A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS IN

CENTRAL AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF

CONGO, NORTHERN KATANGA PROVINCE, 2011-2014

BY

NGOY KAFULA PASTA

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ABSTRACT

This research study sought to investigate the effectiveness of the security sector reforms (SSR) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), particularly in the Northern Katanga Province, between the years 2011-2014. The purpose of the study was to establish the contribution of security sector reform in promoting sustainable peacebuilding and development for citizens of DRC, in particular the Northern Katanga province. The main problem in the study was to understand the success that the SSR has been in bringing peace and security and the reason of continuous instability in the Northern Katanga Province. The study showed that there is insecurity, killings, and numerous number of human rights violations which are still prevalent in the Northern Katanga since the escape of Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga in 2011. This research study made an attempt to understand how SSR has evolved and analyzed its role in the process of bringing an end to the conflict. It observed that the realization of the governance and transformation is dependent on DRC's stability. The study argues that the stability of DRC is dependent on how questions of security are undertaken for the protection of the citizens and their belongings. Developing its security sector is central to realizing durable peace. While it too early to assess the whole process in the DRC, this study seeks to highlight some issues emerging as action points to policy and practice.

Key words: Safety, Security, Justice, Peace, Stability and Development

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work except where sources have been acknowledged. The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be, to another University in the awarding of a degree.

STUDENT………………………………… DATE……………………………

Signature

SUPERVISOR……………………………. DATE……………………………..

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFL:	Armed Forces of Liberia
AMISOM:	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA:	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU:	Africa Union
CNDO:	National Congress for the Defense of the People
CPA:	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CS:	Civil Society
CSO:	Civil Society Organization
DDR:	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DFID:	Department for International Development
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
FARDC:	Armed Forces of Democratic Republic of Congo
FDLR:	Democratic Forces of the Liberation of Rwanda
FFP:	Fund For Peace
GoSS:	Government of Southern Sudan
ICSS:	Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan
IDP:	Internally Displaced Person
IDDRS:	Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards
IGA:	Incoming Generating Activity
IMF:	International Monetary Funds
INC:	Interim National Constitution
MONUSCO:	United Nations Organization, Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

MoU:	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NSP:	National Security Plan
NSSP:	National Security and Stabilization Plan
OAG:	Other Armed Group
OCHA:	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PCRD:	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PNC:	Congolese National Police
PSC:	Peace and Security Council
RECs:	Regional Economic Communities
SAF:	Sudan Armed Forces
SPLA:	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SSR:	Security Sector Reform
TWP:	True Whig Party
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR:	United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNMIL:	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS:	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNSOM:	United Assistance Mission for Somalia
US:	United States
WFP:	World Food Programme

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a vast country, the size of Western Europe and home to sixty million people (Jason, 2012). For centuries the Congo has held a fascination for outsiders. In 1885, during the scramble to divide Africa among colonial powers, King Leopold II (1835-1909), claimed the country as his personal fiefdom. Colonial officers created a draconian system forced labor during which they killed or mutilated hundreds of thousands and pushed millions of others to starvation or death from disease (Jason, 2012). This brutality prompted the first international human rights campaign. Under pressure King Leopold II capitulated and handed the country over to the Belgian government in 1908.

Due to economic negligence and exploitation by the Belgian government, nationalists such as Patrice Emery Lumumba (1925-1961), Joseph Kasavubu (1910-1969) and others fought for independence. However, the coming of independence on the 30th June 1960 did not bring peace. The achievement of the Congo independence was a result of a widespread and increasingly radical pro-independence movements. Congo Free State became Republic of Congo under Patrice Lumumba as Prime minister and Joseph Kasavubu as President. Poor relations between factions within the Congo, the continued involvement

of the Belgian government in Congolese affairs led to conflict which was to last for five years, known as the Congo crisis, from 1960 to 1965.

However, following the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, the first legally elected prime minister, Joseph Desire Mobutu (1930-1997), took over power by coup in 1965. He was well known for his extravagance, he embezzled US$ 5 Billion in aid money that Zaire, now DRC received from the International Monetary Funds (IMF), during his reign, leaving the country saddled with debt (Denny, 2004). During the rule of Joseph Desire Mobutu, there was no peace at all, as he was responsible for the establishment of a one party state, torture and murder to suppress other nationalists such as Pierre Mulele (1929-1968), Jean Nguza Karl-i-Bond (1938-2003) and others who were fighting for democracy. However, Mobutu Sese Seko was removed from power by Laurent Kabila through a coup in 1996.

Since the rise of Laurent Desire Kabila (1939-2001) in 1996 up to date, the DRC has remained one of the most destructive and violent conflict areas in the world, which has left almost six million dead (UNW, 2002). Rwanda and Uganda invaded the eastern DRC in early 1995, in an effort to root out the perpetrators of the genocides in Rwanda hiding in the eastern DRC. A coalition comprised of the Ugandan and Rwandan armies, along with Congolese opposition leader Laurent Desire Kabila, eventually defeated dictator Mobutu and the Congolese army. In 1998, President Laurent Kabila ordered Rwandan and

Ugandan to leave the eastern DRC, then the conflict started, the DRC against the trio Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi which has left numerous violations of Human Rights, including torture and rape, have occurred in the DRC during the conflict (UNW, 2010).

After the assassination of Laurent Kabila in 2001, his son Joseph Kabila was appointed president. It was during this period that the Tutsi led militia group, the National Congress for the Defense of the people (CNDO) representing the interest of Tutsi and led by Laurent Nkunda, became more active in pursuing the Democratic forces of the liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) in eastern Congo. The conflict has left almost six million dead, numerous violations of human rights, including torture and rape. The DRC has been appropriately acknowledge as 'the rape capital of the world" (UNW, 2010). While the country has been trapped in conflict, the use of rape and torture as a weapon of war has been rampant and unyielding. 78% of women have been subject to rape and torture during the conflict (Julie, 2009). Since the establishment of Security Sector Reform in 2002, violence continues to occur on a massive scale in the DRC, with an intensity and frequency that the UN official called "worse than anywhere else in the world" (UNW, 2002:10). In Northern Katanga the situation is considered as a misnomer as high levels of insecurity since the escape of Kyungu Mutanga Gedeon in prison in 2011. He established a rebel group named Mayi-Mayi in 2011. Together, they are committing atrocities, with the population destitute and exposed to high rates of crime; the government structures remain weak and largely ineffective, and also the political tensions between the government and other opposition

political parties (Jackson et al, 2012). Neither SSR nor demobilization, disarmament and reintegration activities have been a priority for the government, whose authority is heavily contested. In the light of the above background, the researcher was motivated to establish an assessment of the SSR in the DRC in particular in the Northern Katanga province from 2011up to 2014.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Pervasive insecurity in the northern Katanga since 2011 has allowed armed groups such as Mayi-Mayi Bakata Katanga to perpetrate mass atrocities, crimes against the civilian population. The number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Northern Katanga province has soared to almost 600.000, and thousands of human rights violations such as violence against women, forced recruitment of children, large-scale looting, including killings, torture and sexual violence have been committed (Abegunda, 2013). Mayi Mayi Bakata Katanga are advocating for the establishment of an autonomous Katanga State. Mayi Mayi fighters led by Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga from 2002-2007 have been known for their brutality and their attacks against the civilian population. At the core of the group's rebellion is the issue of unequal wealth distribution from the province's highly profitable mineral exports. This has laid the foundations for sustained insecurity in the province. The situation has been much more unstable since the escape from prison of the Mayi Mayi commander known as Gedeon Kyungu in September 2011. Returning to his former fiefdom in the area between Mitwaba and Manono, he has mobilized many of his

former fighters and forcibly recruited a large number of children usually around the age of 14. In this second round of fighting, the attack has mostly targeted villages in the so-called "triangle of death" in Manono, Mitwaba and Pweto territories, but the violence has also engulfed the previously stable Malemba-Nkulu, Lubudi and Kambove territories., In view of the current political instability in the northern Katanga, having been caused by Mayi Mayi rebel group and other insurgences, the researcher was inspired to investigate into the role played by Security sector Reform in the attempt to deliver effective and efficient security and justice in the above stated Province.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to establish the contribution of Security Sector Reform in promoting sustainable development and peace building for the citizens of DRC, in particular the Northern Katanga province.

1.3 Significance of the study

The contributions of the study would be of interest to scholars in Peace and Governance, the community, the practicing leaders as well as the whole world about the SSR, which has become a central component in peace building in the world and to overcome the cycle and causes of fragility. The study will also contributes to the existing body of knowledge in the area of peace and conflict resolution in Africa and beyond.

The findings of the study would also be useful to political leaders and all stakeholders, who are putting their effort in the DRC and Northern Katanga in particular in bringing sustainable peace and stability.

1.4 Assumptions of the study

Assumptions are things that the researcher is going to take to be true without checking whether or not they are. The SSR discourse has progressed through several stages, from debates which connected the notion to poverty alleviation, good governance and sustainable development to those which consider it as vital to professionalization of the security establishment and its treatment as an underpinning factor in peace and state building.

The SSR has greatly contributed to provide practical support to the Congolese government for the integration of the Congolese army and good governance in the field of security, it has contributed to improving interaction between the police and the criminal justice system and also to the peace process in the Northern Katanga province in police matters related to questions of equality between sexes, human rights, children in armed conflicts. It has greatly contributed to the promotion of peace and security and justice delivery in the Northern Katanga province.

1.5 Research objectives

The objectives of the study are as follow:

1. To critically explore the role of SSR from 2011 to 2014 in bringing peace and security in the Northern Katanga province

2. To establish the main reasons behind the perpetration of instability in the DRC after the implementation of the Security Sector Reforms in 2002.

3. To make recommendations for how the best way the SSR can be made more effective.

1.6 Research questions

1. What has caused the continuous instability in the Northern Katanga Province of DRC?

2. What is the role of SSR in bringing peace and security in the northern Katanga province between the years 2011-2014?

3. How best can the SSRs become more effective in bringing peace to DRC?

1.7 Delimitation of the study

The researcher acknowledges that the conflict in the DRC dates back to the 1960s. However, the primary concern of the study was the northern Katanga province in the period from 2011 to 2014. The main reason of focusing mainly on this period was that, it was from this period of time the "lord" of war Kyungu Mutanga Gedeon formed a rebel

group named Mayi Mayi Bakata Katanga after his escape from prison in September 2011 and started perpetuating atrocities and insecurity. The researcher had made the period shorter, so that the study can be manageable to conduct a detailed research.

1.8 Limitations of the study

In regards to limitations of the study, there was a problem of accessibility and openness when it came to the use of interview as data gathering tools. The researcher believed that some victims of the political disturbances was likely not to be prepared to be interviewed. In addition, the researcher believed that the time allocated for the study was not enough to cover other areas, also financial constraints limited the study to that area only.

1.9 Definitions of key terms

This section looks into the working definitions of terms that will be used in the context of this study. The following terms shall always mean as defined:

Impact

Strong effect: the powerful or dramatic effect that something or somebody (Howe, 2010)

Security

Something giving assurance: something that provides a sense of protection against loss, attack, or harm (Ibid, 2010).

Reform

Improving something by removing faults: to change and improve something by correcting faults, removing inconsistencies and abuses, and imposing modern methods or values (Ibid, 2010).

Security sector

Security sector is a term that includes defense, law enforcement, corrections, intelligence services and institutions responsible for border management, customs and civil emergencies (UN Report, 2007).

Security sector reform

SSR is the set of policies, plans, programs, and activities that a government undertakes to improve the way it provides safety, security, and justice (Ibid, 2007).

Katanga province

Katanga is one of eleven provinces of the DRC. Between 1971 and 1997, its official name was Shaba province. Katanga area is 497.000km^2

Democratic Republic of Congo

DRC (known as Zaire from 1971-1997), is a country located in central Africa. It borders the Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, and the South Sudan to the North, Uganda Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania to the East, Zambia and Angola to the

South and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. It is the second largest country in Africa with the area of 2.345.409 km^2.

1.10 Summary

This chapter introduced the research study as a whole by giving the background of the study, and explained the motivation for carrying out such a study. The researcher put forward the statement of the study, the objectives, and the main research questions and justified the importance of the study. Finally the researcher pointed out the delimitations of the study, the major constraints that constitute the limitations, and defined the major terms. Thus, the next chapter focused on the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

A considerable amount of work has been done concerning the SSR in Africa. This part of the research explores and analyzes some of the literature that is related to the topic, such as Davis (2009) and others state on the security sector reform that is essential condition for sustainable development and strong concern of the poor. The role of the state and its security directly impact upon the opportunities for sustainable development and peoples' physical security. The SSR addresses the fundamentals as well as the specifics concerns, effective management, transparency and accountability for private sector as well as with other part of public sector. All we will be looked at within the Post-positivism approach.

2.1 Conceptual framework

Theories are usually regarded as lenses to study a certain issue (Anfara et al, 2006). However, a theory is not only a conceptual vehicle that assigns patterns to individuality, it not only reveals, it conceals. Rather than using a theory or theories to investigate an issue, the researcher has used a theory as a verb as a noun (Zalweski in Smith et al, 1996) and the researcher questioned the theorizing about security sector reform. As far as the conceptual framework underpinning the research is concerned, this has been defined in general as a synthesis of literature, development of models, applied to a theory or theories, with possible empirical testing (Salomon et al, 2000).

The conceptual framework used in this study is that security sector reform which came to the fore in the 1990s under the aegis of human peace and security is not an axiomatic binomial but subject to a changing conceptualization of peace and security that deserves investigation. The researcher has investigated on SSRs which are essential conditions for sustainable development. The role of the state security directly impacts upon opportunities for sustainable development and citizens' physical security (Davis, 2009). The researcher elucidates policy makers' validation for the peace and development under security sector reform policies. These policies are often presented as strengthening the security sector of states so that state institutions can then create an environment conducive to their citizens' enjoyment of peace and development entitlements (OECD 2005). The changing nature of peace and security and the formulation of human development and human security have facilitated the merge of their discourses and elaboration of the security development perspective. This has also facilitated the adaptation and the adoption of policies responding to the theoretical orientation represented by security sector. The conceptual framework forming the basis for the contribution to this research addresses the importance of the SSR in bringing peace, security and development for citizens and their belongings.

As far as the theoretical framework is concerned, the researcher has adopted a Post-Positivism approach. The theory is premised on the axiom that knowledge is gained, or at least filtered, through social constructions such as language, consciousness, and shared meanings (Rowland, 2005:5). The Post-Positivist approach emerges from International Relations theoretical landscape of the late 1980s and 1990s as a response to the

dissatisfaction with the mainstream positivist theories. It reexamines the basic assumptions of the discipline by questioning the neutrality of knowledge, truth claims by Positivism, and the applicability of science to the study of world politics (Booth et al, 1995). Post-Positivism questions the epistemology, the methodology, the ontology of positivism. It challenges the formulation of objective truth about the social world through the scientific method as well as the rationalist assumptions about human nature (George et al, 1990).

