



DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION DIRECTORATE
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE

Cancels & replaces the same document of 29 March 2004

SECURITY SYSTEM REFORM AND GOVERNANCE: POLICY AND GOOD PRACTICE

DAC High Level Meeting, 15-16 April 2004

This policy statement and paper are submitted for ENDORSEMENT at the High Level Meeting on 15-16 April. The policy statement could also subsequently be submitted to the OECD Council for information, as recommended by several SLM participants.

Following endorsement, this work would be declassified and published in the DAC Guidelines and Reference Series.

Note: This Cancels & Replace only concerns a minor correction in para. 37.

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JT00161256

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Box 1. Background

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has been working on Security System Reform (SSR) since the mid-1990s through its Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation (CPDC). In 1997, the CPDC held a workshop and published a book on military expenditures and security. The first *DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation*, 1998, raised the importance of the link between security and development, further developed in the *DAC Guidelines on Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*, 2001 and "Security Issues and Development: A Conceptual Framework for Enhancing Policy Coherence", *The DAC Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3. This paper is intended to deepen previous work. It highlights, particularly through illustrative boxes, examples of good practice and lessons learned. In developing it, the CPDC has drawn in part on its two major surveys on SSR. One was a survey of SSR activities in 110 countries in four geographical areas: Africa; Asia-Pacific; Latin America and the Caribbean; and South Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the Baltic. The other was of donor assistance initiatives on SSR. Annex I "An International Survey of Security System Reform 2002-3", describes the surveys conducted by the CPDC with the DAC Secretariat and Team Leader, Dylan Hendrickson. The paper draws more broadly on recent experience and literature on SSR. It also draws on a paper that brought together this work and other expertise, "Good Practice and Working Principles in Security System Reform", DCD/DAC/CPDC(2003)4, by Dylan Hendrickson and Nicole Ball.

POLICY STATEMENT

SECURITY SYSTEM REFORM AND GOVERNANCE: POLICY AND GOOD PRACTICE

1. Security is fundamental to people's livelihoods, reducing poverty and achieving the Millennium Development Goals. It relates to personal and state safety, access to social services and political processes. It is a core government responsibility, necessary for economic and social development and vital for the protection of human rights.
2. Security matters to the poor and other vulnerable groups, especially women and children, because bad policing, weak justice and penal systems and corrupt militaries mean that they suffer disproportionately from crime, insecurity and fear. They are consequently less likely to be able to access government services, invest in improving their own futures and escape from poverty.
3. Security is important for improved governance. Inappropriate security structures and mechanisms can contribute to weak governance and to instability and violent conflict, which impact negatively on poverty reduction. As the UN Secretary General notes in his September 2003 report on the Millennium Declaration, "We must make even greater efforts to prevent the outbreak of violence well before tensions and conflicts have eroded polities and economies to the point of collapse."
4. OECD governments and their development actors aim to help partner countries establish appropriate structures and mechanisms to manage change and resolve disputes through democratic and peaceful means. Support for security system reform (SSR) forms part of this assistance. It seeks to increase the ability of partner countries to meet the range of security needs within their societies in a manner consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of governance and the rule of law. Given restrictions on Official Development Assistance (ODA), interested OECD governments may need to draw on non-ODA sources to assist activities in this area.
5. SSR is a key component of the broader "human security" agenda, developed with leadership from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and described in *Human Security Now*, the report of the UN Commission on Human Security. The human security agenda includes, for example, issues of livelihoods and social organisation of the poor that go beyond those covered here. SSR itself also extends well beyond the narrower focus of more traditional security assistance on defence, intelligence and policing. The security system includes the armed forces, the police and gendarmerie, intelligence services and similar bodies, judicial and penal institutions, as well as the elected and duly appointed civil authorities responsible for control and oversight (e.g. Parliament, the Executive, and the Defence Ministry).
6. With this policy statement and paper, DAC donors intend to help their own governments/organisations, developing countries and international organisations to reinforce work on SSR. This requires strategic planning for improved policies, practices and partnerships amongst all actors. The DAC also reaffirms its commitment to work on the security and development nexus agreed in the DAC Guidelines and policy statement on *Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*.
7. To support SSR work with partner countries and other actors, DAC donors confirm a commitment to the following basic working principles. SSR should be:

- **People-centred, locally owned and based on democratic norms and human rights principles and the rule of law, seeking to provide freedom from fear.**
- **Seen as a framework to structure thinking about how to address diverse security challenges facing states and their populations through more integrated development and security policies and through greater civilian involvement and oversight.**
- **Founded on activities with multi-sectoral strategies, based upon a broad assessment of the range of security needs of the people and the state.**
- **Developed adhering to basic principles underlying public sector reform such as transparency and accountability.**
- **Implemented through clear processes and policies that aim to enhance the institutional and human capacity needed for security policy to function effectively.**

Against this background, the DAC agrees to the following ten recommendations for action in order to:

Promote peace and security as fundamental pillars of development and poverty reduction

8. Clearly demonstrating how peace, security and development are mutually reinforcing is vital to building the commitment and resources needed to establish sustainable security systems that contribute positively to development goals. Developing a shared international understanding of SSR concepts, issues and approaches will lay the ground for effective policy frameworks and assistance programmes, integrated, and less contradictory international approaches to SSR. Therefore, DAC donors plan to:

- i. **Work together in partner countries to ensure that the rationale, principles and objectives of SSR work are clearly communicated.** Both external and local stakeholders need to **establish a shared vision**, and consider how any particular SSR-related activity fits into the broad spectrum of SSR and development needs in the country. This can be assisted through an assessment - such as a national security system review - of the country's security needs and context for reform; carried out by, or in collaboration with, relevant local actors.

Take whole-of-government approaches to SSR and consider making necessary institutional changes

9. In establishing development and security policy as integrated areas of public action through an overarching approach to SSR and democratic governance, DAC donors, working within their governments and organisations and with the international community, should:

- ii. **Improve policy coherence by taking a whole-of-government approach to SSR:** foster inter-ministerial dialogue, implement institutional change, and **mainstream security** as a public policy and governance issue in donor and partner country governments. The absence of a whole-of-government approach may mean that actions by government departments compound rather than mitigate security problems. Mainstreaming the SSR concept across the whole-of-government is also important in view of the increased emphasis on counter-terrorism in some OECD security assistance programmes. (The DAC has issued a policy statement and reference paper, A Development Co-operation Lens on Terrorism Prevention: Key Entry Points for Action (2003) on issues relating to terrorism and development). The DAC has also recently clarified definitions of what counts as "Official Development Assistance", in a manner that takes account of the need to safeguard the integrity and credibility of DAC statistics. Whole-of-government approaches would facilitate provision of needed assistance that would combine financing from ODA and other relevant budget sources.

- iii. **Develop greater co-ordination, harmonisation and an effective division of labour among development and other actors working in a partner country.** Effective donor support to existing mechanisms at the country level is essential. It is particularly important given the varying legal limitations and operational capacities of development agencies to work across the range of security system reforms. In dividing responsibilities, each actor should be able to pursue its comparative advantage without undermining the common effort.
- iv. **Recognise the role that OECD governments should play in addressing security-related issues** such as: international corruption; money laundering; organised crime; perpetuation of militia-linked private security forces, including through support from multinational enterprises; human trafficking; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; terrorism prevention; and illicit trade in small arms, light weapons.

Facilitate partner country-owned and led reform efforts

10. Experience shows that reform processes will not succeed in the absence of commitment and ownership on the part of those undertaking reforms. Assistance should be designed to support partner governments and stakeholders as they move down a path of reform, rather than determining that path and leading them down it.

11. A major problem in the area of security system reform in some regions, particularly in Africa, has been a lack of local input to and ownership of the emerging reform agenda. This issue is most significant in "difficult partnership" countries.

12. DAC donors are committed to facilitating partner country-owned and led reform through efforts to:

- v. **Recognise that needs, priorities and circumstances governing SSR differ substantially by country.** Magnitudes, objectives, perceptions and approaches vary greatly. A country specific approach is important. Flexibility in donor policy frameworks and programming is therefore essential. This should be underpinned by the understanding and analysis of differing capacities, willingness and ownership to embrace SSR.
- vi. **Provide assistance in ways that enhance domestic ownership of reform processes and strengthen institutional frameworks and human capacity** for managing the security system in a manner consistent with sound democratic governance practices and transparent financial governance. Help to create local demand and vision for change by supporting activities that help:
 - Increase dialogue among the security forces, actors in the wider security system, civil society organisations such as women's groups and ethnic minority groups and the general public and bring an appropriate mix of expertise.
 - Demonstrate how to integrate the security system into government planning; public sector management, expenditure and budgeting processes; and anti-corruption efforts.
 - Support regional dialogue and confidence-building mechanisms.
- vii. In this context, **make it a priority to encourage governments to develop workable multi-sectoral strategies, and to help stakeholders determine what will work best for them.** Challenges include how to maximise use of scarce resources and find ways to build incentives into their systems to promote change. This often requires innovative approaches to broaden the discussion, since needs and priorities governing SSR, such as incentives for reform, differ.
- viii. **Support civil society efforts to create a pro-reform environment for democratic governance of the security system.** In particular in countries with a lack of government commitment and weak capacity, it is important to prepare the political and policy terrain. This requires supporting dialogue through civil society and regional networks and providing information and examples about how other countries address SSR challenges.

- ix. **Identify entry-points and develop methods of working through local actors**, and seek to **build on existing initiatives** to avoid imposing organisational structures and modes of operation on partner country governments.
- x. **Adopt a regional perspective even when assistance is provided in support of a national reform programme**, and support and work through regional or sub-regional organisations involved in security-related activities, where feasible. Regional and cross-border dynamics can have major positive or negative impacts on national development and security system reform processes. Internationally supported regional confidence-building measures can help to reduce suspicions and tensions that may lead to militarisation and increased risk of violent confrontation between neighbours.

Next steps

13. DAC donors thus agree to use this policy statement and paper to the fullest and call on the DAC Network on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation to assist or sponsor regional workshops with partner countries to deepen understanding of these concepts and consider concrete ways to stimulate policy making and institutional change. Other areas the CPDC should consider are good practice on: administrative and funding mechanisms to promote policy coherence in SSR; and encouraging positive incentives for SSR in-country.

SECURITY SYSTEM REFORM AND GOVERNANCE: POLICY AND GOOD PRACTICE

I. Introduction

14. The overall objective of security system reform is to create a secure environment that is conducive to development, poverty reduction and democracy. This secure environment rests upon two essential pillars: (i) the ability of the state, through its development policy and programmes, to generate conditions that mitigate the vulnerabilities to which its people are exposed; and (ii) the ability of the state to use the range of policy instruments at its disposal to prevent or address security threats that affect society's well-being.

15. The traditional concept of security - which revolves around the protection of states from military threats - is being redefined in three important respects that provide the basis for the security system reform policy agenda:

- The focus of security policy itself is broadening from an almost exclusive focus on state stability and regime security to include the well-being of their populations and human rights;
- Security and development are increasingly seen as being inextricably linked which opens the way to mainstreaming security as a public policy and a governance issue. This invites greater public scrutiny of security policy; and
- State institutions involved in providing security are being re-evaluated. The military is now seen as only one instrument of security policy with traditional legal, social and economic instruments receiving greater attention.

16. The SSR policy agenda covers three inter-related challenges facing all states: (i) developing a clear institutional framework for the provision of security that integrates security and development policy and includes all relevant actors; (ii) strengthening the governance of the security institutions; and (iii) building capable and professional security forces that are accountable to civil authorities.

Background

17. Over the last decade, donors have increasingly recognised the ways in which the security environment can contribute to or undermine development. Until recently, because security was equated with military security and the protection of the state, development actors saw the provision of assistance in this area as the primary responsibility of their defence, intelligence and police counterparts. In the late 1990s, this view began to change as the close links between security and development became more recognised.

18. DAC work on security systems started with a 1997 review of DAC Members' approaches to dealing with military issues which linked a number of diverse issues relevant to security. The DAC then developed a conceptual framework for security assistance. This subsequently led to the incorporation of key security concepts into the 2001 DAC Guidelines on *Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*. Security issues are also covered in the 2001 *DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction*.

Challenges and approaches

19. While significant change is occurring in the way that donors think about security and development, the donor survey conducted in 2002-03 demonstrates that less progress has been made in translating the new security concepts into policies and programmes. This paper seeks to meet this need by

further helping donors to: (i) improve their understanding of the security challenges facing developing and transition countries today; (ii) link security and development; (iii) mainstream SSR in development work; and (iv) establish improved policy frameworks and more effective programming.

20. Definitions developed in the DAC and quoted in the next section emphasise governance of the security system that allows development actors to work on areas most closely related to development. This lays the groundwork for collaboration with their defence and security counterparts. Work on SSR involves three key challenges for donors:

- **Developing a clear and shared international understanding of the relationship between development and security and the SSR agenda**, the approaches required and the benefits of an approach that involves all actors. Understanding of the basic SSR concept and terminology varies significantly among donors, as do approaches, according to differing institutional mandates, priorities and constraints. Therefore a common understanding of the concept is needed even if terminology may differ.
- **Promoting government or organisation-wide SSR frameworks to ensure that all work in this area is linked to an overarching strategy that involves inter-ministerial dialogue and collaboration.** Approaches to SSR that are limited only to development issues cannot easily be integrated with policies in defence and other relevant areas of security. Work on SSR needs to be informed by an understanding and consideration of work all related areas. Working on development and security policy in an integrated way can help prevent insecurity and violent conflict.
- **Ensuring that SSR work is effectively integrated into wider development programming and supports partner country-led reforms.** Mainstreaming SSR across development agencies has been slow due to a weak understanding of this policy agenda and its importance for development, but this is changing. Mainstreaming can help encourage partner countries to develop the institutional frameworks required for security policies that are people-centred, focused on vulnerable groups such as women and children, and ethnic minority groups and based on democratic governance (See Box 2).

21. The concept of SSR is also 'new' in many developing and transition countries, limiting 'buy-in' from local partners. Some have been discouraged by the perception that the concept does not adequately respond to their diverse circumstances and by stringent conditions sometimes attached to previous donor assistance in the security domain. Others are already undertaking SSR-related reforms but under different names. This underscores the need for donors to be aware of these programmes and to provide assistance in ways that build upon and reinforce these activities.

Box 2. Women, Peace and Security

Promoting the redistribution of power and the construction of sustainable and democratic political procedures, as in SSR, provides opportunities for advancing gender equality. Focusing on women solely as victims of violent conflict and insecurity can obscure their roles as potential peacemakers in reconstruction and rebuilding processes. Around the globe women and their organisations have initiated dialogue and reconciliation in communities and villages. Their viewpoints about peace and security are essential to peace processes and policy making at all levels. Donors have been redefining their conflict prevention policies to include relevant gender perspectives and identify requirements for specific attention to women or men. In 2001, donors committed to the following efforts to:

- Support women's organisations during conflicts to enable them to become involved in mediation, negotiations and attempts to institutionalise the peace process¹.
- Develop policies and programmes that extend support to women's organisations that focus on the conflict situations; and encourage women's coalitions and alliances for peace-building across regions and sub-regions, e.g. in human rights, relief, rehabilitation and peace building. For example, Women for Peace in the Solomon Islands works to "effectively support and encourage women's initiatives at all levels"².
- Encourage capacity building for women in public life. Peace building and peacemaking processes should incorporate women as decision-makers at each level and consider their concerns at every stage.
- Support the representation of women in peace processes. Militarisation during the pre-conflict period is often marginalises women from decision-making processes.
- Consider designing special programmes to deal with psychological and emotional trauma of all aspects of violence against women and men and raise awareness about the rise in the level of violence in heavily militarised societies, including domestic violence and its impact on the abilities and willingness to resolve disputes peacefully. Work is needed to strengthen gender-specific information, including databases and statistical material, on these problems.
- Improve women's access to resources during reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation. Many arrangements for public administration and legislation are renegotiated after war and provide opportunities for securing or increasing women's legal rights, their control over key resources such as land, and access to education and mechanisms for justice.
- Develop special ways of dealing with women (and men) youth and children who have been victims of gender-based violence and abuse as a consequence of conflict.

Sources: *Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*, 2001, p. 54., "Women in Violent Conflict and Peace-building: Global Perspectives", International Alert, London 2000. The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 agrees that more women are needed as special representatives, envoys, observers, civilian police and humanitarian personnel in the field and as part of peace operations.

22. More information, evaluation and analysis is needed about what is happening in SSR, among both donors and partner countries, particularly about what works and doesn't in differing circumstances. In continuing work in this area, the DAC can further contribute to a better and shared international understanding of how security issues should be addressed.

II. Integrating Security Work into Development: Whole-of-Government Frameworks

23. Developing the kind of shared international understanding of SSR issues, concepts and approaches discussed above is essential to laying the ground for more coherent and integrated donor government approaches to support partner countries.

1. OECD/DAC *Gender Equality Tipsheets*, "Conflict, Peace Building, Disarmament, Security".

2. "Resolving Conflict in Solomon Islands: The Women for Peace Approach", Alice Pollard. Development Bulletin, November 2000 <http://devnet.anu.edu.au/db53.html>.

Definitions and actors

24. The DAC Guidelines on *Helping Prevent Violent Conflict* provide a comprehensive definition for security system reform (See Figure 1 which attempts to illustrate how SSR related areas intersect).

*"Security is increasingly viewed as an all-encompassing condition in which people and communities live in freedom, peace and safety, participate fully in the governance of their countries, enjoy the protection of fundamental rights, have access to resources and the basic necessities of life, and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and well-being. The security of people and the security of states are mutually reinforcing. A wide range of state institutions and other entities may be responsible for ensuring some aspect of security. This understanding of security is consistent with the broad notion of human security promoted by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and used by development actors."*³

"Security system reform"⁴ is another term used to describe the transformation of the "security system" - which includes all the actors, their roles, responsibilities and actions – working together to manage and operate the system in a manner that is more consistent with democratic norms and sound principles of good governance, and thus contributes to a well-functioning security framework."

25. The security system includes the following actors:

- *Core security actors*: armed forces; police; gendarmeries; paramilitary forces; presidential guards, intelligence and security services (both military and civilian); coast guards; border guards; customs authorities; reserve or local security units (civil defence forces, national guards, militias).
- *Security management and oversight bodies*: the Executive; national security advisory bodies; legislature and legislative select committees; ministries of defence, internal affairs, foreign affairs; customary and traditional authorities; financial management bodies (finance ministries, budget offices, financial audit and planning units); and civil society organisations (civilian review boards and public complaints commissions).
- *Justice and law enforcement institutions*: judiciary; justice ministries; prisons; criminal investigation and prosecution services; human rights commissions and ombudsmen; customary and traditional justice systems.
- *Non-statutory security forces*, with whom donors rarely engage: liberation armies; guerrilla armies; private body-guard units; private security companies; political party militias.

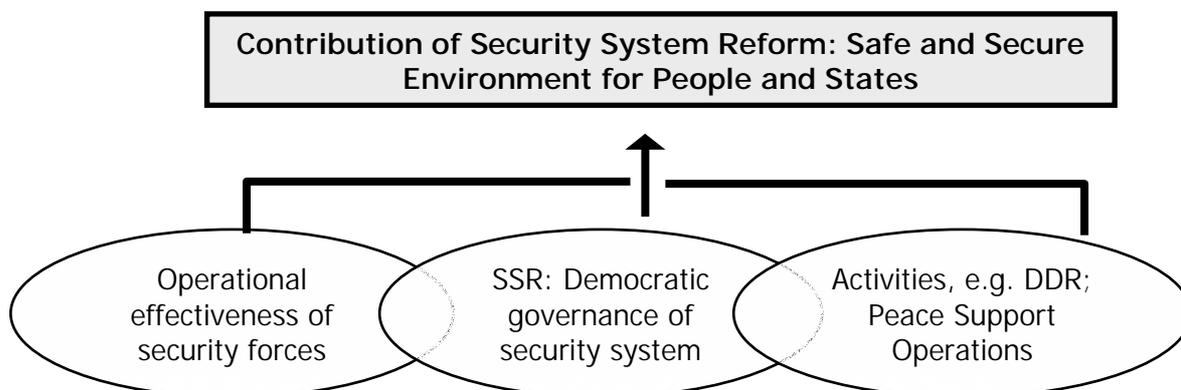
26. In support of this definition, the policy statement "Helping Prevent Violent Conflict: Orientations for External Actors" states:

"We recognise the need to help partner countries build legitimate and accountable systems of security to prevent violent conflict. This is an integral aspect of good governance and public sector management. Security reform includes promoting transparency, the rule of law, accountability and informed debate, and reinforcing legislative capacity for adequate oversight of security systems. Security reform involves a range of actors from the military and the police, to judicial and penal systems, ministries of foreign affairs, trade, commerce and civil society organisations. Such reforms are key to getting security-related expenditures right. Given restrictions on Official Development Assistance, interested OECD governments may need to draw on non-ODA sources to assist activities in this area ... Enduring peace rests on the fundamental principles of governance, human security, democracy, respect for the rule of law and human rights, gender equality and open and fair market economies."

3. *The DAC Guidelines on Helping Prevent Violent Conflict* (2001) Box 5. Security-related definitions, p. 38. See also, "Human Security Now"(2003: The final report of the Commission on Human Security) www.humansecurity-chs.org .

4. Some donors use the term security sector reform, but this had led to confusion about whether this pertains only to the armed forces ('the security sector') or to the whole system of actors working on security-related issues. The DAC has therefore chosen the term "security system reform" to describe this policy agenda.

Figure 1.



27. The DAC definition of SSR should be underpinned by the following basic working principles. Since the definitions were established, the notion of transitional justice has been developed by the UNDP. As an innovative approach to judicial reform, transitional justice is an integral aspect of the security system and development actors' work in this area (See Box 3).

Box 3. Definition of Transitional Justice

The security system reform policy agenda also includes the issue of 'transitional justice.' Justice mechanisms may be used during a transition from war to peace to address issues related to the large numbers of offenders and victims that may threaten long-term peace and stability. This is particularly important in post-conflict countries where perpetrators who have participated in human rights violations may remain in a community with impunity due to insufficient capacity of judicial or security institutions. This may further erode public faith in the security system. In some instances, tribunals may be established to prosecute those most responsible for human rights abuses. In addition, truth and reconciliation processes are gaining acceptance where the lack of judicial capacity or wide range of offences makes it difficult to prosecute all perpetrators. These mechanisms can play a significant role in conflict prevention by memorialising facts from the conflict, thereby negating misperceptions. Also, the truth commissions can make recommendations to deter future conflict. Transitional justice mechanisms contribute to increased confidence building in the political environment and the possibility for subsequent security system reform and peace building.

Source: UNDP

Working principles for effective security system reform

28. Five broad guiding principles encapsulate the critical challenges and norms involved in SSR work. There is scope for interpreting them differently to allow for different institutional environments. However, OECD governments should prioritise efforts to build greater consensus across the international community based on how security-related assistance should be provided. These principles offer a starting point for this kind of dialogue. They apply to the work of OECD governments and their development ministries, other security-related establishments and the wider international aid community.

1. The core values for SSR are to be people-centred, locally-owned and based on principles of democratic norms and internationally accepted human rights principles and on the rule of law. They should seek to contribute to an environment characterised by freedom from fear.

29. To maximise sustainable impact on the populations concerned, SSR processes need to be locally-owned and based upon democratic values and internationally-accepted human rights principles. This is not to say that a functioning parliamentary democracy is a precondition for at least partial efforts at SSR. But SSR approaches that draw on and contribute to democratic institutions and institutional capacity are more likely to succeed. Programming of external assistance needs to take explicit account of these enabling factors. Principles behind SSR programmes should be transparent and agreed with all stakeholders. Experience suggests that there is significant potential for a conflict of objectives in SSR programmes. Tensions can arise between, on the one hand, the objective to enhance democratic control and

accountability of security forces and, on the other, efforts to improve operational capacity to stabilise the security situation. Another tension may emerge between strategies for reduction in fiscal deficits which are often donor-imposed and lead to significant cuts in security expenditures, and the need to invest in effective and sustainable security structures. This highlights the need for a participatory framework through which the needs and views of all stakeholders can be articulated and addressed.

2. SSR should be seen as a framework to structure thinking about how to address diverse security challenges facing populations and states through more integrated development and security system reform policies.

30. Solutions to the security problems facing populations and their states should be sought within the domains of development and security policy. SSR frameworks should therefore address both external and internal threats to people's safety, to law and order and to state stability. Donors can help to establish the right institutional processes so that the range of issues is addressed.

31. Creating such frameworks can assist governments in allocating scarce public resources more cost-effectively in support of both security and development objectives. This can help to produce a more accountable and affordable security system.

3. Donor governments should provide their assistance within strategic frameworks that are multi-sectoral. They must be developed jointly with partner governments and civil society and based on an assessment of the security needs of the people and the state. Women's organisations, in particular, can play a major role in ensuring that needs assessments capture the security concerns of vulnerable groups. This should involve broad consultation among donor government departments as well as close co-ordination with other donor governments and international organisations.

32. Although difficult to achieve, strategic frameworks are particularly important because of the demands of policy co-ordination across a wide range of sectors and the dangers of multiple actors working at cross-purposes in their programming. Frameworks can help mainstream SSR throughout governments. They must use and combine the broad range of diplomatic, legal, social, economic, security and political policy instruments available to them in order to develop appropriate military and non-military responses to security issues. There is a danger that without such frameworks, security policy will remain narrowly concentrated on agencies that deal with more traditional matters such as defence, intelligence, and policing instead of those civil bodies involved in oversight, including legislative bodies, judicial ministries and civil society actors. This may allow the influence of authoritarian-inclined groups to persist, a problem which may be as much the result of a lack of new institutional mechanisms to implement new norms of democratic governance in the security system as explicit resistance on the part of political elites.

4. The security system should be managed according to the same principles of accountability and transparency that apply across the public sector, in particular through greater civil oversight of security processes.

33. These principles include promoting: (i) the availability of information required by policy makers; transparent and accountable decision-making by the appropriate actor(s); (ii) a comprehensive approach to public expenditure management; adoption of medium-term perspectives for decision making; and (iii) a capacity and willingness to shift priorities and reallocate resources to achieve strategic objectives. The long-term objective is to ensure that the security system is effectively integrated into all relevant government-wide budgeting and planning processes.

5. As far as possible, SSR processes should address the three core requirements of a well-functioning security system:

- Developing a nationally-owned concept of security and the policy and institutional frameworks states require to handle development and security as distinct but integrated areas of public action.

- Establishing well-defined policies and strengthening governance of the security institutions that are responsible for formulating, executing, managing and monitoring security policy.
- Building the institutional mechanisms for implementation and capacity throughout the security system; this includes ensuring that any development of professional security forces leads them to be both accountable to the civil authorities and capable of carrying out the operational tasks⁵ asked of them. Strengthening of a professional security system must be balanced and include the capacity building of civil control and supervision bodies in order to avoid any increase in the power and influence gap between military and civil bodies.

34. The most critical task facing countries embarking on SSR processes is to build a nationally-owned and led vision of security. This is the foundation that countries require to develop appropriate security system policy frameworks and the required institutional mechanisms to implement them. This process should aim to establish national commitment to the reforms while seeking to foster greater transparency and attention to human rights. Complementary institutional mechanisms and capacity would normally be within both the security forces and civil oversight bodies in order to achieve the objective of enhancing civil-security relations and accountability. Donors can help these processes move forward but should recognise that SSR is an evolving process and provide assistance accordingly. Where the changes required for SSR are structural and attitudinal in nature, the initial priority may be to prepare the political and policy terrain. This can be done through national dialogues that involve political parties, civil society and security institutions themselves.

35. The DAC policy agenda on SSR focuses primarily on the governance-related, democratic oversight dimensions. It is important to recognise the distinction between these governance activities and those designed to strengthen the operational capability of security forces, while acknowledging that partner governments concerned with providing security effectively need to address both dimensions.

Improve reporting

36. The increased attention to security system reform, and more broadly to issues of security and conflict, called increased attention to clarifying and re-examining the definition of what qualifies as “Official Development Assistance” in these areas. In doing so it has been recognised that not all assistance related to security and conflict has, or should, be financed from ODA. The importance of safeguarding the integrity and credibility of DAC statistics, particularly in view of the ODA increases pledged in connection with the Monterrey summit has also been recognised. Thus, consensus has emerged on clarifying the definitions of several items, including on the role of civil society and civilian control of the military. Some other definitional issues, which would have broader potential implications for ODA volumes, have been set aside for further study.

37. In this connection, it is also important to develop whole-of-government responses to security system reform that are development friendly, to ensure that assistance needs in security and development are met from a combination of relevant budget sources, and that the integrity and credibility of the DAC statistics are preserved and development funds are not misused. In a few donor countries, systems are in place already, in principle, to allow operational actions to be funded from several budgetary sources (See Boxes 5 and 6). In other cases, demands on development funds to support non-military aspects of peacekeeping forces have increased. In the case of the African Peace Facility, the European Development Fund is providing €250 million, even though this will not be recorded as ODA.

5. To be clear about the use of the term "operational tasks", it should be noted that this does not imply that development co-operation would be involved in financing of military equipment, combat training, etc. Development actors can promote the need for professional security forces, and simultaneous reinforcement of civil control authorities such as effective internal accounting systems or transparent procurement systems.

Mainstream security as a public policy issue and take a whole-of-government approach

38. Though distinct roles remain for development and security actors, working under one overarching security system reform policy in a coherent way with relevant departments, can improve effectiveness. There are several means of encouraging such collaboration. The first is to have a whole-of-government/organisation policy framework. Donors' emerging focus on SSR has encouraged government-wide approaches through overarching policy frameworks, inter-ministerial committees or pooled funding mechanisms. This type of collaboration can allow development agencies to better understand – and have an increased impact on – security-related issues when they are key for development goals. It is important for development agencies to forge effective partnerships with their defence and security counterparts who can provide assistance in those areas where donors are restricted from working.

39. When the United Kingdom began to work on SSR in 2000, its Department for International Development (DFID) developed two policy statements: one for SSR and one for Safety, Security and Access to Justice (SSAJ). The Ministry of Defence (MOD) developed a policy paper on “defence diplomacy.” As the UK gained more operational experience, it became evident that a “joined-up” approach to SSR required a common policy framework. An SSR Policy Committee and an informal inter-departmental SSR strategy within the Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) were first developed. The strategy paper serves as the basis for current efforts by the Policy Committee, composed of all relevant government departments, to develop a government-wide SSR policy.⁶ A new chapter to this strategy is expected to be completed by end-2003. A concrete example of work in-country can be found in Box 4.

Box 4. The United Kingdom's Support for Reform in Sierra Leone

The United Kingdom's support for SSR in Sierra Leone has effectively combined military training, development and diplomatic activities designed both to create an enabling environment for reform and to address technical and financial needs. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) has taken the lead in funding the reform component that comes under the heading of Civilian control, including the development of an over-arching national security policy. The MOD is providing support for the restructuring and training of the new army. Co-ordination between the two departments has been enhanced by the secondment of MOD staff to DFID. The UK has provided funding for a Military Advisory Training Team and has been active in supporting Sierra Leone's peace process.

Source: “Security Issues and Development Co-operation: A Conceptual Framework for Enhancing Policy Coherence”, *The DAC Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2001) (OECD).

40. Funding mechanisms can also be used. Pooled funds have served as one way to strengthen a whole-of-government approach by helping ensure that these resources are not seen as a means for other government departments to tap into development assistance resources without conforming to a strategic vision for promoting SSR.

41. The UK has created two inter-departmental funding pools, the GCPP and the African Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP) in order to improve the UK's conflict prevention policy and effectiveness through joint analysis, long-term strategies, and improved coordination with international partners (See Box 5). Much of the UK's SSR work is financed through these two pools which receive both ODA and non-ODA funds programmed based on agreed MOD/FCO/DFID strategies. In order to promote stronger adherence to the common framework, the UK Treasury contributes additional resources to the Pools beyond those committed by the DFID, the MOD and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). The evaluation of

6. DFID's policy papers: "Poverty and the Security Sector: Policy Statement", London (2000) and "Safety, Security and Accessible Justice, Policy Statement", London (2000). More recently, DFID published SSR guidelines: "Understanding and Supporting Security Sector Reform" (2002) www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/safety_security_justice.pdf and www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/supporting_security.pdf The MOD "Diplomacy policy paper", No. 1 can be accessed at: www.mod.uk/linked_files/def_dip.pdf.

the UK Conflict Prevention Pools, to be undertaken in 2003, should provide further insight into the feasibility of using pooled financing to create greater coherence among government departments.

Box 5. Good Practice: Promoting Policy Coherence Through Funding Mechanisms

The UK Global Conflict Prevention Pool (GCPP) and the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool (ACPP)

Much of the SSR work in the UK is undertaken through the GCPP. Both Conflict Pools began in Financial Year 2001-02. Their purpose is to be a mechanism to improve the UK's conflict prevention policy and effectiveness through joint analysis, long-term strategies, and improved coordination with international partners. Resources are allocated to support priorities agreed by the FCO, DFID, and the MOD, each of which contributes to both Conflict Pools. Pool priorities are set jointly by the three departments and reviewed regularly by the Ministers.

The Conflict Pools are a relatively new mechanism and department staff is still learning to work with them. Nonetheless, it is already clear that where it has been possible to develop a strategy based on a shared analysis of the conflict and a joint response, UK interventions are more effective and there is a closer relationship between government policy and operational response. The Conflict Pools have also been helpful in engaging the Treasury, and giving it a better understanding of the issues faced by the three departments on the ground. Both Pools consist of peacekeeping and a programme component. The peacekeeping component covers the UK's assessed and voluntary contributions to international peacekeeping and related operations. The programme component is further sub-divided into country or regional strategies and thematic strategies. SSR is one of the thematic strategies in the GCPP. A parliamentary vote decides the settlement figure given to Pools which incorporates an extra top-up amount to encourage inter-departmental collaboration.

Money contributed to the Global Pool by all four departments is managed by the FCO, and funding for the Africa Pool is managed by DFID. Once activities are agreed upon, DFID examines them for ODA eligibility. If so, they contribute to the UK's ODA sum.

Source: Donor Survey interviews and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

42. Similarly, the Netherlands has developed a "Stability Fund" that also illustrates coherence through pooled funding and promotes an integrated policy-driven approach to security and development issues (See Box 6).

Box 6. Good Practice: Policy-driven Funding Mechanisms

The Netherlands' Stability Fund

The Government of the Netherlands has created a new financing facility, the "Stability Fund", in order to support and improve the effectiveness of a more integrated approach to peace, security and development. The Fund will draw on ODA as well as non-ODA sources.

The Fund is designed to finance activities at the interface of peace keeping and peace building where traditional assessments - whether an activity can be classified as official development assistance according to the current OECD/DAC criteria - complicate a comprehensive and integrated approach to security issues essential for poverty reduction and sustainable development. It is policy-driven, and the question about the ODA eligibility of an activity, which in the past could limit a quick action response to immediate needs, is purposefully left out of the decision making process. The aim of the new set up is to ensure effective linkages between conflict prevention, crisis management, reconstruction and rehabilitation. At the end of each budget year, which activity was ODA and which was not will be assessed.

It is intended to support an integrated foreign policy based on a multidimensional approach including political analysis, peacekeeping operations, civil-military tasks, human rights and strengthening civil structures. Other examples could include support for peace processes, observer missions and security system reforms –inclusive of capacity building for democratic control of army and police and technical assistance for public expenditure review and the budgetary process. Support is limited to DAC-I and DAC-II countries, and resources are not to compete with existing programmes in the area of good governance, human rights, conflict prevention, etc. The annual budget is expected to increase from approximately € 25 million in 2003, to € 90 million in 2007.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

43. Donors should be alert though to the risk that pooled funding arrangements can also be seen as a means for other departments to tap into development assistance resources without conforming to a strategic vision for promoting SSR. In this context, there is a danger that traditional security-related programmes be simply re-labelled as SSR without a serious review of their contents to ensure that they support a governance-oriented approach to the security system.

44. A third means of promoting intra-governmental/organisational coherence is to ensure that the appropriate channels exist for delivering the types of assistance required by an SSR strategy. Some activities may not require substantially different capabilities than traditional development work. Legislative strengthening, civil society capacity building, security-related public expenditure management all require expertise that most development assistance agencies already possess. At the same time, it may be desirable to supplement existing capacity. The UK, for example, created a new entity – the Defence Advisory Team (DAT) – in 2001 to provide practical support for defence-related reforms. The mandate of the DAT was subsequently broadened, as was its staffing, to allow it to more effectively support SSR-related work and complement assistance provided through DFID and FCO. The DAT offers advice and assistance on governance and civil military relations, defence reviews, defence organisation, force structures, procurement and logistics, and change management, financial management and human resources management and development in the defence sector.⁷ As a result of operational experience gathered during the first two years of operation, the DAT has begun to promote broad security environment assessments as a first step in determining how best to proceed. It has also recognised the inter-connectedness among the different parts of the security system and the need for partner governments to reflect that in their approaches to SSR.

45. The absence of a whole-of-government approach may mean that actions by various government departments/agencies compound rather than mitigate security problems, including those posed by terrorist threats. Ensuring that donor assistance programmes do not undermine SSR objectives requires increased international co-operation and sensitivity and vice versa and some basic SSR expertise on the part of all actors regarding how their activities either advance or impede SSR processes.

46. Within some OECD countries, conflicting national interests and strategic visions of what security is and how security should be achieved can also undermine co-operation and their commitment to reform objectives. Different departments in OECD governments may inadvertently work at cross-purposes in the field and exacerbate security problems. Problems may arise from contradictions between the policies of foreign affairs, trade, finance, defence and development co-operation of some OECD countries. Certain OECD governments are also wary of providing security system assistance due to difficult past experiences. There has, however, been some significant progress in this difficult area.

47. Mainstreaming the SSR concept across the whole-of-government is also important in view of the increased emphasis on counter-terrorism in some OECD security assistance programmes. Donors should ensure that efforts to reinforce the capacity of developing countries to prevent terrorism should be conducted in a way that reinforces development, security, accountability, and human rights objectives.⁸

7. The DAT staff currently includes one governance advisor and a police and justice adviser and an intelligence and security sector adviser will be recruited shortly. Additional information about the DAT, its areas of specialisation, and its staff can be found at: www.mod.uk/issues/dat/.

8. *A Development Co-operation Lens on Terrorism Prevention: Key Entry Points for Action*, The DAC Guidelines and Reference Series (2003).

Develop programming strategies

48. The 2002-03 donor SSR survey revealed that donors are increasingly engaging in SSR-related programming irrespective of whether their organisations have formal policy frameworks (See Annex 1). This section offers suggestions on how donors can improve the ways in which they provide assistance. *The way in which* assistance is delivered and checked in the follow-up process is as important as *the type* of assistance provided.

Establishing a programme strategy within which project approaches should fit

49. Implementing security system reform requires due attention, over the long term, to improving process, promoting institutional change, and encouraging and supporting cultural transformations among key local stakeholders that may be required to develop new approaches to security. Development agencies are often promoting SSR in countries with considerable human and financial resource constraints. The sensitivity of security-related issues makes “process”, such as fostering and institutionalising a reform-friendly environment, even more important.

50. One of the clearest lessons of the past is that when problems in the security system are approached in a piecemeal fashion, without reference to broad goals and underlying structural problems, security-system governance is generally not improved significantly. Focus should be placed on the deeper political and structural causes of poor governance of the security forces. Without adequate attention to these political and structural problems, it will be impossible to develop professional security bodies capable of providing the secure environment necessary for sustainable economic development and poverty reduction. To maximise the effectiveness of assistance in SSR, it should be part of the reform of a broader framework of systems and processes that focuses on strengthening and effective use of capacity.

51. In supporting SSR, donors should move away from a project by project approach where possible, though this might be necessary early on when donors engage in a difficult environment such as a country emerging from war. They should fit all support – project, sectoral or budget support – within programmatic medium-term approaches that involve process-oriented assistance. In this way, project or other assistance would be linked to an overall programming strategy and focus on the deeper political and structural causes of poor governance of the security system. It would also contain realistic, measurable and pragmatic objectives and benchmarks as well as regional and international aspects of security.

52. Donors are justifiably wary of committing themselves to support long-term programme frameworks in highly sensitive areas in politically charged environments. It is important, however, that any donor government and aid agency seeking to support SSR view it as a long-term undertaking and conduct in-depth analysis prior to developing its approach.

Assessing engagement with local actors

53. The political sensitivity of security issues can create resistance to external assistance by developing countries. National defence and internal security are the traditional cornerstones of state sovereignty. Developing countries’ concerns tend to relate to their fears that: (i) donor countries might gather intelligence about their security services and recruiting informants; (ii) donor countries might pursue strategic interests that are at odds with those of the host country; and (iii) there is a danger of becoming or remaining a client state, dependent on patrons for security and defence. But when security is seen in its wider sense, as involving a range of development issues, this may legitimise donor engagement in this domain and open the door to a more constructive dialogue. Acknowledgement of the need for governments to address this issue in line with their own priorities and circumstances can further help to allay concerns of many stakeholders.

54. The ideal pre-conditions for reform rarely exist. Keen awareness of the dilemmas and risks involved in providing security system assistance is required on a case-by-case basis. Where the rule of law is weak and a culture of impunity exists, donor contact with the security bodies may grant them legitimacy and undermine reform objectives. In such cases, donors may seek to mitigate risks through tighter control of the reform process. However, this makes it harder to achieve a genuinely consultative approach. By restricting their involvement to countries where these kinds of dilemmas are not so acute donors may be able to avoid the misuse of development funds. Inaction, however, also has an important impact on human welfare. The consequences of this need to be openly confronted if the risks and returns associated with transforming the security system are to be comprehensively assessed. Even when a government is strongly committed to a reform process, donors may have to work with security forces that have been involved in serious human rights abuses. This has to be done in a way that does not legitimise the abuse. This provides another reason for engagement and exchange with security actors from donor governments.

Promote an effective division of labour amongst development actors

55. There are a number of ways to facilitate collaboration among donors and other relevant external actors supporting SSR. The CPDC donor survey highlighted trust funds (See Box 7), joint assessments and joint evaluations/lesson learning studies as methods of enhancing donor co-ordination on SSR issues (See Box 14). Further study on examples of good practice in this area could be useful.

Box 7. Good Practice: Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia

The decision to create the Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia reflects the emerging global consensus that governance practices are hard to change by enforcing conditionalities from outside. National ownership is increasingly seen as the key to change. By bringing together the Indonesian government, the legislature, the judiciary, civil society, the corporate sector and the international community, the Partnership hopes that complex questions of a political nature can be dealt with in a comprehensive manner. Two of the Partnership's ten sector priorities are directly linked to SSR: legal and judicial reform and police/security reform. Several others have links to SSR: anti-corruption measures, legislative and parliamentary reform, and civil society and media strengthening. The Partnership consists of:

The Partnership Facility, which fosters policy dialogue and analysis on governance issues through actively engaging stakeholders and facilitating surveys, workshops, media, the internet etc. It also acts as a catalyst in building competence in governance reform and as a central clearinghouse for information on governance reform in Indonesia, in particular reform that is supported by the international community.

The Partnership Governance Trust Fund, or "The Indonesia Governance Fund," which disburses funds directly to Indonesian agencies active in the national governance reform effort. UNDP manages donor contributions to the Trust Fund. UNDP disburses funds directly to Indonesian agencies active in the national reform effort. Trust Fund expenditures are subject to independent audits, which will be regularly reported to donors, the Governing Board and the public. Projects can be submitted to the Partnership by Government ministries and agencies, civil society organisations, the private sector, and donor agencies and partners for consideration. Detailed procedures for proposal writing and project appraisal have been developed. These are intended to ensure that projects supported are:

- Fairly and thoroughly scrutinised.
- Appropriate, well-designed, properly costed, feasible and financially viable.
- Will deliver sustainable and tangible benefits.
- Properly managed, fully reported on and accounted for.
- Administered in accordance with UNDP standard rules and procedures.

The transparency of Trust Fund activities and its financial management sets a good example in a country that is plagued by chronic corruption.

Source: www.partnership.or.id/

56. Methodologies for assessing the quality of security system governance are only now being developed. Relatively little evaluation or lessons learned work has been done on some important SSR topics because of donors' recent engagement in SSR. This is a matter for urgent attention, as it is important for improved co-ordination of donor programmes. The UK has undertaken a number of evaluations of its SSR work. There has also been considerable monitoring, evaluation and lessons learned work carried out

on some more established SSR-related activities such as Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR), police reform, and justice reform which could be built upon. Further work on evaluation and on examples of good practice that appear replicable would be useful. Joint assessments might be useful and are increasingly used in other areas.

III. Continuing Donor Commitment to Facilitating Country-led Reform Efforts: Programming Approaches

57. Reform processes will not succeed in the absence of commitment on the part of those undertaking the reforms. An important source of such commitment is ownership.⁹ All external actors need to orient their assistance to supporting local stakeholders as they move down a path of reform, rather than leading them down it. There are different paths to developing a transparent, accountable security system based on democratic norms and human rights. In pursuing this goal, it is important that solutions to problems are developed locally and appropriate to the context they are implemented in. Giving primary responsibility to the government and other local stakeholders is essential to locally-owned SSR.

58. It is, therefore, essential that donors develop methods of working through local actors and build on ongoing initiatives. A major objective should be to help local stakeholders determine what will work best for them and conduct assessments working closely with them. They should avoid imposing specific security-related organisational structures and modes of operation on partner governments.

59. A major problem in the area of SSR in some regions, notably Africa, remains the lack of local input into and ownership of reform. This issue is most significant in terms of difficult partnership countries. It should be noted, however, that donors can nonetheless seek to be active in advancing SSR. Even where there are significant obstacles, there are several ways donors can help to prepare the political and policy terrain; this too requires a long-term commitment. The institutional assessment framework process described in Box 8 below gives partner country governments and relevant stakeholders a way to enhance the democratic governance of the security system through dialogue and a broader national vision.

60. In the past, donors have often been unrealistic about the prospects for internally-driven change or have relied excessively on instruments like conditionality to achieve the desired objectives. Evaluation shows that conditionality is unlikely to work unless used to support a government-owned reform path and in conjunction with positive incentives to facilitate implementation of that reform.

Enhance domestic ownership of reform processes and strengthen institutional frameworks

61. Working on the principle that reform processes need to be nationally owned and led to be sustained, the key challenge is to ensure that the principles, policies, laws, and structures that form an SSR programme are rooted in the reforming country's history, culture, legal framework and institutions.

9. A World Bank report on the role of development assistance in promoting reform published in 2001 concluded, for example, that "when aid supports a country-owned development strategy, it can lead to sustained growth and poverty alleviation. ...[but] when reform is imposed from abroad, even as a quid pro quo for aid, it is not sustainable." James Wolfensohn, "Foreword," p. xi, in Shantayanan Devarajan, David Dollar, and Torgny Holmgren, eds, *Aid and Reform in Africa: Lessons from Ten Case Studies*, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2001, www.worldbank.org/research/aid/africa/intro.htm. Similar findings were published nearly a decade earlier in Joan M. Nelson with Stephanie J. Eglinton, *Encouraging Democracy: What Role for Conditioned Aid?*, Policy Essay no. 4, Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1992.

62. The 2001 conceptual framework produced by the DAC CPDC Network¹⁰ identified some areas of activity. Nine were developed and used as the starting point in designing the donor and country/regional surveys conducted in 2002-03 by the CPDC (see Box 8).

Box 8. Categories of SSR-related Activities

1. **Political and Policy Dialogue and Initiatives:** Activities aimed at improving civil-security force relations, increasing civilian input into security policymaking, and preparing the terrain for reform. This can include confidence-building activities between civilians and security force personnel.
2. **Armed Forces and Intelligence:** Activities aimed at improving governance of the armed forces, the intelligence services, paramilitary forces and other reserve or local defence units that support military functions, provide border security and so on.
3. **Justice and Internal Security Apparatus:** Activities involving police functions, prisons, courts, secret services, and civilian internal intelligence agencies.
4. **Non-state Security Forces:** Activities involving private security companies and other irregular security bodies which enjoy a degree of public authority and legitimacy that is not derived from the state itself or legal status: political party militias/security forces, local militias, bodyguard units, and so on.
5. **Civil Oversight Mechanisms:** Activities involving formal mechanisms – such as the legislature, legislative select committees, auditors general, police commissions, human rights commissions – and informal mechanism – such as civil society “watchdog” organisations, and customary authorities.
6. **Civil Management Bodies:** Activities aimed at strengthening functions for financial management, planning and execution; security policy development; personnel management and the like found in finance, defence, internal affairs and justice ministries, president/prime minister’s offices, national security advisory bodies and the like.
7. **Civilian Capacity Building:** Activities aimed at general capacity building/education initiatives that do not fit into the civil management and oversight categories, including activities designed to build capacity of civil society groups seeking to analyse and influence security policy and increase public literacy on security issues, academic or other training courses on security issues.
8. **Regional Initiatives:** Activities involving the role of foreign affairs ministries/peacemaking initiatives, and formal mechanisms such as defence treaties/pacts, regional security bodies for dealing with defence, criminal, intelligence issues and the like.
9. **Initiatives to Demilitarise Society:** Activities in the area of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, with particular attention for child soldiers, small arms and light weapons and others.

