



**AFRICA CENTER**  
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

# **Managing Security Resources in West Africa**

**Lomé, Togo**

**12-15 February 2024**



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FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

# Managing Security Resources in Africa

**12-15 February 2024**

**SYLLABUS**

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## ABOUT THE AFRICA CENTER

Since its inception in 1999, the Africa Center has served as a forum for research, academic programs, and the exchange of ideas with the aim of enhancing citizen security by strengthening the effectiveness and accountability of African institutions, in support of U.S.-Africa policy.

### VISION

*Security for all Africans championed by effective institutions accountable to their citizens.*

Realizing the vision of an Africa free from organized armed violence guaranteed by African institutions that are committed to protecting African citizens is the driving motivation of the Africa Center. This aim underscores the Center's commitment to contributing to tangible impacts by working with our African partners – military and civilian, governmental and civil society, as well as national and regional. All have valuable roles to play in mitigating the complex drivers of conflict on the continent today. Accountability to citizens is an important element of our vision as it reinforces the point that in order to be effective, security institutions must not just be “strong,” but also be responsive to and protective of the rights of citizens.

### MISSION

*To advance African security by expanding understanding, providing a trusted platform for dialogue, building enduring partnerships, and catalyzing strategic solutions.*

The Africa Center's mission revolves around the generation and dissemination of knowledge through our research, academic programs, strategic communications, and community chapters. Drawing on the practical experiences and lessons learned from security efforts on the continent, we aim to generate relevant insight and analysis that can inform practitioners and policymakers on the pressing security challenges that they face. Recognizing that addressing serious challenges can only come about through candid and thoughtful exchanges, the Center provides face-to-face and virtual platforms where partners can exchange views on priorities and sound practices. These exchanges foster relationships that, in turn, are maintained over time through the Center's community chapters, communities of interest, follow-on programs, and ongoing dialogue between participants and staff. This dialogue – infused with real world experiences and fresh analysis – provides an opportunity for continued learning and catalyzes concrete actions.

### MANDATE

The Africa Center is a U.S. Department of Defense institution established and funded by Congress for the study of security issues relating to Africa and serving as a forum for bilateral and multilateral research, communication, exchange of ideas, and training involving military and civilian participants. (10 U.S.C 342)

## **Introduction**

### **Background**

African countries face challenges in generating, allocating and managing security sector resources for reasons that include: weak institutions, capacity constraints, inadequate oversight and scant transparency and incoherent national security strategies. Although some countries are taking steps to address these issues, significant challenges persist. The resulting inefficiency, waste, corruption, fragility, and (in some cases) human rights violations have an impact on force readiness and the attainment of national/regional security goals. Thus, the judicious management of available security sector resources in Africa is both urgent and critical.

This workshop introduces participants to strategic-level implications of resource management in Africa's security sector, and combines interactive plenary presentations, group discussions and scenario-building exercises. The four-day, in person program aims to: (a) enhance capacity and professionalism among participants responsible for the design, implementation and oversight of security sector budgets in Africa, (b) explore the frontier issues in the management of security resources across Africa, and (c) introduce and demonstrate public financial management tools and approaches to align budgeting processes with implementation of national security strategies; while identifying key policy, institutional and capacity achievement. We expect participants to grasp, and eventually adopt sound practices for the management of security resources across Africa, with effective oversight. They will also be able to identify key policy, institutional, and capacity gaps, stimulate innovative thinking in this field, and promote informed policy debate relating to the allocation and utilization of security sector resources.

By pitching this workshop at the strategic level, participants will be challenged to go beyond identifying the problems and will be required to work as a group to develop effective, Africa-centric solutions to enhance resource management capacity at national and regional levels. By so doing, participants will be encouraged to focus on the "ways" (i.e. how best to define successful solutions), the "means" (i.e. how best to judiciously utilize available domestic and external resources) and the "ends" (i.e. how best to define the desired end-state) that are required to address Africa's multifaceted security challenges. The emphasis would be on sharing sound practices, learning lessons from case studies, and formulating practical solutions that could be adapted, adopted, and sustained.

### **Workshop Structure**

This workshop is divided into seven plenary sessions, discussion groups and a simulation. Panelists with relevant expertise and experience will lead the plenary sessions. Their brief presentations will be followed by moderated question and answer sessions during which participants will be encouraged to share experiences, question assumptions, and think through creative approaches. The small group discussions will focus on problem solving. Participants will be encouraged to share perspectives and learn from each other. A team of experienced facilitators will work with participants to this end.

Africa Center programs are conducted under a strict non-attribution policy. This allows participants to contribute and exchange views without reservation, thereby creating an effective and productive learning environment. Simultaneous interpretation will be provided to allow the workshop to be conducted in English and French.

## **Academic Material**

The workshop will succeed only with honest analysis and productive dialogue. To achieve this end, the Africa Center utilizes academic tools to promote frank and open dialogue on critical issues and to lay the foundation for the development of effective peer networking. To facilitate your discussion, we have provided an academic syllabus and recommended readings. We encourage you to challenge the analyses and content in all the materials provided. In this regard, the readings are intended to foster a healthy dialogue on the security challenges under discussion, which, in turn, will allow you to forge realistic and effective strategies to address insecurity in Africa. As with all Africa Center programs, this workshop will be conducted under a strict policy of non-attribution, which is binding during and after the workshop. We hope that this will allow you to address the sensitive issues under discussion.

The views expressed in the readings, case studies, and presentations are not an official policy or position of the National Defense University, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government. All workshop documentation will be posted on the Africa Center website. Please contact us if you have any difficulty accessing the website. Ideally, we would like to initiate discussion about the key questions and objectives before the workshop starts. Our facilitators will be available to respond to your questions, discuss your perspectives on the topic and the academic materials, share experiences and examine relevant case studies.

## **Academic Preparation**

Consultation and partnership are hallmarks of the Africa Center's program development process. Formal and informal consultative meetings were held with a wide range of regional and non-regional experts, representatives of African governments, and stakeholders in relevant U.S. government entities to determine the scope and focus of this workshop. A number of scholars and practitioners were particularly helpful in reviewing the content and relevance of the academic material for this workshop.

## **The Syllabus**

This syllabus provides an overview of academic goals and key policy questions related to managing security resources in Africa. For each session, we provide a brief introduction and list questions for discussion. We also include selected articles, whose primary purpose is to help frame the issues within the context of available scholarship and policy documents. The syllabus likely covers more issues and materials than can be sufficiently discussed in the available time. We hope that you use these materials as resources even after the program concludes.

We encourage you to bring questions and suggestions about the materials and the course to our attention. The quality of our programs and courses has greatly benefited from the enthusiastic willingness of past participants to offer constructive criticisms and suggestions. We are quite willing to discuss specific topics with you. We encourage you to call upon them, as we also encourage you to read the assigned material and actively participate in your discussion groups.

## Session 1: Africa's Evolving Security Landscape: Security, Development, Governance Nexus

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### Objectives:

- Describe the links between development, security and governance and the areas of overlap and convergence.
- Understand the role of resources in the security-development-governance nexus.
- Discuss lessons from development programming that could apply to the management of security sector resources.

### Background:

Africa faces a seemingly ever-increasing range of multifaceted, complex, and cross-border security, development, and governance challenges. Although some parts of this vast continent are much more peaceful, democratic, and economically vibrant, other areas still struggle with a volatile mix of hazards, from the transnational terrorists, and illicit traffickers to the crises of governance and military coups, the dangers of health pandemics, and the scramble for natural resources whose increasing scarcity or mismanaged abundance have fueled corruption and conflict.

The concept and practices of security, development, and governance have experienced a global redefinition since the end of the Cold War. Although there has been a considerable paradigm shift from seeing security, development, and governance as mutually exclusive, the utility of the new paradigm remains elusive in most parts of the continent. Consensus on this nexus acknowledges that strengthening state institutions and enhancing their capacity to provide security and development based on principles of good governance are essential precursor for advancing the African Union vision and the seven aspirations listed in Agenda 2063 and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Although each country in Africa presents its own specific idiosyncrasies, many of the challenges they face are associated with bad governance. In particular, corruption is devastating economies across the continent. It has hindered economic growth and investment and has led to the misallocation of public resources in violation of laws and of budgetary rules and regulations. By diverting resources from basic services and public investments and thereby increasing poverty and inequality, corruption has become a major obstacle to development and security. As former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan once said, "Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development."

African leaders are increasingly aware of the interdependence of their policies, societies, and economies – and therefore challenges, opportunities, and threats – requiring concerted, coordinated, and collaborative actions. The type of governance structure that African leaders should strive for is one that promotes peaceful coexistence and economic development. Policies must address the effects of climate change, and pandemics through enhanced regional cooperation, as well as ensure the full and effective participation in both the economic and political systems of groups that have historically been marginalized (e.g., women, youth, and ethnic and religious minorities). Each country must reflect upon

its own security, development, and governance challenges and engage in robust national dialogue on institutional reforms to enable an effective and inclusive governance system.

### Discussion Questions:

1. Based on your own understanding, how different is security from development and how are they linked? Why do you think it is important to see security and development as interconnected sectors? Please provide examples if available.
2. Given the security and development challenges facing your country, do you think the government is allocating more resources to security sector or development sector and why? What has been the result? Please provide examples if available.
3. What role can governance play in balancing the link between security and development priorities and how?

### Readings:

1. 2021. "The Common Denominator: How Corruption in the Security Sector Fuels Insecurity in West Africa." TI-DS Policy Brief, Transparency International Defense & Security. [https://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/SSR\\_in\\_WA\\_ENG\\_Policy\\_Paper\\_v1.2.pdf](https://ti-defence.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/SSR_in_WA_ENG_Policy_Paper_v1.2.pdf)  
  
2021. "Le Dénominateur commun: Dans quelle mesure la corruption au sein du secteur de la sécurité alimente-t-elle l'insécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest ? » Document d'orientation, Transparency International Defense & Security. <https://ti-defence.org/publications/le-denominateur-commun-dans-quelle-mesure-la-corruption-au-sein-du-secteur-de-la-securite-alimente-t-elle-linsecurite-en-afrique-de-louest/>
2. Atelhe, G. and Okoli, A. 2019, "Interrogating the security-development nexus: What implications for strategic Governance?" Socialscientia Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities. Volume 4 (1): pp: 64-71. [Click this link to download](#)
3. Hutchful, Eboe. "Understanding Africa's Development-Security Nexus." Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Published on May 19, 2017 YouTube [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tn03gdd\\_q1w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tn03gdd_q1w)
4. The African Union. 2015, "Agenda 2063 The Africa we want in 2063." <https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview>
5. World Bank. 2018, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict." Washington: World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/.../211162mm.pdf>
6. Lamb, Guy. 2023, "Revisiting Human Security in Africa in the post-COVID-19 Era, Afrobarometer Policy Paper no. 86, pp. 3-5. <https://www.afrobarometer.org/wp->

<content/uploads/2023/02/PP86-Revisiting-human-security-in-Africa-in-the-post-COVID-era-Afrobarometer-policy-paper-20feb23-1.pdf>



## Session 2: Trends in Resources Availability and Security Sector Spending

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### Objectives:

- Analyze the trends in security spending in Africa.
- Assess the drivers of spending patterns in Africa's security sector.
- Examine strategies for effective management of security sector resources for both security and economic development.

### Background:

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), total world military expenditures increased fractionally in 2021. In Africa, military expenditures increased by 1.2% in 2021 to an estimated \$39.7 billion. From 2012–2021, African military spending followed three distinct trends. It first rose continuously between 2012 and 2014, followed by four years of decline until 2018 and then three consecutive years of growth until 2021, to give an overall increase of 2.5%. Defense spending represented an average of 8.2% of public spending across Africa in 2020. The share is considerably higher in countries such as Mali (18%) and Burkina Faso (12%), where widespread terrorism and insurgencies have influenced military spending.

Compared to the global trend, African military expenditures are relatively small but have frequently raised concerns as to the 'opportunity cost' involved in military spending versus the potential uses of such resources to address human security needs and improve the pace of development and economy. On one hand, military expenditures could promote growth through developing new technology which can be used in private sectors. Military expenditures may create socioeconomic structure through spin-offs effects; and expenditures that efficiently and effectively support the national security strategy provide security and protections against threats.

On the other hand, the likely consequence of this trade-off between military expenditures and other public expenditure is a lower rate of economic growth. The empirical analyses, of whether military spending has effects on the economy, demonstrate that there are little or no positive impacts on economic growth. On the contrary, military spending has negative impacts, or at best no significant impacts on economic growth.<sup>1</sup> Previous studies have demonstrated that military spending undermines the ability of local policy makers to make public investments in infrastructure that are vital for economic development and the improvement of the living conditions of their people.<sup>2</sup> This in turn generates discontent and frustration, especially among young people, some of whom end up joining the guerrilla groups that operate in the region.

