Data describing UCP training experienced or delivered by participants or interviewees, and giving some qualitative information on the content and structure of training |
| *Documentation* | Data describing why or how UCP is documented, by who and how these documents are used |
| *Key experience* | Formative or definitive experiences that helped an individual or group make sense of UCP or deepened their practice |
| *Key people/relationships* | Formative or definitive people or relationships that helped an individual or group make sense of UCP or deepened their practice |
| *Distinguishing what UCP is/Is not* | How practitioners define UCP values and practices and watershed examples of how the limits and boundaries of UCP are understood |
| *Conflicts in teams* | Issues that arise in UCP teams and how they escalate or are resolved |
| *Impact/potential of UCP* | Data that indicates what someone feels is the unique contribution and impact UCP makes or could make in the world |
|  |  |
| *Gender Work* | Data describing UCP work on gender issues, gender based violence or with/for women |
| *Gender Roles* | Data indicating reflections on gender roles and interactions within UCP work |
| *Masculinity* | Data indicating the position and role of masculinities and the self-awareness/lack of on the part of men doing UCP |
| *Care & Crisis* | Data indicating how UCP practitioners understand, experience and address 'crisis' and the meaning they find in caring for/looking after themselves and others in the process |
| *Same-Sex socializing and friendship* | Data that gives some insight into how people connect with others in UCP practice and how this relates to their practice. |
|  |  |
| *Racism* | Data specifically related to racism experienced and identified by practitioners within UCP as a COP |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Cultural and Language difference* | Data indicating how practitioners understand and experience cultural difference within UCP and between UCP and the communities where they work |
| *Differences between staff* | Data highlighting cooperation and conflict between UCP staff from different places an specifically between 'national' and 'international' staff and within the latter international staff from the Global South and other UCP workers |
| *Faith* | Data about what practitioners believe in and how this relates to their vocation and practice as UCP workers |
| *Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism* | Data concerning the relationship of UCP practice and workers to colonial power in the past and present and how this affects them and their work |

**Grouping of Codes**

| | |
|---|---|
| | **Theme 1 # Learning** |
| Training | |
| Documentation | |
| Key experience | |
| Key people/relationships | |
| Distinguishing what UCP is/Is not | |
| Conflicts in teams | |
| Impact/potential of UCP | |

**Theme #2: Gender**

Gender Work

Sexual and Gender Based Violence

Masculinity

Care and Crisis

Same Sex Socialising

**Theme 3: Intersectionality**

Racism

Cultural and Language Differences

Differences between staff

Faith

Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism