Security Sector Reform (SSR)

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Scope of Lecture

- The Context of Security Sector Reform
- Security Sector: Definition and Features
- The Definition of Security Sector Reform
- Why Do We Need Security Sector Reform?
- Objectives of Security Sector Reform
- Security Sector Reform Actors
- Security Sector Reform in Practice
- Security Sector Reform: Challenges (Internationally & Thailand)
- Regional Case Study: Indonesia
- Exercise#: SSR

Security Sector Reform: Context
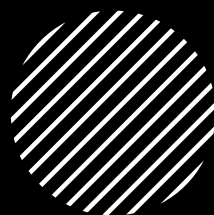
- Security Sector Reform is known by various other names, which essentially describe the same thing:

- Security System Reform is the term used by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). It focuses on systemic, or whole system, reform.

- Justice and Security Sector Reform is the term used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). It places emphasis on both the justice and security sectors.

- Security Sector Transformation, which has connotations of a more marked or radical form of change.

- Security Sector Management: Less pejorative than using the term 'reform'.

- SSR is a relatively new concept, introduced since the end of the Cold War.

- Throughout the Cold War, major powers had little interest in using security and development assistance to promote good governance in countries in receipt of their aid.

- Assistance was intended solely to foster strategic relationships with key allies.

Security Sector Reform: Context
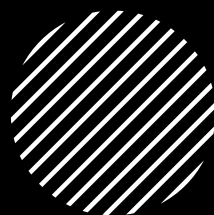
- The strategic priorities of the major powers began to change with the end of the Cold War.

- SSR was initially championed by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) following the election of the Labour Party in 1997.

- DFID initially focused on engaging in SSR related work in conflict affected countries. This has since been expanded to fragile states.

- The purpose of SSR was to address the inter-related issues of security, development and conflict prevention.

- It was initially influenced by the shift towards a people centred approach following the Cold War, and has since been influenced by 9/11 and the Arab Spring.

- It is therefore rooted in geostrategic changes in the security context. • How would you define the security sector
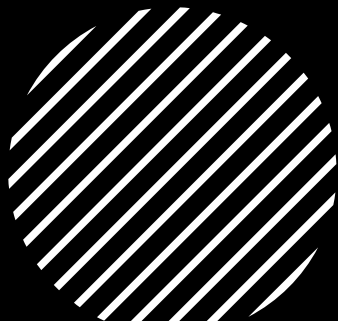
Question#1

How would you define the security sector?

Security Sector Definition and Features

- DFID, the FCO and the MOD define the security sector as: *"Bodies authorised to use force (the armed forces, police, and paramilitary units) and judicial and public security bodies (the judiciary, justice ministries, defence and prosecution services, prisons and corrections services, human rights commissions and customary and traditional justice systems)"* (Ball, Nicole, *"The Evolution of the Security Sector Reform Agenda"*, in Sedra, Mark Ed. *The Future of Security Sector Reform*, p.34)

- The United Nations Secretary General defines the security sector as: *"a broad term used to describe the structures, institutions, and personnel responsible for the management, provision and oversight of security in a country"* (UN SSR: https://unssr.unlb.org/SSR/Defintions.aspx)

- It is generally accepted that the security sector includes: Defence, law enforcement, corrections, intelligence, elements of the judicial sector, ministries, legislative bodies and civil society groups.

Security Sector Definition and Features
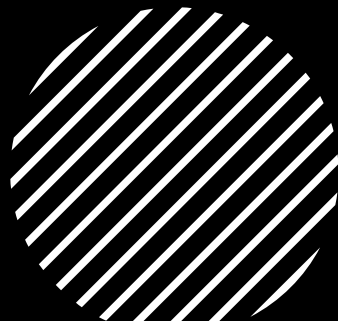
- Effective and accountable security sectors have a number of common features:
    - A legal and/or constitutional framework: Providing for the legitimate use of force in accordance with universally accepted norms.

- An institutionalised system of governance and management:
    - Mechanisms for the direction and oversight of security provided by authorities and institutions.
    - Mechanisms for interaction among security actors: Establishing transparent modalities for coordination and cooperation among different actors.

