Tool 6

Civil Society Involvement in Security Sector Reform and Governance

Augustin Loada and Ornella Moderan

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Toolkit for Security Sector Reform
and Governance in West Africa

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About the authors

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DCAF

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) is a world-leading institution in the areas of good governance and reform of the security sector, established as an international foundation in 2000. In Africa, DCAF supports regional organisations, national institutions and non-state actors in their efforts to improve the effectiveness and accountability of the security sector.

About the toolkit

What is the toolkit?

This publication is part of the *Toolkit for Security Sector Reform and Governance in West Africa*. Its aim is to support implementation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) policy framework for security sector reform and governance through practical advice and guidance tailored to the West African context and based on regional experiences. It specifically aims to facilitate policy development, implementation, and management of SSR processes at the national level.

Who is the Toolkit for?

The *Toolkit* has been developed as a resource for the ECOWAS Commission and all national stakeholders within ECOWAS Member States, including the executive, the parliament, the judiciary, statutory oversight institutions and civil society. It can also be useful to other actors involved in SSR processes, such as international partners.

What is the structure of the Toolkit?

The toolkit comprises eight complementary chapters (or tools):

    Tool 1: Political Leadership and National Ownership of Security Sector Reform Processes

    Tool 2: Security Sector Reform Programming

    Tool 3: Good Financial Governance of Defence and Security Institutions

    Tool 4: Effective Management of External Support to Security Sector Reform

    Tool 5: Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector

    Tool 6: Civil Society Involvement in Security Sector Reform and Governance

    Tool 7: Non-State Justice and Security Providers and Security Sector Reform

    Tool 8: Integrating Gender in Security Sector Reform and Governance

Who developed the Toolkit?

The *Toolkit* was produced by the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) at the request of ECOWAS.

The Tools are written primarily by West African experts, and have been examined by an editorial board made up of world-renowned researchers and practitioners. The members of the board are West African specialists in security sector reform and governance, with long experience and excellent knowledge of the region.

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Acronyms

AFJCI	Association des Femmes Juristes de Côte d'Ivoire – Association of Women Lawyers of Côte d'Ivoire
CBO	Community based organisation
CSO	Civil society organisation
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EID	Espace d'interpellation démocratique – Forum for democratic discussion
IMRAP	Institut Malien de Recherche-Action pour la Paix - Malian Institute of Research and Action for Peace
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women Peace Network
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SSR	Security sector reform
SSRG	Security sector reform and governance
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

Introduction

Civil society plays a crucial role in building and consolidating functional democracies, based on the establishment of effective institutions that respect the rule of law, respond to the needs of the population, and are accountable to that population and to civilian authorities.

As a national process, security sector reform (SSR) aims to strengthen the effectiveness, transparency and integrity of defence and security actors and institutions. Within this context, civil society organisations (CSOs) are an important channel through which citizens (both women and men) can participate in the development of public policies and provide citizen oversight.

Representative and credible CSOs are essential to the democratic governance of the security sector and can, for instance, have an impact by:

• influencing the development of policies to ensure they reflect the security concerns of women, men, girls and boys in the country, including those living in isolated areas;

• informing and educating the public on changes to the security context, the role of defence and security organisations, and the role of citizens in preserving security for all;

• encouraging the consolidation of peaceful and constructive relationships between security institutions and civilian populations; and

• providing national institutions with expertise on fundamental matters such as budget analysis, gender analysis, respect for human rights, changing legal frameworks, or the fight against corruption in the security sector, to cite but a few examples.

Above all, the active involvement of committed, competent and diverse representatives of civil society in public oversight of the security sector strengthens citizens' confidence in the state mechanisms responsible for security. However, civil society actors are not always aware of their roles and responsibilities in terms of democratic security governance. They sometimes lack the conceptual tools and practical skills needed to become actively involved in this field, or encounter difficulties in building constructive partnerships with state security institutions or other relevant actors and in identifying effective entry points. Their potential contribution therefore remains untapped.

This Tool aims to bridge the knowledge and skills gaps that prevent civil society actors in West Africa from becoming involved in public oversight of the security sector. It provides advice and practical guidance to these actors, and is meant to strengthen their ability to act. It is primarily intended for civil society actors

in West Africa who operate on local, national and regional levels, including media organisations, but may also be used by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), all its member states and international partners involved in security sector reform and governance (SSRG) to take full account of and enhance the role of civil society in this area.

Understanding the concept of civil society

2.1. What is civil society?

Civil society can be understood as the political space that exists between the individual and the government. It is a domain parallel to but separate from both the state and the market, in which citizens freely associate according to their common interests and values. It is a means of organising collectively within the public sphere and enables citizens to coordinate in order to express shared opinions, engage in dialogue with other actors such as the state or the private sector, and take action to influence the development of a society that reflects their values.

Civil society is thus a cross-section of independent citizens who mobilise themselves, voluntarily, around issues of general interest and with a non-profit making aim. It encompasses non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations, religious bodies, professional associations, trade unions, women's organisations, student groups, cultural societies, etc.[1] These organisations and movements provide a social space independent from the government, but which maintains a permanent dialogue with it and with other state institutions such as legislative bodies. This space encourages participative governance.

> *Civil society offers individuals the means to be collectively involved in matters of general interest; it provides an ideal platform for citizen participation.*

In contrast to government, civil society is not responsible for defining or implementing national policy, but it can contribute to the development of policy by lobbying to ensure that the needs of men, women, girls and boys are taken into account. It can also contribute to citizen oversight of the government's work, particularly by monitoring the way in which public services are provided, including in terms of justice and security.

Civil society is also distinguished from other non-state actors in the public domain. In contrast to economic operators in the private sector, the main aim of civil society organisations (CSOs) is not to accumulate material wealth, but to contribute to the collective well-being by supporting a society based on values and rights. Whether led by volunteers or paid staff, CSOs work to defend common social interests, such as the protection of nature and the preservation of cultural heritage, but also larger efforts toward peace, human security, universal access to rights, and effective democratic governance based on the rule of law.

CSOs are also different from political parties, because their aim is not to acquire institutional power but rather to influence those who hold it, with a view to improving national governance through a participative approach.

Finally, CSOs operate within the law, are regulated by specific legal frameworks (which differ from one country to the next) and aim to serve the general interest. In this way, they differ very clearly from criminal organisations, which represent another form of non-state actors who have an impact on the security environment.

In addition to formally constituted CSOs, civilian populations and communities are also represented in various ways by unelected groups of citizens who interact with communities and public authorities. Indeed, civil society is made up of different types of actors, which are more or less formal and organised:

- **Community and citizen movements,** which may sometimes be informal but which have a real presence and operational influence, such as popular grassroots movements.

- **Legally constituted associations and organisations,** such as NGOs, universities, academic centres and research institutions, trades unions and professional associations, press and media bodies that meet requirements of national legislation.

- **De facto groups with a specific vocation,** such as religious groups and their leaders, who may also play an influential role within communities or may have the power to put pressure on local or national decision makers.

Box 1: Civil society organisations from the African Union

Per Article 3 of the Statutes of the African Union Economic, Social and Cultural Council, "CSOs include, but are not limited to the following:

   a. Social groups such as those representing women, children, the youth, the elderly, and people with disability and special needs;

   b. Professional groups such as associations of artists, engineers, health practitioners, social workers, media, teachers, sport associations, legal professionals, social scientists, academia, business organisations, national chambers of commerce, workers, employers, industry and agriculture as well as other private sector interest groups;

   c. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community based organisations and voluntary organisations;

   d. Cultural organisations."

Source: Statutes of the African Union Economic, Social and Cultural Council, 2002, Article 3.

2.2. Who operates within civil society?

The term 'civil society' encompasses various actors and should not be limited to non-governmental organisations (NGOs). This diversity is an asset, because each kind of actor in civil society has their own characteristics and strengths.

Regardless of their area of specialisation, CSOs can contribute toward security sector governance.

The diversity of organisations that constitute civil society brings a wealth of characteristics and strengths as well as varying levels of experience related to governance and/or security. However, while specific expertise is useful, it is not essential to participate in security sector governance, and CSOs with other specialisations can also provide valuable input (for example, see Box 13, which suggests areas where youth organisations can be involved).

Diversity among CSOs can be expressed in terms of:

✓ **The form of CSOs,** from loose networks to community movements to legally established organisations, journalist associations etc.

✓ **The scale of CSOs and the level(s) at which they operate:**

  • at the international level are, for example, CSOs with consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC);

  • at the regional level (Africa or West Africa) are CSOs such as the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) or the Women's Network for Peace and Security in the ECOWAS Region;

  • on the national level, through CSOs which are often based in the capital but which have operational antenna in the regions, national human rights' observatories and/or public policies, etc.;

  • on the local level, notably through grassroots organisations (GROs), local development organisations, rural women's groups, etc.;

✓ **A CSO's area of specialisation:**

  • defence of human rights, including of women, children, minorities or other specific groups within society;

  • women's issues and efforts toward gender equality;

  • research, usually undertaken by institutes and networks of experts that produce analyses which may support or influence policy-making or policy evaluation;

  • professional advocacy, such as in industry cooperatives, unions, professional associations, and student groups;

  • grant-making and public interest funding, usually provided by foundations to support civil society initiatives that work toward a certain vision of society.

This diverse group of actors has varying levels of experience in terms of governance and/or security. Civil society actors with specific expertise in these areas are particularly useful. However, this expertise or specialisation is not essential to participate: generalist CSOs or those with other specialisations can also provide valuable input (for example, see Box 13 which suggests areas where youth organisations can be involved).

NB: Simply being based in a national capital is not enough to make a CSO a national actor. This status depends on the actual scope of an organisation's area of intervention. Does the organisation operate outside the capital region? Do its research, lobbying and activities relate to the whole country? And, are its active members representative of national diversity?

These different types of civil society actors may form **umbrella organisations, coalitions, platforms or networks** that aim to coordinate and share their work on a local, intranational, national, regional, or even global scale. Indeed, such networks and partnerships often create links between various levels

of intervention. Thus, WANEP has both a regional office in Accra and national offices in the ECOWAS countries. Similarly, the Open Society Foundations subdivides its work into regional initiatives, such as the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), which operate through country-level offices and projects. In 2015, OSIWA worked in ten West African countries, with the support of five country offices based in Abuja, Conakry, Dakar, Freetown and Monrovia.[2]

Intervention at these different levels represents an opportunity to build on the respective advantages of each link in the chain. The division of work and responsibilities should therefore take into account the capacities of each level and strengthen consistency across the whole organisation.

2.3. What principles underlie the credibility of civil society actors?

To a large extent, the credibility of civil society actors depends on their commitment to certain fundamental tenets, notably:

- ✓ **The non-profit-making nature of their activity:** this does not mean, of course, that CSOs cannot employ staff or fundraise, but that their end objective cannot be financial gain.

- ✓ **Independence and integrity:** civil society should be a place where citizens can act independently from political parties and government; and so the legitimacy of civil society actors is linked to their ability to maintain a critical distance from national policy-makers. It is also important to take a constructive approach. The work of civil society seeks solutions to social problems affecting communities on all levels. Even where these problems have strong political connotations, civil society actors are considered to be independent, insofar as they do not defend the image and interests of particular political actors or aim to achieve institutional power.

- ✓ **Representativeness and accountability:** in addition to providing services to the community, CSOs act as unelected representatives of the population whose points of view they defend and whose concerns they communicate. As such, their legitimacy depends largely on their capacity to equitably defend the interests of that population and to take into account specific groups such as women, young people, rural communities, illiterate or undereducated populations, and members of minority groups. To credibly perform this role, the composition of CSOs must reflect that of society in general and civil society must involve women, youth, and people from disadvantaged social groups. Moreover, CSOs claiming to speak in the name of certain groups must receive popular support from or have a sufficiently strong community base within these groups.

- ✓ **Transparency and internal governance** (also see section 7.2): it is important that civil society organisations act in line with the values they defend as far as the probity and transparency of financial management, the integrity of recruitment practices and internal promotion procedures, respect for human rights and national laws (including labour laws applicable to CSO employees), and by establishing zero tolerance policies on sexual harassment and abuse of authority.

In West Africa, the independence of CSOs is often questioned. Their work can be fragmented and their financial stability uncertain, making it challenging to adhere to these principles (see section 7 for possible solutions to these challenges).

Security sector reform and governance

3.1. What is security?

> *"Human security and national security are not mutually exclusive. Quite the opposite: they are mutually reinforcing. But policies that promote secure States do not automatically lead to secure peoples."*
>
> Johanna Mendelson Forman,[3] principal advisor on security and development issues, the Stimson Center

Since the end of the Cold War, notions of security have shifted from a state-centric paradigm to a more inclusive one. This approach recognises that security is not limited to the preservation of national security by defending national borders, nor to the protection of a regime through vigorously securing its institutions, but must take into account the real security needs expressed on the individual level by women, men, girls and boys living in the country. Civil society has played an essential role in changing this concept of security and in convincing states that the ultimate aim of any security policy must be the effective protection of its citizens.

In addition, the concept of human security recognises that the security of individuals is multi-faceted. It covers economic security, through access to economic opportunities ensuring decent living conditions, including food security; access to a safe environment and standard of living; respect for human rights and the effective enjoyment of fundamental freedoms recognised by the law; as well as protection of communities and the individuals within them from any threats to their physical safety, including gender-based violence.

In light of this definition, guaranteeing security is a multi-faceted process in which the government and security institutions, the Parliament, the judicial system, independent oversight and monitoring bodies defined by the national legal framework, formal or informal civil society organisations, communities and individuals all have an important role to play (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Roles and responsibilities of the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, independent oversight and supervisory institutions, civil society and citizens in relation to the security sector

The executive exercises direct control through central, regional and local government and sets the budget, general direction and priorities for the work of security forces. It oversees the day-to-day operations of security and armed forces.

The legislature examines and adopts laws initiated by the executive to define and regulate security forces and their powers; it also examines and adopts related budget allocations. The legislative also has responsibility for overseeing the execution of allocated budgets, monitoring the implementation of public policy in terms of security, and holding the government to account for the actions and performance of security and armed forces. This oversight also involves, in some cases, the creation of a parliamentary committee of inquiry to investigate public complaints.
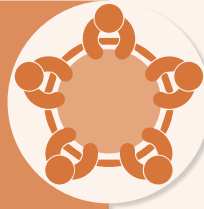
The judiciary oversees the security sector and takes action against members who have committed violations by launching civil or criminal procedures. In certain countries, it also ensures that laws adopted by the legislative are constitutionally compliant.

Independent oversight institutions are defined by the legal and institutional context of each country. In most cases, they include:
- **National institutions to promote and protect human rights**, which ensure that security sector actors respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. In certain cases, ombuds institutions may be created within security institutions to guarantee respect for the human rights of the staff of these institutions.
- **Supreme audit institutions,** which monitor the management of public accounts by security institutions and oversee the regularity of financial transactions within the security sector. They also analyse expenditures in the sector and contribute toward the fight against corruption.

Civil society actors, including legally constituted organisations as well as the media and ordinary citizens, even those with no explicitly recognised constitutional and statutory role, have a responsibility to remain concerned, involved and vigilant when it comes to public affairs. To this end, they may contribute to the efficient operation of a security sector that is attentive to the needs and rights of all.

