

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**POLICE REFORMS IN POST CONFLICT COUNTRIES: A CASE STUDY OF  
RWANDA NATIONAL POLICE (1994 - 2005)**

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Research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the award of a  
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## DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other University.

Signed ..... Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2015

Kamali Theophilus

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my permission as a University Supervisor.

Signed ..... Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2015

Professor Macharia Munene

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this Research Project to the people of Rwanda who on a daily basis strive to make Rwanda better.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This research project has been undertaken with due assistance from the Government of Rwanda who paid my school fees and upkeep during the time I undertook the studies in Diplomacy and International Studies.

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Professor Machari Munene took me through the research as my supervisor; I thank him for his support.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This is a research project on post conflict police reforms targeting Rwanda as a case study. However, four other countries namely; South Africa, Burundi, Sierra Leone and Liberia were looked at to be able to comprehensively study the post conflict police reforms.

The Research was motivated by the conceptualization that post conflict countries have unique challenges and require concerted efforts to address these challenges so as to bring back normalcy and to improve the welfare of citizens. Moreover, in such conflict periods the police has become part of the problem or have become irreverent due to the fact that they have failed to fulfill their noble cause of protecting the citizens, there is therefore considerable loss of trust by the population towards the police.

Consequently, the study sought to study the post conflict challenges and post conflict police reforms and brought out recommendations.

This research project like research of similar categories will add to the existing knowledge in academia and also inform the policy makers and practitioners in the area of police reforms.

Post conflict reform efforts are generally directed to all spheres of the government but, the security sector and more specifically the police is a vital area that requires revamping to be able to bring back public confidence and create a favorable environment for development.

The research work was mainly informed by systems theory which in essence emphasizes the importance of coordinated approach to government institutions geared towards coordinated and harmonized institutional approach to nation building.

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACP	Assistant Commissioner of Police
AFRC	Armed Forces revolutionary Council
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AU	African Union
BNP	Burundi National Police
BNUB	United Nations Office in Burundi
CCSSP	Common Wealth Community safety and Security Project
CPCs	Community Policing Committees
DASSO	District Administration Security Support Organ
DFID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAPCCO	East African Police Chiefs Cooperation
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African states
EO	Executive Outcomes
EPRDF	Ethiopia People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FRELIMO	Front for Liberation of Mozambique
GBV	Gender based Violence
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ISF	International Stabilization fund
KWS	Kenya Wild life Services
LNP	Liberian National Police
MINALOC	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
MININTER	Ministry of Internal Security
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MRND	National Revolutionary Movement for Development
NPRC	National Provision Ruling Council
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council
NTC	National Telecommunications Corporation
NTGL	National Transition Government of Liberia

RANU	Rwanda Alliance for National Unity
RECSA	Regional Centre on Small Arms
RNP	Rwanda National Police
RPA	Rwandese Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandese Patriotic Front
RPF	Rwandese Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary Unit Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAPS	South Africa Police Services
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLP	Sierra Leone Police
SNPB	Swedish National Police Board
SOD	Special Operations Division
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SSS	Special Security Services
UN	United Nation
UN	United Nations
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda
UNAMIR	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNCIVPOL	United Nations Civil Police
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNITA	Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
WAN	Wide Area Net work

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Background to the Study

The ever increasing social-economic demands and associated technological advancements render police initiatives irrelevant if nothing is done to align police strategies to the new challenges. Such challenges are real in post conflict countries where society suffers from after war effects.

The word "Police" means the arrangements made to ensure that the inhabitants keep the peace and obey the law. The word also denotes the force of peace officers (or police) employed for this purpose. Maintaining public order and safety and enforcing the law, including preventing and detecting crime. In addition, it is (police) usually entrusted with various inspectional, licensing and regulating activities. The police is an official organization for maintaining public law and order, solve and prevent crimes in a place.

The evolution of police as a force and as a service is closely related to the evolution of classes in a society. The owners of property wanted protection from those that did not have. The ruling class needs coercive instruments to maintain control over basic resources and labor. With changes in social structures and involvement, the need for

police to adapt increased which justifies police reforms that emphasize community oriented policing.<sup>1</sup>

Britain is reputedly the origin of modern policing. It developed over time as a local affair, with the responsibility of every person to maintain law and order. Each citizen had a duty to suppress crime and disorder within his area. Policing started as a noble, incorruptible profession with considerable responsibility and distinction. When the first paid professional police force was proposed in Britain, it was strongly opposed by those who feared that such force would lead to repression and threat to the freedom of the individual.<sup>2</sup>

This fear was justified by the police occasionally going out of its way to molest the people it is otherwise meant to protect. This happens particularly in conflict countries where police appear to be either irrelevant or themselves a part of the problem. Owing to deficiencies of the police in upholding the rule of law, there are constant pressures from all circles for police reforms. Rwanda is one of the country's in which there is need for police reforms.

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<sup>1</sup> Cyril D. Robinson, M. Olivero and Richard Scaglione, Police in Contradiction: The Evolution of the Police Function in Society; (Westport, Greenwood Press CT, 1994); p.47 (Electronic Library publications - <http://www.questia.com>)

<sup>2</sup> Robert Reiner, The Politics of the Police, 3rd Edition, (Oxford, University Press, 2000) p.15

## **1.1 Statement of the problem**

Rwanda emerged out of Genocide in 1994 in which the police had failed to keep law and order and to uphold the rule of law. People lost confidence in the police as ethnic suspicion intensified. How to restore confidence became a major challenge for the new government which undertook all types of reforms. But it was not clear how such reforms were to be undertaken and who would do it. The police reforms were probably the most problematic given the paucity of research in that field in Rwanda.

## **1.2 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of the study is to understand post conflict police reforms, focusing on Rwanda. Other objectives are:

- To analyze post conflict poling challenges in selected African countries and in Rwanda as a case study.
- To study post conflict reforms in five selected African countries
- To provide appropriate recommendations in line with the study

## **1.3 Literature Review**

Cyril D. Robinson in the book, Police in Contradiction: The Evolution of the Police Function in Society argued that the evolution of police is closely related to the evolution of the society and that police was not relevant in the early days. The police evolved as an instrument of control to contain the poor and protect the rich. The author thus suggests that developmentally, the police institution has a double and contradictory origin and function.

Robert Reiner in his book, The Politics of the Police, argues that, while policing may originate in collective and communal processes of social order, specialized police forces, develop hand in hand with the development of social inequality and hierarchy and therefore such specialized police forces are a means for the emergence and protection of more centralized and dominant state systems. The police have developed as the specialist organization charged with the maintenance of order, and entrusted to deploy force that states monopolize. In case of Britain, police reforms were motivated by the large and growing cities which were seen as breeding grounds of crime and disorder. Rapid urban and industrial development brought immense social dislocation and disruption, engendering demoralization, crime and social conflict.

Clive Emsley in his book, Policing and its Context, while writing on the police in France and in London, argues that police reforms date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The police reforms in the two countries are related to the dual revolution. In France, the French Revolutions was critical in re-examining the police. In England, it was the industrial revolution.

Roger G. Dunham, Critical issues in Policing; the authors examine the complex elements of policing within the broader social context and discuss the distinctive make up of policing and police organizations. They also examine public assumptions and perceptions of police and the effects of current trends in training, community-oriented policing, and the use of high-tech information systems. In tracing the evolution of policing, they note

that the industrial revolution led to the increase in the number of factories, tenements, vehicles, and market places. There followed a break down in social control, as crime, riots, disorder, and public health problems disrupted the city. The constable watch system of law enforcement could no longer deal successfully with the problems of the day, and alternative solutions had to be devised.

Allen E. Wagner, “Evaluating Citizen Complaints Against the Police” discussed the importance of having in place an effective mechanism for addressing complaints against police (complaints by the public against the police) so as to restrain the excessive use of force and abuse of power by the police. The police should put in place a mechanism that is effective in capturing complaints from the public but also effective in following up such complaints; the feedback mechanisms to the complainant is also emphasized.

Malcom K. Sparrow, Beyond 911, a New Era For Policing, contend that in some societies, policing has been a method of imposing the will of small but powerful minority on a fearful, and often silent majority. In others, policing has helped majority keep minorities in check. At other times, and in other places, policing has acted as a kind of corrupt local power brokerage, striking constantly shifting and unstable balances between competing political enterprises. In other places, policing has been ordained an instrument of democracy itself through which the pressing concerns of all can be heard, their safety guaranteed, their crises addressed, their conflicts interrupted or resolved.

Charles R. Swanson, Police Administration: Structures, Processes, and Behavior, argues that the role of the police is to maintain peace within a carefully established framework of individual liberties. Devoting resources to policing and reducing rights could be effective in crime. Policing is an institution that does not stand alone; it is part and parcel of the larger society it serves and is influenced by the forces of that larger society. The most important of these factors have been: politics and administration, the attempts to professionalize police, the application of new scientific and work technologies, the continuing and varied scrutiny by the legislative committees, the rise and the impact of police unions and economic impacts on policing.

Michael Pugh, Peace Building and Police Reform, addresses issues of police reform in transitions from war to peace and notes that the effective monopoly of the legal use of violence is a key feature of any state construct. A state is defined precisely by its monopoly of legitimate force, and developments towards peace in war-torn societies are almost always doomed to fail if these issues are not properly addressed. The extent to which a war-torn community is able to (re)establish a security sector that is legitimate and loyal to state's institutions may prove the key to the success or failure of the peace process. In conflict-ridden societies, the difference between the military and the police is typically blurred, a fact which in itself contributes to the problem of post-conflict settlement. Restructuring of the coercive powers of the state especially in post-conflict situations is increasingly seen as an intrinsic feature of state reform. De-linking the military and the police is critically important in the transition from war to peace because the police and military institutions often become closely associated preceding or during



conflict. As the state turns increasingly to the military to shore up the police's capacity to maintain internal order in the face of civil unrest and conflict, the distinction between internal order and external security becomes blurred. Sometimes, the military comes to dominate the police formally or informally, and the police becomes de-civilianized and militarized, as it falls under military control.

Willard M. Oliver, Community Policing, noted that after decades of law enforcement, police rediscovered policing and that policing had gone through a major paradigm shift during the 1980's. Among the lessons learnt is that policing in a democracy must ultimately be a partnership with citizens and other public and private sectors.

Samuel Walker, "Broken Windows and Fractured History: The Use and Misuse of History In Recent Police Patrol Analysis" in Willard M. Oliver, Community Policing, manifested the Theory of Broken windows, using the broken windows as a metaphor for the deterioration of neighborhoods, argued that a broken window un attended leads to a thousand broken windows and that one problem left un attended leads to more problems and consequently insecure neighborhoods. He argued that, police should get concerned with the so called small problems in society for these are the ones that ultimately mature into big problems that cause insecure neighborhoods.

Alice Hills, Policing Africa: Internal Security & the Limits of Liberalization, argues that the use and abuse of power in Africa has been closely related to the role and function of the police. Exploring the impact of the continuous moves towards liberalization across

the continent both on policing systems and the relationship between those systems and the national development, Hills claims that despite the changes that have been witnessed in 1990's, the police continue to reflect the character of their regimes. Brutal regimes will have brutal police and where states are fragile and lacking in institutional capacity, their police are likely to be undisciplined; and that police is inherently political for the police enforce decisions taken (or allowed) by political authorities in support of specific regime concerns, such as survival. Due to inadequacies of police in Africa in upholding the rule of law, safeguarding the fundamental human rights, there are constant pressures from all circles for police to make necessary reforms that will create an atmosphere for democratic governance and provide a conducive environment for development.

Roy R. Roberg, Police and Society, has argued that the type of police a society has is determined by the type of government, either totalitarian or democratic. In democratic types of government there are a number of democracy-police conflicts. Democracy represents freedom, participation of the governed, equality and consensus, whereas the police represent restriction and imposition of the government's authority on the individual. The rule of law comes in as the most important means for dealing with the democracy-police conflict. Laws represent rules that citizens are supposed to follow and that the police are supposed to follow in their relations with citizens. The greater the degree to which the legal, organizational and community expectations are compatible, the less the extent of role conflict for the police in a democratic society.

Janine Rauch, Police Reform in Post-Conflict Africa, (a review), notes the role of police in conflict situations. In case of severe conflict, the public (state) police appear to be either irrelevant or themselves are part of the problem. The armed force tends to be monopolized by the military and various non-state militias. In so far as the police have a significant role to play, it is often as paramilitary adjunct to one or the other of the contending forces. The problems of policing in conflict situations as in Mozambique between 1975 and 1990, one party state develops partisan security institutions where police and intelligence agencies are subservient to the military. In the context of the civil war itself, internal and external security became blurred. As a consequence, a paramilitary mind set shaped the police institution. The need to civilianize certain postings in the police, to expand service delivery to the citizen and to seek opportunities for police-community collaborations is emphasized.

David H. Bayley, Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Policing Abroad, observed that, in post conflict situations, arms are plentiful and former combatants are unemployed, habituated to violence, and bitter. Threat to security comes from increased crime, caused by; demobilized combatants, widespread unemployment, prolonged absence of effective policing, discredited institutions of justice, growth of organized crime, loss of informal social control by families and communities traumatized by conflict, easy access to weapons, and the growth of vigilantism.

John Kleinig, The Ethics of Policing, argues that although the principle object of police has been for a long time associated with prevention of crime, along with detection and

conviction of offenders, over time, it is clear that police has a much wider social role. Studies have so far revealed that only a proportion of police work is devoted to crime fighting, rather most of police time is spent on various social police activities (intervention in family crisis, searching for lost children, rescuing animals, directing traffic, supervising crowds, visiting schools, assisting the elderly, and even other administrative tasks). Despite these wide social responsibilities, by raising the status of the police work through professionalism, job morale will be boosted and pride engendered, greater public respect fostered, a better quality of intake attracted, services improved, efficiency improved and corruption curbed. This professionalism is marked by the existence of a police code of conduct, the acquisition of special knowledge and expertise, personnel with higher education, autonomy, discretion and self-regulation.

Daniel Gilling, Crime prevention: Theory, policy and politics, contends that crime cannot be looked at in isolation but in the context of the social, political and economic perspectives. A well to do society with low levels of unemployment, well planned, well lit settlements, will attract less crime. A society where parents look after their children properly will register less Juvenile delinquency. It is therefore important that the policy of fighting crime be looked at from holistic perspective. Gilling also adds that crime is increasingly becoming complex given the technological advancements and even the broken social control structures (family). The ever increasing population with limited resources to exploit, put extra demands on the ordinary citizen. The temptation to wrongfully acquire wealth is weighed against the possibility of going away with it.

Fighting crime will require interagency cooperation to be effectively controlled both from within the borders and beyond.

Andras Kadar (Ed), Police in Transition, Essays on the Police Forces in Transition Countries, discusses areas of police reform and observes that although the prime objectives of policing are to maintain law and order and to fight and prevent crime, depending on the nation situation, attention will be given primarily to combating say terrorism and organize cross border crimes, or guaranteeing internal security. The other question is whether it can be expected that the police remain the only actor responsible for ensuring safety. Even the Police authorities are realizing more and more that the police alone cannot solve crime and social insecurity and therefore the opinion that if the police do not re-consider their position in the near future, they will no longer be able to fulfill their basic aims.

Michael Rowe, Introduction to Policing, while exploring the changing role of technology and other issues in contemporary policing, observed that the Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) surveillance technology is an aid to crime detection. Although surveillance and information technology enables and accelerates the course of investigations, the actual identification of the offender relies on proper observation and interpretation by the people. It is therefore important that development and application of Information and Communication (ICT) infrastructure go hand in hand with relevant personnel training. Similar technology that aides the police work, a more recent one is the Automatic Number Plate Recognition System (ANPR) where digital cameras record vehicle

registration plates and trawl data bases in effort to identify vehicles that are reported stolen or are otherwise of interest to police. While referring to the future of modern technologies to police work, the author asserts that in future, we should see police drones in the skies. The Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) commonly referred to as drones are being designed in western countries to suit police operations (traffic control, detection of offenders and prevention of crime), this is because of their capacity to carry out surveillance that is rapidly mobile and the fact that it can be used covertly at a greater distance from the subjects than can the CCTVs.

Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society: Making Rwandans Feel Safe, Involved, and Re-assured, traces the history of Police and Policing in Rwanda. It reveals that the Belgian control of Rwanda and Burundi saw the importation from Belgian Congo of a ruthless army known as the *La Force Publique du Congo Belge* to police Rwanda. In 1949 *La Police territoriale* (Territorial Police) made of locals both Rwandan and Burundians was established, nevertheless, policing continued to serve alien interests. The Post-Independence attempts of building a new police force led to the formation of *Police Nationale* (National Police) that lasted up to 1973. It was replaced by *Gendarmerie Nationale* (National Gendarmerie) after the coup d'état of 1973 that brought Juvenale Habyarimana to power. The rebuilding of a post Genocide society led to the formation of new National Gendarmerie and Communal Police that were consequently merged to get rid of duplication of functions and decisive shift from paramilitary to civilian policing by establishment of the Rwanda national Police in June 2000.

Baker Bruce's article, "Sierra Leone Policing" Journal of Contemporary African studies, observes that there are numerous policing bodies aligned to different ministries. People must weigh their options as to the best police agency for their situation. They can choose from agencies authorized by the state, elected work committees, Chiefdoms, Commercial companies, Community groups, youth or their own family. The Sierra Leone Police before the war was incompetent and corrupt; a ready tool for the perpetuation of state terror against political opponents, engaged in extortion of money and the violation of basic human rights. The Police was an instrument of state oppression especially the paramilitary special security division. Though, the police force as it existed after the war was contaminated by past events and conduct, it was decided after the war not to disband but to totally restructure it and retrain the executive management team. The biggest impact to police reform in Sierra Leone since the war has been on the improved relationship between the public and police

Bruce Baker, "Conflict and African Police Culture: The Cases of Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra Leone" in M. O'Neil, Police occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions, examines the impact of conflict on police culture, taking the case study of Uganda, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. He argues that the values and practices of the Uganda, Rwanda and Sierra Leone police have been shaped by the experience of the war. Following successful rebellion, Uganda and Rwanda chose to rely on a form of local popular justice, supplemented by the police. Sierra Leone, where the rebel was defeated has adopted a more western-style police model. All three have undertaken management

reform. He further observes that in the violence and upheaval of war, structures of law and order, both state and non-state, are severely disrupted. Past values and practices are prone to being abandoned as state police are targeted as defenders of the regime under attack; customary chiefs with their court and policing system are driven out or flee; the social control of family, neighbours and clan dissolves in the anarchy of displacement and bereavement; and young men with guns assert their authority. Wars not only disturb the old order but, may bring in a new order and a new way of regulating that order. If the regime policing falls with its autocratic rulers, new doctrines may take over of popular justice or democratic policing or community participation, or even, where insecurity persists, militarization of the policing. Post-war donor reconstruction may bring a policing agenda that includes new styles of policing, new approaches to management, new institutions of accountability and new capital resources. Finally, in the course of regime change, there may be security vacuum between the discrediting and dismantling of old forms of social control and policing and the introduction of new alternatives. Depending on regime ideology, state policy, and capacity, this law enforcement vacuum may be filled by new or pre-existing non-state policing agencies and commercial security, reordering security networks. It would then be very surprising if in all this turmoil, police culture was not affected.

Emanuel Kwesi Aning, “An Overview of the Ghana Police service”, gives an overview of Ghana police in terms of its origins and developments, structural development, growth and expansion. He notes that the police in Ghana has not been spared the unpleasant indictment of alleged brutalities, improper arrests, unlawful detentions, the conduct of



illegal searches, unjustifiable use of force and fire arms, oppression and other forms of highhandedness which are patently inimical to the protection of civil liberties. Aning further pressed that in the past, it was recognized in official government circles that internally, the police in Ghana had not strictly followed the laws and regulations governing appointments and promotions within the police service. The service was permeated with weakness, both structural and professional. The relationship between the police and the public was described as poor (mistrust and discomfort) and despite various committees put in place to review policing in Ghana, there has been inability or unwillingness of successive police leadership to implement such recommendations by the committees. The police often face the dilemma of protecting the rights and liberties of the individual while at the same time maintaining peace and public order in a social-democratic setting. This dilemma underscores why it is sometimes said that the law enforcement is forever at odds with civil liberty and therefore the need for careful balancing of law and dictates of public order.

Hesta Groenewald, “Police Reform through Community-Based Policing: Philosophy and Guidelines for Implementation”, pointed out that Police reform is increasingly recognized as a fundamental element of conflict management. A police service supported by the community and capable of arresting insecurity can have a far-reaching impact in enabling lasting economic, social and political development. Police reform can also complement and embolden other programming in the areas of security sector reform, rule of law and good governance. The efforts to reform and improve the services of police (service delivery) face daunting political, financial, logistical and historical obstacles. It’s very

complexity can be intimidating, touching on the issues of management, leadership, political will, attitudes, established behaviors and negative public perceptions.

#### **1.4 Justification of the study**

The provision of security to citizens and communities is an essential function of the modern state. The police are the key state agency responsible for policing and ensuring public security, and are thus strongly linked with the well-being of individuals and communities through its routine provision of preventive, administrative and punitive services, including the undertaking of criminal investigation, recovering stolen property and bringing suspects to justice. In post-conflict countries, the dismantling of regime policing and the establishment of democratic policing – policing that is professionally effective, accountable and legitimate is an indicator of the consolidation of democracy.

Such Police reforms for sure have been undertaken in Rwanda since the year 1994 up to day date, and in fact seems to be a continuous process as policing challenges are themselves dynamic in nature. For purposes of this research, we shall mainly look at the period from 1994 up to 2005. It is important to remember that, this is the time that Rwanda was coming out of a civil strife that culminated into the genocide of 1994.

It is not debatable whether such reforms have been made but what is highly in doubt is whether there has been a systematic research to take an account of such reforms. The intention of this research is to study such reforms that have been undertaken and to undertake a critical analysis of effectiveness of such reforms in delivering improved police service to the citizens.

This research is an academic piece of work that by implication will add to the academic literature on the subject matter and therefore inform other scholars. The research will in addition help the policy makers to have a record of how far they have gone in police reforms as part of the overall reforms geared towards a democratic society. The researcher also hopes that this can be an insight of what can be done in typical post conflict countries and therefore inform future policy initiatives in the domain of police reforms.

### **1.5 Theoretical framework**

The Police as a function is to a bigger extent informed by to Criminology studies. In essence, a number of criminology theories can be applied to police management.

**1.5.0 The classical theory:** - (Classic criminological theory) supposes that man has free will to choose how to act and therefore can be constrained from illegal behavior through severe punishment. The classical basic principles and practices of classical theory were developed and institutionalized for the first time in Europe in the Eighteenth Century. The leading figures in the development of classical criminology were Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham. According to this theory, crime should be considered an injury to the society as a whole and the purpose of judgment is no simply social revenge or retribution, but to ensure the greatest overall good for everyone. This means that punishment should be oriented towards deterring individuals from committing crime, rather than wreaking vengeance. Punishment should be administered in a way that the

pain of punishment outweighs the gain from the offence. It was felt that the prevention of crime was more important than the punishment itself and to this end, it was important that everyone knew the laws. The deterrent effect of punishment would be attainable if there were certainly punishment, which in turn could be provided only by the established police and judicial systems.<sup>3</sup>

### **1.5.1 The Theory of Positivism**

The theoretical underpinnings of positivist criminology can be found in the dominant human science of nineteenth century, namely Darwinism. Backed up by an anthropological methodology, this supported the politically conservative notion that some societies (races) and individuals were inferior.<sup>4</sup> Positivism was founded on the belief that society (civilization) is progressing ever forward, and that the social scientist can study society, and provide a more accurate understanding of how society works, and ultimately provide a rational means of overcoming existing social problems and ills using accurate scientific method.<sup>5</sup> According to this theory, rather than being oriented towards punishment, the positivist approach is directed towards the treatment of offenders. Offending behavior is analyzed in terms of factors or forces beyond the conscious control of the individual. To respond to crime therefore, means to deal with the reasons that caused the offending behavior.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Rob White, Fiona Haines and Nicole Asquith, Crime and Criminology, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition, (Oxford University press, 2012) pp. 23-32

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Gilling, Crime prevention: Theory, policy and politics (London: Routledge, 2004) p.31

<sup>5</sup> White, Haines and Asquith, Crime and Criminology, pp.44-45

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 48

**1.5.2 The broken windows theory:** - is a criminological theory of the norm-setting and signaling effect of urban disorder and vandalism on additional crime and anti-social behavior. The theory states that maintaining and monitoring urban environments in a well-ordered condition may stop further vandalism and escalation into more serious crime. The theory was introduced in a 1982 article by social scientists James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling.<sup>7</sup> The social scientist while building on an earlier research in social psychology that had been undertaken in America where abandoned cars were rapidly vandalized when some signs of prior vandalism invited further destructive acts. Wilson, Kelling and Moore argued that policing had failed because it neglected the little things, the equivalent of broken windows. Since then it has been subject to great debate both within the social sciences and the public sphere. The theory has been used as a motivation for several reforms in criminal policy, including the controversial mass use of "stop, question, and frisk" by the New York City Police Department.

**1.5.3 Classical Management Theory:-** Police reformers have in the past considered Frederick Taylor's Classical Management theory<sup>8</sup>. Frederick Taylor, the renowned early 20<sup>th</sup> Century organizational theorist known as scientific (or classical) management, focused on improving productivity by rationalizing both production efforts (human work) and management. His concepts and practices have become well known. They include time and motion studies; routinization and simplification of work tasks; division of work tasks; and administrative control mechanisms, which include unity of command, layers of

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<sup>7</sup>James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, "Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety" in Willard M. Oliver, Community Policing, (Edited) classical Readings, (Prentice Hall, 2000), pp. 3-14

<sup>8</sup> Oliver, Community Policing, pp.262-264

command, close supervision, span of control and linking productivity to reward systems. The Hierarchical organizational structures, the division of labour based on specialization in particular areas of policing, firefighting, traffic police, support functions such as medical etc, is based on this premise; routinized patrols, the command and control that is typical of police executives whether done knowingly or not is a reflection of this theory.

**1.5.4 The Systems Theory:** - as applied to policing is one of the theories in the Category of Contemporary police theory. This theory first originated in biology in 1920's out of the need to explain the interrelatedness of organisms in ecosystems. As a technical and general academic area of study it predominantly refers to the science of systems that resulted from Bertalanffy's general systems theory. Von Bertalanffy developed the idea of General systems theory around 1930's and by the 1950's Kenneth Boulding further developed this theory to apply it to social sciences.<sup>9</sup>

The increased level of sophistication and findings from behavioral science research led to the development of the systems and contingency approaches to police organizational behavior. These approaches led not only to improved managerial practices in many instances but also to improved police-community relationships. Conceptually, the Systems theory means that all parts of a system (organization) are interrelated and dependent on one another. The importance of applying systems theory to police

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<sup>9</sup> Alexander Laszlo and Stanley Krippner, "Their Origins, Foundations and Development" in J.S. Jordan (Ed.), in Systems Theories and A Priori Aspects of Perception, (Amsterdam, Elsevier Science, 1998, Ch. 3, pp. 47-74) p.4-5 available on <http://terras-altas.net.br/MA-2013/statistics/Systems%20Theories/SystemsTheory-Alexander%20Laszlo%20and%20Stanley%20Krippner.pdf>, accessed on the 27<sup>th</sup> October 2014

organizations is that it allows managers to understand that the activities of one unit affect the activities of other units as well.<sup>10</sup>

Another important aspect of systems theory is that police organization should be viewed and managed from an open-systems perspective. This means that the organization interacts or communicates with its environment (i.e., community) and therefore can adapt to environmental changes. Such an approach is necessary if the police are to keep abreast of community needs and expectations concerning the police role. In the past, lack of communication, and thus understanding of community concerns, has led to serious police-community relations problems.

The relevance of the systems theory as applied to this research is the appreciation of the interrelatedness of the reform efforts in various departments not only in police but also in the wider Justice sector (the Judiciary, the prosecution, the courts, the prison services) and the community at large. Police also is seen as a system with a number of departmental subsystems, interacting to bring desired end state. The system is so interdependent to an extent that the action of one single individual can adversely affect the overall system (take an example of the action of one police officer which can adversely affect the overall image of the whole police force/service).

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<sup>10</sup>Roy R. Roberg and Kuykendall, Police and Society, (California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993), pp. 97-98

Given the impressiveness of this systems theory as explained above, it is the one that will to a bigger extent inform this research work.

### **1.6 Hypotheses**

The research work will be guided by the following hypothesis:

- Post Conflict challenges warrants Institutional reforms
- Police reforms in post conflict countries leads to restoration of public trust

### **1.7 Research methodology.**

The research will make use of a wide range of books and journals on policing, criminology and security sector reforms. Primary and Secondary data will be gathered from documents such as strategic plans, evaluation reports, project reports, monthly and annual reports. Key departments in Rwanda National Police will be visited to get relevant documents both published and unpublished. Police library at the National Police College and Gishari Police Training School will also be visited. Extensive research is to be undertaken on the internet (on line research publications)

Reforms being a policy issue, personalities from the policy level will be interviewed through personal interviews (person to person), through emails and by telephone. However, other people from various walks of life will also be interviewed to have a balanced opinion. Moreover, the ordinary citizens are the consumers of police services, so they should be able to speak out on whether police is effectively delivering services or not. A guide questionnaire will be prepared and administered by both email and by way



of telephone interview (Questionnaire is attached as annex 1). Through such interviews, selected Police officers, the military, other people working with the Government especially the Ministry of Internal Security, the Justice sector, and also the ordinary citizens will give their views on what they believe has been the key policing challenges in the post conflict period and what reforms were consequently undertaken to address the challenges. The researcher will then to put the opinions gathered in context, organizing information, interpreting it and building coherence. The sample is to be selected by purposive/Judgmental sampling technique.

### **1.8 Chapter outline**

The research project is made up of five chapters; Chapter one covers background to the study, Statement of the problem, Literature review, theoretical framework, Research objectives Justification, Hypothesis, research design and methodology, also highlights the limitations. Chapter two discusses the concept of conflict; post conflict, post conflict countries, post conflict policing challenges and also discusses post conflict police reforms in selected African Countries. Chapter three looks at police reforms in Rwanda in more detail as the case study. Chapter four, building on chapter three, looks at implementation of police reforms in Rwanda police. Chapter four together with the other chapters builds foundation for chapter five. Chapter five is about conclusion.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CONCEPT OF POST CONFLICT AND POLICE REFORMS

This Chapter explains the concept of post conflict phenomenon by discussing the concept of conflict and post conflict, identifying the post conflict countries, post conflict police challenges and post conflict reform initiatives and looks at four selected African post conflict countries namely: South Africa, Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone. These case studies will create a comparative baseline before proceeding to undertake a detailed study of police reforms in post conflict Rwanda. Police Reforms in post conflict countries are part of wider security and even the justice reforms.

#### 2.0 Understanding the concept of conflict and post conflict

A conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something. In a simple conflict, for example one between two people, the incompatibility arises because both may have different perceptions, goals and ideas. Underlying that situation is a conflict of visions, and often inability or unwillingness to see the other person's point of view. This incompatibility of goals also defines more complex conflicts, be they organizational, communal, or international<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Makumi Mwangi, Conflict in Africa, Theory, Processes and Institutions of management, (CCR Publications: Nairobi, 2006), p.3

The term “conflict” is derived from the Latin “to clash or engage in a fight”, and it indicates a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflicts, if controlled or managed constructively, do not lead to violence. Some conflicts are “mutually satisfactory while others end up frustrating one or all parties”. Three general forms of conflict are interstate, internal, and state-formation conflicts.<sup>12</sup>

Interstate conflicts are disputes between nation-states or violations of the state system. Examples of internal and state-formation conflicts include civil and ethnic wars, anti-colonial struggles, secessionist and autonomous movements, territorial conflicts, and battles over control of government. Some conflicts are country-wide (Rwanda), and others are localized in specific parts of a country (Sudan). Their origins are often multifaceted. They range from ethnic and economic inequalities, social exclusion of sectors of the population, social injustice, competition for scarce resources, poverty, lack of democracy, ideological issues to religious differences (Nigeria and Sudan), and political tensions. The conflicts in Sudan, Burundi, and Rwanda are, in large measure, the result of historical discrepancies between ethnic components of the population.<sup>13</sup>

The concept of post-conflict refers to the period following the end of a conflict in a given country and it has two definitional problems. The first is the determination of the

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<sup>12</sup> “The International Guide to addressing, Gender-based violence through sport”, Special section on conflict and post-conflict settings, available on: <http://gbvguide.org/conflict/context/defining-conflict-post-conflict#sthash.eD8ed2GL.dpuf>, accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2014)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

beginning of a post-conflict period. It is difficult to determine a precise date when a conflict is supposed to have ended. Even after the belligerents sign a peace agreement, low-intensity hostilities might continue.<sup>14</sup>

Two major events can be used to determine the beginning of a post-conflict period. The first is the immediate period following a landmark victory by either of the warring parties. This could be the fall of the capital city, seat of political power, following a long protracted war. For example, the long war between Ethiopian Government forces under the so-called “Dergue régime” headed by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam and rebel forces led by Meles Zenawi is known to have ended when Addis Ababa fell on 29 May 1991. The second major event used to determine the official end of a war is the date of signature of a comprehensive agreement between the warring parties. Even when such an agreement does not necessarily end all acts of violence, it reduces them dramatically. Hence, it is easy to take the date of the signature of a ceasefire agreement as the end of the conflict and the beginning of the post-conflict period.<sup>15</sup>

Once the beginning of the post-conflict period is identified, the next question is how to determine its end. If the name of post-conflict is justified on the ground that countries emerging from civil war have specific characteristics that differentiate them from

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<sup>14</sup>Janvier D. Nkurunziza, “Civil War and Post-conflict Reconstruction in Africa” United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Geneva, Switzerland, 28 July 2008, p.4, available on: <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Knowledge/30754226-FR-2.4.3-NKURUNZIZA-TUNIS.PDF>, accessed on 8<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.p.5

peaceful countries, a post-conflict period should end, in theory, when the specific attributes inherited from the conflict cease to have influence.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, post-conflict recovery can be regarded as complete when the main features of an economy no longer stem from the war but from the normal conditions of the economy. In situations where hostilities largely cease, five years after the war has ended, most economies are likely to have returned to near normalcy and 10 years after, the post conflict era can, in most cases, be regarded as having ended.<sup>17</sup>

The end of the Cold War reinforced peace and stability in the developed part of the planet. In the Third World, a number of conflicts arising from the East –West divide were resolved in the late the twentieth-century as direct result of international *détente* and the end of the cold war. These include Namibia, Mozambique, Cambodia, Salvador and Guatemala. Other conflict resisted international attempts to resolve them, among them are Angola, and the North – South conflict in the Sudan, the former Yugoslavia, Liberia, and Somalia.<sup>18</sup>

Conflict is the antithesis of development, and an internal conflict will not remain confined within the borders of a single country for very long. It tends to spill over in a

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid, p.5

<sup>17</sup>Graham Brown, Arnim Langer and Frances Stewart, “A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments”, Center for Research on Peace and Development (CRPD), University of Leuven, Belgium, (CRPD Working Paper No. 1 September 2011), p.6, available on: <https://lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/123456789/330374/1/wp01.pdf>, accessed on the 8<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.2

variety of ways and to contaminate immediate neighbors and to affect the lives of people in other places. The seeds of conflict that affected Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea may be traced back to Liberia.<sup>19</sup>

In post conflict situations, there is an absence of war, but not necessarily real peace, the end of fighting does offer an opportunity to work towards lasting peace, but that requires the establishment of viable institutions that are capable of ensuring lasting security for the entire population. Extended conflict leads to terrible human loss and physical destruction; it also leads to the collapse of the systems and institutions that make a stable society function and these are the very systems that need to be resurrected.<sup>20</sup>

Most armed conflicts end in a process of peace-making through negotiated settlement. In such settlements, war-affected states and societies undergo complex transitions in several interrelated areas. These are re-establishment of security, both state security and human and community- security; Renewal of the rule of law and the creation of mechanisms of accountability and an end to impunity; Reforming, recreating, or building of public governance institutions and processes that are able to reconcile social conflict and pursue collective goals of prosperity and development.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.2

<sup>20</sup> Ibid pp. 2-3

<sup>21</sup> Jago Salmon and Eugenia Piza-Lopez, "Capacity Development in Post-Conflict Countries", Global Event Working Paper, (UNDP 2010), p.4, available on: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/capacity-development/capacity-development-in-post-conflict-countries/CD%20in%20post%20conflict%20countries.pdf>; accessed on the 8<sup>th</sup> October 2014

The post conflict state building is aimed at ultimate healing and normalcy from the after effects of conflict. Hostilities do not normally end abruptly, after which there is complete peace. There may be an agreed “peace” but fighting often continues at a low level or sporadically and frequently resumes after a short period. Sri Lanka provides an illustration, while in Northern Ireland moves towards peace have taken 15 years. Genuine attempts at reaching peace can frequently be derailed by “spoilers” – that often turn out to be breakaway insurgent groups that are not yet ready or willing to give up armed conflict. The following peace milestones are worth considering; Cessation of hostilities and violence, signing of political/peace agreements, Demobilization, disarmament and reintegration, refugee repatriation, establishing a functioning state; achieving reconciliation and societal integration and economic recovery.<sup>22</sup>

## **2.1 Post conflict countries**

Post Conflict countries are many and diverse. In Africa, there have been many conflicts that are mainly political in nature. Some were as a result of fighting for independence, like in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), in Mozambique, in Angola, in Namibia and in South Africa. Others were due to feelings of marginalization as the case of Rwanda Patriotic Front who fought against President J. Habyarima. The RPF composed of mainly the refugees who had lived outside their country and felt deprived of their right to return back home. The conflict between the South Sudan and Northern Sudan was also as a result of

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<sup>22</sup> Brown, Langer and Stewart, “A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments”, p.4

feelings of marginalization where people in the south felt that they were not getting fair deal in the affairs of the state.

Almost all African countries have been involved in violent conflict in one way or another. It happened in South Africa mainly from 1960 to 1990 against the apartheid. It was there in Angola in the 70's while fighting for independence and later from 1975 to 2002 between the ruling party, the popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). In the Democratic Republic of Congo-DRC, there has been conflict from 1998 to 2013 at one time between the Government of Mobutu and Laurent Kabila, at another time between the government of DRC and its neighboring countries, and at another time involving belligerents such as the M23 and even the Mai-Mai.<sup>23</sup>

Conflicts have also been recorded in the history of Kenya from 1940 to 1960 by the Mau Mau rebellion for independence and in Mozambique in the 70's while struggling for independence and later in 1975 to 1990, the conflict between the ruling party, *Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique* (FRELIMO) and the rebel movement, *Resistencia Nacional de Mocambique* (RENAMO). In Namibia, from 1970 to 1990, while struggling for independence against the white South African rule. The Rwandan conflict, from 1990 to 1994 between the Rwandese Patriotic Army and the Government of Rwanda under President Habyarimana and later under president Sindikubwabo. Sierra Leone was in

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<sup>23</sup> Janine Rauch and Elrena Van der Spuy, Police reform in Post- Africa, A review, (October 2006) pp.21-155



conflict from 1991 to 2002 between the Government of Sierra Leone and the rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).<sup>24</sup>

Other African Countries affected were Ethiopia from 1975 to 1990, between the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) against the Government of Ethiopia under the Dergue. In Liberia from 1998 to 2003 at one time between the Government of Samuel Doe and the National Patriotic front of Liberia led by Charles Taylor and later between the Government of Tylor and the other armed groups against his regime. Sudan has been ravaged by war for a long time, from 1983 to 2005 mainly between the Sudan (Northern Sudan) and the Southern Sudan, the Southern Sudanese peoples Liberation Movement-SPLM.<sup>25</sup>

## **2.2 Post conflict policing challenges**

There are a number of challenges in post conflict settings. They include a dilapidated social economic infrastructure, dilapidated systems of Governance, high crime rates, traumatized society, polarized society /mutual suspicion between contending parties and high poverty levels resulting from lack of constructive engagement during the periods of conflict. There is also the proliferation of small and light weapons/illicit ownership of arms and Internally Displace Persons (IDPs). In Liberia, for example, the key post conflict challenges in regard to the security sector are clear. They include lack of adequate constitutional framework, conceptual and implementation gaps between Security Sector Reform (SSR) and the broader governance framework and lack of

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, pp. 21-154

<sup>25</sup> ibid

mechanisms for making the reform process accountable to the Liberians. In addition there is inadequate parliamentary oversight, lack of genuine and effective civilian leadership and management capacity in the Ministry of Defense and inadequate civil society involvement in the reform process. There is and a gap between the Liberian population and the leadership of UNMIL.<sup>26</sup>

In post conflict countries, there are some challenges in the justice sector to which police falls under that affect the rule of law. First the Judiciary tends to be dysfunctional, its staff members have either left the country or are completely discredited in the eyes of the public. The police appear to be part of the problem. Rather than observing human rights, they have been the principal violators. Many have either fled or are completely rejected by the population. Prisons are overcrowded and unhealthy places where brutality has reigned and people languish for years without charge or trial. Local civil society is in tatters, having borne the brunt of repression, it is terrified, and lacks resources of all kinds and the most effective leaders have either been killed or forced into exile. Corruption is often rife as organized crime takes control of much of what is left of the economy. This makes trafficking in humans, drugs and contraband rampant. Landmines pose a continuing danger, inhibiting freedom of movement and economic activity, especially in rural areas, where prime farmland is often mined.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Adedeji Ebo “The challenges and opportunities of Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Liberia”, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) (Occasional Paper – №9); available on: [www.scholar.google.com](http://www.scholar.google.com), accessed on: 9<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>27</sup>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Rule-of-Law Tools for Post-Conflict States, Mapping the Justice Sector” (United Nations New York and Geneva 2006,) p.5, available on: <http://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/ruleoflawmappingen.pdf>; accessed on the 10<sup>th</sup> October 2014

## 2.3 POST CONFLICT POLICE REFORMS IN SPECIFIC SELECTED COUNTRIES

### **2.3.0 Post conflict police reforms in South Africa.**

At the time of Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990, there were eleven police forces in South Africa, each constituted under its own piece of legislation, operating within its own jurisdiction. The largest of these was the South African Police (SAP) with approximately 112 000 members, the other ten were the homeland police forces.<sup>28</sup>

By the early 1990s, all the police in South Africa had acquired a reputation for brutality, corruption and ineptitude. Police organizations were militarized, hierarchical, and ill-equipped to deal with "ordinary crime". Street-level policing was conducted in a heavy-handed style, with bias against black citizens and little respect for their rights or due process. Criminal investigations largely relied on confessions extracted under duress, and harsh security legislation provided or tolerated various forms of coercion and torture.<sup>29</sup>

The Key elements of police reform in South Africa were: the creation of a new police service out of 11 apartheid police services. This required that questions of integration and reorganizing command structures and personnel be given priority. Other key aspects of the reform process included issues to do with the demographic representativity of the

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<sup>28</sup>Janine Rauch, "Police Reform and South Africa's Transition", Paper presented at the South African Institute for International Affairs conference, 2000, .p1, available at: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications>; accessed on the 10<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid, p.1

police service in terms of representation of different population groups as well as of men and women. There was also the introduction of a new system of labour relations, improving accountability and the regulation of police conduct including provision for parliamentary oversight. The creation of national and provincial secretariats, the creation of a civilian oversight agency and the Independent complaints directorate were also important aspects of police reform in post-apartheid South Africa.<sup>30</sup>

Further reforms were characterized by addressing community hostility to police through the creation of community policing forums and the adoption of community policing as the operational philosophy of the South African Police Service, Changing police symbols such as the rank system, uniforms, insignia and the colour of police vehicles and improving access to police services particularly in communities that had previously been discriminated against under apartheid. Other measures included; the introduction of a new selection system, the revision of the basic training curriculum, introduction of a human rights training program, introduction of a code of conduct, development / introduction of an anti-torture policy, the reorganization and retraining of public order police and the introduction of new weaponry.<sup>31</sup>

### **2.3.1 Post Conflict Police Reforms in Burundi**

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<sup>30</sup>David Bruce, “Democratic reform of police – any lessons for Kenya from South Africa”? Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, (Johannesburg, April 2003) p.1, available on: [www.humanrightsinitiative.org/democratic\\_reform\\_and\\_oversight\\_of](http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/democratic_reform_and_oversight_of), accessed on the 13<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p1

Following its independence in 1962, Burundi witnessed a race for power characterized by rising political tension and rivalry between the two main ethnic groups, the Tutsi minority and the Hutu majority. Although most post-independence state institutions incorporated both Hutu and Tutsi, a series of violent and deadly power grabs culminated in the presidency of Michel Micombero, a Tutsi army officer. Micombero's reign consolidated Tutsi control over Burundi's security forces and political institutions. The regimes of Presidents Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (1976–87) and Pierre Buyoya (1987–93), also Tutsis from Micombero's home province of Bururi and drawn from and supported by the military, maintained the supremacy of the Tutsi minority in political and security sector institutions.<sup>32</sup>

In June 1993, Burundi held its first pluralistic elections since the establishment of the republic. The largely Hutu opposition won by an overwhelming margin. This regime change and the reforms proposed by the new leadership threatened some privileged actors and triggered the October 1993 assassination of Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye and several close colleagues by members of the Tutsi-dominated army. A subsequent massacre of Tutsi civilians was followed by an army-led crackdown on the Hutu population and ultimately a civil war, pitting the state against a variety of Hutu factions. Conscious of the fact that the army had long represented the heart of power in Burundi, the rebels' main demand apart from a return to the pre- assassination constitutional order was the reform of the army, police and other Security Services. A new army and police

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<sup>32</sup> Security Reform Sector Monitor, "Addressing International Governance Challenges" (Burundi November 2009, no.1) p.1, available on: <http://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/SSRM%20Burundi%20v1.pdf>, accessed on the 10<sup>th</sup> October 2014

service, the Burundian National Defense Force and the Burundian National Police (BNP) were established in 2004 and ex-combatants from rebel groups were integrated into these services. At the same time, major training programs aimed at professionalizing the security forces were implemented.<sup>33</sup>

The United Nations has been involved in supporting National Security Sector Reform (SSR) efforts in Burundi since 2004. In December 2010, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Office in Burundi (BNUB) to replace the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB). BNUB is mandated to continue to support the government of Burundi's efforts to professionalize and enhance the capacity of the national security forces, with a view to strengthening security sector governance.<sup>34</sup>

The BNUB has been supporting SSR capacity building efforts for the security forces, including in the areas of human rights and gender. In 2011, for example, BNUB organized training sessions on human rights and international humanitarian law for the military and police and, together with the German Cooperation, provided trainings on sexual and gender-based violence for the police. On the coordination side, BNUB is also an active participant in meetings of international partners providing support to the military and the police to ensure a harmonized approach.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p.2

<sup>34</sup> Security Sector Reform Unit, "Sustainable Peace Through Justice and Security" Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions, United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, New York 12-28742, May 2012, 1,800, p.27 available on: <http://www.un.org/en/events/peacekeepersday/pdf/securityreform.pdf>, accessed on the 9<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 27

The BNP drew its staff from the existing police services, the army and gendarmerie as well as the seven ex-rebel groups that were party to the Arusha power sharing Agreement. With former army and gendarmerie members representing almost half of police membership and about 40 percent being ex-rebel combatants, military and paramilitary forces represent a whopping 89 percent of the new Burundian police's workforce. Recognizing the importance of a competent, rights respecting police service for the peace building process and the strengthening of democracy in Burundi, several development partners are dedicating a portion of their aid budgets to support the Burundi National Police (BNP). Since 2005, important general and focused training programs have been developed through bilateral and multilateral relationships. Most of them place particular emphasis on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. Recent programs have focused on the legal use of force, and upcoming ones will explore the role of the BNP and the ethics of policing within the framework of the electoral process.<sup>36</sup>

Police reforms in Burundi have centered on training with a view to increasing skills and inculcating human rights values. They also aim at harmonized training to create common operational standard across forces that come from different backgrounds, creating both internal control mechanism to enhance police discipline and also creating external oversights for effective accountability. There is also provision of equipment to enhance operational capability including toll free phone line to enhance communication between

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<sup>36</sup>Security Reform Sector Monitor, P.5

the police forces and victims of crime. Below is a chronological order indicating some of the key issues in the reform process of the Burundi Police Force (NBP);

In 2000-2003, Arusha accord and the Pretoria Protocol on Political, Defense and Security power sharing in Burundi provided for reform in Burundi's police force including change in its name to Burundi National Police (BNP). As provided in the accord, none of the ethnic group would consist more than 50% of the BNP. In 2004, on 30 November a decree was adopted on the formation, organization and mandate of the National Burundian Police and it was endorsed by the parliament on 28 October. On 3 January 2005, the president signed a law to set up a police force that would include combatants from rebel groups. The new police force would have a force of 20,000 personnel.<sup>37</sup>

On 28 January, president signed a decree and appointed General Alain Bunyoni, a former rebel officer, as head of the country's new National police and from the Tutsi minority, Colonel Helmenegilde Nimenya, was appointed as a deputy. This was done in line with the requirements of the Arusha accord to observe ethnic representatively. As of May 2005, 6,896 members from rebel groups were sent to 20 different training centers around the country where they joined with 8,300 former members of the Gendarmerie and 1,400 former internal security forces; In training centers, they went through integration and harmonization training; In 2005, in coordination with the non-governmental organization the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB) trained 135 judicial police. The

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<sup>37</sup>University Notre dame, "Police Reform, Accord: Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi", available on: [https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/matrix/status/45/police\\_reform](https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/matrix/status/45/police_reform)>, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, accessed on: 10<sup>th</sup> October 2014



government of Belgium was providing training of 20,000 police personnel over three years; By the end of 2005, a new integrated police force was in place. On 11 April 2008, Burundi launched National police census to identify police officers (for effective accountability and proper management of the police force). On 15 April, over 750 police personnel were demobilized as the government sought to downsize the National Police Force below 15,000 personnel.<sup>38</sup>

### **2.3.2 Post Conflict Police Reforms in Liberia**

The First Liberian Civil War was an internal conflict from 1989 until 1997. The conflict killed over 200,000 people and eventually led to the involvement of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and of the United Nations. The peace did not last long, and in 1999 the second Liberian civil war broke out. Samuel Doe had led a coup d'état that overthrew the elected government in 1980, and in 1985 held elections that were widely considered fraudulent. In December 1989, former government minister Charles Taylor moved into the country from neighboring Côte d'Ivoire to start an uprising meant to topple the Doe government. During the civil war, factions formed around Taylor and those who supported his former soldier with the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Prince Johnson. Johnson took the capital Monrovia in 1990 and executed Doe, while Taylor's forces, the Armed Forces of Liberia, and Johnson's forces battled for control of Monrovia.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> Liberian Civil War, available on: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberian\\_Civil\\_War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberian_Civil_War), accessed on the 11th October 2014

Peace negotiations and foreign involvement led to a ceasefire in 1995 that was broken the next year before a final peace agreement and new national elections were held in 1997. Taylor was elected President of Liberia in July 1997. The Second Liberian Civil War began in 1999 and ended in October 2003, when ECOWAS intervened to stop the rebel siege on Monrovia and exiled Charles Taylor to Nigeria until he was arrested in 2006 and taken to The Hague for his trial. The incumbent Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who initially was a strong supporter of Charles Taylor, was inaugurated in January 2006 and the National Transitional Government of Liberia terminated its power.<sup>40</sup>