Enhancing state capacity and policy coherence

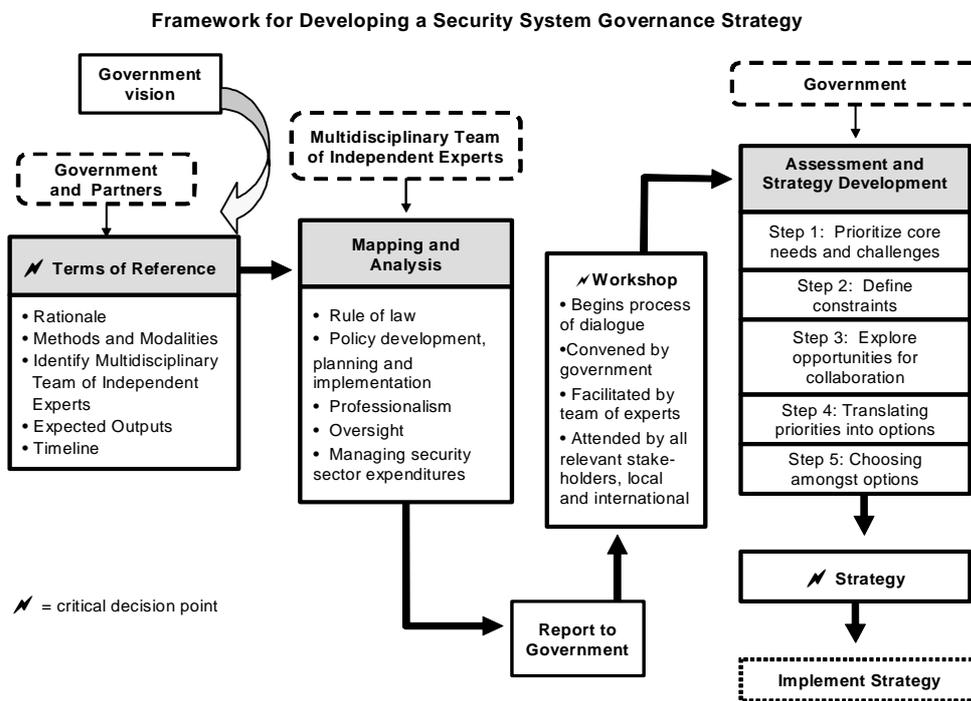
63. Strengthening overall state capacity for effective planning and policy development is critical to improving security system governance.

64. *Security system reviews and assessment frameworks.* A national security system review can help to elaborate an overarching policy on national security that is set in the context of overall national development goals and clarifies the distinctions between the internal and external security functions of the state (See Boxes 10 and 15). One method that can contribute to such reviews is the institutional assessment framework for security system reform described in Box 9. It is designed to be used by developing and transition country governments in partnership with external actors and will be field tested in 2004.

10. “Security Issues and Development Co-operation: A Conceptual Framework for Enhancing Policy Coherence”, *The DAC Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (2001): II-35.

**Box 9. Good Practice: Enhancing Democratic Governance of the Security Sector:
An Institutional Assessment Framework**

The Netherlands and the Clingendael Institute for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs – in conjunction with the Utstein Group¹¹ - have prepared an institutional assessment framework. It is designed to assist a partner country Government and its external partners in determining how best to strengthen democratic governance of the security system and promote dialogue. This implies an involvement of all relevant actors from the political, development and security field. The assessment process consists of three parts: 1) developing the terms of reference to guide the overall process, 2) mapping and analysing the status of security system governance, and 3) assessing options and developing strategy (see Figure 1). It is strongly recommended that a small multidisciplinary team of independent experts carry out the exercise, strengthened where possible to recruit both local/regional and international experts. It focuses on areas that represent important entry points for policy listed in the box on mapping and analysis below. The analysis will result in a report containing findings and options to be discussed by all stakeholders involved in the workshop. The framework aims to contribute to strategy development and implementation.



Source: The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Clingendael Institute.

11. The Utstein Group is made up of Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the UK.

Box 10. Good Practice: South Africa's Defence Review Process

As a rule, security system reviews are complex undertakings. They must involve a broad spectrum of local actors, including civil society and parliament, if the final product is to enjoy public legitimacy. For example, six drafts of the South African White Paper on Defence were prepared for comment by military officers, parliamentarians and members of the public. The finalisation of the White Paper took eighteen months. It was followed by a consultative Defence Review of similar duration. The transformation of South Africa's defence sector has taken more than eight years, and is still underway.

Source: "Draft DAC Survey of Security System Reform Trends in Africa".

65. *Management of security expenditure* (See Box 11). Efforts to improve the management of security expenditure should be set in the broader context of public expenditure management. OECD governments and their donor agencies as well as the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) are beginning to shift their focus from a narrow preoccupation only with *levels* of spending towards an emphasis on strengthening the *process* by which spending decisions are made and resources are managed. For example, the Utstein Group of donors has taken an active interest in the issue of strengthening sound governance, transparency, and accountability in security expenditure work, including workshops on this topic. This implies a longer-term focus on the institutional framework in which public spending and security decision-making processes occur. It can also ensure that national strategies for reform that are consistent with available resources and priorities.

Box 11. Good Practice: Managing Risks: Integrating the Defence Sector into Public Expenditure Work

It is true that development assistance agencies are not equipped to provide certain types of security-specific assistance, for example, restructuring a defence ministry or developing defence programmes and plans. That is why establishing partnerships with other government departments is so important. Donors are frequently concerned that by engaging in the defence sector, they are engaging in extremely risky behaviour. There are, in fact, many ways in which donors can mitigate such risks as far as strengthening the defence budgeting process is concerned, including:

1. Consulting with other donors to assess first the general reform environment and second the reform environment in the defence sector on a country-by-country basis. In particular, they should:

- Identify the players and processes involved in developing, implementing and monitoring defence policies and performance. This involves identifying gaps between actual and desired functioning as well as informal institutional arrangements that may jeopardise democratic civil control and oversight of the military.
- Pay special attention to confidentiality and understand how to overcome resistance to greater disclosure.
- Then provide advice: 1) Drawing on general Public Expenditure Management (PEM) principles wherever possible; 2) In support of the key principles of democratic civil control of defence forces; and, 3) On issues of level, composition and efficiency and effectiveness at the specific request of the government.

2. Matching PEM strategy in the defence sector with its systems and processes in the non-defence sectors.

- Where there is a low-level of adherence to PEM principles and slow or minimal progress in improving it in non-defence sectors, consider the feasibility of identifying areas of concern in the defence sector in bilateral dialogue, in country assistance strategies, in public expenditure work, at Consultative Group (CG) meetings.
- Where there is government commitment to strengthening PEM, and particularly where a government requests assistance to improve defence-sector PEM, work with the government to identify priority reform areas and employ the full range of Bank lending and non-lending instruments to support the strengthening of PEM in this sector.

3. Conducting in-house discussions between staff who have previously addressed defence in the context of PEM work and those in countries where the issue is on the agenda or should be on the agenda to:

- Exchange experiences in an informal lessons learned exercise.
- Modify the Toolkit for Institutional Analysis and Assessment for the defence sector www.worldbank.org/publicsector/toolkits.htm
- Develop consultant roster.

Source: Derived from Nicole Ball and Malcolm Holmes, "Integrating Defence Into Public Expenditure Work," January 11, 2002, p. 18. www.grc-exchange.org/docs/ss11.pdf

66. *Civilian expertise on security issues.* Efforts to enhance state policy coherence must go hand in hand with the development of the requisite civilian skills to manage and monitor the security system. This is key to gaining acceptance among security forces on the principle of civil supremacy. Donor assistance can help strengthen defence/security policy management and analysis skills. It can also help strengthen public policy management skills amongst senior managers within the executive and legislative branches of government and relevant civil society groups. These skills include the ability to use gender analysis in policy decisions. Assistance should be complemented by opening channels of communication to reduce mutual suspicion that often exist between civil authorities and the security forces.

67. *Regional confidence-building and peace-keeping capacity for SSR (See the section, "Adopt a regional perspective", below).* Security system reform programmes are both shaped and constrained by broader regional dynamics. Effective regional mechanisms for enhancing security and co-operation can help to reduce tensions that lead to militarisation or conflict. It is helpful when these mechanisms include internationally-supported confidence-building measures that provide disclosure of information by countries on military strategy, force size, and plans for procurement. International assistance can be provided in several areas.

68. *Justice systems.* Mechanisms for judicial oversight of security institutions vary widely and are necessary in order to ensure that the police and other security forces function effectively. Training and assistance for police investigators, judges and prosecutors may include legal reforms to strengthen human rights and due process guarantees, including code reform to incorporate international human rights standards into national legislation. Programmes to improve access to justice, especially for the poor, are also necessary if vulnerable groups are to enjoy the concrete benefits of peace and enhanced security. Transitional justice in post-conflict situations is also key (See Box 2). There is growing interest in human rights ombudsmen's offices as an additional mechanism that can offer recourse to victims of abuse. The penal system represents another crucial component of a functioning justice system, but it should be higher on the list of priorities for both governments and donors.

69. *Civil oversight mechanisms.* Increasing legislative capacity to conduct effective oversight of security forces is a priority area for development assistance. Parliaments are generally formally responsible for ensuring that the security system meets the needs of the broader public, though the relevant defence and security committees often lack required expertise on security issues and budgetary matters. Various countries are now also seeking assistance to create specialised civilian review boards to strengthen civilian oversight over, and inspire confidence, in the police and other security forces.

70. *Civil society.* A strong civil society capable of carrying out its policy analysis and 'watchdog' role is important in creating the needed checks and balances of democratic governance and ensuring that security system reform meets the needs of the broader public. Civil society groups should not be simply seen as alternative service providers or channels for donor assistance. Support for civil society should place greater emphasis on encouraging the development of independent policy interlocutors, including women's groups who can contribute to and raise awareness on security decision-making. Given the weaknesses of state capacity in many countries, it is particularly important that civil society groups develop the capacity to go beyond denouncing governments for their failings and make practical suggestions that will help to sustain the reform process.

Building analytical capacity

71. If local ownership of security system reform processes is to be taken seriously, international support should help increase the capacity of partner country policy-makers and civil society to analyse, understand and debate their own security problems. The strengthening of analytical and research capacity is the basis for generating the local vision and political momentum necessary to initiate and sustain security transformations. This has important implications for the timeframe and nature of development assistance

programmes, in particularly the kinds of partnerships that are forged with local research institutions in countries undertaking reforms. International support can be provided for local think tanks, universities and South-South learning initiatives. A priority is to include local authorities and government policymakers in the research processes that are funded through international assistance (See Box 12).

Box 12. Good Practice: Supporting and Linking Regional Networks

The **Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform (GFN-SSR)** is a team of practitioners at Cranfield University. The team is a resource for the UK Government and international partners facilitating policy development and capacity building for SSR initiatives. The aim of the GFN-SSR is to support SSR in developing and transitional societies. It has three core objectives: supporting SSR policy development; assisting in capacity-building for SSR-related initiatives; and developing a global information repository.

Capacity Building The team assists capacity-building projects, providing support to new academic institutions and designing accredited flexible learning and educational materials for individuals anywhere in the world. The team shall advise and participate in SSR management training programmes. This complements work undertaken by Cranfield University in Defence Diplomacy and Security Sector Management.

Policy Development The team offers UK government agencies and UK partner institutions a wide knowledge base for research purposes. The team provides assessments, scoping studies, country analyses, concept and briefing papers, and presentations for a range of stakeholders.

Information Repository The GFN-SSR maintains an information repository at its Resource Centre located at the UK Defence Academy. Research Officers maintain a database of SSR events, news, contacts, documents and information, accessible via our web site. GFN-SSR partners and registered individuals can use the web site to add information to the database, too.

