REPORT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL AND DISCUSSION ON THE UNITED NATIONS AND SECURITY SECTOR REFORM: BETWEEN POLICY AND PRACTICE

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Organized by the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform
co-chaired by Slovakia and South Africa
with the support of UNDPO's Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions
and DCAF – the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance.

Executive Summary

The "High-Level Panel and Discussion on Security Sector Reform: Between Policy and Practice" was divided into two parts – a high-level panel including the launch and review of the book *The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Policy and Practice,* and a roundtable discussion by selected authors of the book. Speakers stressed that significant progress has been made over the past decade in the development of the United Nations norms and principles on security sector reform. However, gaps remain in linking the normative and operational dimensions in United Nations security sector reform support. Participants emphasized the need to strengthen the implementation of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014), including through national action plans, and to expand the scope of the United Nations security sector reform agenda through consultations with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Peacebuilding Commission. The event concluded that the future of the United Nations security sector reform agenda lies in conflict prevention and sustaining peace, necessitating full political commitment from the Member States and the provision of financial resources to enable the United Nations system to provide adequate assistance. The future security sector reform agenda also lies in increasing the representation of women in national security sectors to build inclusive and legitimate institutions, and in enhancing coordination in the delivery of international assistance, both within the United Nations and among international partners.

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High-Level Panel and Roundtable Discussion on Security Sector Reform: Between Policy and Practice

The "High-Level Panel and Discussion on Security Sector Reform: Between Policy and Practice" gathered participants from Member States[1] as well as from the United Nations system,[2] European Union, African Union, World Bank, United States Institute of Peace, Stimson Center, and DCAF.

High-Level Panel

In the first part of the event, Ambassador **Michal Mlynar** of Slovakia called for more people-centred approaches to security sector reform and stressed the importance of strengthening linkages between the development and political dimensions of the United Nations security sector reform assistance. Further opening remarks were delivered by Mr. **Thabo Michael Molefe**, Chargé D'Affaires a.i. of South Africa, who underlined the need to address gaps in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) by strengthening partnerships and gender-responsive approaches. He noted that the legitimacy and effectiveness of United Nations support to national security sector reform

processes depend on the extent to which they are informed by and responsive to regional approaches, and encouraged gathering lessons and perspectives from the organization's vast membership and partnering with the General Assembly.

In his keynote address, H. E. **Tijjani Muhammad-Bande**, President of the General Assembly, recognized the organization's efforts over the last decade to mobilize political commitment from its Member States to advance the normative and operational aspects of security sector reform. He noted the need to "explore new and innovative ways to ensure proper implementation of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) and SDG 16" and emphasized his concurrence with the book's recommendation to "integrate security sector reform into the United Nations sustaining peace agenda more broadly." He underlined the importance of increasing the representation of women in the security forces and stressed that an effective, professional and accountable security sector is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development. The President of the General Assembly noted that the book is a major contribution to efforts to identify remaining gaps, bridge the gap between policy and practice, and articulate the priorities for the future engagement of the United Nations on security sector reform.

[1] Argentina, Afghanistan, Costa Rica, Canada, France, The Gambia, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Republic of Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Sierra Leone, and Slovakia.

[2] Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations Mine Action Service, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Section, UN Women and World Bank.

The book review was delivered by Ambassador **Victoria M. Sulimani** of Sierra Leone, and Mr. David Heari, Director of the Policy, Evaluation and Training Division of the Department of Peace Operations. Ambassador Sulimani called on the United Nations to strengthen its preventive approach to security sector reform. Rather than waiting until the aftermath of conflict, security institutions should be continuously supported to perform their duties under democratic governance and civilian oversight. She also underlined the need for United Nations engagement to be more inclusive, including by promoting women's meaningful participation and by responding to the hybridity of security sectors, which includes, among others, traditional leaders and other non-state actors.

In his book review, Mr. **David Heari** recognized the centrality of the United Nations security sector reform mandates and programmes throughout the conflict-peace continuum. He recalled the positive impact of United Nations efforts in restoring people's trust in state security services after conflicts and in creating an enabling environment for the withdrawal of peace operations.

From the editors of the book, Mr. **Heiner Hänggi**, Deputy Director and Head of the Policy & Research Department of DCAF, emphasized the need to continue supporting security sector reform efforts in a much wider range of contexts than post-conflict settings, and to include broader peacebuilding and development perspectives. With the emancipation of the United Nations security sector reform agenda from its initial narrow focus on post-conflict settings,

discussions on security sector reform support should be expanded beyond the Security Council to include the General Assembly, Peacebuilding Commission, and Economic and Social Council. Mr. **Adedeji Ebo**, Chief of the United Nations Security Sector Reform Unit, traced the gaps between policy and practice in particular to the absence of clarity of roles between the United Nations and other actors supporting security sector reform, deficits in the coherence of the United Nations support architecture, and limited resources and capacities within the organization to implement security sector reform policies. He recommended an implementation framework for the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014), including National Plans of Action, and stressed the need for the United Nations to have the requisite structures, capacities, and tools to support Member States in realising their respective national plans.

Roundtable Discussion

In the second half of the event, the former United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for the Rule of Law and Security Institutions, Mr. **Dmitry Titov**, facilitated the roundtable discussion with selected authors of the book. He suggested that political and technical tools need to be combined to advance the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014).

Presenters briefed on their articles and provided recommendations on relevant policy areas:

On the **financial sustainability of security sector reforms**, Mr. **Bernard Harborne**, Lead Technical Specialist on fragility, conflict, and

violence in the Global Unit of the Social Development Practice at the World Bank, spoke on the role of public-expenditures reviews (PERs) in assessing the state's ability to pay and train personnel, as well as to invest in the necessary infrastructure and operations to deploy professional security services after the withdrawal of peace operations. Despite the potential value of PERs, sector-wide assessments of the financial dimensions of security sector reform seem to be the exception rather than the rule in contemporary practice.

The United Nations and its partners have not sufficiently prioritized PERs or have not had the expertise to address the financing of the security sector. The World Bank, which does possess such expertise, does not share the territorial presence and reach of the United Nations in many conflict-affected and fragile contexts. Thus, more regular partnering on the ground between the United Nations and the World Bank is a practical means to maximize the skill sets of both organizations to support the development of a multilateral platform that strengthens domestic and international engagement in the sector.

Based on a comparative analysis of the United Nations **defence sector reform** mandates and reports, Ms. **Vincenza Scherrer,** Deputy Head of the Policy and Research Division, DCAF, spoke on progress and challenges in advancing United Nations defence sector reform efforts. She noted that since 2006 the United Nations has made significant strides to strengthen the effectiveness of its support to defence sector reform, including by launching its Defence Sector Reform Policy in 2011. Still, efforts to implement some of the

principles and provisions outlined in the Policy have lagged. This includes support to governance and oversight aspects of reform, as well as to the administration, management, and budgetary development. She recommended Member States and the United Nations to increase efforts towards adopting more context-specific and up-to-date mandates; ensuring that defence sector reform support is aligned to a broader security sector reform framework; promoting the primacy of politics by better balancing technical with much needed political engagement; and enhancing efforts to report on progress in the area of defence sector reform, in line with the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014).

Mr. **Anthony Cardon**, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, highlighted that integrating **human rights** into the institutional design and operations of the military, law enforcement, and other security sector actors, as well as into related policy and strategic frameworks, provides an opportunity to align important human rights principles, norms, and standards with the overall objectives of the security sector reform agenda. He recommended the United Nations to continue to have a responsible engagement with security sector actors, considering its Human Rights Due-Diligence Policy for support to non-United Nations security forces.

Ms. **Aditi Gorur**, Senior Fellow and Director of the Protecting Civilians in Conflict Program at the Stimson Center, spoke on the limited consistency between the United Nations **protection of civilians** and security sector reform agendas. She stressed the need to better coordinate the

implementation of both agendas in the context of peacekeeping operations, including by aligning efforts to vet security forces, training these forces on human rights and international humanitarian law, monitoring and reporting on abuses, and responding to communities' security needs.

Ms. **Snezana Vuksa-Coffman**, Deputy Chief of the United Nations Security Sector Reform Unit, spoke on the challenges in **coordinating United Nations security sector reform** efforts and underlined the need to ensure that a senior position is established to lead the United Nations Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force established in 2007 . She recommended the United Nations to strengthen the role of the Task-Force in facilitating dialogues among senior leaders, partners, and national counterparts on security sector reform processes, and in developing methodologies and knowledge products to improve analysis, assessments, and high-level policy advice to Member States and senior United Nations leaders.

Mr. **Christophe Pradier**, Security Sector Reform Officer, United Nations, briefed on the United Nations support to **security sector reform in the Central African Republic**. He emphasized the key role of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) in coordinating international assistance on security sector reform, as mandated by the Security Council. Mr. Pradier recommended enhanced efforts to assist national authorities in strengthening the accountability and inclusivity of the security institutions and ensuring the delivery of decentralized security services.

Mr. **Christopher Sedgwick**, a security sector reform expert and researcher, spoke on the impacts of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) engagement on **security sector reform in Côte d'Ivoire**. Despite UNOCI's success in supporting a range of national security sector reform activities and frameworks, persistent challenges remain following its withdrawal in June 2017. Inclusive national ownership and international support to long-term elements of the reform of the security sector is therefore necessary after the closure of peace operations to address unresolved aspects of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, the cohesion of security forces, as well as issues of social polarization and inequality.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The event concluded that significant progress has been made over the past decade in building political commitment of Member States to the development of United Nations norms and principles on security sector reform. High-level representatives observed that the Security Council has continued to prioritise security sector reform in the mandates of peace operations and established dedicated field capacities. The organization has further succeeded in developing a set of guidelines to direct its assistance to Member States, including the Defence Sector Reform Policy in 2011, the Integrated Technical Guidance Note on Security

Sector Reform in 2012, and in establishing the Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task-Force as a coordination mechanism for the delivery of coherent support. Other United Nations policies, including the twin resolutions on peacebuilding by the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Goal 16 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, and the United Nations-World Bank study, Pathways to Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict, also included security sector reform as a central element of their conflict prevention agendas.

However, gaps remain in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) and Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Agenda, and Member States and the United Nations are encouraged to advance the following priorities:

a) Develop a framework for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014), including through national action plans. Security sector reform is not reserved for a particular group of Member States. It's rather an essential element of conflict prevention in all states. The lack of accountability, professionalism, and inclusivity in the security sectors around the world have too often impacted the capacity of States to respond to the security needs of the population and to contribute to international peace and security. Mr. Ebo noted that a critical component of a solid conflict-prevention approach would be consistent support to Member States for developing inclusive national action plans for security sector governance.

b) Enhance the linkages between security sector reform and conflict prevention. While the nexus between security sector reform and conflict prevention is widely acknowledged by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the conflict prevention agenda has yet to be mainstreamed in the security sector reform mandates and programmes, mainly due to limited funding, capacities, and guidelines to direct security sector reform assistance in this area. In this regard, Ambassador Sulimani of Sierra Leone requested the United Nations to optimise the imperatives of sustaining peace instead of waiting until the aftermath of conflict to undertake security sector reform. In her view, the United Nations should take a more preventive approach, including by supporting security institutions to effectively perform their duties under civilian oversight. Ambassador Mlynar of Slovakia also called for more people-centred approaches to security sector reform and stressed its centrality for the prevention of conflict or relapse into violence.

c) Expand the scope of the security sector reform debate and ensure that it benefits from the perspectives and experiences of the organization's vast and diverse membership, including the General Assembly, the Peacebuilding Commission, and the Economic and Social Council. Mr. Molefe of South Africa underlined that a regional collaborative approach is critical to ensuring the success of security sector reform efforts and encouraged the United Nations system to draw more on the experiences of the organization's vast membership, including through partnering with its General Assembly. Mr. Hänggi also underlined the importance of

emancipating security sector reform discussions from post-conflict settings and within the Security Council, and to broaden its scope by including it in the debates of the General Assembly, Peacebuilding Commission, and the Economic and Social Council. Other speakers emphasised the importance of more south-south exchanges on security sector reform.

d) Strengthen national ownership by promoting the meaningful participation of all segments of society in the security sector, and ensuring that security sector reform initiatives are grounded in a solid understanding of the historical and cultural aspects of the security sectors where the United Nations operates. The President of the General Assembly underlined the importance of national ownership and noted that security sector reform processes require the inclusion of all public entities and stakeholders, including the armed forces, police, judiciary representatives, the legislature, and civil society organizations, as well as armed militias in some contexts. Similarly, Ambassador Sulimani of Sierra Leone recognized that the hybrid nature of security sectors in Africa, which includes, among others, traditional leaders and other non-state actors. Mr. Molefe of South Africa stressed that countries that have more gender balance in their security services enjoy more peaceful environments, and noted that

"increasing the number of women in the security sector should be at the heart of United Nations efforts to build inclusive, accountable and legitimate institutions for sustainable peace and development".

e) Strengthen policy and operational coherence within the United Nations system and among international partners on security sector reform assistance. While the United Nations advocates for coordinated security sector governance at national levels, its own security sector reform support architecture remains fragmented, stated Mr. Ebo. It was also highlighted that the financial implications of the United Nations security sector reform norms and standards are yet to be met, particularly with regards to the organization's coordination function. Within the United Nations Secretariat, challenges remain in ensuring a coordinated approach among key offices engaged in security sector reform. The Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force also needs to be strengthened to coordinate United Nations assistance among its 14 entities at the field level. At the international level, several multilateral and bilateral actors have emerged in the last decade as key providers of security sector reform assistance, which requires enhanced efforts by all partners to clarify roles, divide labour, and share information.

Speeches

Introductory remarks by H. E. Mr. Michal Mlynár, Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic

I am delighted to facilitate the High-Level Panel and Roundtable Discussion on "The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Between Policy and Practice" in my capacity as co-chair of the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform.

I salute all Group of Friends' members, and colleagues present here to launch the book "The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Policy and Practice," edited by two brilliant minds and senior practitioners on security sector reform, Adedeji Ebo from the United Nations Security Sector Reform Unit and Heiner Hänggi from DCAF.

Over a decade since the development of the United Nations approach to security sector reform and some five years since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014), this publication offers us a unique opportunity to appraise the United Nations journey on security sector reform and articulate innovative ideas for its future. It also provides us insights on how to strengthen the linkages between development and security and further enhance the capacity of the United Nations to prevent conflicts and sustain peace.

Our meeting today will entail a high-level session, followed by a roundtable discussion with selected book authors, who will share their perspectives and recommendations on ways to advance the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014).

I thank Your Excellency, Muhammad-Bande, President of the 74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, for your presence here today and for providing us with a keynote speech. Our Group of Friends is grateful for your leadership and support to the security sector reform agenda. I also would like to express my appreciation to all other speakers and authors of the book for participating in our event.

I would like to highlight three main points brought by the book, which, in my view, are critical to the advancement of the United Nations approach to security sector reform.

The first is the importance of strengthening commitment from Member States to the provision of political support and adequate resources to the United Nations system, as to enable the Secretariat and its entities to fully operationalize norms and principles of national ownership, accountability, and effectiveness of the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014). The second is the need for enhanced policy and operational coherence in the delivery of international assistance to national security sector reform processes, both within the United Nations and among partners. The third is the importance of tailoring United Nations assistance to people-centred initiatives with a view of ensuring the building of security institutions capable of responding to the security needs of all. I thank you.

Opening remarks by Mr. Thabo Michael Molefe, Chargé D'Affaires a.i. of South Africa

Mr President,

I am honoured to represent South Africa in this meeting, which is a proud co-chair of the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform, together with our fellow co-chairs and friends from Slovakia.

Allow me to welcome all members of the Group of Friends to this important meeting today, and to thank the President of the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly, H. E. Tijjani Muhammad-Bande, for honouring us with his presence.

I also welcome all our other esteemed guests, including the authors of the book "The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Policy and Practice," to be launched here today. We wish to congratulate our dear security sector reform friends, Adedeji Ebo and Heiner Hänggi, and all the other writers on this accomplishment. This meticulously researched book will make a valuable contribution to the literature in this field, and enhance our understanding of challenges facing the global security sector reform agenda.

Mr President,

Experience in Africa has taught us that State institutions are the first to collapse during conflict situations. Critical organs such as the judiciary, the police, and military are damaged, co-opted, and weakened in these circumstances, contributing to political instability, human rights violations, and societal decline.

In addressing these challenges, security sector reform, as part of a comprehensive and multidimensional peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, is critical to restore order, the rule of law and an enabling environment for the promotion and protection of human rights, which are the bedrocks of functional, prosperous societies. Its importance is recognised in the Sustainable Development Agenda 2030. Goal 16 recognizes effective and accountable security institutions as enablers of sustainable development.

Mr President,

We are also reminded of the importance of security sector reform in the Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014), which recognizes security sector reform as a critical part of the United Nations sustaining peace efforts. It is also explicit in stating that security sector reform must be a nationally-owned process, calling for the sovereign right and the primary responsibility of the States to determine their respective approaches and priorities.

The importance of local ownership in security sector reform cannot be under-emphasized. It is equally vital that security sector reform efforts are supported by flexible, predictable, and sustainable funding.

We look forward to hearing from our speakers today on ways to bridge the gap between the norms and principles of Security Council

Resolution 2151 (2014) and its concrete implementation.

Mr President,

I would like to conclude by emphasizing two main points in terms of advancing the role of United Nations security sector reform in conflict prevention. The first point is on the importance of partnerships. The legitimacy and effectiveness of the United Nations support to national security sector reform processes depends on the extent to which it is informed by and responsive to regional approaches. In Africa, this partnership is driven by the African Union and its security sector reform efforts. This regional collaborative approach is critical to ensuring the success of security sector reform efforts, and we encourage a similar approach elsewhere in the world where security sector reform is a priority and welcome the sharing of lessons and perspectives from other regions. In so doing, we would encourage the United Nations to draw on the organisation's vast and diverse membership, including through partnering with its General Assembly.

Secondly, I would like to emphasise the importance of inclusivity. The reform of security institutions is most impactful when it is inclusive. Last year, our Group of Friends, in partnership with the Group of Friends of Gender Parity, held a high-level discussion on the challenges that remain to promote women's meaningful participation in the security sector. We found that women continue to be subjected to unequal treatment and all forms of discrimination in security sectors around the world. Such exclusion has severely impacted the capacity of States to effectively prevent conflicts, respond to security needs of the population, and contribute to international peace and security. We therefore fully support the analysis that this book brings on gender and emphasise that increasing the number of women in the security sector should be at the heart of United Nations efforts to build inclusive, accountable and legitimate institutions for sustainable peace and development.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Permit me to conclude in reiterating that an inclusive, effective, and responsible security sector is a precondition for long-term peace, security, and stability in all countries. We, therefore, commend your immense contributions to this field and reaffirm South Africa's continued full support to these efforts, and to United Nations-led security sector reform efforts at large. Thank you.

Keynote speech by H.E. Tijjani Muhammad-Bande, President of the United Nations General Assembly

I am grateful to the Permanent Representatives of Slovakia and South Africa for kindly inviting me to address this important Panel and the Roundtable on "*The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Between Policy and Practice.*" I would also like to say that I will not make a review of the book; I will leave this to my dear brothers and sisters. It is an occasion to reflect on this topic;

while also celebrating the publication of an important work on the subject via a launch. Of the latter, I will speak later.

The primary goal of Security Sector Reform is to ensure the provision of effective security to both the state and its people, within a framework of accountability, democratic governance and the rule of law.

Ladies and gentlemen,

All public entities, including security and justice providers, must be held accountable to the people, and operate within a framework of good governance, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. Being a nationally owned process, security sector reform requires the inclusion of all stakeholders.

Security sector reform must be designed and implemented through a consultative process that brings together all actors, including the armed forces, police, judiciary representatives, the legislature, and civil society organizations. In conflict contexts, the inclusion of armed militias should also be necessary. The United Nations peacekeeping operations, special political missions, and security sector reform programmes can play a role in enhancing local coordination of security sector reform initiatives.

Ladies and gentlemen,

You will recall that in 2014 the Security Council adopted Resolution 2151, which recognized security sector reform as a sovereign right and the primary responsibility of the states concerned to determine their respective security sector reform approaches and priorities.

Resolution 2151 reaffirms that an effective, professional, and accountable security sector, without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law, is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development.

Over the years, the United Nations has facilitated political commitment from its Member States to support the normative and operational aspects of security sector reform. It is gladdening to note that the United Nations has moved its security sector reform focus from post-conflict peacebuilding to a more comprehensive peace approach that is sustainable. We should continue to encourage and explore the links between prevention approaches to security sector reform and sustaining peace.

In this regard, the United Nations Security Sector Reform Unit plays an essential role in integrating various United Nations entities to support the reform of various national security institutions including, police, immigration, correction, and military, as well as building security sector capacities.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We should also be mindful that security sector reform is central for achieving the Agenda 2030 on sustainable development. This is evident in particular regarding Goal 16 on promoting peaceful and inclusive societies and effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions.

Security sector reform implementation lies at the core of SDG 16, particularly in many cases where social cohesion, justice, and institutions are fragile.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Conflict prevention is a priority for all of us. It is our collective responsibility to prevent violent conflicts by making use of all the tools developed by the United Nations in particular.

An effective, accountable, and robust security sector reform process can help in preventing conflict with full respect for human rights and the rule of law.

As one of the authors of the book being launched today put it, we need to fully integrate security sector reform into the United Nations sustaining peace agenda more broadly.

We should explore new and innovative ways to ensure proper implementation of Security Council resolution 2151 and SDG 16 to build partnerships at all levels to advance security sector reform.

Ladies and gentlemen,

We have seen that countries that have more gender balance and better reflect all diversities of their populations in their security services usually enjoy more peaceful environments.

We need professional security institutions. We need to make sure that the best of women and men are recruited and have equal opportunities. We need more women in all positions of government and administration. The last report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace, and Security expressly states that increasing the number of women in the security forces is a priority.

Women play pivotal roles in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding. Their meaningful participation in all stages of the security sector reform process should always be encouraged.

I am confident that security sector reform will witness a remarkable transformation with the involvement of more women in leadership roles.

Ladies and gentlemen,

To conclude, I welcome the launch of the book, *"The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Policy and Practice"*. I congratulate the editors of the book, Mr. Adedeji Ebo and Mr. Heiner Hänggi, for your commitment to documenting the security sector reform experiences, practices and lessons learned. I commend DCAF – the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance for publishing this useful book.

This collection of studies from both practitioners and scholars will serve as a reference and tool for debates on security sector reform. It will assist our efforts to identify remaining gaps, bridge the gap between policy and practice, and articulate priorities for the future engagement of the United Nations on security sector reform.

I am confident that today's discussions, led by some of the contributors to the book, will pave the way for the continued advancement of the United Nations security sector reform agenda. Thank yo

Book Review

By H.E. Ms. Victoria M Sulimani, Deputy Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations

I am pleased to be here with you today on the launch of the book "The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Policy and Practice." I commend the Ambassadors of Slovakia and South Africa, co-chairs of the Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform, for hosting this event. My heartfelt congratulations to all the contributors and editors. I trust that the book will be an authoritative reference in the literature of security sector reform.

I am particularly delighted to join this conversation because the theme of the book that is about to be launched is very relevant to my country, Sierra Leone, which is often cited as an example for implementing an ~~of~~ effective and sustainable security sector reform programme. After 11 years of a horrendous civil conflict ~~war~~ that led to the disintegration of our security sector, we took the reform of our security sector as a critical component of nation-building. We embarked upon it with support from the United Nations and the United Kingdom. Today, our experience is not only a major national achievement but a model that other countries in West Africa and the Sahel could get inspiration from.

While the term 'reform' remains the most commonly used, I would rather refer to 'transformation' as a more accurate description of what happened in Sierra Leone. Allow me to offer some nuances and insights of the security sector reform process in Sierra Leone and derive meaningful lessons learned, which – I hope – will reinforce the relevance of this book.

First, this book is particularly valuable in showcasing the importance of national ownership and the involvement of all segments of society in bringing about change. The real success of security sector reform in Sierra Leone was the level of consultation with the population. We learned that regular engagement between the population and the government changes people's perceptions of security institutions and ultimately reduces insecurity. This helps ensure that the foundations of change are stronger and able to survive leadership changes over time.

Second, this book illustrates an important point: security sector reform should not just be limited to the state institutions most immediately affected by conflict. We recognize that the security sector is hybrid; it includes, among others, traditional leaders and other non-state actors who should participate in the security sector reform dialogue. All these actors had to work together in a multidisciplinary manner at the national and local levels; as a result, we decentralized security sector reform, bringing it closer to the beneficiaries of reform by creating structures known as the

District Security Committees, Provincial Security Committees which include traditional leaders, which created the necessary space for security governance collaboration between state and non-state actors.

Third, the book reminds us of why it is important to have a gender-responsive reform process. The security sector reform process in Sierra Leone was not only inclusive of non-state security actors, but also sensitive to the effects of the conflict on women and men, girls, and boys. Owing to their abusive conduct of the military in Sierra Leone, the civilian population lost trust in the army that was supposed to protect them. Since the end of the war, the military has made significant progress to ensure the inclusion of women, including through the establishment of quotas, women's advocacy groups, and active efforts to attract qualified women to leadership roles in the security sector.

Fourth, and another point in the book that I would like to underscore is that we should revisit the very definition of who is a 'donor,' and to emphasize the importance of south-south cooperation in security sector reform. It is indeed very true that donor assistance was and remains key to reforming the security sector in my country.

However, the book reminds us, and I agree that the exchange of experiences between countries who are undergoing or have undergone security sector reform is a veritable form of international assistance. Donors are, therefore, not only those who provide the necessary financial resources, but also those who share useful experiences and

lessons learned from their national reform processes.

In this regard, not only did Sierra Leone benefit from experiences from other West African countries, but we also subsequently contributed our own experiences to the security sector reform process in neighboring Liberia. This also underscores the regional dimension of security sector reform, which is also prominently featured in the book.

Mr. Facilitator, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,

Let me conclude where I started: security sector reform is nationally driven, and specific to the context of each country. If we are to optimize the imperatives of sustaining peace, we should not wait until the aftermath of conflict for us to undertake security sector reform. Good governance of the security sector should be part and parcel of routine national processes. Indeed, we prevent conflict when security institutions are effective in the performance of their duties and are under the oversight of legitimate civilian authorities.

It is this preventive approach to security sector reform that the United Nations should support Member States to undertake, to prevent conflict, and sustain peace.

Once again, congratulations to the contributors and editors. I hope the recommendations put forward in this insightful publication will inform the next steps in the United Nations security sector reform agenda.

Thank you for your attention.

By Mr. David Heari, Director of the Policy, Evaluation and Training Division, Department of Peace Operations

Security is an essential condition for lasting peace and sustainable development. Without a sound governance framework and strong security institutions, states, particularly fragile ones, risk breaching what is possibly their main duty: protecting their citizens from violence.

As this new and timely volume rightly points out, security sector reform is and should be a fundamentally national process. However, where the United Nations has a presence, in mission or non-mission settings, it is our responsibility to offer tailored support and use our resources, technical expertise and best practices to achieve effective and accountable security for the State and its citizens, without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The challenges abound, as the book points out. A comprehensive approach to security sector reform should be anchored in the political reality on the ground, tailored to the specific historical and cultural context, well-coordinated with other partners, appropriately resourced. It should also start from a narrow focus on post-conflict settings and move towards a broader peacebuilding perspective. The most valuable contribution this book makes is the provision of a roadmap based on specific examples and lessons learned from our work in countries like Côte d'Ivoire and the Central African Republic. It identifies current gaps and areas of opportunity and provides practical recommendations on how to address our shortcomings and maximize our impact.

I will focus on three specific issues raised in the book: (i) Civilian protection and security sector reform, (ii) security sector reform and partnerships with regional organizations, (iii) the role in peacekeeping sustaining peace, and preventing conflicts.

Civilian protection and security sector reform

Security sector reform plays a key role when it comes to the protection of civilians, child protection, and the protection against conflict-related sexual violence. Taking the example of the latter, security sector reform initiatives by the United Nations are key avenues to prevent conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) and ensure accountability for perpetrators of CRSV. For instance, security sector reform components can ensure that former armed-group members and other persons who had direct or command responsibility for CRSV are not integrated into reformed State security forces. security sector reform also contributes by promoting the adoption of sound arms-control measures by host-State authorities. security sector reform components can further support the CRSV mandate by systematically incorporating CRSV concerns into national security dialogues, mappings, policies, legislation, and management oversight to support the development of inclusive and effective national defence and security institutions. Our women protection advisors and security sector reform components in the field also contribute to the prevention of CRSV through

capacity building and training to national security and defence forces on CRSV.

Partnering with regional organizations in security sector reform

The important focus on national ownership, in line with A4P and the sustaining-peace approach, also calls for strengthened cooperation on the ground with development partners like the World Bank, which is stepping up its engagement in fragile and conflict-affected countries.

Capitalizing on our partnership with regional organizations is also key for several reasons, including 1) the possibility to leverage the instruments that different actors have at their disposal (the European Union toolbox being a case in point); 2) better coordination and reduction of transactional costs by ensuring that international actors are aligning their support in a smart way and 3) enhanced legitimacy of international support, particularly given the political sensitivities surrounding security sector reform (at the core of state sovereignty). Legitimacy can be enhanced by partnering with actors such as the African Union and regional economic commissions.

The European Union is also a strong security sector reform partner on issues ranging from governance, training, and capacity building. The United Nations and the European Union hold a regular six-monthly steering committee on crisis management, which focuses to a large extent on how to coordinate and dovetail United Nations-European Union security sector cooperation in the field. Examples include partnership between United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali and European Union security sector missions in Central Africa Republic and MINUSCA.

Sustaining peace and preventing conflict

The United Nations system, in its different configurations, can contribute to national efforts to build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions. However, as mentioned earlier, it is ultimately for the national authorities to ensure security and long-term stability. The role and contribution of the United Nations peacekeeping to sustaining peace is multidimensional: while preventing the immediate escalation of conflict and protecting populations, the United Nations peacekeeping also supports sustained peace and security by creating and preserving the space for political processes and enabling longer-term peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict settings. National capacity building and ownership in the security sector is a key priority during the presence of peace operations, and it continues to be one of the critical benchmarks for United Nations-led transitions. This was demonstrated in Liberia, where the transfer of security responsibilities from United Nations Mission in Liberia to national authorities was completed in June 2016, leading the way for the rapid drawdown of the civilian components of the mission, completed in March 2018.

The United Nations peacekeeping provides good offices and policy advice to national counterparts to strengthen their capacities and support them in identifying and addressing national peacebuilding priorities in areas such as the rule of law and the security sector. This is particularly critical where peacekeeping operations prepare to withdraw from host countries. I thank you.

Remarks by Mr. Heiner Hänggi, Deputy Director and Head of the Policy & Research Department of DCAF – Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance

Mr. Facilitator,

Mr. President of the General Assembly,

Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of DCAF – the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance, [1] I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to the Co-Chairs of the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform for kindly hosting this high-level panel; the President of the General Assembly for gracing us with his presence and giving the keynote speech, about which we feel very honoured; the founding and the incumbent Assistant Secretary-General for Rule of Law and Security Institutions for having served as sources of inspiration and encouragement to the editors; the two commentators for generously sharing their reflections on the book with us; the Security Sector Reform Unit for supporting the organization of this event; all the authors for having stood by the project over the years; and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs for their financial support to the publication of this book.

Your endorsements of the book and support to its launch is a testimony of the importance you all attach to the topic at hand; your presence is rewarding for all the contributors to this book, many of whom are here with us today.

My personal insights drawn from this book take the form of two kind reminders and two key recommendations.

Reminder 1: We all agree that security sector reform is a fundamentally national process and a highly political one. Many countries are undergoing reforms in this politically sensitive public sector without calling such processes "security sector reform" and without drawing on external support. This is normal; external support to security sector reform processes is the exception. Nevertheless, due to the lack of substantive experience, technical expertise, financial resources, or institutional capacities, many countries engaged in security sector reform processes draw on external support provided by international actors such as donor governments and multilateral organizations. In such cases, external assistance can be invaluable in making reforms happen. However, the possibility always exists that tension may develop between the

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requirement of national ownership and the imposition of solutions by these external actors, despite the latter often engaging with the best of intentions. This tension is inherent to externally-assisted security sector reform, and it poses a fundamental challenge to both domestic and external actors, including the United Nations. I may be stating the obvious, but it is important to remind ourselves that we are not talking about "doing security sector reform," but about "supporting security sector reform." This is the spirit in which this book was written.

Reminder 2: To address the challenges associated with externally-assisted security sector reform, international actors have developed policy frameworks to guide their own support for national security sector reform processes. This also applies to the United Nations, which, over the years, has developed an extensive policy and guidance framework based on one Security Council resolution, two Secretary-General reports, and a body of guidance tools with the ITGNs at its core. Although developed six to twelve years ago, this normative body remains valid to this day. For example, the ten basic principles of United Nations engagement in security sector reform support – outlined twelve years ago in the Secretary-General's first report on security sector reform – have not lost any of their relevance. They demonstrate a degree of clarity and coherence, which is rarely found in international policy documents. Thus, the problem is not the policy framework. The problem, as discussed in this book, is the disconnect between institutional policy and operational practice. This key finding does not devalue the existing United Nations policy and

guidance framework for security sector reform support – on the contrary, it is a call to revitalize and stand by it.

Recommendation 1: When security sector reform first emerged on the United Nations policy agenda, for political reasons, it was largely confined to the involvement of peacekeeping operations in post-conflict security-sector reconstruction. Starting from this initial narrow focus on post-conflict settings, the United Nations approach to security sector reform later evolved to include broader peacekeeping and development perspectives. This emancipation process is still work in progress. Indeed, one main challenge identified in this book is how to best deliver security sector reform support in a much wider range of contexts than post-conflict settings. One key recommendation ensuing from this analysis is to fully integrate the United Nations approach to security sector reform into the two recent global policy agendas, for they both reflect the two paradigmatic contexts of security sector reform. That is, the sustaining-peace and prevention agenda, and – as emphasized by the President of the General Assembly – the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, in particular Goal 16 on peaceful, just, and inclusive societies, which calls for the development of effective, accountable, and transparent institutions. That "an effective, professional and accountable security sector ... is the cornerstone of peace and sustainable development and is important for conflict prevention" was set out in Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014). If we want security sector reform support to stay relevant in the United Nations portfolio, it will be important, going forward, to demonstrate how

United Nations support to security sector reform effectively contributes to the implementation of these two global policy agendas.

Recommendation 2: The second key recommendation follows from the first one. The initial point of departure is the fact that security sector reform was formally put on the United Nations agenda by the Security Council and that the Council is still perceived as the lead actor on security sector reform within the organization – as was reiterated in Security Council Resolution 2151. However, the emancipation of security sector reform from its initial narrow focus on post-conflict settings increasingly demonstrates the limits of this arrangement. As a result, the role of other United Nations organs is becoming increasingly vital in the security sector reform process, in particular the Peacebuilding Commission, which brings the governing bodies on development and security together, as well as the ECOSOC and the General Assembly, both of

which have adopted the 2030 Agenda. Also of note in this context are, of course, the twin resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council on peacebuilding and sustaining peace. It is therefore not surprising that this book recommends the General Assembly to increase its engagement in security sector reform to complement the work of the Security Council when it comes to addressing security sector reform support in both the contexts of sustaining peace and of sustainable development. Some contributors even call for the adoption of a General Assembly resolution on security sector reform.

Against this backdrop, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is particularly encouraging that the President of the 74th General Assembly has clearly shown his interest in this topic and accepted the invitation to participate in the launch of this book. This is very much appreciated – thank you once again!

Remarks by Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Chief of the Security Sector Reform Unit of the United Nations Office of the Rule of Law and Security Institutions, Department of Peace Operations

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank the Co-Chairs of the United Nations Group of Friends of Security Sector Reform for hosting this high-level panel and the President of the General Assembly for his keynote speech. I am also grateful to the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone and the Director of

DPET for the book review, as well as to the authors of the book and DCAF for all its support.

Much has been achieved since the United Nations developed its security sector reform approach over a decade ago. Security sector reform teams have been established in the field, in both peacekeeping and non-peacekeeping contexts, even though peacekeeping was admittedly the

entry point of security sector reform into the United Nations agenda. Normative frameworks have been established, including through two reports of the Secretary-General in 2008 and 2013 and a dedicated Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014).

Strategic partnerships have been created, including the African Union, European Union, World Bank, Economic Community of West African States, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and several think tanks and civil society organizations, including DCAF.

Through the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes on Security Sector Reform, United Nations staff have been provided with operational tools on delivery in the field.

However, significant gaps remain between policy and practice, as detailed in the book:

- First, while the United Nations advocates and promotes coherent and coordinated security-sector governance at national levels, the coherence of its own security sector reform support architecture remains fragmented.

- Second, while partnerships have been created with several multilateral and bilateral actors, clarity of roles, and therefore the division of labour between various actors, is still emerging. This makes international coordination particularly challenging.

- Third, the resource implications of United Nations security sector reform norms and standards are yet to be met, particularly in

sector-wide dimensions such as oversight, national security policies and strategies, as well as in cross-cutting areas, such as gender equality.

- Fourth, national ownership remains much advocated as a key principle of security sector reform support. However, a common understanding and contextualized application of the concept remains necessary.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Good governance of the security sector is a major pathway to preventing conflict and sustaining peace. The lack of accountability, professionalism, and inclusivity in the security sectors around the world have impacted the capacity of States to effectively prevent conflicts, respond to the security needs of the population, and contribute to international peace and security. The reform of the security sector is a national responsibility, and it is the role of the United Nations to support states in such efforts. In this regard, United Nations member-states are strongly encouraged to voluntarily develop National Action Plans for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) on security sector reform. Such action plans would operationalize the normative principles advocated by 2151, within specific national contexts and based on national security policies and strategies.

Thank you.

Book Summary

While security sector reform is fundamentally a nationally-led process, many countries draw on support from external actors who offer financial resources, technical expertise, and lessons learned from other contexts. Multilateral organizations, and the United Nations, in particular, play a vital role in supporting national efforts to make security provision, management, and oversight more effective and accountable. Security sector reform was formally added to the agenda of the United Nations in 2007-2008. Since then, there has been a concerted effort to achieve an organization-wide approach to security sector reform, evolving from a narrow focus on peacekeeping to include broader peacebuilding and development perspectives.

This publication goes beyond theory to draw on the practical experiences of United Nations staff members as well as external security sector reform experts. Together, they offer an in-depth exploration of the United Nations approach to security sector reform from a global perspective. Their contributions are worthy testimonies to the challenges of multilateralism in security sector governance and reform, as well as the many results achieved thus far.

Chapter 1: Conceptualising the United Nations support to security sector reform

Heiner Hänggi

Security sector reform is a fundamentally national process. Nevertheless, many countries that are engaged in security sector reform processes draw on support from external actors offering financial resources, technical expertise, and lessons learned in various contexts. As a result, multilateral organizations have been influential in shaping security sector reform agendas by developing normative frameworks and providing a range of security sector reform support on the ground. This applies in particular to the United Nations, which has undertaken a concerted institutional effort over the last decade to achieve a consolidated, organization-wide approach to security sector reform, starting from an initial narrow focus on post-conflict settings, and evolving further to include broader peacebuilding and development perspectives. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide a framework and some benchmarks against which United Nations support to security sector reform, as discussed in this volume, can be better assessed. Following a brief discussion of the security sector reform concept, with a particular focus on the United Nations context, the chapter traces the development of the United Nations extensive policy framework which outlines a set of shared principles and standards, normative and operational roles in the context of security sector reform support, and the institutional capacities that enable the United Nations to support security sector reform processes.

Part I: Contexts

Chapter 2: The United Nations and Security Sector Reform: Between the primacy of politics and the echoes of context

Eboe Hutchful

Because security sector reform is at its core a political process, specific political contexts have a significant impact on the security sector reform interventions pursued in various countries, as well as their potential outcomes. While the United Nations has played a leading and unique role in defining the principles and normative frameworks that should guide security sector reform processes, this chapter posits that a combination of political factors and contextual specificities continue to identify and constrain the impact of reform. A particular focus is on the political challenges associated with stabilization and state authority, as well as on interventions where political contexts and leaders "are not what they seem." With the growing consensus that security sector reform must be reimagined, this chapter identifies and discusses a number of considerations going forward: (i) taking governance, and the "political" in security sector reform, seriously; (ii) rethinking the security-development nexus; (iii) engaging security and justice actors and institutions beyond the State; (iv) dealing with armed non-state actors; and (v) strengthening social inclusion – less state-building, more nation-building and social cohesion.

Chapter 3: The United Nations approach to security sector reform from a development perspective

Alejandro Alvarez, Marije van Kempen, and Helen Olafsdottir

Since the first debates surrounding the security-development nexus, the United Nations approach to security sector reform has necessarily adapted to changing times and specific contexts. By tracing how the United Nations security sector reform agenda has evolved on the political, institutional, and operational levels from a development perspective, this chapter identifies several key challenges that have emerged as the United Nations security sector reform agenda has progressed. Security sector reform has frequently been misconstrued as exclusively a national-security project, rather than a development priority. Generalized blueprints have also tended to dominate over context-specific plans, with an impact on policy and institutional structures. Financing remains unpredictable, and monitoring and evaluation of security sector reform support is limited. One of the most critical priorities for the United Nations security sector reform support from a development perspective is to demonstrate the effects of security sector reform on the accountability and effectiveness of security institutions, and that this heightened accountability and efficacy has led to increased safety, security, poverty reduction, and human development.