The Accra accord provided for reform issues in regard to the post conflict era, the highlights of these reforms were; there shall be an immediate restructuring of the National Police Force, the Immigration Force, Special Security Service (SSS), Custom Security Guards and such other statutory security units. These restructured security forces shall adopt a professional orientation that emphasizes democratic values and respect for human rights, a non-partisan approach to duty and the avoidance of corrupt practices. Reforms also targeted the Special Security Units including the Anti-Terrorist Unit, the Special Operations Division (SOD) of the Liberian National Police Force and such paramilitary groups that operate within organizations as the National Ports Authority (NPA), the Liberian Telecommunications Corporation (LNTC), the Liberian Refining Corporation (LPRC) and the Airports, all these forces were disarmed and restructured.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid

<sup>41</sup>Center for International Studies “Restructuring of the Liberian National Police (LNP) and other Security Services” Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, (University of Notre Dame, 2012), available

During the reform process, until the deployment of newly trained National Police, maintenance of law and order throughout Liberia would be the responsibility of an interim police force. The United Nations Civil Police components (UNCIVPOL) within the International Stabilization Force (ISF) would monitor the activities of the interim police force and assist in the maintenance of law and order throughout Liberia. The Parties also called on UNCIVPOL and other relevant International Agencies to assist in the development and implementation of training programs for the Liberia National Police (LNP), the interim police will only be allowed to carry side arms, all large calibre weapons shall be turned over to the ISF.<sup>42</sup>

The 2003 Accra agreement required a reform of the police force, in addition, the Security Council in its resolution 1509 (2003) also requested such a reform. This resolution requested that the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) assist the National Transition Government of Liberia (NTGL) in monitoring and restructuring the Police force of Liberia, to develop a civilian police training programme and to assist in the training of the civilian police, in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations and interested States, and to assist the Transitional Government in the formation of a new and restructured Liberian military, in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations, and interested States.<sup>43</sup>

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on:[https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/matrix/status/58/police\\_reform](https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/matrix/status/58/police_reform), accessed on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council, S/2003/1175, 15 December 2003, available on <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/reports.shtml>, accessed on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 2014

To facilitate the reform of the police force, the UNMIL and the Secretariat developed a concept of operations that envisaged the deployment of 755 civilian police personnel and three Formed Police Units, each comprised of 120 armed police personnel. In 2004, a training program for a Liberian interim police force of 400 officers was designed to police the capital city of Monrovia until the formation of a new, restructured police force occurred. By 5 March, it was reported that 178 officers had completed the course and 74 were enrolled in the program, which was completed by April 2004.<sup>44</sup>

In his May report, the Secretary General reported to the UN Security Council that the Chairman of the NTGL as well as the spherical representative of the secretary general, had decided to launch a recruitment drive for 3,500 personnel. During the recruitment drive, emphasis would be given to ethnic and gender balance.<sup>45</sup>

By June 2004, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) had trained some 646 officers to restore law and order in Monrovia. The UNMIL, in coordination with NTGL, completed an extensive recruitment drive. It was reported that 854 screened and vetted recruits had undergone extensive academic and field training. By December 2004, the registration exercise to verify the number of Liberian National Police Personnel was completed. Some 9,353 personnel were registered. In 2005, reform of the Liberian police

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>45</sup> Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council, S/2004/428, 26 May 2004, available on: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/sgreports/2004.shtml>, accessed on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

moved steadily forward. The goal of training 1,800 Liberian police officers before the October election was met. In addition, 300 police personnel completed specialized training in Nigeria. It was claimed that this group was to be tasked with dealing with riot controls and violent crimes. In 2006, by 1<sup>st</sup> December, 2,214 Liberian National Police had been trained and deployed, while 358 Special Security Services personnel and 155 Seaport Police officers had graduated from the National Police Academy. At that time, additional 566 police recruits were receiving field training, and 454 recruits were undergoing basic training. In order to reach the target of a trained police force of 3,500 by July 2007, the UNMIL and the Liberian National Police intensified the country-wide recruitment drive.<sup>46</sup>

In 2007 The July target of training 3,500 police personnel was reached. By the first week of August, 3,522 police officers had graduated from the National Police Academy. To foster the gender balance, the first all-female class comprised of 110 police recruits, began training on 4 June 2007 after completing the special Ministry of Education/Liberian National Police/United Nations police educational support program. In 2008, significant progress was made with respect to police reform. The UNMIL provided basic training for 3,661 officers including 344 women. More than 1,000 officers had received specialized training. Nevertheless, significant challenges remained

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<sup>46</sup>Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council, S/2006/958, 11 December 2006, available on: [www.un.org/en/sc/documents/sgreports/2006.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/sgreports/2006.shtml), accessed on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

regarding the deployment of the police force. The Initial phase of reform as per the Accra accord had been accomplished by end of 2008.<sup>47</sup>

### **2.3.3 Post Conflict Police Reforms in Sierra Leone**

The Sierra Leone Civil War (1991–2002) began on 23 March 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) with support from the special forces of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), intervened in Sierra Leone in an attempt to overthrow the Joseph Momoh Government. The resulting civil war lasted 11 years, enveloped the country, and left over 50,000 dead. The government's ineffective response to the RUF and the disruption in government diamond production, precipitated a military coup d'état in April 1992 by the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). In March 1995, Executive Outcomes (EO), a South Africa-based private military company, was hired to repel the RUF. Sierra Leone installed an elected civilian government in March 1996, and the retreating RUF signed the Abidjan Peace Accord. Under UN pressure, the government terminated its contract with Executive Outcomes before the accord could be implemented, and hostilities recommenced.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Seventeenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia/Secretary General's Report to the UN Security Council, S/2008/553, (15 August 2008) P.8, available on:

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/reports.shtml> and on [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/2008/553](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2008/553), accessed on the 14<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>48</sup>“Sierra Leone Civil war”, available on:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierra\\_Leone\\_Civil\\_War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sierra_Leone_Civil_War), accessed on the 12<sup>th</sup> October 2014

In May 1997, a group of disgruntled Sierra Leone Army (SLA) officers staged a coup and established the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) as the new government of Sierra Leone. The RUF joined with the AFRC to capture Freetown with little resistance. The new government, led by Johnny Paul Koroma, declared the war over. A wave of looting, rape, and murder followed the announcement. Reflecting international dismay at the overturning of the civilian government, ECOMOG forces intervened and retook Freetown on behalf of the government, but they found the outlying regions more difficult to pacify. In January 1999, International community intervened diplomatically to promote negotiations between the RUF and the government. The Lome Peace Accord, signed on 27 March 1999, was the result. Lome gave Foday Sankoh, the commander of the RUF, the vice presidency in return for a cessation of the fighting and the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force to monitor the disarmament process. RUF compliance with the disarmament process was inconsistent and sluggish and by May 2000, the rebels were advancing again upon Freetown. As the UN mission began to fail, the United Kingdom declared its intention to intervene in its former colony in an attempt to support the weak government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. With help from a renewed UN mandate and Guinean air support, the British Operation Palliser finally defeated the RUF, taking control of Freetown. On 18 January 2002, President Kabbah declared the Sierra Leone Civil War over.<sup>49</sup>

The Sierra Leone Police Force has its origins in the British colonial administration of the country. The outbreak of civil conflict in 1991 largely decimated the force but the gradual

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid

restoration of peace provided an opportunity for police reform. While several challenges remain, the post conflict reform program has largely been successful, hinging on among other factors, the appointment of a British Inspector General of Police, perceived to be neutral and above political machinations, supported by a core of reform minded officers; long term external technical and financial assistance; and a conducive political environment for change.<sup>50</sup>

The post Sierra Leone conflict period saw the department for International Development (DFID), UK take up most of the police reconstruction, through the Commonwealth Community Safety and Security Project (CCSSP). Through this project, in addition to rebuilding the overall management structures were police reforms in various areas including; Complaints, discipline and internal investigation, Criminal investigation, fingerprinting and scene of crime investigations. Further reforms were undertaken in Finance and administration, Fleet management, Local Needs Policing (LNP) that reflected the overall ethos of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP), Media management, Operational Support Division (OSD) - the armed wing of the SLP charged with crowd control, Traffic management, Training and Development of the Special Branch (intelligence).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Joseph P. Chris Charley and Freida Ibiduni M’Cormack “Becoming and Remaining a Force for Good – Reforming the Police in Post-conflict Sierra Leone”, Institute of Development Studies (Brighton BN1 9RE, UK, September 2011) p.3, available on: <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228020247>, accessed on the 13<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>51</sup> Peter Alexander Albrecht, “Transforming Internal Security in Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone Police and Broader Justice Sector Reform”, DIIS Report 2010:07, pp.21-22, available on: [http://www.dcism.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2010/RP2010-7\\_transforming\\_Sierra\\_Leone\\_web.pdf](http://www.dcism.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2010/RP2010-7_transforming_Sierra_Leone_web.pdf), accessed on the 11<sup>th</sup> October 2014



Recognizing the need to boost operational capacities, further reforms were undertaken in Infrastructure- building police stations and police barracks, provision of extra training facilities/infrastructure in 2003 where the UN provided funding to build additional classrooms and student accommodation for a further 100 officers. DfID also agreed to fund additional building at around US\$2.4 million for another 300 student places. By the end of 2004, 900 recruits were undergoing training. As with the Police Training School, support was also given to the Police Hospital including construction of an additional building to house the administration section. Necessary furniture racks and cupboards for the store and other office requirements were supplied. All existing buildings were repainted after necessary additions were finished. CCSSP program funds provided the SLP Media Department with computers, photocopiers, a television, a video camera caption generator, a video cassette re-winder, video decks, an editing machine, stationery, micro tapes, cameras and handouts. In 2001, DfID had begun to supply vehicles and communications equipment as well as technical assistance to support operationalization of the equipment. It should also be noted that in 1998, the German Government had provided 20 jeeps to the SLP, which were immediately deployed in the Western Area, the peninsula where the capital of Freetown is located. SLP vehicles and communications projects did increase police visibility and improved police response to crimes.<sup>52</sup>

Procurement of uniforms also increased visibility and helped re-establish police presence and credibility. Before and during the war individuals without uniforms or identity cards, claiming to be police officers would make arrests. The mere presence of uniformed personnel began to function as a deterrent. Managerial capabilities were boosted through

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, pp. 35-48

planning and development of policy documents, a number of policy documents were developed including Strategic Development Plan, Competency Framework, Training Policy, Allocation of houses policy belonging to the SLP, Policing Plan for 2002 and Job Descriptions.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid, p.48

## CHAPTER THREE

### POST CONFLICT POLICE REFORMS IN RWANDA

#### 3.0 Historical and political perspectives

A small country in the East-Central Rift Valley in Africa, Rwanda was the site of the largest genocide in recent years with as many as 800,000; men, women and children killed over a period of weeks. Like its southern neighbor, Burundi, with which it shares many commonalities of ethnic composition and historical evolution, Rwanda's origins go back centuries to the settlement of cultivators (Hutu) and pastoralists (Tutsi) in a region formerly inhabited by hunter-gather peoples (Twa).<sup>54</sup>

For centuries, Rwanda existed as a centralized monarchy under a succession of Tutsi kings from one clan, who ruled through cattle chiefs, land chiefs and military chiefs. The king was supreme but the rest of the population, Bahutu (Hutu), Batutsi (Tutsi) and Batwa, lived in symbiotic harmony. In 1899, Rwanda became a German colony and in 1919, the system of indirect rule continued with Rwanda as a mandate territory of the League of Nations under Belgium. From the year 1959, the Batutsi were targeted by the Hutus being supported by the colonialists, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths and sending almost two million of them into exile. The First Republic under President Gregoire Kayibanda and the second under President Juvenal Habyarimana,

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<sup>54</sup>Janine Rauch and Elrena Van Spuy, Police Reform in Post-Conflict Africa, (a review), (Pretoria, IDASA, October 2006), p.117

institutionalized discrimination against Batutsi and subjected them to periodic massacres.<sup>55</sup>

In an administrative decision in 1933, Belgian authorities issued identity cards on which the alleged ethnicity of all the inhabitants was inscribed – Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa. Historians and social scientists still debate to what extent these three divisions rested on actual differential ancestry and the colonial myth of the tall, noble Tutsi - real or not, both the future societies of Rwanda and Burundi functioned as if the two major groups were social realities in the eyes of both the colonisers and the colonised.<sup>56</sup>

With the advent of African decolonization in the 1950s, Belgian policy shifted from its former accommodation with and encouragement of Tutsi hegemony to a pro-Hutu stance. Hutus received preference in education, employment and administration formerly enjoyed by Tutsis. This change was motivated in large part by the realistic perception that the overwhelming Hutu demographic majorities in both territories (Rwanda and Burundi) would dominate any new system installed by popular vote. In 1962 the Belgian administration oversaw the transition to independence of Rwanda and Burundi. In the case of Rwanda, the situation was to differ quite markedly in Burundi for a number of complex reasons; electoral competition resulted in a strong Hutu-dominated administration and the festering of Tutsi resentment. Widespread violence and killings broke out after an abortive Tutsi-led invasion in 1963, and Rwanda entered a phase of

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<sup>55</sup> Rwanda Government official website: [www.gov.rw/history](http://www.gov.rw/history); accessed on the 28<sup>th</sup> September 2014

<sup>56</sup> Janine Rauch and Elrena van der Spuy, Police Reform in Post-Conflict Africa, A review (October 2006), p.117

instability and reciprocal brutality that it has struggled to shake off with little success as the culminating massacres of 1994 were to demonstrate.<sup>57</sup>

The Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) was formed in 1979 by Rwandan refugees in exile to mobilize against divisive politics and genocide ideology, repeated massacres, statelessness and the lack of peaceful political exchange. In 1987, RANU became the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). On 1 October 1990, the RPF launched an armed liberation struggle that ultimately ousted the government in 1994 and ended the genocide of Tutsi and massacres of moderate Hutu who opposed the genocide.<sup>58</sup>

The road to Genocide is said to have started around 1992 when opposition parties forced the government to enter into peace talks with the Rwandese Patriotic front (RPF), which resulted in the formation of an interim Government. Following the National Revolutionary Movement for Development - MRND government's refusal to sign a brokered peace (Arusha Accord), it began to provide the army, police and some civilians with weaponry and to train a civilian militia known as the Interahamwe.<sup>59</sup>

In January 1994, the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) forces located huge stores of weapons in civilian hands, which they attempted to confiscate. However, they failed, in the face of massive demonstrations by the interahamwe and the refusal of the police to act. UNAMIR sent warnings to the United Nations (UN) of likely

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid. p.117

<sup>58</sup>[www.gov.rw/history](http://www.gov.rw/history); accessed on 28th September 2014

<sup>59</sup>Rauch and Elrena van der Spuy, Police Reform in Post-Conflict Africa, p.117

further conflict in Rwanda, but the UN did not to act. On 6 April 1994, MRND leader and the President of the Republic of Rwanda, Habyarimana's plane was shot down at Kigali airport, killing him and the Burundian President as they returned from Arusha. These events unleashed planned genocide; beginning with the first massacres in the city of Kigali, led by the Presidential Guards and involving the FAR Army troops, the National Police and the Interahamwe militias. Within five days, 20,000 mainly Tutsi and moderate Hutu had been killed.<sup>60</sup>

Less than half an hour after the plane crash, roadblocks manned by Hutu militiamen often assisted by gendarmerie (paramilitary police) or military personnel were set up to identify Tutsis. Later that day the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian peacekeepers assigned to protect her were murdered by Rwandan government soldiers in an attack on her home. After the massacre of its troops, Belgium withdrew the rest of its force. On 21 April, after other countries asked to withdraw troops, the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) force reduced from an initial 2,165 to 270.<sup>61</sup>

On June 22, the Security Council authorized French-led forces to mount a humanitarian mission. The mission called Operation Turquoise, saved hundreds of civilians in South West Rwanda, but is also said to have allowed soldiers, officials and militiamen involved in the genocide to flee Rwanda through the areas under their control. In other areas,

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p.117

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; accessed on the 26<sup>th</sup> September 2014

killings continued until 4 July 1994 when the RPF took military control of the entire territory of Rwanda.<sup>62</sup>

### **3.1 Policing in Rwanda (Before 1994)**

The idea of policing in its classical sense was not known in Rwanda before the colonial era; it came into existence when Rwanda came into contact with Europeans during colonialism. This however, does not mean that the Rwandan society was not policed before the colonial era. The Rwandan society had its own way of policing its society.<sup>63</sup>

National Police in Rwanda was created after independence in 1962 but was under the Ministry of Defense and Police (*Ministère de la Garde Nationale et de la Police*). It was created by the law/ Presidential order n° 105/04 of June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1962 governing the statute of National Police officers. Later in 1973, the Police was suppressed and replaced by National Gendarmerie (Gendarmerie Nationale), by the law/decreed of January 25, 1974 establishing the National Gendarmerie. Parallel to this institution was also the Police for Municipalities/Communal Police, known as “*Police Communale*” created by the law of November 23, 1963 relating to the organization of communal administration and the Presidential order n° 185/03 of October 4, 1977 on the organization of “*Police Communale*”. The Code of Organization and Judicial competence of 1980 also created a body of Inspectors of Judicial procedure called Judicial Police Inspectors who were working under the Ministry of Justice with responsibility of probing for offences and

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2014

<sup>63</sup> Modeste Bisangwa, (Tutorial Assistant), “Rwandan Law and Policing”, Professional Police Studies, Module 208, National Police College, Musanze (November, 2009) p.13 (unpublished)

gathering evidence for the prosecution by the Public Prosecutor. Later on, it was found that policing tasks are being duplicated and that resources are being misused. Consequently the *Gendarmerie Nationale* (National Gendarmerie), the Municipality police and the Ministry of Justice investigators, the Inspectors of Judicial Police (IPJs) were amalgamated to form the Rwanda National Police, in the year 2000.<sup>64</sup>