In particular Post-Positivism points out that truth is not singular, ready-made and out there, but that there are many truths depending on different perspectives and truths are constructed by these very diverse interpretations. Therefore, truth is not to be described and given to the public as an imposed message, as Post-Positivism would say, "There is in fact no such thing as reality that does not belong in quotation marks" (Groff, 2004). What the Post-Positivism approach does is to point out the existence of these quotation marks when analyzing the world, thus highlighting that there are many actors that can voice their worlds through diverse interpretations of their realities. This implies that there are more than one method to construct knowledge, thus urging for the adoption of other methods than positivist scientific.

Post-Positivism research principles emphasize the meaning and the creation of new knowledge and are able to support committed social movement, that is, movements that

aspire to change the world and contribute towards social justice. Post-Positivism research has the following characteristics:

- Research is broad rather than specialized, lots of different things qualify as research;

- Theory and practice cannot be kept separate. We cannot afford to ignore theory for the sake of just the facts;

- The research's motivations for and commitment to research are central and crucial to the enterprise (Schratz et al, 1995);

- The idea that research is concerned only with correct techniques for collecting and categorizing information is now inadequate (Idem, 1995).

This means that according to Post-Positivism, science is not without a subject as instead claimed by Positivism that says that the researcher, through the usage of a scientific research method, does not influence the description of the world that he presents. Its absences of a neutral observation language (Hooker, 1987). This orientation leads Post-Positivism to challenge the hypothesis testing methods of Positivism and the language used to understand and /or construct reality (Phillips, 1977).

According to George (1994), the world is always an interpreted thing, and it is always interpreted in conditions of disagreement and conflict, to one degree or another. This is why there can be no common body of observational or tested data that we can turn to for

a neutral, objective knowledge of the world. There can be no ultimate knowledge that actually corresponds to reality per se. Consequently, Post-Positivism is a question-driven rather than a problem-solving approach, and it offers a path of analysis that challenges the assumptions of the discipline and patterns of inclusion and exclusion that are embedded in international relations theories (Price & Reus-Smit in Chan et al, 2009).

Post-Positivism theorists claim that the truth is problematic and that there is a plurality of methods for creating and interpreting knowledge and this has led to define this approach as anti-foundationalist, meaning that each theory will define what counts as the facts and so there will be no neutral position available to determine between rival claims (Baylis, 2008). Post-Positivism perspectives such as Postmodernism, Feminism, Post-Colonialism, Critical studies are characterized by this anti-foundationalist approach that makes them rejecting the foundationalist one of Positivism (Ling, 2002). The latter is based on an empiricist epistemology according to which the same scientific method can be used to discover the social world and that there is a distinction between neutral facts and values (Baylis, 2008). It was this empiricist epistemology that, according to Post-Positivism, has determined what could be studied because it has determined what kinds of things existed in international relations (Smith et al, 1996).

According to George (1990), the dissent of Post-Positivism theorists towards mainstream international relations theorists is motivated by their criticism towards the way they

conceptualize theory and reality, inhibiting their ability or even desire to widen or change their existing agendas for international relations theory. The need to deepen and widen the thinking space of the discipline is pointed out by Post-Modernism which examines the truths of international relations theory to see how the concepts and knowledge claims that dominate the discipline in fact are highly contingent on specific power relations (Baylis et al, 2008).

The Post-Positivism approach urges to unpack the significance of assumptions of mainstream international relations theories such as their state-centric view which regards all other issues for examples, relations between world actors, security, power, threat, war and so on gravitating around the state (Lawson, 2003); and the different ways of thinking about the international when talking about international relations (Bilgin in Chan et al, 2009). As far as the former issue is concerned, according to Post-Positivism, this state-system should not be taken for granted but better theorized through other perspectives (Ashley, 1983), rejecting the Positivist view that the state does not need to be theorized, because it speaks for itself, just as the facts do (Keyman, 1994).

As far as the second issue is concerned, questioning the meaning of international means challenging the very core of the discipline so much that nowadays some theorist say that there is no longer any clear sense of what the discipline is about, what its core concepts are, what its methodology should be, what central issues and questions it should be

addressing. In many ways, it is now easier to say what international relation is not that it is (Hoffman in Chan et al, 2009).

The issue of what is regarded as international by the discipline of international relations calls into question not only national or international but also from which point of view this issue of international is analyzed. Moreover, there is also the questioning of who the subjects of analysis in international relations are, and how these subjects have been represented and constructed by the discipline. In this regard, Post-Colonial literature analyses patterns of dominance and resistance that characterize not only historical defined encounters but also beyond them (Darby & Paolini in Cahn et al, 2009), instilling in the state-centric view of discipline a sense that states are subjects to centripetal and centrifugal geopolitical and economic forces which influence states' formation and transformation. This critical view on the theoretical boundaries of the discipline of international relations and its unhelpful dichotomies, as Booths regards terms such national order or international anarchy, and a reflection on what objects of analysis should compose the mosaic of international relations, also includes a re-visioning of security (Tickner in Booth & Smith 1995).

All these Post-Positivism insights directly feed into the research approach adopted in this study which aims at investigating the role of security sector reform in bringing peace and security.

2.2 Background of Security Sector Reforms

Security Sector Reform (SSR) is a recent idea that stems from the evolution of security-development discourse following the end of the Cold War. As the international community found itself increasingly entrenched in complex peacekeeping missions, the focus on international security shifted from fighting and winning wars to stabilizing fragile states, which can facilitate regional instability, humanitarian tragedy, international criminal organizations, and safe havens for terrorists. These experiences have caused the concepts of "threat" and "security" to shift from an interstate to intrastate focus (Clare, 1999). Often the root causes of conflict and insecurity in fragile states derive from internal rather than external factors. For instance, Liberia's security is threatened by the failures of development: social injustice, absence of rule of law, disproportionate distribution of wealth, political exclusion of groups, economic hardship, ethnic violence, inadequate public security, and failure of democracy (Charles, 2006). Such failures of development give rise to public grievances that may be exploited by militias, terrorist group, and other internal combatants who seek to justify their use of violence for political gain. In a world threatened by globalized terrorism, this has made intrastate conflict in some fragile states a national security interest. This finding implies the need for accountable and effective security services, which helped hatch the concept of SSR. Because of this correlation, the development and security communities have become increasingly intertwined.

One outcome of this mixed marriage is a fundamental rethinking of security, going beyond traditional military definitions and encompassing ideas from development. Beginning in the early 1990s, the focus of security began to shift from the state to individual, encapsulated in the 1994 UN Development Program (UNDP) report, which termed this new paradigm "human security" (Baker et al, 2007). This controversial concept holds that state security can be achieved only when individuals are secure from "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear", which are principally accomplished through the instruments of development rather than military means (Hutchful, 2005).

But achieving such a broad mandate remains an ambitious task. It is more than just training and equipping security forces; it is SSR: the transformation of state's security actors, institutions, and oversight mechanisms as needed to meet threats to that state and its population.

The United Kingdom's (UK) development minister, Clare Short, identified five key areas of SSR that Department for International Development (DFID) intended to promote. They were:

➢ Supporting the establishment of structures of proper civilian control over the military;

➢ Training members of the military in international humanitarian law and human rights;

- ➢ Strengthening national parliamentary oversight of security apparatus;

- ➢ Supporting civilian organizations that might act as watchdogs over the security sector;

- ➢ Supporting the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants (Bellamy, 2003: 103).

The growing literature on SSR has over the years embodied many themes which are broad and diverse. The literature of origins of SSR can be traced to some of the following works: Bendix and Stanley (2008); Law (2007); Ball (2001). There is also range of SSR themes which include conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, peace building, Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR): Rubin (2006); Ebo (2005); democracy and good governance: Hermandez (2005); Knight (2009). According to Greene (2011), SSR ranges from relatively modest reforms in one or more security sector agency (army, border guards, etc.) or its governance (Ministry of Defense, Financial Oversight, etc.) to the thorough transformation of much of security sector and its relationship to government and society. Belloncle (2006) argues that, it is of the view that "SSR aims to address a double deficit, that of security and democracy. The concept aims to transform the security institutions so that they play an effective, legitimate and democratically accountable role in providing external and internal security for their citizens. Belloncle (2006) also points out that: "the whole idea of SSR is to reposition the security sector in such a way as to adequately equip it to provide security to the state and society in an effective and efficient manner, and in the framework of democratic civilian

control. In other words, SSR is to allow for a good governance of the security sector predicted upon the ideals of efficiency, equity, accountability and transparency.

2.2.1 United Nations (UN) views of SSR

SSR is an important and expanding area of engagement for the United Nations, which is increasingly engaging in SSR. Currently, many missions are mandated to conduct SSR or SSR-related activities and to provide support to national authorities in this crucial area. Member states and UN staff themselves have recognized, in many contexts in recent years, the UN has been an ad hoc partner for national actors undertaking SSR. Field missions often lack of capacity and resources to implement SSR-related mandates and continue to request technical advice and support on SSR from UN headquarters (UN Report, 2013).

In 2007, shortcomings in the United Nations' engagement in SSR were acknowledged by member states in the Security Council and General Assembly, more specifically, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, referred to as the C-34 (UN Report, 2007). Member states recognized the importance of enhancing the United Nations' approach to SSR. In its 2007 report, the C-34 recognized the need for a holistic and coherent approach to SSR within the UN system and recommend the need for an overall strategy to identify and clarify the main elements of the concept of SSR. In January 2008, the UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon, released a report entitled "Securing Peace and Development: the role of the UN in supporting security sector reform. (UN Report, 2012).

The report is significant in that it is the organization's first clear articulation of a UN definition of security sector and the objectives of security sector reform. The preparation of the report was done by member states, regional organizations, research centers, NGOs, UN field missions and other stakeholder groups.

The report outlines that the UN has assumed a broad or comprehensive approach to security, which focuses on security of states and peoples and whose goal is to support the maintenance of international peace and security and to help governments and peoples build a world where freedom from fear and want is a reality for all. It acknowledges that effective and accountable security institutions are essential for sustainable peace and development. In other words, the report proposes a broad and inclusive definition of security sector. The report notes that the security sector is a broad term often used to describe the structures, institutions, and personnel responsible for the management, provision, and oversight of security in a country (UN Report, 2013).

According to a UN report (2007), security sector reform describes a process of assessment, review, and implementation, as well monitoring and evaluation, led by national authorities, which has as its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the state and its peoples without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and rule of law. It is founded on a number of core principle:

- ✓ SSR will be undertaken only on the basis of a national decision, a Security Council mandate, or a General Assembly resolution;

- ✓ SSR must be anchored in national ownership;

- ✓ The United Nations' approach must be flexible and tailored to each specific context; and

- ✓ The United Nations' role in SSR will remain modest, while member states and their organizations will remain the leading providers of assistance in this area (Mcfate, 2009).

Over the past year, the UN has made steady progress in putting forward its plans for support to national SSR actors, but much more remains to be done. On the basis of the C-34's 2008 report and by an interagency program plan agreed by SSR task force. These priority areas aim to build UN system wide capacities to better support national authorities undertaking SSR.

2.2.2 African Union (AU) views of SSR

Africa is generally recognized as the theatre where the vast majority of SSR process take place, particularly as part of post-conflict reconstruction. Yet, such SSR processes have been mostly informed by externally-generated policy frameworks and assumptions that often do not necessary align with the realities and sources of insecurity peoples, states and societies.

In outlining the policy framework, the AU reiterates its recognition of, and commitment to, existing normative frameworks on SSR, particularly those developed by the UN and other multilateral actors. The AU recognizes national and regional SSR frameworks that have collectively built a rich body of knowledge and lessons learned in this important area. The AU policy frame work on SSR, therefore, emanates from the recognition of continuing gap between existing approaches to SSR and deficits in the delivery and government of security in many AU member states. Thus, the policy is a major step in addressing the lack of African ownership of current SSR approaches. The Africa Union has a unique responsibility to lend an African character to and African ownership of SSR processes in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding context in Africa (Mcfate, 2008).

The AU recognizes that, together with other sectors, the security sector should be subject to regular institutional review. Moreover, SSR should be part of broader reform effort and an essential element of conflict prevention, peacemaking, early recovery, peacebuilding and sustainable development agendas. The decision for the AU to engage in supporting national SSR efforts will be taken on the basis of request from national authorities to the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the PSC's recommendation to the AU Assembly of Heads of Government (Ibid, 2008).

The aim of AU policy framework (2010) on SSR is to provide a continental policy framework on SSR that provides the AU, the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), Member states and other stakeholders with necessary guidelines to implement SSR programmes. The specific objectives of the policy framework are to:

- ✓ Provide the policy framework for AU Member States and RECs to formulate, design, implement, monitor and evaluate security sector reform processes;

- ✓ Provide a platform for SSR orientation, training and capacity-building to assist African individuals, groups and institutions to participate more effectively in SSR processes and to provide an African instrument for SSR advocacy;

- ✓ Guide the partnerships and relationships of international organizations and other partners working with the AU, RECs and Member States in SSR processes; and

- ✓ Serve as an African building block contribution to the global SSR framework of the UN.

The AU has already developed broad principles relating to the security sector that are elaborated in a number of key instruments, including but not limited to the Constitutive Act of AU, the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security council of the AU, the Solemn Declaration on a common African Defense and Security Policy on Post-conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD). In addition, a set of global SSR norms and principles have been developed by the UN and are elaborated in the UN secretary-General's report on SSR and subsequent UN documents. These principles form

the overarching framework for AU's approach to SSR. Further to the above, the following core principles of SSR in policy framework (2010) encompass those values that are particularly relevant or unique to the African continent:

1. *African solidarity and African partnerships*

   This policy is predicated upon the principle of African solidarity, as enshrined in the constitutive Act of the AU, forms the basis of engagement in SSR for the AU, the RECs and Member States. Recognizing the role of an increasing number of Member States in the provision of SSR support on continent, Member States are ensured to make sure of this African support to advance African solidarity and partnership in SSR processes.

2. *SSR and regional integration*

   This policy recognizes the linkages between an effective and democratically governed security sector and peace and security which are essential for regional integration in Africa. In particular, as part of the continental integration agenda, this policy is inspired by the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Area of Peace and Security between the African Union, Regional Economic Communities and the Coordinating Mechanisms of 2008, which makes these regional mechanisms the building blocks of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The regional cooperation in security sector reform processes.

3. *National ownership, national responsibility and national commitment*

A Member State undertakes security sector reform activities may do so on the basis of a national decision, and any SSR process will be based on national ownership. A core component national ownership will be the elaboration by a broad range of national stakeholders of a national vision for security and for security sector reform. However, national ownership also entails national responsibility and commitment. National ownership cannot be viable or realistic if the financial burden for reform is borne exclusively by external actors and partners. In advancing national ownership, therefore, the AU encourages Member Sates implementing SSR to commit some national resources to the process.