Africa has made ambitious commitments to realize its Agenda 2063 of transforming Africa into global powerhouse of the future, silencing gun by 2030 and realizing Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. These commitments require effective mobilization and efficient allocation of resources to security sector activities. Since 2009, the total tax revenue in Africa as a ratio of gross domestic product (GDP)

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<sup>1</sup> Dunne J.P., Uye M. In: *The Global Arms Trade: A Handbook*. Tan A., editor. Routledge; London: 2010. Military spending and development; pp. 293–305

<sup>2</sup> Heo U. Defense spending and economic growth in South Korea: the indirect link. *J. Peace Res.* 1999;36(6):699–708

increased until 2019 when it declined slightly to 16% in 2020<sup>3</sup>. This decline is attributed to Covid-19 pandemic that disrupted economic activities. In relations to other regions, the Africa's tax-to-GDP ratio on average is very low reaching less than a half of that of OECD (34%) and far lower than that of LAC (22%). This low level of tax collection has been attributed to inefficient African tax administrations with the potential of improving their performance by between 3% to 79%.<sup>4</sup>

Separately, the African security sector has not been playing a positive role in domestic public expenditure management. Security sector institutions are not adhering to the core budgetary principles, which have led to increased off-budget revenues, particularly in countries where militaries are increasingly engaged in business and economic activities. A possible way to break this vicious cycle of poor fiscal management is to (i) reform procurement and revenue administration institutions, (ii) invest in high levels of transparency and independent external scrutiny, (iii) develop new defense and security policies that are people-centered and guided by inclusive national security strategies.

### Discussion Questions:

1. What are the main sources of government revenue in your country? How efficient and effective are revenues collected, particularly in security sector, and why?
2. How do you see the future trends and sources of expenditure in your country and which sectors will mostly be affected in the process of budget allocation?
3. Does increased security spending guarantee high levels of security and safety? What are the drivers of security sector expenditure in your country?
4. What tradeoffs are involved in determining levels of security sector spending in your country?

### Readings:

1. Da Silva, D., Tian, N., & Marksteiner, A. 2021, "Trends in world military expenditure." SIPRI Fact Sheet. Stockholm: International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2022/sipri-fact-sheets/trends-world-military-expenditure-2021>
2. Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W., & Bisca, P. M. (Eds.). 2017, *Securing Development: Public Finance and the Security Sector*. The World Bank. Pg. 119-142 <http://www.sipotra.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SECURING-DEVELOPMENT.-Public-Finance-and-the-Security-Sector.pdf>
3. Kuol, L., Amegboh, J. 2022, "Revisiting Military Spending – Security Nexus in Africa" *Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy*, Vol. 10 (3): 93-107. <https://www.davidpublisher.com/Public/uploads/Contribute/633136d647582.pdf>
4. Tian, N. 2018, "Oil price shocks and military expenditure" in SIPRI Yearbook 2017. <https://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2017>

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<sup>3</sup> OECD/AUC/ATAF (2022), Revenue Statistics in Africa 2022, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/ea66fbde-en-fr>

<sup>4</sup> Onesmo K. Mackenzie, Ada Jansen & Krige Siebrits (2022) Assessing the efficiency of tax administration in Africa, *Studies in Economics and Econometrics*, 46:4, 301-315, DOI: 10.1080/03796205.2022.2158123

### Session 3: Aligning Security Sector Resources with National Security Strategies

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

**Objectives:**

- Understand how resources are mobilized and allocated for the development of national security strategy and its implementation.
- Probe how national security strategy development helps in aligning resources (internal and external) and leveraging partnerships (regional and international) to achieve national security objectives.
- Discuss the challenges and lessons learned for effective allocation and alignment of security resources through national security strategies.

**Background:**

One of the core functions of any government is to provide for the security and safety of its citizens. Security, moreover, is a precondition for sustainable investment, jobs creation, and development, which are the preeminent priorities of many African governments. Thus, security is central to the confidence and trust that citizens have in their government. Yet, most African countries do not have an overarching national security strategy. The lack of strategy inhibits prioritization of security threats, effective coordination, and alignment of resources.

A national security strategy (NSS) can serve several distinct purposes:

- By offering prioritized objectives and indicating which elements of national power are to be used to meet them, it can provide guidance to departments, agencies, and ministries to use in their internal processes for budgeting, planning, and executing, and organizing, training, and equipping personnel.
- By clearly linking goals and the approaches designed to meet them, a national security strategy can provide the executive branch a key tool for justifying requested resources to the parliament.
- By laying out a detailed strategic vision, it can help inform public audiences both at home and abroad about the government intents.