### **3.2 Post conflict policing challenges in Rwanda.**

The civil war and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda led to a total breakdown of institutions and infrastructure, with dire consequences for law and order and security. The post-genocide situation in Rwanda presented overwhelming challenges to efforts to ensure any measure of justice and security for the society as a whole; degraded physical and human infrastructure, a traumatized population, and the legacy of some of the most severe human rights abuses of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century are merely a few of the problems that confronted reforms of one of the world's poor countries.<sup>65</sup>

The well-planned genocide left both the judiciary and police in shambles. The courts and all their equipment were destroyed. The new Ministry of Justice lacked basic office supplies, let alone the communications and transportation equipment needed to carry out investigations. According to government statistics, the number of judges fell from 750

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid, p. 14

<sup>65</sup>Security Sector Reform Centre, "Country Profile", Rwanda (2010), p.1 available on: <http://www.ssresourcecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Country-Profile-Rwanda-April-7.pdf>, accessed on the 16<sup>th</sup> October 2014



before the genocide to 244 after, prosecutors from 87 to 14, and investigators from 193 to 39. The devastated judiciary also faced the task of investigating and prosecuting thousands of genocide perpetrators, which would challenge even the most sophisticated legal institutions. Like the judiciary, the security forces have been hampered by a lack of skilled and experienced staff, a lack of essential equipment and scant resources. This sector has had to be built practically from scratch.<sup>66</sup>

The country was in ruins, with houses destroyed, property looted, many pockets of Interahamwe (militias) were scattered throughout the Country as they continued killing people. Others could infiltrate into the country from countries where they had taken refuge. The Government of National Unity continued to sensitize the survivors of genocide against revenge while at the same time fighting against infiltrators and ensuring peace of mind to those who had been hunted down and those ashamed of their evil deeds.<sup>67</sup>

In addition, the living conditions and social cohesion had seriously deteriorated. Many people had lost contact with their relatives; others had taken the property of those who had run to exile causing endless problems when returnees claimed back their property. This happened while several millions of Rwandans in exile had been held hostage by perpetrators of genocide. During genocide many children were orphaned while the high

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid. p.1

<sup>67</sup> Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Internal security “Internal Security policy” Approved by Cabinet, in its session of 09 July 2008, p.13, available on: [http://www.mininter.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/Internal\\_Security\\_Policy.pdf](http://www.mininter.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/documents/Internal_Security_Policy.pdf), accessed on the 17<sup>th</sup> October 2014

number of widows contributed also to the number of destitute children with no one to attend to their needs.<sup>68</sup>

There was also the issue of rural urban migration that was evident during the post conflict period, due to insecurity that was still in rural areas, many people tended to concentrate in the capital city. This brought pressures on the society since not everybody in the cities was employed to earn decent living hence increased crimes such as robbery, drug trafficking, theft, prostitution.<sup>69</sup>

Large numbers of weapons remained hidden among the population, genocide survivors lived under constant fear of being killed as a way of destroying evidence. Insurgents were roaming in parts of the country. Refugees who had fled at the height of the war and those who had left the country in the early years of independence had begun to return amidst continued limited capacity by the state to resettle them. Criminals were still at large; guns still proliferated in the population resulting in a relatively high level of criminality, particularly murders, armed robberies, and other crimes: drug consumption and trafficking, physical assaults, motor vehicle robberies, drunkenness and rape.<sup>70</sup>

The Post Conflict situation, specifically the post genocide period has been described by respondents using a wide range of expressions. One respondent described the situation as

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid p.16

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Tonny on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2014 (one to one interview while in Nairobi, contact phone: + 254 716667815)

<sup>70</sup> Rwanda National Police 2014, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society: Making Rwandans Feel Safe, Involved, and Reassured, (Fountain publishers, Rwanda Ltd, 2014), p.83

being characterized by displaced persons, hunger, hopelessness, unsteadiness, antagonism, panic, hatred, sorrow and genocide ideology.<sup>71</sup> One of the respondents further observed that it is this Genocide ideology which resulted into continuous killings and menaces of the genocide survivors.<sup>72</sup> The war had devastated the country and this came as a challenge to both security agents and the governance at large. Because of the war, people for some time were not producing, leading to poverty and famine. Similarly, after the war, there were massive deforestations, which led to droughts and famine. This ravaged parts of Bugesera in 1998 before the Government stepped in to control tree cutting and carry out massive re-forestation.<sup>73</sup>

During the planning process that led to the inauguration of the Rwanda National Police Strategic Plan 2004-2008, specific challenges and weaknesses were stated regarding Rwanda National Police. Policing a post genocide society was singled out as a special challenge. Other weaknesses were identified as insufficient budget, Lack of enough and qualified personnel, insufficient numbers of police officers, limited infrastructures, and lack of enough equipment to carry out police function and few female police officers. Some threats were identified as outdated laws, regional political instability, natural disasters, and proliferation of small arms and light weapons.<sup>74</sup> Overtime, police continued

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<sup>71</sup>Assistant Inspector of Police, staff at Police headquarters, procurement department, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 2014)

<sup>72</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Financial Investigation Unit, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Tonny on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2014 (one to one interview while in Nairobi, contact phone: +254716667815)

<sup>74</sup> Rwanda National Police, Strategic Plan, 2004-2008, p.29

to grapple with these issues and police reforms to a large extent rotated around addressing these same issues.

### 3.3 POST CONFLICT POLICING REFORMS IN RWANDA:

#### **3.3.0 Recruitment and Training**

Owing to the after effects of war that had destroyed both the physical and human capacities, the post conflict period saw a dire need to increase the number of police personnel and their skills through continuous recruitment and training. The United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) in the very first months was useful but soon the National Gendarmerie took full mantle of training and equipping the police with the necessary skills. In August 1994, immediately after the genocide, UNAMIR began their Rwandan Police Training Program until December 1995. During that period, 919 gendarmes and 750 police officers received training.<sup>75</sup>

Due to the conflict, human rights had deteriorated and therefore, training on Human Rights was given the priority it deserved. Consequently, in addition the required skills on investigation, crowd control, traffic management, training on human rights was also undertaken for the period after the conflict of 1994. The principle of human rights is emphasized in the police act that led to the establishment of Rwanda National Police, in its article 2 of the Law no.09/2000 of 16<sup>th</sup> /06/2000 which has been modified to date by the Police Act, Law n°46/2010 of 14/12/2010, determining the powers, responsibilities,

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<sup>75</sup>Rauch and Elrena van der Spuy, Police Reform, p.121

organization and functioning of the Rwanda National Police. Police Act, in its art. 6, stipulates that police services shall be delivered to the people on the basis of identified principles. These are safeguarding the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and other laws, maintaining safety and security of people and property, working in harmonious collaboration with the community, the responsibility to account for their activities to the community and understanding the people's right to monitor its activities.<sup>76</sup>

Recruitment continued to be done to increase the police population ratio. As a reform agenda, recruitment had to promote representation of all of Rwandans (regional and ethnic considerations) with recruitment drives targeting the whole country but also putting into consideration gender perspectives. The Police Statute, Presidential Order N° 30/01 of 09/07/2012 on specific statute for police personnel in its article 62, emphasizes gender considerations. Rwanda National Police has endeavored to promote gender in the hierarchy of its structures as a way of encouraging female officers to join. In line with the National Policy on gender promotion, the police high council can for example, initiate special promotions for female officers and may propose to the Minister having the police in his attributions to promote female police officers even if not fulfilling the required age.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Police Act, Police Statute, Police Code of Conduct and amended Police Code of Conduct, "Law n°46/2010 of 14/12/2010 determining the powers, responsibilities, organization and functioning of the Rwanda National police", p.12; available on: [http://www.police.gov.rw/uploads/tx\\_download/Amategeko.pdf](http://www.police.gov.rw/uploads/tx_download/Amategeko.pdf), accessed on 19<sup>th</sup> October 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p.43

### **3.3.1 The Communal Police**

During the post conflict period, efforts were initiated to re-establish the Communal police. The communal police was re-established in 1995 under the Ministry of Interior and Communal Development. A training school was set up in Gishari in Rwamagana District with a view to train new police officers to be equipped with the necessary attributes, skills and attitudes. By 1998, the total number of communal police had risen to 1750 countrywide. Alongside the communal police, were the new National Gendarmerie under the Ministry of Defence and the Judicial Inspectors of Police under the Ministry of Justice that also handled some police duties.<sup>78</sup>

### **3.3.2 Rwanda National Police (RNP)**

In the year 2000, the Rwanda national Police was established signifying further reforms in the police sector. The Government of Rwanda deemed necessary to combine the work of the Communal Police, National Gendarmerie and Judicial Police in order to strengthen and co-ordinate the process of policing in the country, under the leadership of one ministry, that of Internal Affairs. The formation of the new National Police had five primary objectives. These objectives were; proper utilization of the human and material resources, harmonisation of administrative and operational procedures, uniformity in training, and harmonious approach to the fight against crime and, greater efficiency and productivity in providing police services to the community. The formation of the new Rwanda National Police was therefore one of such reforms that the government

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<sup>78</sup> <http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/Country-Profile-Rwanda-April-7.pdf>, accessed on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014

undertook to bring efficient harmonized police service in the country. This was aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the police service through coordinated command, community policing and crime management that would enable improved utilisation of human and material resources. Courts would also receive case files from only one source only, thereby enhancing the process of justice.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, on the 29th June 2000, the Law on Establishment, General organisation and Jurisdiction of the National Police was published in the Official Gazette as Law No. 09/2000 of 16/06/2000. The new police would be built on the following pillars: The importance of safeguarding the fundamental rights guaranteed by the law, the need for cooperation between police forces and the community they serve, and the responsibility to account for their activities to the community.<sup>80</sup>

### **3.3.3 Demilitarization and Civilization of Police**

The formation of Rwanda National Police was also associated with “demilitarization” as reform agenda. The new police (Rwanda National Police) was given new civil police ranks, for example where as originally an officer in Gendarmerie would say be of the rank of Major, such a rank would now be Superintendent of police and former captain would be a chief inspector of police. The Gendarmerie that served in the country before was a Para-military model inherited from the Belgian colonial system and used military ranks as already mentioned and so the new Rwanda National Police came as a new service altogether with new ranks, uniform and insignias. In the process of

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<sup>79</sup> Rwanda National Police, Strategic plan, 2004-2008, p.27

<sup>80</sup> Rwanda National Police, Handbook for Police Officer, P.34

demilitarization, many of the officers and men of the former Gendarmerie who were deemed not fit in the new police were transferred to the Army who would either fit in the army or otherwise be demobilized. In addition, all those arms and ammunitions that were owned by Gendarmerie but did not fit into the roles of new civilianized police were handed over to the army. The new police personnel would be tried and prosecuted by civil prosecution and courts system, in case of penal offences the former Gendarmerie shared prosecution services and court system with the army, i.e., military prosecution and military courts. Therefore, this was seen as a new landmark in policing in the country.<sup>81</sup>

#### **3.3.4 Organizational structure**

The reform process also touched on planning and streamlining the organizational structure. Whereas the immediate post conflict period structure was highly hierarchical, that is, the National Gendarmerie structure, the new one (the Rwanda National Police) Structure sought to make it less bureaucratic in decision making, and decentralized at lower administrative levels. The organization structure was therefore restructured comprise the Commissioner General, the Deputy Commissioners General, the Directors and support personnel in administrative and technical tasks, commanders of different police units - Territorial, Specialized and Support units, police schools and the entire police personnel. Each unit in the general commissariat was sub divided into sections. The directors were assisted by the heads of sections and other commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and police constables appointed to different administrative

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<sup>81</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p.94



and operational tasks. Directors would have staff in different police units to facilitate follow up and coordination of different activities. Each region of police was sub divided into district police units, police stations and police posts. Every level of territorial unit had a commander and other staff officers. These were the Crime investigation officer, Traffic police officer, Crime intelligence officer, Administration officer, and General duty police officers. Each specialized or support unit commanding officer would be assisted by his second in command, intelligence officer, administration officer, commanders of different squads and commanders of sections, commissioned, non-commissioned officers and police constables to carry out technical and operational tasks. (Rwanda National Police, organizational structure, 2008-Annex 2).<sup>82</sup>

The Rwanda National Police structure has continued to be restructured to meet current challenges in a bid to be more efficient and timely in operational, tactical and administrative decision making. In line with the Government decentralization policy, efforts have been made to decentralise the police in line with the decentralised and devolved local governance structures.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.3.5 Gender based violence, children rights and domestic violence.**

Reform process also aimed at the establishment and strengthening of the desk responsible for investigating child abuse, rape, and domestic violence. The conflict period had seen domestic violence especially rape being used as a weapon of war. Efforts had to be made

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<sup>82</sup> Rwanda National Police Organizational Structure, (Police Headquarters, Planning department, 2008)

<sup>83</sup> Inspector of Police, Staff Planning department, questionnaire respondent received on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 2014

to address gender violence. Specialized training was accorded to this desk responsible for Gender, sexual based crimes and relevant equipment for interviewing child victims was purchased. In the year 2001, the Child and Family Protection Unit was established under the department of criminal Investigations and on the 5<sup>th</sup> May 2005, the Gender Based Violence Desk was established and merged with the Child and Family Protection Unit.<sup>84</sup>

### **3.3.6 Discipline**

Enhancement of internal police discipline, primarily through the explicit articulation of values, code of ethics, the development of policies for problematic situations, and the acceptance of effective internal investigation of complaints against the police is part of the Police reform process. The Rwanda National Police introduced a department of Inspectorate of services to oversee the discipline of police personnel. It would fight corruption within the force, carry out inspections for periodical performance audits but also receive the public complaints against police misconduct and take necessary action on the misconduct. Police code of conduct was introduced which provides guidelines for police conduct during their engagements and provides disciplinary measures. The Police Disciplinary Code of Conduct was published as a Ministerial Order, the Ministerial Order No. 004/05 of 22/12/2005, establishing rules relating to disciplinary conduct, disciplinary sanctions and procedure in the Rwanda National Police.<sup>85</sup>

The disciplinary code of conduct has since then been modified by ministerial instructions n° 003/12 of 17/09/2012 establishing police code of conduct and further modified and

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<sup>84</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, pp. 207-208

<sup>85</sup> Handbook for Police officer, p.265

complimented by Ministerial instructions N°007/12 Of 18/12/2012 modifying and complementing ministerial instructions N°003/12 Of 17/09/2012 establishing police code of Conduct.

The code of conduct is implemented by the disciplinary committees, which are elected at various levels of the police hierarchy. The Police disciplinary committees are composed of police officers and men chosen among their fellow personnel, they award punishments (disciplinary sanctions) to the defaulters of the police code of conduct. Self-discipline is therefore encouraged where disciplinary committees in Police Units try and pass sanctions to instill discipline to the staff.<sup>86</sup>

### **3.3.7 External oversight / External accountability**

Police reforms go hand in hand with subjecting police operations to an external oversight body. Such an oversight can be made of government officials and officials from civil society. It acts as a go-between of the police and civil society on one hand and the governing authority on the other hand. In other words, the oversight can ask police for explanations where they have not met society's expectations and should they fail to correct the situation, they can forward such misconduct to higher authorities for re-dress. Such efforts increase police accountability, performance and discipline. In most countries such mechanisms are provided for in the legal instruments.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Financial Investigation Unit, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014

<sup>87</sup><http://www.prearesourcecenter.org/sites/default/files/library/internalandexternalpoliceoversightintheunitedstates.pdf>, accessed on the 29<sup>th</sup> November 2014

In case of the Rwanda National Police, the oversight bodies include the Office of the Ombudsman, the Parliamentarian Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security, the National Human Rights Commission, the Auditor General, the Rwanda Governance Board, as well as the civil society organizations such as Transparency Rwanda. The Rwanda National Police acknowledges that notwithstanding the indispensability of internal accountability, external oversight will continue to oversee the police to ensure that its work is efficient. The quality of policing will be characterized by enhancing public confidence in the fairness and legitimacy of the handling of complaints of police misconduct, improving the quality of communication and the level of trust between the police and the public, re-enforcing police adherence to human rights laws and norms, and professionalizing the service through training.<sup>88</sup>

### **3.3.8 Community policing**

Community policing is viewed as a new and a reform strategy. Community policing is both a philosophy and an organizational strategy that allows the police and community residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, physical and social disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy rests on the belief that law-abiding people in the community deserve input into the police process, in exchange for their participation and support. It focuses on consulting the community and, with community involvement, officers receive more information and are able to respond more effectively than before either with arrests or other appropriate actions. This approach also requires reducing the bureaucratic roadblocks that hamper getting the job done.