4. *National vision and parameters for external support for SSR*

External support for SSR will adhere to a nationally defined vision of security and security sector reform. Where such a vision has not yet been coherently articulated, external partners may seek to support the development of such a national vision. At the same time, national actors need to share the responsibility of ensuring that external support advances a national vision and need to be willing to (re)negotiate external assistance if it is not consistent with nationally-defined goals and objectives.

5. *SSR will be context specific*

The current African security sectors are a result of very diverse backgrounds that have also been affected by different historical experiences. SSR processes need to be tailored to the unique histories and cultures of each national context while at the same time conforming to the framework of the rule of law, international law including international humanitarian law and internationally- recognized human rights. There will not be one-size-fits-all.

6. *Informal and customary security providers and traditional justice actors*

In many, but not all contexts in Africa, informal, customary and traditional security providers offer critical support to the State in delivering security to the population. Thus, to ensure their conformity with legal norms, rule of law and human rights, informal and customary security providers and traditional justice actors need to be integrated into the SSR process, where appropriate. In this regard, SSR processes on the African continent may need to engage a broader range of actors than is typical in other contexts.

7. *SSR as part of a broader democratization and reform process*

SSR is an essential but not a sufficient condition for lasting peace and security and therefore it may need to be part of a broader democratization and reform effort. SSR may need to be integrated as early as possible in peace processes and it may also form an essential element of conflict prevention, early recovery, peace-

building and sustainable development, including poverty reduction. In post-conflict situations, SSR and DDR may be intrinsically linked and may complement each other.

8. *SSR and good governance*

   SSR will adhere to basic good governance principles, including accountability and transparency, and be undertaken within the broader framework of the rule of law, non-discrimination and respect for human rights. In this regard, SSR will be part of the continuous review of security institutions.

9. *SSR and gender*

   SSR will adhere to the principles of gender equality and women's empowerment as enshrined in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), the Solemn Declaration on a Common African Defense and Security Policy (2004); the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Policy (2006), the African Union Gender Policy (2009), the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 and 1889 (2009), as well as to other relevant gender instruments of the RECs and of Member States. The entire SSR process will, therefore, include women-specific activities, gender awareness and responsive programming, and aim to bring about transformative possibilities for gender equity within the security sector.

10. *Coordination of SSR assistance*

Coordination of SSR assistance is ultimately a national responsibility. When and where national authorities lack the capacity for coordination, the RECs, the African Union and/or the United Nations may, where appropriate, partner with national authorities to facilitate coordination of SSR assistance and to build national capacities for the Member State to eventually assume a lead coordination role.

The AU Framework Policy on SSR is providing the necessary resources with which objectives can be achieved, and are explicitly and implicitly, at the heart of the security sector reform.

2.3 Case studies of SSR in Africa

2.3.1 Somalia

Somalia is currently developing its sector. This includes the military, police and the handling of disengaged fighters, while those being reformed include the judiciary and correction services. Security sector reform is not a technical linear to state building. It observes that sustainable peace in Somalia is dependent on a strong Federal Government administration that works effectively with regional governments. The current security sector reform process in Somalia is still embryonic. Its major emphasis has been on recruitment, capacity building, coordination of international assistance, and in addition to

receiving disengaged combatants (Howie, 2013). Although police documents such as the Somalia National Security and Stabilization Plan (NSSP) and Justice Security Committee have been in existence since, the SSR process has occurred against the background of violent conflict which has been rocky and destabilizing. According to the UN Secretary General's report of 13 September 2013, the Somalia government had made some progress in taking the lead in the coordination of international assistance after its commitments in the London conference (2013).

The UN Assistance Mission for Somalia (UNSOM), established through UN Resolution 2102 (2013), has been in operational since 3rd June 2013. It is in charge of major coordination within the SSR sector in Somalia. Its mandate includes: "the provision of policy advice to the Federal Government of Somalia and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) on peace building and state-building in the areas of: governance, security sector reform and rule of law (including the disengagement of combatants), development of federal system (including preparations for elections in 2016), and coordination of international donor support. Among its other mandated functions, UNSOM would help build the Federal Government's capacity to promote respect for human rights and women's empowerment, promote child protection, prevent conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence, and strengthen justice institutions. Further, it would monitor, help investigate and report to the Council on any abuses or violations of

human rights or of international humanitarian law committed in Somalia, or any abuses committed against children or women".

Similarly UNISOM is also mandated to coordinate assistance and it has facilitated the establishment of informal working groups on national security. Its role include offering support to the National Security Plan, aiding in the drafting of key security sector legislation, offering counsel to the weapons control process, as well as undertaking security sector assessments. Additionally, it should offer technical support towards the development of plan for disengaged combatants, and a National Programme for Disengaging Combatants and Youth at Risk (UNISOM, 2013). The SSR progress in Somalia has remained bumpy due to the issues of disengaged combatants, undisciplined armed officers, logistics shortfalls and unregulated private security companies (UNSC 2013:6).

The Security Sector Development in Somalia is informed by the National Security Plan (NSP) that combines several policy frameworks, including the National Security and Stabilization Plan (2011-2014). It is National Security Vision proposes to have "a secure and enabled federated Somalia that is in lasting peace with itself and with its neighbors; enjoying restored security, access to justice and the rule of law; upholding the human rights of its citizens and with all of the security sector adhering to International Humanitarian Law; accountable, able to defend its constitution, people, territorial unity

and integrity. The NSP focuses on aspects of capacity development, coordination, participation and engagement of other players. The National Stabilization plan summarizes the direction which Somalia seek to pursue. Through its objectives, which seek to:

- ✓ Strengthen higher level security and justice policy and strategy development and coordination mechanisms;
- ✓ Rebuild affordable, Accountable and professional defense, army, security and justice agencies and institutions;
- ✓ Ensure effective partnerships and coordination between state and non-state security and justice agencies and institutions;
- ✓ Increase the inclusion and participation of parliament and civil society organizations in Somalia security and justice sector development efforts;
- ✓ Enhance and sustain international support for the stabilization of Somalia.

The oversight roles of other civilian actors, outside the executive arm were not well stipulated. Although the NSP cites the composition of this oversight mechanism to include hey personalities, institutions, including the President, Prime Minister, Somali Parliament and Government Ministries (Ibid), this has not yet been actualized. SSR is weak and non-inclusive, especially due to the general absence of civil society members.

Many gaps are still occur in Somalia's SSR such as lack of adequate pay, issue of command and control, desertions, and poor working conditions in Military sector. Most of the recruits still have allegiances to their clans and militia leaders. This has made it hard to address issues of discipline. In police sector experienced lack of infrastructure and adequate police stations. The issue of corruption in justice and youths remain vulnerable for recruitments into militia groups, therefore many challenges in regards to disengaged fighters still exist. In addition, the Human Rights Watch highlighted the case of an internally displaced woman who was raped and when she reported the case, she was jailed together with the journalist who interviewed her (HRW, 2013). In short, women are stereotyped and stigmatized when they report such cases. The perpetrators of these crimes are said to be armed men wearing government uniforms. Donatella adds "the inability and unwillingness of the Somali authorities to investigate these crimes and bring the attackers to justice live survivors of sexual violence even more isolated and contributes to a climate of impunity in which attackers know they can get away with these crimes" (Amnesty, 2013).

2.3.2 Nigeria

Nigeria has been bedeviled by a state of opposition, generalized, stereotype, not necessarily of the same order and maybe imaginary, yet each widening the wound reducing the hope of healing it. North versus South, Islam versus Christianity, alleged feudalism versus assumed socialism, federal versus unitary preferences, traditional

authority versus achieved elitism, haves versus have-nots, each with sinister undertones of tension, irreconcilability and threatened withdrawal (Greene, 1971). Over the years, the security in Nigeria has not been palatable, rather it is getting worse day by day to the extent that the country by. Purvis (2012:1). As for the last two years, Nigeria was categorized as the 14th worst states out of 177 countries ranked by multiple factors in the Fund For Peace (FFP) failed State index (Ibid). This submission vividly described the security situation in the country because of its inability to contain the unending ethnic and religious attacks of Niger Delta and Boko Haram respectively.

Various interwoven dynamics are fundamental for understanding the position of security sector in Nigeria. Almost 30 of the 39 years since independence have been spent under military rule, and the population has become accustomed to a way of life in which traditions and institutions have been significantly influenced by the armed forces. The concept of security became rigidly militarized, and the politics and processes of reform were manipulated and controlled by officers with a vested interest in protecting their hold on power. Successive governments (civilian and military) pursued haphazard and self-serving security agendas, while civil society was shoehorned into conformity. As a result, security sector reform in Nigeria is as confused as it is invidious (Purvis, 2012).

The main reason for SSR in Nigeria is to create a secured society through a security sector that will be alert its responsibilities is such that it will be pro-active to nip perceive crisis

at the bud before snowball into a violent conflict; to create civil-military relation in a way that civilian can confide in the security sector and to create a safe and conductive environment for both local and international investors (ibid).

Two sets of issues are central to a discussion of the functioning of the Nigerian security sector. The first relates to the co-existence alongside the formal security establishment of non-statutory security providers because they respond to security needs of communities that are far from the view of the state. As much, informal arrangements for security provision have been accorded different degrees of legitimacy by citizens and groups that exercise their demand for security through these informal sources. As a result the state has lost a significant portion of its monopoly on the use of force as well as some degree of legitimacy as a security provider. This can be explained in several ways. First is the failure of the state to respond to deep-seated issues of social and political exclusion, which accounts in part for the creation of the Odua People's Congress. Second is lack of capacity of state security institutions to contain the levels of rising crime and unrest which led on several occasions to the use of the army to respond to internal security situations (Fayemi, 2003).

The second issue concerns the complexity of Nigeria's federal structure, which further compounds the complexity of decision-making surrounding the provision of security.

There are issues of lack coherence and coordination as well as contradictions, which hamper the effective functioning of security sector.

The indication of weak state is its failure of the state perform critical and important state functions. In the view of Ndikumana (1998) a state can be referred to as weak when institution framework of statehood and governance are weak, non-viable and ineffective, because vital institutions are subverted by hegemony, personalization, informalization and corruption or because public institutions are manipulated be privileged groups to perpetuate unequally, injustice, perversion and oppression. The security system in Nigeria has not been enjoying the confidence of the citizens, based on how the sector is conducting its activities which have not any way reflects professionalism. Therefore, the need for reform of sector to make it up to task of securing of lives and property which it was established.

2.3.3 South Sudan

Southern Sudan was in a state of civil war two decades after the collapse of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1983. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed by the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) on 9 January 2005, put a halt to the conflict. The CPA, the Interim National Constitution (INC), the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan (ICSS) and related foundational documents set out several commitment and key ingredients concerning security sector reform (SSR) in Sudan and

particularly in Southern Sudan (HRW, 2009). This include the integration of all armed groups into the SPLA or the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF); the transformation of the police and prison system into efficient, effective and rights-respecting services; the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants who, for various reasons, could not serve in the SPLA or the SAF; and the general disarmament of the civilian population.

Since the signing of the CPA, security has been a major problem in Southern Sudan. The process of political transition under the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) has occasionally been marred by what the UN has called "persistent, localized conflict" (Miraya, 2009). The civil war destroyed much of Southern Sudan's public and community-based security institutions, leaving the GoSS ill-equipped to respond to emerging security problems. To ameliorate this situation, the GoSS, assisted by international actors, engaged in the implementation of SSR, much of which has focused on the restoration of infrastructure damaged or destroyed during the civil war (Thomas, 2009). Tensions between the parties to CPA have long been high in the oil producing states of Upper Nile and Unity. The delicate military balance underlying the agreement has been challenged by the presence of militias categorized by the CPA as other Armed Groups (OAGs). The parties to the CPA have been unable, and in some cases unwilling, to bring their OAG allies under control. The process of implementing the security provision of the CPA has been adversely influenced by local conflicts in the transitional

areas of Abyei, South Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile. These conflict are aggravated by the actions of armed tribal youth groups that have either refused to disarm or are rearming after disarmament by the GoSS (Cook, 2008).

Civilian disarmament in Southern Sudan continues to be advanced in a context of fear. At the macro-level, the GoSS and the SPLA fear the responsibility of a military confrontation with the North. According to Yirol (2009), the CPA has largely failed to build trust between the parties to the agreement. Human security is seen as secondary to the priority of ensuring preparedness for a future war. Military movements in the proximity of the North-South border and drive by the North and South to rearm reinforce this fear. The absence of trust between the two actors is also demonstrated by the reluctance of the SPLA and SAF to implement DDR as Agreed upon in the CPA.

Fear of cross-border incursions by armed groups remains a real challenge to the process of civilian disarmament in the Southern Sudan. The North-South border is particularly sensitive. Communities inhabiting the strip of territory in the transitional areas, as laid out the CPA, are very suspicious of one another. Border communities in Southern Sudan generally believe that the SAF continues to re-arm Baggara nomads to prepare for the eventuality of resumption of the North-South war. Similar attitudes prevail in communities inhabiting international border regions in South Sudan, for instance, the Toposa are not comfortable with the initiative of civilian disarmament while Turkana, the

Karamonjong and other pastoralist communities in neighboring countries are well armed (BBC, 2010). Another challenge to civilian disarmament is the international community's unwillingness to support disarmament in Southern Sudan given their disapproval of the government's coercive approach. Opposition to forced disarmament figured prominently in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by the SPLA and UNMIS prior to the 2008 civilian disarmament campaign (Ibid).

With the destruction of much of Southern Sudan's formal and informal security architecture during the prolonged civil war, a military culture came to pervade society, the use of force become a norm for claiming rights and settling disputes. As result, restoring security and advancing SSR in Southern Sudan requires a change in security culture. NGO Reports (2010) indicated that alone in 2009 more than 1,000 civilians are gradually losing confidence in the ability of the GoSS and SPLA to protect them. As a result, many communities have taken up arms to protect themselves, magnifying the potential for conflicts to escalate.

2.3.4 Liberia

Liberia presents one of most challenging context of post-conflict reconstruction since the end of the Cold War featuring a protected civil war and the concomitant destruction of the state of the state, society and economy. Since independence and fourteen of war, Liberia's

army, police and other security agencies have mostly been sources of insecurity and misery for destitute people (Gavin, 2004).