- A culture of service:
    - Promoting integrity, discipline, impartiality and a respect for human rights among security actors.

- Security sectors also differ due to:
    - Vastly different historic, cultural, ethnic, and social circumstances. • Different economic levels of development. • Specific geopolitical ramifications, in which the national security sector has to function.

Question#2??

- In your opinion, does Thailand have an effective and accountable security sector?

- Is there room for improvement?

How is Security Sector Reform Defined?

- There are various different definitions, some of which are broad and some which are narrow.

- The United Nations Secretary-General defines SSR as: *"a process of assessment, review and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation of the security sector, led by national authorities, and that has as its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the state and its peoples, without discrimination and with full respect of human rights and the rule of law"* (https://unssr.unlb.org/SSR/Defintions.aspx)

- The OECD Development Assistance Committee defines SSR as: *"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". (OECD DAC, 2004a: 20)*
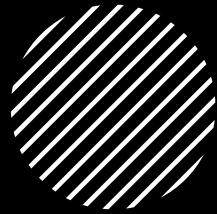
Why do you think security sector reform is important?

Question#3???

Why do we need Security Sector Reform?

- According to the UK Government, SSR is important in order to: "Support governments of developing and transitional countries so that they can fulfil their legitimate security functions through reforms that will make the delivery of security more effective and democratic, thereby reducing the potential for both internal and external conflict" *(UK Gov, GCPP SSR Strategy 2004-2005, Security Sector Reform Strategy)*

- The rationale of SSR is that a reformed security sector, one that is efficient, well governed and based on transparency and accountability, is a major tool for conflict prevention, stability, peacebuilding and sustainable development.

- SSR is promoted by the understanding that an ineffective and poorly governed security sector represents a decisive obstacle to peace, stability, poverty reduction, sustainable development, rule of law, good governance and the respect for human rights.

Why do we need Security Sector Reform?
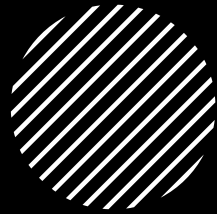
- Typical contexts when SSR is necessary include:
 - Post-conflict rebuilding
  - Transition from military or one-party rule to participatory forms of government.
  - Recent independence
  - A lack of transparency and accountability in public affairs.
  - A disregard for the rule of law
  - Problems in conflict mediation between various actors in the security sector.
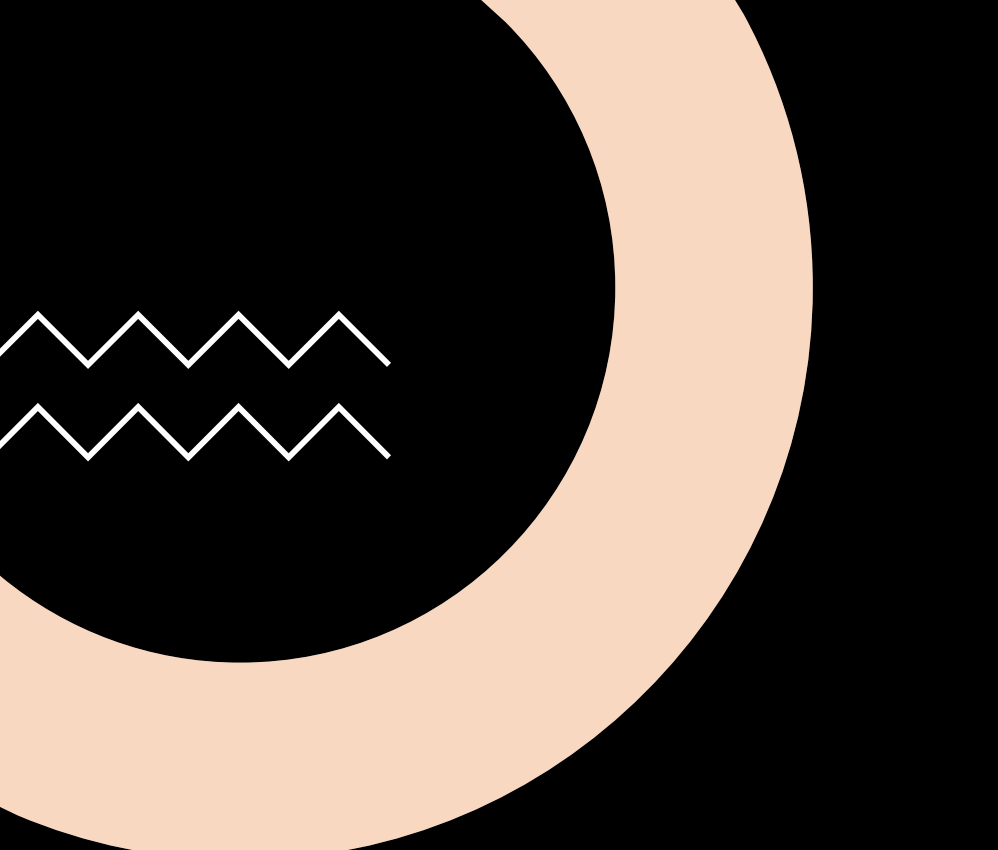 - Difficulties in the management of scarce resources

Why do we need Security Sector Reform?
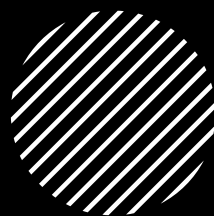
- A properly managed security sector can:
    - Strengthen investor confidence
    - Promote the efficient use of resources
    - Increases the pool of potential donors for regional and international peace support
    - Reduce poverty and sustain social and economic development
    - Advance human rights and democracy
    - Aid state building and nation building
    - Help counter radicalization
- Most importantly:
    - SSR contributes to the security of states and citizens, without which there can be no sustainable economic or political development

Objectives of Security Sector Reform

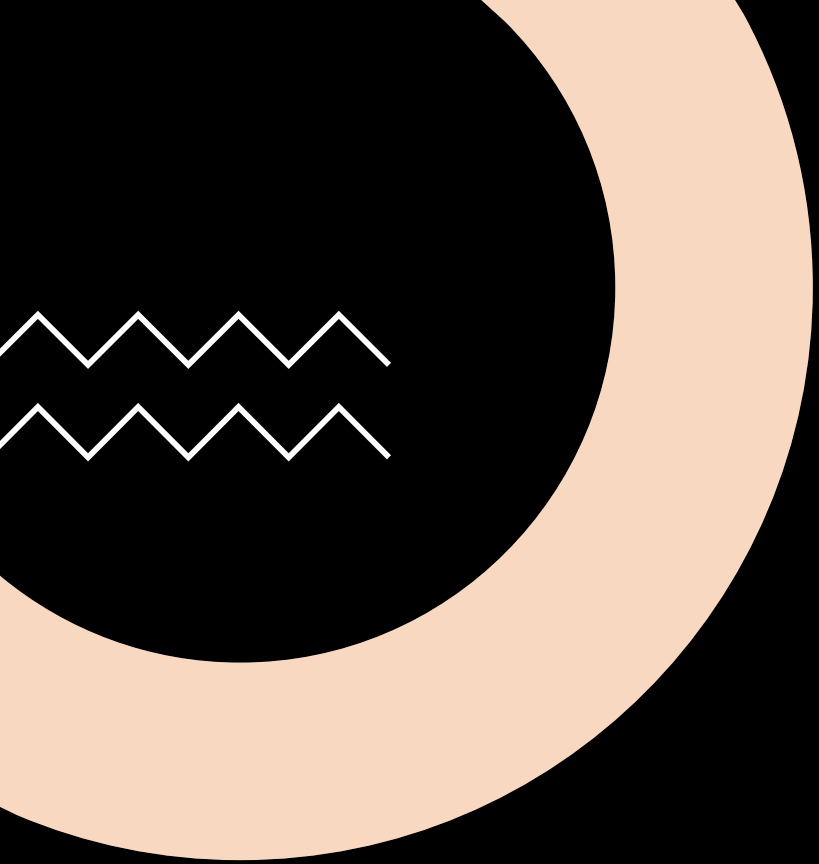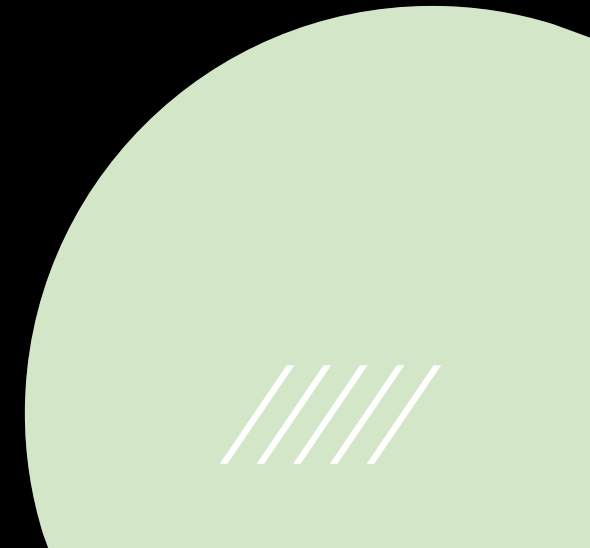| what:?	Why?	How?	Who?	outcome
Help governments of developing and transitional countries fulfill their security functions through reforms that deliver appropriate, efficient and effective, affordable, democratically, accountable security sectors	Capable and accountable security sector required to prevent conflict and ensure sustainable peace e.g. after withdrawal of PSO, UK interest in international peace and security	UK assistance frequently required-UK acknowledged leader in field and can provide training and technical support.	DFID/FCO/MOD(including SSR strategy stakeholders) and wider Whitehall network, international donors and multilaterals, Civil Society group	Improved of capacities of security sectors in target countries to carry out duties in conformity with agree human rights and accountability standards, leading to reduce conflict and reduce risk of conflicts