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<sup>88</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p.146

Furthermore, the internal reward and performance evaluation systems, has to be revised so that people are evaluated for community development and problem solving in addition to enforcement activities.<sup>89</sup>

In a bid to operationalize the concept of community policing and yield tangible results, the Rwandan Cabinet approved the formation of Community Policing Committees (CPCs) throughout the country on 10th October, 2007 and consequently a Ministerial Decree No. 02/10/2007 that gives guidelines to CPCs was published. Under Community policing program, Rwanda National Police works with various stakeholders; owners of hotels and lodges, Civil Society including church leaders collaborate with Police in preventing crime by giving out information on any action which is likely to create disorder. In the community policing framework, commanders in Rwanda National Police communicate to the public regularly on the overall situation of security through the media to keep community members informed on their safety.<sup>90</sup>

The achievements of community policing in Rwanda are several. They include decentralised policing and increased public involvement. The Introduction of Community Policing Committees (CPCs) has attracted praise/admiration from the Citizens because of involving them in keeping their neighbourhoods safe. Citizens feel secure through various functions carried out by these committees. Among them are dispute resolution, family and community counselling, organised functional patrols and providing the police

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<sup>89</sup> Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police, Police Training School (P.T.S ) Gishari, Community Policing Training manual, (un published), p.19

<sup>90</sup> “Community Policing Delivering Its Best”, Rwanda National Police, (New times article of 1<sup>st</sup> August 2010)

with vital information concerning suspects and crime. In addition, there is the establishment of youth against crime associations (Anti-crime clubs) in schools, installation of suggestion boxes in various locations to capture feedback from the public, installation of toll-free telephone hotlines to connect police and the public. There have also been sensitization programs in schools and five radio talk shows were conducted in regard to community policing. Training of trainers (ToT) for 900 CPC's was undertaken in March 2010 in Nkumba Training Center, meetings with representative of churches and other faith based organizations. Sensitization was undertaken in hotels, bars, night clubs, lodges and transport associations. Youth Concerts at *Petit Stade, Stade Regional, Kimisagara, Huye* were also carried out while Exhibition of RNP activities at the Trade show were also done.<sup>91</sup>

Most respondents observe that Community Policing in Rwanda has been successfully especially in fighting Gender Based Violence (GBV) and Domestic Violence.<sup>92</sup>

### **3.3.9 Role of other Poling Agencies**

The police reforms went along with developing other policing initiatives such as the local defense (LD). The Local defense forces were introduced to work in partnership with police and the population. Local Defense was established by law no 25/2004 of 19<sup>th</sup> November 2004, establishing the general organization and competence of Local defense

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<sup>91</sup> Police Training School (P.T.S) Gishari, Community Policing, Training manual, p.26, (un published)

<sup>92</sup> Assistant Inspector of Police, staff at Police Headquarters, procurement department, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 29<sup>th</sup> October 2014)

(LD).<sup>93</sup> However even before that time, as early as 1998, the Local Defense Forces had been in place until 2004 when it was formalized.<sup>94</sup> Local defense was a group of people selected from the general public with integrity in society in order to assist safeguard the security of citizens and their property. However, the local defense members do not receive a wage or a monthly salary recognized by law. The local defense (LD) was under the control of the Ministry of Local Governance and Social Affairs (MINALOC) through the local administrative structures such as cells, sectors, districts, provinces and Kigali City Council. Rwanda National Police works closely with local governance structures and the success of Rwanda National Police has been to a greater extent a result of well-organized Governance and related structures. The security and peace that was ushered in the country in the post Genocide era, has been attributed to among other things; the effectiveness and commitment of police, the Local Defense Force and the local community structures.<sup>95</sup>

Art 24 of the law 25/2004 on Local defense states that all local defenses' activities in a given District or City are respectively supervised by the Mayors and the Governors in collaboration with Police Commanders. The preparation and execution of training of local defense (LD) were under the Rwanda National Police, after finishing the training

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<sup>93</sup> Law N° 25/2004 of 19/11/2004, establishing and determining the organisation and functioning of the local service in charge of assisting in maintenance of security referred to as "Local Defense" available on: <http://rwanda.eregulations.org/media/law%20on%20import%20duty.pdf>, accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>94</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p.106

<sup>95</sup> Baker, Bruce, "Reconstructing a policing system out of the ashes: Rwanda's solution", in *Policing & Society*, Vol. 17, No. 4, (2007), p.348.

they return to their respective areas where they start helping people to safeguard security.<sup>96</sup>

Despite the usefulness of the local defense at the time, this initiative has become the victim of changing times, the public's loss of confidence coupled with the rise of other local initiatives for crime prevention has led to further reforms in the approaches to security at the local administrative levels, hence law number 26 of May 10, 2013 has established a new security entity, the District Administration Security Support Organ (DASSO). This new organ will take up the work that was originally carried out by the Local Defense Forces.<sup>97</sup>

Other than the local Defense, Rwanda National Police also works closely with private security companies who boost police services. The Government of Rwanda was able to organize private security companies immediately after the war and has acted as a booster to needed police services especially, in the urban areas. The private security companies are controlled by the Rwanda National Police through the line ministry (Ministry of Internal Security). The Ministry of Internal Security puts in place standards and guidelines for security companies while Rwanda National Police helps to enforce these standards. These control mechanisms help the private companies to provide a service that is to the required standard. Ministerial guidelines for the security companies are

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<sup>96</sup> Law N° 25/2004 of 19/11/2004, establishing and determining the organization and functioning of the local service in charge of assisting in maintenance of security referred to as "Local Defense" available on: <http://rwanda.eregulations.org/media/law%20on%20import%20duty.pdf>, accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 2014

<sup>97</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p.106



contained in the Ministerial Order No. 01/07 of 19<sup>th</sup> June 2007 and Ministerial order no.01/11 of 31<sup>st</sup> October 2011 regarding the organization and operations of the private security companies. All the respondents indicated the usefulness of the private security in supplementing the work of police. Private security companies have been important in supplementing the work of the Police especially with regard to ensuring security to private property where police is unable to deploy due to scarce resources and the size of the ever expanding private sector.<sup>98</sup>

### **3.3.10 Scientific Policing**

Investigation capacities were developed and Kigali Forensic Laboratory was introduced to handle scientific evidences in effort to enhance scientific investigations.<sup>99</sup>Scientific Policing emphasizes the use of forensic laboratories to produce scientific evidence on which the prosecution and the courts would rely on in order make informed decisions. A forensic laboratory was started in the country for this purpose and named Kigali Forensic Laboratory, it would be managed and run by Rwanda National Police but would serve the wide Justice Sector segment that includes the prosecution and the courts. The Laboratory was originally established with the assistance of donations from the Government of Belgium through Belgian Technical Cooperation and Sweden through Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the Swedish National Police Board.

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<sup>98</sup> Chief Superintendent of Police, trainer, National Police College, Musanze (Questionnaire respondent received on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

<sup>99</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Financial Investigation Unit, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

Since then, the Government of Rwanda has taken up the project and is upgrading it to develop a fully-fledged Forensic laboratory.<sup>100</sup>

### **3.3.11 Application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in policing**

Rwanda National Police has over time expanded ICT applications both in coverage and usage. The Police stations in provinces are connected to the Police Headquarters through a Wide Area Network (WAN) taking advantage of the Government policy of increasing ICT coverage in the country and the broad band fiber optics that have been installed in the country. In general, Rwanda's Internet penetration has grown from less than 1% in 2000 to 13% at the end of December 2013. In addition to existing ICT infrastructure as well as access network rollout program, investment in a 4G LTE network is expected to increase penetration to at least 95% by end of 2016.<sup>101</sup>

The Police Wide Areas Network (WAN) is important in timely information sharing between the police stations and the Police Headquarters; this enhances the process of decision making (both administrative and operational decision making). The use of ICT continue to be useful tool in fighting crime, for example, social media has become a platform for disseminating particulars of criminals including their photos so that any time such criminals are seen by the citizens, police is immediately informed and consequent apprehensions. ICT continue also to be a useful tool in traffic management: driving license record management, traffic exams management for driving license, communicating between the traffic department and citizens being examined, on line

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<sup>100</sup> <http://www.kigalitoday.com/spip.php?article18237>; accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> December 2014)

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.rdb.rw/rdb/ict.html>; accessed on the 5<sup>th</sup> November 2014

registrations; more avenues of ICT applications continue to be explored by Rwanda National Police.<sup>102</sup>

### **3.3.12 Role of International Community in the Police reform**

Given the dilapidated human and physical infrastructure during the time of war, a number of agencies and countries were vital in assisting the reform process and rebuilding the Rwanda Police, for example officers were sent abroad for training to countries that included: Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and later to Canada, Germany, Sweden, and the United States of America.<sup>103</sup> The United Nations Development Fund (UNDP) also participated in rehabilitation of Gishari Police Training School, provision of class room equipment, supported training of police officers and construction of police stations.<sup>104</sup> The Swedish International Development Agency (*Sida*) was pivotal in training Rwanda National Police under the Program for Democratic Policing that was implemented in Rwanda National Police since 2003. This project was conducted in a tripartite arrangement that included South African Police Services (SAPS), Rwanda National Police (RNP) and the Swedish National Police Board (SNPB). Under this arrangement, for example, in the year 2005, the Swedish National Police Board experts trained 20 RNP police officers in techniques of criminal investigation.<sup>105</sup>

Other than the agencies mentioned above, many other development partners came on board such as the Belgian Technical Cooperation, and the Germany Technical

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with Chief Inspector of Police, staff ICT department, on the 5<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>103</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p.95

<sup>104</sup> Rwanda national Police, Strategic Plan, 2004-2008, p. 24

<sup>105</sup> Annual Report 2005, Ministry of Internal Security, p.15, unpublished

Cooperation to mention but a few. One of the respondents has observed that the role of international community in post conflict police reconstruction has been remarkable and acknowledges their contribution in regard to training, provision of equipment such as such furniture, motor vehicles and also guidance.<sup>106</sup> However, some respondents see the contribution of Development partners as being skewed in away that more training was provided than provision of equipment yet the equipment were also dearly needed to enhance operational effectiveness.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Assistant Inspector of Police, staff at Police headquarters, procurement department, questionnaire respondent.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid

## CHAPETR FOUR

### IMPLEMENTATING POLICE REFORMS

The implementation of police reforms in Rwanda took many forms. There was the training aspect, the planning, community policing, inspectorate and crime fighting. There was also regional cooperation and matters of governance.

#### 4.0 Training

The initial training following the lapse of the conflict in Rwanda Police mainly aimed at providing the basic skills necessary for police officers to execute their general duties. However, it was soon evident that further specialized training was required to enhance skills to provide for specialized police duties. These duties included road/traffic security, Canine police services, firefighting and various branches of criminal investigations such as homicide and arson. Furthermore, there was need to train midlevel managers. Rwanda National Police took advantage of bilateral cooperation and was able to send its officers abroad to train in police and managerial skills. A case in point is the officers who went to train in Zimbabwe in the year 2000. Others went to Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Canada, Germany, Sweden and the United States.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Rwanda National Police, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society: Making Rwandans Feel Safe, Involved, and Reassured, (Fountain publishers, Rwanda Ltd, 2014), p.95

This approach of looking beyond borders for training was able to create local capacity that would later help Rwanda Police carry out its own training. Moreover, sending officers abroad for training was not sustainable, consequently, the National Police made effort to train its own officers. The first cadets were locally trained at the Rwanda Police Academy – EGENA and graduated on September 28, 2002.<sup>109</sup>

There were two levels of training that were offered with the help of the UNDP. The Rwanda Police Academy offered cadet officers specialized training in various policing fields while the Basic Training School at Gishari offered basic training of constables and refresher programs to Non-commissioned officers. The UNDP had helped in rehabilitating Gishari Police Training School and also bought classroom equipment and helped with training as well. It also had assisted by training 26 Trainers of Trainers and also trained 2,500 additional communal police with special emphasis on human rights and the treatment of detainees and arrest procedures in accordance with the laws of the Country and international protocols. The UNDP also assisted in the elaboration of the police code of conduct, provision of uniforms and ID badges to ensure accountability of all police officers.<sup>110</sup>

#### **4.1 Planning perspectives**

In order to streamline planning and implementation process and to identify strategic focus, the Rwanda National Police Strategic plan (2004-2009) was formulated. The

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid, p.95

<sup>110</sup> Rwanda National Police Strategic Plan, 2004-2008, p.24

process followed a consultative approach where various stakeholders were approached to give their views on how best the police would continue to provide quality services to the population. During this very first strategic plan, the vision of Rwanda National Police was as identified “To make the people living in Rwanda feel safe, involved and re-assured” while the mission was articulated as “The Rwanda National Police is dedicated to deliver high quality service, accountability and transparency, safeguard the rule of law, provide safe and crime free environment for all”. This strategic plan would guide police interventions for the next five years. By the lapse of the five years, critical evaluation would be made and a new strategic plan formulated. In this Strategic Plan, a number of interventions were identified as: Reduce crime and fear of crime, Improve road safety, Combat terrorism, Enhance Democratic Community Policing, Ensure the effective delivery of justice, Enhance unity & Reconciliation initiatives, Ensure security in Gacaca courts, Safe guard the fundamental rights guaranteed by the law, Promotion of gender issues, Campaign against HIV/AIDS Scourge in collaboration with stakeholders, Enhance accountability, Improved management capacity.<sup>111</sup>

#### **4.2 Community Policing**

The Rwanda Constitution of 2003, as amended, sets out police principles which form a basis for community policing. Article 170 of the Constitution stipulates that the National Police must serve the people on the basis of the following principles: Safeguarding the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law; Harmonious collaboration between the National Police and the community which it serves; The accountability of the National Police to the community; Informing the population on how the Police is

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p.32

fulfilling its mission.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, the Police Act of 2000 in its Article 2 emphasises the three constitutional principles requiring the police to safeguard the fundamental rights guaranteed by the law, to work with the communities and to be accountable to them.<sup>113</sup>

The Rwanda Vision 2020, under its broad aspect of good governance, states that the country is committed to promoting people's participation at grassroots level through the decentralisation process, whereby local communities are empowered in the decision making process, enabling them to address the problems that affect them most. It is on the basis of this country vision that the National Police, as a public entity is also required to consider the issues of decentralisation of police services, enabling them to work with the local community in seeking solutions to their policing problems.<sup>114</sup>

While recognising that security is indispensable for national development, the National Security Policy Paper insists that cooperation between security bodies and the community should form the core strategy for crime prevention. It also emphasises the need to enhance public sensitisation, engage the community in maintenance of security, expand private security industry and scrutinise its functioning.<sup>115</sup>

Given the fact that Rwanda National Police had few officers at the beginning and yet faced an enormous challenge of policing a post genocide society, partnerships with the

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<sup>112</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, p. 289-290.

<sup>113</sup> Republic Of Rwanda, Ministry Of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police, Police Training School (P.T.S ) Gishari, Community Policing Training manual. p.19

<sup>114</sup> Ibid p. 20

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, p.20



general society in policing was critical. It was evident that it would take time to build a police force from scratch, and that even when the process was complete, resources would not allow for it to be adequate to provide all the policing needs.<sup>116</sup>

While exploring further Community policing in Rwanda, there is a general consensus among the respondents that Community policing in Rwanda has yielded positive results, thus should undoubtedly be strengthened. However, others observe that for an effective implementation of community policing, a massive deployment of resources needs to be undertaken to support the program. Such resources would include training and education of all stakeholders involved and mobilization of sufficient material means such as transport, communication and other equipment necessary to implement community policing programs. Challenges emphasized by the respondents include a small number of personnel to carry out community policing activities, inadequate resources such as means of transport and financial resources to facilitate officers in their duties.<sup>117</sup>

Improvements regarding crime, disorder and the fear of crime as credited to community policing are evident. General crime rates have progressively reduced since 2004 from 13,956 cases in 2004 to 12,024 in 2005; 11,838 in 2006; 14,155 in 2007; 12,712 in 2008 and 2,650 cases recorded in the first quarter of 2009, with significant decreases in

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<sup>116</sup> Bruce Baker, "Reconstructing a policing system out of the ashes: Rwanda's solution", in *Policing & Society*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2007, p. 346

<sup>117</sup> Chief Superintendent of police, trainer Police College; Questionnaire respondent (received on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

homicide, armed robberies, sexual violence, traffic offences and corruption cases, according to unpublished police crime reports.<sup>118</sup>

The strong partnerships between the police and the community, the problem solving approach applied by the police within the communities has been paramount in rebuilding police–public trust that had been lost during the time of genocide. Important also is the fact that the decentralised Community Policing committees (CPCs) have been vital in fighting crimes and vices, especially in fighting Gender Based violence.<sup>119</sup>

#### **4.3 Human Rights**

Rwanda National Police continued to inculcate principles that promote Human rights. The Rwanda National Human Rights Commission led in advocating for high standards of Human Rights within the Rwanda National Police and within other Government Agencies. Training on Human Rights Awareness was given to stakeholders and the public at large. Human Rights awareness was delivered using various media.<sup>120</sup>

While Implementing Human Rights, Rwanda National Police does periodic inspections on the ground to verify whether human rights are being respected. This is done by visiting operation areas and police station detention facilities. The Police commander on the ground makes sure that Human Rights of those under his charge are respected and

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<sup>118</sup> Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police, Police Training School (P.T.S) Gishari, Community Policing Training manual, p.27, unpublished

<sup>119</sup> Chief Sergeant, Retired Police officer, one to one interview on the 29<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p.2

that his/her subordinates do not use excessive powers that will infringe on others' rights.<sup>121</sup>

One of the challenges so identified with Human rights and police discipline is the very fact that such acts of indiscipline committed by the police will be investigated by a fellow police officer, hence the fears that the investigator may tend to lean in favor of the police officer being accused. The relevance of introducing the specialized department of inspectorate of services in Rwanda National Police that called for specialized training to provide the officers with extra skills for this challenging assignment of handling investigations involving their fellow officers/colleagues.<sup>122</sup>