Article 3 of the African Union's Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform stresses the multi-faceted nature of security as defined in the Common African Defence and Security Policy.[4]

In terms of Article 2 of the ECOWAS draft policy framework for security sector reform and governance, "the term security covers both the traditional state-centric notion of the survival of the state and its protection from external and internal aggression by military means, as well as the non-military notion of human security based on political, economic, social and environmental imperatives in addition to human rights."[5]

Box 2: The human face of security

Security is the state of being free from danger or threat. With security, your rights are enforced and you are treated fairly by state institutions. Security is more than the absence of armed conflict, it is an environment where individuals can thrive.

Security means different things to different people and institutions. Governments often focus on what makes the state secure - strong borders, a fierce military - but most people focus on day-to-day security for themselves and their families. Can you be treated in the hospital if you are sick? Do the police assist you without being bribed? Justice is an important part of security: if someone commits a crime, are they held responsible?

In any community or country, every person experiences specific security threats and has different security priorities. A person's gender (along with other characteristics such as age, class, ethnicity/clan/tribe/caste and sexual orientation) plays an important part in his or her own experience of security.

Source: Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, *A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform* (Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security and DCAF, 2013).

3.2. What is the security sector?

The African Union Policy Framework on SSR indicates that the 'components of the security sector vary according to each national context. However, in general terms and in an African context, a security sector comprises individuals, groups and institutions that are responsible for the provision, management and oversight of security for people and the State.'

The ECOWAS draft framework policy on security sector reform and governance specifies that "the components of the security sector refer to institutions, corporate bodies and individuals responsible for the provision, management and oversight of security for the people and for the State".

This sector includes the main security actors, depending on the specific roles and responsibilities of each category of actor and typically include:

✓ **Primary security institutions, i.e. state security and armed forces:** armed and defence forces, police, gendarmes, paramilitary forces, presidential or national guards, military and civil intelligence services, coastguards, border guards and border authorities, and local security or reserve units.

✓ **Security management and oversight bodies within the executive:** heads of state and government, national consultative bodies on security, the ministries responsible for security and armed forces (ministries of defence, interior, security and foreign affairs), and the ministry of finance responsible for the national budget and the financial planning and auditing.

✓ **Parliamentary management and oversight bodies:** the Parliament, including the plenary, standing committees responsible for defence and security, committees responsible for budget and finance or any other relevant competency (for example, human rights, the promotion of gender equality, legislative

analysis, etc.), inquiry committees with mandates covering security issues, and any other mechanisms set out in the constitution and legal framework of each country.

✓ **Independent oversight bodies:** supreme audit institutions, national human rights commissions and ombuds institutions (depending on their legal mandate as defined on the national level), public monitoring committees and public appeals committees, the media, and civil society actors.

✓ **Institutions responsible for ensuring the rule of law and justice:** ministries of justice, judicial inquiry services, courts and tribunals, prisons and probation services, and traditional or customary justice systems.

✓ **Legal non-state security providers:** private security services for buildings, convoys and people as well as traditional security and justice providers or any other informal authority mandated by the state to ensure the provision of security services.

Depending on the national context, independent, non-state armed groups (self-defence groups, rebels, non-state militias, etc.) and military security companies (not recognised by ECOWAS due to a ban on mercenaries in the region) may also be considered a *de facto* part of a security sector, insofar as their activities influence the security environment of people and the state.

3.3. What is security sector governance?

Good governance of the security sector is based on the idea that this sector must respect the same high standards as those imposed on other public service providers.

Governance is a generic term which refers to all mechanisms involved in decision making, and the implementation and monitoring of these decisions in a given domain. Thus, security sector governance or SSG refers to the decision-making, management, implementation and monitoring mechanisms that govern the security sector and its actors. This governance is considered "good" or democratic when it falls within the framework of the rule of law and is based on democratic principles including a separation and balance of powers, the participation of citizens at various levels of the chain of governance through formal and informal means, and oversight by legislative and independent bodies.

According to article 5 of the ECOWAS draft policy framework on security sector reform and governance, "democratic governance of the security sector refers to the provision, management and control of security sector based on democratic principles and values for the benefit of the people. It requires separation of powers, a participatory and inclusive approach involving citizens through their legally and regularly chosen representatives in decision-making processes, management and control of State activities and functions in the Security Sector."

> ### Box 3: "Government" and "governance" are not the same thing
>
> Government is the institution that controls the state; governance is a much broader term that describes the rules, structures, norms and processes – both formal and informal – that influence how public goods are provided in any society. **Governance is provided by governments**, in so far as governments make policy decisions, develop strategies, allocate resources and, in a democracy, represent citizens: the exercise of government power and authority directly affects the provision of public goods, including security.
>
> But in any state the government is not the only actor influencing the provision of public goods and therefore governance: **governments provide governance together with non-state actors**, for example through the regulation of commercial activities that affect public goods, such as security.
>
> Moreover, there is also **governance without government**, in so far as non-state actors act independently in ways that also affect the provision of public goods, including security – for example, when communities form self-protection groups or turn to alternative justice systems.
>
> Considering security from the perspective of governance is useful because it includes the roles and responsibilities of government, but it also highlights how different kinds of state and non-state actors influence security provision, management and oversight in both positive and negative ways.
>
> *Source:* Fairlie Chappuis, "Security Sector Governance: Applying the principles of good governance to the security sector," SSR Backgrounders (Geneva: DCAF, 2015).

For security sector institutions to serve the interests of the people, they must fulfill the following criteria (see also Box 4):[6]

- **Civilian control** of all security sector institutions: This puts ultimate responsibility for a country's strategic decision making on the civilian political leadership rather than professional military or police. In addition, defence and security forces are obliged to respect the principle of non-interference in political life.

- **Accountability:** Security sector institutions must be held accountable for the actions they take and thus subject to oversight by the judiciary, by the institutions and independent authorities with a relevant mandate, and by civil society as a whole. Parliaments also play an essential role in holding governments to account for their actions.

- **Transparency:** Legislatures, civil society and citizens must understand how and why decisions are made and actions are taken. This requires sufficient access to information, particularly through the establishment of laws that clarify the conditions by which information deemed sensitive is classified; otherwise, national security may be (mis)used as a reason to conceal information.

- **Rule of law:** No security sector institution should be allowed to abuse its power or arbitrarily restrict the rights of individuals, and no actor (individual or group) in the security sector should benefit from impunity for reprehensible actions. Under the rule of law, all individuals and institutions, including the state itself, are subject to laws that are duly enacted, known publicly, enforced impartially and in line with international and national human rights standards. The use of force must be regulated by a clearly established legal framework and oversight and management of the security sector must be institutionalised, and not personalised.

Democratic governance of the security sector implies the active participation of the civilian population, particularly through CSOs, in defining security policies and priorities, as well as in overseeing and monitoring public service delivery by defence and security institutions. When civil society actors have the knowledge, skills and access necessary to play their role in the democratic governance of the security sector, popular trust in public institutions and the legitimacy of the state are strengthened.

Box 4: Fundamental precepts of good governance of the security sector according to the ECOWAS Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services

Article 2: Civilian Supremacy

The Armed Forces and Security Services shall be at the disposal of the constitutionally established political government and are subordinate to the constitutionally, democratically elected authorities. Political authorities and groups shall refrain from undue interference or extending partisan politics to the operations of the Armed Forces and Security Services. Personnel of the Armed Forces and Security Services shall observe strict neutrality in political matters.

Article 4 : Affirmation des droits de l'Homme et du droit international humanitaire

In the conduct of defence and security affairs, personnel of the defence and security forces shall uphold international humanitarian law, human rights and relevant national laws and show due regard for the property as well as physical integrity and psychological wellbeing of people.

In situations of armed conflict, all armed groups and individuals shall be subject to international humanitarian law, human rights and the relevant national laws.

Article 11: Financial Responsibility

The political authority in a State shall ensure that adequate financial resources and appropriate logistics are provided to the Armed Forces and Security Services to enable them to carry out their duties successfully.

Article 13: Loyalty to Constitutional Authority

Personnel of the Armed Forces and Security Services shall be disciplined and loyal to the State at all times. They shall owe loyalty and obedience to democratically elected constitutional authorities and all lawful commands of such authorities shall be executed.

Source: Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services of ECOWAS, 2006.[7]

3.4. What is security sector reform?

SSR is an inherently national process, the main aims of which are to guarantee that defence, security and justice institutions provide effective, efficient and accessible public services that respond to the justice and security needs of individuals and the state; that they operate according to principles of good governance and respect for human rights and the rule of law; and that they are accountable to civilian authorities and citizens through effective oversight and control mechanisms.

1

See Tool 1: Political Leadership and National Ownership of Security Sector Reform Processes

The goal of SSR is to establish good security sector governance. By strengthening the effectiveness of public defence and security institutions, SSR contributes to a state's capacity to anticipate, prevent and respond to threats in the most effective way and guarantee security for all.

In practical terms, SSR is above all a political process shaped by a national vision of security that takes into account the needs and views of all parts of society. It does not simply consist of making technical and administrative improvements to arbitrary, oppressive or fundamentally badly-designed institutions, but of rethinking entire systems of security governance and evaluating whether they best reflect the real nature of threats to given populations, bearing in mind the actual resources available to the state. For civil society actors, SSR represents a valuable opportunity to take part in a national dialogue on the subject of security and on the types of institutions and mechanisms that will effectively guarantee it.

SSR is also a technical process which requires the establishment of a reform programme addressing the security sector as a whole. The aim is to strengthen both the strategic coherence of security institutions as well as their operational effectiveness, taking into account their internal governance and accountability mechanisms, as well as their legal frameworks. However, SSR should not be reduced exclusively to the technical dimension, as its most important dimension is the collective redefinition of the security system

to better adapt it to the country's needs and resources. The challenge is to inspire more constructive attitudes, behaviour and relationships both within the security institutions and between them and the population, through a sustained political vision supported by technical implementation.

SSR can only be said to take place when efforts to reform the security sector effectively improve the accountability and effectiveness of the sector, within a context of civil and democratic oversight, while respecting the rule of law and the human rights of all individuals. An exclusively material approach, such as building infrastructure or buying equipment, or operational training for defence and security forces, do not constitute SSR, unless they are part of a broader transformation process that also addresses immaterial aspects such as management and accountability mechanisms within security institutions.

Finally, SSR contributes directly to strengthening the rule of law by promoting access by all women, men, boys and girls to effective public security services that are adapted to their needs and respect their rights and fundamental freedoms. Translating the promise of the rule of law into practice should create conditions for fair and equal access to social and economic opportunities that enable any individual to achieve their full potential in a climate of peace and security.

See also section 6.4, which presents actions that are likely to improve security sector governance and indicates the contributions civil society can make.

Box 5: SSR as a tool for building peace and creating stability

SSR is an important peace-building tool. SSR can enhance security for both the state and its people, bring peace and foster development and economic prosperity for all. Participants further identified important ingredients for success including inclusive structures for piloting reforms with the participation of civil society organisations and women. They further agreed on the need to build on quick wins than could lock-in momentum for long-term reforms.

SSR is also a critical stabilisation instrument. The ability of SSR to address underlying causes of conflict comes from its commitment to dialogue. Parties to conflict can find power sharing solutions on national security issues through inclusive dialogue that does not necessitate the continuation of violent conflict and tragic pursuit of purely military solutions. In this regard, SSR may be used as a political tool to address violent security challenges, in particular in stabilisation contexts.

Source: Conclusions of the Africa Forum on SSR, Addis Ababa, November 2014.

4

Understanding democratic control and oversight of the security sector

4.1. Why is democratic control and oversight of the security sector important?

One of the fundamental principles of democratic governance of the security sector is that it must be subject to both internal and external control and oversight[8] mechanisms. Oversight takes place on several levels and involves many actors, including civil society.

Good governance of the security sector requires (see Box 4):

✓ the non-interference of security institutions in political matters;

✓ the submission of security institutions to legitimate civilian authorities; and

✓ the determination of security policy by civilian authorities, who supervise implementation by security institutions.

In West Africa, the risks associated with a lack of respect for these principles – including political, institutional and economic instability and violations of human rights – have been evident in the experiences of many nations. A lack of civilian and democratic control and oversight of the security sector creates an environment favourable to corruption, impunity and oppression in which even the most effective and efficient security sector may become the instrument of domination for an authoritarian regime.

Civil society contributes to this democratic governance by providing external oversight, and can strengthen its impact by developing partnerships with other external oversight actors (see section 6.5).

Internal control mechanisms operating within security institutions themselves also constitute a form of oversight. A clear understanding by civil society actors of how these internal control mechanisms function is an important means of ensuring that CSOs can effectively exercise their oversight role.

Finally, it is important to underline that democratic control of the security sector implies that security institutions are subject to a civilian political authority, and to the law.

4.2. What is political and judicial control and oversight of the security sector?

4.2.1. Political control of the security sector

In most West African countries, the head of state is the supreme commander of armed forces, in addition to presiding over the country's political matters. As such, all institutions in the security sector are governed by this political authority, which may be partially delegated on several levels.

The security institutions are thus placed under the aegis of Ministries which oversee the implementation of their mandate. Although systems vary, generally:

- the armed forces are placed under the authority of the ministry of defence;
- the police, civil protection and border control services are under the authority of the ministry of interior and/or security; and
- the judiciary, penal and probation services are under the authority of the ministry of justice.

Box 6: Executive control of the security sector

Member States will encourage and support their Heads of State and Government, members of Cabinet and other coordinating officials that assist the Executive in the execution of their functions, to direct the security sector, as provided for in their respective constitutions and other legislations, in keeping with the spirit of separation of powers among the various branches of government. In this regard, the main focus of the Executive will be to provide political and policy direction to security sector institutions. The Executive will also ensure that the security sector adhere to, and implement their mandates, roles and functions and have the necessary operational resources, in a manner that promotes human security. The Executive will be held responsible for national security decision making in keeping with national legislation, in addition to regional, continental and international legal instruments.

Source: African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, 2013, Article 41.

Parliament also plays a key political role in the democratic control and oversight of the security sector, since it:

- approves the laws defining the legal framework for the security sector;
- approves national security policy as presented by the Executive, in terms of the security sector as well as other aspects of public affairs, and oversees its implementation;
- adopts the State budget which identifies the resources allocated to security institutions and examines its implementation;
- holds the government to account for security policy and the management of security institutions.

Box 7: Parliamentary oversight of the security sector

The AU advises Member States to encourage and support their legislatures to oversee the work of the security sector by holding the Executive accountable for their mandates, roles and missions of the security sector. Additionally, the legislature will make and approve laws, rules and regulations of the respective security sector institutions and mandate specialised Committees to exercise oversight on behalf of the legislature and regularly report thereto.

Source: African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, 2013, Article 42.

4.2.2. Judicial oversight of the security sector

Through institutions such as constitutional courts, supreme courts, public prosecutor's offices, and lower courts and tribunals (depending on the given legal and institutional context), the judiciary oversees the constitutionality of laws governing the security sector and the legality of actions taken by security sector institutions and actors.

Such institutions play an essential role in ensuring that security institutions are not above the law, thus reinforcing the rule of law. Finally, the judiciary may also be able to try certain offences or violations committed by members of the security personnel outside their functions, depending on the conditions defined by national law.

