Institution: Coventry University  
Unit of Assessment: 21  
Title of case study: State and Non-state Policing in Africa

1. Summary of the impact  
This case study focuses on research into both state and non-state policing and enhancement of the governance of justice and security in Africa and beyond. This research has resulted in the following:

- **Impact on public policy, law and services** - By the adoption of the insights and policy recommendations resulting from the research.
- **Impacts on practitioners and professional services** - By setting the agenda, changing discourse, and supporting implementation and training of practitioners and others.

**Beneficiaries** include: Policy-makers in governments, aid agencies, think tanks, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and commercial consultancies working in the field of justice and security in Africa and internationally.

2. Underpinning research  
Professor Baker has been at Coventry University since 1996 and the underpinning research has focussed on state and non-state policing and of their respective contributions to safety and justice in Africa. This research by Baker was started in 2000 in South Africa [1]. The research was subsequently extended to cover a number of other countries in Africa including: Mozambique (2002, British Academy funded), Uganda (2003-4, ESRC funded) [2], Sierra Leone (2004-5, ESRC funded; 2006, British Academy funded), Rwanda (2006, ESRC funded), Liberia (2007, ESRC funded), South Sudan (2007, at request of DFID and USAID) and, since 2008, has covered Northern Uganda (2009, British Academy funded), Ethiopia (2011, at request of HMG Stabilisation Unit) and Kenya (2012, at request of HMG Stabilisation Unit).

Baker’s research has revealed a wide diversity of local policing providers that people in Africa look to for policing services and whom in many contexts they have reason to prefer to the state police. His research established that: many non-state policing actors were effective and had popular support [4]; and that international policing reform programmes were having only minimal impact on the effectiveness of the police in providing everyday policing for the majority of their citizens [3].

On the basis of the empirical evidence, Baker has argued that security and justice programmes in Africa must recognise the multiple layering of service providers that form a continuum; only towards the margins of the range can these be readily delineated as state or non-state [4]. The policy implication of his research is that state and non-state policing need to work collaboratively to maximise their effectiveness and extend access to justice [5]. Baker has therefore advocated a multi-layered approach. This identifies at least three layers of security and justice providers below the state, namely: commercial; non-governmental organisations; and local (informal) providers. All are considered as potential providers and partners of security and justice. Though acknowledging that integrating such diverse actors will not be straightforward [6], Baker advocates a policy of multi-layered support as the most appropriate developmental approach to the delivery of justice and security services, particularly in the context of weak states and limited police services.

3. References to the research  

**Key funding**

**4. Details of the impact**

Baker is described as a leading expert in the field of the provision of non-state justice, safety and security, emphasizing what can be achieved where the state does not have the capacity or will to ensure security and justice to its citizens. Baker is credited as being responsible for initiating this approach, which is of great significance as 80%-90% of all security and justice in Africa is delivered by non-state actors. His research has been heavily used in the formulation and evaluation of security and justice training, and support programmes across the globe.

**Beneficiaries of Baker’s research have included:**
- **International Organisations** e.g. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC), and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- **National Governments or Agencies** e.g. the President of Uganda, Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO), US Department of Defence, British Army (12th Mechanised Brigade), Australian Federal Police, and the Dutch Foreign Ministry.
- **Donor Agencies** e.g. United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Department for International Development (DFID), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA).
- **Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)** e.g. The Liaison Office (Kabul).
- **Think Tanks** e.g. Chatham House; Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), Washington DC; Center for Complex Operations (CCO), Washington DC; Center for Naval Analysis (CNA), Washington.
- **Commercial Security Consultancies** e.g. Deloitte, Washington DC.

The evidence for impact of Baker’s research takes a number of forms. For example, key policy documents have referenced his research and embraced the conclusions. In addition, governments and international bodies have requested training seminars and presentations based on Baker’s research. Baker’s services as a specialist consultant and advisor on non-state policing, security and justice brings work from many parts of the world and has extended the impact of the research far beyond Africa.

**Impacts on public policy, law and services**

Baker’s research has brought the use of non-state actors in providing security and justice onto policy agendas globally. It is now recognised by governments and aid agencies as an essential component to the implementation of security and justice programmes. Security and justice interventions and programmes which are based on his research occur across the world, particularly in the African countries.

Baker’s work has been used by several international aid agencies, and he is referred to in policy documents produced by the OECD and AUSAID. For example, in a chapter entitled ‘Justice and Security as Public and Private Goods and Services’ in the 2009 report for the OECD’s ‘Contracting Out Government Functions and Services: Emerging Lessons from Post-Conflict and Fragile Situations’ Baker is cited nine times [a]. The author of the report confirms that the report was largely based on Baker’s research and ideas [f]. This report is now used around the world as the basis for security and justice interventions. It links Baker directly to the programmes across the
globe that are currently in place for providing security and justice.

His unique contribution is also recognised in by the Global Consortium on Security Transformation, in its Working Paper 6 on Crime Prevention and Community in Africa [b]. The paper specifically states: “We owe to the more intrepid scholars such as Bruce Baker some useful criminological studies of the aftermath of severe conflict in a number of African countries, and some fruitful ideas on how communities can be harnessed to the task of post-conflict crime prevention, as discussed below. In recent years a handful of scholars have begun to consider the ways in which principles such as community policing tend to adapt to radically different social environments – as in post-Cold War Africa. [...] the foremost, and certainly the most prolific, academic commentator on this issue in recent years has been Bruce Baker of Coventry University. The strength of Baker’s approach lies in his attempt to investigate the issue across a number of states...”.

Security and justice interventions and programmes which are based on his research occur across the world, particularly in the African countries of Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo, and South Sudan. For example, the OECD Security Sector Reform Handbook, which is now used globally as a reference for security and justice interventions, based its recommendations on the use of non-state actors predominantly on Baker’s work [c].

In a related area of research, Baker and Liebling (a Senior Lecturer at Coventry throughout the period) published a report on policing sexual violence in Northern Uganda. This was taken by Mary Robinson, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to President Museveni of Uganda. Robinson later reported that she and Museveni discussed the research findings. Robinson reported that Museveni had said that this was very important and had not been mentioned to him before. He confirmed he would act on it and debate the issues at the Security Council meeting in Kampala in October 2010.

Impacts on practitioners and professional services

While Baker’s research was based on fieldwork and experience on the ground in Africa it has been translated into different contexts across the globe. Baker’s research has had an impact on setting the agenda, changing discourse, and supporting implementation and training. As a result of his work, organisations such as government departments and aid agencies recognise the need for training and supporting non-state actors in the delivery of security and justice [e].

Non-state policing is now recognised as important by the British government and is incorporated into multiple programmes designed by DFID, who are advised by Baker. For example, in 2011, a UK team designed and implemented a programme in Sierra Leone, which sought to develop the capacity of chieftain “police” and other community-based structures. In the light of his published research, Baker has undertaken security and justice programme design in Ethiopia and Kenya for the British government’s Stabilisation Unit (2011, 2012), and was appointed a senior security and justice adviser for that Unit (2012). As an advisor, he provides an alternative viewpoint to other experts from fields including law and security.

Baker’s research is heavily used in the formulation and evaluation of international security and justice programmes. For example, in Papua New Guinea the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Australian Aid Programme successful implemented non-state security and justice training, and installed nearly 900 female non-state judges.

Baker has worked with the Australian Federation Police (AFP) who are in the process of producing a strategy and training programme on how to carry out work in overseas territories. In 2011, he gave a public presentation to approximately 200 members of the Federal Police, covering all levels. The audience was able to identify with the examples from his research that he provided. Further to this, Baker was heavily involved in producing a thematic guide for the AFP which has been approved and circulated to their 8,000 staff. This guide has raised awareness of the issues which overseas police forces are facing and is being used as a reference aid in practice. It is also being used by the AFP Overseas Force, which at any one time consists of approximately 1,500 people. In addition to the initial circulation, the guide had been downloaded from the force’s internal website over 600 times as of early 2013 [h].

Baker’s research has underpinned the delivery of various training programmes for international aid agencies, working in the security and justice sector. These include:

- Dutch government - a presentation for 25 of its Senior Security Advisers, 2008;
Impact case study (REF3b)

- World Bank/USIP - a workshop for 150 attendees, 2009;
- Commercial Companies - a workshop for 12 London-based security consultancies;
- DFID - course for 25 Security Advisers/Practitioners per group, 2009-ongoing;
- Foreign & Commonwealth Office - workshop for 30 Ethiopian Security Personnel, 2010;
- Danish Foreign Ministry/DANIDA - workshop for 200 attendees, 2010;
- US Department for Defense - workshop for 50 US officials, military and security analysts, 2010;
- British Army - workshop for 150 Officers of the 12th Mechanised Brigade, 2010.

The DFID workshop is delivered by Baker, and others, and has run regularly since 2009. In each cohort, 50% of the participants are UK government employees, from departments such as DIFD and MOD, and the other 50% are from organisations such as other EU member state governments, development agencies and non-governmental organisations. There are approximately 25 people per course, which runs five times per year. The course influences the thinking of security and justice practitioners who are based in the field.

Due to Baker’s work, governments and donors are recognising non-state actors as providers of security and justice [g,i]. This awareness is leading to a change in practice in the way that projects are implemented. For example, Baker was commissioned by the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), 2010, to write: Non-state Policing: Expanding the Scope for Tackling Africa’s Urban Violence [d]. ACSS is the pre-eminent US Department of Defense institution for strategic security studies/research in Africa. It supports United States foreign and security policies by strengthening the strategic capacity of African states to identify and resolve security challenges. The publication is cited inter alia by the Human Security Gateway. This led to Baker being invited by the ACSS to participate in training for senior government, justice and security officials from West Africa in 2013 and similar officials from North Africa and the Middle East in 2013.

Conclusion

Baker’s research has had global impact in the way in which governments, NGOs and other agencies view non-state policing, security and justice actors which resulted in changes to policy, practice and the training of practitioners. As such it has made a major contribution to improving Human Security for millions of people in Africa and other turbulent regions across the world.

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

f) Testimonial from HMG Security and Justice Governance Advisor1, London (REF system corroborating contact 1).
g) Testimonial from HMG Security and Justice Governance Advisor2, London (REF system corroborating contact 2).
h) Testimonial from Senior Development Advisor International Deployment Group, Australian Federal Police, Canberra, Australia.
i) Testimonial from Deputy Head of HMG Stabilisation Unit, London.