#### **4.4 Inspectorate of Services**

The Inspectorate of services in Rwanda National police was created in the spirit of enhancing accountability. Even though Police members are trained to serve the population with integrity, there are some individuals who are deviants. The role of Inspectorate Department is to receive the complaints from the public against the police members. These complaints serve as a basis to correct some of the conducts which are deviant to the norms and conduct of the police.<sup>123</sup>

Rwanda National Police Inspectorate of Services conducts regular inspections. In the year 2007 alone, it inspected 69 Police Stations and 29 Police posts throughout the

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with Chief Inspector of Police, Police HQs on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>122</sup> Ibid

<sup>123</sup> Chief inspector of Police, Financial Investigation Unit, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 2014

country. It examined service delivery and possible abuse of office among the police officers. Similarly, the complaints against police desk, received 108 complaints which were investigated. Financial audits were undertaken to eliminate any possible abuse of public funds within the police services.<sup>124</sup>

#### **4.5 Fighting Corruption**

Rwanda Government has in general taken up the approach of zero tolerance to corruption. Corruption is generally defined as an act of abuse of power for personal gain, or for the advantage of a group or class. In recent studies uncovering the magnitude of corruption across the globe, the police have fared very badly, coming high on everyone's list of most corrupt state institutions.<sup>125</sup> Corruption is incompatible with the profession of law enforcement and systemic corruption within the police obstructs its fundamental purposes. Instead it promotes criminality, insecurity and impunity. Taking particular note of the corroding effects of corruption on effective policing, Interpol has adopted Global Standards to Combat Corruption in Police Forces/Services, which promote high standards of honesty, integrity and ethical behaviour and asks member Countries to detect, hold accountable and bring to justice police officers and other employees of police forces/services who are corrupt.<sup>126</sup>

Rwanda National Police from the very beginning saw the importance of upholding high standards of good conduct. Officers and men who are suspected of corruption were investigated and expelled from the police. Furthermore, the Force Discipline Directorate

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<sup>124</sup> Ministry of Internal Security-MINITER, Annual Report 2007 p.49 (unpublished)

<sup>125</sup> <http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org>, accessed on the 30th November 2014

<sup>126</sup> Ibid

was establishment; it is responsible for monitoring integrity among officers. Those implicated are arrested and dismissed from the police depending on the gravity of the offence or sent for public prosecution in case there is evidence against them to appear before the court for trial and consequently dismissed.<sup>127</sup>

#### **4.6 Criminal Investigations**

Effective crime fighting necessitated the development of art of technology in forensic laboratory capabilities, developing of skills for handling and investigation emerging crimes, especially technology related crimes (cybercrimes of all kinds, electronic money frauds).<sup>128</sup>

Changes in criminal investigations further involved streamlining methods and procedures and also providing investigative materials and equipment. Crime scene investigation methods were introduced leading to securing of evidence that supports police investigations. The Rwanda-Sweden cooperation initiated training activities and also acquisition of equipment. The Belgian Technical Cooperation has also been involved in criminal investigation training.<sup>129</sup>

Resultant efforts in criminal investigations and crime control in general has had a diminishing effect on crime. Available statistics in Rwanda National Police indicate that

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<sup>127</sup> Chief Superintend of Police, Questionnaire respondent, received on the November 2014.

<sup>128</sup> Chief Superintendent of Police, Trainer at Police College, (Questionnaire respondent, received on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014

<sup>129</sup> Annual Report 2005, Ministry of Internal Security, p.15, unpublished

on average the crime rates have overtime been controlled by a reduction of 10% while the accidents have reduced by 8%.<sup>130</sup>

#### **4.7 Fighting Cyber crimes**

Globalization and the continued sophistication of information technology demands vigilance on the part of police to adequately deal with cybercrimes that come along this globalization. Cybercrimes come along with the use of information technology in key areas of the economy such as banking. Rwanda National Police has continued to grapple with cybercrimes; the strategy has been continuous training in the field of cybercrimes.<sup>131</sup>

#### **4.8 Fighting Drugs and Narcotics**

Post conflict situation in Rwanda has seen drug abuse on the rise, one of the interviewee has argued that the abuse of drugs in post conflict period is linked to the breakdown of the family and social fabric of the society that left many teenagers without families to look after them. The strong hand of the family that otherwise protects young men and women from such vices was weakened during the time of war and Genocide.<sup>132</sup>

Drug trafficking and other transnational organized crimes such as human trafficking overtime have become a concern to Rwanda. Moreover, there is a powerful connection

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<sup>130</sup> Ministry of Internal Security, Annual Report 2008, pp. 39-40, unpublished

<sup>131</sup> Inspector of Police, staff planning department (questionnaire respondent, received on the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2014 )

<sup>132</sup> One to one Interview with Tonny while in Nairobi on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2014

between drugs/narcotics and other crimes. On one hand, there is a causative relationship between drug consumption and crimes such as rape and other violent crimes such as assault, and on the other hand there is a relationship between drug trafficking and other security challenges such as money laundering and funding of terrorist activities.<sup>133</sup> Individual capacities within the police force to deal with these crimes and other cross border crimes have been augmented by regional mechanisms to handle the vices.<sup>134</sup>

#### **4.9 ENHANCING REGIONAL COOPERATION**

Another area of strategic focus in Rwanda National Police has been regional cooperation. No single nation can be able to deal with crimes effectively alone since many of the crimes cross borders. This requires cooperation in joint investigations, in operations and also in extradition as need may arise. Security calls for people to be empowered and protected at the individual and community levels. They need protection from conflicts, regional instability, terrorist attacks, poverty, disease, drugs and environmental degradation. This calls for cooperation of countries especially those within the same geographic locations.<sup>135</sup>

Motivated by such factors, regional organizations have formed initiatives to cooperate in all aspects of the affairs of their Nations. In case of policing, at the moment, there are mechanisms of cooperation through the Interpol and its affiliated agencies. In case of East Africa, there is the Interpol sub-regional bureau in Nairobi which oversees the East

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<sup>133</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Head of Fugitive Unit, National Central Bureau, Kigali (Interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014)

<sup>134</sup> Ibid

<sup>135</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human\\_security](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security), accessed on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2014

African Countries and the Horn of Africa. The Interpol sub regional bureau (SRB-Nairobi) works closely with the East Africa Police Chief organization (EAPCCO) in combatting crime within the region and in enhancing regional cooperation in police affairs.<sup>136</sup>

However, the existing mechanism through Interpol sub regional bureau requires further strengthening in timely and constant sharing of information on criminal gangs, their movements and habits (modus operandi) to be able to arrest criminals across borders.<sup>137</sup>

#### **4.9.0 The East African Police Chiefs Organization (EAPCCO )**

In the spirit of Police Regional Cooperation, the East African Police Chiefs Cooperation (EAPCCO) have been formed where the Police chiefs of the East African region meet to put in place policy guidelines for policing the region and cooperation in matters of policing. EAPCCO is comprised of countries; Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.<sup>138</sup>

The subcommittees on training and legal affairs under this arrangement (EAPCCO), have gone a long way in helping the countries to harmonize policing doctrines. The East African Directors of CID and Heads of anti-narcotics units, under EAPCCO also meet twice a year to share information on narcotic trafficking, and to organize joint cross

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<sup>136</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Head Fugitive Unit, National Central Bureau, Kigali, (interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014)

<sup>137</sup> Ibid

<sup>138</sup> <http://www.assetrecovery.org/kc/node/9a325d94-4e68-11dd-b372-13a250e5a451.3>, accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> November 201



border operations especially to eradicate cannabis - a drug produced in various forms from the dried leaves and flowers of the hemp plant, smoked or chewed.<sup>139</sup>

To ensure smooth law enforcement co-operation in the sub-region, the EAPCCO member countries through their Ministers responsible for police matters concluded the drafting and the signing of the following legal instruments. The agreement in respect of cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of crime combating was signed by nine members out of the eleven EAPCCO countries. The agreement in the field of combating narcotic drugs was signed by nine members out of the eleven EAPCCO countries. The agreement in the field of combating terrorism was signed by nine members out of the eleven EAPCCO countries. The agreement on extradition of fugitives and sentenced criminals was signed by nine members out of the eleven EAPCCO countries.<sup>140</sup>

The above mentioned agreements are yet to be ratified by the countries. These Agreements provide for police officers to travel to other countries in the region to undertake investigations or the seizure of exhibits, tracing and questioning witnesses in connection with any such offence. Nevertheless, the local police force/service maintains authority in effecting the relevant police actions. Further, the constitution provides for member countries to co-operate with one another on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The major issues of common interest include but are not limited to formulation of agreements on joint cross-border operations, reduction of time-consuming bureaucratic

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<sup>139</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Police Headquarters, Head Anti-Narcotics Unit, interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>140</sup> <http://www.assetrecovery.org/kc/node/9a325d94-4e68-11dd-b372-13a250e5a451.3>, accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> November 2014

procedures on cross-border operations by recommending amendments to border control legislation. Furthermore, there is promulgation and harmonization of regional legislation and practices, improvements in the dissemination of criminal intelligence/information and the development and maintenance of appropriate regional training structures.<sup>141</sup>

In the year 2007 alone, cooperation between Rwanda and neighboring countries led to extradition of 8 criminals. Those extradited from Rwanda were four to Uganda, three to Burundi and one to Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Those extradited to Rwanda were 9, four from Uganda, three from Burundi, one from Tanzania and one from Norway.<sup>142</sup>

#### **4.10 Fighting Proliferation of Small and Light Weapons**

The problem of proliferation of small and light weapons emphasized in chapter three as one of the problems that characterized post-conflict period; this problem continues to be a threat although various efforts were undertaken to contain it. As previously mentioned, this is one of the issues that can best be addressed in a wider regional cooperation, given the fact that arms and ammunitions move across frontiers. These arms are smuggled from one country to another depending on their demand and the porosity of borders. Rwanda National Police's engagements in fighting proliferation of small and light weapons at a regional level are coordinated by the Regional Centre on

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid

<sup>142</sup> Rwanda National Police, Third Quarter Report 2007, p.3 (unpublished)

Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States (RECSA). RECSA is an inter-governmental organization that coordinates the efforts of its Member States to combat the proliferation of small arms in the region. It was established in 2005 to oversee the implementation of the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States. The mission of RECSA is to control the proliferation of small and light weapons hence contribute to peaceful region.<sup>143</sup>

#### **4.11 Police Welfare**

Welfare issues have been pertinent in the post conflict period and continue to be of concern. In trying to explore the issue of police welfare, the respondents emphasized the fact that for consistent police reforms, welfare for the officers was paramount. Rwanda National Police invested in the police welfare through provision of transport, accommodation, feeding facilitation, medical insurance for the officers and their families but also provision of soft loans for the officers and their families. This was through the cooperative bank, CSS Zigama, so that the officers and their families can engage themselves in constructive income generating alternative livelihoods.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Available on: [www.recsasec.org](http://www.recsasec.org):  
<http://69.16.238.208/~recsaint/index.php/en/component/abook/book/2-policy/1-nairobi-protocol>, accessed on the 16<sup>th</sup> January 2015

<sup>144</sup> Rwanda National Police 2014, Policing a Rapidly Transforming Post-Genocide Society, p. 161

While further exploring this problem of welfare in police, one of the respondents observed that the failure to improve and maintain the police welfare would be one of the major issues that can jeopardize police in fulfilling its mission.<sup>145</sup>

#### **4.12 Cooperation with other members of the Justice Sector**

Rwanda National Police is part of the Justice sector, especially due to the role of the police in investigations. Cooperation of all the stake holders in the Justice Chain cannot be over emphasized. Justice Chain is simply the relationship between the police, the prosecution, the courts and the prisons.<sup>146</sup> When a suspect is arrested, he is investigated by the police, who then hand over to prosecution, and then to the courts and ultimately the person is taken to the prisons once convicted for consequent rehabilitation.<sup>147</sup>

Government institutions act as a chain and each one of them as a link hence the need to work in harmony. The entire criminal justice system requires the smooth functioning of all the institutions involved otherwise it would be difficult for justice to be dispensed. This also applies to governance, decentralization as well as other government agencies.<sup>148</sup> This cooperation did not end with functional cooperation alone but also joint training sessions on investigations of certain crimes. Crimes such as rape were well fought in when all the key players involved in justice sector developed a common

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<sup>145</sup> Chief Superintendent of Police, Student at National Police College, Musanze (questionnaire respondent, received on the 5<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

<sup>146</sup> <http://www.uclouvain.be/471128.htm>, accessed on the 16<sup>th</sup> January 2015

<sup>147</sup> Ibid

<sup>148</sup> Chief Superintend of Police, Trainer at National Police College, Musanze, (Questionnaire respondent received on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014)

understanding, that is, the police investigators, the prosecutors and the judges themselves.<sup>149</sup>

#### **4.13 Good governance**

The success of police reforms in the post conflict Rwanda is highly associated with good governance. Although police is part of the Justice sector, the Justice sector is part of Governance. The ultimate objective of these government institutions is good governance and service delivery. Where good governance exists, it gives foundation for the success of other sectors. Good policing leads to good governance but also good governance enhances good policing by providing appropriate mechanism and support but also checks and balances.<sup>150</sup>

In case of Rwanda, the Ministry of Local Government brought all people on board in government development programs. Community policing could not have brought good results without the due role of local government structures. The success of community policing in fighting domestic violence in Rwanda has been, to a great extent, as a result of the local governance structures that have worked closely with the police to fight domestic violence.<sup>151</sup>

#### **4.14 Provision of other police services**

Rwanda National Police like was involved in an array of activities that are beyond classic policing activities. In the era of liberalization, there is increasing dumping of

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid

<sup>150</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Police Headquarters, Interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>151</sup> Chief Sergeant, Retired Police officer, interview on the 29<sup>th</sup> December 2014

items such as drugs, medicines and foodstuffs. Although Rwanda has the Bureau of standards and the Utilities Regulatory Agency, Rwanda National Police decided not to leave this noble cause of regulatory services to such institutions alone. Consequently Rwanda National Police has continued to increase its role across sectors to support other departments. Some respondents believe that Rwanda National Police should even have a bigger role in security of tourist, “Tourist Police”.<sup>152</sup>

Rwanda has the office responsible for tourism and National Parks, but this office/department needs to be supported by an active force. Such a force would be of police in protecting tourists, guiding them where necessary and investigating game related crimes such as trafficking of fauna parts. Rwanda National Police occasionally supports the Game rangers to protect the national parks through training, and other interventions, as required. Some respondents suggest that Rwanda National Police can borrow Kenyan model where the Kenya Wild Life Service (KWS) is a full-fledged Para military force capable of protecting the National Parks.<sup>153</sup>

Consequently, owing to the fact that Rwanda National Police offers a wide range of services to the society other than the classic law and order, especially in the context of community policing, most of the respondents see police as being both a force that enforces law and order but also a service that renders a wide range of services to the Rwandan society. It is a force to an extent that in some cases in the enforcement of the law, the police uses coercive measures. It is also a service because in some cases it

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<sup>152</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Police Headquarters, (interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014)].

<sup>153</sup> Ibid

renders services like road safety operations, license drivers and issues documents substituting lost official documents and assists people in distress.<sup>154</sup>

#### **4.15 Unity and reconciliation**

The Rwanda society was dichotomized after the genocide. Ethnicity had been politicized for a long time, culminating into the Genocide of 1994. Police personnel had participated in the genocide against Rwandan people. This called for rethinking the ethic factor in order to bring people together. The Unity and Reconciliation Commission was put in place to oversee the process. In reality, all the institutions including Rwanda National Police have contributed towards the attainment of Unity and Reconciliation.<sup>155</sup>

Rwanda National Police also supported Reconciliatory Justice System (Gacaca Courts) that was introduced to handle the backlog of genocide cases by providing the security required for effective operations of the courts. It however, avoided indulging directly in the administration of these courts.<sup>156</sup> At the same time, these courts helped to alleviate, on the side of police, the burden of investigating a large number of genocide perpetrators. Both the Gacaca courts and the police were able to work together in the restoration of justice in the post conflict era.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Staff planning department, (questionnaire respondent received on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2014

<sup>155</sup> Chief Sergeant, Retired Police officer, Interview on the 29<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>156</sup> Chief Inspector of Police, Police HQs, interview on the 18<sup>th</sup> December 2014

<sup>157</sup> Ibid

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION: POLICE REFORMS IN RWANDA

#### **5.0 Conclusion.**

The turbulent years of early 1990's resulted in a massive break-down of law and order in Rwanda. Weakened by emotive partiality, indiscipline, poor control structures and a dysfunctional judicial system, law enforcers stood by as law and order degenerated into the mayhem of 1994. Some of the law enforcers, the police in particular, became part of the problem by participating in and abetting in genocide. Consequently, after the restoration of order it became necessary to re-organize law enforcement agencies.

Police reforms in post conflict settings, taking Rwanda as case study are critical for the survival of states emerging out of conflicts. The research specifically looked at the period between 1994 and 2005 and examined reforms in four other countries. These are South Africa, Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone which provided opportunity for comparative analysis. The comparison showed that policing environment is constantly changing and also facing new challenges. This is because war ravages everything whether human, material or infrastructure. Police image has been stained and in process the ruling governments have to start virtually from scratch to restore this trust and to rebuild their economies. They face dilapidated social and economic infrastructure, systems of governance and traumatized society. In addition, they have polarized society where mutual suspicion between contending parties is wide spread. There is also the



proliferation of small and light weapons/illicit ownership of arms and growing numbers of Internally Displace Persons (IDPs).