Source: UK DFID, see www.gfn-ssr.org

Enhancing professionalism in security forces

72. *Professionalism (See Box 13).* The task of enhancing the professionalism of security forces - including the military, intelligence and police services - has both a normative and a technical component. It is important to differentiate between this normative component and the technical one. In the first case, this includes strengthening adherence to democratic principles - especially accountability to the elected civil authorities and, through legislatures, to the public. Other normative elements include building respect among the security forces for international humanitarian law, internationally-accepted human rights standards, gender issues (including sensitivity to issues of violence affecting women), and basic codes of conduct that relate to the security force in question. In the second case, building professionalism relates to improving the technical proficiency of security forces to carry out core operational functions. These kinds of activities might include doctrinal development (in the military) or the development of skills for confronting, arresting and investigating criminals (in the police), including the use of force in the line of legitimate duty.

73. While both are relevant from an SSR perspective, development actors will be primarily concerned with the former governance-related element and have a valuable contribution to make in this area. This can either be through direct engagement with the security forces to provide training that supports the normative component of professionalism, or by supporting measures that strengthen the overall legal framework which governs the security system so that democratic practices and the rule of law can be institutionalised. Training assistance alone, however, will not change ingrained institutional practices that run counter to democratic security practices unless there are genuine changes in political attitudes, social values, and mind-sets that support the new security ethos. Strengthening the overall institutional framework for managing the security forces, along with judicial systems and police and military leadership can support these objectives.

74. Most partner country governments will seek to address deficiencies in both components of professionalism at the same time. Involvement of development actors in this area of work may therefore be

provided in the framework of a whole-of-donor-government approach that allows other government departments to provide the assistance required to enhance operational capacity. Because work on enhancing the professionalism of security forces will at times involve direct engagement with them, OECD governments may need to draw upon non-ODA sources given restrictions on ODA eligibility¹².

Box 13. Good Practice: Capacity Building of the South African Police Service

"The Swedes are coming to the South African Police in order to throw out the white male managers..." read the headline of a newspaper article just before the start of a co-operation programme between the South African Police Service and the Swedish Police in 1999. After the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, the government quickly came under pressure to transform large parts of the society. Eleven different police forces should turn into one National Police Service.

In 1999 an agreement of cooperation was signed between South Africa and Sweden regarding institutional development of the police in the Northern Cape. The objectives of the programme were to assist in building capacity concerning human resource development, to strengthen the respect for and practice of human rights and to improve gender equality in the South African Police Service (SAPS). Eleven projects were identified in line with the strategy of the SAPS, which gave the SAPS clear ownership of the programme. When the first phase ended in 2002, most of the overall objectives had been met. A second phase started in August 2002 will run to December 2005.

The programme was successful because:

- SAPS took clear ownership of the programme.
- Programme organisation was well designed and commitment from the people involved was outstanding.
- Members of the strategic board were top managers of the SAPS and the unions.
- Members of the board, as well as the project managers, were from historically disadvantaged groups in order to serve as role models in the work for equity. Half of the eight board members were women.
- Project sponsors were supervisors to the project managers. They were responsible for the quality control and the integration of the projects in the organisation.
- The Swedish programme director worked full time at the SAPS head office.
- Open, frank discussions in the board implied constant review of projects making the programme flexible.

Source: Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

Peace building and demilitarisation

75. Some donors have simply re-named existing security work as SSR without paying due attention to whether these activities enhance democratic governance of the whole system¹³. Narrowly focused efforts to disarm, demobilise and reintegrate soldiers or to remove weapons from society, for example, must be linked to broader governance and law and order issues. There is room for debate on the breadth of the definition of SSR. Activities like the ones below have the potential to be productive for SSR and/or overall development objectives when carried out, to the extent possible, with SSR objectives in mind (see Box 14).

76. Demilitarisation and the conversion of security resources to civilian use are challenges facing many countries, though particularly those emerging from protracted armed conflicts. This should not simply be seen as a question of professionalising the armed forces or destroying surplus arms stockpiles, but as a process culminating in improved governance of the security system and in enhanced communication between divided communities (See Box 15). People-based mediation and peace building strategies have an essential role to play in this regard by reducing social tensions and promoting

12. *The DAC Guidelines: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict*, Policy Statement, p.15.

13. "DAC/CPDC Survey of Security System Reform Initiatives in Donor Agencies", Draft by Nicole Ball [DCD/DAC/CPDC(2003)5].

reconciliation processes. Development assistance of a technical nature can be complemented with efforts to enhance political dialogue between divided groups.

Box 14. Weapons for Development: A Comprehensive, Community-Based Approach in Cambodia

The excessive and destabilising accumulation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) hinders reconstruction and humanitarian aid in countries in reconstruction. The Weapons for Development (WfD) programme promoted by Japan in Cambodia is a comprehensive, community-based approach to reduce the excessive illegal circulation and possession of arms. WfD is a weapons reduction mechanism, collecting weapons from communities in exchange for assistance in improving their social infrastructure, e.g. repair and construction of roads, wells, bridges, etc. This project consists of four pillars, namely “weapons for development”, “weapons destruction”, “weapons registration” and “public awareness”. Each of these interdependent pillars is vital for the success of the entire project. This project builds on the experience gained since 2000 by the European Union programme on combating the destabilizing accumulation and spread of SALWs in Cambodia (EUASAC).

Sustainable development is necessary to avoid the recurrence of conflicts. WfD is offered as an incentive to the affected areas. Through the support of registration of SALWs, illicit circulation can be avoided in the future. Collected weapons should be destroyed in public to demonstrate the political will to tackle this issue and raise public awareness. Public awareness projects help people realise the dangers and social consequences of illicit circulation of SALWs. Community workshops are used to help build confidence between people and security branches and promote the voluntary surrender of SALWs.

Under WfD, civil society plays an important role. Since the collection of weapons is based on the voluntary surrender of weapons, co-operation with NGOs to conduct public awareness projects is a key to success. NGOs therefore participate directly in the peace-building and capacity-building process. Furthermore, WfD is a peace building process that tackles the cause of conflicts such as poverty and social exclusion. People's lives are being improved through sustainable development, the creation of good governance and confidence-building between security providers and civilians.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

77. The following areas related to peace building and demilitarisation should be addressed in ways that strengthen the governance of the security system, where possible, and need to be considered in overarching SSR policy frameworks. In all of these areas, it is important to take account of accumulating experience, to look at what works and what doesn't and to build in sound evaluation to contribute to that experience.

- *Gender perspectives in SSR processes.* In many cases, particularly during war and armed conflicts, civil society is usually in majority represented by women including in the security areas. They are well placed, at all levels, to work for peace and reconciliation and to set standards for the reconstruction of war-torn society. Ensuring women's participation beyond the grass-roots enhances the legitimacy of the process by making it more democratic and responsive to all parts of the affected population.
- *Conversion of security resources to civilian use.* When countries seek to reduce the size of or to promote professionalism of armies, they carry out reviews of military inventories and security budgets. Governments can benefit from international assistance to convert security resources to civilian purposes. The objective is to ensure that material and human resources within the security system are converted in a manner consistent with the goal to enhance development and political stability.
- *Regulation of small arms (See Box 15).* The illicit trade in small arms and light weapons is a security threat that many donors and developing countries are working together to address. Efforts to deal with the problems of destabilising accumulation and uncontrolled spread of small arms should be situated squarely in the context of efforts to defuse the tensions that encourage the acquisition and use of these weapons. International efforts to address 'supply-side' issues must go hand in hand with demand-side responses to small arms problems. In an SSR context, the restoration of effective mechanisms to maintain public security and an appropriate regulation framework for small arms represents the best

long-term response, as can increased state capacity to monitor, check and prevent illegal arms transfers and to collect and destroy surplus weapons.

Box 15. Good Practice: Linking Small Arms and SSR

“Small arms concerns and the SSR agenda intersect ... in the areas of crime prevention and post-conflict demilitarisation...For example, developing and implementing legislation, regulations, and guidelines concerning the use of weaponry by official security forces and by private security firms all require the sort of institutional capacity within the ministries of defence, justice, and the interior, and the legislature that SSR seeks to develop ...

“[A]n arms exchange programme in the Argentine province of Mendoza produced a provincial law on disarmament; interest in expansion into six other provinces; the establishment of a bi-provincial security commission to develop provincial border controls; the development of a permanent information exchange mechanism among police and provincial government institutions; and the harmonisation of police and judicial reform.” Border control programmes improve the ability to track illicit flows of arms.

Source: Small Arms Survey 2003: Development Denied, Oxford: OUP (2003), “SSR: What about small arms?” Box 4.12, p. 153.

- *Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration, Resettlement and Repatriation (DDR) of ex-combatants (See Box 16).* The formal disbanding of military formations is the start of a process that only concludes successfully when ex-combatants have been effectively reinserted into civilian society. DDR is about changes in the status of ex-combatants and the need for new forms of livelihood, skills and jobs. Overly-technical approaches underplay critical economic, social, political and psychological barriers to effective re-insertion.
- *Child soldiers.* Significant advances in the international legal arena have been made in addressing the child soldier problem and are consistent with security system reform objectives. Long-term solutions lie in a dual strategy to strengthen state capacity to end their recruitment and to address problems related to adult unemployment and educational opportunities that contribute to incentives for becoming or remaining a child soldier. Development assistance can facilitate the social reintegration of child soldiers following war and support programmes to sensitise security forces concerning relevant international laws. Both tasks are difficult. The same caveat regarding overly technical approaches applies here as to DDR.
- *War economies* play an increasingly large role in fuelling and sustaining violent conflict, and pose serious policy coherence issues that the OECD and its Member countries should address. OECD donors are in a good position to bring to the attention of their own governments the role different government departments should play in addressing international corruption and money laundering, perpetuation of militia-linked private security forces through multinational enterprises, illicit trade in diamonds and other goods, and organised crime.

Box 16. Assistance for DDR in Afghanistan: Comprehensive Approaches to SSR

Insecurity is the foremost challenge confronting Afghanistan today. The Afghanistan Transitional Administration (ATA) is not the only authority endowed with coercive force, and local commanders hold considerable influence across the country. As a result, the process of recovery and development is being severely hampered. While domestic security in Kabul is being maintained, among others, by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), some G8 countries made a decision among themselves to provide support for the Security System Reform process undertaken by ATA through the division of labour approach (DDR: Japan and United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). Establishment of the new Afghan National Army: the United States. Police reestablishment: Germany. Anti-drug measures: UK. Justice reforms: Italy).

As a lead country for DDR, Japan hosted the Tokyo Conference on Consolidation of Peace in Afghanistan in February 2003, where the establishment of the Afghanistan’s New Beginnings Programme (ANBP) was announced as part of the ATA’s package for SSR. The ANBP helps launch administrative offices for demobilisation, trains office staff, registers former soldiers, issues them identification cards, provides vocational training and creates employment to

promote ex-combatants' reintegration into society. In addition to its 35 million dollar pledge for the ANBP, Japan established a DDR unit in its Kabul Embassy. The DDR implementation framework was confirmed by the ATA, regional commanders, local communities and the international community. Its pilot phase started in October 2003.

Even now, with the peace process under way, there are said to be several hundred thousand combatants in Afghanistan. To promote reconstruction, in addition to maintaining domestic security, building an environment in which people do not have to resort to arms again is vital to preventing the recurrence of violent conflict. Providing employment opportunities to ex-combatants is not enough. While facilitating the establishment of the new Afghan National Army to absorb some ex-combatants, other former combatants need to be disarmed and participate in the nation-building process. Therefore, assistance for DDR must be conducted from the perspective of the whole security system reform process. This is a case in point of some G8 countries using a division of labour approach to creating a holistic response to SSR.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/>)

Develop country and context-specific SSR approaches

78. As is widely recognised in development, in order to help people help themselves, it is vital to understand how they view the world. It is critical to look at how their systems work, including the power relations among individuals and institutions. This kind of knowledge cannot be acquired through short missions or shorter-term technical assistance. Understanding how systems work requires close contact over an extended time.

79. External actors working in SSR need to become more finely attuned to the context in which they operate. While separate policies and plans need to be developed for the military, the police, the justice system, the correction system, intelligence etc., these processes should not occur in a vacuum. They should be encompassed in an overall SSR strategy and should be informed by a security environment assessment and/or national security system review, as mentioned above. Such a review must look the local context and, particularly, the major security challenges confronting the country. It will help determine the roles of the country's security bodies in meeting these challenges as well as the country's economic and development objectives.

80. Donors can help to encourage a broader understanding of the principles and objectives of SSR by promoting dialogue between civil society and the security system actors (See Box 17). They can also support locally conceived teaching and education programmes can help relevant actors to clarify the principles and objectives of SSR (See Boxes 12 and 24).