Security Sector Reform Actors
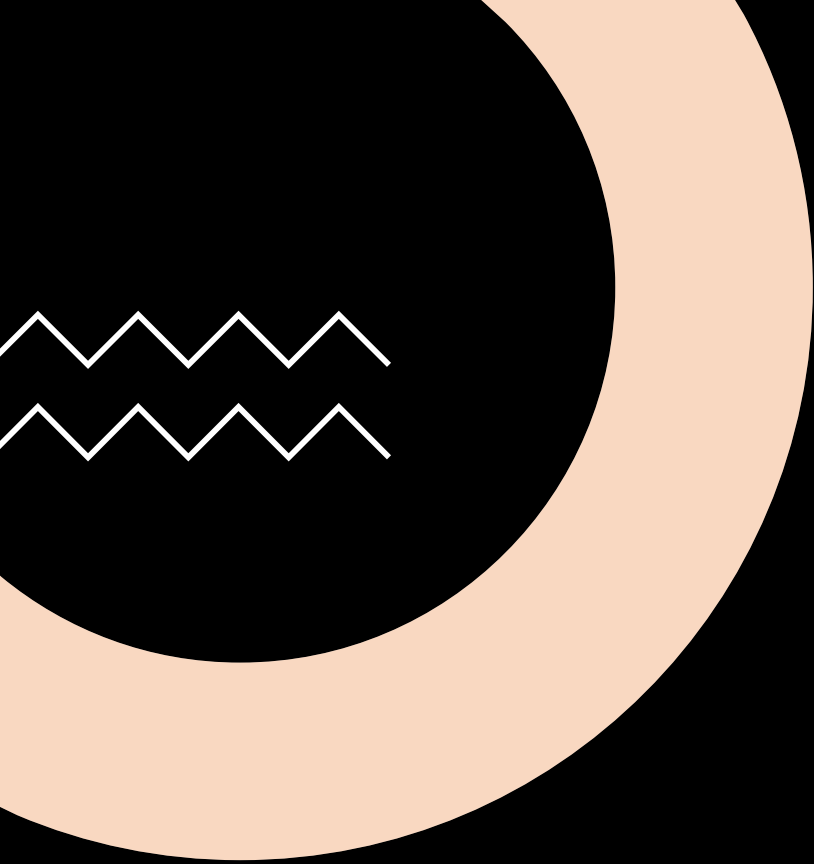
- SSR began with a narrow focus on defence sector, and has expanded to include other security agents, judicial actors and civil society actors.