The history of Liberia, one of the Africa's first independent counties, has masked a struggle between the freed slaves from United States (US) and local indigenous peoples. With better access to Western education the freed slaves dominated the indigenous population for almost a one and half centuries (Adedeji, 2003). The relationship between the perdominantly Americo-Liberian True Whig Party (TWP) and the indigenous peoples was one of a slave-master relationship, characterized by political exclusion and socio-economic subordination. Throughout the period, Liberia's rule of law was predicated on a culture of uninhibited impunity. This persisted throughout the history of the country, and was accentuated by the 14 years conflict that broke out in 1989 (Ibid). The UN Security Council, in its preamble to Resolution 1509 (2003), has:"…deplored the violations of human rights, particularly atrocities against civilian populations, including widespread sexual violence against women and children…mindful of the need for accountability for violations of international humanitarian law".

The security sector in Liberia and elsewhere in Africa cannot slough off its colonial character. Whether post-conflict or otherwise, the process of security sector, transformation has to be part of, if not the result of, a similar drive to transform and

modernize the state in Africa (Adedeji, 2000). As a result of this dilemma, the Liberian security complex devolves on a number of issues and dynamics.

These include:

➢ Social, political and economic tensions between the settler and indigenous societies, as well as among some of the ethnic groups;

➢ National fratricide and its impact on professionalism of security forces;

➢ The dislocation and disorientation of Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and militia and their role in threatening human security in Liberia;

➢ The involvement and role of non-state actors in undermining human security in Liberia;

➢ The proliferation of small arms and light weapons;

➢ The calculated exportation of conflict into neighboring states and its fuelling through a network of regional warlords;

➢ The endemic presence of regional mercenaries;

➢ The illegal exploitation of natural resources through the force of arms and cross-border criminal networks;

➢ The new paradigm of civil society involvement and engagement in influencing and shaping the processes and ends of peace-building, including constitutional, socio-political, judicial and security reforms; and

> ➢ The disconnect between the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)'s disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and rehabilitation components informed by the funding deficit for effective sustainable reintegration and rehabilitation (UN Reports, 2004).

Security sector reform in Liberia is therefore underscored by these dynamics and ussies that have seriously eroded the monopoly of the state over the use of coercive instruments of violence, which have been traditionally exercised through statutory security forces. Liberia's security sector, as many other countries afflicted by conflict, is characterized by state (statutory) and on-Democratic Governance and security sector reform state (non-statutory) actors, who have demonstrated paradoxical selective security agenda and objectives, sometimes to protect civilian populations, but at other times, to threaten other civilian populations (Adedeji, 2003).

2.4 Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and SSR in Africa

Since the end of the Cold War, a steady rise in interventions by the international community in states emerging from conflict has given increasing prominence to the significance of post-conflict peacebuilding. The importance such interventions is demonstrated by both the positive message that armed conflicts and the numbers of people killed in them have declined during this period and more cautionary statistic that around

half of all post-conflict states fall back into political violence within few years (The Human Security Center, 2005).

Africa has suffer disproportionately as a result of such conflicts. In the early 1990s, a major emphasis of peacebuilding activities was directed towards economic and social reconstruction. The broader and more sensitive task of facilitating the building of domestic capacities to provide security was often neglected (Pouligny, 2004). Security governance issues such as DDR, SSR and reinforcing the rule of law are now increasing recognized as priority peacebuilding tasks. This was highlighted by the Presidential Statement emerging from 20 February 2007 Open Debate in the UN Security Council which stresses the importance that Security Council recognizes the inter-linkages between security sector reform and other important factors of stabilization and reconstruction, such as transitional justice, disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration and rehabilitation of former combatants, small arms and lights issues (Security Council, 2007).

From the early 1990s, there has been strong international involvement in and support for DDR programmes in a wide range of different contexts. More recently, processes such as the Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (Final reports, 2006) and, in particular the development of the UN integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) have sought to learn from this practical experience in order to better understand challenges, identify good practice, and

make a positive contribution to developing more coherent, effective DDR programmes (UN, 2006).

Within the framework of conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding, strong linkages are particularly apparent between DDR an SSR because both activities concern the military, the security sector more broadly, as well as overlapping groups responsible for their management and oversight (OECD, 2007). Addressing the needs of former combatants is directly linked to opportunities to reform or transform the security sector immediately following conflict and as a contribution to longer term security and development.

DDR process' aims to deal with post-conflict security problem that arises when combatants are left without livelihoods and support networks during the vital period stretching from conflict to peace, recovery and development (IDDRS, 2007: p. 24). The official UN definition of DDR focuses on four stages: disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration as such:

- ✓ Disarmament is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatants and often also of the civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programmes.
- ✓ Demobilization is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces or other armed groups. The first stage demobilization may extend

from the processing of individual combatants in temporary centres to the massing of troops in camps designated for this purpose (Cantonment sites, encampments, assembly areas or barracks. The second stage of demobilization encompasses the support package provided to the demobilized, which is called reinsertion.

✓ Reinsertion is the assistance offered to ex-combatants during demobilization but prior to the longer term process of reintegration. Reinsertion is a form of transitional assistance to help cover the basic needs of ex-combatants and their families and can include transitional safety allowances, food, clothes, shelter, medical services, short-term education, train, employment and tool. While reintegration is a long-term, continuous social and economic process of development, reinsertion is a short-term material and/or financial assistance to meet immediate needs, and can last up to one year.

✓ Reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income. Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open time-frame, primarily taking place in communities at the local level. It is part of the general development of a country and a national responsibility, and often necessitates long-term external assistance.

DDR, encompassing the process that safely transition combatants back to civilian life, and SSR, involving the reconstitution and professionalization of security institutions and actors, are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Working in tandem, they can enable countries emerging from conflict to provide for their own security and uphold the rule of

law, an essential precondition of sustainable development and part of the existing strategy for costly peacekeeping missions. As such, politically, they rise or fall together. With a monopoly on the use of force, a state has few ways to uphold the rule of law and protect citizens from threats (Mills, 2008).

Beyond their shared political objectives, DDR and SSR are programmatically linked, as failure of one risks failure of the other. Ex-combatants who are not properly reintegrated into civil society through DDR can complicate and potentially compromise SSR. Ex-combatants who do not successfully transition to civilian life may take arms again or form criminal gangs, challenging newly created security institutions and forces that may lack sufficient capacity to control such threats. As the population thus becomes vulnerable to violence, the state's inability to protect its citizens undermines its legitimacy (UN Report, 2004).

DDR and integration of the different state and non-state armed forces under a unified command structure have been recognized as key elements of post-conflict peacebuilding in the DRC. Indeed, DDR as provided an entry point for SSR. The first multi-partner talks on army restructuring occurred with the context of DDR while some of the first documents on SSR in the DRC were drafted from a DDR starting point (Ginifer, 2004). Due to resource shortages and other challenges, the ongoing DDR process in DRC has suffered delays, in particular in implementing reinsertion and reintegration aspects of the process.

This has led to suffering for civilian populations in areas containing ex-combatants with no legitimate means to support themselves.

2.5 Civil society (SC) and SSR

Civil society is an associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state, and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values (Sabatini, 2002). Civil society can be understood as the political space that exists between the individual and the government.

Civil society fulfills a range of functions in any given society:

 ➢ Representing diverse constituents within a population;

 ➢ Providing technical expertise to policymakers and government institutions;

 ➢ Capacity-building of NGOs and other bodies;

 ➢ Delivering and providing services in lieu of the;

 ➢ Providing a space for social interaction and networking (Marini, 2004).

Civil society oversight of the SSR, involves the active participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in defining security policies sector (Caparini et al, 2007). The objectives is to ensure the incorporation of the community-level and grassroots interests

and perspectives in the provision of internal and external security, and support local ownership and sustainability (Ibid).

The main way in which civil society participates in security sector oversight are:

➢ As a source of policy advice and technical expertise which can inform policymakers and provide insight into community needs and interests related to security issues.

➢ By enhancing local ownership and inclusion through the involvement of diverse groups in discussions around security-related issues.

➢ As a watchdog to hold authorities accountable for their actions through lobbying, public awareness campaigns, or direct pressure from the population.

➢ By facilitating dialogue and negotiation between policymakers, security sector institutions and officials, and the population.

➢ Through advocacy campaigns that raise awareness of key security concerns and issues, human rights abuses, misappropriation of funds, or other such violations.

➢ Through service delivery and the provision of alternate sources of security and justice in cases where the state is unable and/or unwilling to take on these roles, or where civil society is better-placed to provide such services (Nathan, 2007).

In DRC Civil Society was, for the most part, removed from any security sector oversight and closed off from any decision-making (Garett et al, 2009). Monitoring of executive

actions only became possible in the aftermath of the political opening-up in 1990s, with the establishment of human rights associations. Civil society still needs to make an effort in order to be considered as a real reform partner in the DRC because in the even that a nation failed and cannot provide the security functions, civil society role is to articulate the public demand for safety and security and to monitor actor performance in fulfilling their role and can also fulfil functions that provide some degree of security and justice to local communities.

2.6 Analysis

The reality of African countries is that they are fragile states and SSR cannot play out as expected due to the structural conditions that African countries face. As such, the design approach under which SSR is undertaken needs to reflect this reality. These include incorporating the needs of the communities, the unique needs of the various regions, and ensuring that there exist frameworks to address them. The case of the military and police has indicated that most of them are still answerable to the various militias and the interests of the communities. Such comprehensive reform requires a whole government approach to stabilizing fragile states, and search for hostile modalities for SSR within and between donor governments remains a principal challenge today.

Although African countries have good policies and strategies addressing issues of human security and gender, gaps do exist in the manner that SSR has been executed. This includes

the treatment of oversight issues and how broad issues surrounding the implementation of SSR process have been addressed. In addition, the SSR process has not adhered to some of its central tenets, such as the promotion of local ownership through engaging the civil society organizations, questions on sustainability and the promotion of an effective operational capacity.

2.7 Summary

This chapter constituted an exploration and analysis of the theoretical framework and brought into perspectives the major elements which enhance and hinder the SSR process. The inherently political nature of SSR requires a nuanced analysis of the security threats, of potential national security strategies, the feasibility of sustainable security architecture and viability of civilian oversight. In addition, civil society and local communities should be involved in such assessment. SSR programmes require proficient coordination which is a challenging goal given the multitude of international and local institutions. Thus, SSR in Africa becomes a complicated and politically charged undertaking grounded on conflicting understanding and diverging attitudes over structure and scope of the process. The next chapter looks into the procedures that were followed in collecting data for the research study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the approaches towards data collection, the problems that the researcher encountered and how the researcher went around them. Research can be quantitative, qualitative or both quantitative and qualitative. In this case the researcher adopted the qualitative approach whose instruments will be discussed below. This chapter occupies a significant place in whole research because of the role the methodology adapted played to provide the data needed. It looks at the research design, sampling and targeting as well as data analysis methods. The main purpose of this chapter is to explain how the research was conducted and also how the researcher got into the research environment. The ethical considerations will also be discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Methodological Approach

A number of research tools were used, in order to enhance the depth of the investigation. These included a literature review, secondary data analysis, and qualitative research methods such as informal and semi-structured interviews, focus groups discussions. Additionally, the use of questionnaire was applied to gather qualitative data.

3.2 Research Design: Qualitative

The analysis of the research question which focuses on how security sector reform is conceptualized and operationalized is driven by a Post-Positivism approach to research (Groff, 2004). This approach challenges the hypothesis testing and deductive method of analysis which are typical of Positivism and offers a framework that allows the researcher to look at real events without testing or building theories, but rather questioning existing practices (Morris, 2006). The rationale behind the choice of this approach for addressing the research question is that it does three things:

- ✓ First, it offers access to multiple qualitative sources of information to increase the understanding of the interpretations of development and security and their interlinked discourses;
- ✓ Second, it regards SRR cases as unique in bringing peace and stability therefore it avoids the random sampling and generalization of the Positivism approach;
- ✓ Finally, it allows for drawing up of conclusions by interpreting the findings of the research without comparing them with previous hypotheses and using instead to enhance the understanding of the theories and practices of the SSR (Goulding, 1996).

The Post-Positivism approach has guided the researcher through the selection of the specific events without regarding them as variables or samples from which generalize or generate theories but according to their potential to address the research question.

Furthermore, by highlighting that there are as many truths as interpretations and that there is no neutral knowledge, the Post-Positivism approach allows the researcher to question the importance of security sector reform with the awareness that there is no separation between neutral reality and the researcher as implicit in the Positivism approach. This subjectivity implies that each researcher carries out the research bringing into it her own implicit knowledge based on his own experience (Zalewski in Smith et al, 1996).

As far as the research design is concerned, this has been defined as "the logic that links the data to be collected to the initial questions for study" (Yin 1984). The research design is highly qualitative. As stated Dooley (2001), the qualitative research refers to social research based on field observations that are analyzed without statistics. Bryan in Wilkinson (2000) defines qualitative data as "detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, observed behaviors, direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts and excerpts or passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories". Participant observation, unstructured interviews or life histories as opposed to quantitative research which looks at these features as the personal involvement of the observer; the qualitative method takes these same features as strength of the method.

Despite the above mentioned strengths of qualitative research, it also has its weakness. Among other things, the qualitative approach has been blamed for being subjective since

is based on several interviewees' opinion. Further, it has also been argued that there is no systematic way of analyzing data collected using the qualitative techniques, hence, it's subjective. In addition to this, it has also been noted that if respondents are given open ended questions, the data analysis process is consuming and expensive.

According to the big size of the Northern Katanga and the time allocated for data collection was not enough, the researcher used research assistance who were trained on how to conduct data collection in the field.

3.3 Population

The research universe or population refers to the sum of all individual elements within the selected study area. In other words, the focal group which the researcher learns something is known as the population. The population for this study was composed of officials from the government such as:

- ✓ Ministry of Defense
- ✓ Civil society groups
- ✓ NGOs

The government ministries, the police inspectors and Army Generals were chosen because they are directly linked to whole discourse of SSR and was able to provide key information for the research.

On the other hand, civil society is chosen because it is an association real between state and family populated by organizations which are from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state, and are formed voluntarily members of society to protect or extend their interests or values.

However, this study would has not be done without considering some other populations that play a major role in this field and some children support agents, including family members and church organizations who work directly with the persons affected and the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the Northern Katanga Province.

3.4 The Sample

Purposive sampling involves selecting respondents based on prior knowledge of their potential to provide information. According to Jackson (2011), sampling is done haphazardly; rather, it is done in a systematic random way. In this study, the researcher used a combination of both non-probability and probability sampling techniques. For non-

probability samples, purposive sampling was used, while the stratified sampling was for probability sampling.

According to Graziano and Raulin (2000), purposive sampling means "selecting participants for their ability to provide rich information". The researcher used purposive sampling to select institutions which have a direct link with the Security of the state. In this study, the researcher purposively sampled government officials from selected ministries, political analysts, civil society groups, NGOs, and political parties because the researcher felt these people are conversant and articulate with SSR issues.

