

International Development

ISSN 1470-2320

Working paper Series 2013

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	5.....
2. Building a Legitimate State by Reforming the Security Sector	7.
6 W D W H D Q G / H J L W L P D F \	
6 W P D X M L H O G L Q J Z Q U & Q R Q R Q L F W W L H V	
6 H F X U L W \ 6 H F W R U 5 H I R U P + X P D Q Y V 6 W D W H 6 H F	
& R Q W U L E X W L R Q R I + X P D Q D Q G 6 W D W H 6 H F X U L W \	
% X L O G L Q J	
3 R O L F \ 'L P H Q V L R Q (8 Y V 8 6 \$	
3. Methodology	21.....
4. The Afghan Police Reform	22.....
6 W D W H % X L O G L Q J D Q G 6 H F X U L W \ 6 H F W R U 5 H I R U P	
7 K H (8 ± \$ + X P D Q 6 H F X U L W \ \$ S S U R D F K W R 5 H I R U P	
7 K H 8 \$ \$ 6 W D W H 6 H F X U L W \ \$ S S U R D F K W R 5 H I R U P L Q	
7 K H \$ I J K D Q 3 R O L F H ± (Q V X U L Q J Z K R V H V H F X U L W \ \	
& R Q W U L E X W L R Q R I W K H \$ I % X D Q G R Q L F H 5 H I R U P W	
5. Conclusion	37.....
Bibliography	39.....
Appendix	46.....
\$ 'L V W U L F W V R I . D E X O	
% / L V W R I , Q W H U Y L H Z H H V	
& & R Q V H Q W) R U P V	

List of Abbreviations

\$ / 3	\$ IJKDQ / R F D O 3 ROLF H
\$ 13	\$ IJKDQ 1 DWLRQDO 3 ROLF H
\$ 16)	\$ IJKDQ 1 DWLRQDO 6 HFXULW\) RUFHV
\$ 71	\$ ULDQD 7 HOH YL VLRQ 1 HWZRUN
& R 33	& RRUGLQDWLRQ RI 3 ROLF H D Q G 3 U RVHFXW I
& 6 7 &\$	& R P E L Q H G 6 HFXULW\ 7 \$ JID Q D Q W V L W Q Q & R P P D Q G
'), '	' H S D U W P H Q W I R U Y, HQQRH SUPQHDQWL R Q D O ' H
(8	(XURSHDQ 8 Q L R Q
(8 3 2 /	(XURSHDQ 8 Q L R Q 3 ROLF H 0 L V V L R Q
) '') RFXVHG ' L V W U L F W ' H Y H O R S P H Q W
*	* U R X S R I (L J K W
* , =	' H X W V F K H ¹⁷⁰ H V H O O V F K D I W I • U , Q W H U Q D W L R Q D
+ 5 :	+ X P D Q 5 L J K W V : D W F K
1 \$ 7 2	1 RUWK \$ WODQWLF 7 UHDW\ 2 UJDQL] DWLRQ
170 \$ ROL*	ÁÍ 3 F H À P O X1W \$\$ H X W H G V W D Q

LQVWLWXWLRQV ZKLFK RDULHH WR QHMPKEXRQDQJ ULLQF V
DSSURDFK LV PRUH OLNHO\ WR PDU RY DGSVRDVILHWLYH
HQYLURQPHQW ZKLFK DOORZV SHRSOH WIREHARPH L
RI EXLOGLQJ OHJLWLPDWL VWDWH LQVWLWXWLRQV

, Q RUGHU WARK H OLOPSVDMF WD RIHF KRRVLQJ KXPDQ RU VWD
SULQFLSO\WKH 665OLEQ \$HJIRDUPLVWDQ LV DQDO\VHG
(XURSHDQ PLVVLRQ (832/ SURYLQXS SWUOMHQ LQQV IR
ZKLFK WDIIOXHFWDQ WULF XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DUQO\HRRXVHV
ODDZQG DFFRXQW DGRIPOLQDWWKH1\$62 \$LLWWB\QHWZULF
ZKLFK LV LQ QLQH RZQ WKUWIRW\ 'XH WR \$PHULFDQ GR
LV SUHGRPLQDQWO\ GQ SDDUQHPGZDQWD WRDEQW GWHUURU
DQG SURWHFW VKW\K\$VJ\KQ\ZM\W\K\W\H\Q\VFUHDWHG DFFR
WKH LQWHUHVWV RI RXWVLQKHDFHWRUHSRQGFW\KSHU\\$WJK
VWDWH DQG DY\W\K\H\W\H\Z\K\H\G\HG LQ WKFIDQQRKWS\WRFLEW
VHFUXULW\ IRU ODUJH SDUWV RI WKH SRSXODWLRQ
GHOHJLWLPLVHG DQG WKH VSDFH IREXIDQG\WQJGRYH
VHYHUHO\ UHVWULFWHG

2. Building a Legitimate State by Reforming the Security Sector

2.1 State and Legitimacy

\$V D VWDUWLQJ SRLQML ORGL QJ DW\VV\QQHFW\WDHU\ WR
LV DQG ZKHQ LW LV OHJLWLPDWH DV WKLV XQGHUVW
EXLOGLQJ LV VXSSRVHG WR DFKLHYH ,Q RLQGHU WR
DQG DFFHSWHG E\ VRFLHW\ QRW RQO\ DS SDURHSULDWH
UHTXEW\WGDOVR SROLWLFDO XLIHQGLWLPD\K\R X7OKGVH WEDW
EURDG XQGHUVWDW\GD\RNQRIZ\W\HKGIJ\W\W\DWKHH QXHVG IRU D
SROLWLFDO SURFHVV ZKLFK DOVR DOORZV WKH FUHD

7ZR EDVLF VWUHDGV RI XQGHUVWDQGLQJ WKH VWD
GLIIHUhQWLDWHG LQE\W\KOHGE\Q\QW\H\K\W\ RR VWW\SWRPLQH
IRFXVHV RQ LQVWLWXWLRQDO UHFRQVW\Q\H\W\ORQ DC
UDWLRQDO GRPLQDWLRQ ³\$ FRPSXOVRU\ SROLWLF
RSHU Dp\W\is\h\er Anstaltsbetrieb ZLOO EH FWDV\Q\H\W\RD DU DV LWV
DGPLQLVWUDWLYH VWDII VXFFHV\W\H\W\Q\H\W\IX\W\K\H\G V W
legitimate XVHRI SK\VLFDO IRUFH LQ WKH HQIRUFPHQW

R I

3 D J H

R |

3 DJH

2.2 StateBuilding in Conflict -Torn Societies

7 K H F X U U E Q M O G W Q J W G L V F R X U V H R U V H Q H U H G P D Q K G S R E X A Y
W K H I F R Q V W U X I F Q W L V R I Q W Q W F I R R Q Q U Q W R F I H H W S H I F V D Q E W L Q
F R Q I W R E M Q V R F L H W L E X V L O Z Q I H Q J L W W D W H Y H Q E \ R X W V L
F R Q V W U X F W L R Q R I : H E H U L D Q V W D W H V L V S U R E O H P D W
L Q V W L W X W L Q R Q W F Z H S V D Q G E H P E H G G H G L Q V R F L H W \ , Q P
S R O L W L F D O O H J L W L P D F \ W K H V H F X U L W \ R I F L W L] H Q V
D Q H Q Y L U R Q P H Q W L Q Z K L F K W D Q D O I R H Z L Q Q J M D S K H D P Q M R S U R
W K H L U R S L Q L R Q I U H B O W D Q J W S E I R S F D H W M L Q

7 K H F X U U E Q M O G W Q J W G L V F R X U V H I U H R W R K H Y I S E X D L F Q H G M L Q H
G H E D W H Z K L F K K D G E H H Q L Q F U H D V L Q J O \ F U L W L F L V H C
H P S K D V L V L Q J W K H F U H D W L R Q R I V W D Q W I & K L Q A W W H L W P K D W Q
) H D U R Q / D L W L Q P D .) X D N V Q H U D U L V , Q F R Q W U I
W R W K H J H Q H U D O W K H R U H W L F D O G H E D W H R Q V W D W H C
R Q W K H U H F R Q V W U X F W L R Q R W R Q L W R I F L D H O V D H K W R R W L W M
L Q W L P H V R I D J O R U E H D O H V W H Q U Q Z R Q O D G F V Z R H V D U H L Q Y R
G H P D Q G F K D Q J H V H J L Q W H U P V % R I L H D V H P P L D Q Q W D Q J H
* X H Y D U D . • K Q % X L O G L Q J R Q 3 D U L V D Q G 6 L V N W K L V
V X P P D U L V H G D V 3 D S D U W L F X O D U D S S U R D F K W R S H
U H F R J Q L W L R Q W K D W D F K L H Y L Q J V H F X U L W \ D Q G G H Y
F L Y L O Z D U S D U W O \ G H S H Q G V R Q W K H H [L R D M M Q F H R I
J R Y H U Q P H Q W D O L Q V W L W X W L R Q V

\$ G R S W L I Q H J G R P L Q D Q W D S S U Q G E R Q W H W R W V Q V D H U E D V O L R Q D C
V W U X F W X U H V L Q R U G H U W R H [W H Q G W K H D Q G V D W H T V
D F K L H Y H L V S H S D F U H W L F X O D U O \ S U W R O I Q P D R V F L F H W Q D Q F H R Q M K
K D Q G W K H Q H Q R W L D ° A A p K O G 0
X€0 H B't

K D Q P G Q \ L Q V W Q W F X V M I R Q D W R F L H W L H D V D I C H R Q L N Q I O R U W B C
S H U V R Q B Q Z W Y M M H G H S R O L W L F L V H G X Q G H U V W D Q G L Q
L Q V W L W X W L R Q V Q D V Q D F N S V R Z Q H U V X O W W H L R P R U H W K H L Q Y
L Q W H U Q D W L R Q D O D F W R U V W H Q G W R F U H D W H D O O L D C
L J Q R U L Q J R W R I H G H M R L W F R V D E Q L H Y H W K X F L K U J D E N D L O R Q D O
V W D E L R X W R % X L O G L Q J R Q 5 H Q R L W K D V W R

³ P R V W L Q W H U Y H Q W L R Q D G P L Q L V W U D W L R Q V W U \ W
S U R Y L G H V H F X U L W \ G H O L Y H U V H U Y L F H V D Q G P R E
D F W L R Q V F D Q G X S O L F D W H R U H Y H Q F S X O D P Y H Q W
V X E V W D W H J U R X S V L Q V R P H L Q V W D Q F H V 7 R R J W \ W

2.3 Security Sector Reform: Human vs. State Security

, Q S D W D R O M H K O H R W V V W H O G L Q J W F R G Q H E D H F R V Q V W W X K F H W L Q J
V H F X U H L R M K D W Y R O Y H G V L Q F D H Q G W K E H B V Q H W G U F L X W \ V H F W R U
U H I R U P T 665 L Q E \ & O D U D 6 K R U W W K H I L U V W %
' H Y H O R S % H J C R W N D 6 H G H D V H F X U P W \ V Q F O R G H ^ D O O
W K R V H R U J D Q L V D W L R Q V Z K L F K K D Y H D X W K R U L W \ W R
W K U H D W R I I R U F H W R S U R W H F W W K H V W D W H D Q G L W
W K D W D U H U H V S R Q V L E O H I R U W & K H D L O U P R D Q D J H P H Q M K L D M
E U R D G G H I L Q L W W M R K Q H L Y Q D F U R L U H S M R U B W K Q G H U V W D Q G L Q J V
V R P E X W Q R W E D I O Q G F H D W H \ D V V L F F R P S R Q H Q W V O L N H W K
P L O L W D W K H D M X R G L F L D O V \ V K H H F R L Q / F H L Q W F R X G H L Q L Q L Q
G H Y H O R D S Q P G H C G M S I R Q E F H U D W K H U W K D Q D F D G H P L D V W L C
G L V F R (X W H Q H R X J K 665 F R X O G E H X V H G W R G H V F U L E H D
V H F W R U W K H W H U P L V S U H G R P L Q D Q W O \ U H I H U U H G
E X L O G L Q J S R M O G L F E \ F G R H Q G H X O F R S H G F R X Q W W U R L U H Q V B E U H R D G
U D W K H U W K D Q \ D W K R P H \ H L Q U D H Y H O R S H G Q J F J R X Q W U L
+ H Q F H W K H V W U R Q J L Q I O X H Q F H R G H Y H V O R S Q B Q W D D W I
P L O L W D U \ I R U F H V S U L Z D W O R R V Q G W X H L S U R V E H U H V Q D Q Q
P D L Q F K D U D R I W G H G S V F M L V F R / Q , W D O V O R D F N V D J D Q I H G
X Q G H U V W D Q G L Q J R I 665 D Q G Z K D V S R \ K W D Q G D Q V L W L
L Q W H U Q D W L R Q D O R U J D Q R Q B M S V L Q D F F A R V Q W R K P H L V H S V R I O H
L Q W H U H Q G W L F N V R Q . D U N R V J N D R I + R V Z K Y L H F U K L W K H F R
X V X D O O \ E U R X J K W I R U Z D U F G R Q D V Q U L E H D W E Q P D O U R Q V H G \ D V
D F K L H M I L Q J F L H Q W D Q G H I I H F W L Y H S U R Y L V L R Q R I V W D V
I U D P H Z R U N R I G H P R F U D Q V L J F J R V H H Q D D Q V F R H ' H J % D O O
'), ' 2 (& ' '\$ & : X Q I

'HVSLWH WKH SRSXODULW\ RI 665 DV D SROLF\ WKHU
WKLV FROFFNHWSRAQ 7KH FODLP UHJDUGLQJ WKH LPSRU
WKH FRQWEHWK ORGLQW DWHFK LV EURXJKW IRUZDUG E\ C
RUJDQLVHDW\ L'RQV 2(& '\$& 8,1 6HFXULW\ &RXQFL
KDV QHYHU EHHQ IXOO\ DQDO\VHG DQG WKH UH

RI

3DJH

@°3LQEH FRQFHSHV RI rD`DQEH DQG VWDWH VHFXULW\ KDV QH
- DFRNQ % XLOGLQJ RQ 3HDNH HW DO DFKH\HDQGEGHJLQV WR ORRN PRUH OLNH D F
WKH 665 GHEDWH LV FKDUDFWHULVHG E\ D ³EH
3HDNH 6FKH\HDQGEGHJLQV WR ORRN PRUH OLNH D F
WKDQ D FRKHUHQW WKHRU\` -DFNVRQ (YHQ W
FDQ EH VHHQ DV FRPSOHPHQWDU\ FRQFHSHV WKH UH
FRQWH[W RI

2.4 Contribution of Human and State Security

D Q G F D Q U H G X F H W K H V W D W H ¶ 3 / D D M F L R X C O W D D D A O S L U R E D D
L Q W K H W F R Q W W D W H D E G X G L O W G L R Q Q D L O V O \ W L K P H S D R P Q W O L Q H G
K X P D Q V I E F S X U R L W W H F W L Q J L P S R A K H G L Q Y M Q W W X D Q L Q Q W W K H
Q R W B Q O H J L W X W L D M G R V S D F H I R U F L Y L O V R F L H W \ W
F R Q F H U Q V Z L W K R X W G D Q J H U L V U H V W E U X L F O N G H L Q J P D N
S U R F H H V F X G Q L W R U L P S R V V L E O H

) X U W K H W P R G H S R O L W L F L F H H C W L U G H F D 6 6 5 V V W D W M S U R W H F
D Q G L Q F U H D V L Q J W K H V W D W H ¶ V F D E S X D L F Q G M L Q F J R Q W B K E Q
R Q W K H V W L D R V Q M D E P Q S H W L R Q R I μ W K H V W D W H ¶ E H L Q J W K H
S U R Y L G H U R D Z / U H H F Q R U W W V Q W E B W K ^ L S U D F W L F H D Q G W K H
E X L O G L Q J W H Q G V W R D V V R F L D W H W K H V W W D D W H H Z Z L W W K K
F K D R V D Q G L Q V H F X U L W \ E X W W K L V R I W H Q V G H V W R U W V
D O W W H S S X W D W H W Q D W K H D E V H Q F H Q R V W R R W D H Q R V Q W D W
L Q I R U P D O L Q V W L W X W L R Q V H [L V W Z K L F E K X D W H R Y L G H D
K R Z H Y H U R I W H Q G H W H U P L Q H G E \ G L I I H U H Q W Q R U P V
: H V W Q H X Q G H U V W D Q G L Q J L R W H K U X D P D Q U L J K W T K L V E H F D P H
H [D P S O H D S S D U H Q W L Q + D L W L 6 L H U U D / H R Q H D Q G

R I

3 D J H

+ R Z H Y HQ6 6 5D FDQ DOVR FR QW U L \ W \ W H WIRQ EDX L \ D \ L QW
DFNQRZ O HGRUFSVRONLKHLD FDO GLPHQVLRQ DQG WKH QHFHV
OHJLW % P X D F V G Q D S U M O X LV U B T Q & 5 U M E R K L V D I G H L Q W M K H L W \ RI
V H F X U L W \ V \ V W H P SURPRWH LWV OHJLWL PDF \ DV ZH
WUDQVIRUP DQ RYHUDOO DEXVLYH V \ V W H P L Q W R RQ
K X P D Q U L J K W V + H Q F H 6 0 W K H

3. Methodology

, Q RUGHU WR LOOXVWUDWH WKH LPSDFW RI FKRRVLQ
SULQFLSOH ~~WR DEO~~ 50 B QQV WKH SROLFH UHIRUP LQ \$IJK
7KH FDVH VW~~R~~Q\SLVLEDUHGHF ZQGDUD, ~~W~~IHRVHPDUWFKQRQ RQ
WKH JHQHUDO SHUFHSWLRQ RI WKH \$IJKDQV RQ WKH
VHFRQGDU\ UHV~~R~~XW~~P~~H~~V~~ RDZLQLOH FRQGXFWHG E\ 81'3
\$VLD)RXQGDWLRQ +RZH~~Y~~HU WKH UHVXOWV RI SHUFI
DUH EDVHG RQ ODUJH VDPSOHV KDW~~X~~HU ~~W~~H~~W~~HDW
UHSUHVHQWDWLYH DV WKH\ FDQ RQO\ EH FRQGXFWHG
)XUWKHURR~~X~~WV DUSHRD~~S~~QVHLIDH~~S~~ DMWHQ DIUDLG RI SI
UHVHDUFKHUV DUH XVXDOO\ SDL~~G~~ US~~G~~DUN FRQ~~S~~W~~O~~WW~~H~~
7KLQV RUGHU WR FRQ~~R~~EJMP DMU~~R~~HP GLWPSHU ~~W~~XW~~Y~~RHQW
IXUWKHU LQIR~~D~~W~~B~~UR~~R~~QZDXFWLQJ SHUVIRQYDROOLQ~~W~~HUY
RIILFD~~D~~O~~H~~OO DV FLYLO VRFLHW\ UHSUHVHQWDWLYH
IRUFH RI WKH ~~\$~~XLIODQ~~L~~QJW~~S~~W~~H~~MSORUDWRU\ LQWHU
FRQGXFWHG/WQXDFW~~X~~PHG ZD\ @ ð R~~E~~G DQ

4. The Afghan Police Reform

4.1 StateBuilding and S

R I

3 D J H

S D U W L F X O D U O V W R Z K Q Z H Q P I \$ Q I H Q W J X L G L Q J S U L Q F L S C
S U D F W L H F Y H Q Q D X D H O F O X H E X V L D O N G H L Q J S U R F H V V : K H U H D V
U H I R U P L V P D L Q O \ F R Q G X F E V R H M O K H E \ (\$ V K D H Q G 6 W K D H O R Q \$ H D
L Q Y R O Y H G E G W R W A 6 € R U P 6 € D I R Q P 6 € U W I S R R O Z I F H D L V D K F W R K Q H W U D
G R P L Q D Q F H \$ R W K M K \$ H I S 8 6 D Q F H H V G G W R V I S J D Q U W L F L S D W H L Q
L I Q E P Q U ` € 0

À

G € H

P

R I

3 D J H

4.3 The USA – A State Security Approach to Reforming the Afghan Police

7KHTXUUHQW LQYROYHPHQW RI WKH 86\$ LQ WKH \$IJKH[DPSRWKH LPSOHPHQWDWLQJ RI D VWDWH VHFXULW\ ILJKWLQJ WHUURULVP WKH 86 LV SUHG RPPULQDQHQHGO\ LG DQG QRZ HMWVW\$HQJDQLVWDQ ZLWK LWV EFKXUHQW VXERUGWQDHWU QDFFRXQWBRZOWWH DQG CZHIOO\LDQJ SRZHU DIIHFW WKH SHKRISOROZRKVUHIRUP LV DSSURDFKHG LQ IRFXVH[RQHQNGKLQJFDSWFRHWRBFHV E\ SURYLGLQJ ZHDSRC WKH SROLFH RIILFHUV LQ KDQGOLQJ WKHP

'XH WR WKH ORRPLQJ VORZ SURJUHVV DQG WKH IDFW RIILFHUV 86\$ VWDUWHG DQ DGGLWLRQDO SROLFH WUDIUDWLRQ & RPPDQG±\$IJKDQLVWDQJXLQJ DQG WUDIUDQ \$IJKDQ 1DWLRQDO 6HFXULW\)RUFHVP(\$O\LRQQ LQ WIKDILUVW)UHLQW HQGRUI .UHPSHO SROLFH RIIFRPSDUDWLYHOLHFQWW\$PHULFDQ WUDLQLQJ XQWLO WRWDO QXPEHU RI WUDLQRGHRRHWWUTVXDLQLWXCVWDQGDUGV ZHUH PXFK ORZHU FRPSDUHG WR WKH *IZHUH VHOHFWHG ZLWKRXW ZHWWNLQVEDDQGQWHDFKQHGHG (QJOM\$KIDNLQJ LQVWUXFWRUVRIWKH SULYDWH VHFXWUDLQHG WLUDQVHDWWRUWKHDGGRLWLRQDQHSDUREORRIILFHUV VWLOO FDQQRW SHUIRUP EDVLF SROLFH W

R1

3 DJH

G H O C E Q @ X U C ` L O D @ p K D V

7K1170\$ LV RIIVXISDOWHDFUHMDKHSDFLW\ RI \$IJKDQ VHF
IRUFHV LQ RUGHU JUDGXDOO\ WR KDQG RYHU OHDG
\$IJKDQV' 1\$72 7KH PDLQ PHFKDQLVP IRU WUDL
KDV EHHQ WKH)RFXVHG 'LVWULFWHLQYDQIRESKPHQW)
RIILFHUV DUH ZLWHLKLGWDVQWLUBWV\ PDHPVRZQWUKDLQLQJ
)ULHVHQGRUKULQJ WKH VHV WZR PRQWKV WKH RIILFHU
VXFK DV SLWWRQVOLJKW PDFKLQH3JXQFLDQVWHOO DV
RI WKH HLJKW ZHHNV RI WUDLQLQJ VHYHQ ZHHNV S
WDFWLFV DQG VNLOOV OLNH WKH XVH RI ZHDSRQV
WUDLQLQJ WRE)QH HZHHQGRUI SRLQWV^VRQDVLQWJWRIQU
FRPPXQLW\ DQG GHPRFUDWLF SROLFLQJ DV ZHOO DV
ULJKWV ZDV UHPRYHG IURP WKEHG'EFPULQILFDQXPWUDQG
LELGKLV FRQIFB\ SWOGLQJ DQG VWUHQJWKHQLQJ WKH
VXPPDULVHG DV DQ DSSURDFK RI PLOLWDULVDWLRQ
\$ VHQLRU (832/XRPIDFHVHG WKH 86 DSSURDFK DV ^FRQ
WUDLQLQJ LQ RUGHU WR FUHBB\WHRDQFLQOD QLWQUW HGLY

,Q W K H \$ I J K D Q / R F Z D D O V 3 R U H G D A H K \$ X S S R U W I U R P W K
Z K L F K L V P H D Q W 3 W I R O G B Q H L Z / D W W F R K W H D P V U H S U H V H
D F F R X Q W D E O H W R « O R F D O F R P P X Q L W L H V W K D W V H
L Q V X U U J 1 H Q W V L Q R U G F R U P S W R Q V D W H I R U V K R U W I D O O W
L E L G K H L G H D R I F R P P I X \ Q L Q R \ W S R Q I Z F L Q Q J \$ I U W D Q D V W D Q
W U D G L W L R Q S F c D H F H \$

:DUGDN LQWHUYLHZ 5DILKH 8DVXISBULWZ
WKDSSUROGKFDQ EH FRQVLGHURHGFDMDWKLHQJP DMFRUXQWL
ORFDO DSVERKQWHULQVXUJDIQFH DIQWUFRHI DWQWLHW\H[LW
DOORZLQJ WR FUHDWH VWDELOLW\ LQ UXUDO DUHDV
\$IJKD@5: (YHQ WKR\$IJKKDQKHRYHUQPHQW KDV D
KLQJL RIILFHUV WRKUH\$W\$US\$U\$HG WKH IXQGLQJ IR
SHRSOH VLED\$O\R8HUEMFHLYH ZHDSRQHWDQG LDQ WQJUHH
KRZHYHU QR FOHDU GLUHFWLYHV DERXW WKHLU SRZ
DFFRXQWRDZEDUGV WKH ORFDO FRPPDQGHU LE LG

4.4 The Afghan Police – Ensuring whose security?

7 K H F R X Q H Q F T H R I 8 6 G R P L Q D Q F H L Q U H E R K Q F F L H Q W K W K H H \$
L P S D F W R F H D Q W W I D F W B S S U R D F K W R U H I R U P L Q J W K H V H
E H F R P H V D S S D U H Q W E \ O R D Q N G L Q H F D X W L K W \ Z S M / W P X H D S V R I O G Q H
L Q \$ I J K D Q Q L Q \$ W J D K Q D V Q H M K H \$ R B M Q D V D K H O S I X O A H R U Y L F H
D V D V R X U F B I Q R G I G Q Q V Q H I R X U B L O V R R N H G D W H Y H Q P R U H F U L
L V X Q G H U D W R D R G P H D Q V I R U Z D W D O V R K I G D V W R R D Q Q H D M H P F X U L W
S U R Y I Z G X V W K H \$ I J K D Q R I S V H D Q S G I R M K Q D Q V H F X U L W \ E X
U H G X F L Q J L W

7 K I R S L Q R L I R W K H \$ I J K D Q V R F L H W \ R Q W K H S R O L F H L V H
3 H U F H S W L R Q L F X U V W \ T R Q G X F W H I G B H 8 R ' 3 W S R L Q W V R X
R I W K H \$ I J K D Q V H [S U H V V S H U V R Q D @ [S J U H H A S H F D W I R
I D Y R X U D E O H R S L Q L R Q 8 R I ' 3 W K H \$ 1 B W R W K H H D D C Q S R U W
L O O X V W U D W R H I V W K H D W Q W R H U U Y P Q H E B R U W K H L U K R X V H K R
H [S H U L H Q F H G H [F H V V L Y H S K \ V L F D O I R U F H E \ D Q \$ 1 3 F

R I

3 D J H

R I

3 D J H

5. Conclusion

,W FDQ EH FRQFOXGHG WKDW WKH GRPLQDQW IRFXV
\$ IJKDQ SRORQW WKDW WHGL WIRPHL \$ LQKJD QFRQWWQXBRQGO
UHVWWUHWSDFH IRU FLYLO VRFLHW\ WERXLEOHGLRQJH LG
SURFHMHQ WKRXJDO WWKQ8/XULQJ VHFXULW\ IRU WKH
DSSURDFK LV RYHUVWDQFH FRPISQZDQWQHOOJ DQG QXPEHU
LQXFWRUV ,Q FRQWUKDHW B/D DQH HW&H KLVQWLW\ DSSURDFK
SURYLGLQJ D WUDLQLQJ ZKLFK QDQGR&DU DIRFQVW
WUDLRQLQKHKH3WHFKQRFDWLF DWWHVPSQW RHQHGDWLQ
ZDUORUGV DQNGKHLQFURHSDSMUHQV VLYH FDSDLW\ \$V WKH
SURWHFWLRQ ISRKWKDVH ISHSRHSQHQFH LQVHFVWHLW\ ZK
GLVWUXVW LQ WKH VWDWH DQGQ LWRQLVWRAENWWDRQV
EXLOGLQKH7KWDWWH ODFNV SROLWLFDO OHJLWLPDF\
FUHDWLQJ D JDS EHWZHHQ VWDWH DQG SHRSOH

,Q RUGHU WR LQFUHDVH WKH SROLWLFDO DJHLWLPDF
JLQB VHFXUH VSDFH ZKHUH WWWKDWDRQHDLWVQ/VWKH
UHVXOW PLJKW ORRN YHU\ GLIIHUHQW WR WKH FXU
LQWHUHVWVKRV WRHFTLXHLWHV WKH LQWHUQDQWORQDQHFRP
KXPDEQWULF DSSURDFKHV 3ROLFH HRQVILYHUWUQDHLHQG
ZKLFK KDV WR EH GHVIZLQHKG FLQFLORR\$RHFUBWLRRQJDQI
VKRXOG IRFXV RQ QXWIDQHWWKWDQ DQGQGOLQHZHDSRQI
WKH KXIPQWULF DSSURDFK VVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVW
FRPSRQHQWV RI WKIRZVHVVU LDWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVW
EXLOGLQJ IRDUQHQRIWQEDQGGLV DOVR OLNHO\ WR QHHG
WLPH LW LWRUEHHUWDIUDQSOHMPWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVW
LQYROYHG LQWHUQDQWV RQDDOYD FWRRDANQRLZQHGJH GRP
7KISROLFH LQHURKUDQLVWDQ FRQILWPKDWKDI DRFVXXP&QLVR
VHFXULW\ LQ 665 FRQWULEXWQHGLQHJDQW VV
SUHGRPLIQDQVQWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVW
:HEHULDQ XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DQG WULHV WR DFKLHYH

7KISROLFH LQHURKUDQLVWDQ FRQILWPKDWKDI DRFVXXP&QLVR
VHFXULW\ LQ 665 FRQWULEXWQHGLQHJDQW VV
SUHGRPLIQDQVQWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVWVW
:HEHULDQ XQGHUVWDQGLQJ DQG WULHV WR DFKLHYH

R I

3 D J H

* H Q H Y D & H Q W U H I R U W K H ' H P U F F H U D W & \$) & R 2 Q M O U R Q E R
K W W S G F D I F K 3 X E Q U D D W X R D Q H F X R U S D W C G D D

. X N D W K D V &

A Definition of State

R I

3 D J H

R I

3 D J H

D V D 'H Y H O R S P H Q W , Q V W U X P H Q W ' , Q 6 F K Q D E H O \$
Securitiy Sector Reform and Development Q O L Q H
K W W S Z Z Z G ' 2 Q O L Q H

R I

3 D J H

:D U G D N 0

3 H U V R Q D O , Q W H U Y L H Z

:R O I H U V \$
Science Quarterly

³ 1 D W L R Q D O 6 H F X U L W \ D V D Q \$ P E L J X

:X O I + Security sector reform in developing and transitional countries
% H U J K R I + D Q G E R R N

Appendix

A. Districts of Kabul

See hard cop

Due to the maximum size of 2MB for filesMoodle this part of the Appendix is not attached here.

R I

3 D J H

B. List of Interviewees

No Last Name, Name – Position – Organisation Date of Interview
D Q R Q \ P R X V ±± R I I L F L D O