Box 8: Judicial control and oversight

Judicial control and oversight is aimed at curtailing the use of intrusive powers of the security sector without constitutional and legislative justification. Member States are, therefore, advised to provide for national legislation to prohibit the limitation of the rights and freedoms of citizens by the security sector through the use of intrusive operational methods.

No member of the security sector will act in contravention of any national and international law, including international human rights and humanitarian law. Those found in violation or abuse of these laws will be held accountable.

Where a civilian is tried before military courts for military offences, such a civilian will be tried in accordance with the rules and principles of natural justice.

Source: African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, 2013, Articles 44, 45 and 46.

4.3. What is internal and external oversight of the security sector?

4.3.1. Internal oversight of the security sector

For each institution in the security sector, internal oversight is exercised by a range of complementary actors, the responsibilities of which must be clearly set out in legal and regulatory frameworks.

Although the context within each country and each institution varies, internal oversight mechanisms usually include:

✓ **The operational responsibility of hierarchical chains** (management, command), by which senior management and command officers oversee day-to-day operations, supervise their implementation, assess performance and observe the behaviour of personnel placed under their responsibility. This hierarchy also oversees capacity development among personnel and within the institution, ensures that missions and objectives are achieved, and maintains discipline.

✓ **The administrative and financial responsibility of internal audit services** within security institutions, which act as controls to ensure the compliance of procurement procedures, asset management, accounting and human resource management with laws and regulations, as well as the probity of financial transactions.

✓ **The investigative authority of internal inspection services**, which investigate alleged wrongdoings involving uniformed personnel (misconduct by members of defence and security forces, including corruption, abuse of power, harassment, etc.). Although this varies from one institution to another, internal inspections sometimes have an audit role. Different forms of internal inspection include military police, inspectorates and "internal affairs" units;

✓ **Judicial competence, when it is exercised by special judicial bodies**, such as military courts, is often considered as an internal mechanism. This special form of justice, which is managed by security institutions and governs their personnel, addresses the individual responsibility of actors in this sector. These specialised justice institutions contribute to ensuring that security sector personnel respect the law and to fighting against impunity. Staff members who have committed reprehensible acts can be held to account by their management structure (in disciplinary terms) and/or before a special judicial body.

4.3.2. External oversight of the security sector

In addition to internal oversight, democratic governance of the security sector requires the establishment of external oversight mechanisms enabling civilian institutions and the people to monitor the activities of the security sector and to hold its actors to account. External civilian oversight may be formal, exercised by institutions with a codified mandate to this effect; or informal, exercised by organised civil society or by individuals in their role as citizens.

Although institutional arrangements vary from country to country, democratic external oversight mechanisms of the security sector generally include:

✓ **Parliament**, which - in addition to legislating - oversees the work of all branches of the Executive, including security institutions, conveys the electorate's security concerns to the government and questions the government on security policy (see also section 4.2.1).

✓ **The justice system** (constitutional court, supreme court, lower courts and tribunals), which rule on the constitutionality of laws and public policies on security and control the legality of the work of the security institutions (also see section 4.2.2).

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Parliamentary Oversight
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✓ **Independent oversight institutions**, which oversee specific areas of the work of the security sector. These include national human rights commissions and/or ombudsmen that act as oversight mechanisms regarding respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by security institutions and respect for the rights of users of public services, and also act to strengthen links between security sector institutions and the civilian population. Other actors in this category include public audit bureaus, auditors general or courts of auditors – which oversee the probity of the financial management of security institutions – as well as national anti-corruption agencies.

✓ **Civil society**, which provides a space to ensure citizens participate in security sector governance, oversees the provision of public security services by institutions mandated to this effect, and raises public awareness and that of decision makers in the event of failure or misconduct of the security institutions. Through hierarchical and judicial accountability mechanisms, civil society can also ensure that members of the security sector who have committed misdemeanours are held responsible. Civil society contributes towards public and citizen oversight of the security sector.

4.4. What is citizen oversight of the security sector?

Citizen oversight is a political mechanism whereby citizens, freely organised within CSOs, hold their governments to account. It relies on the principle that governments must be accountable by the people they govern.

Applied to the security sector, citizen oversight enables all citizens – men and women, young and old, rich and poor – to monitor the work of security institutions and hold them responsible through peaceful and democratic means. For doing this, civil society actors (individual citizens as well as informal and formal groups) have several methods at their disposal, set out in section 6 of this tool. However, they also face a number of challenges in exercising their role (see box 10 below).

Box 9: Types of CSOs contributing to security sector oversight

Those groups professing to deal with peace and security issues - disarmament groups, academic departments, and research or policy institutes dealing with security or criminal justice - are the most obvious types of civil society groups likely to become involved in the security sector reform and governance agenda.

However, the spectrum of civil society organisations that can play a role in security sector reform and governance is much broader. Accountability and democratic oversight of the security sector, for example, are often directly linked to questions of human rights, civil liberties and social and transitional justice. Minorities and other marginalised groups may find that their security needs are not being met, or alternatively that they are victims of excessive use of force, unwarranted monitoring or other types of behaviour on the part of security sector personnel. Police accountability is a primary concern, and a subject about which a broad range of community groups and associations can provide information and on which many are already engaged. Additionally, different CSOs have different - but relevant - skills to contribute to the process of public oversight of the security sector.

Source: Marina Caparini and Eden Cole, 'The Case for Public Oversight of the Security Sector', in Eden Cole, Kerstin Eppert and Katrin Kinzelbach (eds.), *Public oversight of the security sector – a handbook for civil society organizations,* (Geneva: DCAF and UNPD, 2008).

Box 10: Challenges to civil society involvement in security sector oversight

A number of key challenges can constrain the ability of CSOs to engage in effective oversight:

- **Tradition of secrecy** surrounding the security sector makes attempts to regulate or inform the public about its policies and activities difficult.

- **Prioritisation of national security concerns** over civil liberties and human rights means that there is less scope for demanding accountability from the security sector.

- [The real or assumed lack of **capacity among CSOs** and/or poor awareness of their potential contribution, are often a barrier to their involvement] in issues related to the security sector.

- **Lack of trust and/or transparency between CSOs and the security sector** can make it difficult for CSOs to access key decision-makers and influence security and justice policies and programming. Lack of trust or cooperation amongst CSOs themselves can also be limiting.

- **Lack of independence of CSOs** because they are either funded or co-opted by elements of the security sector.

- **Too little donor support for transparency and democratic accountability** of the security sector in favour of technical assistance and efficiency within the sector, which excludes an emphasis on strengthening civil society oversight.

- **Fragmented civil society**, with organisations failing to collaborate or collectively advocate on issues related to security sector oversight. CSOs can be dominated by specific groups and certain organisations, which can lead to women's groups or rural organisations, for example, being marginalised and finding it difficult to engage in oversight mechanisms.

Source: Karen Barnes and Peter Albrecht, "Civil society oversight of the security sector and gender" in Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds.), *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008).

Why should civil society contribute to addressing security issues?

> *"The United Nations once dealt only with Governments. By now we know that peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without partnerships involving Governments, international organisations, the business community and civil society. In today's world, we depend on each other…"*
>
> <div align="right">Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations.</div>

5.1. The participation of civil society is crucial on several levels

The draft ECOWAS framework on security sector reform and governance stresses the need for the "effective involvement of Cs and the media" (see Box 26) in SSR processes and security governance in West Africa. Thus, in addition to the Executive, the Parliament, judicial bodies and independent oversight institutions, CSOs also have an important role to play in security sector reform and governance. Their varying approaches for contributing to this area may be formal or informal, generic or specialised, national or local.

The contribution of CSOs is crucial in meeting:

- **Normative requirements**, codified in various international instruments that apply to West African countries, notably the African Union Policy Framework on SSR (see section H: "The role of African civil society in security sector reform") and the ECOWAS Draft Policy Framework on SSRG (section V, C: "The role of Civil Society Organizations and the Media").

- **Political requirements**, necessary for democratic governance, which strengthens the legitimacy of decision making affecting the security of individuals.

- **Strategic requirements**, on the one hand to strengthen the necessary national ownership of the process, including ownership by all national actors of the mechanisms put in place for effective and transparent governance of the security sector (this is a necessary condition for SSR to have sustainable results), and on the other to ensure that security policies take sufficient account of the real security

needs of the whole population, including women, men, girls and boys, and respond effectively to them.

- **Operational requirements**, which involve building on the technical expertise of specialised organisations as well as the local knowledge of community organisations, to better understand security needs on a local level and improve relations between the population and security institutions. The participation of CSOs in this process strengthens the quality of services provided to the public and improves access to these services for the entire population.

5.2. The participation of civil society strengthens the security governance chain

"The growing involvement of civil society should not be seen as a disqualification of the State, but rather as a way to save time and reduce pressure on state institutions, enabling them to regenerate and become more legitimate. Non-state actors [can be] strategic partners in a variety of areas: support for weapons collection programmes in conflict areas, for intercommunity mediation and for building a culture of peace and security through civic education. These different activities can also improve living conditions for local populations."

Boubacar Ba, Programme for security and peace governance in Mali.

Whether in terms of general security governance mechanisms or a formal SSR process, civil society actors have an important role to play all along the chain from political decisions and planning (defining policies or a reform agenda, in the case of an SSR process), to the effective provision of security services (supporting and monitoring the delivery of public security services), and finally in the evaluation of security policies (see Figure 2).

During policy formulation and planning of reforms, CSOs can communicate the security needs expressed by populations so that they are taken into account by decision makers when security policies are drafted (see section 6.3.1). This results in policies that are more relevant and better adapted to the real needs and concerns of women, men, girls and boys. This makes CSOs a valuable link in the governance chain. Moreover, some CSOs have the capacity to contribute to analysing the national security situation and formulating proposals to enhance the range of responses to security challenges.

During implementation of reforms and service delivery, CSOs can support the provision of public security services by strengthening the capacities of security institutions. For example, they may provide training which improves the effectiveness and quality of services provided by these institutions (see section 6.4). They can also bridge gaps in the institutional chain by offering services which are not provided by existing institutions. For example, legal clinics have been established by women's organisations throughout the ECOWAS area, providing a valuable complement to the work of the police and the justice system by facilitating access to institutional protection and justice mechanisms for women, girls, boys and men who are victims of gender based violence (see Box 11).

After implementation, CSOs must make their voices heard in the monitoring and evaluation of public policies and the resulting services. This may help to better measure the effects of SSR projects and to rework or reformulate them if need be. As groups of citizens, i.e. taxpayers, CSOs are entitled to hold governments accountable for the operational and financial performance of security policies.

Figure 2: The role of CSOs: strengthening the governance chain

- Collecting information on communities' security needs
- Communicating these needs to national decision makers
- Evaluating the security situation
- Making policy suggestions

Planning & Policy Formulation
Developing public justice and security policies

- Supporting public service delivery
- Training security sector personnel
- Providing services that complement those provided by security institutions

Implementation
Implementing policies and delivering public justice and security services

- Evaluating policies and service delivery
- Evaluating operational and financial performance
- Contributing to the adjustment or reformulation of policies

Evaluation
Evaluating public justice and security policies

CSOs are also an **essential link, maintaining constant dialogue** between the public and security institutions (see section 6.7), which is crucial to guaranteeing the continued relevance of security services to the demands expressed by citizens. Permanent interaction between civilian populations and security institutions contributes to the establishment and consolidation of mutual trust. This can improve the operational effectiveness of security forces, since they are more likely to succeed in carrying out their activities if they have public support than if they are constantly faced with hostility.

Moreover, in relation to the security institutions, CSOs play a constant democratic oversight role (see section 6.6.1) which increases accountability and thus strengthens the security governance chain.

Box 11: Example of a women's organisation working for justice in rural areas

The Association of Women Lawyers of Côte d'Ivoire (Association des Femmes Juristes de Côte d'Ivoire, AFJCI) is a CSO with more than 300 members, created in 1984. Its aim is to ensure equal justice for women and men in Côte d'Ivoire and to promote the rights of women, families and children, particularly by raising awareness among populations living in semi-urban and rural areas. In particular, AFJCI's activities include:

- education, through training programmes and paralegal training;
- awareness raising, through community work, cultural events and easy-to-understand information brochures on law;
- advocacy, through targeted actions; and
- provision of platforms for public debate, by organising conferences, seminars and roundtables.

The organisation, which is supported by the EU, has established legal clinics in semi-urban areas in Côte d'Ivoire, where land disputes are common but the government often is absent. The clinics are located in social centres and are led by AFJCI-trained lawyers. To adequately respond to the needs of populations in their target areas, AFJCI works with local organisations in each town.

At AFJCI clinics, lawyers advise users about the justice system and translate legal texts into local languages to enable communities to better understand them and better enforce their rights. These lawyers also regularly visit prisons to check compliance with international standards and provide legal assistance to inmates.[9]

In most West African countries, citizens' organisations strive to monitor the work of those in power and to influence them, either directly or indirectly, through lobbying, public statements or institutional procedures, to ensure that they take into account the needs of citizens on questions relating to human security in the broadest sense. As such, these organisations attempt to generate a dynamic public debate and public opinion that cannot be ignored by the government within the context of security sector reform and/or governance.

More specifically, CSOs contribute toward ensuring that the security needs of minority or vulnerable groups are placed on the public agenda. Various organisations in the region specialise in the defence and protection of the rights of ethnic minorities or groups in vulnerable situations, such as refugees or internally displaced persons, people with disabilities, young girls and boys who are particularly exposed to abuse and poor treatment, etc.

One example is Tabital Pulaaku, a transnational organisation representing the Fula people. The Burkinabé section of this organisation, which was created in December 2006 and recognised on 17 April 2007, has developed several awareness raising initiatives aiming to prevent and better manage conflicts between farmers and animal breeders, cattle rearing being one of the dominant features of the Fula culture. The general nature of the work of CSOs to protect the inalienable rights of all people (men, women and children) is complemented by efforts to highlight the particularities of specific groups' security situations. Similarly, many CSOs in the West African region work to promote children's rights. The same holds for the rights of people living with disabilities, with CSOs working to ensure that governments are aware of their situation.

Box 12: The proximity of CSOs to communities helps guarantee that security policies are truly adapted to the needs of all

Responding to different types and levels of insecurity involves taking account of the real security needs of the population, in all its diversity (women, men, girls and boys), in public security policies. Adopting a human security approach means considering security from this human perspective.

Specialised organisations, such as human rights organisations, women's organisations, youth organisations and organisations defending the rights of children or minorities, are often well positioned to draw the attention of decision makers to the security threats faced by these specific groups.

5.3. The active involvement of civil society is an essential part of the human security approach

Security sector governance was long perceived solely as the responsibility of the state, in which civil society dare not meddle. However, since the start of the 1990s, civil society actors around the world have successfully lobbied for a broadening of the concept of security, toward a vision that is less state-centric and focused on military action, but rather places the needs of individuals at the centre of security policy and is open to constructive input from civil society. In this new, broader notion of "human security", security is seen as a common good and its preservation as a collective responsibility, in which civil society plays a role alongside state actors.

The human security concept provides a solid conceptual framework for the involvement of civil society in SSRG, consisting simultaneously of:

- **A multidimensional approach**, which recognises that security goes beyond simple physical protection and covers a complex range of considerations, including food security, economic security, health security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security. Effective protection strategies must thus address a range of threats to the security of citizens and institutions. Both so-called strategic threats (such as violent extremism, organised crime, maritime piracy, etc.) and personal threats (such as sexual and gender based violence) must be treated with the utmost and equal seriousness.