Without a national security strategy, there is no shared understanding of national security vision and objectives, and no national basis for leveraging partnership assistance. Studies have shown that a national security strategy that is developed through an inclusive and participatory process is likely to be effective and efficient in guiding budgeting in the security sector in terms of mobilization, realignment, allocation, and management of security resources.<sup>5</sup>

Just like a national security strategy, a national budget needs to be linked to long-term goals. One of the practices for aligning resources with national security strategies involves defining the desired outcomes and indicators, identifying the actions that will help achieve the desired outcomes, and finally estimating the costs and revenues associated with each one. This approach helps to create a budget that reflects the priorities in the national security strategies. Another practice for aligning resources with national security strategies involves using opportunity cost as a tool for evaluating and comparing different options. This approach helps to weigh the pros and cons of each option and select the one that maximizes value and impact.

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<sup>5</sup> Layton, P. (2012). The idea of grand strategy. *The RUSI journal*, 157(4), 56-61.

Often, the teams formulating the national security strategies and the ones creating the budget are separate. However, when it comes to achieving the government's goals, both need to understand that working in tandem is crucial to the successful implementation of the strategy. Without a deep understanding of the government's vision and national security strategies, the teams in charge of resource allocation will not be able to model or advise on resource requests, including the tools and other resources that will empower the government as it turns strategy into results.

When creating an NSS, ensuring alignment between government ministries and the overall strategy is critical. Although one size does not fit all, some budgeting processes are more comfortable fits depending on the country. The following four types of budgeting processes make linking budget to national security strategy simple.

- Priority-based budgeting: The process of aligning spending with strategic priorities.
- Zero-based budgeting: Requires starting at zero and justifying each expensed as its added to the budget (rather than using the previous period's budget item as a starting point)
- Budgeting for outcomes: Involves determining the government's available funding and desired outcomes and allocating funding based on what programs and services will bring about the desired results.
- Incremental budgeting: The process of starting with the previous year's budget as the basis for the new budget, with adjustments made to reflect the previous year's spending, inflation, and future projections.

Practically, if a national security strategy clearly outlines the vision of the government, the right budget should smooth the path – allocating resources holistically to operationalize the NSS. Ideally, this process could provide the transparency and insights necessary for your team to allocate resources accordingly. Without alignment of security sector resources with national security strategies, resources could be easily spread too thinly across too many projects and end up without enough cross-functional resources to get things done across the line.

### **Discussion Questions:**

1. Have you ever participated in the design or drafting of any public policies? Please share the process and its importance in delivering public services.
2. How does having a national security strategy that is developed through an inclusive and participatory process help in effective allocation and alignment of security resources?
3. How could national security strategy development help in assigning roles and responsibilities and improving coordination in security sector? How does a national security strategy help to align resources with objectives?

### **Readings:**

1. Africa Center for Strategic Studies. 2021, "National Security Strategy Development in Africa: Toolkit for Drafting and Consultation." NSSD Toolkit: Page: 11.  
<https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/National-Security-Strategy-Development-in-Africa-Toolkit-for-Drafting-and-Consultation-Africa-Center-for-Strategic-Studies-2022-01.pdf>  
<https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Developpement-dune>

[strategie-de-securite-nationale-en-Afrique-Centre-dEtude-Strategiques-de-lAfrique-2022-01.pdf](#)  
<https://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Desenvolvimento-da-Estrategias-de-Seguranca-Nacional-em-Africa-Um-kit-de-ferramentas-para-consulta-e-preparacao.pdf>

2. African Union. 2004, "The Solemn Declaration on Common African Defense and Security Policy". Addis Ababa: The African Union.  
<http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/declaration-cadsp-en.pdf>.
  3. Cancian, M. 2020, "Formulating National Security Strategy Past Experience and Future Choices." Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).  
<https://www.csis.org/analysis/formulating-national-security-strategy>
  4. Kuol, L., Amegboh, J. 2021, "Rethinking National Security Strategies in Africa". Journal of International Relations and Diplomacy. Vol 9(1): 1-17  
<http://www.davidpublisher.org/index.php/Home/Article/index?id=45454.html>
  5. Bala, S., Ouédraogo, E. 2018, "National Security Strategy Development: Nigeria Case Study." Working paper, Africa Center for Strategic Studies.  
<https://africacenter.org/fr/programs/national-security-strategy-development-workshop-north-and-eastern-africa/>  
(scroll to the bottom of the webpage for access)
- Bala, S., Ouédraogo, E. 2018, « L'Elaboration d'une stratégie de sécurité nationale : Nigeria étude de cas. » Avant-projet, Centre d'études stratégiques de l'Afrique.  
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(Verrouillez en bas de la page pour accès)

## Session 4: Strategic Planning, Budgeting, and Resource Mobilization

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### Objectives:

- Discuss systems and approaches necessary for strategic planning, budgeting, and their relevance to the security sector in Africa.
- Present different types of budgets and the main steps in the budgeting cycle and how they are linked to national security strategies.
- Discuss the necessary institutional reforms measures to enhance revenue mobilization in the security sector in Africa.

