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STUDENT REPORT

Policing actors and development assistance:
Germany's cooperation with Tunisia
in the context of police forces

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Abstract

Guided by the Security Sector Reform the German police forces pursue their support abroad to establish and strengthen legitimate police counterparts through equipping and training in conjunction with the promotion of rule of law, good governance and respect of human rights. This master thesis aims to analyse and discuss to what extent the police play a role in development assistance. The examined data comprises literature reviews of case studies and official governmental papers as well as expert interviews with officials of the Federal Criminal Police Office, the Federal Police and the German Police University. On basis of a case study about the training and equipment assistance provided by the German police forces to the Tunisian counterparts in the context of Security Sector Reform will be analysed police cooperation, capacity-building and development assistance. The analysis focuses on the one hand on the rhetoric of the Federal Government and the German police actors since the 2011 uprising and in particular after the terrorist attacks in 2015, while on the other hand on the specific practice and the measures of the Federal Criminal Police Office and the Federal Police in 2019 and 2020 in Tunisia. By this twofold approach, I argue that despite the very ambitious aims of the German police to contribute to sustainable development in Tunisia, the police lack in translating their rhetoric into practice. The interrelatedness between providing security and supporting sustainable development by the police is widely acknowledged, however, it is argued that the police partly neglect the developmental aspects and favour of technical and operational skills and tools, especially in regards to the focal points border management and cross-border threats. The Federal Government has created in the context of the Security Sector Reform the interministerial approach to facilitate cooperativeness and close exchange between different sectors and agents. The instruments and tools allocated to the Federal Criminal Police Office and the Federal Police have to be extended through the direct collaboration with complementary actors to foster rule of law, good governance, human rights and civil society oversight mechanisms. By including a wider range of humanitarian and economic actors and sectors the German police can better achieve their ambitious goals of supporting other countries' police forces as well as sustainable development on the ground rather than to counteract with prioritising operational and technical capacities and resources over institutional structures such as accountability, transparency and democratic oversight. By facilitating a cross-

departmental response and a comprehensive approach, the German police can exert favourable effects on the local development in Tunisia.

Content

List of abbreviations and acronyms

AA	Auswärtiges Amt / Federal Foreign Office
AAH-P	Polizeiliche Ausbildungs- und Ausstattungshilfe / Police Training and Equipment Aid Programme
ASF	African Standby Forces
AU	African Union
BKA	Bundeskriminalamt / Federal Criminal Police Office
BMI	Bundesministerium des Inner, für Bau und Heimat / Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community
BMVg	Bundesministerium der Verteidigung / Federal Ministry of Defence
BPol	Bundespolizei / Federal Police
BT-Drs.	Drucksachen des Deutschen Bundestages (Parliament inquiries)
CEPOL	European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance
DDR	Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DHPol	Deutsche Hochschule der Polizei / German Police University
E2I	Ertüchtigungsinitiative / Enable & Enhance Initiative
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH / The German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH
IBM	Integrated Border Management
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Academy
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IS	Islamic State
KfW	Kreditanstalf für Wiederaufbau
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PAH	Polizeiliche Aufbauhilfe und Kooperation / Police reconstruction support and cooperation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SSR	Security Sector Reform
Stasi	Staatssicherheitsdienst (state security service of the former East Germany)
SWAT	Special Weapons and Tactics
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
WOT	War on terror

Introduction

The foremost and generally summed up task of police is to maintain order and security, thus to safeguard the state it is serving and its people, both in different extents according to its security maxim. In a state-centred security the referent object is a state or a regime, who can be threatened by societal oppositions, political disparity and other states inter alia, and in which the civilian control and oversight mechanisms are limited in favour of the ruling elite (Newman 2010, 77). In contrast, a human-centred security takes a nation, a society, a group of people or individuals as the referent object. In this case the referent object has to be protected from excessive or illegitimate use of power and force executed from opposing groups etc., including the state they live in, by employing a democratic political and security system ensuring accountability, good governance and respect of rule of law and human rights (Wulf 2013, 338). The latter approach is increasingly pursued by Western societies considering that, in contrast to the military, police forces "rely on civilians' cooperation in order to be effective at their daily tasks. In order to provide security and deter crimes, police require the support of the public; they gain that support by building trust in the way they interact with those they are policing" (Political Violence @ A Glance 2020). Policing especially in terms of democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights is increasingly discussed by academics since the end of the Cold War. An example in this range is the aftermath of the Bosnian War, where the police has been considered to be a crucial actor to support a peaceful and sustainable development, acknowledging that "police are critical to broader efforts to create and maintain environments in which democracy and development can flourish" (Harris 2010, 79).

A central concept, which has to be mentioned in this regard and which was developed since the 1990s is the Security Sector Reform (SSR). It has "become a distinct priority for donors and other international organizations" in conjunction with human security (Swiss 2011, 371f.). SSR is an ongoing reform process towards well-organised, accountable and legitimate security actors aiming for security for everyone in a fair (security) political system. This comprehensive approach challenges the power monopoly of a state, a regime or an elite and addresses "institutions entrusted with the protection of the state and its citizens (such as the military, paramilitary forces, and intelligence services), civil authorities mandated to manage and control these agencies (such as the ministries of defence, finance, and interior, as

well as national security agencies, parliament, and civil society organizations) and justice and law enforcement institutions (such as judiciary, justice ministry, police, and penal services, human rights commissions and ombudsmen, customary and traditional justice systems)" (Ebo 2007, 30). In recent years this reform process has been increasingly discussed in literature and politics, which addresses excessive force, anti-human rights tendencies and undemocratic structures, while aiming for legitimate security forces, which act nationally and internationally on basis of rule of law, good governance and sustainability. These principles with its main interests upon the so-called five Ps: People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace and Partnership are embedded in the UN Agenda 2030 (UN General Assembly 2015, 1f.). The SSR is embedded into the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and is derived foremost from the SDG 16: "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels" (ibid., 14). Although the UN-based idea of SSR leaves a lot of space for interpretation how each country and its legislative, judicial and executive forces can interpret and translate the principle into action creating a vast literature tradition about different national understandings of SSR and its application. The link between security and development is increasingly recognised and the SSR "concept is rapidly becoming embedded in the development consciousness" (Smith 2001, 6). The relation and interdependency between development assistance and providing security is an increasingly important issue in politics and academic discussions: "Aid programmes are now geared up to address how to make the state more effective. Donors and associated agencies are progressing towards the development of a framework that incorporates all state institutions. Inevitably, the security sector has come into view, starting with the police, and now encompassing the armed forces" (ibid., 9).

This master thesis sets out to scrutinise the German police forces' security approach in Tunisia, as one of the departure countries to leave the African country towards Europe and which had been shattered by terrorist attacks. It aims to unpack the extent to which police forces have thought to play a role in the context of Germany's external development assistance in capacity-building and SSR. The two German federal-level law enforcement forces, who are internationally active, are the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) and the Federal Police (BPol). The BKA as a criminal investigative police is responsible for combating national and international crime phenomena and supports with its training and material assistance investigative law enforcement units abroad with an approximate strength of 8.000 police officers and civilian employees (BMI 2021). The BPol is Germany's primary

border agent at land, sea and air. The officers are engaged at the borders themselves, but also on all entry/exit and transit points within the country with (possible) international interaction, like airports, train stations and harbours with a strength of almost 50.000 police officers and civilians (ibid.). The international tasks vary from sending police officers to support foreign border agents, document and visa advisors to verify the authenticity of papers and the legal right to enter the Schengen area and Germany and to secure the EU's external borders. Both are enhancing the cooperation between police forces worldwide by having liaison officers in situ, taking part in international police missions to respond to imminent threats and emergency cases and offering training and equipment assistance to enhance the professionalism of their counterparts and consolidate peace, rule of law and good governance (ibid.; BPol 2021). The thesis sets out to rely as well on the perspective of the German Police University (DHPol), which is the only German higher educational institution for senior police officers. This institution is favouring from its unique position in Germany as a connecting link between theory and practice by providing training and further training courses for (future) senior police officers and conducting research inter alia in police work and cooperation.

The competencies of the German police are more diverse than the by the media illustrated overall tasks to prevent and counteract illegal actions, combat corruption, organised crime and terrorism, and include as well supporting rule of law, good governance, human rights and sustainable development at home and abroad. While the first aligns with the traditional understanding of police work – providing security – the latter can be understood as an extension of commonly understood police competencies. Traditionally it is differentiated between providing security and providing development assistance. In both human- and state-centred security approaches development is not considered to be an explicit task of a security agent as it is the police. While in the past development assistance has been halted in the wake of conflicts and crises, since the Cold War era security and development assistance have been increasingly linked to each other emphasising a rising development-security nexus (Aning 2010, 23; Swiss 2011, 371). Capacity-building quickly evolved into a keyword in police cooperation and SSR, which in contrast to development assistance is deemed as successful, when the recipient develops knowledge and means to deal in future autonomously rather than relying on continuous external help (Ellerman 2004, 150f.). Thus, capacity-building needs to motivate, enhance and empower the recipient to undertake the needed (security sector) reforms with their own resources rather than remaining in dependency.

This thesis intends to discuss the German SSR core principles in conjunction with the

translation into practice by the two federal-level police forces in Tunisia under the light of development assistance and capacity-building. The practitioner perspective of the BKA and the BPol is supplemented by the academic insights of the DHPol.

Against this backdrop, the leading research question of this master thesis is as follows: ***To what extent does the police, a primary governmental security agent, play a role in development assistance when it comes to furthering capacity-building and cooperation on SSR?***

The focus lays on the BKA and the BPol in range of SSR and their rhetoric regarding main police themes, which have been presented above, strengthening of the Tunisian police counterparts, cross-border phenomena including the foremost concern of terrorism and irregular migration as well as capacity-building in general, while examining in specific the German police practice in SSR projects in 2019 and 2020. While the analysis of the rhetoric covers the period since the so-called Jasmine Revolution, the timeframe of the selected projects is limited to 2019 and 2020, to get an impression of the provided assistance before and during the worldwide pandemic of Covid-19. The underlying hypothesis for this distinction is that the pandemic might have shifted the angle towards humanitarian and health assistance of the primary objectives of Germany's security agents, which should be reflected in the projects themselves. Through this twofold approach, rhetoric and translation of it into practice, it is intended to gain a deeper understanding of paramount police themes pursued in Tunisia as well as to analyse if the aims are reflected in the projects in 2019/2020 or if there are gaps and to determine whether the police provide as well development assistance in terms of capacity-building and SSR measures.

The methodology of the critical policy and discourse analysis about Germany's SSR and the polices' cooperation efforts in Tunisia is supported by a qualitative case study about the interpretation and translation of it into practice by the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol to establish a concrete, contextual and in-depth overview. First, literature reviews and desk research relied on governmental key texts issued by the Federal Ministry of Defence (BMVg) and the Federal Foreign Office (AA), academic texts on these topics as well as project data published online.

Second, expert interviews have been conducted to gain a deeper insight and understanding about the intends and aims of the police measures. The interview with one BKA official was held in April 2021 through a telephone call; five BPol officials have been interviewed in person in April 2021 and in a second round in a telephone call with two officials in May 2021; while two DHPol officials in April 2021 and one in May 2021 were

interviewed in an audio-visual call. The varying number of participants is based on the disposition of each institution. Conducting interviews using either only audio or as well visual technologies do enjoy an increase of supporters nowadays, in particular to substitute personal encounters facing the distance and travel restriction due the Covid-19 pandemic (Hanna and Mwale 2017). The different methods of conducting interviews did not affect the provision of information. The questions were semi-structured to facilitate an open conversation with the interviewees, which can be found in the appendix as a reference. They include also questions regarding securitisation and desecuritisation as this was the initial research direction before adjusting the research focus to development assistance and capacity-building. All interviews have been conducted in German as it is the interviewees' mother tongue and thus allowed them to discuss the topics with ease. While the interviews with the BPol was not allowed to be recorded and only notes could be taken, the interviews with the BKA and the DHPol were recorded and deleted after this thesis has been completed.

The first section of the thesis establishes a conceptual background regarding police cooperation, development assistance and capacity-building. The second section focuses on Germany's SSR definition, which is the main underlying conceptual framework for international security work, to shed a light on the questioned link between police and development work, while presenting in relation to it the three aforementioned key actors, the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol. This is followed by the third section, which is dedicated to Tunisia and the assistance it receives from the BKA and the BPol in range of SSR. This part focuses on main police interests and efforts and their rhetoric regarding institutional development of the Tunisian internal security forces, cross-border phenomena such as terrorism and radicalisation, as well as capacity-building and local ownership in general. These are central themes regarding police cooperation in Tunisia, expressed in several case studies, official government papers as well as by the German police actors themselves. It follows an analysis of the practice of the BKA and the BPol in 2019 and 2020 to provide an insight into the actual practically applied assistance. The third section concludes with a discussion on the general police aims and the concrete exemplification of them in 2019/2020 in conjunction, hence discussing to what extent the police can play a role in development assistance. The conclusion will summarise the main findings and show the problematic that have been encountered throughout the research.

1 The nexus between police forces, development assistance and capacity-building

In this chapter, will be discussed some underlying concepts, which shall support the analysis, as well as contextualise my topic within existing bodies of work such as academic discussions, policy papers of international institutions as well as empirical case studies. Starting point and the overarching principle of this thesis is police cooperation, as Germany's key police forces pursue cooperation in equipment and training with the Tunisian police on a bi- and multilateral level. To be able to answer the research question, if a security actor can act as a security agent as well as a development actor, I shall refer to the wider literature on official development assistance and capacity-building to gain a basic understanding. First links to the theory of SSR will be also drawn in this chapter, although a more detailed discussion about this reform process addressing a multitude of state and non-state actors across different levels of society and state will be provided in a separate chapter in connection to the three interviewed partners, the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol.

1.1 Police cooperation

Police cooperation is an "intentional or unintentional interaction between two or more police entities (including private and public agencies) to share criminal intelligence, conducting investigations, and ultimately apprehending suspects. International police cooperation [...] [takes these processes] across national and geo-political borders" (Lemieux 2010, 1). Hence international police cooperation can be defined as an ensemble of "police services from countries with different legal traditions and diverse criminal justice systems exchange legal documents and criminal intelligence to tackle transnational and international crime or to locate individuals" (Calcara 2019, 1). The most common and paramount task of international police cooperation is to respond jointly and across jurisdictions to "transnational criminal groups, who disregard territorial boundaries, [while in contrast] law enforcement agencies that must respect borders and are bound by jurisdictional issues" benefit thus from working closely with security agents from different, affected countries to encounter inter- and transnational organised crime and terrorism (Gerspacher and Dupont 2007, 355). Police cooperation includes setting up joint task forces to persecute targeted criminal phenomena

and joint border patrols as well as dispatching police forces to respond and support law enforcement units facing violent clashes and conflicts on a national and international level (Deflem 2006, 241). Different state, legal and justice structures and varying allocation of (law-given) competencies to the state civil servant or military law enforcement complicates the cooperation, but show as well a necessity for aligning criminal justice systems, especially in cases of countries with weak legal conditions to eradicate unlawful practices such as corruption, coercion as well as extralegal arrests and killings (Calcara 2019, 4; Luong 2017, 179). The standardisation of these aforementioned aspects such as an alignment of rule of law, judicial and prosecution procedures to ensure effective interoperability are still huge challenges in international police cooperation (Lemieux 2010, 8). Especially in times of intense social unrests, the ruling elite or government is pursuing politicisation efforts to imply a bureaucratical control of police practices and to consolidate its power monopoly, while in contrast "police institutions continue to expand and solidify a position of autonomy that enables them to better resist such attempts at political control" (Deflem 2006, 243). This transformation process of imposing increased legislative politicised regulations occurred as well after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The counterterrorism policing got vested with targeted "new legislations and other forms of official policy" to reform and align national and international efforts in the so-called global war on terror, which leads continuously to a higher degree of cooperation and interoperability of world's different and fragmented approaches to respond inter alia to terrorism, which poses threats far beyond borders (ibid., 244). As such an example can be named Interpol, which widened its organisational competencies and fostered the cooperation between member states' law enforcements in the aftermath of September 11, while the diversity of the members affects the effectiveness of the pursued missions due to the different and sometimes opposing systems and understandings and the information exchange gets limited due to mutual mistrust between countries and actors (ibid., 249).

Today's social, economic and political interconnectedness and interrelatedness and thus as well of criminal phenomena across borders demand an extension of a national answer to consider as well circumstances and developments in the close vicinity as well as inter- and transnationally to respond to security threats together (Ciftci and Kula 2014, 51). Threats but also other developments such as irregular migration, especially in the wake of globalisation and fast and steady advancement of information and communication technology, digitalisation and transportation spread globally and do eventually affect the development in many states rather than limiting itself to an intrastate phenomenon (Luong 2017, 177). In a

Turkish case study it is advocated for a "systematic cooperation among national law enforcement agencies" and transnational police cooperation in form of training "to increase their knowledge and capacity in the field of policing" through bi- and multilateral agreements between countries and organisations like Europol or Frontex as well as private and public security training agencies such as the International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA), the European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training (CEPOL), or also developmental organisations like The German Corporation for International Cooperation GmbH (GIZ) or UN's International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (Calcara 2019, 1f.; Ciftci and Kula 2014, 51, 53).

Inter-agency collaboration of law enforcement within a country but as well between different countries can experience challenges and obstacles on several levels: "(i) interorganisational; (ii) intra-organisational; (iii) inter-professional; (iv) interpersonal and (v) intrapersonal. Obstacles for international police cooperation are mainly found at the interorganisational level and interpersonal level" (Peters, Vanderhallen, and Nelen 2015, 1). The cooperation between polices, especially when it comes to collaborations between the northern and the southern hemisphere, is challenged by "competing agendas, limited resources, and nationalistic/discretionary information-sharing, [...] cultural and social norms, along with individual experiences, [which] impact inter-agency relations" (Lemieux 2010, 2). Developing and post-conflict countries are often subjected to "formulate or reformulate their criminal justice systems along the lines of those of Western countries [...] or with the guidance of the legal departments of international police organizations" to gain the support of foreign law enforcement services and to establish consensual and effective cooperation (ibid., 3f.). The development of professionalised institutions with sophisticated resources is pursued by those higher developed countries with incentives like training and equipment assistance, e.g., the instalment of information and communication technology, to support the institution- and capacity-building of the respective foreign counterpart. A contemporary example for aiming for a standardised approach is the Integrated Border Management (IBM) of the EU, which entails "the integration of information technology, as incompatibilities in systems can considerably complicate the establishment of informational bridges between police services" (ibid., 4). Another example is Frontex, a transnational agency that "promotes a pan-European model of 'integrated border security'" responding to possible threats at EU's external borders and enhancing cooperation with EU's neighbouring countries and their law enforcement agencies (ibid., 11). Mutual recognition, both organisational and personal, are central and beneficial for close and direct collaboration, while also acknowledging the fact, that agreeing

on cooperation can cause a decrease of institutional autonomy and freedom to decide and allocate resources independently while fulfilling each other's requirements and agreements of the specific settlement (Peters, Vanderhallen, and Nelen 2015, 5f.). Bi- and multilateral agreements, as well as regional and international cooperative police organisations such as Europol or attending in UN Peacekeeping operations, represent consequentially an "intervention in the most fundamental and closely guarded state function: the provision of safety, security, and maintenance of order in the state's territory" (Gerspacher and Dupont 2007, 359).

First developmental cooperative efforts of law enforcement units date back to the early 1960s, when police forces of developing countries joined up to support each other's institutional establishment through targeted training. These police forces derived their maxims and power execution from the colonial era, which was mostly characterised by violence and discriminatory hatred (Ciftci and Kula 2014, 54). Since the 1990s EU accession candidates are getting supported by the EU "to transform their criminal justice system and the police work to the European standards" (ibid.). The research on international police cooperation in form of training is still limited, while this initial police cooperation focused primarily on "the lack of 'practical knowledge' on international crime trends and investigation procedures (e.g. legal frameworks, variations in judicial system components)" to facilitate international cooperation, rather than addressing "the training and development of a national information flow system and other such capacity-building functions" (Lemieux 2010, 12f.). International law enforcement training shall not just strengthen skills and resources of the police to exercise their duties with an enhanced operational effectiveness, but shall also build their institutional capacity and spread the awareness of and respect for basic principles such as human rights and international statutory rights and duties (Ciftci and Kula 2014, 55f.). The paramount advantage of international police cooperation remains the enhancement of interoperability, information exchange and joint efforts between law enforcement of different countries to respond effectively and efficiently to cross-border phenomena such as irregular migration and displacement, smuggling, trafficking, as well as terrorism. A case study about Turkish law enforcement offering nationally and internationally training "in the light of contemporary policing approaches which include the notions of democratic policing, community policing, and problem-oriented policing" in order to reach the aforementioned goals (Chappell 2008, 39; ibid., 59). By employing these aforementioned policing approaches the police work shall be developed from reacting to single incidents towards the abolition of recurring issues through cooperation with the civil society and

international counterparts. Democratic policing highlights the importance of accountability, transparency and public service orientation especially in terms of civil society oversight mechanisms (Shilston 2015, 209). Community-oriented policing emphasises "the importance of cultural diversity, communications, crime prevention, and problem-solving" rather than favouring a traditional policing curriculum concentrated on tactical and operational skills and intentional distance to the public (Chappell 2008, 37; ibid., 209). Both are bottom-up processes calling for greater involvement and valuation of the cooperation between law enforcement and civil society to support a favourable and peaceful development in the community, ultimately to improve the life quality and eventually enhance the local ownership of the development in situ (Chappell 2008, 37). The acquisition of the aforementioned soft skills got in recent years increasingly valued without diminishing the importance of traditional training contents and the need for professional and effective deployment of operational and tactical responses (ibid., 38f.). Comparably the emphasis on human security bears the advantage that "crime prevention relates directly to development, social wellbeing, and to peace", enhancing the social, economic and political development, freedom and basic rights, hence by maintaining a secure and safe environment nationally and internationally the development of the respective site is consequentially favourably supported (Luong 2017, 177f.).

International cooperation is consequentially subjected to three main considerations, which are geopolitics, material criteria such as sophisticated resources and competencies fostering the expertise and know-how and lastly, organisational elements such as institutionalisation and legitimacy of the agreed collaboration as "effective police cooperation depends on structural factors that nation-states must develop through compromise, standardization, and a mindset that embraces the internationalization of policing" (Lemieux 2010, 3f.).

1.2 Official development assistance

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2021b), which is one of the most important organisations of the Western hemisphere for a coordinated economic, trade and development policy, defines with its Development Assistance Committee (DAC) official development assistance (ODA) as "government aid that promotes

and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries" contrary to "military aid and promotion of donors' security interests". This definition got hitherto continuously expanded and the eligibility database of the OECD DAC accounts currently a total of 44 cases (state April 2021) to determine if the intended or pursued assistance falls in the range of development assistance or not (Aning 2010, 15). While as aforementioned peacekeeping measures like military expenditures are excluded, "some closely-defined developmentally relevant activities within peacekeeping operations are included" (OECD 2021a). In purpose of this thesis, to determine if police can be a developmental actor, the central points of the eligibility cases for "peace and security: involving police" and "peace and security: security system reform" will be summed up in the following. The former concerns: promotion of rule of law, good governance, democracy and respect of human rights; enhancement of civilian oversight; provision of non-lethal equipment and training for fostering the capacity of security actors, which shall promote public safety, prevent and investigate criminal activities especially serious and organised (cross-border) crime and enhance community policing, however not including "training in counter-subversion methods, suppression of political dissidence, or intelligence gathering on political activities" (ibid.). While the latter includes into ODA projects with the aforementioned points carried out by the police or other security actors, it additionally determines projects, which aim for access to security and justice for all; enhancement of transparency, accountability, efficiency, anti-corruption and inclusive and gender-sensitive security structures (ibid.). The European Code of Police Ethics frames police as well as an agent for peace and democracy: "At the moment many European countries are reorganising their police as a crucial part of the process to promote and consolidate democratic ideas and values in society" (EU Council 2002, 21). This stresses that "the role of the security sector is crucial in the provision of the requisite secure environment for sustainable development" (Ebo 2007, 30).

This process happens especially in the light of the SSR which is perceived to provide tools for "creating the stability needed to ensure that a developing nation, or one emerging from conflict, is afforded the opportunity to build effective public institutions, democratically accountable to the public and compliant with universal notions of human rights" (Shilston 2015, 207). Important to bear in mind is the context and the conditions in which the provided aid, be it material assistance, pursued reforms or any other kind of equipment and training assistance, takes place because systems are not simply transferable, but need local, political, ideological, cultural etc. adjustments to achieve the intended effects (Ellerman 2004, 156). In

this process, external donors are meant to be supportive to "locally generated SSR projects" emphasising "the importance of a context sensitive approach that can best be achieved where local solutions to security challenges are developed and implemented" – the concept of capacity-building and local ownership will be discussed in the following sub-chapter (Bendix and Stanley 2008, 95).

Especially in the post-World War II era ODA contributed to the reconstruction of shattered states, societies and economies. In the recent past it was increasingly used to reduce poverty and eventually to consolidate peace, especially in the post-Cold War era marked by tensions of newly declared states facing many intrastate conflicts due to poor governance and stressing the "mutually reinforcing link between security and development, particularly, of insecurity as a debilitating factor against sustainable development" (Ebo 2007, 30). However, since the declaration of the war on terror in consequence of the 9/11 terrorist attacks was noted "a growing conceptual and operational shift in the official development assistance (ODA) discourse resulting in the routine subjection of ODA disbursements to the imperatives of the WOT [war on terror]" (Aning 2010, 8). ODA got since then piecemeal politicised and securitised, introducing a security-first paradigm shift, where the need and provision of development assistance is determined on basis of geopolitics, security and terrorism, rather than by the gravity of fragility and need of reconstruction (ibid., 8ff.). The emphasis on the development-security nexus as "an inseparable and mutually reinforcing relationship" got since the Cold War era and in particular since the declaration of the war on terror constantly strengthened, linking both development and security assistance intrinsically and interdependently (ibid., 23). This accounts especially to post-conflict and developing countries, which are assumed to pose "potentially greater threats to international peace and security than more powerful states" (Gordon 2014, 132). In this regard got strengthened and widened the concept of SSR, whose core "lies in the twin imperatives of operational efficiency and democratic control" because "the absence of an efficient and democratically accountable security sector is, therefore, an incubating factor for conflict, and sustains and pronounces those conditions that obstruct and undermine sustainable development" (Ebo 2007, 28, 31).

1.3 Capacity-building

Capacity-building is an abstract keyword in regards of external intervention to improve an actor's professionalism and competencies "in relation to its mission, context, resources, and sustainability, achieved through a process-oriented approach of assisting the organization to acknowledge, assess, and address its external environment" (Harris 2010, 80f.). It "involves assistance aimed at reforming organizations and institutions to develop their capacity to achieve the goals for which they exist efficiently and effectively", meaning that not only delivery of technical assistance is needed, but as well development of competencies of actors and structures of institutions in situ (Dandurand et al. 2004, 108). The UN Police (2015, 36) includes into capacities "aptitudes, resources, relationships and facilitating conditions necessary to act effectively", while capacity-building means to strengthen these components. This element is essential for "nation building, particularly in post-conflict settings, and it is equally important in maintaining the security and stability of a state. Development and security are increasingly conflated in the approaches of donor governments [...] and peace keeping is evolving towards building peace and security (as opposed to maintaining it)" (Harris 2010, 79). As it will be shown in the chapter about Tunisia, fair and democratic security forces are important to maintain a peaceful and sustainable social and political system.

In contrast to ODA, this concept highlights the importance of establishing a partner, who will in future deal autonomously with the issue, which Ellerman (2004, 149) describes as well as "help to self-help, 'assisted self-reliance' or assisted autonomy", meaning that "the built-up capacity should be sustainable by the host-state once external assistance is removed" (Caparini 2014, 6). In this regard is any support considered to be unhelpful, which ignores or counteracts the autonomy and sovereignty of the recipient (Ellerman 2004, 150f.). While a development aid can be evaluated as successful by alleviating symptoms and solving problems, the capacity-building can be deemed unsuccessful if the recipient did not receive the means to respond and counteract such issues by himself or intends to remain in a position where he needs ongoing support rather than dealing with issues by himself (ibid., 152f.). Problematic can be also when ODA solves the problem entirely, then the recipient might not see anymore the need to reform the own approach assuming that this issue will not occur in the future or that the development aid provider will assist once again apparently successfully to resolve the issue instead of the recipient solving it (ibid., 153). Motivation and

development of the ability to review and ultimately to respond with own resources to issues and thus reforming the own approach are central points for a successful capacity-building (ibid., 165f.).

"The success of reforms and capacity-building initiatives in the justice and security sectors depends, in large measure, on whether they reflect a local consensus, a commitment to action, and some level of effective national mobilization" – a closely interlinked element to capacity-building is local ownership (Dandurand et al. 2004, 65). Concerning the issue who should own and oversight the SSR process it was found a consensus that "national and local authorities, parliaments and civil society, including traditional leaders, women's groups and others, are actively engaged" are "identified as watchdogs, agents of change and sources of technical input in the SSR process" and should be in a position "to inform decision-making throughout the SSR process" hence having a say which capacities need to be built up (Bendix and Stanley 2008, 96; Ebo 2007, 46; Gordon 2014, 128; UN Police 2015, 33f.). Hitherto exists a gap between the policy aim of strong local ownership and its implementation in practice. In many countries' and actors' pursued SSR can be observed a lack regarding the involvement of civil society, for reasons such as: "often [it is] considered that wider engagement of the general public will not only jeopardize efforts to create a professional security sector, because the general public lacks the requisite knowledge to reach sensible decisions, but can also compromise operational security" (Ebo 2007, 129).

Capacity-building in particular faces many difficulties. While many donors aim for short-term goals, it is indeed a long-term process towards sustainable social, cultural and political structures and supporting the recipients to develop their capacities and competencies – all this accounts also for local ownership (Dandurand et al. 2004, 107; Gordon 2014, 131). SSR is intended to be a holistic approach that aims "to have a positive impact not only on the security of the state but also on the safety of communities and individuals", which contributes to sustainable development at all levels of state and society and ultimately "seeks to enhance the decision-making power of recipients" trough locally owned SSR processes and supporting the capacity-building of the recipients to be actually in a position to assume the ownership (Bendix and Stanley 2008, 94, 96). Supporting the capacities of local actors owning the transformation processes enhances the legitimacy and affirmation of the pursued reforms through commitment and participation of a partly challenging multiplicity of actors and individuals and eventually "helps rebuild trust in the security sector" (ibid., 97).

Due to the limited access to data on how the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol evaluate the aforementioned processes within their projects in general and particularly in Tunisia, the

question of how to evaluate such an abstract concept will not be discussed. Hitherto have been conducted several studies about institutions' pursued capacity-building efforts, however there remains a critical lack of comprehensive and clear conceptual frameworks, regardless of differences between sectors and actors and a preferred focus on tangible and short-term achievements (Caparini 2014, 6, 22; Preskill and Boyle 2008, 444). A multidisciplinary model of evaluation capacity building with a "design and implementation of teaching and learning strategies to help individuals, groups, and organizations, learn about what constitutes effective, useful, and professional evaluation practice" can be found inter alia in Preskill and Boyle (2008, 444) aiming for a "sustainable evaluation practice". A 2014 conducted study about UN Police peacekeeping missions allocates as central instruments of capacity-building: "provision of material support; training; monitoring, advising and mentoring; development of organizational infrastructure and management systems; and the strengthening of governance, accountability and integrity" taking place "primarily within the context of reform, restructuring and rebuilding host-state police" (Caparini 2014, vii).

The foregoing conceptual framework presented police cooperation, development assistance and capacity-building in order to gain a basic understanding of these concepts, in the following chapters shall be discussed the Germany's SSR in conjunction with the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol, before analysing the German police assistance in Tunisia and to what extent the police cooperation fosters capacity-building and in this regard can be understood as development assistance.

2 Security Sector Reform (SSR) – The guiding concept of Germany's international police cooperation

In this chapter we shall turn to SSR in relation to the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol, their tasks and focus shall serve as a basis to initiate further discussions about the Federal Government's understanding of SSR. A discussion about police work and development assistance, manifested in rhetoric, is hence provided here, before conducting the case study about Tunisia.

One globally agreed definition upon SSR does not exist, but it tends to vary from country to country, from actor to actor. Every country and actor interpret and put into practice differently. In this chapter basic principles of SSR and the Federal Government understanding of it in relation to the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol will be discussed. The distinction between traditional security actors, the police forces, and secondary security actors, the police university, lies on the premise that the German SSR is meant to be a holistic approach, which does not solely intend to strengthen the security level by equipping primary, traditional security actors with material tools to secure people, borders and objects, but also by providing the needed knowledge and proficiency in a broader field to substantiate security for everyone. Security actors shall be professionalised and strengthened through equipment and training, while the democratic oversight and the rule of law are strengthened as well (Bundestag 2017a, 2).

The UN Agenda 2030 and its SDGs were the "relevant reference framework for the [German] engagement", enhancing international bi- and multilateral cooperation and exchange in order "to provide security for all and establish effective, accountable, corruption-free, and inclusive security institutions" (AA 2017, 31, 2019b, 12). Inspired by this was issued the German policy paper "Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace" in 2017 and "Ressortgemeinsame Strategie zur Unterstützung der Sicherheitssektorreform (SSR) im Kontext von Krisenprävention, Konfliktbewältigung und Friedensförderung" in 2019. It is a cross-departmental strategy paper to support SSR in the context of preventing crises, resolving conflicts and building peace, both drawing on increased cooperation and coordination in the areas of analysis, planning, monitoring, training and equipment assistance. It describes the paramount aim of "protecting Germany's value-based interests", which are "peace, freedom, justice, security and development", and provides a guideline for

assuming greater responsibility for achieving and protecting its core values both nationally as well as internationally (AA 2017, 44). Hereby is highlighted the importance of an encompassing and cooperative approach including not only the primary security sector, but aiming as well for social and economic developmental improvements to support early crisis detection, prevention and follow-up in three areas: promotion of the rule of law, SSR and dealing with the past and reconciliation, also known as transitional justice (ibid.). Ensuring safety and security on the verge of as well as outside the EU has to stabilise consequently the security of the EU Member States and Germany.

2.1 SSR and the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) and the Federal Police (BPol)

The two federal police forces are responsible for a twofold approach to provide security within, on the way to Germany as well as abroad. The BKA on the one side is responsible for the prosecution and investigation of national and cross-border criminal offences such as organised crime, trade of weapons and drugs, fighting money laundering and uttering counterfeit money, but also takes a leading role in investigations in cases of terrorism, genocides, crimes against humanity and war crimes (BKA 2021). While on the other side the BPol's focus lays more on the protection of the borders to counteract illegal entries and cross-border crimes, the persecution of document frauds and vehicle thefts and the execution of eventual relocation and repatriation decisions as well as counteracting violence and other causes of irregular migration and flight (BPol 2021). Both police forces cooperate closely with security agents of the EU Member States and third countries in so-called joint centres, dispatch liaison officers on basis of bi- and multilateral agreements and support international police peacekeeping missions under the auspices of the EU, the UN the OSCE or the NATO (Bundestag 2017a, 3, 8). However emphasising the need for an embedded political discourse for a sustainable SSR, "approaches are supported, in which executives in security ministries and agencies are advised on overarching national SSR processes" aiming at "strengthening the capacities of state institutions for coherent strategy development, planning and budgeting of security policy measures at all levels (national, regional, local)" and thus affecting the police work in Germany and abroad (AA 2019b, 18, 20). Noteworthy is Germany's foremost interest in enabling partner countries, their governments and security

agents "to assume regionally and internationally greater security responsibility" (ibid., 12f.). Capacity- and institution-building are important elements to support sustainable development and responsibility takeover, in this range inter alia "advisory and mentoring staff are deployed in national security institutions and other related agencies (*on-the-job training*) and multipliers are trained (*train-the-trainer*)" (ibid., 20f. emphases in the original).

As aforementioned, each country entails its own, national understanding of SSR and how to achieve it. However, it is commonly agreed that SSR encompasses three key aspects for a successful and sustainable development (Bryden and Hänggi 2004, 9, 123): First, security addressing prominently police and military, but also correctional services like courts and prisons to develop capable security agents as well as addressing existing militias and other criminal groups and phenomena in disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) efforts. Second, good governance and rule of law as encompassing oversight mechanisms to provide the realm within which primary and secondary security actors engage. Third, effectiveness and efficiency to aim for balanced expenses of military and security expenditures and affordable security institutions as well as economic and social distributions. Besides this distinction, it is still needed to carry out further studies if and especially how to employ all three aspects in practice, as eventually the focus shifts to either one or another, a simultaneous engagement in all three core areas is hardly achievable in practice due to the complex and intricate conditions in each country (ibid., 124). To achieve this multifaceted approach, Germany highlights its interministerial "'cross-departmental' collaboration between different branches of government to face the multiple challenges in 'areas with limited statehood'" to avoid the focus on single elements and rather distribute tasks according to the competencies of each participating body, institution or organisation (Fescharek 2013, 17). Consequently, the police is only one participating party of many. The SSR addresses not only state-centred executive core actors, like armed forces, law enforcement, paramilitary units, immigration and customs services, but extends to a variety of legislative and oversight actors, such as the parliament, the government and its core ministries of defence, interior and foreign affairs, but also judicial ministries, courts, prosecution services, prisons as well as organisations and institutions concerned with human rights, democracy and civil participation inter alia (Wulf 2013, 345f.).

Security concepts of countries, organisations etc. can have different angles and referent objects, but regardless of being state- or human-centred SSR applies to any understanding of security. The main focus is establishing or strengthening democracy, good governance, rule of law and human rights and depending on the definition involving a

broader or lesser field of actions and instruments (ibid., 338f.). The Federal Government pursues a human-centred security approach, putting "the protection and well-being of the individual in the centre" (AA 2019b, 8). It is targeting with its diversified measures "positive experiences between the state and society" through strengthening accountability, transparency, good governance, civil participation, gender-sensitivity and protection of vulnerable groups like children, women and minorities to substantiate the acceptance and trustworthiness of the state and its security apparatus (ibid., 8f., 15). In this range the German polices are following inter alia a community-oriented policing to enhance the relationship between and the trust of the civil society into the state and the security actors (ibid., 27). A central point of the German SSR is the emphasis on security actors that "are perceived by the local population as legitimate and effective in establishing human security" to substantiate peace, stability and development, pursuing "a human rights-based approach that focuses on the individuals or groups affected by violence, insecurity or arbitrariness and the protection of their needs and rights. Civil society actors are encouraged as intermediaries between the population and the security sector to promote transparency, to articulate security needs and to (re)build trust" (ibid.). SSR eventually takes as a priority "more 'people-centred' definitions of security and has thus been integrated into development policy" (Larzillière 2019, 387). Higher developed countries, like Germany, are using the SSR, according to the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF), as an instrument to create a safe and secure environment to provide development assistance and to eventually increase economic cooperation by reforming overall the security, political, social and economic circumstances with incentives like the accession to multilateral institutions like the EU and the NATO (Bryden and Hänggi 2004, 3, 9ff.).

Germany's SSR approach emphasises the need to consider each partner country's history, which influenced the development of the security sector and the reputation of the government and the security actors accordingly when pursuing SSR efforts abroad (AA 2019b, 7). To pursue a sustainable SSR approach is inevitable to examine the local and regional societal, political, economic and environmental context. The security traditions and experiences of each country, nation or ethnic groups with the current or (former) internal security powers and external interfering security actors determine the acceptance and outcome of the pursued strategy as well. While higher developed and democratic countries like Germany consider their national security system on a high and well-established level, it arose especially in the aftermath of 9/11 and due to globalisation the perceived need to review the own approach and extent rising resources to other governments' security

management. Especially in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region "the global war on terror and the political objective of strengthening Arab states' capacities to co-operate with Western states" is intensified, because "internal conflicts have the potential to destabilize entire regions" (Larzillière 2019, 389; Schnabel and Ehrhart 2005, 4). The SSR cooperation is designed to react and prevent social and security issues and threats with possible spill-over effects, including the German police efforts in Tunisia, whose country's history and status quo will be briefly presented before delving into the case study analysis.

The Federal Government "is making a significant bilateral and multilateral contribution to strengthening the security structures in fragile contexts" with sending police officers to less democratic and stable countries to support peace, security and development (AA 2017, 121). Due to globalisation issues do not limit themselves within a country, but have increasingly cross-border, inter- and transnational effects, the own security and development are at the very end as much dependent on internal as on external conditions (ibid., 18). In this sense it is differentiated between three SSR contexts: the developmental, the post-authoritarian (primarily post-communist) and the post-conflict context (Bryden and Hänggi 2004, 10). The first describes a weak and underdeveloped economic status often connected to excessive police and military expenditure. In the second democratic deficit, the redistribution of an oversized security apparatus and the strengthening of the civil society are addressed (ibid.). Thus, the transition to an accountable political system with a separation of power. Tunisia is categorised within the range of post-authoritarian contexts, as shall be illustrated in the next chapter, which is dedicated to the Tunisian circumstances. The latter context takes place after political and violent insurgencies, where peace- and nation-building efforts are the foremost interests, recovering the collapsed state and civil society institutions and reconstructing the security system in accordance with democratic and human rights principles (ibid.).

The Federal Government sums up its efforts under the term of "Polizeiliche Aufbauhilfe und Kooperation" (translatable as police reconstruction support and cooperation, PAH). It aims to vest partner countries and their respective authorities with profound knowledge and competencies to combat irregular migration, trafficking, smuggling and other cross-border related criminal phenomena, to develop further a democratic and transparent political and security system and ultimately to consolidate peace. Both police forces express their intentions for practical and material assistance and knowledge transfer in their respective measures. While the institution-building primarily takes place on a multilateral

level, training assistance, which includes a diversity of short-term, mobile and temporary training, is pursued also on a bilateral level (AA 2019b, 21).

The BKA (2021) expresses its foremost goal as enabling local police forces worldwide to respond to and prevent crime with the necessary know-how of methods and means and to execute effective investigations and search measures. The equipment assistance entails equipment for police information and evaluation systems, but also operational equipment for collecting and documenting evidence and for carrying out forensic investigations (ibid.). The principle of Do No Harm of the training and equipment assistance is hereby central, so that the BKA and the BPol do not provide any dual-use goods, like weapons, munitions, machines for their production, as well as coercive and intelligence equipment (AA 2017, 87, 2019b, 10; ibid.). The BPol aims with its equipment and training support abroad to strengthen police forces in the areas of border control and security at land, sea and air, document and certificate fraud, administrative modernisation, police evaluation and analysis (BPol 2021). To ensure sustainability the provision of infrastructure equipment is usually "accompanied by structured training activities" (AA 2019b, 23). Both police forces highlight their overarching aim of supporting police forces, whose work is committed to the rule of law, human rights and democracy and ultimately contributes to Germany's security. They are acknowledging that SSR is a "long-term transformation approach" requiring a supporting political embedding with continuous dialogues between all participating and affected parties of those strategies, as such the German embassies, liaison officers or other police exchange channels play a crucial role to inform about successes, gaps and possibilities (ibid., 10f.). The implementation of SSR measures must take place on a political as well as operational level, whereas training and material support allow that "security policy is put into practice" (Bundestag 2018a, 4). Practitioners and academics are arguing increasingly that "military and police forces play a crucial role in the long-term success of political, economic and cultural rebuilding efforts in post-conflict societies" (Schnabel and Ehrhart 2005, book cover). Thus, to ensure a broad and comprehensive approach, the Federal Government includes a variety of actors into its external assistance such as "diplomatic missions abroad, [...] military advisors, technical advisory groups, representatives of the German police forces [...] as well as the deployment of specialised teams of experts on site" (AA 2019b, 24).

It is differentiated between two modi operandi of the Federal Government and its security agents to pursue international cooperation and support with the goal of help to self-help. The four-year training and equipment assistance programme "Polizeiliche Ausbildungs- und Ausstattungshilfe" (Police Training and Equipment Aid Programme, AAH-P) is a long-

term approach issued in 2017, while the short-term "Ertüchtigungsinitiative" (Enable & Enhance Initiative, E2I) is a flexible one-year strengthening initiative issued in 2016 (BMVg and AA 2019, 1; Bundestag 2017a, 11). Both approaches, which shall complement each other, aim through practical responses through advisory, equipment and training assistance, in the E2I case also with military support of the Federal Armed Forces, to strengthen the benefiting security institutions and their capacities. Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, the Palestinian territories and Tunisia are defined as focal countries of the AAH-P and Lebanon, Jordan and Tunisia for the E2I efforts (Bundestag 2017a, 5; BPol officials, April 2021). The E2I is meant to provide at short notice and flexibly a short-term capacity to act and react, to prevent and respond to crises, Germany's military forces provide as well weapons and arms (Bundestag 2017a, 9). While the AAH-P is "a traditional train-and equip programme, which currently focuses on the areas of the criminal police force, border management and aviation security" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 27).

A holistic SSR encompasses three paramount aspects: "development of (1) affordable security bodies capable of providing security (operational effectiveness and efficiency aspect) and (2) effective oversight mechanisms consistent with democratic norms (democratic governance aspect)" and (3) "address the legacies of past conflict including disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, judicial reform in the form of transitional justice, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and anti-personnel landmines" – these aspects align with the main points of ODA and capacity-building (Bryden and Hänggi 2004, 9). While the latter reflects the traditional understanding of how to provide security, the two first points highlight the importance of widening the focus by providing both state- and human-centred security entailing a social, economical, political and institutional dimension. The social emphasis lies on the mental and physical well-being, freedom and the acceptance of the security and political authority; the economic focus shall assure a stable, efficient and fair capacity and resource management; good governance, rule of law and transparency are central points of an SSR encompassing as well a political angle; while the institutional dimension shall guarantee the establishment of (legal and non-legal) systems and agencies with clear-cut competencies, power share and oversight mechanisms (Wulf 2013, 344). Undeniable important in this regard is to bear in mind the "security-development nexus" highlighting the relation between creating prosperous social, economic, political and environmental living conditions with achieving sustainable peace and security around the globe and thus "integrating development and security actors into a single political structure is believed to strengthen the efficiency of both sectors, particularly in post-conflict

situations" (AA 2019b, 8; Larzillière 2019, 385). As the OECD frames it: "There is widespread recognition that there can be no security without development, and no development without security" (as quoted in Larzillière 2019, 385). Security became thus a priority and a goal of development and vice versa. Also, the Federal Government points out that "efficient, democratically controlled security sectors are an important prerequisite for peace, security and sustainable development, especially in fragile and crisis-affected states" (AA 2019b, 4).

Technical data about employed resources of the BKA and the BPol, such as material and training support and sending police officers to the respective sites, are listed in Parliament inquiries in the so-called Drucksachen des Deutschen Bundestages (BT-Drs.). These are official and publically accessible documents issued by the Parliamentary Secretariat about inquiries and reports from political parties, the government and other state organs. In these official governmental reports a list of police and customs operations abroad including the measures of the BKA and the BPol per quarter is provided, even though mostly not mentioning any specific goals, which were intended and what exact know-how entailed the training assistance. General remarks that principles such as human rights and rule of law are always part of the provided training are given in separate BT-Drs. (Bundestag 2017a, 5). As aforementioned, the German approach is especially influenced by the main pillars of the UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, but also by the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and the Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security as well as by the Paris Agreement on Climate Protection, whose main elements are also always part of the training assistance and ensure the ownership of the pursued transformation (AA 2017, 30ff., 2019b, 26).

2.2 SSR and the German Police University (DHPol)

The DHPol enjoys a special position as being the only higher academic institution for upskilling (future) higher and senior police rank officers in Germany, with offering the Master of Arts degree in "Public administration – Police management". It is specifically tailored for law enforcement personnel, educating not only criminology, criminalistics, public and personnel management inter alia but also communication and politics sciences, psychology and ethics (DHPol 2021). With its focus on national as well as international

police proficiency, this German university is also contributing to successful international cooperation with its research in the fields of international police relations and SSR. Particularly its focus is on the SSR topics of building policing structures under democratic control and supporting capacity-building in accordance with rule of law of police forces in Germany and elsewhere (DHPol officials, April 2021). The bi- and multilateral exchange are understood by Germany as supporting other police and security actors to establish or strengthen their institution and capacity to respond to imminent threats and other social, political and criminal issues by providing training and equipment assistance to build legitimate and by that as well sustainable structures not only in Germany but also abroad. The DHPol is one representative of Germany's pursuit of strengthening the cross-departmental national SSR process through "promoting networking with civil society and academia, developing the expertise of the ministries involved, and consolidating and further expanding cross-departmental coordination procedures, particularly in the areas of analysis, strategy development, and monitoring and evaluation" (AA 2019b, 32).

SSR is meant to be within as well outside Europe a comprehensive humanitarian, civilian, police and military concept to develop better protection for a state and its people. Departing from a traditional state-centred position and aligning a broader and more inclusive human-centred perspective comprising NGOs, governmental and civil organisations and committees inter alia, tasked with providing social and humanitarian work and relief, as well as civil society, academia and media, SSR is intended to be an overarching multifaceted approach with the central principles of democracy, rule of law and accountability (ibid., 4). Therefore the cross-departmental cooperation is not limited to law enforcement authorities, paramilitary, religious and other legitimate local prosecution services of the respective countries, but takes place particularly through networking and cooperation with a multitude of actors and regional and international organisations (ibid., 17). The UN and the EU are pointing to the necessity for reviewing the different criminal justice, security and state systems under a critical SSR perspective to ensure eventual interoperability and security for all. Incentives like joining the EU, the Schengen area or providing monetary funds, training and equipment serve additionally to motivate governments with weak legal settings and security apparatuses to support a political and security alignment in respect of good governance, rule of law and human rights.

The DHPol (2021) considers police as a core actor of public security administration, which interacts closely with social development. It pursues hereby a twofold analysis, which should not be only central within academia but also in everyday practices of the managing

and executing security agents. First, "*Police research* focuses on the study and analysis of agencies mostly identifiable worldwide with terms such as *police force* or *police service*" to determine the corresponding agents also in terms of the provided equipment and training assistances by the BKA and the BPol with an increasing tendency for including also civilian and other human-centred actors (Calcara 2019, 101 emphases in original). Second, "*Policing research* instead focuses on the study and analysis of activities that are traditionally associated with social order and control, regardless the actors involved" for uncovering underlying deficits and possible solutions for the intended support (ibid.). Through a broad take which strengthens security agents to provide not only the practical tools but also the necessary background knowledge in democracy, sustainability and accountability it is aimed to counteract power monopoly, abuse of power and extra-legal actions. The Federal Government notes that it "stands to benefit from the advice received from academia and research, to improve its base of knowledge for impactful involvement in crisis prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding" (AA 2017, 138).

Despite its equivocalness across countries and actors, SSR as an UN-based principle tackles the legal apparatus of countries, like the criminal justice system, power share and civil society oversight mechanisms, as well as the non-legal circumstances. The latter is also referred to as "the *law in context*, sometimes referred to as the *socio-legal approach* [...] [which] views the problems in society, and not the law itself, as the ideal starting point for research" to support the desired social, political and security developmental outcome (Calcara 2019, 6 emphases in original). The latter does not understand the law as an independent body but emphasises the importance of including influencing factors like politics, social structure, education, economy, (un)employment or level of development into the considerations of possible assistance and focus to achieve utmost effects. Also, the Federal Government notes that "the sustainable development of an effective security sector based on the rule of law, transparency and compliance with human rights depends on the general development of the state, administration, judiciary, democratic structures, civil society, infrastructure, education and employment" (AA 2019b, 8). It clarifies that "Germany's approaches are generally based on OECD DAC standards and directives, which take into account the complexity and volatility of crisis and conflict situations" (AA 2017, 141). By not solely pushing for judicial, executive and legislative amendments, but aiming for a comprehensive approach including the focus on the social appraisal and how to influence it, for instance, the intended changes in the target community can be more holistically achieved and ultimately the political and security system more sustainably reformed. Through "linking short- and long-term

approaches, strengthening cross-sectoral action and aligning ourselves [the Federal Government and its actors] with internationally coordinated political strategies" shall this be achieved (ibid., 66).

The study and evaluation of different justice and security approaches and social and economic circumstances abroad as well as nationally by the BKA, the BPol and the DHPol is beneficial to determine how to tackle certain issues through targeted training and equipment assistance and to provide the government recommendations for further practical measures, laws and possible shifts of narratives and actions (BKA 2021). Especially from an EU perspective, the diverse systems inhabit a necessity for closer cooperation and simultaneous alignment, to ensure higher interoperability and transparency to eventually increase the security of the EU Member States, the EU accession candidates and other neighbouring countries. An example of extending security considerations across the own territory is the IBM. It is designed to secure EU's external borders and neighbouring countries and to address "migratory challenges, [...] serious crime with a cross-border dimension (such as migrant smuggling, trafficking in human beings and terrorism) and ensuring a high level of internal security within the EU, while at the same time acting in full respect for fundamental rights and in a manner that safeguards the free movement of persons within the EU" (European Commission 2020).

By supporting fair and closely cooperative police forces, prosecution services and other security-related agents, as well as a legitimate state monopoly on the use of force in respect of a threefold governmental system consisting of a power share between executive, legislative and judicial authorities the threat level within Germany as well as in the countries enjoying Germany's support, shall be maintained as low as possible and ensure security and freedom to everyone (AA 2019b, 14). Acknowledging that the own country can only achieve the highest form of security by ensuring the same in its neighbouring and other crucial countries, the efforts abroad shall oppose cross-border organised crime like smuggling and trafficking, terrorism, violence and injustice and hence reduce the causes and means for displacement (AA 2017, 49, 2019b, 12f.). In today's globalised world it is crucial to acknowledge the interconnectedness of societies, their politics and security and thus to ensure also order and security at the verge of the border-free zone of the Schengen area and in third countries to stabilise eventually the own, national security. Also, the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which does not just apply to the own national state but also "to support weak states in the protection of their own populations [...] [or which are] unable

or unwilling to protect its own population", plays a crucial role in the Federal Government's approach (AA 2017, 51).

The Federal Government determines five fields of action to prevent crises, resolve conflicts and build peace, which have been previously discussed and shall be finally briefly summarised. First, legitimate politics rely heavily on good governance as a central element for "strengthening the legitimacy of the political system in the partner country while establishing mechanisms of non-violent conflict resolution" with strong civil societies and citizen-oriented institutions (ibid., 77f.). Second, security, in particular human security, draws upon a "legitimate governmental monopoly on the use of force" and a "politically legitimised and accountable security sector which meets professional standards", which in turn supports and get established through a profound SSR approach (ibid., 83f.). Third, rule of law is foremost concerned with "independence and integrity of the judiciary, to ensure peaceful and rules-based social coexistence, and to protect the individual and his or her human dignity from arbitrary government action" through establishing respective structures and institutions and promoting human rights, rule of law and "equal participation of all groups in society" (ibid., 93ff.). Forth, "economy, social cohesion and vital natural resources" as addressing an "unequal distribution of resources and unequal access to basic services (such as education, water, food, healthcare, energy)" is fundamental for sustainable and peaceful development (ibid., 96f.). Fifth, "government revenue and public services", which "is concerned with strengthening governmental administrative capacities, generating and appropriately utilising public funds, as well as government transparency and accountability" and fighting corruption and nepotism (ibid., 104f.). SSR is an instrument of the security field, but conversely contributes and benefits from the other fields of action, all in all, it is a self-reinforcing cycle.

The present discussion provided an overview of Germany's SSR as a guiding principle in regard to international interests and cooperation in terms of security and development. However, it is important to bear in mind that specific national and regional conditions in the respective country or area influence and determine the consequential response to issues, deficits, goals as well as the acceptance and success of the offered and pursued measures. Thus, a system, which is functioning successfully in a Western European country cannot be simply emplaced into a post-conflict or developing country like in the MENA region, therefore have been inter alia discussed the various contexts in which SSR can take place showing limitations and opportunities.

The foregoing chapter presented an overview of the German definition of SSR and how it corresponds with the two federal-level police forces the BKA and the BPol as well with the DHPol as the only German higher education institution for police officers. The focal point of SSR is to be comprehensive. This shall be achieved through an interministerial approach, hence by combining different actors and sectors with their corresponding expertise and competencies.

The following chapter starts by giving a basic overview of the local conditions in Tunisia, its recent history and status quo as well as provides a general understanding about the main cross-border phenomena in Tunisia: migration and terrorism. Thereafter follow analyses regarding the development assistance to Tunisia in the aftermath of the so-called Jasmine Revolution in 2011 and the terroristic attacks in 2015, as well as the assistance regarding the development of the police institution and the beneficiary internal security forces. An analysis of the focal points cross-border phenomena, capacity-building and local ownership follows as well in this in case study about Germany's cooperation with Tunisia in the light of police forces. In the last sub-chapter will be analysed the police assistance measures in 2019 and 2020, to present the practice on the ground of the BKA and the BPol.

3 Germany's cooperation with Tunisia in the context of

police forces

This chapter analyses and discusses internal and external police approaches to shape Tunisia's path in regards to security and development, relying on extensive literature and case studies about the country's turn towards democracy in 2011. As pointed out in the introduction, the emphasis of the subjected German police support is placed especially on the years 2019 and 2020 comprised of project data of the BKA and the BPol and supplemented by the thoughts of the interviewees, trying to determine the focus and motives of the publically accessible information. The chapter starts by presenting Tunisia's development, followed by an analysis of the rhetoric and intention regarding central police themes in Tunisia, such as supporting the establishment of institutional structures and responding to cross-border phenomena including the foremost concern of terrorism and radicalisation – these are as well central aspects regarding a sustainable and peaceful development.

3.1 Tunisia's development since the 2011 uprising and the terrorist

attacks in 2015

This part shall give a brief contextual overview of Tunisia's status quo and recent internal developments and support by Germany, introducing the local context and the main themes of police support in Tunisia: enhancing the police institution and addressing borders and terrorism. It is important to determine the local context and the interests of the local actors, rather than implying measures that might be contrary to local perceptions and needs, which is why this sub-chapter is relevant and gives a brief insight into Tunisia's society and security politics.

Tunisia's population is relatively heterogeneous and is characterised by a comparably high literacy for Africa. A clear majority is made of Arabs while almost a third of the population belongs to the ethnicity of Bedouins, Sunni Islam is the prevailing religious affiliation (Talbi 2021). While in contrast to many other Arab countries "Tunisia is one of the stronger states in the Southern Mediterranean: security provision is handled by statutory powers, and the country does not accommodate the militias that have become widespread in

the Middle East. Furthermore, Tunisia does not have the same degree of ethnic and religious cleavages as its eastern Arab neighbors" (Fakoussa and Kabis-Kechrid 2020, 9). The Maghreb region, which incorporates Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia, is, besides the Western Balkan route, a preferred departure point for refugees and migrants towards the Mediterranean route to seek refuge in the EU. Whereas North Africa with the primary countries Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as a transit area is characterised by the largest number of migrants moving within and outside Africa (IOM 2019, 58, 66). Known "as a key hub of transit activity for migrants" the foremost irregular maritime migration faced a recent shift from the Central Mediterranean to the Western Mediterranean route with Morocco and Tunisia as the main departure countries due to "closer cooperation between the European Union (EU) and countries of origin and transit, counter smuggling efforts, as well as increased maritime security patrols off the Libyan coast" (ibid., 67). Libya developed to be a major smuggling hub, facing serious human rights violations, where migration and smuggling are often linked to trafficking, exploitation and weak institutions. Tunisia had issued in response a securitised area along the border to Libya, where inter alia many smugglers, traffickers, irregular migrants as well as militias and terrorists try to pass (AA 2021b). Germany's popularity as a destination country, after the USA on rank 2 as the top destination for international migration, and Tunisia being after Syria on rank 2 of "the main countries of origin of people who have been detected making an irregular border crossing" as well as the rising terrorist threat in the region have increased the efforts and interests of Germany and other European and non-European countries and actors to act in situ rather than wait that these issue arrive at their borders (IOM 2019, 26; Tarchi et al. 2020, 467). The favourable developments since the Jasmine Revolution in terms of democracy, good governance and rule of law contribute to the increased foreign assistance in Tunisia's security sector.

Tunisia is the smallest country of the Maghreb region, a former French colony, which gained its independence in 1956, however, has been ruled since then under two autocrats Habib Bourgiba and Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. In December 2010 a 26-year-old man whose vegetable cart and hence his only means to sustain his family got confiscated by the police set himself on fire (Hanlon 2012, 1). This ignited nationwide demonstrations and upheavals to fight the ongoing poverty and economic weakness, corruption and political repression with repeated reports about human rights violations by military and security forces, resulting in the Jasmine Revolution and marking the fall of the former regime and the beginning of a general democratising process of the Tunisian state and security (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2021).

This revolution has been itself an igniting spark for the so-called Arab Spring in the MENA region, but is "widely considered to be the only one of these uprisings to have succeeded in replacing an autocratic government with a stable democratic government" (Talbi 2021). Especially in the first years after Ben Ali's fall "the country's political uncertainty, generated by the still incomplete constitution-writing process, the sporadic incidents of ideologically driven violence, and the sense of compromised security owing to the failure of security sector reform" did seriously challenge the democracy process as this political and security limbo did not support to "reinvigorate investment levels, both foreign and domestic, in the Tunisian economy" (Bellin 2013, 6). A serious challenge constituted the successful reformation of the internal security sector of the former police state, as "the police not only served as the Tunisian autocrat's main source of power, but also as his principal instrument for repressing internal dissent" (Lutterbeck 2013, 1). In October 2011 got passed an interim constitution with Moncef Marzouki, a human rights activist, as the interim president In 2014 was ultimately adopted the new legislation with a directly elected president and parliament, turning Tunisia into a secularised country with Islam as the state religion. The liberal constitution grants "freedom of expression and the right to form political parties and associations [...] [and] freedom of religious belief" (Talbi 2021). Tunisia resulted to have the first and namely the most democratic system including power share in the MENA region, a hitherto single achievement in the Arab world. In October 2019 took place the first peaceful transfer of power to the democratically elected government with Kais Saied, an independent Tunisian politician, as the President of Tunisia, after Ben Ali ruled for over 24 years (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2021).

However, the young democracy is ruled since the terrorist attacks in 2015 at a museum in Bardo and a tourist resort in Sousse under a constantly prolonged state of emergency that overrides the recent democratic achievements and "grants exceptional powers to the country's security forces. It allows measures to 'ensure the control of the press' and for strikes and meetings that 'create disorder' to be banned", additionally it shall limit, with help of the introduced night-time curfew, the spread of the pandemic (Al Jazeera 2020). High unemployment, continuous low economic growth, austerity measures like raised taxes and prices for basic goods, as well as the increased pressure and repression due to the Covid-19 restrictions, caused hitherto regularly demonstrations and clashes between the population and the police (Talbi 2021). As Amnesty International (2021) reported, human rights violations have little to no consequence for the security forces. Three days after the terrorist attack in Sousse 2015 officials of France, Germany and the United Kingdom visited Tunisia to pledge

enhanced support, as "domestic pressures for efficiency in the security sector became more vocal since late 2013, and received a boost by European countries after the Bardo and especially Sousse attacks in 2015" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 234f.). While France took the lead in enhancing airports and ports and assisting families who "have been somehow affected by jihadist propaganda", the United Kingdom in "protect[ing] tourist locations" (ibid., 235f.; Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 4).

The German support was initiated in 2015 "with the aim to support the democratic transformation of the security sector that was shaped by the former autocratic government. The development of a politically legitimised, accountable and professional security sector is promoted through a broad approach based on civilian, military and police measures" (Bundestag 2018a, 4). Germany, in particular the BPol, took the lead regarding borders "to provide direct assistance, especially along the eastern border with Libya, to the Tunisian border police (posted at the checkpoints) and the National Guard, (patrolling along the border)" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 235f.). They have trained "between mid-2015 and June 2017 [...] 500 officers, 80 per cent of them in the National Guard and the remaining 20 per cent in the border police" (ibid.). This "transformation partnership to support the democratisation process" focuses on "democratisation, rule of law, decentralisation and vocational training" as well as in the years 2014 and 2019 a particular focus on supporting the democratic elections at that time (Bundestag 2014, 1, 3). The German training and equipment assistance aims to "professionalise the police work itself, promote the development of rule of law structures and procedures among the security authorities [...] [and] support the Tunisian authorities in creating a democratic framework and respect for human rights" (Bundestag 2015, 5). Since the Jasmine Revolution the German assistance "has more than doubled [...], making Germany Tunisia's main bilateral donor" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 8). However, the assistance from the BKA dates back to the 1980s, when "the police and the Ministry of the Interior were central institutions of repression during the dictatorship" (Bundestag 2018a, 1).