Chapter 4: From peacebuilding to sustaining peace and preventing conflict: What role for security sector reform?

'Funmi Olonisakin, Adedeji Ebo, and Alagaw Ababu Kifle

The last two decades have witnessed a range of intra-state conflicts across the developing world that have led to the breakdown of states and humanitarian crises of various proportions. In the course of addressing these challenges, United Nations policy has moved from post-conflict peacebuilding to a more comprehensive sustaining peace approach, which is central to the

United Nations security sector reform agenda. Based on the linkages between peacebuilding and security sector reform, this chapter identifies and discusses a number of key elements to consider as the United Nations moves towards a more preventive, sustaining peace approach, including (i) the political nature of security; (ii) the recognition that transformation does not occur overnight; (iii) the United Nations comparative advantage with "helping states help themselves"; (iv) the impact of regionalism and multiple levels of security governance; (v) the imperative that fragmentation necessitates "working better together"; and (vi) the importance of funding.

Part II: Case studies

Chapter 5: Sustaining peace in West Africa: United Nations security sector reform support in non-mission settings

Badreddine El harti

Through United Nations Security Council mandates, security sector reform has been progressively introduced in conflict settings to support political and peace processes, mainly where mediation attempts rely on the adherence of armed groups to peace agreements. While lessons learned from past peace agreements mediated by the United Nations have formed some of the basis for longer-term and preventative security sector reform approaches over the past decade, experiences from recurring the United Nations engagements, the re-emergence of threats to peace following the withdrawal of the United Nations peace operations, and the perception of "mission creep", raise concerns. In this chapter, cases from West Africa, including Burkina Faso, Mali, and Guinea,

will be referenced to delineate the contours and challenges of United Nations security sector reform support in conflict prevention settings and further shed light on how those experiences have benefited from South-South lessons learned, including from neighbouring post-conflict experiences, to explore untapped opportunities.

Chapter 6: United Nations support to security sector reform in peacekeeping contexts: A case study of Côte d'Ivoire

Ely Dieng, Adedeji Ebo, and Christopher Sedgwick

In 2010, Côte d'Ivoire witnessed a post-electoral crisis that resulted in protracted turmoil and unrest. Between 2011 and 2017, the UNOCI worked with different national stakeholders and supported various Government-led security sector reform initiatives. This chapter analyses the impact of UNOCI's security sector reform engagement in Côte d'Ivoire, focusing on support for (i) national security sector reform policy and strategy; (ii) sensitization and national dialogues on security sector reform; (iii) efforts to decentralize security; (iv) democratic oversight and security legislation; and (v) coordination of the United Nations and international security sector reform efforts. Despite UNOCI's success in supporting a range of national security sector reform activities and frameworks, persistent challenges remain, and the transformative impact of reform will continue to be a direct function of the political underpinnings of reform and the quality of social cohesion and national reconciliation. This chapter ends with a call to address a number of urgent challenges going forward.

Chapter 7: United Nations support to security sector reform in peacekeeping contexts: A case study of the Central African Republic

Adedeji Ebo, Christophe Pradier, and Christopher Sedgwick

The Central African Republic faces longstanding challenges with a security sector that has historically been focused primarily on the capital (Bangui), is known to be exclusionary and unaccountable, and lacks legitimacy among much of the population. Insufficient domestic political will, weak statutory institutions, inefficient coordination mechanisms, and limited international commitment have hindered past security sector reform attempts in the Central African Republic. This chapter traces the evolution of security sector reform in the Central African Republic since 2005, including the roles of the Economic Community of Central African States and the African Union. The mandate and work of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission since its deployment in 2014 is examined in detail. With the security sector reform process still ongoing, this chapter argues that the future of security sector reform support in the Central African Republic depends on expanded work by the United Nations and international partners in further strengthening coordination, enhancing accountability and oversight, expanding security services beyond Bangui, developing a culture of inclusivity towards a security sector that serves all citizens, and bolstering the country's ability to respond to internal and external threats.

Part III: Themes

Chapter 8: Preventing and resolving conflict: security sector reform and national security policies, strategies, and plans

Jared Rigg

In fragile and conflict-affected contexts, national-security policies, strategies, and plans (NSPSPs) are critical to the success of security sector reform. Not only do these documents provide the strategic framework required for effective security sector reform, but they also guide security sector budgeting and financing, and help improve the social contract between a state and its people. The United Nations approach to NSPSPs is based on principles laid out in its broader approach to security sector reform.

Prioritising national ownership, the 2012 Integrated Technical Guidance Note on the United Nations support to National Security Policy- and Strategy-Making Processes also stresses the need to incorporate a human-rights perspective. This chapter identifies a number of important challenges and opportunities for the United Nations support to NSPSP development in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, including the urgent need to develop NSPSP frameworks, and the need for development and implementation of national-security plans beyond security sector reform.

Chapter 9: United Nations field operations' contribution to defence-sector reform

Vincenza Scherrer and Alba Bescos Pou

The effectiveness and accountability of defence institutions is a key element for sustaining peace. Given their dominant power and potential for

coercion, reforms in this field should seek to address key governance gaps. The United Nations has recognised the need for a shift in its approach to defence sector reform support, as reflected in its first-ever Defence Sector Reform Policy in 2011. This chapter offers a comparative analysis of the mandated and reported on support to national defence sector reform efforts by United Nations field operations, with a particular focus on peacekeeping operations and special political missions with DSR-specific or security sector reform-related mandates. The analysis highlights the increasing involvement of the United Nations in assisting national actors to reform defence institutions and examines the extent to which this support is aligned to the provisions of the DSR Policy. The chapter underlines the need to increase efforts to frame DSR support through an institution-building lens and identifies opportunities to strengthen mandating and reporting practices in line with broader United Nations reform efforts.

Chapter 10: Strengthening the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and security sector reform nexus: a practitioner's personal reflections

Ayaka Suzuki

As a time-bound process, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration is aimed at transitioning fighters from active combatant status to civilian life and is a programmatic intervention meant to support political aims, such as the implementation of a peace agreement or post-conflict reduction of armed personnel. Conversely, security sector reform is usually a longer-term process meant to enhance both the

provision and governance of security, with support increasingly taking place not only in the context of post-conflict peacekeeping but also in preventative special political missions and non-mission settings. Recognising that synergy between the two processes is difficult to achieve due to the inherently political nature of both, this chapter argues that there is a need for new types of engagement to strengthen the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration-security sector reform nexus in peace operations. This includes: (i) increasing the political links to and between security sector reform and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; (ii) pairing disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programming with an security sector reform strategy; (iii) enabling better planning for missions and improved linkages; and (iv) developing further guidance to reflect the evolution in practice.