### Background

The fast-evolving, complex security challenges facing Africa make it incumbent on African leaders to be dynamic, agile, strategic, and adaptable. Making wise and strategic decisions in volatile, complex, and ambiguous situations requires insight (the ability to discern nuances) and foresight (the ability to know what kind of actions or behaviors will likely lead to what result).

Strategic leaders must leverage uncertainty and use it as an opportunity for transformational change<sup>6</sup>. Strategic planning defined according to the Lykke Strategy Model as “ends (objectives toward which one strives) plus ways (courses of action) plus means (instruments by which some end can be achieved)”<sup>7</sup> is a critical tool for visualizing and executing this change. Strategic planning creates forward-focused shared visions, promotes evidence-driven decisions by combatting cognitive biases and flaws in reasoning, and provides a framework for tracking progress based on strategic goals. It is simply a theory of change and a strategic tool for adaptive leadership that is defined as “the ability to anticipate future needs, articulate those needs to build collective support and understanding, adapt your responses based on continuous learning, and demonstrate accountability through transparency in your decision-making process.”<sup>8</sup>

Linked to strategic planning is budgeting, a process of preparing and estimating the resource envelope and expenses needed to implement national strategic plans. It is a vital element of any government because it reflects the action plan in the implementation of public policies. The choice of one of the four types of budgets, as mentioned in the previous section, depends on context and economic conditions of each country.

Budgeting is in turn linked to resource mobilization. Resource mobilization is an integral part of budgeting process that determines the size of the resource envelope. Resource mobilization is not only a barometer of a state’s capacity, legitimacy, and national ownership but it is also a litmus test of how a state can deliver sustainable security and development. The level of tax collections, as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product, is a good indicator of the capacity of domestic resource mobilization. This

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<sup>6</sup> See Patrick Porter, “Taking Uncertainty Seriously: Classical Realism and national Security,” *European Journal of International Security* Vol. 1, Issue 2 (July 2016), 239-260.

<sup>7</sup> Meiser, J. (2017). Are our strategic models flawed? Ends + ways + means = (bad) strategy. *Parameters*, 46(4), 81-91.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

capacity provides the foundation for domestic borrowings or external partnerships that might be sources of additional financing.

Many countries in Africa struggle to collect the revenue needed to provide basic services to their citizens. Mobilizing tax revenue is key if countries are to finance the investments in human capital, health, and infrastructure necessary to achieve the United Nations' goals of ending extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity by 2030. Given that the tax systems of most African countries are less driven by coherent policies, it is necessary to reform these policies to incorporate principles of sound policy such as neutrality, simplicity and equity as well as reforming the relevant institutions. Several African countries have found that emerging technology, when applied appropriately, can facilitate compliance, strengthen expenditure controls, and further enhance tax effort.

### Discussion Questions:

1. Have you ever been engaged in strategic planning? Do you think strategic planning is important for the security sector and why?
2. What is the budget system in your country? How do you evaluate the budget system, process, and formulation? What areas need further improvement?
3. Based on your personal experience, do you think the current budget system and process in your organization affect the delivery of human security; how and why?
4. What is the level (high or low) of tax collections in your country and why? Is there scope to improve tax collections in your country and how? What are the necessary policy and institutional reform measures of the tax system in your country?

### Readings:

1. Cote, C. 2020, "Why is strategic planning important?" Insights. Harvard Business School. <https://online.hbs.edu/blog/post/why-is-strategic-planning-important>
2. Harborne, B., Dorotinsky, W., & Bisca, P. M. (Eds.). 2017, *Securing Development: Public Finance and the Security Sector*. The World Bank. Pg. 9, 32-33, 107  
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/entities/publication/bb93b655-7af8-52d0-9e28-afcc92235abc>
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## Session 5: Public Expenditure Management in the Security Sector

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### Objectives:

- Introduce the concept of Public Expenditure Management (PEM) and its link with Public Expenditure Policy (PEP) and Public Financial Management (PFM).
- Examine the desired outcomes of the PEM in the security sector.
- Discuss the rationale for a Public Expenditure Review (PER) of the security sector and its implications for promoting the achievement of the desired outcomes of the PEM.

### Background:

The delivery of security services is linked not only to the allocation and controlling of public resources but also to the behavioral norms for allocating and controlling public expenditure to achieve the preferred outcomes. Unlike other sectors, the security sector in Africa claims a substantial part of national budgets. Yet it is not adequately subjected to public scrutiny and democratic control. Effective oversight requires situating the security sector in the national debate about Public Expenditure Policy (PEP) and its operationalization through Public Financial Management (PFM) and Public Expenditure Management (PEM). While PEP focuses on the big policy issue such as the national budget and the overall fiscal balance of the government; its revenues and its expenditures, PFM encompasses the mechanisms through which public resources are collected, allocated, spent, and accounted for. As such, PFM involves the whole budget cycle, public procurement, audit practices, and revenue collection.

Unlike conventional budgeting, PEM supplements formal budgeting process rules with behavioral norms for allocating and controlling public expenditures by advancing procedures that increase the probability of achieving preferred outcomes. Rather than focusing narrowly on expenditures or inputs, PEM considers expenditures as a means to produce outputs that are necessary to achieve the desired outcomes. Rather than merely adhering to prescribed rules and procedures that may produce outputs without improvement in the desired outcomes, PEM emphasizes processes that lead to the desired outcomes. In addition to holding agencies accountable for producing their required outputs, PEM aims to strike a balance between the autonomy and flexibility necessary for agencies to achieve the desired outcomes. In other words, PEM focuses on the desired outcomes that must be realized through the budget, procedures, rules, and processes. PEM can be useful in achieving: (i) fiscal stability and affordability, (ii) allocative efficiency, (iii) operational efficiency and effectiveness, (iv) fiscal transparency and accountability, and (v) reporting on external assistance.

Integrating the security sector into the national budget system and promoting PEM in the security sector in Africa remain a real challenge due to the dominant culture of secrecy, confidentiality, financial deviations (the gap between approved budgets and actual expenditures) and off-budget. In an attempt to promote PEM in security sector, the World Bank adopts Public Expenditure Reviews (PER) as an analytical instrument to promote the necessary reforms required to build sound public expenditure management in the security sector. The success of any PER in the security sector will largely depend on the context, the political will, national ownership, trust, demand-driven process, as well as clear national security vision and objectives.



## Discussion Questions:

1. How are security institutions and agencies in your country/region adhering to the public financial management laws and regulations? Which security institutions/agencies do not follow such laws and regulations and why?
2. Based on your personal experience, are non-security institutions more likely to adhere to public financial management laws and regulations than security institutions? If so, why?
3. Are security institutions and agencies in your country accountable to civilian oversight and control in the public expenditure management? Are citizens engaged in the PEM in the security sector? Why or why not?
4. Are military and intelligence expenditures in your country made public and with open access? Why or why not? Are security institutions more likely to experience more leakages and waste in managing their resources than non-security institutions? Why or why not might this be the case?
5. What needs to be done to improve the public expenditure management of the security sector in your country/region? What are the entry points for building a sound public expenditure management in security sector in your country?

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## Session 6: Security Sector Oversight Mechanisms and Institutions

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### **Objectives:**

- Explore how effective oversight of the security sector enhances democratic control, accountability, and transparency.
- Demonstrate the need to improve information flows between civilian authorities and military officials while also building capacity on both sides.
- Build on understanding institutional framework for oversight.

### **Background:**

Oversight of the defense and security sector plays a fundamental role in facilitating good security sector governance. However, the two are not one and the same. Security bodies remain susceptible to a culture of *military exceptionalism*: the notion that national security is a no-go zone for civilian authorities. The challenge, then, is to provide for effective oversight of security institutions within the context of inclusive, democratic processes. This can prove to be a delicate balancing act. Professional military establishments must be willing to submit to civilian oversight. At the same time, they must be strong enough to resist being drawn into politics. A national security strategy can establish, and reinforce, baseline standards of accountability and transparency.

Formal oversight institutions can be internal or external. External mechanisms include watchdog agencies, parliamentary subcommittees, auditors, and accountants general, and the judiciary. Internal agencies consist of departmental ombudsmen, internal affairs, and internal whistleblower protection offices. Parliament and other external agencies serve to generate political will for effective enforcement. Internal mechanisms, meanwhile, are better positioned to detect infractions. In this sense, the two should be mutually-reinforcing. Independent organizations, such as the media and civil society, serve an equally important function. They expose conflicts of interest, corruption, and waste. By guarding the guardians, they provide another layer of redundancy in the oversight architecture. These bodies also facilitate information flows, educate the public, and monitor the efficacy of the oversight process.

A number of challenges arise from desires to guard secrecy and the related over-classification of security activities. In 2015, only seven African states published disaggregated defense figures, and 40% released nothing at all. Coordinated oversight and empowered parliamentary committees could provide a solution for monitoring classified issues. The *Transparency International* Defense Corruption Index identifies five risk areas (political, financial, personnel, operations, and procurement) and 29 sub-categories. These can be used as benchmarks for monitoring progress.

Parliamentary committees play a central role in security sector oversight. Too often, however, interaction between military and civilian institutions is adversarial and unproductive. In this region's nascent democracies, some elected parliamentarians see this forum as an opportunity to "control" the security forces. Unfortunately, most elected representatives understand little about security or strategy. Security forces are equally ill-informed on issues like national budgetary parameters. Some states have taken steps to empower independent audit and investigative committees to oversee the security realm, but challenges remain.

## Discussion Questions:

1. Which institutions play security sector oversight roles? Is civil society engaged in such oversight, and how? Are there feedback mechanisms between and among these oversight institutions?
2. In your country or region, do you find that African legislatures are increasingly asserting their oversight roles, and are defense and security officials comfortable in their role of being held to account for their activities? Why or why not?
3. How do you think that parliaments' successes and challenges with security sector oversight have been affected by factors like the intensity of partisanship in a country, as well as the current state of civil-military relationships in the country? Are there approaches, tools, or techniques that can be used for parliamentarians and defense/security officials to address some of these challenges?
4. How do you think that the security sector's fulfillment of its obligation to be held accountable is affected by factors like the intensity of partisanship, the nature of political parties and electoral laws, and the specific security challenges in the country?

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2. Aning, K. and Lartey, E. 2009, "Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Lessons from Ghana." Kofi Anan International Peacekeeping Training Center.  
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« [Comment le contrôle parlementaire du secteur de la sécurité peut-il intégrer une perspective de genre et faire progresser l'égalité des genres ?](#) » dans Ilja Luciak, *Place du genre dans le contrôle parlementaire du secteur de la sécurité*, DCAF/OSCE-ODIHR/UN Women, pages 29-38.
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## **Session 7: Building External Partnerships**

**Format:** Plenary presentations and moderated question-and-answer session

### **Objectives:**

- Discuss the role of the external security partners and their effectiveness in supporting the management of security resources and delivery of security and safety in Africa.
- Analyze and understand potential costs and benefits of external partnerships.
- Describe how best to enhance and coordinate external security assistance to advance national security priorities and objectives in Africa.

### **Background:**

Many African states provide security and safety to their citizens through a reliance not only on their own resources but also on external security assistance. However, this assistance is rarely coordinated among external partners and African states and does not always match the national security strategies or needs of the African governments. This misalignment of objectives may render security assistance ineffective, wasting valuable resources. Consequently, many analysts have called for more coordination among donors and between external partners and African states.

A defining feature of Africa's contemporary security environment is the increasing great powers competition, and the ever-growing interest and presence of a multitude of external security partners. To varying degrees external security partners have taken an increased interest in Africa as a destination for business and a place to procure vital natural resources. Moreover, many of these great-power competition stakeholders are increasingly cultivating ties with African countries to enhance their diplomatic standing and influence in multilateral institutions such as the United Nations, the African Union, and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs).

National ownership is crucial to building and sustaining peace. Though external security assistance can help African nations address their security concerns, such assistance risks undermining the very security they were meant to strengthen if it is not guided and informed by national security priorities and objectives. On one hand, African leaders must clearly understand their security threats and identify capacity response needs and gaps to shape discussions with external partners about security assistance. On the other hand, external partners need to understand that the effectiveness of their security assistance (and that of others) rests with clearly articulated national security priorities and an agenda. Without a national security agenda, security priorities and interests of external security partners may overshadow the strategic interests of recipient nations, failing to achieve the desired outcomes for either donor or recipient.

### **Discussion Questions:**

1. How can African governments and their external partners coordinate security needs, accountability requirements, and donations or loans of financial resources, personnel, and equipment?

2. Can you identify an externally funded security engagement or exercise that did not meet your country's needs? What was the result of such an engagement? What might have been a better approach to developing that partnership?

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