The Federal Government pursues an interministerial approach, id est a close collaboration between Germany's different ministries and public and private actors. It has defined five core objectives for its partnership with actors in Africa to ensure a comprehensive approach: "1. Promoting peace, security and stability; 2. Sustainable economic development, growth, prosperity and employment for all – investing in prospects for Africa's young people and women; 3. Managing and shaping migration, tackling the causes of refugee movements, supporting refugees; 4. Strengthening the rules-based global order together with Africa; 5. Deepening our civil society partnerships" (AA 2019a, 5). Thus,

"some concentrate primarily on equipping and training the security forces, such as measures to better control the border. Other measures have the aim of improving facilities and equipment as well as strengthening civil society control", close collaboration between Germany's actors is considered to be the key to success (Bundestag 2017a, 8). These efforts are implemented into bi- and multilateral cooperation, as "threats to peace and security and global challenges such as poverty, hunger, terrorism, organised crime and climate change can only be resolved in close cooperation with our African partners", as such in regards to Tunisia the African Union (AU) plays a crucial role (AA 2019a, 23). Germany is inter alia supporting the AU since 2009 in The African Peace and Security Architecture "in the areas of protection of civilians, gender-specific violence with the participation of all three dimensions of the African Standby Forces ASF (civil, police, military) in the context of workshops, trainings, meetings and publications" as well as in other security projects supporting "human rights and rule of law [and] exchange among the participating employees of security forces and peace missions" (Bundestag 2017a, 7). An aligned bi- and multilateral coordinated approach between Germany, the EU and other EU Member States is regarded as "support[ing] partners so that they can engage in their own crisis prevention, stabilisation and peacebuilding over an entire crisis cycle", ensuring that all efforts respect and contribute towards "the principles of the rule of law as well as the observance of human rights" (ibid., 9). Thorough and continuous evaluation of the conditions and results of measures with close interaction with the Tunisian partners to "address needs and close concrete capability gaps" is as important as high cooperativeness and transparency between the different actors in situ is, "allowing a better common understanding of the respective priorities as well as an easier identification of common objectives and appropriate linkages between the local activities of EU actors and Member States" (ibid., 11, 13).

As discussed in the previous chapters, security and development are closely interlinked and influence each other. In Tunisia's case "the deeper the socioeconomic crisis and the more insecure people feel in their everyday lives, the less they identify with democratisation" and upheavals and conflicts may arise overriding the current achievements (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 2). The economic discrepancies did not yet get solved, Germany is concentrating its economic efforts foremost into the financial and banking sector, modernising the administration, supporting sustainable water and energy resource management and decentralisation (KfW 2021). The unemployment rate is hitherto very high including the youth with almost 40%, and enforced by terror threats and effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and the consequential decline of the domestic and export economy the number

of people marked by poverty and vulnerability reaches nearly a quarter of the whole population (The World Bank 2020). The pandemic with its social, political and economic implications poses a serious threat to "exacerbate economic challenges and structural fragilities" (Tarchi et al. 2020). However, Tunisia is ethnically and religiously relatively homogeneous and, in comparison to other fragile states, bears "little risk of civil war leading to proliferation of weapons", which is why the "support for Tunisia has good prospects of success" (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 3). Germany "has supported the Tunisian transition with funds, expertise and diplomatic gestures as part of its transformation partnership", enhancing civil society oversight and participatory mechanisms and especially the development of positive experiences of the citizens with the reformed security apparatus to "support long-term democratisation and economic development by strengthening the security sector as well" (ibid.). "Civil oversight and democratic control of the security forces" in particular have to be further strengthened through "a cooperation with the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) [and] the cooperation with German political foundations" in range of Germany's SSR projects, although since the Jasmine Revolution the Tunisian civil society has immensely gained on participatory and influential power (Bundestag 2017a, 12, 2018a, 4). However, Germany's financial support for the DCAF, who remains to be the main actor in "addresses[ing] broader SSR issues, such as the democratic oversight of the security system and justice reform" forms "only an insignificant portion of Germany's security assistance" while the foremost support goes to training and equipment assistance for security actors (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 34). Therefore, this thesis aims to answer the question if the German police fulfils its goals of not providing only technical assistance, but as well strengthen rule of law, good governance and respect of human rights.

3.2 Institutional police developments

Since the so-called Jasmine Revolution and the rather favourable democratising turn Tunisia witnessed considerable political stabilisation. Still, it is argued that "the post-2015 changes in the security governance and improvements in the security performance failed to be part and parcel of the democratization process, as they did not take the shape of comprehensive reforms of the security sector" with domestic and external efforts neglecting

the importance of supporting rule of law and good governance and rather prioritising operational and technical capacity of the security apparatus (Santini and Cimini 2019, 226; Stahl and Treffler 2019, 11). "Rather than addressing the overly state-centric focus of security and shift it towards a human-citizen security approach", the enhancement of police technical and operational capacities is prioritised "at the expense of democratic control, accountability, transparency and oversight" and "security forces remained insulated from the political establishment" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 228). However, "the key to long-term democratic consolidation lies in the creation of institutions that can ensure true political accountability as well as the rule of law", which comprise "a capable and accountable police apparatus, an autonomous and uncorrupted judiciary, an effective party system, and a free and vibrant press" (Bellin 2013, 7). The SSR targeted first the capacity of the police to ensure a strong institution to respond to possible upheavals during the steady and fragmented democratisation process, neglecting the importance of a comprehensive SSR approach. In this transformation process towards democracy, Tunisia asked for support and assistance to build up competencies and capacities in its security sector (BPol officials, April 2021). In response the Federal Government sent the BKA and the BPol to assist with the SSR process. As the beneficiary partner authorities were anticipating and hence actively involved in the reform process, the planned and implemented measures of the German police were more promising to succeed. The German security actors evaluate the outcomes of the Arab Spring in Tunisia as having created interest and favourable conditions in the post-conflict period to construct rule of law for an increased cooperation and sustainability (ibid.).

The structural establishment and technical assistance to the security apparatus, also and especially through foreign assistance, was favoured in the early post-revolutionary period to respond to possible threats and political assassinations as they happened in 2013. Especially in the transition period it lacked substantial and especially strictly carried out reforms addressing the police's institutional culture "to develop a police force that is service-oriented, rule-governed, accountable, and effective" (Bellin 2013, 7). One of the first SSR measures at that time was the BKA "offering workshops on 'crime scene work', 'drug crime', internet evaluation and personal protection" as well as "training of detection dogs in the field of explosives and delivery of 2,700 protective vests for the police and the National Guard" (Bundestag 2014, 1, 4). The BPol offered training "in the field of airports", "coast guards, maritime security and sea rescue as well as border control, document and certificate security" (ibid.). The BKA has since offered several training to enhance the Tunisian capacities in open-source evaluations in the field of terrorism and combating cybercrime, providing "basic

possibilities and methods of internet research as well as handling of openly accessible software and internet services" and "introduction into principles of telecommunications surveillance and investigations [...] with special consideration of the German legal framework" and included into the teaching "respect for human rights, rule of law and full judicial reviewability of any police action" (Bundestag 2014, 1, 6, 9, 2018b, 7, 2020d, 5). These training were in particular criticised for providing means to persecute not only terrorist and extremists as intended, but also journalists, political opponents and LGBT persons, which are considered by the Federal Government to be safe as "the Tunisian Constitution of 26 January 2014 contains extensive guarantees of fundamental civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Tunisia has adopted most of the UN conventions on the protection of human rights, including the relevant additional protocols" (Bundestag 2014, 6, 2018a, 7, 2020d, 10). Both, the BKA and the BPol, provided little on a strategic level to achieve a comprehensive development, rather the practical capacities of the Tunisian counterparts got enhanced. This vastly one-sided attention neglecting the role of the external police assistance is especially critical considering that "police reform is an important point of entry for security sector reform. It is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a democratically accountable security sector. In that respect, the police can be a liability and obstacle to efforts to create a civil society and good governance" (Dandurand et al. 2004, 128). Since the constitution of the secularised Tunisian Republic got passed in 2014, the institutional context of the state and security apparatus got more defined, democratised and piecemeal increasingly efficient, due to the newly passed presidential "provisions and [...] the availability of external donors to rapidly oversee a series of measures significantly improv[ed] bureaucratic coordination and overall efficiency" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 237).

Germany's entry point of supporting Tunisia's SSR was addressing cross-border phenomena such as terrorism and migration. "Framing democracy assistance as a mean to mitigate migration" and the interest in stabilising the region, the police ultimately play a crucial role in creating a structure of "more liberty, [and] less fear of the police" and addressing the consequences of growing frustration of the youth regarding unemployment (Holthaus 2019, 1222f.). However, the BPol officials (April 2021) point out, that it is not intended to impose the German democratic system upon other countries with the SSR measures, rather shall be transferred fundamental principles of democracy, rule of law, good governance, human rights etc.", which according to the BKA official (April 2021) are explicitly "transported by German police officers whose education and training in Germany is built upon this, police assistance is hence per se supporting human rights and rule of law." It

is not intended to transform Tunisia's semi-presidential system into a parliamentary democracy as Germany has it, rather the BKA and the BPol intend to strengthen democratic aspects and the overall democratising process since the Jasmine Revolution through their SSR measures.

3.3 The beneficiary internal security forces

Tunisia's internal security forces are subjected to the Ministry of the Interior and "include the police, the National Guard, the Judicial Police (which operates in the Ministry of Justice and the courts, but is controlled by the Ministry of the Interior), the Intervention Forces (Special Weapons and Tactics [SWAT] forces), and the Presidential Guard Forces" (Hanlon 2012, 12). However, the two main internal forces benefitting from the German SSR assistance are the National Guard and the National Police. The National Police operates primarily in the urban areas, secures airports and border crossings, while the sizeable smaller National Guard is "a paramilitary organization or a gendarmerie [...] [and] operates in the coastal and rural areas where the revolution began" (ibid., 14). Not does only the German police affect Tunisia's development, also these two Tunisian police forces affect the internal development substantially, which are supported by the training and equipment assistance of the BKA and the BPol. Ultimately, the beneficiary Tunisian police forces are the local face of the training and equipment support of the BKA and BPol and thus impact the influence of the German police assistance on the ground by executing upon those measures.

The National Guard "takes the lead in defending domestic stability", responsible for border protection, cross-border phenomena such as smuggling and trafficking, counter-terrorism measures and internal security threats (Fakoussa and Kabis-Kechrid 2020, 10). The National Guard and the "armed forces are well-regarded by the population at large, thanks to their neutrality during and after the revolution" (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 2). Due to Ben Ali's paramount focus on the police, it has been capacity-wise severely limited, so that Tunisia's border management needs particular assistance "in the form of equipment, knowledge transfer, training, and additional economic measures to increase local acceptance" (ibid., 4). It is necessary to set up and maintain integrated border management facilitating a "comprehensive and precise coverage of all border areas" and enhanced cooperation and information exchange between Tunisia and its donor countries (ibid.). Serious threats

emanated from "the weakness of the border authorities in confronting the growing phenomenon of smuggling", irregular migration, organised crime, terrorism and return of radicalised combatants, which jeopardise a peaceful and secure development of the country and push for strengthening the capacities rather than overthrowing old-established structures (Hinds 2014, 11f.; Mahfoudh 2014, 9).

While in contrast the National Police due to its reputation and history in Ben Ali's authoritarian regime, even a decade after the fall of the police state, still needs to recuperate the trust into their accountability and is hampering the democratic developments with incumbent police officers of the old regime. Several human rights organisations reported "use of disproportionate force in dispersing demonstrations, arbitrary arrests, and the harassment of journalists and political activists" (Lutterbeck 2013, 3). Due to their role in the former police state and their continuous strong institutional capacity the police poses serious threats to Tunisia's sustainable security development (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 2f.). To transform this "instrument of repression into a 'republican' force that would serve the interests of the nation and its citizens rather than the regime in power" the police assistance has to support to "establish a clearer legal framework for practically all areas of police work and organisation, as well as to abolish or amend the repressive laws of the former regime", to ensure "greater transparency and accountability of the police force" and to reform the "'police culture', which should be transformed from a culture of repression and abuse with impunity to a culture of respect for the rule of law and human rights" (Lutterbeck 2013, 2). However, "the culture of police impunity revived in the context of the growing counterterrorism campaign in which the government has resorted to outdated legislation to justify authoritarian measures" resulting in more reports of degrading treatment in detention and excessive use of force (Lavut 2016, 102; Sayigh 2015, 24). Additionally, "the high cost of reform and limited technical and practical capacity in achieving all the desired change" hinders a steady and sustainable implementation of principles such as rule of law, accountability and transparency, hence proving the link between economic and security development and the need for incorporating ODA and SSR support (Mahfoudh 2014, 11). Since Ben Ali's regime the police capacity is incomparably high, consisting of "solid police infrastructure (e.g., police stations, communications equipment, vehicles, and uniforms)", standardised training and highly educated police officers (Hanlon 2012, 16). However, if the police infrastructure, which is a heritage of an autocratic regime remains to be unaccountable and unreformed, it will counteract a sustainable development of politics, economy and security. Thus, it has to be addressed in internal reforms and external measures "to create a

new police service that conducts humane, accountable, responsive, and capable policing" including "fundamental reorientation in how the ministry and its forces engage with citizens and with the democratically elected executive authorities and parliament" (ibid., 16, 41). This emphasises as well the link between SSR and transitional justice, addressing the history and heritage of the police and acknowledging the importance to deal with the reputation and the so-called image problem of the security sector.

Since the 1990s the Tunisian security apparatus had deployed "community policing without proper oversight, decentralization and participation mechanisms, thereby amounting to little more than a hyper-localized form of surveillance" focusing "primarily on surveillance and intelligence gathering" (Kartas 2014, 386; Santini and Cimini 2019, 225). Since the revolution this re-assessed approach has to improve the interaction and the perception of the law enforcement supported by Germany in range of its measures regarding "capacity building (human and institutional)" and "border management and security" (Holthaus 2019, 1218; Kartas 2014, 378). The programmes for the National Guard and the police "are tailored to the unique needs of each locality, as different types of partnerships are leveraged" including decentralisation, departure from state-centric policing and embracing the benefits of human-centred security, always considering the local context and needs of each actor, which is why the above analysis of the beneficiary internal security actors is important (Lavut 2016, 115f.). However, instead of equipping and strengthening the quite unchanged security agents to exercise order and security through the assistance of the BKA and the BPol, first have to be addressed "fundamental questions: security for whom, from what and by what means?" to ensure that these newly won capacities are used as intended from the German police actors (Kartas 2014, 386).

Launching in 2017 the training and equipment assistance as an official measure to strengthen police forces comprehensively the overall focus laid on "training measures in the areas of criminal investigation (especially crime scene work) and border protection (especially document offences) as well as equipment measures" (Bundestag 2017a, 2). However, the Federal Government points out that "human rights and the rule of law are always part of the training measures in the field" as well as "equal participation of women and men and consideration of the special concerns of women and girls" (ibid., 5, 13). Despite the notion of gender-sensitiveness, a limited number of women can are part of the Tunisian security institutions. Neither "human rights in relation to sexual orientation do not play a role in German police training in Tunisia. There is instead an assumption that respect of LGBTQ human rights will be transferred osmotically [...] [and] equal treatment of all people is at the

basis of German police work and is therefore always transmitted through trainings" (Walsh and Treffler 2019). However especially the safeguard of LGBT rights in Tunisia is rather threatened than protected by the police. The BKA official (April 2021) emphasises, that these basic principles of police work are a substantial part of the training and equipment assistance, ensuring that through the practical teaching of them the benefiting police personnel recognises the applicability of them. The BKA, the BPol and the UN Police (2015, 16) "address standards as well as their concrete and operational application in functions such as investigations, arrest, detention and the use of force" and include hence the practical applicability of human rights, gender and anti-corruption into training. The German police measures have "the aim of strengthening and professionalising the security forces of partner states and regional organisations, improving their equipment and strengthening democratic and rule-of-law control over the security forces" (Bundestag 2017a, 2).