Chapter 11: Conflicting means, converging goals: civilian protection and security sector reform

Fairlie Chappuis and Aditi Gorur

While the protection of civilians and security sector reform agendas share the same goal of human security, the lack of clarity and consistency in approaches to implementation inevitably leads to friction. In the context of United Nations peacekeeping, this stems from two main differences between the protection of civilians and security sector reform and relates to conflicting (i) short- and long-term objectives and (ii) relations with the host-state government. This chapter argues that an approach to protection of civilians and security sector reform that treats them as

separate but overlapping agendas provide opportunities to implement both in more complementary ways, with tasks that constitute both such as the vetting of security forces, training for these forces on human rights and international humanitarian law, and monitoring and reporting on abuses by these forces. At the same time, this helps to identify potential points of friction that stem from their different approaches to promoting physical security. Ensuring that protection of civilians and security sector reform activities respond to the perceptions of communities to strengthen a mission's impartiality further offers an entry point to mitigating this friction.

Chapter 12: Following the money: The role of public financial management in security sector reform

Thorodd Ommundsen, Bernard Harborne, and Rory Keane

One major question facing states undergoing reform, and the peace operations supporting them, is how the reconstitution of the security apparatus will be resourced and sustained in an accountable and transparent way.

Drawing upon the work of the Department of Peace Operations and the World Bank, this chapter discusses the impact of the Public Expenditure Review (PER), a tool that has been widely employed to assess questions such as the affordability, efficiency, and effectiveness of government allocations in the context of a country's macroeconomic framework and sectoral priorities. In elaborating the critical role PERs have played in placing issues of affordability and sustainability at the heart of policy dialogue

in the security sector, this chapter also discusses the efforts towards the strengthening of public budgeting as it relates to two critical tasks of government: (i) public expenditure policy, particularly regarding fiscal stability, efficiency, and effectiveness; and (ii) public financial management of budget implementation and systems.

Chapter 13: Human rights and United Nations engagement with security sector reform

Anthony Cardon and William Lifongo

While historically, the relationship between security and human rights practitioners has been strained at times, much progress has been made in recent years. The cross-cutting nature of human rights and their contribution to peace and security, as well as to development and governance initiatives, makes their integration into security sector reform processes essential to achieving the mutually shared objectives of the United Nations system and security actors in local contexts. This chapter (i) situates human rights as a key component of security, (ii) addresses certain recurring myths or misunderstandings about the relationship between human rights and security sector reform, and (iii) considers the specific implications of the Human Rights Due Diligence Policy for United Nations support to non- United Nations security forces and security sector reform efforts.

Chapter 14: The United Nations approach to gender-responsive security sector reform

Sarah Douglas

A growing body of Security Council resolutions has followed the landmark resolution 1325 (2000)

on women, peace and security to call on Member States and United Nations entities to consider women's security as a matter of national and international security, while the Secretary-General's 2008 report on security sector reform affirmed the centrality of a gender perspective to security sector reform. If security sector reform initiatives are to be far-reaching and sustainable, they must be gender-sensitive, including by focusing on the role of women in gender-responsive security sector reform. This chapter highlights four modes of support that have proved effective in promoting gender-responsive security sector reform, namely: (i) increasing women's participation in uniform and in decision-making; (ii) establishing institutional policies and mechanisms to promote gender-sensitive security sector reform and service delivery; (iii) building on indigenous security and justice mechanisms where appropriate; and (iv) facilitating partnerships between local women's organisations and security institutions.

Part IV: Partnerships

Chapter 15: National ownership and security sector reform: Towards a common framework for action

Adedeji Ebo

National ownership is widely recognised to be essential for the viability and sustainability of security sector reform processes. However, its operationalization and application face several challenges, ranging from a lack of conceptual clarity to political realities. This chapter discusses the basic elements of an security sector reform process based on national ownership: (i) a common national security vision; (ii) national

implementation capacity; (iii) monitoring and evaluation; and (iv) financing, including mobilization, allocation, and public expenditure. Challenging realities faced by the United Nations identified in this chapter include: resisting the pressure of expediency and ensuring follow-up; placing the people at the heart of reform efforts; noting that national ownership extends beyond 'state ownership'; the need for United Nations mission leadership to back national ownership at the highest level. While national capacity is an essential element of ownership, capacity development cuts both ways, as related to the capacity of both national and international actors.

Chapter 16: Enhancing the inter-agency coordination of United Nations assistance to security sector reform

Snezana Vuksa-Coffman

Since 2007, the United Nations Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force has been tasked with ensuring that support provided in the aftermath of conflict is aligned with the long-term needs of sustainable development and national capacity building. This chapter examines inter-agency support at both headquarters and country levels; it discusses the successes and challenges in enhancing the coherence of security sector reform efforts in the field and how to ensure successful transitions from post-conflict to long-term development support. It concludes by recommending that the Task-Force should (i) develop more knowledge, analysis, and advocacy to strengthen the practice of international coordination of security sector reform support; (ii) further enhance its function as a facilitator of dialogue and work with senior leaders, partners,

and national counterparts to strengthen international dialogue on security sector reform processes in the field; (iii) remain focused on developing methodologies and knowledge products to improve analysis, assessments, and high-level policy advice to Member States and senior United Nations leaders.

Chapter 17: Better together: Partnering with regional organizations in security sector reform

Kristiana Powell and Norman Mlambo

Since the 1992 Agenda for Peace, collaborating with regional organisations has been a priority for the United Nations, particularly with regards to preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peace-making, and post-conflict peacebuilding. However, some limitations to partnerships remain, such as the different normative bases and priorities for security sector reform, the recipient/provider divide, and the lack of clarity related to roles and dedicated counterparts. This chapter focuses on the United Nations – African Union partnership and elaborates on the two pillars that have underpinned this collaboration: (i) United Nations support for the development of an African Union Security Sector Reform Policy Framework, and (ii) building the capacities of the African Union to implement this Framework across the continent.

Part V: Conclusions

Chapter 18: United Nations support to security sector reform: From peacekeeping to sustaining peace

Adedeji Ebo

Since the first report on security sector reform by the Secretary-General in 2008, security sector reform has moved from the periphery to the centre of the United Nations peacekeeping and peacebuilding agenda. Normative frameworks and guidance have been developed and operationalized both at headquarters and in the field. The United Nations has, within political and organizational constraints made substantive progress in positioning security sector reform as a critical element of multidimensional peacekeeping, with a primarily post-conflict focus. This concluding chapter suggests that there is a need and opportunity to fully integrate security sector reform into the United Nations sustaining-peace agenda more broadly, spanning the entire peace spectrum to cover conflict prevention, stabilization, and post-conflict contexts. Drawing on the experiences captured in the book, the chapter outlines several recommendations to the next-generation United Nations security sector reform agenda. These include, but are not limited to the development and operationalization of a framework for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) on security sector reform, including National Action Plans; the demystification of security sector reform and building legitimacy through national security dialogues; taking steps to address the hybridity of the security sector; partnership building between various actors; and the enhancement of South-South cooperation in security-sector governance and reform. ◾