- Actors can be broadly or narrowly conceived.

Security Sector Reform Actors

	Actors and focus			
	sector	State-centred	People-centred	
Narrow Definition	Core sector	Armed forces Police Gendarmerie Paramilitary forces Presidential guards Intelligence services Coast guards Border guards Custom and immigration reserves	Local security units(like neighborhood guards	
	Security management and oversight bodies	Parliament/legislatures and its relevant Committees and Government/executive including MOD, internal affairs and foreign affairs National security advisory bodies Financial management bodies	Customaries and traditional authorities Civil society, NGOs Medias Academia	

	Actors and focus			
	sector	State-centred	People-centred	
Broader Definition	Justice and law enforcements	Justice ministries Prisoner Criminal investigation and prosecutions service The judiciary (court and tribunal) Implementation of justice service	Customaires and traditional justice system Human rights commission Ombusmen Neighbourhood group and crime prevention organization Lawyer's associations Youth organistions Religious, ethnics and clans' police	
	Non-statutory security forces		Liberation armies Guerilla armies Privates' bodyguard units Private security companies Private militias Vigilante groups	

Question#4????

- How do you reform the security sector in practice?
- If you were in charge of SSR in Thailand, where would you begin?

Security Sector Reform in Practice

- The United Nations approach to SSR follows the following core principles:

  I. SSR should be undertaken on the basis of a national decision, a Security Council mandate and/or General Assembly resolution.

  II. In order to be successful and sustainable, support in the area of SSR must be anchored by national ownership and the commitment of involved states and societies.

  III. A UN approach to SSR must be flexible and tailored to that country.

  IV. A UN approach to SSR must be gender-sensitive throughout its planning, design and implementation.

  V. A clearly defined strategy, including the identification of priorities and a clear timeline.

  VI. Coordination of national and international partners efforts is essential.

  VII. Monitoring and regular evaluation against established principles and specific benchmarks. *(UN, 2008, para45)*

Security Sector Reform in Practice

- For the OECD DAC, SSR reform should be built on four main pillars:
  - Developing a clear institutional framework for providing security that integrates security and development policy and includes all relevant actors and focuses on the vulnerable, such as women, children and minority groups.
  - Strengthening the governance and oversight of security institutions.
  - Building capable and professional security forces that are accountable to civil authorities and open to dialogue with civil society and civil society organisations.
  - Promoting the sustainability of justice and security service delivery

  (OECD DAC, 2004)

Security Sector Reform in Practice

- In Sum, SSR in practice must have (Wulf, Herbert (2011)):
  - *Political Dimension:* Oversight of the security forces. The core task of this reform is in the area of good governance and the protection of human rights.
  - *Economic Dimension:* The rational allocation of human, financial and material resources to the security sector is a precondition for it to function efficiently. Bloated security forces should be downsized, and military and police roles clarified. Police and military training programmes should be implemented, and anti-corruption laws and practices introduced.
  - *Social Dimension:* The actual guarantee of the security of the citizens.
  - Institutional Dimension: The structure of the security sector and the institutional separation of the various forces and institutions. Civil-Judicial relations must be clearly defined, and there must be a legal framework consistent with international law and good democratic practices.
  - Overall, SSR is a long-term strategy, which cannot be anything other than a crossgovernment, interagency activity. No two programmes are the same.
  - *Guiding principles:* Human security, rule of law, good governance.

Question#5??????

- What might prevent security sector reform from proceeding smoothly?

Security Sector Reform Challenges

- There are numerous challenges for SSR. These include:
  - *Ensuring national ownership of SSR processes:* Too often SSR models are imposed by external actors. Yet externally imposed models are often mismatched with the political, social and cultural realities of the reform context. The SSR process must be shaped and driven by local actors.
  - *National actors must develop the capacity to sustain the reform process over the longer term.* SSR can suffer from limited commitment, and piecemeal and/or incoherent approaches, which can prevent the proper development of SSR. Reform fatigue is common.
  - *Role of external actors in supporting SSR:* While national ownership is critical for the success of SSR, external support – particularly in post-conflict contexts – is also vital. External support is often uncoordinated and donor policies are not harmonised. Many international organisations also shy away from being fully involved in the propagation of, and assistance in, the transformation of national security sectors. Security Sector Reform Challenges

Security Sector Reform Challenges

- There are numerous challenges for SSR. These include:
  - *Engaging non-state actors:* Experiences around the world indicate that the state is not always the exclusive provider of security. In some contexts, elements of the population view non-state actors as legitimate security providers, yet these actors are often viewed with suspicion by national authorities and are absent from the SSR process.
  - *Political Sensitivities:* SSR is profoundly political. Power relations are often questioned and vested interests are challenged. Not all of the goals associated with SSR are automatically prescribed to.
  - *Mainstreaming Gender:* Violence against women is one of the largest threats to security, and a participatory approach to SSR can help ensure that the security needs of women are incorporated into reforms. However, this may conflict with regional priorities/norms.
  - *Whole of Government Approach:* SSR requires a holistic approach in order to tackle the interconnected problems of weak governance, poor economic performance, insecurity and poverty. Security Sector R

Security Sector Reform Challenges

- *Structural Problems:* SSR is a subset of wider political and economic reform. Ambitions to reform SSR must consider the underlying causes of violence, in addition to contextual factors such as the political/economic/social fragility of the "post-conflict" phase, peace settlement terms, and the role of spoilers, in addition to geostrategic changes.

- *Selecting Priorities in the Light of Scarce Funds:* SSR is a long term program, and measures to increase public security can require the allocation of large volumes of resources. Policy makers have to weigh different objectives – like poverty reduction, improvement of health situations, improvement of water supply – against the need for SSR.

- *Lack of conceptual clarity:* SSR as a concept is still relatively new. Questions remain regarding how security is defined, who security is for, what successful reform looks like, and how reform can be implemented. There remain tensions between SSR as a policy and SSR in practice.

Regional Case Study

Question: Is there a state within the region which you believe has enacted successful security sector reform? Why?

Indonesia as a regional case study

Current SSR in Southeast Asia: Indonesia

Under President Suharto (1967-1998) the Indonesian Defence Forces (ARBI) were deeply involved in the country's governance, economy, and society.

Following the end of Suharto's rule, the ARBI, now the National Armed Forces (TNI) undertook a self imposed process of internal reform as part of a general reform movement (reformasi).

The most fundamental change was the creation of a civilian body above that of the military command to enhance oversight.

The other major change was the formal separation of the TNI and the police (POLRI).

Community policing was established by the POLRI as a major step forward in building public trust.

Security sector reform has been an almost entirely locally driven process, with limited participation from outside parties.

Since the initial reformasi, SSR has proceeded through fluid, negotiated processes that do not lend themselves to timelines or structures imposed by outside actors

Current SSR in Southeast Asia: Indonesia

- Indonesian civil society has played a fundamental role in the advocating for, and supporting of, SSR efforts.

- Prominent civil society organisations involved in SSR have included the Indonesian Working Group on Security Sector Reform (IWG-SSR), which has its roots in a United States Agency for International development (USAID) funded program.

- Bringing together security sector personnel of varying rank, as well as politicians, academics, civil servants, and members of civil society, has encouraged both SSR in general and greater SSR literacy on the part of those governing.

- The TNI withdrew itself from social and political offices, banned its members from taking civilian jobs while serving in the force, and severed ties with political parties.

- Major international donors included: Japan, the US, Australia, the UK and the UNDP - mainly through training and financial support.

Exercise#: SSR

- In the lecture on Security Sector Reform a number of examples were given as to the forms that SSR can take in practice.
- Within your groups reflect on the way in which SSR has been enacted within Thailand.
- Choose one aspect of reform, (e.g enhancing accountability, defence reform, judicial reform, etc.) and assess how successful it has been.
- For the report describe what the starting point was, what has been achieved, and how it was achieved.
- Seek to identify examples of best and worst practice and make recommendations for future reform.

Instructions:

- Each group should prepare a report of 10-12 minutes in length and should be prepared to answer questions.