The review about the human rights situation in Tunisia by the OHCHR (2020) concludes that processes regarding transitional justice and gender equality have contributed to "the new political system and the efforts to build a modern society in Tunisia in the wake of the 2011 democratic revolution", however, the UN organisation "raised concerns about the prolonged state of emergency, denial of fundamental legal safeguards in the context of counter-terrorism and impunity for torture and past human rights violations". Several sources, inter alia Amnesty International (2021), claim that "after the revolution the Tunisian security forces continue to violate human rights and abuse their power" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 35). The state of emergency "restrict[s] certain rights such as the freedom of expression, association, movement and liberty" adding to the reports about ongoing excessive use of force in current protests against the pandemic restrictions and police repressions, all these incidents ultimately raise the impression that the enhanced Tunisian police capacities, which are supported by the German police, foster a police culture of disregarding rule of law rather than respecting it (OHCHR 2020; ibid., 22).

3.4 Cross-border phenomena

Since the assassination of two prominent politicians in 2013 and in particular the terrorist attacks in 2015 "public opinion shifted the focus away from greater transparency and respect for the rule of law on to the need for greater effectiveness in the performance of the

security forces" to increase the police's operational capacity especially in regards to borders (Santini and Cimini 2019, 225; Sayigh 2015, 23). The interest to reform the face of the most representative security actor decreased and the politics "became more supportive of assertive security policies" (Sayigh 2015, 23). Supportive to counter-terrorism but counteractive to sustainable and peaceful development is "the vague definition of terrorism, [that can be] possibly applied to non-terrorist political activity" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 12). As previously discussed this difference between the Tunisian and the German legal framework has not been enough considered or has been willingly ignored by the BKA, when offering its training and equipment assistance to the Tunisian police to enhance the persecution capacities on the internet, to an actor, which uses these capacities not only to persecute terrorists and extremists, but also the LGBT community and political opponents. The German police assistance is undermining a sustainable development by providing means to a security actor that is repeatedly reported for human rights violations. In general, can be observed that "the international SSR efforts 'are rooted primarily in programmes on training and equipping Tunisia's security forces and antiterrorism units'" rather than first establishing basic principles and their accomplishment (Bouguerra as quoted in ibid., 22).

The Federal Government emphasises that despite the successful elections and handover of power to the new government "the stability of Tunisia [...] is potentially threatened by economic stagnation and violent Islamist radicalism in the own country and the region" (Bundestag 2015, 2). The transformation process created favourable conditions for sustainability of the SSR measures, however the rising terrorist danger emanating from the MENA region led to an increased external support for Tunisia's development to create a stable security partner for Germany, as ultimately an enhanced exercise of functions and duties of foreign counterparts contributes as well to Germany's domestic security (BPol officials, April 2021). Therefore the BPol is a central actor in supporting Tunisia's security sector by focusing the assistance on border management to contain threats. The Tunisian security paradigm shifted from political repression and violence to counter-terrorism measures as "the new mantra around which security forces coalesced in unanimously pushing for improved security management at the expense of reform and accountability" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 332f.; Stahl and Treffler 2019, 21). The paramount objective regarding "the rise of terrorism in Tunisia and the international counter-terrorist agenda have obstructed a broader reform of the security sector" by extending the counter-terrorism competencies of the local security actors and neglecting other aspects such as commensurability and accountability (ibid.) The terrorist incidents demonstrated the lack of capacity to respond to

substantial threats and increased the national and international pressure for enhancing operational skills and tools to stabilise the country. As a young and fragile democracy facing not only internal but also external threats, Tunisia needed to enforce its efforts especially "along the 459 km border with Libya, [as] the conflicts in that country adversely affect the security situation in Tunisia. Organised crime and (arms) smuggling flourish", many radicalised foreign fighters crossed the border to Libya travelling to Syria and Iraq or returning to Tunisia posing a domestic risk (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 2). Tunisia gets supported by the German police for three main reasons, first due to its promising democratising path and the hopeful spark for the whole region in the wake of the Arab Spring, second due to its geopolitical and geostrategic location and its relatively unsecured borders to Algeria and Libya, which many foreign extremists and terrorist but also Tunisia's "disproportionately large number of IS volunteers" and irregular migrants cross and third due to Tunisia's geographic proximity to Europe (Bundestag 2014, 2f.). According to an evaluation of needs, the Federal Government perceives "a need for support for the Tunisian security authorities in their development of becoming rule-of-law obeying and professionally qualified authorities" and as being a European neighbour vetting the Tunisian law enforcement to respond to cross-border phenomena such as "international Islamist terrorism, vehicle crime and smuggling of migrants [and] improving the cooperation in the field of technical assistance in the event of catastrophes or serious disasters to strengthen the eventual help for self-help" (ibid., 4). Germany's SSR measures in range of border management are meant to be "a comprehensive and integrated approach that includes, among other things, the aspects of irregular migration, counter-terrorism, the fight against human smuggling, arms smuggling and trafficking" in order to prevent cross-border conflicts as well as to control migration (Bundestag 2017a, 12). As aforementioned Tunisia forms one of the largest migrant corridors and since the so-called refugee crisis in 2015 the EU Member States including Germany as a top destination for not only Tunisian refugees and migrants are increasingly pursuing a fortification of the external borders including third countries such as Tunisia. The Federal Government assumes with the training and equipment assistance a preventive as well as restrictive role to support the partner authorities to counteract criminal phenomena and irregular migration as well as curb the causes for flight and displacement (BPol officials, April 2021). The approaches of the German as well as other countries' police concentrate on "increased performance and efficiency of the Tunisian security forces [...], [although] good governance and human rights mainstreaming across all security-related legislation and practices – the backbone of SSR – have been slower in getting addressed, let

alone implemented" (Santini and Cimini 2019, 235). The rising radicalisation especially among the youth gets fuelled by socio-economic and political frustration of the civil society and "due to rising unemployment (particularly among university graduates), stark regional inequalities, and corruption" (Hinds 2014, 10). The response of the German police assistance has to include thus fighting corruption in police forces and public services, community-policing to facilitate constructive dialogues and interaction between locals and police and "active outreach to citizens and greater responsiveness to their security concerns" (Watanabe 2018, 3). For a sustainable development it is important that "counter-terrorism measures need to be in line with the rule of law and human rights, and underpinned by robust oversight mechanisms, to avoid excesses" – hence enhancement of the relationship and trust between the civil society and law enforcement authorities is crucial to prevent radicalisation and to maintain sustainable peace and order (ibid.). Multilateral cooperation across actors and sectors in these regards allows is also highlighted as crucial to ensure a national and international holistic and coordinated common approach (BPol officials, April 2021).

3.5 Police capacity-building and local ownership

The bi- and multilateral SSR programmes of the Federal Government have "the general aim of enabling partner countries and regional organisations to better manage internal and regional conflicts independently" (Bundestag 2017a, 3). In regards to Tunisia, "Germany is engaged in helping the [African] continent strengthen its own capacities and assume greater responsibility for preventing and resolving crises and conflicts on its own. Promoting stability and prosperity in our neighbouring continent is an investment in the future and is in Europe's own best interest" (AA 2017, 28). Local ownership highlights the need for direct participation of the target population and the importance of sovereign national and local actors providing the appropriate management and being supported in the decision-making, which in turn is supported but not imposed by foreign donors, "without ensuring substantive and inclusive local ownership of SSR programmes, security and justice sector institutions will not be accountable or responsive to the needs of the people and will, therefore, lack public trust and confidence", thus imposing measures and approaches contrary to the local demands and context eventually counteracts a sustainable development (Gordon 2014, 127).

The BKA and the BPol interpret the task of "increasing the capabilities and professionalism of the security forces" as enhancing the capacities through training and equipping security actors where police assistance is an "instrument [which] therefore contributes to the development, strengthening and reform of the security sector, to enabl[e] our partners to better fend for their own stability and hence regional stability, and to strengthen their resilience" (AA 2017, 88). The DHPol officials (April 2021) note: "The experience has proved, that external, European or German ideas do not work without local ownership and willingness of the partner institution", as such it has to be guaranteed at all levels that the Tunisian authorities remain "sovereign in their own country" and that all processes are "negotiated with the local owner". This underlines the need for a broad political embedding, because ultimately "the success or failure depends on the trust-building for an open and honest reflection on needs and what is perceived to be realisable" by local security actors and donor countries, hence cooperation that is "anticipated and throughout the process supported by political dialogues" (BKA official, April 2021). A close collaboration and consultation with the local security actors is paramount to assure appropriateness and acceptance of the externally imposed measures. The reform process shall be always in the hands of the beneficiary authorities to initiate the cooperation and to inform the German police about the needs, so that the BKA and the BPol can plan and implement respective measures (BPol officials, April 2021). The cooperation between the BKA, the BPol and the Tunisian counterparts is appraised as particularly positive and constructive (ibid.). The BKA and the BPol inhabit "roles as outside experts" acknowledging that "those directly affected by policy reform" should oversight the process and build up their competencies with external support (AA 2019b, 9; Harris 2010, 96). Hence "where the focus is on police reform, the local owners are individual citizens together with local government institutions and the police themselves" (Bendix and Stanley 2008, 100). In Tunisia's post-authoritarian context the German police is "promoting a people-centred, bottom-up approach to SSR can, [which] in fact, help to address concentrations of power which feed corruption, organized crime and insecurity" through democratic and community policing (Gordon 2014, 142). In its training and equipment assistance is always implemented the fundamental understanding of commensurability of, for instance, the legitimate monopoly on the use of force and the respect of rule of law and human rights to ultimately improve the relationship between the state and its population (BPol officials, April 2021). Providing human security and not differentiating and classifying between persons due to their migratory background, sex or gender is part of each assistance abroad (ibid.). However, as not explicitly addressing these

topics to change the perception of the local security actors this aspect is facing serious discrepancies, as previously discussed However, improving the interaction between the security apparatus and the public remains to be a central interest of the Tunisian law enforcement, while in particular the National Guard receives very positive appraisal and acceptance and by the local population (ibid.).

It is significant that the external support is meant to be temporary, and the responsibility is in the hands of sovereign local actors. Otherwise, it can be discussed if colonial similar structures with the constant oversight and guidance of an alleged superior power are enforced and the intended local sovereign power de facto substituted is. The vague guidelines in supporting SSR is perceived as a window of freedom but bears risks as well. For instance, the self-governance of a state can be undermined by imposing political and social structures, which are contrary to local traditions and understandings, hence by following a "missionary tendency" and not "finding a balance between international best practices in this area and domestic political cultures of reforming states" by imposing measures that counteract a sustainable development (Bryden and Hänggi 2004, 15). Sustainability remains hereby the key concern. The ownership of the security sector for sustainable development during and after ODA and security assistance should always stay in legitimate national hands. As Ellerman (2004, 149) terms it, capacity-building should be eventually understood as "help for self-help" emphasising the central aspect that the recipient shall gain through externally provided material and training support the ability to eventually deal with the issue himself as the local owner of the processes. By facilitating a dialogue and putting the receiving partner into the driving seat "we [the Federal Government] want to do our part to strengthen the self-determined role played by our African partners and organisations in the world" (AA 2019a, 3). Capacity-building support for partners shall enable them to assume eventually local ownership, so that after the withdrawal of foreign development support the security apparatus is substantially strengthened, rule of law and good governance are efficiently implemented and are part of the policing routine (BPol officials, May 2021).

3.6 Germany's police assistance in 2019 and 2020

The previous analysis analysed primary police aims in Tunisia. This sub-chapter shall however focus on the precise training and equipment assistance projects by the BKA and the BPol in the years 2019 and 2020, hence the practice of the German police rather than the rhetoric. Each quarter is issued a BT-Drs. with a list of training and equipment assistance of the BKA and the BPol inter alia, however, the information is limited to a title and in rare case other BT-Drs. Provide some details of the measures. Primarily the training assistance is carried out in the beneficiary country, in this case in Tunisia, only some measures take place in Germany.

The BKA has conducted in 2019 training in the area of "Automated Ballistic Identification System", which was followed up by a working visit in Germany, and "Bilateral course: crime scene work after explosives offences (advanced I)" followed by a "Working visit: Explosives Symposium" in Germany (Bundestag 2019a, 26, 2019b, 26, 2020c, 22). The third quarter of 2019 was primarily devoted to topics surrounding "Bilateral course: rule of law administrative action, search, advanced course" and "Operational training and self-protection", while the third training measure was, as already discussed in this paper, "Bilateral course: counter-terrorism, investigations in the Internet and social networks, advanced course" and "Bilateral course: Evaluation of electronic media" (Bundestag 2020b, 21, 2020c, 22). These training were supported by the provision of equipment to foster digital enhancement through "Information technology – evaluation technology and storage media" and twice "UFED Touch 2, UFED Ultimate, XRY Hardware, XRY Complete Office, portable hard drives" (Bundestag 2019a, 36, 2020b, 36, 2020c, 42). Other equipment assistance of the BKA included in the year 2019 tools concerning crime scene work: "Management and operational resources – crime scene bags", "Automated ballistic identification system – detergents" and twice "Accompanying equipment aid for the course crime scene work after demolition and fire offences (advanced)" (Bundestag 2019a, 36, 2020b, 36, 2020c, 42). The only SSR measure carried out by the BKA in 2020 was the delivery of "Equipment for accommodations" for the National Guard (Bundestag 2020a, 32). In 2020 the BKA did not provide any training assistance to Tunisia. Although, it has to be noted that the training and equipment assistance of the BKA and the BPol in the fourth quarter of 2020 and later has not yet been published when this paper was concluded, hence the discussion relies on data till the third quarter of 2020.

In March 2021 has been issued the first implementation report "review[ing] how the tools and processes of the Federal Government have been strengthened since the adoption of the guidelines in order to be able to respond even more effectively to crises – or, better still, to prevent them" (AA 2021a). The report notes the need to expand the instruments and priorities regarding "the link between the climate crisis and issues of peace, security and sustainable development"; strengthening the EU as a central player; "expand[ing] and refin[ing] its [the Federal Government's] early crisis detection instruments since 2017"; and addressing one of the primary challenges since 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic, which "has revealed the weaknesses of all societies when it comes to responding to pandemics. When strengthening healthcare systems, one priority in future will be to keep an eye on the links between health crises, state fragility and conflict tendencies" (AA 2021a). Since the Covid-19 pandemic and "the associated contact restrictions, it is currently not possible to foresee whether, when and in what form the BKA and the BPol will be able to cooperate with Tunisian authorities" (Bundestag 2020d, 5). Due to this the BKA and the BPol were "limited to provide primarily equipment assistance" rather than substantiate it with a broad training assistance as before (BPol & DHPol officials, April 2021). However, this limitation of possibilities does not shift the main focus of the German police assistance, the pandemic affects the political and security situation in Tunisia and does not allow to put some parts into practice, which have to be postponed (BPol officials, April 2021). Some of the countries receiving AAH-P assistance did receive "Covid-19 related support in form of soaps, hygiene articles or protective equipment", but as the BKA official (April 2021) notes Tunisia was not among those countries. However, in these regards "it is important to deal with this on a political level, governments should negotiate and regulate the need" and determine "whether, for instance, hospitals or security actors face a more pressuring need" for pandemic related assistance, hence the decision shall be based upon political dialogues (ibid.).

In contrast to the rather limited scope and measures of the BKA, the BPol has offered a total of 60 training measures to Tunisia throughout the years 2019 and 2020, although the Covid-19 pandemic has substantially reduced the provided training. In the following will be given an overview of the provided training assistance and as far as possible – due to the limited published information – linked to the provided equipment, trying to map the training and equipment assistance and present BPol's practical assistance. The "BPol's training assistance is designed according to the specific strategic and operational needs of the respective (border) police partner agencies in the area of knowledge transfer, so that individuality" and appropriateness of the measures are assured (Bundestag 2019c, 6). The

overall interests of the BPol in Tunisia lies on supporting sustainable SSR development including enhancement of administrative, strategic and operative capacities of the Tunisian counterparts in accordance with rule of law and human rights and aligning the Tunisian security apparatus with European and universal legal standards to consolidate national and regional peace (BPol officials, April 2021).

An important angle of training assistance falls into the range of the so-called train-the-trainer, developing qualified personnel on the ground to eventually substitute external training with a "future in-house training" ensuring ultimately ownership through training measures carried out by locals (Bundestag 2016, 14). Train-the-trainer comprises developing competencies of (future) trainers concerning a specific field or activity as well general competencies of "methodology and didactics" to provide a successful training and knowledge transfer (BKA official, April 2021). This approach "allows partners to develop and create their own training and determining their main topics upon which the capacities and competencies have to be built" in a sustainable manner increasing the sovereignty and independence of the locals, hence such training is often also referred to as "multiplier training" (DHPol official, May 2021). As such the BPol has provided "Advice in the field of strategic/organisational design of training and further education for maritime tasks" and "Qualification of first aid multipliers, mentoring in their internal training courses" in 2019 to the National Guard (Bundestag 2019a, 30, 2020c, 30). Other multiplier training in 2019 for the National Guard concerned inter alia "Driving safety training including mentoring driving safety multipliers", "Qualification as A-Trainer (officers)" and "Qualification of Tunisian B-trainers [and A-trainers] for the topic module border/threatening situations" (Bundestag 2019a, 30, 2019b, 30f.).

Other training focused on the development of skills how to use specific equipment, that is partly delivered by the BPol. In this range can be named in 2019 "UNIMOG [an all-terrain truck] driver training including mentoring driving safety multipliers", "Qualification of multipliers for Tarsius 18 [a night vision device]", "Qualification of multipliers on law enforcement equipment (light pole trailers, Powermoon, spike strip, search mirror)", "Tactical use of management and operational resources including performance show" and "Qualification of multipliers thermal imaging device" (Bundestag 2019b, 30f., 2020b, 25f.). Tactical equipment delivery included 2 light pole trailers, 8 Powermoon sets, 1409 flashlights, 1409 combat gloves, 12 rescue backpacks, 400 GPS devices, over 2000 "tactical vests", "ballistic protective vests" and "ballistic protective vests – side panels" for the National Guard throughout 2019 and 2020 (Bundestag 2020b, 37, 2020c, 45f.). The National

Guard received in 2019 as well training in "Recognition of and behaviour when unconventional explosive devices are found (IED [improvised explosive device])" (Bundestag 2020b, 26).

Some measures provided joint training for multipliers to establish know-how about the delivered equipment. By training multipliers, who are qualified to train by themselves the local personnel how to use provided tools, sustainability and local ownership are ensured. In this case the National Guard received several assistance to built up a qualified first aid response: "Mentoring multipliers first aid as well as upgrading ambulance and first aid room in Oued Zarga" combined with the "Handover of furnishings for 5 overnight buildings for the accommodation of trainers/participants of training of the National Guard school in Oued Zarga", followed up by several basic and advanced courses such as "tactical medicine" and "practice training and situation training" in 2019 (Bundestag 2019a, 30, 2019b, 30f., 37). In 2020 has been provided solely "Qualification of first aid multipliers, part 1 and 2" (Bundestag 2020a, 23). These measures were accompanied by the delivery of "1000 first aid kit man equipment" in 2019 and another "1000 first aid kits" in 2020 (Bundestag 2020c, 45, 2020f, 33). The setting up of new training rooms perhaps might have been accompanied by "20 kitchen/gas hobs for border guards of the National Guard" in 2019 and by "3 whiteboards, 3 flipcharts with accessories" in 2020, however, as there is not mentioned any specific location in the titles of the BT-Drs. these equipment assistances might have went also elsewhere in Tunisia (Bundestag 2020c, 45, 2020a, 33).

The emphasis on "development of border management measures and the training and equipment of their security forces" has to address cross-border phenomena such as smuggling, trafficking and irregular border-crossings of migrants, terrorists and extremists "jointly with countries of origin, host and transit countries" to curb migration and flight and reduce cross-border threats (Bundestag 2019c, 1). Concerning border management, the BPol has provided the above-mentioned multiplier training measures as well as in 2019 "Module border/threatening situations" and "Duties and Responsibilities of the Border Post Leader" for the National Guard, followed up in 2020 by "Final qualification multiplier training plus mentoring on the topic module border/threatening situations" (Bundestag 2019a, 29f., 2020b, 25f., 2020a, 23). While the police received training in border policing and document verification regarding "forgery of documents", "Qualification in the field of police identity verification – basic and advanced training course for the multipliers" and "Advanced course certificates multipliers", and in 2020 "Mentoring multipliers forgery of documents" in several locations at the sea and land borders (Bundestag 2019a, 29f., 2019b, 30f., 2020b, 25f., 2020c,

30, 2020e, 5). The border police received "10 training cases for certificate examination", "15 whiteboards with accessories", 50 ID card readers, 50 USB microscopes, 30 certificate verification devices, 2 document verification centres, 10 forensic magnifiers, 10 video magnifiers and in 2020 "Equipping/setting up two training rooms in the new general management of the border police" and "Equipment/furnishing of a conference room in the new general management of the border police" supporting the police with the fulfilment of their duties at the border (Bundestag 2020b, 37, 2020c, 45, 2020f, 33).

The assistance provided by the BPol to the maritime unit of the National Guard plays a central role in "strengthening the Tunisian coast guard's ability to stop departures of irregular migrants from its territory" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 37). This unit has received training concerning a workshop in Sfax, which is a harbour and industrial city located at the Mediterranean Sea: "Training for workshop tools", "Advice/training regarding the installation of workshop equipment in Sfax", "Workshop action planning/coordination 2020", followed up in 2020 by "Fact-finding for upgrading the workshop" (Bundestag 2020c, 30, 2020a, 23). This was accompanied by the delivery of not further disclosed equipment and tools such as "forklift accessories" and "a gantry crane" for the workshop, including "Tools for 5 workshop trolleys", "Equipment (pallets, assembly stands)", "Swimming pier" and in 2020 "A K7 pressure washer with accessories, including a 20m hose on a roll" (Bundestag 2019a, 37, 2020c, 45, 2020a, 33). The maritime National Guard received in 2019 as well training in enhancing its capacities regarding "Qualification of multipliers 'Police Maritime Boarding'" in basic and advanced training sessions, "Training for control boats" and "Mentoring pilot course for technician qualification", followed up in 2020 by "Evaluation of pilot course technology" and "Qualification of multipliers 'Police Maritime Training' Part 3 Methodology/Didactics" (Bundestag 2020b, 25, 2020c, 30, 2020a, 23).

A central project mentioned by the BPol and the DHPol officials as well as in several BT-Drs. is a BPol's pilot project in Jendouba, a city in the north-west of the country. As aforementioned the SSR collaboration between Germany and Tunisia is pursued in particular in regards to border management, as the "instability in the MENA region has consequences for Germany's domestic security", hence supporting Tunisia to become "a guarantor of regional security" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 35f.). As such has been developed "the German pilot project to set up accommodation and control rooms for the National Guard in the Tunisian regions of Jendouba, Kef and Kasserine [...] [as well as] training rooms [...] and border posts" (Bundestag 2016, 14, 2020d, 7). The local ownership of actors active on the ground remains here as well central through the establishment and support of capacities

rather than German police officers intervening on an operational level (BPol officials, April 2021). The pilot project in Jendouba, whose district is facing increased challenges "rooted in the economic marginalisation and social frustration", shall provide a comprehensive approach in capacity-building of the police counterparts in reacting and preventing cross-border criminal phenomena, safeguarding border security and curbing the causes for irregular migration and illegal border-crossings (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 21; ibid.). The model region is located close to the Algerian border, however, not neglecting the importance of the border to Libya, where a majority of extremists, terrorist and irregular migrants cross. The German assistance to enhance the border security capacity is "geared towards help to self-help, training, and enabling states or organisations that could serve as anchors of stability in fragile regions" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 36). These training facilities are now "used to implement training measures of the BPol for the benefit of the Tunisian National Guard", to increase the border management, although from the above list comprising different training and equipment assistance retrieved from the BT-Drs. it cannot be clearly determined which measures contributed to the pilot project in Jendouba, while others supported the establishment elsewhere (Bundestag 2020e, 5). The lacking information complicates the understanding of the measures and their comprehensiveness. However, the limited provision of details is knowingly pursued by Federal Government and its police to prevent showing gaps and loopholes in its partner's security sector.

Hitherto can be observed "a capacity-building on an operational level trough the police training and equipment assistance, rather than on a strategic level that would address and reform the Ministry of the Interior and the management structures of the police" (DHPol official, May 2021). The technical and operational assistance fostering a rising fortification "of the border regions in the MENA region [do] not prevent the risk of violent spill-overs" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 36). The Tunisian rural and border regions are facing higher rates of poverty and unemployment and people there rely additionally and foremost on cross-border informal economy and illicit trade, mostly in form of smuggling, to sustain a living. It raises the question if this aspect of "the informal economy represent[ing] the only source of income" is considered in planning and strengthening the border management and if "analyses with respect to this [socio-economic effects] have been conducted or taken into consideration" (Bundestag 2018a, 5; Stahl and Treffler 2019, 36). The answer to this is provided in a BT-Drs.: "The Federal Government has no knowledge of any effects on the socio-economic situation of the population in the border regions due to the project of the upgrading initiative for the electronic surveillance of the Tunisian-Libyan border. Regular

border movements are not influenced by the border facilities" (Bundestag 2018a, 5). Also the BPol, the main German border agent, highlights that the border management and the IBM shall not curb legal migration, rather support and enable partner organisations to sustain border security (BPol officials, April 2021). However, the irregularity of border movements is composed of undocumented migrants and refugees, smugglers and traffickers, as well as extremists and terrorists. The enhanced capacities of the Tunisian border agents, developed and supported through international cooperation, are "inadvertently forcing people out of the informal smuggling economy upon which they have traditionally relied, further exacerbating their exclusion" (Watanabe 2018, 4). Smuggling and informal cross-border economy remain to be for people living in the border regions a source of income – ergo increased and fortified border facilities and capacities of the National Guard and the border police through BPol's training and equipment assistance do have socio-economic effects on the local population. With taking the possibility to conduct informal trades and smuggling across borders, alternative employment possibilities have to be provided to support a favourable development rather than pushing people to pursue more dangerous paths and drifting deeper into illegality to support their families: "Depriving the border communities of their economic basis could push them to other forms of criminality and enhance the risk of security forces abusing power" (Stahl and Treffler 2019, 36). The enhanced security at the Tunisian borders has to go hand in hand with "support in the form of equipment, knowledge transfer, training [for security actors], and additional economic measures [for the local population] to increase local acceptance", hence guaranteeing the success and especially sustainability of security, peace and democratic conditions through a comprehensive SSR approach (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 4). It is widely recognised that "social injustice and unemployment are drivers of radicalisation in Tunisia", in case of depriving the rare income sources the risk of radicalisation is constantly rising, so to avoid this "border regions [must be] offer[ing] viable economic substitutes" (ibid.; Stahl and Treffler 2019, 37). As previously described, SSR touches several sectors: security, development assistance, support of democracy and rule of law, as well as social, economic and employment factors, however, due to the law-given competencies the German police forces can only act within their jurisdiction and with the allocated tools and instruments of the SSR given by the Federal Government (BPol officials, April 2021). The establishment of workshops and shipyards for the maritime unit of the National Guard creates jobs and hence supports the socio-economic development through the employment of civil personnel (ibid.). This is an important step acknowledging the far-reaching implications of security assistance. However, it remains doubtful if the measures of

the BPol substantially alleviate the side-effects of more efficient border security preventing cross-border phenomena and especially incentivise the interest and possibilities of alternative employment for locals. The DHPol officials (April 2021) assess that there remains to be "the need to create a more comprehensive German response with donors supporting border regions with alternative income sources to alleviate negative effects" through German police forces in cooperation and direct dialogue with actors active in economic and social development. It is unknown, if this issue will be addressed in the forthcoming evaluation of the DHPol to provide recommendations on a more comprehensive and interministerial response. Also the BKA official (April 2021) notes: "With the appearance of new phenomena, new instruments and corresponding laws are needed or will be restricted", hence future possibilities and responses depend on political dialogue.

A profound determination of the success and the outcomes of the SSR measures of the BKA and the BPol awaits hitherto the evaluation by the DHPol requested by the Federal Government (BPol officials, April 2021). A first step has been made in the research project "Ex ante-Evaluation of the German Train and Equip Program for Foreign Police Forces (AAH-P) in Tunisia" (DHPol 2021). It shall serve as a basis of determining Tunisia's development, "assessing the actual state in Tunisia, what exists, the needs and risks as a baseline to conduct afterwards an evaluation about the success and the results of the offered training and equipment assistance in Tunisia as well as indicating performance indicators and creating a causal model" – hitherto neither the BKA and the BPol nor the DHPol cannot fully assess the interconnectedness between the German polices' support and Tunisia's development (BPol & DHPol officials, April 2021). It remains to be a challenging task to measure the outcome of single training and equipment projects and the range of successfully implemented capacities and ownership: "It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of police cooperation practices. Several national police organizations report regularly on some outcomes from international operations (arrests and seizures), but these reports represent a very small portion of police cooperation activities" – institutional developments towards democratic structures and a human-centred policing including gaining a good reputation among the civil society are missing in such reports (Lemieux 2018, 17).

In this section have been discussed the paramount aim of the German police training and equipment assistance to establish strong and legitimate Tunisian counterparts, which are guided by rule of law, good governance and accountability. The focal point is in particular addressing the weak Tunisian border management in order to respond to terrorism and

irregular migration. It has been discovered that there is gap between the rhetoric and the practice of the German police, which will be discussed in the following. The following chapter will assess some overall points of the beforehand analysed German police assistance to Tunisia.

4 The gap between the rhetoric and the practice of the German police forces – An assessment

The former German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle compared the so-called Jasmine Revolution with its "local desires for economic justice, human dignity, and prosperity" to Germany's own history (Holthaus 2019, 1222). However, in the sharp contrast that in 1989 took place a peaceful revolution causing the fall of the German Democratic Republic and the end of its repressive police called Stasi. Both revolutions, even though fought by different means acknowledged "economic-political linkages and domestic redistribution as a precondition to the lasting social legitimacy of democracy" and "understand[ing] democratization as a socio-economic long-term process" building on rule of law and good governance (ibid., 1219). The East German police got resolved and its security actors after being cleared got integrated into the democratic and accountable police system of the Federal Republic of Germany. However, it is difficult to compare both uprisings, the revolution in Germany took place more than 30 years ago when the SSR just got developed and the Federal Government still address the heritage of the regime. The reform process in Tunisia since the fall of the police state is piecemeal undertaken, senior security officials got dismissed, while an in-depth reform process addressing as well low-rank police officers, their work routine and practices takes decades. The Federal Republic of Germany ensured that its federal-level police would provide order and security after the dissolution of the East German police. However, in Tunisia, the security sector could not be dissolved completely as basic security and order had to be provided during and after the Arab Spring. Hence, internal and external actors kept the Tunisian police structures and competencies in favour of stabilising the country quickly. Due to its national history "Germany was among the first states to support the protests in 2011", calling particularly "for respect for human rights, the freedom of association, and adequate police involvement" (ibid., 1222). The BKA and the BPol provide training and equipment measures to assist the Tunisian police to assume its task of providing order and security, yet relinquishing the overall responsibility to politics to embed the police actions into a greater framework, as the interviewees highlighted. Undeniably SSR is a deeply political matter, that "focuses on the most sensitive sector of the state; it challenges power relations, vested interests and dominant paradigms; it can provoke significant contestation within the state and between the state and other actors; and it is

influenced by, and can exacerbate, broader political struggles" (Nathan 2007, 8). The heritage of the Tunisian police and the consequential issues on the ground are not addressed by the German police when strengthening the structures, leaving it to primarily civil society organisations to address and resolve the experiences of the general public. Resolving the reputation of the former repressive police falls into the range of transitional justice, however, it would be recommendable to combine SSR measures of the BKA and the BPol with initiatives of civil society organisations to improve the communication and interaction between the public and the security actors.

A decade after the uprising the security sector is still accused of human rights violations. However, the German police continue to provide measures to increase the operational capacity by providing tools and expertise in border management and online persecution claiming that rule of law, good governance and respect of human rights are an intrinsic part of each measure, rather than explicitly addressing the still unresolved and unchanged strategic orientation of the police. On request of the Federal Parliament the BKA and the BPol, like any other domestically active German police, are obliged to provide information about their actions. However, "for reasons of national welfare and to protect the security interests of the Tunisian partners" some information and details might not be disclosed to the civil society, so that the very content of training and equipment measures is mostly obscured and hold roughly vague, also as a full disclosure "would lead to a substantial weakening of the options available to the Federal Government for the project management and possibly also lead to covetousness and conflicts among the partners" (Bundestag 2017b, 3, 2018a, 2). The BKA official (April 2021) notes in this regard that the "interest in confidentiality about measures does not mean that dishonourable practices are provided, rather shall be prevented to show gaps and means to circumvent the increased capacity and competencies of the security sector." Hence, detailed information concerning approaches or tactics are withheld and are only accessible to those with the corresponding security clearance (Bundestag 2017b, 3, 2018a, 2). Ultimately, it depends on what the Federal Parliament has requested in the BT-Drs. and if the information is not subjected to national security to be disclosed to the broad public. This has complicated to determine the aims and results of the discussed SSR assistance of the BKA and the BPol. As it has been discussed the security sector is a highly sensitive topic, thus "the interference in other states' internal politics and home affairs shall be kept as low as possible" to avoid affecting "the future relationship of trust between the Federal Government and its partners" (ibid., BPol officials, May 2021).

As most of the police assistance content is undisclosed to avoid conclusions on weaknesses and vulnerabilities of partner institutions, questions arise whether "human rights and the rule of law are [indeed] always part of the training measures" when reviewing the published training and equipment assistance in 2019/2020 (Bundestag 2017a, 5). Also considering the fact, that the BKA faces repeatedly enquiries if it "would not like to provide some training and knowledge transfer on topics such as rule of law, good governance, human rights or code of ethics", even though "these topics are an imminent part" of national and international training (BKA official, April 2021). News about Tunisian security actors using lethal force and "arbitrarily detain[ing] [protestors] for joining the protests or expressing their views online" raises serious doubts whether the intrinsic training part is indeed as strong and efficient as it is praised to be to achieve utmost effects within the Tunisian security apparatus (Fatafta and Samaro 2021).

Stahl and Treffler (2019, 22) note that "the Tunisian authorities have a broad choice of different security assistance programmes, they generally choose technical training over programmes that include a human rights and/or rule of law component." The assistance of the BKA and the BPol, according to the foregoing analysis, targets predominantly the favoured operational skills and resources of the Tunisian counterparts. This is also pursued considering the high political interest of keeping insight into "the Tunisian security apparatus [which] remains a 'black box' [...] [thus] external actors like Germany tend to limit their criticism and reform recommendations in order to maintain close relations with their security partners" and keeping trough police cooperation access to internal information (ibid., 35). Perhaps it is a real chance of the German training and equipment assistance to keep and especially strengthen and extend its imminent link between operational, technical assistance and the provision of "the rule of law and the protection of human rights, and more generally, the protection of civilians in violent conflicts" (AA 2017, 88). By providing the requested operational training and equipment assistance with an increased focus on accountability and transparency may benefit the police work in Tunisia and by this a sustainable development in Tunisia.

The BKA and the BPol emphasis both the importance that capacity-building and local ownership are crucial to substantiate the police counterpart and support sustainable development so that external assistance will not be needed at some point. This is ensured through putting the National Police and the National Guard into the driving seat and by providing targeted measures according to the requests of the Tunisian security actors. By establishing a trustful dialogue between the two countries' security apparatuses on equal

footing, the BKA and the BPol have achieved a variety of different measures to be successfully implemented. The capacities of the Tunisian internal security forces got increased, both technically as well as strategically, even though the latter needs to be intensified. The German police cooperation has substantially contributed build up the police capacities in regards to threatening situations and border management, maintaining order and security in Tunisia as well as ultimately in Germany too. By ensuring a generally peaceful and safe situation in Tunisia, private and public (external) investments for the Tunisian economy as well as the tourism sector are experiencing an upward trend since the terrorist attacks in 2015, because as it has been mentioned development is not possible without security.

In contrast to the international police missions of the EU and the UN in which German police officers are actively taking part in the policing on the ground, the BKA and the BPol do not interfere with the Tunisian civil society. Rather they are assuming the role of external advisers and donors with targeted SSR measures to strengthen the Tunisian police to exercise its duties sovereign by improving its skills and resources. However, even though not actively policing on the Tunisian territory the German police affect with its training and equipment assistance significantly the Tunisian police professionalism and its consequential reputation in the broad public. Ultimately the performance of the National Police and the National Guard reflect the assistance of the BKA and the BPol. The SSR measures of the BKA and the BPol bear the powerful possibility to impact the understanding and the code of conduct of the Tunisian police, who is the primary governmental security face of the new Tunisian Republic. The most promising option for the German police to achieve substantial and sustainable development in Tunisia is, to intertwine its technical assistance with the promotion of rule of law, good governance, human rights and the code of police ethics. By supporting the internal security forces to act accountably and transparent and fighting corruption the relationship of trust between civil society and security forces improves. While establishing fair and legitimate security actors has eventually positive impacts on the Tunisian economic situation by increasing investments, which in turn supports to decrease the risk for radicalisation and extremism. It remains to be central, to keep the external assistance as well as the still-ongoing state of emergency and the enhanced counter-terrorism competencies in balance. Rather than favouring strong and well-resourced police, respected and fair law enforcement shall be prioritised by internal and external security measures. Thus the aim of SSR to be comprehensive and to establish legitimate security actors shall be more intensively pursued.

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed the assistance that the German police forces the BKA and the BPol have provided to Tunisia, in specific has been discussed their rhetoric in general as well as the practice in 2019/2020 in specific to determine whether the police play a role in development. Through literature research and expert interviews, I have shed a light on these themes despite the very limited publically accessible data. In this regard, I have assessed the twofold approach of considering how rhetoric and practice play out in the case of the German police forces' cooperation in Tunisia. Here below I summarise the key findings that this thesis has reached.

Especially in the aftermath of the so-called Jasmine Revolution in 2011 and the terrorist attacks in 2015, Tunisia was not in a place to address the reform process of politics and security on its own. Rather "the government [was] urgently lobbying Western states for rapid support", including Germany, who took the lead regarding border management (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 3). Germany's SSR perspective seeks to develop an overarching approach combining different strands to achieve a sustainable and lasting peaceful and inclusive development. However, in practice, the highly interconnected social, economic, justice, political and security dimensions, which are interacting on a national but also cross-border international radius, have to be addressed more comprehensively. Also, this approach ought to consider how to provide the police, who is a primary SSR actor, more instruments and tools to work effectively, efficiently and more holistically. The BKA and the BPol are providing training and equipment assistance intending to transform the security sector through application and strengthening of rule of law, good governance, transparency and accountability and to enhance the local capacities and ownership. Yet, the measures rely heavily on the provision of technical and operational competencies and capacities such as delivery of equipment and providing know-how how to use it, how to handle threatening situations at the border or conduct online persecution, giving the impression that the aforementioned elements are not at all the foremost interest of the assistance as they are praised to be by the Federal Government and the police themselves. This could lead to the rash conclusion that the German police is downplaying aspects related to the promotion of rule of law, democracy and respect of human rights in favour of prioritisation of the technical strength of its Tunisian counterparts. However, the very limited scope of information

disclosed to the public does not imply that the police is not supporting it at all, rather a lack and prioritisation can be observed.

The Federal Government has created with its interministerial approach vast possibilities for the SSR "to be part of a broader transformation agenda, of which security is only an aspect, albeit a crucial one", however, it faces challenges to link SSR measures to rule of law, good governance and civil society oversight mechanisms (AA 2017, 59; Ebo 2007, 43). The competencies and the scope of the BKA and the BPol, when planning and implementing its measures, have to be extended. The ambitions are high, however, eventually the data does not provide enough evidence that the training and equipment measures do support accountability and transparency through fostering community-oriented policing and conduct according to the code of police ethics. The BKA official and the BPol officials (April 2021) note that they can only act and exert influence within their law-given competencies and instruments, which are primarily limited to security aspects. However, for this reason, the Federal Government introduced its cross-departmental, interministerial approach to overcome the institutional shortcomings through collaboration with different actors and sectors. Considering the fact, that the police is a civil servant, that relies on the cooperation of the broad public, it would be recommended to foster direct collaboration with, for instance, civil society organisations to address the relationship between police and the public. Through the active involvement of agents, who enjoy complementary competencies to foster good governance, democratic control and social development such as the DCAF, the GIZ and the IOM as well as capacities to create viable economic options especially in the fortified border regions including The World Bank, the KfW and the OECD, the training and equipment assistance can be directly intertwined and benefit from the expertise of a multifaceted developmental response.

However, in this regard, the BKA and the BPol need to pay increased attention to the impacts of their police projects. This includes addressing the heritage and actual status quo reputation of the beneficiary partner authorities and the shutdown of the informal cross-border economy and the consequential socio-economic effects on the local population in favour of enhanced border security. It should also focus increasingly on the police structures and the impact the assistance have, to prevent that the beneficiary authorities would not misuse the provided equipment and the won capacities to rule over the people rather than to serve and protect. By employing increased cooperation with a wider range of national, regional and international complementing actors, the German police can exert a favourable and sustainable impact on the development in Tunisia. However, it has to be acknowledged

that the German police have hitherto successfully supported the development of legitimate security actors in Tunisia – especially the National Guard enjoys a good reputation within the local population, the power share and the legitimate use of force to prevent the creation of another police state as well as increased the general security in Tunisia to foster investments and tourism.

It is paramount to provide "context-specific, conflict-sensitive and internationally compatible" measures, which are embedded into overarching political strategies in cooperation and conjunction with other donor countries and regional and international organisations, also as the scope of the BKA and the BPol is rather limited (AA 2017, 57). The German police emphasise that the provided training and equipment assistance is individualised as the receiving country and its beneficiary authorities are put into the driving seat to set the direction and focal points to ensure appropriateness and sustainability, hence assuring local ownership rather than imposing measures. Therefore, the close exchange between the Tunisian counterparts and the planning and implementing German police forces is a central and indispensable part of the assistance from the BKA and the BPol.

The German police have high ambitions to support the development in Tunisia by fostering rule of law, good governance and human rights, yet on the ground can be mostly observed technicalities rather than a holistic response. There is little evidence that the police fulfil their high rhetoric intentions, and rather favour providing security and maintain order with help of operational know-how and tools instead of supporting sustainable, democratic and peaceful conditions. However, it remains crucial that the Tunisian Government and its actors built up their own resources through enhanced capacities and keep the ownership and overview of the reform processes. Relying on development assistance "is not a sustainable option in the medium- to long-term for national policymakers. Heavy reliance on external donors will not help Tunisia become self-sufficient and continue its efforts after foreign donors have shifted their priorities" (Fakoussa and Kabis-Kechrid 2020, 16). Capacity-building and local ownership are hereby key aspects to ensure a sovereign and legitimate Tunisian security and development sector. To sustain sustainable development it is necessary that the Tunisian society owns the processes and participates through oversight mechanisms like in organisations equipped for such tasks, as well as by enhancing community policing to create for instance regular exchange and complaints meetings to facilitate direct dialogues between security actors and the general public to support accountability, transparency and democratic control over the Tunisian security apparatus.

The still fragile but so far successful reform process in Tunisia "very much depends on increasing the efficiency and accountability of the security sector within functioning constitutional, legal and policy parameters" emphasising a whole-state approach rather than fragmented responses across sectors and actors (Mölling and Werenfels 2014, 2). SSR highlights the security-development nexus, while the German "interministerial approach of SSR is a basis and touches upon foreign, security and development policy" (BPol officials, May 2021; Stahl and Treffler 2019, 19). This nexus shows that these areas are "mutually dependent and interlinked and security is needed for development, development is needed for the stability of a country" and that the police "training and equipment assistance creates conditions for development" (DHPol official, May 2021). However, ultimately "this assistance is a rather very small instrument of supporting the SSR" in Tunisia and needs extension as aforementioned (ibid.). The security-development nexus needs to be addressed in ODA as both as are deeply interrelated. The recognition of "the allocation of aid for security-related purposes, the mutual interdependence of both security and development" and the impact development and security have on each other serve increasingly as a justification for relocating aid disbursement to security-relevant locations rather than to countries in urgent need of development assistance but not posing an increased security and terrorism risk to the donor country (Aning 2010, 23). This may lead to compromise the impartiality of providing aid, which should be the basic principle for development assistance, by the security interests of donors and political conditions in the recipient country. Underdevelopment, in particular poverty, reinforce the urge for conflicts and criminal activities, which create an even more unsafe situation and can cause the withdrawal of development aid and personnel till basic security is not sustained (ibid., 22). Eventually, there is no peace and security without sustainable development and vice versa, or to say it in the words of Germany's former Chancellor Willy Brandt: "Peace is not everything, but without peace, everything is nothing."

In the introduction has been formulated the hypothesis that the global Covid-19 pandemic might have shifted the angle towards humanitarian aid, however, Tunisia did not receive any health assistance from the German police. The pandemic however impacted the possibilities to exert the training measures and forced the BKA and the BPol to provide primarily solely equipment. By respecting the current travel and distance restrictions it is questionable how strong the so-called imminent part of rule of law, good governance and human rights has been in these resource deliveries. However, in the analysis crystallised another paramount angle of the German police assistance: border security and the

securitisation of cross-border phenomena. Border management and counter-terrorism measures appear to be the overarching priority of the local Tunisian security apparatus and thus of the provided police and development assistance. It remains crucial to balance between "the emergence of a security agenda dominated by counter-terrorism" in connection with the continuous prolongation of the state of emergency in Tunisia and the consequences that the extension of police competencies and capacities have on the development and acceptance of the security actors on the ground (Fakoussa and Kabis-Kechrid 2020, 9).

Against this backdrop, the answer to the research question *To what extent does the police, a primary governmental security agent, play a role in development assistance?* is as follows:

The German police aims to provide more than sole security and order, especially due to its human-centred security approach the provision of rule of law, good governance, accountability and the respect of human rights is crucial for the BKA and the BPol. These components are supposed to be always part of their training and equipment assistance when supporting foreign police forces. However, the analysed data shows that the ambitious rhetoric does not translate within its full potential into practice on the ground, and operational skills and tools are clearly prioritised. This in turn can counteract sustainable development by providing means to persecute persons online and in real life and fostering arbitrariness rather than compliance with the code of ethics as the German police and the Federal Government are praising to support these aspects through their targeted measures. By intensifying its efforts in the promotion of rule of law and human rights through the above-mentioned possibilities, inter alia by including actively complementary actors into its cooperation, the police can exert an impactful and favourable influence on the local development in Tunisia rather than hamper or counteract it. General instruments to provide development assistance are already allocated to the police, however, need a substantial extension in practice to live up to their ambitions.

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Appendix

Interview questions

The interviews were semi-structured with the following key questions and, as far as possible, all related to the measures in Tunisia (2019-2020):

• Brief presentation of the respective institution, including its tasks.

• What do you understand under (Germany's) Security Sector Reform (SSR)?

• What are the main objectives of the police measures in relation to migration management and SSR abroad?

• How are migrants and refugees classified in the institutional security concept?

• Do you see the processes of securitisation, externalisation and desecuritisation in the police measures and objectives? For instance, framing and perceiving issues as threats, conducting extraordinary measures to protect a referent object, departing from the so-called normal politics?

• What are the police interests in Tunisia?

• How do you evaluate the cooperation with national and international actors in range of SSR in Tunisia with the German police?

• How do you evaluate the impact of the police measures there? Are the goals being achieved?

• How do the police measures (in 2019 and 2020) in Tunisia support Germany's SSR goals, do you have any concrete examples?

• How do you evaluate the mutual interaction and acceptance of the Tunisian security authorities and the local population? Is this considered important?

• How would you assess the development of Tunisia since the police measures?

• What do you understand under development assistance and how do you evaluate the role of a police force in development assistance, also in particular in regards to Tunisia?

• What do you understand under capacity-building and how do you evaluate the role of a police force in capacity-building, also in particular in regards to Tunisia?

• Has the current pandemic shifted the focus of the police measures? If so, do you think it will revert to the previous state? And do these possible changes correspond to the police competencies and interests?

• Do you believe that the focus and goals will change in the future, regardless of the pandemic, if so, why and to what extent?

• Where do you offer publicly available information about your work and police measures, which information is given particular importance, which less and why?