The judiciary tends to be dysfunctional. Its staff members either leave the country or are completely discredited in the eyes of the public. The police appear to be part of the problem and are perceived to be the principal violators of laws.

Prisons are overcrowded and unhealthy where brutality is normal and people languish for years without charge or trial. Corruption is often rife as organized crime takes control of much of what is left of the economy. This sometimes makes trafficking in humans, drugs and contraband rampant. Landmines pose a continuing danger, inhibiting freedom of movement and economic activity, especially in rural areas where prime farmland is often mined. These challenges mean that governments in post conflict countries have a surmountable role to play to stop the situation from deteriorating or even becoming endemic.

Police reforms depend on presence of good governance, conflict management and the general welfare of societies. Consequently, post conflict countries aim at renewal of the rule of law and the creation of mechanisms of accountability. Police reform is increasingly recognized as a fundamental element of conflict management. A police service supported by the community and capable of arresting insecurity can have a far-reaching impact in enabling lasting economic, social and political development. Police

reform can also complement and embolden other programming in the areas of security sector reform, rule of law and good governance.

In all the five countries looked at, police reforms were conducted in a similar manner. For example, all the countries endeavored to replenish police strength (recruitment, training) and training emphasized human rights. Post conflict governments are preoccupied with restoring human rights and consequently restoring the lost trust between the police and the communities.

In post conflict countries, there is significant role of development partners and the United Nations. Given the fact that there is lack of adequate internal resources during this time, assistance by international community becomes paramount. However, caution should be exercised to avoid over reliance on such external sources but make effort to generate internal capacities to drive the reform process.

It starts with basic training followed by acquisition of specialized skills. In Rwanda training inculcates knowledge of human rights, nurturing initiative, sharpening new skills and creating professional specializations.

Polarized societies with in the post conflict period, calls for unity and reconciliation, Specifically Rwanda National Police has had a great role in enhancing unity and reconciliation, just like the other institutions within the Justice Sector. The impartiality of these institutions stepped up the recovery of mutual trust in communities and has

helped Rwandese to forge ahead as one people. Rwanda National Police was pivotal in the process of Gacaca courts (restorative justice) that handled the cases of Genocide in Rwanda

Reform imperatives further touched on issues of accountability and transparency. There are efforts to put in place both internal controls and external oversight bodies to create necessary controls and accountability. These include internal oversights such as the police inspectorate of services and complaints desks to address people's grievances against the police.

Although training of police personnel is an important aspect of police reforms in post conflict situations, most of the assistance given in post conflict settings by development partners was more of training than provision of requisite equipment. This erodes the quality of training. The equipment helps the exercising of skills that have been attained during the training. For example if an officer gets specialized training on collection of evidence at the scene of crime but does not have equipment to collect the evidence, the skills so attained will be rendered redundant.

Rwanda National Police needs all types of training. Rwanda National Police gives priority to skill upgrading in practical police work like investigations, criminal profiling and combating terrorism. Similarly, Community Policing, gender-based violence and intelligence information analysis techniques and other specialized police training are needed. It also needs to train in academic related disciplines such as economists who

can help in investigating economic crimes. Trained personnel are also needed in logistics, in finance departments and as legal advisers.

There is need for specialized training schools in such areas as crime intelligence and Criminal Investigations. It would entail recruiting more female police officers. In Rwanda, the police-population ration favours men more than women. Whereas, the government policy for empowering women stands at a minimum of 30 percent, in the Rwanda National Police, the percentage of women still stands at a percentage of around 20%. To increase the number of women in the police force, there is need to give special incentives to females. These would include making training program and duration friendly to women cadet officers. They would also be trained in handling Gender Based Violence and Sexual crimes (rape, defilement). This would reinforce the existing offices responsible for investigating gender based and domestic violence. These offices require more equipment, resources and staff. The services of this office need to be spread across the country.

Community policing is widely seen as a strategic approach that can boost the policing numbers. Although the concept still needs to be understood widely by all the stakeholders and more resources allocated for effective implementation, community policing, is still seen as a strategy that can boost meager policing resources. The experience of Rwandese patriotic front working with the population in form of popular participation during the time of the struggle is being replicated into a community policing model.

Community policing was successful especially in fighting domestic violence. The Rwandese were mobilized against domestic violence to such an extent that every citizen took it upon himself/herself to intervene and question any neighbor who is seen to be molesting other family members, and if need be to call for police intervention. Hotlines were provided to Rwandese for police to be alerted on such issues; police emergency hotline - 112, Criminal Investigation, and Gender based violence hotline - 3512.

However, Rwanda National Police ought to explore additional strategies to enhance effectiveness of Community Policing. These include enhancement of inter-agency cooperation in solving crime related problems. This calls for a commitment from police managers to develop new skills through training which incorporates problem solving, mediation, conflict resolution, facilitation and community involvement. Furthermore, decentralization of the policing services will help to ensure effective decision making and accountability at the local level. This would encourage officers to assume responsibility for addressing safety and security problems within the areas of their responsibility.

It is possible to strengthen community policing through community policing committees/forums that among other things, would provide more resources for implementation and follow-up. Community policing committees are made of citizens that meet periodically to review security challenges, seek solutions and ask for police to intervene where necessary. Community policing goes with development into a citizen-

responsive force and orientation to a close relationship with the community. This goes with real change in approach and requires a significant change in philosophy. It calls for a re-ordering of priorities, and potentially massive restructuring of police organization. All this requires allocating more resources to the program.

One of the main purposes of the police in a society governed by the rule of law is to combat crime. Even if crime investigation often amounts to a limited part of the total police work, it is a vital component of the activities of the police. The citizens expect much of the police in terms of their crime investigation capacity. Effective crime investigation has also a preventive effect in itself, and is thus crucial for promoting public confidence in criminal justice.

All efforts to develop and enhance the capacity within the field of crime investigation needs upholding of a proper balance between the efficiency of the police and the respect for individuals' fundamental human rights. This is particularly difficult in crime fighting. The principle of presumption of innocence and its accompanying safeguards are of great importance for persons suspected of crime. In addition, the respect for individual rights in crime investigation also comprises the rights of other persons affected, such as victims and witnesses, towards whom the police also have responsibilities.

The lesson learned in history is that a system of criminal law enforcement which comes to depend on confession will in the long run be less reliable and more subject to abuses

than a system which depends on extrinsic evidence independently secured through skillful investigation. Based on this line of reasoning, the Rwanda National Police opened up the Kigali Forensic Laboratory to provide scientific evidence instead of relying on confessions

Police organizations face great challenges when it comes to countering a host of different types of crime, some of which become increasingly more sophisticated such as cyber-crime and complicated fraud and financial crime. The rise and occurrence of serious organized crime as well as that of trans-national organized crime place continuously growing expectations on the capacity and capability of law enforcement organizations worldwide for an effective response.

Crime and its perpetrators, at times, create treacherous, dangerous and potentially corrupting conditions and influences for those police officials who pursue them. This means that police organizations need to have in place the structures, procedures and oversight mechanisms to counter the very same (corruption tendencies). Professional police organizations attach great significance to structures and procedures guaranteeing transparency in individual and organizational conduct as well as individual and organizational accountability for the conduct of criminal investigations. Therefore, at the heart of all police reform efforts lies the need to create effective mechanisms of accountability; the strength and impartiality of these mechanisms creates strength and credibility for the police. To address some of these issues, the Rwanda National Police

formed a department of inspectorate to investigate possible abuse of office by police officers.

In Rwanda, police reforms and other related governance and justice initiatives has had a positive influence on the reduction of crime. The crime rate has been contained and some of the crimes have considerably reduced, this also applies to the road security despite the ever increasing traffic levels in Kigali city. According to the Ministry of Internal Security, unpublished annual report of 2008, the overall crime rates in the country is reported to have reduced by 10% while the road accidents have reduced by 8%

While looking at information technology and its usefulness in policing and fighting crime, it is important that more modern equipment be provided for enhancing operational efficiency, this can include CCTV Cameras (Closed circuit Cameras) capable of taking pictures and other surveillance gadgets. This should go hand in hand with information technologies such as establishment of Automated Records Management Systems, acquisition of the Automated Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS), and acquisition of an Automated DNA Profiling System. Continued establishment of a wide Area Networks to connect the Rwanda National police head offices to various territorial and support Units and also connecting Rwanda National Police to other stakeholders within the Justice-chain is crucial.



The research also explored whether the police is actually a force or a service, with emphasis on Rwanda National Police. Rwanda National Police is seen by some officers as both a force and a service. It is a force to an extent that it holds the capacity to exercise legitimate force in the protection of the society but also a police service due to its ideology of being service oriented. Whereas the original Gendarmerie was built on a militaristic model, with highly hierarchical and bureaucratic structure, the New Rwanda National Police adapts a service model where police is not seen in the strict sense of law and order but broadly offers a wide range of services to the people including firefighting, road safety, counseling, guidance and provision of information to the citizens. This observation can comfortably be applied to other police organizations in other countries that were considered in this research.

Having seen that Police is increasingly becoming service oriented, giving a wide range of services, specifically in case of Rwanda National Police, the police extend its services and create a specialized department to deal with tourists and flora/fauna related offences, like the trafficking of elephant tusks.

The police is part of wider security sector and in specific terms part of Justice Sector. In the Rwanda police, there are strong linkages with the other actors in the Justice sector. The Rwanda National Police participates in joint planning programs within the Justice sector - in the Sector Wide Approach Planning (SWAP), initiated by the ministry of finance and economic development. The joint planning forums help to reduce duplication of roles and possible wastage of resources but also encourages, planning

jointly to harness synergies. The police is an integral part of the Justice chain (the investigation, court system, prosecution and prison/correctional services)

There are certain challenges that stand out in police existence, one of these is police welfare. In case of Rwanda, the police personnel in Rwanda National Police see their wages as not being adequate given the ever increasing price levels (inflation). This situation may not attract the best quality man power in the police services and may have future negative impact on the overall performance.

Regional cooperation in fighting cross border and organized crimes needs to be intensified. Fighting these cross-border crimes such as the drug trafficking, human trafficking, carjacking needs support by all governments. Regional cooperation can be supported by attending regional meetings and also by paying the subscriptions required for running relevant support institutions.

In the past three decades, the notion of policing has evolved from a narrow preoccupation with protecting the security of the state and its rulers to including a broad concern ensuring 'human security' for all. The protection of human security places emphasis on policing by state and non-state actors, such as community groups and private security businesses that together create an environment where freedom from fear is assured.

Reform requires a shift from regime policing to democratic policing. This calls for an approach founded on principles of equity and equality, accountability, transparency, participation, respect for diversity, the accommodation of dissent, protection of individual and group rights, and encouragement of human potential. Democratic policing not only protects democratic institutions and supports an environment where democratic activities can flourish but also demonstrates democratic values in its own institutional structures and processes. Ideally, holistic reform requires attention not only to police but also to the criminal justice system. Although the Rwanda National Police is on the right path, continuous improvements have to keep on so that the process of police modernization will not be interrupted.

Successful police organizations work in close collaboration with the communities they serve in the area of prevention, detection and investigation of crime. They recognize that trust of the community in their police force and its abilities is a key factor for successful task performance. That trust is established through frequent and open communication and through transparent rendering of accounts on police performance and an active interest in the needs and expectations of the community. These features have been identified as the hallmarks of Rwanda National Police in its Community policing program.

The issue of police trust within the communities they police is critical to community wellbeing. Most of the respondents alluded to the fact that police confidence in Rwanda has been restored due to several factors. There is close collaboration between the police

and the public. There is also commitment of police in addressing society needs and the discipline associated with the police officers while conducting their duties.

Following police reforms in Rwanda, the benefits to the public and the country are clear. The delivery of justice has been enhanced. In addition, peace, security and public confidence in Government institutions have been re-instated. The country's sense of internal peace has greatly improved which in turn is attracting investors and tourists. Rwanda has enjoyed favorable growth rate, a ten-year annual average up to end 2013 of +7.9 %. This favorable economic growth rate is to an extent attributed to this security, peace and stability that gives confidence to private entrepreneurs to invest in the country. It can all be attributed to Rwanda's commitment to police reforms.

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**Questionnaire**

**Research Topic:** Police Reforms in Post Conflict Countries: Case Study of Rwanda National Police (1994-2005)

The information being sought in this questionnaire is to provide the researcher/student with information relating to police reforms in Rwanda covering the post conflict era /post genocide era starting from 1994 up to around 2005 for his thesis leading to the award of a Master's Degree in Arts, International Studies of the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS).

The information is for purposes of academic research and will be handled with due diligence it deserves.

The Questionnaire will be administered through emails, the questionnaire can be answered by creating space necessary for the response; the questionnaire will also be administered by way of telephone interview as deemed necessary.

**Personal Information of the interviewee (informant)**

- ✓ Name: .....(optional)
- ✓ Occupation.....(Necessary in case you are **not** from the police or the military)
- ✓ Rank.....(Necessary in case you are from the police or the military)
- ✓ Appointment: .....(Necessary in case you are from the police or the military)  
(e.g. Commissioner,  
Director, head section,  
Student, trainee, etc.)
- ✓ Date of interview :.....( Necessary)

Q1. Mention some of the post conflict policing challenges in Rwanda (1994-2005)

Q.2. What are some of the police reforms that were undertaken in regard to the following areas? (1994-2005)

- a. Policy frame work
- b. legal reforms
- c. Disciplinary measures
- d. Fighting corruption
- e. Capacity building (Training, recruitment, police equipment, investigation capabilities, scientific investigations/policing, application of ICT to policing?)

Q3. What is the police: population ratio? Are there any strategies to improve the ratio or to make police more effective in achieving its mission?

Q4. What is the role of “inspectorate of services/police”? And what is the role of “complaints against police” desk? What are the ways in which the “complaints against police” can be made more effective or improved?

Q5. What is the percentage of women to men in RNP?

Q6. Are there specific challenges that the organization (RNP) faces in relation to gender mainstreaming?

Q7. Are there specific recommendation that you can make in further mainstreaming gender in RNP?

Q8. What has been the role of community policing? In which areas has it been most successful? (Child protection, fighting Gender based violence, fighting serious crimes, fighting drugs, crimes against state?)

Q9. What are some of the challenges that RNP faces while trying to implement community policing approach

Q10. What has been the role of International community in police reforms in Rwanda (1994-2005); [United Nations, UNAMIR, UN agencies-UNDP, UNICEF, etc.), Bilateral and tripartite engagements, eg. The Swedish Police, South African Police and Rwanda Police cooperation-which was funded by the Sida (Swedish International Development Agency) or any other that you may think about.

- a. In training
- b. Provision of equipment
- c. Any other

Q11. In your opinion, is RNP a force, a service or both? What are some of the services which RNP provides to the people?

Q12. Explain the role of private sector in supplementing the work of police especially the private security companies.

Q13. Are there specific challenges associated with private security companies?

Q14. How could such challenges mentioned above be addressed?

Q15. Briefly explain any other institutional reforms and initiatives outside police that could have impacted on police work (Legislative, judiciary, governance, decentralization, Justice reforms, Gacaca courts etc.)

Q16. In your opinion, what do you think are the major achievements in the RNP, in general and from a reform perspective?

Q17. Kindly also give your opinion as to what else can be done to make police (RNP) more effective in achieving its mission. (Training? In what specific areas of training?, equipment?, improvement of welfare- How?, any other?)

N.B: In case you find that you are not comfortable with any question for one reason or another, feel free to answer those that you can and submit to: **tkamal\_99@yahoo.com**

**RWANDA NATIONAL POLICE STRUCTURE - 2008**

**GENERAL COMMISSARIAT**

- Spokesman
- Protocol
- Central Secretariat
- Training Schools
- Legal Affairs & Human Rights

- Inspectorate of Services and Quality Assurance
- Recruitment and Training
- Planning, Documentation, Police Policy Center, Research and Development
- International Cooperation
- ICT

**DEP. COMM. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION**

**DEP. COMM. GENERAL OPERATIONS**

**SUPPORT UNITS**

- Police Tender Council
- Medical Service
- P/ Band
- Police Air Wing
- Genera Headquarters
- Sports Promotion
- Construction Unit

**SPECIALISED UNITS**

- Fire Arms Registry
- Revenue Protection Department
- Police Marine Unit
- Traffic Police
- Airport Security
- Guard and Protection Unit
- Canine Brigade
- Fire and Rescue Brigade
- Anti Terrorism Unit
- Intervention Force

- Department of Human Ressources & Administration**
- Personnel management
  - Administration

- Department of Finance**
- Account and Budget Management
  - Patrimony and Assets

- Department of Logistics**
- Transport
  - Stores and Supplies

- Department of Project**

- Regional Police Unit**
- District Station Unit**
- Station Police Unit**
- Police Post**

- Department of intelligence**
- Research & Analysis
  - Counter Intelligence & Operations
  - Force Intelligence

- Department of Criminal Investigation**
- Scene of Crimes
  - Financial & High Tech Crimes
  - Serious Crimes
  - Genocide
  - Criminal Records
  - Interpol
  - Drugs and vices
  - Central Fire Arms Registry
  - Forensic Laboratory
  - Child and Family Protection

- Department of Operations**
- Public Order & Security

- Department of Community Policing**