Bell (1993) stated that purposive sampling has got various strategies each linked to the purpose of the study and these are extreme sampling, intensity sampling, homogeneous sampling, and heterogeneous sampling among others. The researcher selected homogeneous samples for this research study because it deals with participants who have similar characteristics. In this case again, organizations, institutions and individuals who were selected for this study have an in-depth knowledge of SSR. The target population was composed of 25 respondents: 11 members of community, 7 government officials and 7 NGOs staff members.

In purposive sampling, there is an element of subjectivity since the research forms a view to the characteristics of respondents. It may not be possible to extent the research findings to a different research population in the same way as natural science research. Despite these shortcomings, purposive sampling remains the most suitable for this study.

The researcher also used snowball sampling which is an approach for locating from key informants during the process of the research. According to Patton (1990), "Snowball sampling is designed to identify people with particular knowledge, skills or characteristics that are needed as part of the continuing research process". In this research the key informants comprised of the Heads of various NGOs. These informants recommended the researcher to interview people with specific range of skills that were determined as useful such as specific groups unknown to the researcher and other organizations. For identifying abused people in the target area, the researcher was referred to different NGOs such as, World Food Programme (WFP), Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), World Vision, UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), among others.

3.5 Data Gathering Methods

The researcher used three main sources to collect data which are: interview guide, questionnaires and documents. The interviews took an average time of one hour each. Notes were also taken to augment the data obtained from the available documents such as the statistical data. It is argued that in case study research there is often a failure to develop

a sufficiently operational set of measures, therefore the collection of data is based on subjective judgments. A notable consequence of the subjective nature of information is that informants' views tend to be diverse and at time contradictory, reflecting differences not only in what individuals know but also the nature of the response depends very much upon the circumstances in which one is asked to divulge information.

Jackson (2011) argues that strict and rigid adherence to a single method when doing fieldwork become like confinement in a cage. The researcher used this evidence to resolve the case by having multiple source of evidence to provide converging lines of inquiry that can be taken as reliable. Therefore by implementing different methods of data collection intended to increase the authenticity of facts gathered, since the different methods complement each other.

3.5.1 Interviews

An interview is a face to face conversation with the intention of gathering information, it is a purposeful conversation initiated by the interviewer for obtaining information (Little, 1997). As an attempt to understand the structure of the SSR, interviews were the best method of generating data. Young (1975) agrees with this when he says that "an interview may be regarded as systematic method by which a person enters more or less imaginatively into the life of a comparative stranger".

Interviews were one way to capture people's knowledge through interactive talking and discussions as to excavate facts from which to construct the arguments. This is through the given set of questions which will be responded to.

Graziano and Raulin (2001) argue that semi-structured interviews may yield much more than those that are fully structured if conducted well. Designing the semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to investigate not just how and why respondents present their views but also to understand different and sometimes contradictory layers or meaning. The researcher intention was to investigate and understand the structure of SSR in bringing peace and stability and also understand the politics behind SSR, using semi-structured interviews seemed to be a good option to comprehend the expressions, opinions and attitudes of individual experiences of various respondents.

For this study, the researcher used interview since this study is qualitative where we need to measure and compare the data. McBurney (1994) points out the effectiveness of the interactive-relational approach in interviewing as compared with purely fact finding approach which he regards as lifeless rather than effective because it ignores the dynamics between the interview and the interviewee. All the interviews were conducted in conversational form, in what has been referred to as the interactive-relational approach.

The researcher's opinion is that, by developing an interactive and relational stance, it is possible to access information that would not emerge through formal and structured questioning alone. Such an approach is very necessary in interviews which look at sensitive issues of state security. In the interactive-relational approach the interviewer establishes a relationship with the interviewee and this facilitate the giving out of information that would otherwise not have been divulged.

The main advantage of using interviews is that the respondents can be asked to clarify on any unclear points and also the interview method can be used to secure information from people who have the information needed (Little, 1997). This applies to the researcher in case of seeking clarification on certain issues from the interviewees.

Interviews provide the opportunity to obtain and produce data through dialogue, argumentation ant at times consensus. Information is immediately corrected or verified and qualified answers are obtained. A set of prepared questions was asked to a group of people and the responses were recorded in writing by the researcher.

For the key informants such as government officials, NGOs staff members and members of the community, interview questions have been designed to bring out their knowledge on main cause of the current conflict in the northern Katanga province.

The limitation of this type of interview is that it can consume a lot time because the interviewee has to understand the questions well. An interviewer who is writing may repeat from time to time, because interviewees may suffer from faulty memory, lack of insight, and an inability to articulate. To overcome this inability the researcher designed questions which could be understood easily. Appointments were made in advance, the researcher honored them and the interviews took place in suitable environments.

3.5.2 Individual Interviews

The individual interview was the opportunity for the researcher to share with the interviewees the understanding of SSR process, the ideas and values which bring to the position of motivating for the application of the SSR procedure. The researcher used a radio recorder for the individual interviews with the consent of the interviewees.

Fifteen adults, ten males and five females, were interviewed with their consent. They were intentionally chosen for the position they hold in the government or in the organization they are employed. Therefore, their opinions were very important for this research.

Interviews with them were considered as a quest for further explanation to throw light on key issues brought up by previous respondents, and it was done to follow up and discover

questions suggested by gaps or contradictions in the previous interviews carried out in various institutions, organizations and groups.

3.5.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaire are useful tools for collecting data from a large number of respondents. The researcher used simple questionnaires which were targeted at specific individuals who were representative of the various institutions, organizations and groups. According to Jackson (2011) questionnaires are most used when there is a desire to gain information from a large sample of people. The researcher was aware that some people might find it very uncomfortable to discuss state security related issues in interviews.

In the attempt to capture qualified, focused and specific answers on the SSR progression, the researcher chose the questionnaire as a tool because of the following advantages:

- ✓ A questionnaire permits anonymity of the respondents, allowing them to respond freely without fear of victimization; it is easy to administer and can be explained before the respondent respond to the questions. In other words, questionnaire were provided to fill the gap so that such people could have the opportunity to put down their views without fear of being recognized by others.

However, its disadvantage is that many people find it unexciting and boring to sit alone reading answers. Thus, the written may give problems of motivation. Therefore, in this study when the questionnaire was administered, the researcher had to explain the study to some respondents before they filled in their answers.

3.6 Data collection procedures

Prior appointments were made for the interview. A pilot survey of the questions was done for the researcher to familiarize with the research environment. Interview appointments were also made and the stages of prior preparation were followed, including preparation of the interview guide and seeking appointment with interviewees.

The questionnaires were hand delivered to the respondents who were given a week to complete the questionnaires after which they were collected in person by the researcher. The contact details of prospect respondents were obtained and used to get hold of the respondents after they finished completing the questionnaire.

3.7 Document analysis

The researcher considered document as a vital data collection this research because political magazines provides latest primary data on SSR issues. This is within the context

that SSR become a very topical issues in DRC and all African countries as an important factor in bringing peace and stability.

The researcher collected material from secondary sources such as journal and the internet. These sources of evidence were used to corroborate, augment and complement information from other sources. The researcher sought to investigate whether the progress of SSR as reflected in the documents was consistent with the contemporary understanding of the discourse as reflected in the interviews and response from questionnaires.

The researcher used also the internet access latest published journals and articles during the data gathering process. The internet contains a wealth of contemporary information. Further, the issue of SSR has generated a lot debate since several people continue to share divergent views about the stated subject.

3.8 Ethical considerations

According to Berg (2009), research ethics is an area of growing significance that cannot be ignored. All researcher presents ethical and moral dilemmas which must be identified and addresses before the research is carried out in order to protect all participants from potential harm. This study was done after ethical committee approval. The following ethical considerations were followed as a guide to possible issues:

1. **Do not harm and benefit society**

The aim of this research was to contribute to the effectiveness of SSR in the DRC, particularly in the Northern Katanga Province, findings should benefit and not harm participants. Privacy was respected all the times.

2. **Justice and fairness**

All results and findings presented were actual facts stated in the interviews. Every participant's experiences and perceptions were portrayed as they were shared in the interviews. No false information was included in this research study.

3. **Anonymity**

The researcher took every effort to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of those who participated in this research, since the issue of SSR is highly debatable and politically sensitive in DRC. As part of ensuring anonymity, no names were used to refer to contributions made by participants in this study.

4. **Interview ethics**

The researcher explained during the interview that he would be putting down the issues originating from the discussion. This was done to remove the suspicions that usually emerged when a respondent discovers that his contributions are being recorded.

5. Free will

The researcher always obtained informed consent before carrying out an interview. The procedure of consent where a review of what the participant had consented to was used. All participant was ensured that the option to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty or repercussions.

6. Referencing

The researcher cited every material that was used in writing this research such as books, newspapers articles, journals and the internet respecting the academic requirements of Africa University.

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher described and highlighted the ways in which data was gathered. The researcher presented the populations and samples from each population that participated in the investigation, as well as the sampling procedures used for each different population. The researcher also presented the tools used for data collection and analyzed their advantages and disadvantage. Ethical issues taken into account in carrying out the study have also been discussed in this chapter. The next chapter presents the data and gives their interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the responses received from administered questionnaires, interviews with different respondents in the investigation of SSR in bringing sustainable peace and security in the DRC, particularly the Northern Katanga Province. Each and every respondent mentioned has a major role to play and the results obtained reflected their views. The results were presented according to different respondents and in the interpretation the results are grouped according to the themes that were being explored in this research.

4.1 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of looking at and summarizing data in order to get useful information from the research. It involves examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluation, comparing, synthesizing as well as reviewing the recorded data. The questionnaire had open ended questions.

4.2 Presentation and Analysis of questions: Community members

4.2.1 Research Question Number 1: What is your understanding of the term Security sector reform?
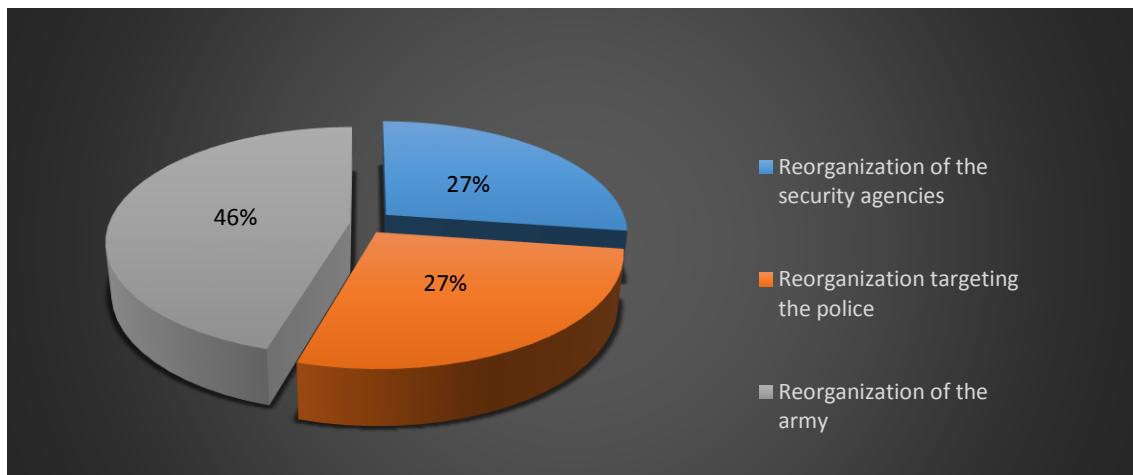
Figure 1: The understanding of security sector reform

The figure 1 shows difference responses given by respondents on their understanding of the security sector reform. It has shown that 27% said that the reform is the reorganization of the security agencies, 27% said that it's the reorganization of the police forces, and 46% agreed that it's the reorganization of military forces.

The researcher agreed with the 46% of people who talked about the reorganization of the armed forces, because what they are living in the Northern is military menaces. Armed forces of the DRC (FARDC) is the state organization responsible for defending the country but patterns of violence committed by armed groups, including killing and

abduction, have been witnessed with heightened frequency in the Northern Katanga Province.

The SSR is to restructure the system of security for the management, prevention and resolution of conflict, this means that the consolidation of lasting peace and sustainable development of societies.

The threat posed by armed groups remains high with populations at ongoing risk of further attack. The FARDC and MONUSCO have struggled to adequately protect civilians. The FRADC has also been implicated in previous attacks upon civilians, including widespread sexual violence. This is particularly in the Northern Katanga where the government has previously lost control of areas to the Mayi-Mayi rebel group.

While the government has undertaken important reforms, impunity for crimes committed against civilians remains rampant. The FARDC has also failed to hold members of its own forces accountable for atrocities committed against populations, and continues to put civilians at risk by allowing individuals accused of crimes to lead strategic operations.

One of the respondents argues that: "the FARDC must increase their capacity to respond to early warnings of attacks on civilians, particularly in Mitwaba, Pweto and Manono

called triangle of death. In addition, the FARDC must not permit individuals who have previously committed atrocities to join its forces and should train all recruits in the protection of civilians and respect of human rights"

4.2.2 Research Question number 2: In your opinion how safe is DRC today?
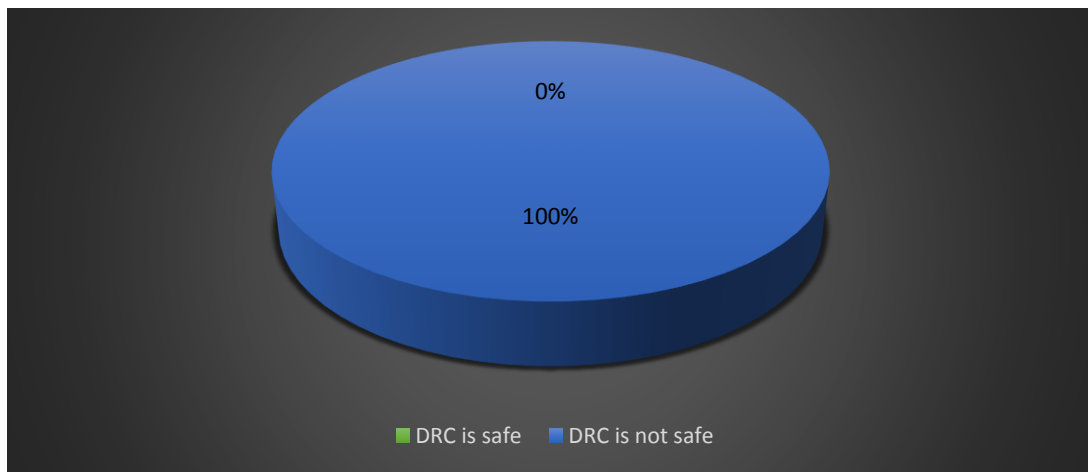
Figure 2: The Safety of DRC

The figure 2 is showing the respondents' answers on how safe is the DRC today. 100% of respondents have answered positively that the DRC is not safe. The researcher agreed together with the respondent in the issue that the DRC remains not safe and unstable.