- **A multi-factor approach**, which recognises that insecurity is rarely caused by a single factor, but rather the combination of complex threats and several risk factors and vulnerabilities. Consequently, effective protection strategies must account for the numerous elements that may influence the same threat or vulnerability. For example, an effective strategy to combat violent extremism cannot be limited to military antiterrorism actions, but must also appreciate how deficiencies in governance create a fertile ground for radical discourse and violent extremism.

- **A multi-actor approach**, which recognises that responding to security challenges is not the responsibility of security institutions alone, and that civil society actors, as well as civilian institutions (parliaments, national human rights institutions, local governance structures, traditional chiefdoms, etc.) also have an important role to play in ensuring security for all.

The human security approach thus acknowledges that CSOs and civilian populations are agents of change toward more secure societies. Through this lens, civilians are seen both as potential sources or victims of insecurity, but also as potential contributors to improving their own security and that of others. As such, civilians can no longer be reduced to a passive role but must assume a more active role in the promotion of security; and CSOs – because of their community-based roots and the means of action at their disposal – are well placed to play part of this active role, especially by facilitating dialogue between communities and security institutions (see also section 6.7).

Civil society actors are therefore high-added-value partners for executive-level institutions, because they can help to:

- ✓ **Reduce security threats by improving prevention through work with civilian populations**. This may consist of using analysis and research to identify the reasons that may drive civilians to take criminal actions, to help refine long-term prevention strategies. In the case of violent extremism, for example, CSOs can aid in identifying and explaining the economic, social or ideological factors that contribute to the proliferation of radical ideas. Or, as another example, CSOs may provide assistance in identifying the factors that encourage young people to join gangs in underprivileged areas, and can help authorities develop and implement sustainable and appropriate prevention strategies.

- ✓ **Strengthen the effectiveness of security and justice services provided**. Notably, CSOs may provide appropriate support to victims of violence or propose alternative services where the state has failed to do so. For example, CSOs may establish legal clinics, directly contributing toward improved access

to justice for victims of crimes. In many West African countries, women's organisations are particularly active in providing medical, social and legal assistance to the victims of domestic violence. Innovative partnerships between human rights and development organisations also help to strengthen public probation and crime-prevention programmes, particularly through civil society projects that support the social reintegration of former prisoners who have served their sentences.

✓ **Improve the professionalism of security institutions**. For example, CSOs may offer training in human rights, gender and diversity awareness, ethics, etc. to security personnel.

✓ **Improve the credibility and legitimacy of security institutions by facilitating constructive dialogue and the development of trust between these institutions and civilians**. For example, in 2015, the Malian Institute of Research and Action for Peace (Institut Malien de Recherche-Action pour la Paix, IMRAP), organised open dialogue sessions between local populations and state security personnel on the topic of barriers to trust in several locations throughout Mali. In these meetings, barriers to communication were identified as well as issues of mutual (mis)perception that undermine relationships between uniformed personnel and civilian populations. These meetings and the dialogue facilitated by IMRAP contributed to an improved understanding between the parties, reducing suspicion and breaking down prejudice that inhibit collaboration between citizens and security forces.

Box 13: Mobilising young people as agents of change

Youth organisations can undertake various types of action that positively impact security environments at the local, national and regional levels. For example, they may:

- **Promote girls' education:** access to education reduces girls' vulnerability to the risk of sexual and domestic violence and opens the door to socio-economic opportunities that strengthen their capacity to assert their rights when confronted with violence.

- **Promote boys' education:** radical groups which recruit young people depend on the lack of education of young boys, making them gullible and easy targets. An effective counter measure against the proliferation of these groups and their recruitment of boys is to make sure that all young people have access to elementary and secondary educations, equipping them to understand and avoid the traps of radical discourse.

- **Raise awareness and facilitate dialogue on security issues:** youth organisations can carry out peace education campaigns within local community centres or in educational establishments, or facilitate dialogue between youth groups from various social backgrounds and security forces.

- **Contribute toward research on security issues:** student organisations are well placed to initiate research on certain security issues and/or mobilise the academic world to research them. This may consist, for example, of collecting data on small arms proliferation and analysing its impact on young people; studying the dynamics of urban gangs to propose measures to prevent recruitment of youth; or exploring radicalisation process of their peers to develop effective counter-arguments and help prevention.

- **Support specialised CSOs:** even CSOs that are not specifically focused on youth should encourage the participation of young people in their security-related oversight activities. For example, human rights organisations can establish partnerships with university law centres or schools to offer students the possibility to participate in prison visits. Organisations seeking to do awareness-raising in a new geographical area may work with local youth to prepare activities or facilitate discussions with other inhabitants.

5.4. The diversity of civil society strengthens national coordination of security and other public policies

The human security approach establishes that since insecurity is often multidimensional, people's needs must simultaneously be taken into account in several areas (food security, economic security, health security, environmental security, political security) and on several levels (personal and community security) for effective protection. For political decision-makers, this holistic perspective, which incorporates the dimensions of individual security, directly impacts policy.

It requires planning public policies in an integrated way, paying attention to the balance between responding to security needs and the other essential needs of the population. For this reason, budgets allocated to the security sector should not threaten the state's ability to provide adequate responses to basic socio-economic needs (such as education, health, employment, access to water and energy, etc.); for, failure in these social sectors could lead to increased security risks.

Moreover, management of the security sector should be treated as a question of governance, subject to the same requirements of citizen participation and accountability as other areas of public policy.

CSOs, with their diverse specialisations, constitute a pool of expertise that may contribute toward improved state responses to the multidimensional security needs of citizens. They can particularly support public decision makers by analysing needs, independently evaluating existing policies, and formulating suggestions for future work.

Box 14: A few examples of how West African civil society is engaged in SSR issues

In Nigeria, the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) worked in partnership with the Centre for Defence and Security Management of Witswatersrand University (CDSM) in South Africa and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in the UK to organise a roundtable on SSR in December 1999. This brought together parliamentarians, researchers, security and defence personnel and representatives of CSOs. The meeting, the third of its kind organised by CDD, aimed to study the conditions for better SSR in the context of democratic transitions in Africa. Other meetings were held the following year in South Africa, Ghana and Uganda to share experiences across countries. This work of CDD demonstrated that the role of CSOs in terms of reflection and lobbying is gaining ground in the region.

In Liberia, in the wake of the civil war that the country experienced in the 1990s, the Liberia National Law Enforcement Association (LNELA) and other CSOs, in partnership with the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), organised a series of public meetings on SSR. One outcome of these meetings was a project to create an independent oversight committee for SSR processes. The organisation works mainly to ensure that the national police service is accountable to citizens.

In Guinea, the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), is among the most active regional CSOs lobbying and mobilising citizens around security governance and conflict prevention issues. Created in June 2001 in neighbouring Liberia, the organisation's intervention strategies include lobbying and advocacy, conflict prevention and resolution, and raising awareness of international conventions; for example, in 2014, organising regional workshops aimed at traditional communicators from the 33 Prefectures in Guinea. MARWOPNET also established a national network of traditional communicators in Guinea and led a campaign to promote a culture of peace in schools and on rural radio stations. The organisation also leads activities in other countries in the region, including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire. In recognition of its work, MARWOPNET received the United Nations Human Rights Prize in 2003.

How can civil society contribute to improving security sector governance?

6.1. Opportunities for action

Civil society actors in West Africa have many tools at their disposal to make citizen oversight of the security sector effective, although these are often underused. Through these mechanisms, CSOs may make a practical contribution to improving security sector governance in their country.

Although holding security institutions accountable is an important part of the work of CSOs, they should not stop at denouncing and challenging, but should present themselves as partners, proposing constructive criticism and advice to the government, providing services to complement those provided by security institutions, and making concrete suggestions to respond to specific challenges of security sector governance. The ability of CSOs to make a positive contribution to governance of the sector has an influence on the role afforded to them by executive bodies in SSRG.

Through research, analysis, documentation, social mobilisation and advocacy, CSOs can position overlooked security questions on the public agenda and thus help governments consolidate the framework for public security policy, improving their ability to meet the changing needs of populations.

Both as a part of ongoing efforts to improve security sector governance and in the context of a formal SSR process and programme, CSOs can make a range of important contributions, depending on their respective competences and comparative advantages.

Still, despite the essential role played by civil society in SSRG, it is often challenging for CSOs to identify concrete entry-points for their contributions. Depending on the national context, civil society has different opportunities for active involvement in SSR; but these opportunities are sometimes unknown and, consequently, underused.

This section addresses certain types of actions likely to improve security sector governance and offers examples of how civil society can contribute. It is organised around two main areas of civil society action:

- **Participation:** CSOs can be constructive partners alongside the institutions that are officially tasked with management and control of the security sector;
- **Oversight:** By monitoring the work of security institutions, CSOs act as counterweights to the government and hold them accountable in terms of transparency and effective management.

6.2. Mobilising communities around security issues

Civil society actors – including the media – play an important role in awareness-raising and mobilisation of local populations around security issues and the role of each in responding to these challenges.

Box 15: Awareness raising

Awareness-raising seeks to change public consciousness and generate interest in an issue by providing information on the nature of the problem and how to solve it. It can mobilize the power of public opinion in support of an issue and thereby influence the political will of decision makers. Awareness-raising is a key component of a civil society advocacy strategy. It is different from advocacy in that its target group is the public or specific social groups but not the political decision-makers. In practice, however, it is closely linked with advocacy because its ultimate aim is to help harness political support to shape and influence policy-making.

Source: Alejandro Pero, 'Awareness raising and Networking', in Eden Cole, Kerstin Eppert and Katrin Kinzelbach (eds.), *Public oversight of the security sector – a handbook for civil society organizations*, (Geneva: DCAF and UNPD, 2008).

Awareness-raising on security challenges may help increase a population's vigilance against certain threats. This may be helpful, for example, against the threat of extremist violence, which affects many areas of the Sahel. CSOs can strengthen early warning mechanisms relating to the risk of extremist deviance, which require close collaboration between communities and institutions, as well as a high level of awareness of threats within communities.

Moreover, in the context of their work with communities, CSOs can significantly contribute towards counter-radicalisation initiatives. The counter-radicalisation approach educates communities about extremist ideologies in a culturally competent way, accounting for common ways of thinking in a given environment, to make the population more resistant to radicalisation and prevent new recruitments. This requires both strong cultural sensitivity and a certain level of understanding of the arguments used in radical discourse, to combat them in a structural way within the context of each community. CSOs, which often have strong local roots, have a strategic advantage in conducting this type of prevention initiative on the community level. However, these organisations may sometimes lack the capacities or experience of other CSOs; and so, collaboration between community-based organisations and research institutes may create synergies and increase the quality and impact of awareness-raising projects against violent extremism. Due to their influence and power of persuasion, religious organisations and traditional leaders are also essential partners in certain awareness-raising and community mobilisation efforts.

Box 16: The role of community based organisations

Community based organisations (CBOs), with their strong links to local communities, are well placed to raise awareness on "good habits" to be adopted in terms of security, and on the importance of a trust-based relationship with the security services. For example, by reporting crime or helping to identify insecure areas, the civilian population can help security services prevent and respond to security threats that affect everyone.

In most West African countries, the public authorities, particularly the ministries responsible for security and defence, increasingly work with CSOs in general and CBOs in particular on the implementation of certain public security programmes and projects. When this type of collaboration is based on adequate levels of mutual trust and takes into account social and cultural issues, it can be fruitful and improve the quality of public security services and relations between civilians and defence and security forces. In several countries in the region, the gradual implementation of community policing approaches has enabled civil society and local communities to work together to manage security. On a local level, traditional communicators and community radio stations also feature among the influential actors that should be considered as potential key partners for the CBOs in their social mobilisation strategies related to security issues.

6.3. Making participation effective and influencing security policy

6.3.1. Channelling the security concerns of the population

A national security policy identifies the main threats to a country and the means of preventing and responding to those threats, and sets the political and strategic framework within which security institutions operate. It is important that a security policy sufficiently accounts not only for macro-level threats (protection of the national territory, fight against terrorism and organised crime, roadside robberies, urban crime, etc.) but also threats that more directly affect the individuals and communities that constitute the nation (domestic and sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence, gang violence, threats targeting certain geographic areas or regional communities, etc.). National security policy must be based on a national, collective and long-term vision.

Civil society actors, such as CBOs in partnership with national CSOs that specialise in governance and advocacy, may contribute to the development of appropriate national security policy by acting as a link between the population and national decision makers, and by lobbying for the concerns of citizens so that they are taken into account in policy.

In Mali, for example, in the wake of the 2012 crisis, the Malian Institute of Research and Action for Peace (Institut Malien de Recherche-Action pour la Paix, IMRAP) and the national office of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) initiated regional consultation projects meant to help shape a new national vision of security (also see section 5.4.1).

6.3.2. Using research to influence public decision makers

One of tools available to CSOs is research into security questions. CSOs with sufficient expertise in the subject can conduct and publish studies on security or SSR processes, followed by practical recommendations. To make an impact, this research must be made available to different stakeholders, to stimulate debate and advocacy efforts. By preparing the ground for solidly documented advocacy, research is central to the contribution that CSOs can make to SSR.

Nonetheless, few CSOs conducting research in West Africa are entirely free to collect the information required for their work, due to a culture of secrecy that still surrounds security apparatuses and a resistance to involving researchers in sensitive questions linked to national security. In light of these barriers, perception studies on security institutions or other forms of research that build on freely accessible data, and that is clearly relevant to the works of security institutions, can be a first entry-point.

Box 17: CSO research expertise: a tool to improve public response to the threat of violent extremism

Through action-oriented research, studies by CSOs on violent extremism and radicalisation processes contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

By analysing the different contributing factors, CSOs give national authorities and security institutions crucial keys to developing more effective prevention strategies that target the deep-rooted underlying causes of violent extremism.

See section 6.2 for more information on the ways CSOs can contribute toward improved responses to this threat.

Advocacy is a planned, deliberate and sustained effort to achieve change. Individuals and organisations engage in advocacy by promoting an idea of how certain things can be done better. If successful, advocacy produces concrete results.

Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform (Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security and DCAF, 2013).

6.3.3. Backing up advocacy with solid documentation

Advocacy is an important part of the participative work led by CSOs. Indeed, in addition to social mobilisation, CSOs conduct lobbying activities with governance actors such as governmental authorities, security services, interest groups and political parties, local, regional and traditional authorities and development partners.

To be effective, advocacy should be based on established facts and objective analysis, grounded in concrete proposals that address documented public concerns, and attempt to influence decision-making processes to ensure that the needs of the population are taken into account by those making the decisions.

The success of advocacy ultimately depends on its ability to convince: tools such as advocacy statements, letters to or meetings with decision makers, will only be effective if they are based on solid arguments and evidence that convince the target audience of the need to act and their responsibility to do so.

Advocacy is part of a constructive approach since it demonstrates the ability of CSOs to reflect and analyse, but also their influence. In West Africa, experience shows that local populations and their representatives (whether elected or from civil society) can influence public authorities to take steps to improve security by strengthening local security structures or by introducing previously overlooked threats to the national agenda (such as gender-based violence or rampant corruption).

6.4. Strengthening the effectiveness of security institutions through support, advice and training

Every country must develop security sector governance mechanisms adapted to its specific circumstances and challenges. There is therefore no ready-made blueprint for reforms, and the lessons drawn from experiences in other countries must always be adapted to each national context. In all cases, it is essential that there is a broad and inclusive to define a security sector that is best adapted to security needs and challenges faced by people and the state.

Though many of the actions likely to contribute to improving security sector governance fall under the primary responsibility of executive bodies, there are some ways civil society can effectively and constructively add value, for example by:

✓ **Rethinking the format of national defence and security forces**

Oversized defence and security forces represent a burden to the budgets of West African countries, which are undergoing a phase of economic and social development, and their funding is not viable in the long term. These forces may also accentuate the risk of the militarisation of state apparatuses. Inversely, insufficient defence and security forces increase a country's vulnerability and hinder it from responding effectively to all threats. It is therefore important to adapt the structure of defence and security forces to the needs and resources of a state and its population.

Civil society actors can help in identifying the appropriate size of defence and security forces by undertaking democratic and economic analyses of the burden of the security sector in relation to the total population, or by supporting demobilisation and reintegration programmes, for example.

✓ **Rethinking the organisation of security institutions**

The mandates of security institutions should be clearly defined by relevant legal and regulatory instruments and their missions aligned to national security priorities, to avoid any inconsistencies or redundancies that may reduce their effectiveness or waste public resources. In partnership with executive bodies, civil society actors can provide quality analysis of the legal and institutional framework of the security sector.

✓ **Increasing the professionalism of defence and security forces**

Professional defence and security forces consist of women and men who understand their missions and prerogatives, respect high standards of behaviour and ethics, and have the necessary technical skills to accomplish the tasks they are assigned. These forces must comply strictly with national legal frameworks and universal human rights principles. This is essential to guarantee the credibility and effectiveness of security institutions.

CSOs specialising in this field may provide defence and security forces with training in human rights, international humanitarian law, gender equality or other relevant areas, sometimes filling information gaps. They may also support the development of codes of conduct or other ethical guidelines that define the high standards of behaviour expected of security sector personnel.

✓ **Ensuring that security institutions are equitable working environments**

8

The presence of both women and men within security services is crucial to ensuring that these institutions are representative. A police force that resembles the population it serves is better placed to respond effectively to the diverse needs of that population. Thus, the ability of security institutions to attract and retain professional women impacts their operational effectiveness. However, this requires, among other things, non-discriminatory institutional policies and cultures, and a zero-tolerance on male favouritism, sexual or mental harassment, or other unequal treatment based on gender stereotypes.

See Tool 8: Integrating Gender in Security Sector Reform and Governance

Civil society actors, in particular women's organisations, may provide services and advice to help security institutions analyse institutional frameworks and policies from a gender perspective, give recommendations for improving these documents, raise awareness to change attitudes and behaviours, and provide training for fair institutional management. Female staff organisations in the security sector may also influence institutional change in favour of greater equality (see Box 19).

✓ **Increasing the transparency of financial and material management of security institutions**

The establishment of transparent management procedures and internal control mechanisms limits the risk of embezzlement and improves the financial accountability of security institutions. External control mechanisms, such as national entities responsible for auditing public accounts or parliamentary committees responsible for the budget and finance or defence and security, can also oversee the strategic use of public funds, as well as the probity of security sector expenditures.

Box 18: CSO support for the work of security sector oversight institutions

Depending on the areas in which they work, CSOs may be valuable partners for external and independent security sector oversight institutions.

Indeed, the specific expertise of CSOs may be particularly useful to the success of these institutions' work, which should encourage the development of partnerships. However, CSOs are often unaware of the contribution they can make to the efforts of these external control institutions. By the same token, these institutions may be reluctant to ask for support from civil society, for reasons of impartiality, credibility or simply because they are unaware of available expertise. As a result, many opportunities are missed.

In most West African countries, independent oversight institutions that may benefit from the support and expertise of CSOs include:

- Parliaments (see section 6.5.1)
- National human rights commissions or ombudsmen (see section 6.5.2)
- National audit institutions (Court of Auditors, Auditor General, etc.) (see section 6.5.2)
- National anti-corruption agencies (see section 6.5.2)
- Other relevant independent institutions or authorities set out in national legal frameworks.

Box 19: Female security sector staff associations

It is essential that women working in the security sector are seen by their male colleagues as equal partners. Female staff associations may contribute toward achieving this objective by promoting women's rights. This includes supporting the systematic integration of a gender perspective, as well as the recruitment, promotion and training of women. Female staff associations can also carry out networking activities to share experiences and skills.

Across West Africa, formal and informal associations of women exist within security sector institutions – from associations of female police officers or wives of prison staff to women lawyers associations. These associations undertake a number of different activities to support its members, but are often chiefly focused on social welfare issues such as providing financial and moral support in times of need such as weddings and funerals. Though social welfare issues are important, these associations can also be key actors to bring about institutional transformation from within the security sector. They can advocate for the rights of female security sector personnel, provide a bridge between women's organisations and security sector institutions, and support the provision of security and justice to marginalised groups such as women or children.

Adapted from: Miranda Gaanderse, *Security for All: West Africa's Good Practices on Gender in the Security Sector* (Geneva: DCAF, 2010).

6.5. Strengthening the effectiveness of formal external oversight mechanisms

6.5.1. Making the skills and expertise of civil society available to parliaments

In general, parliaments have a constitutional mandate to oversee the work of governments, including that of security institutions, using various tools – which may be improved by the participation of civil society:

See Tool 5: Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector

5

- Regular interaction with the population, including with citizens' organisations, may help parliamentarians better grasp the security concerns of citizens and ensure that these concerns feature in **parliamentary debates**. In the same vein, the media can attract public attention to dysfunctions in the security sector; for example, relating to corruption at the borders or intimidation and abuse of power by members of defence and security forces.

- Problems of security governance that are raised during work with CSOs or highlighted by the media may also give rise to **written or oral questions** from parliamentarians to relevant ministers.

- **Parliamentary working groups or committees** responsible for examining the work of the government in security-related areas may consult with civil society actors to understand the views of public service users or to benefit from an expert opinion. For example, associations that defend survivors of sexual violence may be able to provide parliamentarians with valuable information about the response of institutions tasked with supporting survivors and the effectiveness of the institutional chain.

- The same goes for **parliamentary inquiry committees** established to shed light on allegations of serious misconduct that put the integrity of security institutions into question. For example, human rights organisations or independent media monitors may shed light on circumstances of media repression by defence and security forces. Members of parliament may also be able to access information collected by front line human rights activists who document cases of abuse or human rights violations by these forces.

- **Parliamentary committees** may also request the advice of civil society experts during the drafting and evaluation of legislation, state budgets, or certain public policies. For example:

  - **Committees responsible for defence and security** may request information on the findings from perception studies on the police. In response to issues raised by CSO research, committees may also make specific recommendations regarding the importance of strengthening the fight against corruption or the prevention of certain security risks, when approving the security institutions' budgets.

  - Committees responsible for promoting women's rights may benefit from the knowledge of female staff associations (see Box 19) or other women's organisations on the working conditions for women in defence and security forces, or on women's impact on the operational effectiveness of security institutions. Consultations with organisations that support victims of violence (legal clinics, safe houses, medical and psychosocial service providers, etc.) are also valuable, to help committee members better understand the services provided by CSOs, such as those that improve women's access to justice and security.

  - If there is a commission specifically **responsible for gender**, which goes well beyond the issue of women's rights, it can enrich its work by seeking information from research institutes and women's rights organisations on the sex and age distribution of victims of certain crimes, or the factors explaining the prevalence of criminality within certain identified social groups. This information may help committees formulate recommendations to governments for policies for prevention, protection and response that are better adapted to each need.

  - **Legislation scrutiny committees** may find the advice of independent civil society experts useful when examining legal texts that relate to security issues. This process enables the anticipation of potential adverse effects of legislation that is supposed to protect a population but could

include seemingly harmless provisions that in fact increase the vulnerability of certain groups to threats and crime. These elements are a useful basis for drafting amendments to legal texts under examination.

- **Budget and finance committees** may consult CSOs, particularly those active in the field of budget analysis, to gain a more refined view of a state budget. Indeed, these organisations are sometimes able to shed light on inadequacies or points of caution, based on their analysis of previous budgets. For example, there might be an imbalance between underfunding of accountability mechanisms and overfunding of material and equipment for armed forces. The documentation of such discrepancies serve as a basis for recommendations, either to institutions themselves or to relevant ministries, that budgets be rebalanced appropriately. As another example, CSOs may conduct research on the financial burden of the excessive use of pretrial detention on the justice budget, as well as the impact of these detentions on the national economy. In West Africa, CSOs have already published this type of analysis in at least three case studies, of Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone.[10]

Box 20: Parliamentary hearings with CSOs: adding value to the decision-making process

In most West African countries, it is becoming increasingly common for CSOs to be consulted by parliaments. Indeed, depending on a CSO's areas of intervention and capacities, representatives are invited by technical committees to give their advice on budgets and draft and proposed laws, enabling them to voice positions on parliamentary inquiries and texts that are submitted for debate. This also provides an opportunity for advocacy.

For example, on questions of women's rights, organisations fighting for gender equality are often invited to advise legislators on the finer points of proposed reforms. It should be stressed, though, that on sensitive issues such as security policy or allocations, CSOs are rarely heard. For this reason, CSOs must advocate for greater parliamentary transparency on security issues while demonstrating to parliamentarians the value of working with civil society.

6.5.2. Making the skills and expertise of civil society available to independent oversight institutions

Depending on their area of intervention, CSOs can provide valuable support to independent institutions overseeing the rule of law (such as national human rights commissions and ombudsmen) and the financial integrity of public administration (such as auditors general and anti-corruption agencies).

Although human rights organisations would appear to be natural partners for **national human rights commissions**, establishing effective collaboration frameworks can be difficult. In Mali, the National Human Rights Commission (Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme, CNDH) has presided over a consultation framework on human rights, established in 2012, that brings together the country's human rights organisations and institutions. Using a collegial approach based on complementarity and seeking out synergies, the framework is a collective instrument that the CNDH can use to enhance its ability to oversee the security sector. Member organisations contribute toward:

- investigating and documenting human rights abuses involving formal or informal security actors;
- providing different kinds of support to victims of these abuses; and
- strengthening of advocacy efforts to ensure that the fundamental rights of security personnel are respected, so as to maximise their motivation and promote positive relations between them and the civil population.

In the case of Mali, the consultative framework on human rights began laying the foundations for a constructive partnership with the National Council for Security Sector Reform, by supporting its request to have access to the resources required to implement its mandate (see Box 21). The impact of this

support is enhanced by the collective nature of the framework, since it brings together all organisations defending human rights in the country, and demonstrates a desire for active collaboration.

Box 21: Innovative institutional tools for optimising public oversight: the example of the Forum for Democratic Discussion in Mali

In Mali, Decree No.2012-117/P-RM of 24 February 2012 (modifying Decree No. 95-159/P-RM of 31 May 1996 creating the Forum for Democratic Discussion) gave the national Ombuds institution the responsibility of formalising the Forum for Democratic Discussion (Espace d'interpellation démocratique, EID).

The EID is "a democratic learning exercise during which the citizen enforces his or her freedoms and civic rights by calling on the government on specific cases related to good governance," including that of security sector institutions.

The EID takes place each year on 10 December, International Human Rights Day, bringing citizens and the government together. At the 2014 meeting, 284 files were submitted for review, of which 153 were admissible. A majority of cases concerned the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, and more than half came from the regions (outside the Bamako Capital District).

In 2015, after a training on the role of human rights defenders in the SSR process in Mali, members of the consultative framework on human rights decided to participate in the EID with the aim to encourage the government to accelerate the operationalisation of the National Council for Security Sector Reform (CNRSS), created by Decree in 2014. In doing so, the consultative framework wished to use the opportunity represented by the EID as an institutional oversight mechanism to support the CNRSS – which should improve the effectiveness of defence and security institutions through a holistic and coordinated approach to national SSR.

In addition to national human rights commissions, CSOs may also contribute toward the oversight work of a state **ombuds institution**. In many West African countries that feature ombuds institutions, the mandate of the institution is to deal with complaints by public service users against the administration that are not brought before the courts. In cases in which security institutions are involved, the ombudsman plays an intercessory role (at least) to guarantee that citizens' rights are respected.

In practical terms, CSOs can contribute to the work of ombuds institutions in several ways, including by:

- informing the population about the competencies of the ombuds institution and about how to register a complaint against a security institution;
- supporting victims at an early stage in terms of preparing their cases for submission to the ombuds institution, which facilitates the fact-checking work which has to be conducted down the line by the services of the institution;
- supporting complainants with regards to the follow-up on their complaints and their outcomes.

Box 22: The role of CSOs in strengthening the rule of law

Guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as establishing an equitable justice system accessible to all, are indispensable conditions for sustainable and effective crime prevention and response. As such, justice system reform is an integral part of a holistic approach to SSR and should aim to improve access to high-quality legal services, regardless of sex, age or socio-economic standing, and to ensure the full protection of fundamental rights.

Civil society actors may contribute to efforts to combat corruption, nepotism, sexism and other biases that influence the justice system. Human rights organisations also have an essential role to play in terms of monitoring, documenting and reporting human rights violations perpetrated by security personnel, and taking action to ensure that perpetrators are held accountable before the law.

In particular, human rights organisations can contribute to good security governance by:

- documenting human rights violations committed by security sector actors;

- drawing attention to the impact on human rights of serious, chronic or widespread situations of insecurity;

- making their expertise available to security institutions by advising them on relations with the civilian population or by providing training to security personnel on human rights, the protection of civilians, gender equality and diversity, and other related areas; and

- advocating for respect of the fundamental rights of security personnel, in line with Article 15 of the ECOWAS Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services, to give security staff the feeling that they are supported and encouraged by civilian actors.

This final point is essential and yet often overlooked. By defending the human rights of defence and security personnel, CSOs move beyond offering only accusations to demonstrating their willingness to constructively support security personnel in accomplishing their mission for the good of the entire population. By showing that civilians are willing to support the legitimate expectations of those who defend them, such initiatives may contribute toward re-motivating the staff of security institutions. Security professionals who feel appreciated by the population they serve are more likely to act with integrity and professionalism.

Article 15: Human rights of armed forces and security services personnel
In the exercise of their duties, Armed Forces and Security Service Personnel shall, within the limits of national law, enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms as defined in the Constitution.

Source: ECOWAS, Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services of ECOWAS, 2006.[11]

Moreover, CSOs that specialise in promoting budget transparency may be important partners for public auditors as well as for anti-corruption agencies. For example, investigations by citizens' organisations and media professionals have highlighted the scale of corruption occurring on national borders between several ECOWAS countries, despite the official establishment of a zone of free movement of people and goods. In several countries, public exposure of this problem, backed by hard evidence, has led to national debate and pushed the agenda on integrity of border control agencies in particular and in the security sector in general.

Investigations by CSOs and media can also shed light on cases of misappropriation or embezzlement of public funds involving security personnel. When supported by proof, such revelations may lead to disciplinary action, the initiation of investigations, or other remediation measures.

To find out more, also see section 6.6.2 on the role of CSOs in monitoring the security sector budget.

6.6. Putting citizen oversight of the security sector into practice

6.6.1. Ensuring citizen oversight of security institutions

CSOs play a role in generating constructive debate on public policies by investigating subjects of national interest, such as security. Within the confines of journalistic ethics, investigative journalists can also play a very important role in this regard, by informing the public about security issues and the government's response to them (see also section 6.8 on the role of the media).

In addition to investigations launched on their own initiative, CSOs can also provide valuable support to inquiries launched by institutions such as parliaments or national human rights commissions. This requires that CSOs not only have a high level of expertise and skill, but also the capacity to mobilise the necessary resources to conduct objective, credible and independent investigations.

CSOs can speak up to denounce cases of human rights violations, corruption and poor governance, or base this works on social campaigning and advocacy that brings peaceful public pressure to bear on governments.

Thus, CSOs serve as a crucial counter-weight that helps ensure that certain sensitive issues appear on public agendas. In some countries, for instance, CSOs have reported abuses committed by security personnel, or have organized non-violent protests. By exercising the role of citizen oversight, CSOs channel public protest toward limiting governmental abuses of power, making an inestimable contribution to the democratic process.

One way of putting citizen oversight of the security sector into practice is by monitoring and documenting the security situation and the work of security institutions. To be credible, citizen oversight must be based on knowledge of the context, confirmed information and documented facts. If they rely on general or preconceived notions without precise documentation, CSOs undermine their own impact.

Box 23: Fighting corruption in the security sector

To guarantee the integrity of the security institutions, it is crucial that national authorities clearly and firmly address the issue of corruption and establish effective measures for prevention and deterrence as well as sanctions to overcome it. In many countries in West Africa, the reputations of certain services, such as the police, border control and justice, have been tainted by endemic corruption, compromising their legitimacy and reducing the trust of the populations they serve. Corruption among defence and security personnel damages the image of the sector and hinders the fair provision of public services in terms of justice and security.

Civil society actors may help improve transparency and integrity within security institutions by denouncing and documenting cases of corruption and related institutional dysfunctions.

In addition to exposing such cases, CSOs may also play a constructive role by providing decision makers with objective analysis to identify the factors that underlie corruption, the most widespread forms of corruption and the impact of corruption on the access of citizens to justice, security and economic opportunities. In some cases, CSOs may also be able to offer advice and support in drafting or implementing institutional policies aimed at strengthening the integrity of security personnel.

6.6.2. Monitoring of security sector budgets

The goal of financial transparency in the public sector is at the heart of citizen oversight in all ECOWAS countries. Budgets are key policy instruments in terms of regulating public affairs and a government's budgetary choices reflect political, economic and social priorities. As such, the quality of public policies in all sectors is linked to state budgetary decisions. This is why budget analysis, in a broad sense, is an important strategic part of citizen oversight. When the priorities reflected in budgets do not correspond to the concerns expressed by citizens or do not seem adapted to the realities of the country, CSOs can exert pressure on governments, particularly members of parliament, to ensure the necessary changes are made.

See Tool 3: Good Financial Governance of Defence and Security Institutions

3

> *The media and other civil society actors can contribute to exposing waste and opaque financial practices within the public administration, including security institutions.*

CSO-led initiatives, such as citizens' budgets and participative budgets, are increasingly common in West Africa. In some countries, security personnel complain that a lack of resources prevents them from being more effective; yet, codes of military reticence keep them from expressing this publicly. And so, CSOs may take up the case on their behalf and advocate in favour of greater budgetary allocations to security services to allow them to fulfil their mandates.

Sometimes, approved security sector budgets are sizeable but resources are poorly allocated or are even diverted, impacting security services on the ground. CSOs also have an important role to play in these situations, by monitoring the actual use of public funds. Additionally, security sector funding, even when deemed appropriate, should not come at the expense of other national priorities, such as responding to the basic socio-economic needs of citizens. Given that security and development are interdependent, CSOs are well placed to draw the attention of decision makers and legislators to the need for balance between these different budget posts.

Finally, in some cases, governments hope to fix all security problems simply by allocating enormous budgets to security institutions. In these cases, CSOs should warn against the simplistic reasoning that problems can be solved by throwing money at them. Although a lack of resources can impede the work of these institutions, the availability of resources does not alone guarantee effectiveness, accountability or quality of service. Achieve these outcomes usually requires changes in the management and governance of the institutions in question. CSOs are well placed to highlight the need for broader institutional reforms, addressing not only equipment, infrastructure and financial resources, but also intangible factors, such as establishing a more service-oriented and accountable institutional culture, promoting integrity and eliminating impunity within security institutions, and sustainable long-term management of human resources.

CSOs that work on budget transparency must not only have specialised expertise, but must gain access to potentially sensitive data. This can be difficult when states are uncooperative, and yet, without that access CSOs cannot effectively evaluate budgetary processes or contribute to the quality of public expenditure. In the field of security especially, access to information remains a significant challenge even for members of parliaments, who approve budgets and control their implementation; and this is all the more true for CSOs, who do not have the same democratic legitimacy. In some cases, CSOs may undertake targeted advocacy work to clarify the legal conditions surrounding the publication of budgetary information, so as to reduce unjustified withholding of information.

> **Box 24: Budget transparency: the example of a Nigerien CSO**
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> In Niger, the organisation "Alternative Espaces Citoyens" hosts annual public conferences on the state budget, to analyse the political choices made in various sectors and to discuss how and whether the expectations of citizens have been taken into account. Based on the outcome of these public meetings, the organisation does advocacy work, directed toward members of parliament and the government so that citizen voices, particularly of the most marginalised, are accounted for. Security sector governance is one of the topics covered.
>
> In Niamey in August 2014, the organisation organised a large public debate on the State budget, during which the strengths and weaknesses of the State's political choices were discussed. Such initiatives may help to improve public discussion of government policy, including security policy, and make budgetary processes more inclusive.

6.7. Facilitating dialogue between civilian populations and security institutions

Security institutions serve the people, of which their staff is also part. Nonetheless, a lack of mutual trust and continuing negative relations between security actors and the civilian population often impairs the effectiveness and accountability of security services. Such conditions may lead to conflict and do not enable citizens to participate fully in their own security through constructive collaboration with the institutions charged with protecting them.

Thanks to their position within communities, CSOs are often well positioned to facilitate peaceful dialogue between civilian populations and defence and security forces. CSOs that are well known and respected locally can help security institutions build rapport with the public, by organising forums for discussion, for example. And by offering interactive programming that features authorised security personnel, community radio can also contribute toward raising awareness among communities of the work of security institutions.

Traditional chiefdoms should also not be overlooked. In many West African regions, they can act as facilitators of peaceful dialogue between civilians and security institutions, under the aegis of traditional chiefs. Especially in situations in which tensions are so high that direct discussion is inhibited, customary authorities with established legitimacy may act as a bridge between the community and security institutions.

6.8. The role of the media

6.8.1. A key role in democratic oversight of the security sector

7

See Tool 7: Non-State Justice and Security Providers and Security Sector Reform

The media is a major stakeholder in democratic governance in Africa. By processing and disseminating information, it ensures citizen oversight and serves as an interface between states and societies.

Since the start of the 1990s, increasing numbers of citizens have access to a wide range of diverse information, particularly on issues of national importance, such as governance and human security. Within this new environment, the media play a major role in implementing national good governance policies through three main functions:

• **providing a public forum** by giving a voice to people from all parts of society;

• encouraging social mobilisation by contributing to civic engagement and participation of citizens; and

- **monitoring, observing and overseeing those in power**, contributing to the transparency and accountability of the public sector.

> *Despite practices of censorship and self-censorship that still occur in some places, the media increasingly provides critical information to the public, alerting decision makers and, more generally, ensuring democratic oversight.*

To assess the extent of the influence of a media outlet, various factors have to be considered, such as the diversity of media (print or online, television, radio, public or private, etc.) and the scope of its audience, i.e. the approximate number of people reached.

Some media, such as community radio, have highly targeted and therefore limited audiences; while others, particularly nationwide public and private media, have broad regional coverage and/or wide audiences but are not necessarily highly accessible throughout the country. The audience of a media outlet partly determines its ability to disseminate information, influence public opinion and affect social mobilisation.

In West Africa, as is true worldwide, media are not exempt from criticism, particularly regarding a lack of professionalism and ethics among certain journalists. Still, the media remains a powerful agent for citizen socialisation and education and encourages accountability through investigations into governance and security.

To successfully fulfil their democratic oversight role and alert citizens to dysfunctions in the security sector, journalists sometimes form professional networks focused on human rights, peace and security, or security governance. The members of such networks hope to have more impact by increasing their real capacity to play a role in SSR processes. This is an important recognition by journalists that, when it comes to questions as sensitive as those related to security sector governance, they must show a strong sense of professionalism and have an appropriate grasp of existing legal and institutional frameworks.

6.8.2. Collaboration between the media and other actors involved in democratic governance and reform of the security sector

As long as it operates on the basis of solid ethical foundations, the media can be a leading partner for CSOs in social campaigning. The media is an appropriate channel for communicating security-related information to the public, encouraging democratic debate of certain aspects of security sector governance, and drawing the attention of the public and of decision makers to dysfunctions in security apparatuses.

Treatment of the security sector by the media must nonetheless be handled with a specific sensitivity, taking adequate precautions as not to hamper the work or security institutions, while also respecting the freedom of the press. To this end, training seminars for media personnel in all ECOWAS countries should be organised to strengthen their ability to evaluate topics relevant to SSRG.

Seminars of this nature are generally conducted in partnership with CSOs that monitor SSRG, media regulation bodies, schools or training institutes for journalists and security services, and may thereby promote genuine partnerships between these different actors around questions of security. And certainly, in addition to training, they offer opportunities for dialogue that can strengthen trust between the media and security services (see Box 25).

Public relations can also constitute a key area in which SSR stakeholders and the media can work together. Establishing communication partnerships can give the public better access to information on SSR processes, and also enhance the image of the main actors involved (CSOs, security services, etc.). Through announcements, special programmes, exhibitions and other public information events, the media can raise public awareness and provide citizens with the tools they need to understand SSR and contribute toward its success.

Box 25: Collaboration between the media and police: an example from Guinea

In the context of introducing community policing in Guinea, 12-19 June 2014, the Ministry for Security and Civil Protection organised a training workshop on the theme of 'Police-Media: building relations' with the support of a CSO that specialises in covering police reform. The workshop brought together some thirty journalists from various media outlets in Guinea and thirty police officers. The objective was to create a space for discussion and collaborative work among the various stakeholders in the security sector.

The workshop addressed the following themes:

- "Raising media awareness of the national police reform process and community policing;"
- "Relationships between the police and the media;" and
- "Media treatment and coverage of delinquency and crime."

The fact that this event took place illustrates a shared awareness on the part of the government and the media in Guinea of the importance of media involvement in the SSR process.

7

Strengthening civil society's impact on security sector reform and governance through constructive partnerships

Even when CSOs have a clear idea of their possible contributions to SSRG, several factors may hinder their effective involvement in these processes in West Africa (see Box 10).

First, the **fragmentation of civil society** can disperse strengths and make it difficult to optimise the work and impact of CSOs. Of course, civil society is plural by definition and its diversity represents an opportunity to address a wide range of public concerns, according to the defined areas of intervention of each organisation. Yet, the sheer number of CSOs can also generate tension and competition that makes all organisations less effective. It may therefore be advantageous to CSOs to build partnerships between and amongst themselves to pool their strengths, bridge any gaps and be more effective.

Second, a **tradition of state sovereignty** has long meant that security was the exclusive preserve of the executive. Although this is now increasingly put into question and the principle of democratic security sector governance gains acceptance, the management of security institutions remains essentially in the executive purview, with civil society playing a mostly consultative role. The effectiveness of civil society participation therefore depends largely on the ability of CSOs to establish constructive partnerships with national authorities and security institutions.

By establishing **partnerships with external actors**, CSOs open up new avenues in terms of international finance and access to expertise, increasing their ability to act, including in the field of democratic security sector governance. As a regional organisation, ECOWAS has an important role to play in facilitating the participation of civil society.

7.1. Increasing impact by pooling efforts within civil society

In the field of security, which is primarily under the responsibility of the executive, CSOs have greater impact when they express themselves with a single voice and act in a concerted manner. Networking or coalition-building can widen the scope of expertise on a project, strengthen the representativeness of the CSOs involved and enable outreach to populations that are difficult to access or usually isolated, and give greater weight to advocacy work. Creating a network or coalition also makes it easier to share experiences, which strengthens all members' capacity to act.

Even if there is strength in numbers, but efforts to pool expertise should be based on a certain level of acquaintance and mutual trust among the organisations in partnership.

It can therefore be good to define the strengths and weaknesses of each member of the coalition right at the start, for example by mapping CSOs according to their specialisation to identify the kind of expertise they bring to the coalition. It can also be useful to conduct a SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) for each member organisation, to evaluate the comparative advantages of each. This will enhance complementarity, by ensuring tasks are shared in a way which takes into account the strengths of each organisation and encourages synergy. Finally, this approach builds upon each organisation's strengths, while minimising weaknesses and encouraging mutual capacity building by CSOs through exchange and collaboration.

Depending on the aim, CSOs may opt for more or less formal forms of partnership, including:
- **Ad hoc** agreements, such as the joint organisation or pooling of logistical resources for a shared but one-off activity.
- The establishment of **networks** to facilitate CSO's access to one another, creating opportunities for collaboration among some members and leading to a certain degree of coordination.
- The creation of **coalitions and action platforms** around a shared vision, to develop and implement an integrated joint action plan. This type of initiative encourages information and skills sharing between CSOs around a defined problem and, therefore, requires agreement to broad strategic guidelines or at least coordinated action between the various member organisations.

The creation of a coalition should not be considered an end in itself, but as a response to the real need for coordination and cooperation between CSOs in the shared effort to affect change. The goal is not merely to establish new structures, but rather to create a functional collaborative space in which CSOs can maximise the impact of their actions. If such a space already exists (for example, a consultative framework on human rights, a network of journalists focused on peace and security, a platform for women's organisations to ensure access to justice, etc.), it may be preferable to reactivate or remobilise it around an SSR project.

Annex 3 offers practical advice on building a coalition and drafting an action plan on SSR.

"NGOs that seek to make a virtue out of highlighting the failures of governments, business and other institutions should be subjected to the same degree of scrutiny that everyone else faces. They too need to be accountable for their actions."[12]

7.2. Building legitimacy with security institutions

While fully assuming their democratic oversight role, it is important that CSOs go beyond acting as a simple counterweight and position themselves as real partners for security institutions, in the context of constructive and mutually beneficial collaboration.

It is important to remember that CSOs have no legal entitlement in terms of security governance; this is one of the essential characteristics of the role of CSOs in the governance of this sector. Consequently, the impact of their work depends both on their legitimacy, derived from the community, and their ability to build positive partnerships with institutional actors, who in turn have the mandate and competence to take decisions and implement the recommendations of civil society.

"A dynamic relationship between civil society, government and state agencies is an indicator of the maturity of democratic structures. It reflects a democratic culture in the citizen-state relationship based on the constant interest in transparency and accountability central to the principle of open government."[13]

Maximising the impact of the work of CSOs thus relies on their ability to forge collaborative relationships with institutions. Highlighting international commitments made by the state in terms of inclusive governance can be useful in this sense, but experience shows that the perhaps most effective means of encouraging such collaboration is by **demonstrating to security institutions the added value that civil society can bring to their work**. This approach highlights the operational advantages for defence and security forces of working with CSOs, rather than insisting on theoretical notions of participative governance as a norm and an obligation.

For example, and as set out in all of section 6, CSOs can highlight their potential contribution in the following areas:

- public information and awareness raising around security issues, which contributes to increased collective vigilance and risk prevention.
- facilitation of dialogue between the civilian population and security institutions, which can break down mutual suspicion and lay the foundations for positive relations. This is particularly important given that certain threats falling within the mandate of the security sector cannot be addressed without community support.
- provision of training to defence and security staff on topics such as human rights, gender equality and diversity, responding to sexual or gender-based violence, protection of children (girls and boys) living in at-risk environments, etc.
- support and advocacy with national decision makers to ensure that security institutions have access to the resources necessary to fulfil their missions.

Generally speaking, in the context of formal SSR processes, CSOs should also seize the opportunity to **actively participate in the SSR management bodies**. For example, in the context of the SSR process that was launched in Mali following the 2012 political and security crisis, in 2015, the Ministry of Security and Civil Protection established a sectoral committee responsible for outlining how to implement reform in the Ministry's areas of responsibility. Three representatives of CSOs (one representing women's organisations, one human rights organisations, and one representative of youth organisations) were appointed by ministerial decision to the committee. The sectoral committee's openness to civil society is an opportunity to be seized. In such a configuration, the legitimacy and impact of contributions from CSO representatives have a good chance of being strengthened if they regularly interact with other members of civil society, and genuinely become the spokespersons for a diverse and varied civil society on the national level.

To consolidate their credibility in the eyes of the security institutions, CSOs should define their vision and goals coherently and present them with clarity and precision. They should also show professionalism and commitment to the public interest that they work for.

Finally, the legitimacy of CSOs to intervene in SSRG – which is both highly technical and highly political – depends to a large extent on their representativeness, their technical capacity and on the credibility of their internal management. It may, therefore, be beneficial to CSOs to strengthen these aspects of their organisation; Annex 2 offers some guidance in this regard.

7.3. Mobilising support from international development partners

Funding is only one type of support that international partners can provide to CSOs involved in good security sector governance. It is important not to overlook other opportunities for support from partners, not to miss important opportunities.

Development partners are external actors who provide support to domestic security sector reform and governance projects initiated by West African countries. In this role, they accompany institutional actors, but also civil society, whose participation is crucial for a democratic process.

Just as to work with security institutions, CSOs wishing to get the support of external partners must establish their credibility in a given field and demonstrate that their internal management is transparent (see Annex 2 for practical advice). Opportunistic CSOs that declare themselves specialists in any area for which international funding happens to be available quickly lose their credibility among national institutional partners, as well as with international financial and technical partners.

Once a CSO has firmly established its credibility as a partner, it can be useful to map potential partners, taking into account the mandate, areas of interest and priorities of each external partner.

It is important to draw a clear line between the work for which you are seeking support and the mandate of the partner you are addressing.

Often, development partners are more inclined to support joint civil society initiatives, implemented by networks, platforms or coalitions, rather than individual CSO projects with a less inclusive approach and less extensive reach. Here again, coordination among CSOs to unite their efforts may give them opportunities that would be inaccessible to them individually.

Development partners can provide CSOs with a wide range of support, notably:

- **Political support**, especially to advocacy efforts. Thanks to their diplomatic and technical relationships with national institutions, international partners can be crucial allies when it comes to drawing the attention of decision makers to the security needs of certain social groups, the social impact of certain problems in the sector, or the responses to these challenges proposed by CSOs.

- **Making technical expertise available** to CSOs to implement projects (through the provision of technical assistance) or build their capacity (by organising trainings and opportunities for experience sharing, or through the transfer of skills). Technical expertise may relate to areas as varied as planning, monitoring and evaluation, communication, gender mainstreaming or other topics relevant to the project.

- **Making equipment and logistical services available**, such as premises for the secretariat of a coalition, satellite phones to facilitate communication for CSOs in difficult areas, transportation to facilitate access to certain populations, or access to the partner's security arrangements on the ground to improve the safety of CSO members in the course of their work.

- **Financial**, whether based on calls for proposals, through the partial funding of certain projects or activities, or by facilitating access of CSOs to other funding sources. Access to partner funding is generally subject to strict conditions, to facilitate the financial execution of the project while guaranteeing a high degree of transparency and integrity.

Box 26: International partners to keep in mind

The international cooperation landscape in West Africa varies from one country to the next. However, certain actors are found in most of the 15 ECOWAS member states, and are accessible to CSOs. Here is an overview:

- **International organisations**, such as the United Nations, including the various programmes, funds and agencies present in the country, as well as international funding organisations such as the World Bank.

- **Regional organisations**, such as the African Union (which has representations in a few countries), ECOWAS (see section 7.4.) and regional financial organisations, such as the African Development Bank or the West African Development Bank.

- **Bilateral partners** with an embassy or consular representation in the country and with a tradition of cooperation (Germany, United States, France, United Kingdom, etc.). These could also be new partner countries, such as Japan, or emerging countries are not generally seen as international funding partners, but whose foreign policy allows for one-off support for certain civil society initiatives.

- **International NGOs** may also support certain national civil society projects. These might include foundations that focus on funding citizens' initiatives or global human rights networks, for example. There are online directories that can help CSOs identify both national and international partners, most notably the Worldwide NGO Directory website (http://www.wango.org/resources.aspx?section=ngodir) and the NGO Directory of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (https://www.unodc.org/ngo/list.jsp).

7.4. The role of ECOWAS in supporting citizen participation in security sector reform and governance

As a regional organisation, ECOWAS has an important role to play in enabling the establishment of a culture of democratic security sector governance in its member states. Indeed, given its mission, its influence in West Africa, and the security challenges facing the region, ECOWAS is well placed to work toward more inclusive, transparent and effective security sector governance. In particular, this involves facilitating the involvement of CSOs in SSR processes, in line with the provisions of the draft Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform and Governance in West Africa. Title E, section III of this policy identifies the "effective involvement of civil society organisations and the media" as one of the essential characteristics of SSRG (see Box 27).

Box 27: Effectively involving civil society organisation and the media in SSRG

The draft policy framework for SSRG in the ECOWAS region states that:

Article 37: ECOWAS recognises the positive role played by CSOs and the media in promoting peace and security in West Africa. Such roles are reaffirmed in the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001) and the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (2008).

Article 38: Member States shall ensure the full and effective participation of CSOs and the media in the formulation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases of SSRG programmes, projects and activities. ECOWAS invites CSOs and the media to, inter alia:

a) Sensitize citizens and promote better understanding, dissemination and implementation of the concepts and principles contained in this Policy Framework at the national and regional levels;

b) Contribute to cultivating a culture of good governance and respect for democratic norms, values and principles within the security sector in West Africa through advocacy;

c) Conduct research, training and other capacity building activities on SSRG in West Africa;

d) Promote and encourage dialogue between different national security institutions and between security sector institutions and communities;

e) Participate in the development process of National Security Policy, security sector review and needs assessment;

f) Contribute to the work of institutions in charge of overseeing and controlling security sector institutions such as parliamentary defence and security committees, Ombuds institutions, national human rights commissions.

Source: ECOWAS, Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance in West Africa (draft document, 2015).

In practical terms, ECOWAS can support the participation of CSOs through several levers. For example:

- **By systematically taking civil society into account in strategic reference documents**. For example, this is the case in the Draft Policy Framework for SSRG (see Box 27). The use of security as a conceptual framework for the ECOWAS peace and security strategy is also a significant step forward in terms of legitimising the role of civil society in security issues. The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), adopted in 2008, marked a shift in this regard.

  According to the ECPF, Member States must adopt and implement reform measures in their security sectors, to ensure that security agencies and prison services are compliant and subject to democratic control. This is an opportunity to establish framework that enables the involvement of the media and CSOs. The ECPF also includes an explicit media component, the aim of which is to promote a West African media landscape that supports freedom, transparency and accountability. Electronic and print media are called on to be the guardians of human security, but also platforms for mobilisation and debate on human rights and the rule of law, common citizenship, cohesion, integration and social harmony, democracy and development.

- **By facilitating access by CSOs to regional documents**, which may be useful advocacy tools that could strengthen their legitimacy. By all accounts, it is important to raise awareness about the ECOWAS protocols and conventions relating to SSR in all countries in the region to stimulate buy-in by people and communities and by all democratic governance stakeholders, as the alternative puts the democratisation of security sector governance at risk. In disseminating SSR related documents, ECOWAS thus also creates the conditions for their effective implementation on the ground. Partnering with the media, in addition to regional and sub-regional civil society networks, can significantly boost the efforts to disseminate the ECOWAS SSR-related protocols and conventions. Moreover, CSOs themselves represent important channels for disseminating these texts, as they can share them with

their members and networks. Civil society ownership of these texts can therefore have a considerable snowball effect on the rest of society and strengthen the access of women, men, girls and boys to their rights in terms of justice and security.

- **By encouraging the creation and stimulation of regional civil society networks**, which facilitates the knowledge and experience sharing between peers, builds expertise, and strengthens the capacity for action of all member CSOs. In addition, participation in such networks gives CSOs that operate in particularly difficult national contexts the opportunity to receive support and solidarity within the region. For example, transnational networks enable CSOs working in countries where freedom of expression remains limited to count on their partners in other countries to ensure that certain messages and recommendations are communicated. Ultimately, this contributes not only to a stronger sense of community, but also to create space and freedom for West African civil society as a whole.

- **By strengthening the capacities of civil society actors** by facilitating access to information as well as training and networking opportunities. The organisation of regional training workshops on SSR for civil society actors is one way to increase the critical mass of civilian expertise available on the regional level and to raise awareness among CSOs of their roles. In addition to training, ECOWAS is also well positioned to encourage experience and knowledge sharing between West African civil society actors, by increasing the opportunities for these actors to meet.

- **By developing a regional database of experts** on SSR, in partnership with CSOs, to provide an effective tool to rapidly mobilise regional expertise on a high level that is sensitive to the cultural subtleties of West Africa. Although independent civil expertise certainly exists in this field, it is currently poorly recognised and underused, despite the fact that the region faces many security challenges. The creation of a database would allow ECOWAS to efficiently mobilise the human resources required to implement its SSR support programmes in member states by drawing from a pool of civil society experts.

- **By supporting the resource mobilisation efforts of CSO** and thereby remove one of the obstacles that CSOs face in accomplishing their missions. There are few organisations in the region with sufficient human, material and financial resources to conduct their programmes effectively and reach their desired objectives. In light of the scale of the threats in the region, material and financial support for CSOs working in the security sector should be a priority for ECOWAS. This could take the form of concrete projects developed by ECOWAS in partnership with CSOs, or projects formulated by CSOs and funded by ECOWAS. Another option is that ECOWAS provide support to CSOs that have already developed high-value-added projects to mobilise resources from external partners.

Box 28: The openness of ECOWAS to the influence of civil society on security sector governance

With its political and diplomatic influence on member states, it is important that ECOWAS does not restrict itself to normative prescriptions on the involvement of civil society in security governance, but leads by example in this field.

In 2003, it led by example when the West African Network on Small Arms (WANSA) "played a crucial role in placing a Small Arms Unit within ECOWAS and a Supplementary Protocol on the Moratorium on the Importation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons on the agenda of an ECOWAS Ministerial Meeting in Dakar in January 2003. This was the first time that civil society actors gained entry into an ECOWAS Ministerial meeting. This was repeated in Accra in December 2003 when representatives of the ECOWAS Civil Society Forum addressed the Summit of Heads of State and Government.

Moreover, "the ECOWAS Secretariat has been open to pursuing partnerships with civil society groups, resulting in May 2003 in the Executive Secretary's decision to establish a Civil Society Coordination Unit within ECOWAS. A West African Civil Society Forum was also established to act as an interface with the Coordinating Unit in ECOWAS, resulting in the formalisation of ECOWAS-civil society collaboration. This has radically transformed the way in which this sub-regional intergovernmental body interacts with non-state entities."

Source: Alan Bryden, Boubacar N'Diaye and Funmi Olonisakin, *Security Sector Governance in West Africa: turning principles to practice* (Geneva: DCAF, 2005).

7

Checklist: What can civil society actors do?

Entry points for concrete and constructive civil society contributions to good security sector governance always have to be identified according to the context. There is no predefined list of what CSOs should do, especially since they always need to adapt to their circumstances (including the state of progress on SSR and the needs of their partners) and take into account their own areas of competence and specialisation.

While strategies should be adapted to needs, as well as to available human, technical and material resources, this checklist summarises the main tools for action that civil society actors in West Africa generally have at their disposal.

1. Making citizen participation effective and influencing security policy:

Depending on their comparative advantages, civil society actors can contribute to defining national, regional and local security priorities. They can, for example:

- Initiate discussions within local communities and social groups to collect information on the security concerns of citizens.
- Communicate these concerns to national decision makers, so that they are accounted for in public policy relating to security.
- Provide technical expertise for identifying possible responses to certain security challenges
- Analyse the security budget.
- Push the legislature and the executive to put overlooked security issues on the agenda (domestic violence, corruption in the security sector, etc.).

Reminder: A human security approach, which places individuals and communities at the heart of security matters, gives civil society a particular legitimacy to put the security-related concerns of the people on the national agenda, make sure that they are adequately taken into account by decision makers and security institutions, and participate in monitoring the performance of the security sector.

2. Strengthen the effectiveness of security institutions through support, advice and training:

Depending on their expertise, civil society actors can contribute toward strengthening the operational effectiveness of security institutions by:

- Carrying out research and studies on security issues and security governance.
- Offering training on human rights, gender, responding to sexual and domestic violence, etc.
- Providing advice and support to development and implementation of inclusive institutional policies.
- Supporting the public communication efforts of security institutions.

3. Contribute to transparency and accountability by overseeing public service delivery:

Depending on their specific skills and the availability of information, civil society actors may, for example:

- Monitor the activities the activities of security institutions.
- Alert the public, heads of institutions and political decision makers in case of transgressions.
- Conduct prison visits and monitor human rights.
- Document cases of misconduct or violations of rights.
- Conduct external assessments of security sector institutions and make recommendations. This also contributes to operational effectiveness.

4. Facilitate dialogue between civilian populations and security institutions:

CSOs can contribute to re-establishing and strengthening trust between security forces and civilians.

Examples of entry points for civil society in democratic oversight of the security sector include:

- Pushing for the needs and interests of the public to be taken into account when security policy is defined (including advocacy work with political decision makers).
- Participating in political dialogue, national consultations, peace negotiations, etc.
- Monitoring respect for human rights in the security sector (including in prisons).
- Speaking out against and supporting efforts to combat corruption within defence and security forces.
- Strengthening access of communities to public justice and security services.
- Promoting gender equality in security sector governance.
- Raising awareness and mobilising the public around security issues.

Don't forget: due to the political sensitivity and technical complexity of SSR, civil society actors must show that they are credible. As such, it is important for CSOs to:

- Build trust with all partners (the civilian population, other CSOs, security institutions, development partners).
- Make sure that their internal management holds the highest standards, and is based on collegiality, accountability and transparency (including internal leadership).
- Manage their reputation effectively.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: SSR training opportunities open to members of West African civil society

Members of West African civil society wishing to strengthen their SSR capacities may benefit from training opportunities such as:

- SSR courses offered every year at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Accra. Calls for candidates are published on the website: kaiptc.org

- SSR courses offered twice per year at the Alioune Blondin Beye Peacekeeping School in Bamako. Calls for candidates are published on the website: empbamako.org

The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) and the Alioune Blondin Beye Peacekeeping School (EMP Bamako) are both ECOWAS centres of excellence and offer a wide range of classroom training that is available yearly to actors in West African civil society. In addition to SSR training, their courses cover areas such as:[14]

- Conflict analysis and mediation

- Conflict prevention

- Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants (DDR)

- Gender in post-conflict situations

- Civil-military relations

- Responsibility to protect (R2P)

- Rule of law

- Human rights

The following training opportunities are also available online:

- The United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) offers online courses under various themes, including an "Introduction to security sector reform," available free of charge: http://www.unitar.org/free-courses

- The DCAF International Security Sector Advisory Team (ISSAT) also offers a training session entitled "Introduction to Security Sector Reform," free of charge at: http://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/E-Learning/Introduction-to-Security-Sector-Reform

- The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) offers online courses on conflict analysis, peacebuilding, good governance in post-conflict contexts, and youth awareness raising and mobilisation for peace-building on the community level. See their online course catalogue at: http://www.usip.org/online-courses.

Annex 2: Strengthening the credibility of CSOs

In many countries, there is a deeply rooted tradition of secrecy around security and security sector management, which makes it difficult for civil society to participate in security sector governance. The only way to overcome institutional resistance to civil society involvement of CSOs is by showing how civilian and public oversight of defence and security institutions is relevant, that civil society participation is legitimate, and that CSOs have the necessary technical skills.

A CSO wishing to strengthen its credibility to intervene in security sector reform or security sector governance should consider the following:

- **The representativeness of the organisation**
    - Is the composition of the organisation representative of the groups whose interests it claims to defend, particularly in terms of gender, age, social class, and place of residence?
    - Are mechanisms in place for communication between the CSO and the communities it claims to represent, i.e. does the organisation collect input from and report back to the communities?
    - Are the organisations basic accountability mechanisms effective? How often does the organisation report back? Are feedback meetings documented? Are they organised in a way that allows attendees to participate effectively?

- **The technical capacities of the organisation**
    - What technical skills are needed depends on the area of intervention or specialisation, which should be clearly defined; there is no need to be an "expert in everything"
    - Strategies for capacity-building within the organisation be based on an as objective as possible analysis of its technical strengths and weaknesses
    - To fill the gaps identified when strengths and weaknesses have been analysed, it may be useful to define a policy to strengthen the technical capacities of the CSO. This may include training of staff and/or active members of the organisation and a re-organisation of human resources to ensure that essential areas of expertise are adequately covered.

- **The quality of the organisation's internal management**

The transparency and effectiveness of a CSO's internal management mechanisms can significantly influence its trust capital with partners. CSOs should consider:

- Are the organisation's managing bodies credible and transparent? This requires looking at the distribution of power and responsibility, as well as the level of collective decision making, as a sound balance of power is key to good internal governance.
- Are the accounting system and internal financial control mechanisms reliable? Are there written procedures to manage finances?
- Are procurement and asset management methods efficient and transparent? Are there written procedures for managing assets?
- Are human resources (recruitment, merit-based talent management, etc.) handled fairly and professionally?
- Is the operation of the organisation and its projects regularly subject to independent audits and evaluations?

Annex 3: Practical advice on forming a coalition and drafting an action plan

Speaking as part of a coalition demonstrates the support for reform from a range of diverse groups in society, and it allows you to present a coherent message. Coalitions provide strength in numbers and can help protect individuals and individual CSOs.

To form a coalition:

- **Define shared goals and objectives for your coalition.** Having a clear, written purpose will make your coalition stronger.

- **Determine the rules the coalition will work by:** How are decisions made within the coalition? Who is its spokesperson or spokespeople?

- **Put time and energy into the coalition's process** for discussion, agreement on objectives, and action planning.

- **Set up ways for the coalition members to communicate** by setting up an email list, holding regular meetings, etc.

- **Do not avoid difficult issues or possible obstacles** – put these on the agenda and discuss them.

- **Plan events that will bring coalition members together**, such as watching a relevant video or collecting signatures on a petition.

- **Keep all members informed about progress and changes of policy.** This will maintain good relationships for the future.

To draft an action plan:

The best way to focus and organize your coalition's work is to develop an action plan. It will take some time, and you will probably need to set aside one or two whole days for your coalition members to work together. It may seem like a lot of time to invest in just talking, but it will put you on the right track – together.

It is especially important to ensure that your coalition's goals are reasonable, realistic, and achievable. As you develop your action plan, take into account how much time each person is able to spend on the work, as well as the particular skills and knowledge she brings.

What to include in your action plan

Your action plan should include the following six elements:

1. **A Goal:** This is the overall result you want to see, or the coalition's mission in one sentence. Do not hesitate to make the goal ambitious and broad. It should also be action-oriented and focused on change. For example, "Our goal is that the police service becomes willing and able to meet the needs of women, men, girls, and boys."

2. **Objectives:** These are the approaches by which the goal will be achieved. Make your objectives as specific, concrete, and measurable as possible. Break the problem down into its different elements. For example, "Build the capacity of police officers to recognize and meet the specific security needs of women, men, girls, and boys."

3. **Activities:** These are the things your coalition will do to achieve each objective and contribute to achieving the overall goal. Your activities might include petitions, protests, community meetings, workshops, poster campaigns, meetings with policymakers, training, or radio shows. For the above objective, one activity could be to "Train senior police officers at the National Police Academy on the specific security needs of women, men, girls, and boys."

Think about your target audiences, the people you most want to hear what you have to say. This could be any security sector actor (look back at the list in Section 1), the media, the public—anyone you think can help to make the change you want to see.

Identify potential partners or allies who might give advice, help spread your message, fund you, or work with you. Plan time to approach them.

As you plan each activity, think about the things that could prevent it from being successful. Plan to avoid these problems. For example, if your proposed activity is "Train senior police officers . . ." there is a risk that the senior police officers will not agree to attend the training. So, one activity might be to meet with the police commander to get him or her to agree that officers are required to attend the training.

When you map out the timing of activities include not just the activity or event itself but the preparation and follow-up required. Think about any key dates (e.g., elections, rainy season) that might affect the feasibility of your activities.

4. **Responsibilities:** Your action plan must indicate who will do what and when. This helps everyone in the coalition know what she has agreed to do. Consider whether some activities need to happen before others. Set deadlines and benchmarks. For example, a benchmark might be delivering the first training session for police officers by midyear.

5. **Resources:** Estimate the human, financial, and other resources you need for every part of every activity in the action plan. Human resources include time spent at an actual event and also the time spent in planning and preparation. Financial costs might include phone calls, transport, and venue rental. Other resources might include equipment and means of transport. Your action plan can include activities to obtain more resources, such as fundraising and approaching other CSOs for assistance.

Monitoring and Evaluation: Think about how you are going to monitor your progress and evaluate the impact of each of your activities. This dimension of advocacy is often neglected, but if you do not do it, how will you know that your efforts are getting you any closer to your goal? It is also motivating for everyone involved in your coalition to see the progress and difference you are making. Monitoring assesses your progress implementing your action plan.

• Whether the activities are carried out according to plan;

• If the budget is spent according to plan;

• Whether progress is being made toward meeting the intended goals; and

• What adjustments need to be made to ensure success.

You should monitor on an ongoing basis. For example, host a meeting to gather the coalition once every couple of months to discuss the status of your action plan. Evaluation is where you reflect back on the effort and see what difference it has made. For example, imagine your initial research found that police did not respond well to the specific security needs of women. You then helped to develop and implement new training for police officers. You could now repeat your research to see if police responses have improved.

Source: Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, *A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform* (Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security and DCAF, 2013).

Annex 4: Tool navigator – where to find regional standards and avenues for action for different categories of CSOs

In this tool, the following boxes set out how various types of CSOs can contribute to SSR:

- Box 9 explains how different types of CSO can contribute to security oversight.
- Box 11 gives an example of action that women's organisations can take.
- Box 13 looks at mobilising young people as agents of change with a view to ensuring security for all.
- Box 16 addresses the role of community based organisations.
- Box 19 looks at the contribution of female staff associations in the security sector.
- Box 22 gives examples for human rights organisations.

This tool also presents the **normative foundations** on which CSOs can base theirs work to gain legitimacy in the areas of SSR and SSG:

- Box 1 gives the definition of civil society according to the African Union.
- Box 4 covers the basic concepts of supremacy of civilian authority (Article 2), affirmation of human rights and international humanitarian law (Article 4), financial responsibility (Article 11), and loyalty to constitutional authority (Article 13) as set out in the ECOWAS Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services.
- Boxes 6, 7 and 8 set out, respectively, the articles of the African Union Policy Framework on security sector reform, which defines the concepts of executive control of the security sector, legislative oversight of the security sector and judicial control and oversight of the security sector.
- Box 22 mentions Article 15 of the ECOWAS Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services, on the human rights of armed forces and security personnel.
- Box 27 cites the provisions of the ECOWAS Draft Policy on SSRG for "effective participation of CSOs and the media" in security sector reform and governance.

Additional resources

Alan Bryden, Boubacar N'Diaye and 'Funmi Olonisakin, *Security Sector Governance in West Africa: turning principles to practice* (Geneva: DCAF, 2005), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Security-Sector-Governance-in-West-Africa.

Eden Cole, Kerstin Eppert and Katrin Kinzelbach, *Public Oversight of the Security Sector – A Handbook for Civil Society Organizations* (Geneva: DCAF and UNDP, 2008), www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Public-Oversight-of-the-Security-Sector.

Megan Bastick, *Guidance notes on integrating gender into security sector oversight* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE, OSCE/BIDDH, 2014), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Guidance-Notes-on-Integrating-Gender-into-Security-Sector-Oversight.

Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (eds.), *Gender & Security Sector Reform Toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/BIDDH, UN-INSTRAW, 2008), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Gender-Security-Sector-Reform-Toolkit.

Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, *A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform* (Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security and DCAF, 2013), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/A-Women-s-Guide-to-Security-Sector-Reform

Miranda Gaanderse, *Security for All: West Africa's Good Practices on Gender in the Security Sector* (Geneva: DCAF, 2010), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Security-for-All-West-Africa-s-Good-Practices-on-Gender-in-the-Security-Sector.

Okey Uzoechina, *Security sector reform and governance processes in West Africa: From concepts to reality,* DCAF Policy Paper No. 35 (Geneva: DCAF, 2014), http://www.dcaf.ch/Publications/Security-Sector-Reform-and-Governance-Processes-in-West-Africa-From-Concepts-to-Reality.

ECOWAS, Draft Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance (Abuja: ECOWAS 2015).

ECOWAS, *Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security* (Abuja: CEDEAO, 2001), http://www.dcaf.ch/content/download/252627/3969138/version/1/file/ECOWAS_2001_Protocol-on-Democracy-and-Good-Governance.pdf.

ECOWAS, *Protocol A/P.1/12/99 relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security* (Abuja: CEDEAO, 1999), http://www.dcaf.ch/content/download/252625/3969134/version/1/file/ECOWAS_1999_Protocol-Mechanism-for-Conflict-Prevention.pdf.

ECOWAS, *Supplementary act on the Code of Conduct for Armed Forces and Security Services of ECOWAS* (Abuja: ECOWAS 2011), http://www.dcaf.ch/content/download/430/4496/version/3/file/Supplementary_act_on_the-code_of_conduct_18.08.11.pdf

IMRAP and Interpeace, *Self-portrait of Mali – Obstacles to peace* (Bamako: IMRAP, 2015), http://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/2015_06_12_Self-Portrait_Mali_Obstacles_Peace_EN.pdf.

Open Society Foundations and UNDP, *The Socioeconomic Impact of Pretrial Detention – A Global Campaign* (New York: Open Society Foundations, 2011), https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/socioeconomic-impact-pretrial-detention-02012011.pdf.

African Union, *Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform* (Addis Ababa: African Union, 2013), http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/au-policy-framework-on-security-sector-reform-ae-ssr.pdf.

African Union, *Statutes of the African Union Economic, Social and Cultural Council* (Addis Ababa: African Union, 2002), http://au.int/en/sites/default/files/ECOSOCC STATUTES-English.pdf.

Notes

1. Karen Barnes and Peter Albrecht, "Civil Society Oversight of the Security Sector and Gender" in *Gender & Security Sector Reform Toolkit,* eds., Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek (Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/BIDDH, UN-INSTRAW, 2008).

2. See: http://www.osiwa.org/about-us/what-we-do.

3. Johanna Mendelson Forman, "Human rights and security sector oversight," in *Public oversight of the security sector – a handbook for civil society organizations,* eds., Eden Cole, Kerstin Eppert and Katrin Kinzelbach (Geneva: DCAF and UNPD, 2008).

4. African Union, *Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform* (Addis Ababa, 2013).

5. At the time of publication of this Toolkit, the ECOWAS draft policy framework for security sector reform and governance had been approved by the technical experts representing the ECOWAS member states and is currently going through the process of official adoption by the Heads of State and Government.

6. Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, *A Women's Guide to Security Sector Reform* (Washington DC: The Institute for Inclusive Security and DCAF, 2013).

7. Ratified by the ECOWAS Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs in 2006, this document was still awaiting official adoption by the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government when this Tool was published in 2015.

8. In French, the word *contrôle* means both control and oversight. In English, however, this tool makes a distinction between the two concepts. *Control* refers to a more active management role, such as the direction provided by a Minister through the issuance of guidelines and through monitoring the activities of an agency, or the internal supervision and management of an institution, including through its rules and regulations. *Oversight,* on the other hand, oversight suggests more of a watchdog function and has a more external character, although there is sometimes a certain overlap between the two concepts.

9. For more information, see: www.afjci.net and http://www.palaj-afjci.org/index.php/presentation1/presentation-du-projet1.html

10. See the following reports: "The socioeconomic impact of pretrial detention in Guinea Conakry," 2013, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/ptd-snapshot-guinea-05232013.pdf; "The Socioeconomic Impact of Pre-trial Detention in Ghana," 2013, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/ptd-snapshot-ghana-05232013.pdf; and "The Socioeconomic Impact of Pre-trial Detention in Sierra Leone," 2013, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/ptd-snapshot-sierra-leone-05232013.pdf.

11. See supra note 7.

12. Anthony Adair, "A code of conduct for NGOs: A necessary reform," (London: IEA, 1999).

13. Marina Caparini and Eden Cole, "The Case for Public Oversight of the Security Sector," in *Public oversight of the security sector – a handbook for civil society organizations,* eds., Eden Cole, Kerstin Eppert and Katrin Kinzelbach (Geneva: DCAF and UNPD, 2008).

14. This is a non-exhaustive list; please consult the website for more information.