Box 17. Good Practice: UNDP Support for Dialogue on Defence Issues

"In October 1999, UNDP initiated support for a process of national dialogue in response to the need to re-examine military doctrine in the context of a democratic state and to build a new professionalism within the military that respects civilian authority....

"Under the direction of a Guatemalan NGO...and through the involvement of representatives of state institutions, social, academic and political organisations, human rights NGOs, and active and retired members of the armed forces, the project attempts to strengthen public dialogue on the role of the military....The project has helped to create the needed political space within the society to openly discuss the topic of military reform."

Source: UNDP/ERD and UNDP/Guatemala, "UNDP in Guatemala: A Case Study in Peace building," Guatemala City, January 2, 2001, p. 29.

81. Since different kinds of activities will be required at various times, donors should be sensitive to the needs and priorities of partner countries (See Boxes 18, 19 and 20). Where the main threat emanates from governance problems in the security system or the forces, governance-related reforms may be the priority. Where countries face major security threats, enhancing the operational capacity of the police or the army may be the immediate priority for the partner country government. In considering local perspectives, it is important to realise that each country also has a different capacity to integrate changes

and take on SSR initiatives and carefully consider contextual criteria and how they relate to possible forms of assistance¹⁴.

Box 18. SSR in Sierra Leone

The emphasis of the UK programme of support for SSR in Sierra Leone shifted dramatically in June 2000 after the upsurge in activity by rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) forces. Following their attack on the capital, Freetown, re-establishing a climate of security across the country and conditions in which a sustainable peace settlement could be reached became the Government's priority. With UK support, a large programme to train the new army was put in place which enabled capable forces to be rapidly deployed against the RUF, backed by United Nations peace-keepers (today the largest UN peace-keeping mission). By 2001, with the security situation largely under control, attention again turned to various SSR-related tasks such as strengthening the Ministry of Defence, building the capacity of the police forces, and developing a new national security policy.

82. Part of the challenge donors face in planning assistance programmes is identifying where demand for change in the security system is likely to emerge. Because conditions are rarely in place at the outset for a full-fledged SSR programme, donors may be forced to work closely with one sector as an entry point, such as defence, where there is an opening for reform (See Box 19). The ideal remains a system-wide approach to reform. In many reconstruction environments, wholesale reform is the only way that governance and personal security objectives can be realised. Donors can help partner country governments develop their own policy frameworks for addressing SSR concerns which can, over time, be broadened to incorporate other security institutions and issues.

Box 19. Good Practice: Using an Entry Point for SSR - Uganda's Defence Review

In Uganda, the UK's initial engagement in the security system was in support of a defence review. However, the methodology that was employed made it possible to broaden the review to involve a range of other security actors and to address security concerns which went far beyond national defence.

The first phase of the defence review involved a Strategic Security Assessment that consisted of first analysing the full range of security threats of both a military and non-military nature that Uganda could expect to face in the future. This stage of work involved actors from across government as well as members of civil society. Once key threats had been identified, categorised and ranked, then a cross-governmental discussion took place to assess which ministries and agencies had responsibility for addressing which security threats. The outcome of this assessment is a Security Policy Framework (SPF) paper. It outlines a new integrated and wide-ranging concept of security for Uganda.

The SPF currently has the status of a consultative document. However, it forms the basis for an eventual national security policy once the Government has had the opportunity to further debate and refine the framework. Subsequent stages of the Defence Review have focused on analysing future defence requirements and elaborating a broad reform strategy. In the meantime, a number of other security actors including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Internal and External Security Organisations have started reviewing their own policy frameworks in light of the SPF.

It is important to note that using one entry point can have limitations and must be carried within a broad approach that addresses wider governance and personal security concerns. Co-ordinated, system-wide frameworks are the key to effective SSR. In some cases, engaging on a piece meal basis may be counterproductive. However, if the risks are fully assessed and managed, it may be appropriate to use an entry point in the interest of extending the agenda over time.

Encourage governments to develop workable multi-sectoral strategies

83. SSR priorities must be developed against the background of a multi-sectoral assessment of a partner country's security needs. There is a need to understand the linkages among the different parts of the security system and how it relates to other types of donor assistance. Donors are making greater efforts to

14. Nicole Ball, *Enhancing Security Sector Governance: A Conceptual Framework for UNDP*, October 9, 2002, www.undp.org/bcpr/jssr/docs/UNDP_SSR_Concept_Paper_Oct_9_2002.DOC - Table 1. Tailoring Support to Country Context.

establish security-system wide programming strategies. As mentioned in Section II, "Develop programming strategies", however, some past efforts to support security-related reforms have been fragmented and thus not necessarily multi-sectoral.

84. Effecting sustainable change in the security system will almost always require a focus on one constituent sector at a time (defence, public security, justice, intelligence). Within that sector, there may be a focus on a specific component or process (e.g., the capacity of relevant legislative committees, the courts, the defence budgeting system, etc).

85. Many issues that donors should prioritise in order to strengthen security system governance are already part of the normal work of their development assistance agencies. They support activities aimed at strengthening public sector institutions, improving public sector governance, and developing human and social capital. Areas where assistance has been provided include: public expenditure analysis and management, anti-corruption activities and civil service and administrative reform. Others include democratisation efforts, promoting social justice and human rights, civil society capacity building, and legislative strengthening. These are all relevant to the SSR agenda.

86. Some development agencies have been slow to develop multi-sectoral strategies while others have more experience. One example of a multi-sectoral strategy that involves a whole-of-government approach as well can be found in the Solomon Islands where Australia and New Zealand have developed a comprehensive strategy that extends across sectors (See Box 20).

Box 20. Good Practice: Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI)

In June 2003, the Solomon Islands Government, following a spate of instability, conflict and a virtual collapse of the economy, requested direct strengthened assistance to prevent further deterioration. In response, Pacific Island Countries (under the auspices of the Pacific Island Forum) and donors (Australia and New Zealand in particular) with support from the international community deployed the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) on 24 July 2003.

A secure Solomon Islands is essential for the nation's people, the region and the international community. The first priority has been to create the necessary stability and governance conditions required for sustainable growth and development. Over the longer term, RAMSI is building capacity in law and justice, economic management, basic services (especially health) and community development. These efforts will be critical to the country's future growth prospects.

The Australian whole-of-government response has been a vital component of RAMSI's achievements, including in the area of Security System Reform (SSR). Contributions have come from AusAID, the Australian Treasury, Department of Finance and Administration, Attorney Generals, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Australian Federal Police to assist in economic management, legal (public prosecutors, public defenders), police and prison services).

Regional cooperation to address the causes of instability and decline has also been an essential feature of RAMSI's success. Police personnel from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Cook Islands, Tonga, Samoa and Kiribati have been involved. In addition, military personnel from Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga and Papua New Guinea have been deployed in a support role. The military personnel are providing logistical support to RAMSI but also, if necessary, force protection.

The rapid response of RAMSI coupled with a comprehensive and strengthened assistance package is also providing a basis for other donors (for example regional financial institutions) to re-engage. Through these efforts, RAMSI is helping build the Solomon Islands' capacity to realise its full economic and development potential.

Source: Australian Agency for International Development (AUSAID).

Help to create conditions that will generate local demand for change

87. Although reform processes need to be internally driven, donors can help to create local demand and vision for change by supporting activities that:

- Increase dialogue between members of the security forces, the wider security system, and the general public (See Box 21).
- Bring an appropriate mix of expertise to the dialogue.
- Further integrate the security system into wider government planning and budgeting processes.
- Support regional dialogue and confidence-building mechanisms.

Box 21. Good Practice: South-South Dialogues on Security System Governance and Transformation

In September 2000, the Centre for Democracy and Development /Nigeria, in collaboration with the Centre for Defence and Security Management of Witswatersrand University/South Africa and the Institute of Development Studies/UK, organised a roundtable on the democratic control of the security system. Its main purpose was to discuss the processes and mechanisms through which democratic control can be established. It was hoped that such discussions would contribute to agreement on procedures for greater democratic accountability, transparency and control over the armed forces and other security services – by government, parliament and the political and civil society – especially in Nigeria, which had emerged from prolonged military rule in 1999. Participants included security scholars, military and civilian defence officials, parliamentarians and civil society actors. The meeting was funded by the Ford Foundation and the UK Department for International Development. It was the second South Africa-Nigeria Roundtable and had also been preceded by a South Africa-Nigeria Roundtable.

The UK recognised the benefits of this mechanism and has supported two subsequent South-South meetings in Uganda (2002) and Ghana (2003). In both cases, they focused on the defence sector. The objective was to provide concrete lessons from other Africa countries that had undertaken some form of defence reform or transformation.

Source: "Roundtable on Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Nigeria and South Africa, 20-23 September 2000, Johannesburg. Summary Report," London/Lagos, CDD, http://www.cdd.org.uk/democratic_control.htm and interviews (2002/3 Donor Survey [DCD/DAC/CPDC(2003)5]).

Identify entry-points and develop methods of working through local actors

88. Post-war reconstruction and democratic elections often involve the formation of new governments that are keen for international legitimacy and support. These situations offer two key entry-points for development actors. Peace agreements which are reached with international support and which contain provisions for security system reform will help legitimise donor activities in this area. It is therefore important to anticipate the future requirements and challenges of SSR in conflict situations, especially as peace processes gain momentum. Where countries remain in a 'no-war, no-peace' situation, development actors will need to envisage working in a different way. In such situations, aid may need to focus initially on helping to stabilise the political situation, contributing to peace building efforts and otherwise laying the groundwork for further structural reforms when conditions become more optimal.

89. In addition, many development actors are already involved in activities that relate directly or indirectly to SSR objectives and thus offer entry-points for supporting reform objectives. Institutional entry points include support for efforts to strengthen parliamentary capacity, to reform constitutions, judicial and penal systems and to bolster the 'watch-dog' role of civil society groups. Mentoring arrangements – where one or more international experts are twinned with key individuals, governmental offices, or institutions for an extended period of time – are a particularly important tool for promoting institutional change.

90. An example of "good practice" where SSR may be integrated with on-going initiatives and mainstreamed into development policy is set out in Box 22.

Adopt a regional perspective

91. At the regional level, and sub-regional level in particular, states face broadly similar security needs and challenges, much of which security system reform is designed to address. The democratic governance of the security system requires regional approaches because¹⁵:

- Security challenges often involve cross-border issues.
- It can be helpful to have collective responses to regional security issues.
- Unaddressed needs for SSR can lead to tensions and conflict that spread across borders.
- Co-ordination and harmonisation of external actors' actions and policies is critical.

92. Due to the wide-ranging regional security issues seen in Africa, this section deals in particular with examples it faces. For information on regional dynamics in other areas, please refer to the regional reports on Asia-Pacific; Latin America and the Caribbean; and South Eastern Europe, CIS and the Baltic.

Box 22. Good Practice: Participatory Frameworks for SSR

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process offers a potentially important, though still relatively new, mechanism for soliciting public views on security and mainstreaming SSR into development policy. PRSPs allow for a wide-ranging discussion of government spending priorities. This offers an opportunity to bring security into the debate and to assess how competing demands on public resources should be resolved. On the whole, however, the experience to date in using PRSPs to promote SSR-related objectives has been disappointing. While governments are in some cases reluctant for security issues to be addressed in this kind of forum, donors themselves have not always pushed hard for their inclusion. But this is starting to change.

In Cambodia, for example, the non-governmental community has incorporated a number of security issues in its annual submission to the PRSP process. Specific recommendations were made in the areas of disarmament, demobilisation, small arms reduction and management, and rule of law. While there was also a category on governance and transparency, this focused narrowly on civil service reform. Insufficient attention has been paid to the military which is a central political actor in Cambodia.

See <http://www.ngo.forum.org.kh> under 'Working Group Issues' and 'Development Assistance'.

Common security needs

93. The common security needs faced in a region need to be identified. For example, in West Africa, an overriding concern has been how to end one of the most serious threats to democratic development in the sub-region: *coups d'état* and unlawful removal of elected authorities. This threat is symptomatic of a deeper crisis of governance that is at the root of conflict and insecurity in many states. It further highlights the need to subject military institutions to democratic control.

Cross border nature of security challenges

94. Genuine and effective security system reform in each state cannot be achieved without attention to the regional and sub-regional level (See Box 23). Specific occurrences or processes within one state might affect sub-regional ones. SSR efforts within a country can risk being derailed by developments external to the state. Cross-border issues might include the trafficking and proliferation of small arms, child soldiers and natural resource extraction. For example, the rebuilding process in Sierra Leone in the aftermath of war has been threatened by continued insecurity in Liberia.

15. Nicole Ball, J. 'Kayode Fayemi, 'Funmi Olonisakin, and Rockyln Williams, "Security-Sector Transformation Handbook," Third draft, July 2003.

Collective response to regional security issues

95. There is increased recognition that the common nature of the threat facing African states in particular requires collective action and harmonised policies even if this is concentrated at the sub-regional, or neighbourhood level. Such action has been most visible, for example, in the area of crisis response. The then OAU (now African Union), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) have been compelled to respond to regional crisis albeit at varying levels. The most commonly cited examples are the ECOWAS responses to crisis in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau. The type of (often complex) regional peace operations that were mounted in response to these crises highlighted the importance of developing common values and principles in the management of such missions.

Box 23. Regional Comprehensive Development Assistance to Afghanistan: "The Ogata Initiative"

"The Ogata Initiative", a programme for regional comprehensive development assistance, was initiated by the government of Japan based on a proposal by Ms. Sadako Ogata, former UNHCR and Special Representative of the Prime Minister of Japan for Afghanistan Assistance. It aims to promote seamless transition from humanitarian assistance to recovery and reconstruction assistance, and to realize "human security." It supports reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), and promotes the comprehensive development of regions which accept them. Three-phase support programmes have been implemented under this Initiative since August 2002. JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and international organizations, including those under the U.N., are implementing projects in various areas and co-ordinating their activities to enhance synergies. All this is undertaken under the ownership of the Afghanistan Transitional Administration (ATA).

Priority regions are targeted, and they are expected to trigger the development of the whole country. Models for a regional comprehensive development model should emerge from this exercise. At the same time, the capacity development of the ATA through the implementation process is also envisaged.

This initiative is intended to bridge the "gap" between the humanitarian phase and the sustainable development phase, with particular emphasis placed on support for reintegrated people. Such support is important for creating political stability and public order. This ground-breaking initiative provides a common prerequisite for both security and development. Under Phase 4, now being worked out, synergies between security and development will be further pursued, for example, through the activities of civilian-military joint regional reconstruction teams called PRTs (Provincial Reconstruction Teams) and in co-ordination with DDR programmes.

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/>)

Co-ordination and harmonisation of actions and policies by external actors

96. The growing awareness of the need for a common approach at the sub-regional level has led to increased focus on capacity development for regional and sub-regional institutions in Africa, including the African Union, SADC and ECOWAS. Part of the United Nations' response has included, for example, a decentralisation of aspects of its functions through the establishment of regional offices. This has been the case with the recent creation of a UN Office for West Africa and the office for the Great Lakes region of Africa. The endorsement by the G8 for the New Partnership Initiative for African Development (NEPAD) adopted by African leaders in July 2002 reflects external support for a regional approach.¹⁶

97. In order to deal with regional challenges, development actors supporting SSR reforms in developing countries need to:

16. "Implementation Report by Africa Personal Representatives to Leaders on the G8 Africa Action Plan", Annex, "Joint Africa Action Plan to Enhance African Capabilities to Undertake Peace Support Operations". http://www.g8.fr/evian/english/navigation/news/news_update/implementation_report_by_africa_personal_representatives_to_leaders_on_the_g8_african_action_plan.html

- **Recognise that needs, priorities and circumstances governing SSR differ substantially by region (as well as by country).** Magnitudes, objectives, perceptions and approaches vary greatly. Flexibility in donor policy frameworks and programming is essential. This should be underpinned by the understanding – through appropriate analysis – of differing capacities, willingness and ownership.
- **Recognise that varying regional relationships with OECD countries have a major impact on incentives for reform.** Where incentives exist - as in Eastern European and some CIS states seeking EU accession or NATO membership - there is strong impetus for greater local commitment to reform processes. In contrast to the significant external financial and technical assistance in this region, in many developing countries reforms have tended in the past to be driven more by negative incentives associated with aid conditionality with limited and at times negative impact on progress.
- **Adopt a regional perspective to help understand the wider, often cross border, dynamics of security problems affecting a country and its national reform processes.** Internationally-supported confidence building measures such as the disclosure of information on military strategy, force size, or spending levels can help reduce suspicions and tensions between neighbours.
- **Work through or support regional or sub-regional organisations involved in security-related activities, where appropriate.** It is essential to enhance the capacity and legitimacy of regional organisations, such as the African Union, and regional civil society groups, to engage more in security issues and, consequently, in SSR. Such efforts will be particularly important during post-conflict transitional phases.
- **In countries where there is lack of government commitment and capacity is weak, prepare the political and policy terrain and support dialogue through civil society and regional networks.** This can include providing information and examples about how other countries address SSR challenges. This will also help identify entry points for future SSR work.

ANNEX I

Summary of Key Findings of the Donor Survey and the Country Surveys by Region 2002-2003

A. Donor survey findings

98. The 2002-3 donor survey demonstrates that development actors are increasingly engaging in security-related work. The substantive focus of donor activities now goes well beyond the 1990s interest in military spending and military roles and increasingly encompasses activities intended to promote democratic governance of the security system. Donors provide strong support for justice and internal security/police reforms and for activities designed to demilitarise society that developed during the 1990s. They are giving limited but growing attention to strengthening civil oversight of the security bodies and to enhancing the capacity of civil management bodies. However, donors still do very little work oriented toward non-state actors (beyond Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) programs) and are, for the most part, just beginning to understand the importance of activities intended to create an environment in which governance-oriented reforms can go forward.

99. More than half the donors surveyed submitted in-depth responses (17 out of 27), and several took whole-of-government approaches in responding. Over half of the donors surveyed indicated that there are SSR activities that they will not engage in. These were primarily defined as work that is “non-ODA eligible” and direct assistance to strengthening the operational capacity of defence, police and/or intelligence bodies. Two of the three donors that indicated there are no restrictions on the types of support they provide were responding for their entire governments, which means that they have the full range of development, financial, diplomatic and security instruments at their disposal in crafting their SSR programmes. Nonetheless, many donors are increasingly engaging with security forces, including the military, on governance-related issues despite concerns that their support may indirectly strengthen the operational capacity of these security actors.

100. Development assistance agencies are increasingly working on SSR-related activities with ministries of foreign affairs, defence and justice, national police services, customs services, corrections services, and offices of the solicitor general, many of which have been engaged in security-related work for many years. In many cases, this has resulted in joint-financing of programmes which can enhance collaboration and allow for certain activities which may not otherwise be ODA eligible to be supported. At the same time, much of this work is of an *ad hoc* nature and is not grounded in policy frameworks, either explicitly for SSR or integrated into policies for related issues such as conflict prevention, governance, or democratisation. Nor do many donor governments have formal co-ordination mechanisms aimed at developing government-wide responses to security-related issues in partner countries. In consequence, opportunities for being strategic about the work donors engage in are missed, and there are significant risks that donor government departments will work at cross-purposes. This makes it more difficult to achieve effective collaboration in cases where a number of donor countries and multilateral agencies are involved.

101. The 2002-3 survey suggests that donors continue to prefer discrete projects rather than broader programmes, and activities with concrete outputs (e.g. a defence white paper, human-rights training for police officers) rather than process-based work (developing consensus on the need for SSR; strengthening the capacity of government officials to develop policies). There is also a preference for working with civil society and parliaments rather than executive branch departments or ministries.

102. Most bilateral SSR work is financed through aid agencies, although a growing number of DAC Member governments finance SSR through their defence ministries. In consequence, there is considerable interest among DAC Member governments about which SSR-related activities are ODA-eligible and how to track SSR-related activities.

103. DAC Members have expanded and deepened their engagement in the security system since the late 1990s. This is evident both from the number and kinds of activities they are involved in, as well as from the increasing focus by a number of donors on developing SSR policies. Nonetheless, it is also clear that not all of the security work donors are engaged in actually meets the definition of 'SSR'; nor is the assistance provided always in line with SSR principles. Many donors (and other international actors) have re-named existing security-related activities as SSR without adequately considering what is distinctive about this agenda from a conceptual and policy perspective, and adjusting their programming accordingly.

B. Country findings and regional trends

104. The country surveys indicate that a significant amount of activity is underway in the security domain across developing and transition countries. The nature of these activities, the objectives being pursued, and the approaches being employed vary greatly. Most of this activity does not come under the heading of SSR, though some of them are informed by the same principles. A substantial portion of this activity is driven by countries themselves. While the stated objectives are often to improve governance of the security system, many of these activities are more narrowly focused on strengthening the capacity and effectiveness of the uniformed security forces to carry out their core functions. In some cases, reform objectives run counter to the objective of improving accountability and transparency in the security system.

105. Broadly speaking, these kinds of reforms have their genesis in three factors. The first is the situation of conflict and insecurity facing many developing and transition countries that has resulted in an emphasis by governments on bolstering the capacity of their security forces. The second is the attempt by political elites who do not enjoy broad popular support to consolidate their power by strengthening their control over the security services. A third factor, which has become more significant in the past two years, are the reform efforts being promoted by some OECD countries under the heading of the 'war on terrorism' which are leading to the bolstering of intelligence and internal security capacity of partner states. This is occasioning significant trade-offs between the initial emphasis on strengthening operational effectiveness and the longer-term goal of improving transparency and accountability in the security system.

106. The most significant survey finding which has important implications for how the DAC defines SSR is that, almost across-the-board, the dominant concerns of partner countries revolve around immediate security needs. These security threats take many forms, ranging from generalised insecurity caused by violent conflict and political unrest, to organised crime, and the threats posed by repressive states themselves to their populations. While it is recognised that the long-term solution to these problems lay both in the realm of development policy and in developing professional and accountable security forces, few countries have the luxury of investing in this long-term agenda as they struggle to cope with current development and security problems (See Box 24).

Box 24. Conclusions of the Africa Survey

'...the deterioration of the security situation in many African countries, often as an outcrop of democratisation (in particular the explosion of armed robbery and other forms of violent crime) means that both security institutions and publics have tended to place the emphasis on trying to guarantee physical security and may become rather tolerant of possible abuses of legal and human rights. The injection of the military into crime control (often reflecting greater public confidence in the military than police) is one indication of this. But even more indicative is loss of confidence that the state (to the extent to which it is not itself a 'security threat') can provide any sort of security, and the turn to private and community security mechanisms. Paradoxically, then, while much effort has gone over the last decade into elaborating 'extended' concepts of security (such as 'human security'), Africans in many cases have become increasingly concerned with 'security' in its narrowest and most 'primordial' sense, physical security. This is not a rationale for donors to back away from a 'governance' or 'human rights' perspective on reform (on the contrary). It is, however, an argument to incorporate both operational and governance perspectives into their SSR programmes - thus ensuring effective law enforcement and public order in a context of accountability and good governance of the security system - and in particular to avoid excessive emphasis on deficit-reduction and fiscal stabilization likely to disable security institutions even further.

Source: "Draft Survey of Security System Reform (SSR) in Africa: Synthesis Report" [DCD/DAC/CPDC(2003)6], Draft Note prepared by Dr. Eboe Hutchful and Dr. Kayode Fayemi.

107. The country surveys underscore that the security problems facing countries within the same region and across regions often differ immensely, as do local views about how these problems should be addressed. To have real utility, therefore, the recommendations from these regional reports suggest that the SSR concept needs to be seen, in the first instance, as a framework to structure thinking about how to address security issues rather than as a template for providing security assistance. The regional surveys suggest that the DAC SSR definition does provide a broad framework within which a constructive dialogue can take place between donors and partner countries. The key issue is how this dialogue is carried out and translated into constructive programmes of assistance.

Regions surveyed

Africa: Consultants: Eboe Hutchful, African Security Dialogue and Research, Accra; Kayode Fayemi, Centre for Democracy & Development, Lagos

1. Central, East and Horn of Africa
2. North Africa
3. Southern Africa
4. West Africa

Asia Pacific: Consultant: Brig.-Gen.(Rtd) Dipankar Banerjee, Institute for Peace & Conflict Studies, Delhi

5. Asia-Pacific
6. Central Asia
7. South Asia
8. Southeast Asia

Latin America – Caribbean: Consultant: Francisco Aravena-Rojas, FLACSO-Chile, Santiago

9. Andean countries
10. Caribbean
11. Central America
12. Mercosur countries

Central and East Europe and CIS: Consultant: Tanja Petovar, Independent Consultant, Belgrade

13. Balkans
14. Central Europe
15. Baltics
16. Former-Soviet Union