Investigations have shown that the DRC has been mired in conflict for over a decade, with devastating effects on its civilians. The death toll dues to widespread diseases and famine. There have been frequent reports of weapon bearers' killings, destroying property,

widespread sexual violence, causing hundreds of thousands of people to flee their home or otherwise breaching humanitarian and human rights law.

Some respondents answered that "it's unpredictable what may happen today in Congo". In addition, none cannot say that DRC is safe today due to these rebellions going on in Katanga and Eastern part of the country.

4.2.3 Research Question number 3: How safe do you feel today?
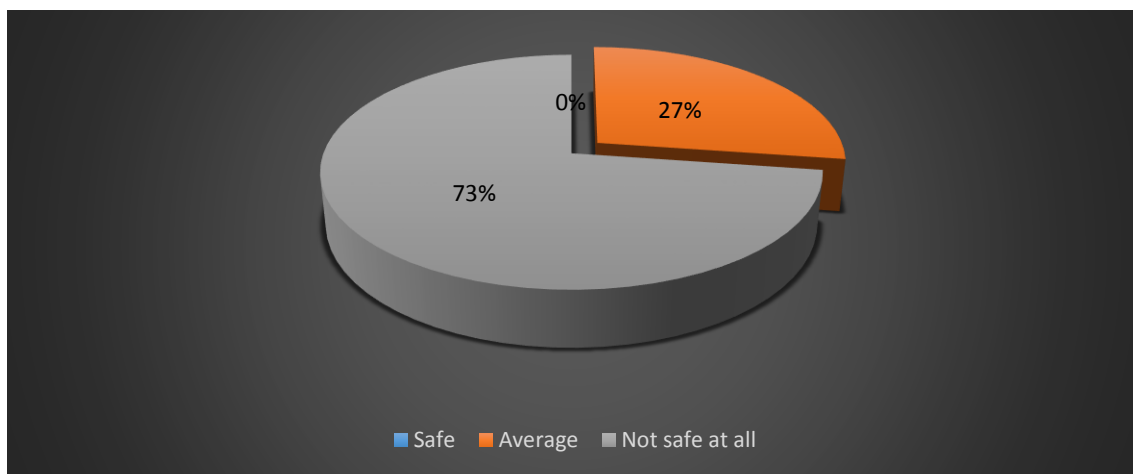
Figure 3: The safety of People

The figure 3 shows the respondents' response on: How safe do you feel today? 27% said DRC is average, mean not really safe and safe sometimes.73% of the respondents said that they are not safe. The researcher agreed with them in this matter.

The security situation in the area where Manono, Mitwaba, Malemba-Nkulu and Pweto territories come together has worsened considerably. Although it is difficult to give a precise estimate of displaced people in north-central Katanga, population movements continue to be observed throughout the stated territories. Following a new wave of destruction in which a number of villages were set on fire and looted, the inhabitants fled, leaving behind what little they had. Some found refuge in nearby villages and others in the bush, where they are currently without shelter and exposed to the elements.

A respondent said that" I don't feel safe personally because no one is secured in DRC these days, only God is secure me. The insecurity has reached to pick because you can be aggressed at your own house and get killed. Attacks in villages by different armed groups are multiplying".

Despite acts of violence and the displacement of civilians since November 2011, the Congolese government neglected the Mayi-Mayi in Northern Katanga, revealing its indifference towards protecting its population.

4.2.4 Research Question number 4: In your opinion, compared to the time before the escape of Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga in prison in 2011, what was the general state of security in the region?
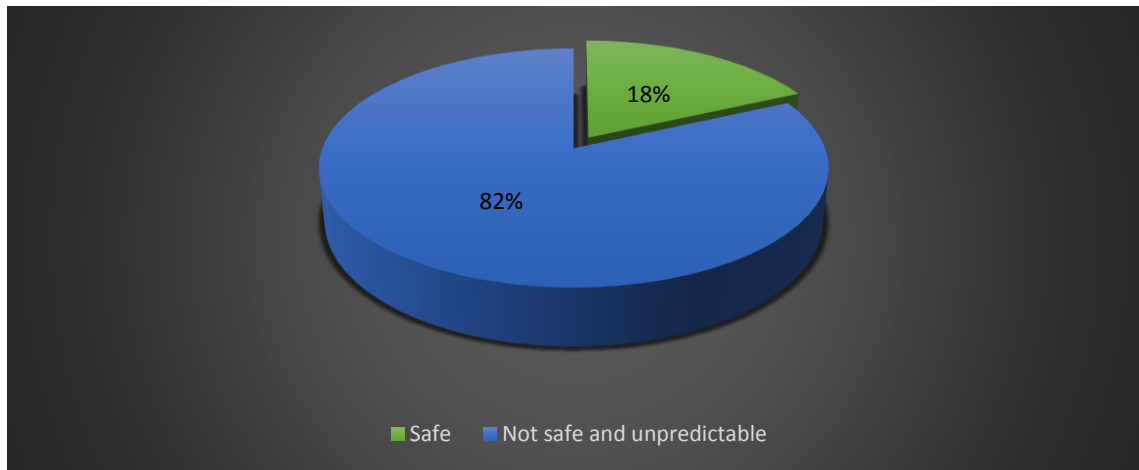
Figure 4: The state of security before 2011

The figure 4 is displaying the respondents' answers on "In your opinion, compared to the time before the escape of Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga in prison in 2011, what was the general state of security in the region? 18% of respondents said that they are not safe and 82% of respondents said on top of not being safe, the state of security was also unpredictable.

Before the escape of Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga in the prison of Kasapa in Lubumbashi, the general of security in the region was unpredictable. People lived and still living in

uncertainty when it comes to security in the region. Before he was in prison and after his escape the region has been the same deadly as usual, testified some respondents.

4.2.5 Research Question number 5: Which groups provide security in the area?

The groups involved in the security of the Northern Katanga are: Armed Forces of DRC (FARDC), UN Organization, Stabilization Mission in the DRC, (MONUSCO), Congolese National Police (PNC), customary chiefs, religious and other NGOs in human rights such as, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). Etc.

The Mayi-Mayi gather for large operations like the occupation of villages, but usually operate in smaller groups, terrorizing villagers, looting food, engaging in mass rapes killing village elders and combating FARDC patrols. Many Mayi-Mayi group ties to officers of the Armed Forces of DRC (FARDC) and some are known to wear FARDC uniforms that they doff during attacks, which they typically carry out naked.

4.2.6 Research Question number 6: Is the government of DRC making effort to stop hostilities?
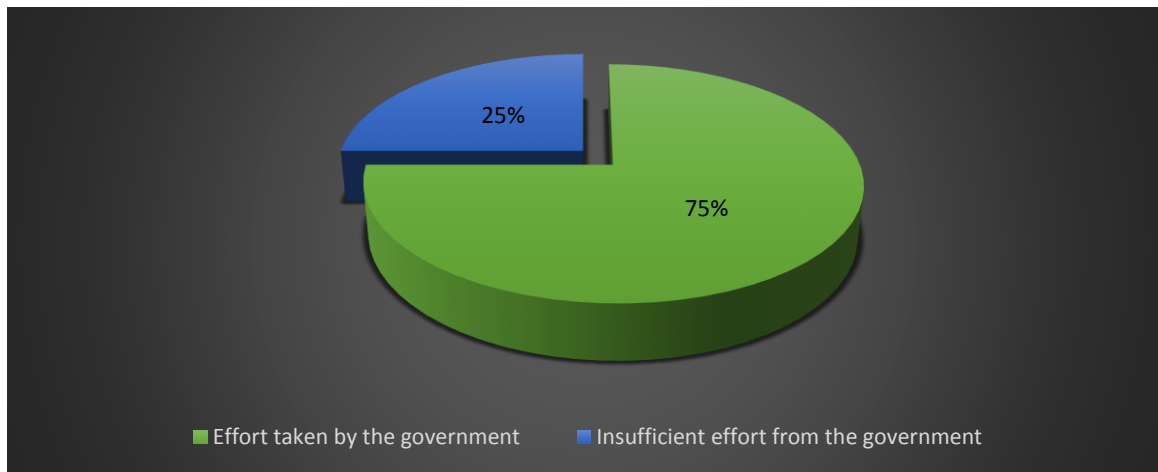
Figure 5: Effort of the government of DRC

The figure 5 shows the answers of the respondents. 25% of the respondents said that the government is trying to stop hostilities, 75% of respondent said that the government effort is insufficient and the social aspect, nothing is being done, yet the social issues are the main roots of hostilities in the area.

The government makes some efforts so that it is somewhat inefficient due to a breach of government agreements and the fact that the program of poverty is not solved is as the main cause of conflict and continues to produce the same conflicting effects.

Many international officials in the Congo said the army and the government are not serious about ending the conflict in Katanga. Although the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) has provide in other provinces in northeast DRC, it has not offered its help in the Northern Katanga.

UN official said "the government is telling us that it can handle this problem".

4.2.7 Research Question number 7: What role the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC) are playing in bringing stability?

The role the Armed forces of the DRC (FARDC) are:

➢ Awareness for voluntary surrender of weapons by militias

➢ Forced disarmament

➢ Integration of militiamen in the National Army

The DRC Armed Forces (FARDC) are fighting with rebels while calling youth to surrender. They are preventing the attacks of Mai-Mai against the populations. When there is no presence of DRC Armed Forces, the rebels come in the villages to steal the livestock and torch the huts on their passage. So the Army presence to prevent atrocities to happen. But not every village has an Army presence, which means many villages are still vulnerable to the rebels' attacks. Therefore, the presence of FARDC is ineffective in those villages, even some villages where they are operating.

4.2.8 Research Question number 8: What role should the government play in bringing peace and stability?

The role that the government should play is not limited to fighting poverty in the Northern Katanga by the creation of infrastructure, jobs, the government should also put in place a Repair Program for Victims.

The government should be creating jobs in the region enraged by famine and no infrastructures. What the government should focus on is eradicating poverty as said; this is the cause youth going into rebellion groups because there is no other means of survival. The development of these rural areas will ease lives of the people in the region, thus left people will be involved in armed groups.

The government should bring leaders from Katanga on the table to discuss ways to tackle those social challenges people are experiencing.

4.2.9 Research Question number 9: Is SSR necessary to overcome the violence in the region?
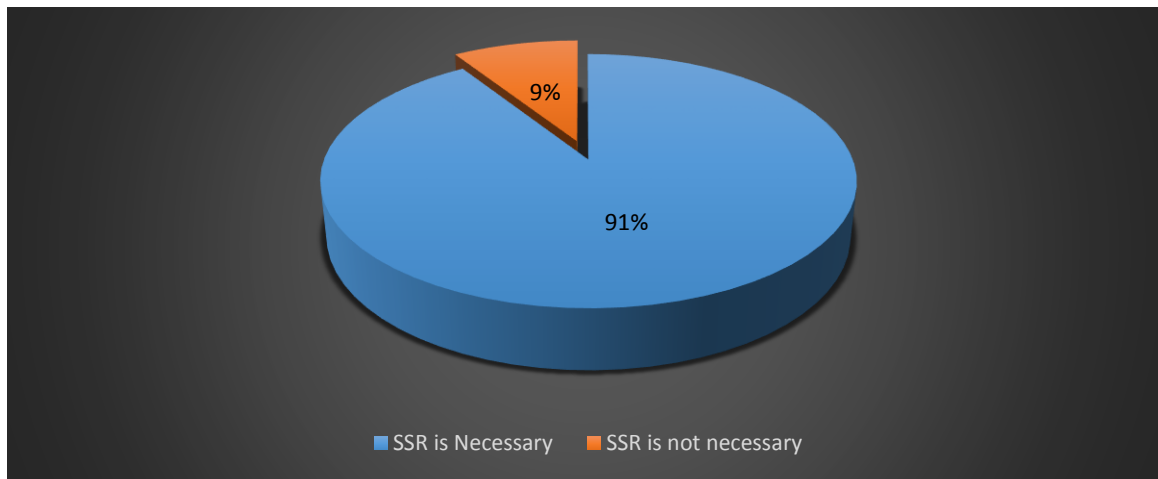
Figure 6: Necessity of SSR in the region

The figure 6 shows the answer of respondents on the necessity of SSR. 9% of respondents said that the SSR is not necessary to overcome the violence in the region. 91% of respondents said that is more than necessary in resolving conflict in the Northern Katanga. Further, the reduction of poverty that cause conflicts.

Rational management of the problem of infiltration into security forces, and regulate recruitment and integration of elements from the armed groups, military and security forces, to avoid all those who were implicated in the conflict to reintegrate any security forces.

SSR is an umbrella term that might include integrated activities in support of : defense and armed forces reform; civilian management and oversight; justice; police; correction; intelligence reform; national security planning and strategy support; border management; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR)and reduction of armed violence.

4.2.10 Research Question number 10: Do you have any suggestions about how the government can improve the security state in the region?

The government has to sit with the youth in the region and ask those who want to join the FARDC. Those who are not willing to join the Army must be trained on the Income Generating Activities (IGAs) such as farming, and technical skills because people who integrated militias groups because of poverty and the way of getting something was the integration either Mayi-Mayi groups or other insurgents groups for survival.

In Addition, the government should take more seriously the programme of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration because, those who were demobilized and those who were not still committing atrocities because poverty, and the reintegration was not done in the region.

4.2.11 Research Question number 11: Any suggestion that will benefit the improvement in DRC?

The government must retire those soldiers who are physical or mentally weak for the armies, and those who were involve in violence to civilian population should be punished.

The second important point that respondents urged is that the government must improve the soldiers salaries then punish those involved in mineral trafficking.

Unpaid soldiers become a threat to the population; they survive by stealing for the people and sometimes by killing them.

4.3 Interview of Government officials and NGOs

4.3.1 Interview 1: what do you understand by security sector reform?

The security sector reform is the upgrading of the defense ministry. These consist of reorganizing the police, the army, and other related agencies.

SSR is crucial to the DRC's governance and stability but has been neglected by donors and the UN. The DRC is problematic context in which to conduct SSR because:

➤ Its army is factionalized and controls significant natural resources

➢ The powers of the police and army are not separated

➢ The judiciary is subject to political control; and

➢ Regulatory bodies are ineffective and corrupt.

The legislature, finance management and human rights protection must be strengthened if SSR is to be effective.

4.3.2 Interview 2: Historically speaking, what has been the government's role in managing conflict in North Katanga from 2002-2007?

The government has not done much in managing the conflict in the Northern Katanga; this is the reason why the governor of Katanga Moise Katumbi Chapwe had gone to Kinshasa to seek the central government involvement in the rebel eradication in North Katanga. The government in Kinshasa is not doing enough to put end to the Northern Katanga conflicts.

The Government is only interested where there is their interest. The poor Katanga which is the North Katanga is not in the mind of the government because there is almost nothing to extract.

4.3.3 Interview 3: What are your perception of the conflict in North Katanga province?

The conflicts in the North Katanga Province are the result of the social inequality which people in the areas are now claiming by all means. For many years the North Katanga has been completely forsaken by the different governments that ruled the country; this in terms of infrastructures and government's financed community projects.

The other problem in the North Katanga is the chieftainship conflicts claimed by members of the chief families.

4.3.4 Interview 4: Is the state taking an active role in trying to stop, prevent and mitigate future conflict?

The government has reinforced the presence of the military in the region to prevent the inter-ethnic fighting. The numbers of the deployed Armed forces is not enough to secure the entire region. The Armed Forces send by the government instead of doing their work which is protecting civilian population, they are using them in their own interest such agriculture or mining.

4.3.5 Interview 5: Is the fight and conflict between the government and Mayi-Mayi militias, or is the state playing an active role in that conflict?

The Mayi-Mayi militias are against the government institutions because of their conditions of living. By not promoting the infrastructures and creating jobs, the government is playing the active role in this conflict.

The Mayi-Mayi are also well-armed and get some of their weapons from government troops. They are deserters who sometimes take arms with them, sometimes, the Mayi-Mayi attack the army and succeed in taking equipment.

Certain leaders in the government were supporting the Mayi-Mayi to weaken the government. The politicians use the situation to make themselves important. They tell Mayi-Mayi that the government doesn't care about you. You have to take hostages et cetera to draw attention to your plight. Meaning that the government is playing an active role in the conflict.

4.3.6 Interview 6: What are the impacts of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the region, and are they complicating and contributing to the crisis in the region?

The government has no structures or shelters in place to assist the IDPs, thus they have to live in the worst conditions. When the IDP comes to a new location, it is just worsening the lives' condition in the new environment.

There are no integration programs by the government to assist those displaced by the conflicts in North Katanga. This situation creates much instability in the region.

4.3.7 Interview 7: What is the relationship between the Congolese state and local customary chiefs in the northern Katanga Province?

The relationship is not sustainable because the local chiefs are not involved in the military operations. Also the local chiefs are targeted by the Mai-Mai. Many were killed and the rest had deserted their villages. There is no established relationship with the Congolese state though they are recognized.

4.3.8 Interview 8: What are the capacities and governance of security sector institutions?

We can say the security sector institutions are not capable to solve internal conflicts, thus the full presence of the UN Mission in the country. With repeated attacks in Lubumbashi, the Katanga capital town, this demonstrates that the security institutions still have a lot to learn. The capacities of the security sector institutions are very limited to say.

4.3.9 Interview 9: What are the major gaps in the security sector institutions and the government in order to bring peace and security in DRC, particular the Northern Katanga Province?

Personally I see the gaps in the armed personnel as well as in the leaders. When I say the armed personnel I see that lack of professionalism and commitment in the soldiers. Most of the commanders are mainly involved in trade rather than fighting the rebels within the country. When sent for the war against the rebels without many, many soldiers end up trading minerals or facilitating the illegal traffics.

The government must increase the security personnel's salaries, being the army or the police. One more problem is the equipment in terms of guns, with the embargo imposed on Congo; our armies lack updated weapons and materials to properly fight the different armed groups.

4.3.10 Interview 10: What reforms are being given priority?

Presently there is no reform going on in any institution in the country. Not even in education sector. The government must work on the security sector reform very quickly if it wants to eradicate the armed groups on the Congolese soil.

4.3.11 Interview 11: What are the needs, perceptions and priorities about the population, as well as communities, in security and justice matters?

The needs of the population and communities are the security of people and their properties. The government must bring to justice those responsible for atrocities in the region. Communities must feel safe and secured in their region so that they can perform their agricultural activities and hunting without fear.

4.3.12 Interview 12: Who in your view should sponsor SSR in the DRC?

The SSR in DRC should be sponsored by the Western country willing to see the change in SSR in Congo. The first sponsor must be the government, it has financial means to invest in the process but there is no will of doing so.

4.3.13 Interview 13: Should civilians and civil society be involved in the improvement of security sector in DRC?

The civilians and the civil society are key players of the security improvement in the region. We cannot talk of security improvement without associating the civilians and the civil society; they constitute the base of the community and are the first victims of the insecurity in the region.

Protection of civilians encompasses all efforts that improve the safety of civilians exposed to widespread threats of violence, coercion, or deliberate deprivation. These efforts include actions to reduce the threat itself, people's vulnerability to the threat, or the frequency of their exposure.

4.3.14 Interview 14: Any other suggestion that will benefit the improvement of SSR in DRC?

The government must improve ways of living of the security agents and that of their dependents. This is important to boost the morale of the security personnel.

The development of infrastructures in the region will ease fast access to the areas in very short time. The part of the region is not easily accessible; this makes it susceptible to rebel

attacks without fear of the FARDC. Thus the establishment of infrastructures is key to security.

4.4 Analysis of findings

Nowadays the overarching policy framework of SSR has become prominent when dealing with security infrastructure of states. The DRC is a problematic context in which to conduct SSR. The effectiveness of security structures can be measured by three cornerstones:

- ✓ The ability to protect national territory against aggression and internal threats
- ✓ Adherence to the rule of law
- ✓ The ability services to protect and respect citizens' rights.

The DRC security forces and institutions are seriously deficient in all these aspects. However, SSR in the DRC must be viewed in the context of the complex legacy inherited by Congo's malfunctioning institutions.

The main threats to the Congolese state were identified. The ranged from the transformation of political and social conflict into a general insurrection, and the failure of the DDR to the pillaging of natural resources, thus contributing to the existing insecurity.

Vetting procedures of former combatants prior to integration in the national army were largely non-existent. The practice so far was when unable to overcome the worst abusers, it was best to coopt armed groups into the army when unable to overcome them on the battlefield. However, this has led to numerous human rights abusers achieving high-ranking positions in the army

The army's main objectives were clearly identified as follow:

- ✓ Defending the country's territory and borders
- ✓ Protecting the population and the country's goods
- ✓ Contributing to the country's economic and social development.

The two main security problems, which are closely interlinked, consist of an ill-disciplined, often abuse national army and the possibility of military confrontations in the Northern Katanga Province, where militias still control large areas, and corruption and the weakness of state institutions are continuing to cripple government. The weakness of security forces has allowed militias rebel such as Mayi-Mayi and other insurgences even the Armed forces (FARDC) to perpetrate atrocities in the DRC, particular in the Northern Katanga Province.

The weakness within DRC's security sector has had two deleterious effects on the Congolese state. First, the government's failure to effective secure Congolese territory has allowed armed groups, both foreign and domestic, to fill the vacuum, contest state authority, and prey upon civilian populations with impunity. Second security forces themselves have become a significant threat to civilians.

The Situation is DRC, particular in North Katanga is described as follow: underpaid, underfed, ill-equipped and badly led, Congolese soldiers in the Northern Katanga province remain the single biggest cause of insecurity in the area, responsible for committing more than 60% of all human rights abuses against civilians similar accusations of abuse are also leveled against others armed such as Mayi-Mayi groups and other insurgents, including the police and demobilized ex-combatants who continue to reply on violence as mean of survival. Recognizing the weakness and abusiveness of large section of the DRC military FARDC or Armed Forces and Congolese National Police (PNC), and wanting to see improvement in the security and lives of Congolese people, particular people from North Katanga, need effective activities of SSR in the DRC.

4.5 Summary

The chapter presented and analyzed the data collected from the administered questionnaires and interviews with different respondents in the research. The data was presenting in thematic from basing on the research question provided. Government

officials, NGOs, community members formed the main respondents in the research. The presentation of major findings was in response to the research questions in relation to objectives of study. The research revealed that there is gaps in the security institution in the DRC. There is a need of SSR which can provide safety, security, and justice to people of DRC, particular the Northern Katanga Province. In addition, there is a need to improve the government ability to protect its citizens from both external and internal threats. The next chapter gives a summary of the major findings, recommendations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the research findings in relation to the set objectives of the study and gives some recommendations to the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and all security institutions, on the respect of Security Sector Reform (SSR) for the effective and durable peace and development. In addition, the government of the DRC has not forged the necessary institutions to sustain a professional national army and police force, let alone forces that are focused on the protection of the country's civilians. The central research questions that had to be answered were:

- ➢ What has caused the continuous instability in the Northern Katanga Province of DRC?
- ➢ How successful has the Security sector Reform (SSR) been in bringing peace and security in the Northern Katanga province between the years 2011-2014?
- ➢ How best can the security sector reforms become more effective in bringing peace to DRC?

The theoretical framework used in this study was that of changing the world and contribute towards social justice.

5.1 Summary of the research

Since research always begins with identifying a problem within a continent, a country or a community, the problem identified by the researcher is the weakness of security sector institutions in bringing effective and sustainable peace and security in the DRC, particular in the Northern Katanga Province. This has led to a number of serious human rights violations such as killings, abductions, sexual violence, including extrajudicial executions, torture, destruction of property, and inhuman treatment again civilians.

5.2 The major findings classified according to the research questions

5.2.1 What has caused the continuous instability in the Northern Katanga Province of DRC?

Conflict in DRC has been qualified as the war of Resources. The country rich in minerals such as cobalt, coltan, copper, cassiteritte, gold, etc. is often marred by corruption, authoritarian repression, and militarization. Rebel groups, governments and mining companies exploit mineral resources, fueling civil and interstate conflict as players vie for control over riches.

The DRC has fallen victim to rebels who use revenue from minerals to purchase arms and fuel conflict, so that they can continue exploiting minerals while the government is looking for a way to stop the conflict. The DRC government often establishes repressive

military regimes in mineral producing regions to protect their national interests, but local populations rarely see the profits and are subjected to environmental damage.

That's the reason that there still continuous conflict and instability in the DRC, particular in the Northern Katanga, where Mayi-Mayi militias are claiming for unequal division of wealth, want to cut Katanga as a country so that they can benefit on the wealth of the country and develop the north which has nothing for moment. In addition, the FARDC are incapable of protecting the people against aggressors. Instead, they themselves at times persecute the very people they are supposed to be protecting. So, the civilian populations flee to save themselves from killings, sexual violence and all manner of cruelty.

Today's army is relatively similar to the late President Mobutu's. Both were poorly paid, poorly treated by their own government, abusive towards the Congolese population, operating without oversight and composed of an uncertain mixture of well-trained officers and political appointees. As a result, Congo's armed forces still have not managed to win a single war or the trust of the population. The security forces were not made for the people, but to protect the interests of those in power.

The misfortune of DRC is due to the government failure to consolidate democracy, a failure that is primarily a function of the betrayal of the people's expectations by their

political and military leaders, who have placed narrow class interests above patriotism and general welfare. Rather than serving to meet the basic needs of the population, the enormous wealth of DRC has been monopolized by its rulers and their allies, which thrive on profiting from crisis situations.

5.2.2 How successful has the SSR been in bringing peace and security in the Northern Katanga Province between the years 2011-2014?

The DRC has gone through many years of war and insecurity, in which Mayi-Mayi militias, members of various armed forces and others insurgents have abused human rights. The situation in the Northern Katanga has remained unstable since Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga has been leading the Mayi-Mayi fighters known for their brutality and their attacks against the civilian population.

The attacks have mostly targeted villages in the so-called "triangle of death" in the Manono, Mitwaba and Pweto territories. The capacity of the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC) and UN Peacekeepers (MONUSCO) to secure these areas remains limited.

While Gedeon and his fighters along with the newly created Mayi-Mayi Kata Katanga are committing atrocities between villages of Manono, Pweto and Mitwaba in the Northern Katanga since 2011 by killing innocent civilian population and burning their houses, the

national army has also been implicated in a large number of violations against civilians. While some FARDC attacks can be seem as 'collateral damage" in their attempts to combat Mayi-Mayi groups, others armed forces are firing against civilians.

The SSR's effort is totally ineffective and unsuccessful in overcoming this serious violation of human rights in the DRC, particular in the northern Katanga. The central role for SSR in delivering security and justice needs an effective, well-manage and accountable security sector that requires an identification of any human security issues that must combine development, human rights and security concerns.

Whereas SSR started with cautious national and international support, Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) started from completely opposite. DDR in the Congo suffered from mismanagement and lack of political will and experience. The DRC had no recent DDR experience, little training was provided to the National Commission of Demobilization and reintegration (CONADER) staff and efficiency soon became an issue. Late payments in orientation centers stalled the entire DDR and SSR, as former combatants refused to leave without their allowances.

DDR and SSR are both recognized as key elements of peacebuilding. DDR has a direct impact on the prospects for SSR since Disarmament and Demobilization often conducted

before SSR is addressed, set the terrain for future reform efforts by establishing the numbers and nature of nature of security sector. If DDR is not done according to clear criteria, this will only fuel insecurity. This is the case of the Northern Katanga where DDR was not done effectively and led to a continuous insecurity in the stated area.

From the onset, the SSR in DRC was an uphill battle, largely due to the fact that the country was unstable since 1960 after its independence, having suffered from years of neglect under Joseph Desire Mobutu (1930-1997), emerging from two successive wars, with an unstable peace agreement due to the absence of a military victory.

5.2.3 How best can security sector reforms become more effective in bringing peace to DRC?

The Congolese population continues to suffer at the hands of men with guns. Much of this suffering stems from security sector, at its most basic level the army and police that terrorizes rather than protects the populations.

SSR can become more effective in bringing peace and security by conducting a proper security sector reform that ensured well-trained, well-fed and regularly paid security forces would mean a security sector at the service of the population and the country. This makes the difference between being able to go and fetch wood safely or walk to school

undisturbed as opposed to being raped, harassed or forced to do labor tasks by stranded soldiers on the way.

Effective security sector reform can be a solution to overcome the continuous cycle of conflict and humanitarian crisis, prevent human rights abuses but also break their cycle that links natural resources and conflict. The ensuing stability provides an environment more conducive to investment and growth.

The DRC will never extricate itself from this current situation of crisis until the army, the courts, the police, are reformed and pervasive culture of impunity addressed. However, without a deeper engagement on the part of the government, reforms are impossible, so the government should be implicated in all processes of the reforms.

5.3 Conclusion

In this research study critically discussed the importance of the SSR in bringing peace and security in DRC, particular the Northern Katanga Province. In addition, this research study interrogates assumptions, investigates the semantic battlefield provided by concepts, and highlights different perspectives that the SSR is an important institution that provides safety and security to the civilian population.

The summary of the path of research undertaken is the following: after the introductory chapter one, chapter two analyzed different literature related to the topic. This focused on human development and human security, included four case studies, respectively Somalia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Liberia. These case studies provided an in-depth analysis of the significance that SSR acquired in the design of an effective peace and stability.

Chapter three was devoted to the methodology used in the collection of data. The researcher investigated the theoretical trends that underpinned the human security called Post-Positivism. This trends that human knowledge is based not on unchallengeable, rock-solid foundations, but rather upon human conjectures. Chapter four presented, interpreted and analysis of data, followed by chapter five which concluded and gave some recommendations.

The government of DRC remains fully ineffective to protecting the population through the establishment of professional and sustainable security forces. The efforts to consolidate the conditions to ensure effective protection of civilians and sustainable development in the DRC depends and relies on its government to support the efforts to ensure the protection of civilians from violations of international humanitarian law and human rights abuses, including all forms of sexual and gender-based violence, to promote and protect human rights and to fight impunity.

5.4 Recommendations

Security sector reform is fundamental in bringing an end in human suffering for insecurity, conflicts and all forms of violations of human rights. Therefore, the DRC government must build on the incremental reform progress by implementing long-overdue reforms and demonstrating much greater political will and inclusivity. In addition, international assistance should be conditioned on the DRC. The primary responsibility for stability and prosperity in the DRC, lies with its government, so, the government should make further reform progress to protect the population and their belongings.

- ✓ The DRC government should mostly achieve the 5 principles of good governance which are the key to bringing about social change such as, safe and secure environment, the rule of law, inclusive infrastructure, sustainable development and human empowerment.

- ✓ The international community has an equally reasonable expectation in the DRC which is the contributions on the peacebuilding to the benefit of the country and its people, not for their own benefit.

- ✓ The DRC government should overhaul its security sector, including its army, military, justice system, and police force. The country needs first, a Congolese-led, long term security sector reform strategy that can be supported by the

international community. Second, the DRC needs to expand its democratic institutions across the country, including working to address the most salient governance issues in the Northern Katanga province, such as land disputes, the protection of minority communities, and the need for electoral changes.

✓ Reforms may be take time, but what is necessary is to see the DRC taking the initiative and beginning to implement them assertively, because without such visible steps, it will be increasingly difficult for the World to continue its massive investments in the DRC.

✓ Finding a sustainable solution to the protracted instability in the DRC, will continue to be a daunting challenge for the global community. The government should not shrink form acting just because it is hard, nor should we abandon the people of the DRC suffering because its challenges are complex. The leaders in the government must continue to aim high and expect a lot from the country, partners as well as its neighbors.

✓ The government of DRC should also fight again dysfunctional within the government which block SSR to work such as: corruption, lack of democratic control of the institutions responsible for security, an inappropriate legal framework, the existence of excessive or scant expenditure on security and

defense, and the presence of guerrillas or ex-combatants who need to be demobilized.

✓ Security sector reform in DRC has been mostly initiated and implemented by international partners with little governmental participation and even less leadership. The point to remember here is that none of the international community's efforts are sustainable or capable of producing systemic change unless the Congolese government demonstrates a full engagement and ownership of security sector reform initiatives. International effort must be coordinated and directed by a clear Congolese vision of security and of the security forces for a brighter future for the DRC and its people, and for a brighter future for those states around it and for Africa as a whole.

5.5 Areas for further study

1. Impact of civil society on the security sector reform

2. DDR and SSR nexus

3. SSR and Military proficiency in DRC

4. A critical assessment of good governance in a democratic country

5. Impact of the International donors on the Security sector reform

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Clearance Letter

INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

Investing in Africa's Future

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE - TEL:(263-20) 66788/60075/60026/61611 - FAX:(263-20) 66788/61785 - EMAIL:iplgdirector@africau.ac.zw - Website www.africau.edu

26 February 2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University

Ngoy Kafula Pasta student registration number **129391** is a student at Africa University. He is enrolled in a degree program in Public Policy and Governance and is currently conducting research for his Dissertation, which is required for completion of the program in June 2015. The research topic is **"A critical assessment of the Security Sector Reform in central Africa: The case study of Democratic Republic of Congo, Northern Katanga Province 2011-2014".** Ngoy is expected to undertake this research during the period February-May 2015 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in June 2015.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

Prof P. Machakanja
Director

"Living our Vision in Faith, Embracing Diversity, Developing Leaders for Africa"

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Appendix B: English questions for community members

My name is NGOY KAFULA Pasta (student No: 129391) and a student from the Africa University (AU) in Mutare/Zimbabwe. I am pursuing a Master degree in Peace Governance. My focus is the assessment of the security sector reforms in the central Africa: the case study of the Republic Democratic of Congo, Northern Katanga Province 2011-2014, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to respond the questions below as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So, please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality.

1. What is your understanding of security sector reform?

   …………………………………………………………………………………..

2. In your opinion, how safe is DRC today?

   …………………………………………………………………………………..

3. How safe do you feel personally today?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

4. In your opinion, compared to the time before the escape of Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga in prison in 2001, what was the general state of security like in the region?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

5. Which groups provide security in the area?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

6. Is the government of DRC making effort to stop hostilities?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

7. What role the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC) are playing in bringing stability?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

8. What role should the government should play in these matters?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

9. Is SSR necessary to overcome violence in the region?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Do you have any suggestions about how the government can improve the security state in the region?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

11. Any other suggestion that will benefit the improvement of SSR in DRC?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix C: English Interview for Government officials, NGOs

My name is NGOY KAFULA Pasta (student No: 129391) and a student from the Africa University (AU) in Mutare/Zimbabwe. I am pursuing a Master degree in Peace Governance. My focus is the assessment of the security sector reforms in the central Africa: the case study of the Republic Democratic of Congo, Northern Katanga Province 2011-2014, done in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the Master in Peace and Governance.

I kindly ask you to respond the questions below as openly and as frankly as possible. No names or any identification marks are required. So, please feel free to respond honestly. The information you are going to supply will be used for the purpose of this study only and will be treated with strict confidentiality.

1. What do you understand by security sector reform?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

2. Historically speaking, what has been the government's role in managing conflict in North Katanga from 2002-2007?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

3. What are your perceptions of the conflict in North Katanga Province?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

4. Is the state taking an active role in trying to stop, prevent and mitigate future conflicts?

   …………………………………………………………………………………..

5. Is the fight and conflict between the government and Mayi-Mayi militias, or is the state playing an active role in that conflicts?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

6. What is the impacts of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the region, and are they complicating and contributing to the crisis in the region?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

7. What is the relationship between the Congolese state and local customary chiefs in the Northern Katanga Province?

....

8. What are the capacities and governance of security sector institutions?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

9. What are the major gaps in the security sector institution and in the government in order to bring peace and security in DRC, in particular North Katanga?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

10. What reforms are being given priority?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

11. What are the needs, perceptions and priorities about the population, as well as communities, in security and justice matters?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

12. Who in your view should sponsor SSR in the DRC?

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

13. Should civilians and civil society be involved in the improvement of security sector in DRC?

………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Any other suggestion that will benefit the improvement of SSR in DRC?

………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix D: French Questions for the community members

Mon nom est NGOY KAFULA Pasta (étudiant No: 129 391) et un étudiant de l'Africa University (Au) à Mutare / Zimbabwe. Je poursuis une maîtrise en gouvernance de la paix. Mon objectif est l'évaluation des réformes du secteur de la sécurité dans l'Afrique centrale: l'étude de la République démocratique du Congo, le cas du Nord Katanga 2011-2014, etude faite en application partielle pour les exigences de la Master en Paix et de la gouvernance.

Je vous demande de bien vouloir répondre aux questions ci-dessous aussi ouvertement et aussi franchement que possible. Aucun nom ou les marques d'identification sont nécessaires. Donc, s' il vous plaît sentir libre de répondre honnêtement. Les informations que vous allez fournir sera utilisé aux fins de cette étude et ne sera traité avec la plus stricte confidentialité.

1. Quelle est votre compréhension de la réforme du secteur de la sécurité?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

2. À votre avis, est-il securisé RDC aujourd'hui?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

3. Comment vous vous sentez personnellement en sécurité aujourd'hui?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

4. À votre avis, par rapport à la période avant l'évasion de Gédéon Kyungu Mutangala en prison en 2001, comment était l'état général de la sécurité comme dans la région?

    …………………………………………………………………………………...

5. Quels groupes assurent la sécurité dans la région?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

6. Est-ce que le gouvernement de la RDC fait des efforts pour arrêter les hostilités?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

7. Quel est le rôle des Forces armées de la RDC (FARDC) jouent pour ramener la stabilité?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

8. Quel rôle devrait le gouvernement devrait jouer dans en ces propos?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

9. Est-ce la reforme du secteur de la securite nécessaire pour vaincre la violence dans la région?

   …………………………………………………………………………………

10. Avez-vous des suggestions sur la façon dont le gouvernement peut améliorer l'état de la sécurité dans la région?

    …………………………………………………………………………………

11. Toute autre suggestion qui profitera à l'amélioration de la reforme du secteur de la securite en RDC?

    …………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix E: French Interview for Government officials, NGOs

Mon nom est NGOY KAFULA Pasta (étudiant No: 129 391) et un étudiant de l'Africa University (Au) à Mutare / Zimbabwe. Je poursuis une maîtrise en gouvernance de la paix. Mon objectif est l'évaluation des réformes du secteur de la sécurité dans l'Afrique centrale: l'étude de la République démocratique du Congo, le cas du Nord Katanga 2011-2014, etude faite en application partielle pour les exigences de la Master en Paix et de la gouvernance.

Je vous demande de bien vouloir répondre aux questions ci-dessous aussi ouvertement et aussi franchement que possible. Aucun nom ou les marques d'identification sont nécessaires. Donc, s' il vous plaît sentir libre de répondre honnêtement. Les informations que vous allez fournir sera utilisé aux fins de cette étude et ne sera traité avec la plus stricte confidentialité.

1. Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par la réforme du secteur de la sécurité?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

2. Historiquement parlant, qu'a été le rôle du gouvernement dans la gestion des conflits au Nord-Katanga 2002-2007?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

3. Quelles sont vos perceptions du conflit dans le Nord Katanga?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………

4. Est-ce l'état de prendre un rôle actif pour d'arrêter, prévenir et atténuer les conflits futurs?

   ……………………………………………………………………………………..

5. Est-ce que c'est la lutte et le conflit entre le gouvernement et les milices Maï-Maï, ou est l'état jouent un rôle actif dans ce conflits?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

6. Quel est l'impact de personnes déplacées internes (PDI) dans la région, et sont-elles entrein de compliquer et de contribuer à la crise dans la région?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Quelle est la relation entre l'Etat congolais et les chefs coutumiers locaux dans la province du Nord Katanga?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

8. Quelles sont les capacités et la gouvernance des institutions du secteur de la sécurité?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

9. Quelles sont les principales lacunes dans l'établissement du secteur de la sécurité et du gouvernement afin d'apporter la paix et la sécurité en RDC, en particulier le Nord-Katanga?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

10. Quelles réformes sont prioritaires?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

11. Quels sont les besoins, les perceptions et les priorités sur la population, ainsi que les communautés, en matière de sécurité et de justice?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

12. Qui à votre avis devrait parrainer la Reforme du Secteur de la Securite en RDC?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

13. Les civils et la société civile doivent être impliqués dans l'amélioration de secteur

de la sécurité en RDC?

…………………………………………………………………………………………
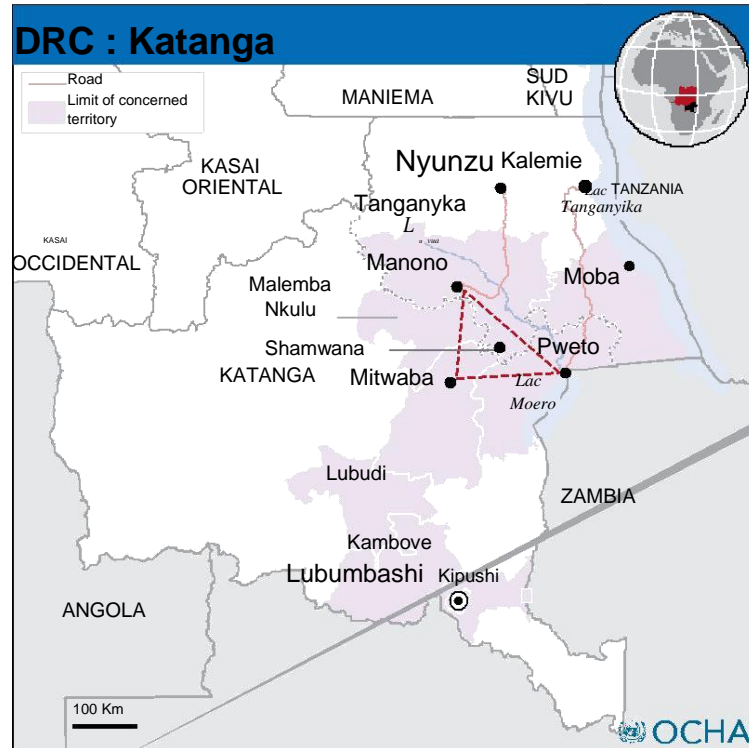
14. Toute autre suggestion qui profitera à l'amélioration de la Reforme du Secteur de

la Securité en RDC?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix F: The Map of DRC

Appendix G: The Map of Katanga Province

Appendix H: Africa University Research Committee Approval Letter

AFRICA UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE • OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE • TEL: (+263-20) 60075/60026/61611 • E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu • WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU152/15   March 31, 2015

Pasta Kafula
Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance
Africa University
Mutare

Re: A critical assessment of the security sector reforms in Central Africa: The case of Democratic Republic of Congo, Northern Katanga Province 2011 to 2014.

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed and **approved** your application to conduct the above research.

The approval is based on the following.

  a) Research proposal
  b) Questionnaires
  c) Informed consent form

  • **APPROVAL NUMBER**   AUREC152/14A
  This number should be used on all correspondences, consent forms, and appropriate documents.
  • **AUREC MEETING DATE**   NA
  • **APPROVAL DATE**   March 16, 2015
  • **EXPIRATION DATE**   March 15, 2016
  • **TYPE OF MEETING**   Expedited

After the expiration date this research may only continue upon renewal. For purposes of renewal, a progress report on a standard AUREC form should be submitted a month before expiration date.

  • **SERIOUS ADVERSE EVENTS** All serious problems having to do with subject safety must be reported to AUREC within 3 working days on standard AUREC form.
  • **MODIFICATIONS** Prior AUREC approval is required before implementing any changes in the proposal (including changes in the consent documents)
  • **TERMINATION OF STUDY** Upon termination of the study a report has to be submitted to AUREC using standard form obtained from.

Yours Faithfully

....
AUREC SECRETARIAT
FOR CHAIRPERSON, <u>AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE</u>

> AFRICA UNIVERSITY
> RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)
>
> 3 1 MAR 2014
>
> **APPROVED**
> P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE