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Tunisian Republic
Ministry of Interior



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GOOD PRACTICES ON COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING IN AFRICA

AFRICAN CONFERENCE ON HUMAN SECURITY THROUGH COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING AS A FACTOR OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2022

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COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES:

Comparative analysis

Acronyms and abbreviations

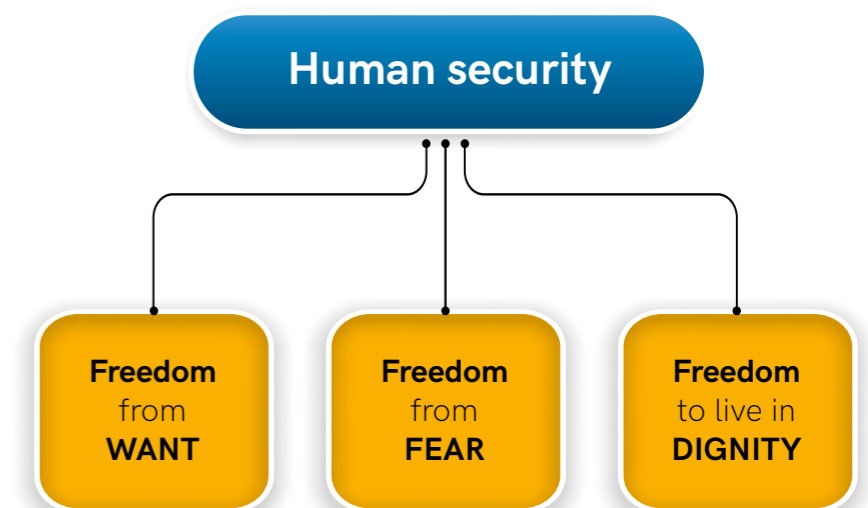
COP	Community-Oriented Policing
CSOs	Civil society organizations
ISF	Internal Security Forces
LPPB	Local Policing Partnership Boards
LSC	Local Security Committee
LSD	Local Security Diagnosis
LSPC	Local Safety and Prevention Committee

SUMMARY

Introduction

Human Security is a concept which emerged in the 1990, challenging the traditional approach to security which centres on the state and its "national security" and "national interests". By contrast, human security takes the individual as a referent object, in other words, as an object to be protected.

This people-centred understanding of security affirms that all individuals are entitled to three freedoms: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity". As such, human security necessitates a multidisciplinary approach which encompasses development studies, international relations, strategic studies, and human rights. The human security approach goes beyond the «physical» safety and security of people which is a traditional focus of the police, army, and the security personnel, to also address issues of social security, economic security, political rights - or, in more general terms, human development - as well as environmental protection.



Threats to human security are manifold, including: violence caused by state and non-state actors, armed groups, poverty, economic inequality, discrimination, environmental degradation, and other factors that undermine the well-being of individuals and communities.

To address a broad array of threats to people, including new trends in delinquency and criminality which are affecting communities throughout the continent, community-oriented policing (COP) has emerged as a key tool to create a safer environment in which peace and development objectives can be pursued. Community-oriented policing seeks to redefine the relationship between communities and police officers, bringing them together to identify and solve community problems. By defining and addressing public safety issues through a “whole of society” approach, not only involving security forces but all community actors including government, local authorities, civil society, business, academia and media, the emphasis of policing is now shifting towards service delivery, crime prevention and realizing efficiencies in policing. Experiences show that a new dynamic can be created between the police and citizens which helps not only to combat feelings of insecurity among the population but also to improve the image of the police.

However, changing policing systems and creating a dynamic between police and citizens which fosters collaboration and trust does not happen overnight. It is a process which is heavily influenced by factors such as:

- Existing social and cultural traditions and structures.
- The efforts and capacity of actors, including police, to advocate for or against new ways of policing and security reforms;
- The social capital base found in civil society.

To turn such factors into enablers, organizational strategies for internal security forces need to make systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the conditions which perpetuate public safety issues.

This study is a reference for African security practitioners in developing an endogenous and sustainable Community Policing model which aims not only to reduce crime, but also to address human security challenges facing countries on the continent.

This summary is retrieved from a more detailed study and it was based on a desk review to assess the level of progress in the implementation of COP on the African continent as well as the originality or particularity of the approach adopted by each country.

The different chapters of this report highlight the fact that COP is a significant contributor to local governance and the creation of synergies between local actors and civil society. And while there is no consensus model for COP, systems are shaped and built based on local histories and contexts.

Four principles of the COP approach are highlighted in this report:

- Trust through the formation of **close relationships with the community**;
- **Partnership** with a variety of actors, including citizens;
- Prevention of crime and public disorder through **problem solving**;
- **Democratic governance**.



- Mapping of African Experiences in COP -



Based to the information available at the time of writing this report, we note that the implementation of COP in North Africa is very heterogeneous. Indeed, the situation varies from a virtual absence of such an approach (Libya, Egypt) to a national approach anchored in practice for several years (Morocco, Tunisia). The **Moroccan** approach stands out by establishing communication as a pillar of proximity, through the establishment of a central communication unit to strengthen the trust and mutual respect established between this institution and the citizen seeking police services. On the other hand, the Tunisian approach is distinguished by its strategy of generalization, through the gradual deployment of the CBP in several phases, focusing on the establishment of police posts and local security committees throughout the country which bring together civil society, local authorities, police and citizens to proactively identify and address a broad range of security challenges at the community level.

In Tunisia, the evaluation carried out (via satisfaction surveys) in the pilot regions before and after the implementation of the COP revealed that the security situation has improved as well as the perception of the security forces by the citizens and the relationship between them. The quality of service of internal security forces has improved with regard to administrative services¹.

In Sierra Leone, the evaluation carried out of the LPPBs highlighted the importance of this model in maintaining order in the country and the role that these structures have played in giving space to women in local security matters.

In **Sierra Leone**, Local Policing Partnership Boards (LPPBs) have proven to be an important part of the Sierra Leone Police policing model. They have made it possible to democratize security insofar as citizens are involved in defining and solving security problems. This is a purely grassroots initiative that has proven to be sustainable since both police services and the community consider them important to local safety and security. Their role is to provide information and report crimes to the police and to mediate minor disputes within communities.

1. ELKA Consulting, January 2017.

This type of structure, playing an important role in informal justice, must function in respect of human rights and based on a clear definition of the scope of action. There is also the question of training members on their basic legal knowledge of civil and criminal cases².


Ouagadougou (**Burkina Faso**) established Local Security Committees (LSC) at the communal level, which made it possible to have a more effective and more dynamic dialogue between stakeholders involved in the prevention of delinquency. In 2010, the UNDP/UN-Habitat project created the CUAPI (Coalition of urban actors for the prevention of insecurity) to operate at the level of the municipality as a steering body for its first prevention action plan. The project supported the creation of a violence observatory within the municipal police as a key part of the coalition, and the security diagnosis in Ouagadougou was carried out in close collaboration with this observatory, with the long-term objective of institutionalizing this important function³.

Local notions of (in)security and (in)justice influence security architecture in general and policing in particular. For instance, in **Ghana**, strategies and arrangements responded to dynamics and needs. according. In the poor neighbourhoods, civilian police groups such as the "Watch Dogs" were formed, while in high-income neighbourhoods, security companies and private guards proliferate⁴.

In other African countries, similar structures have been initiated by governments, as is the case with the vigilance committees in **Cameroon** created in 2014 by a presidential decree.

This phenomenon is not unique to Ghana. It can be found in other countries like Uganda, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone where residents have resorted to a wide range of law enforcement groups to meet their security needs.


2. Peter Albrecht, Olushegu Garber, Ade Gibson, and Sophy Thomas, "Community Policing in Sierra Leone - Local Policing Partnership Boards", DIIS Report 2014:16
3. Coginta, "Local governance of the police and local security councils, comparative study of the cases of Belgium, France, Burkina Faso, Turkey, South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo", August 2011.
4. Boye-Doe Kofi, "Community Policing, the way to go in Ghana", December 2007.



In the **Central African Republic** and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), we note the coexistence of Local Security Committees and security forums. While the former are structures working to identify security problems and organize a consensual **response** through the formulation and implementation of local security plans, the latter are essentially exchange platforms between the population and the police services to aid in the management of conflicts and community problems⁵.

Despite some shortcomings, police reform has had some success. In DRC, the most significant example of the establishment of the Local Councils for Proximity Security, which was enshrined in Congolese law through a decree passed in 2013.

⁵ Ministry of the Interior, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Practical Guide "Provincial and Local Security Committees and February District Forums", Kinshasa, February 27, 2012.



In the DRC, the evaluation of the pilot project in the town of Mbujimayi, supported by international partners (UNDP and MONUSCO/UNPOL), concluded that the introduction of Community-Based Policing (CBP) contributed to improving security. The evaluation of the project in Lubumbashi also highlighted a decline in insecurity and crime. It was the project's achievements in civilian security governance that had the most impact on improving security, through the revitalization of a vertical architecture of civil governance of the districts. The evaluation of the support project for the establishment of CBP in the three pilot cities (Bukavu, Kananga and Matadi) demonstrated an improvement in the behaviour of police officers and a better involvement of the local community as well as the politico-administrative authorities in security issues.

The problem of financing these structures seems to have found a solution in the DRC via the creation of funds at the provincial level.

In **Kenya**, the creation of central teams of three trainers (a Kenyan police officer, an administrative police officer and a representative of civil society) in the eight provinces of the country has made it possible to increase confidence and foster positive change in participants' knowledge and skills. One of the most important factors contributing to the success of the Community Based Policing approach in Kenya has been the degree of collaboration among stakeholders to generate a common sense of responsibility, ownership and commitment to the whole community throughout the program (involvement of young people, mixed patrols, open discussions on safety, etc.)⁶.

In Kenya, the creation of the National Task Force on Police Reforms and the development of a national policy and strategic plan for reform is an important advancement which should be highlighted. Steering committees and community forums are the two most important features of the wKenyan approach. The pilot projects carried out in Kibera and Isiolo, established and managed by Saferworld and Kenyan civil society partners, have had encouraging results, lending momentum to the reform effort⁷.

The Tanzanian model of COP, called *ulinzi shirikishi*, has proven to be very effective in reducing crime and improving neighbourhood safety, but its local anchoring needs to further be improved, as it relies on the directive capacity of local government to ensure that citizens take ownership of the process. Local police have understood *ulinzi shirikishi* as a means rather than an end which helps them to achieve local security goals «more efficiently, effectively or cheaply», rather than allowing communities to establish processes to control their own development⁸.

This is not necessarily contrary to COP objectives, which tend to emphasize improving police effectiveness by expanding services while reducing the workload of the police, rather than reorienting police practices according to the priorities of the community.

6. Afterword, « *Implementing community-based policing in Kenya* ». February 2008. Disponible sur <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/306-implementing-community-based-policing-in-kenya>.

7. Saferworld, « *Implementing community-based policing in Kenya* », February 2008.

8. Mwaikusa, J.T. 1995. 'Maintaining law and order in Tanzania: the case of sungusungu defense groups', in J. Semboja & O. Therkildsen, eds. *Service Provisioning Under Stress in East Africa*. Copenhagen: Center for Development Research, 166-78.

In **South Africa**, COP was initially limited to setting up Police Community Forums (PCFs), an addition to police services whose responsibilities were to improve community-police relations, oversee the latter at local level and mobilize the former to participate in the fight against delinquency. Later, sector policing was introduced to involve the population in policing while remaining under the supervision of the police⁹.

In **Kenya**, the evaluation of the pilot projects on the Kibera and Isiolo sites revealed better community involvement in the management and resolution of local security problems due to improved communication with the police services. Police departments now have access to neighbourhoods previously classified as no-go areas. New partnerships have also been developed which have made it possible to provide effective solutions to certain problematic security situations. Overall, the implementation of Community Based Policing at the pilot sites has improved trust and cooperation between the police, civil society, and local communities.

In terms of governance, the participation and consultation processes for local authorities and for the police were distinct and operated in parallel. Police remained outside the consultation processes of the municipality and the municipalities remained outside the consultation processes of the police. So while the municipalities strengthened their role and influence with respect to local security issues, and the police adapted their structures, e.g. by establishing Police Community Forums (PCF), the PCFs or sector police remained police tools chaired by police officers.

9. Mark Shaw, *Crime and Policing in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Transforming Under Fire*, Indiana University Press (Bloomington), 2002, p. 26.

This contrasts with the approach of some other countries which have sought to build bridges between the police and local administration placed under the authority of mayors and other local authorities.

In Botswana, COP was adopted through the creation of crime prevention committees or community policing forums as well as the subsequent introduction of cluster policing¹⁰ with a notable difference compared to sector policing in the South Africa insofar as policing clusters are led by local traditional chiefs.

The level of institutional anchorage has proven to be decisive for the ability of the Local Security Committees (LSCs) to engage in contract-based partnerships and secure financing. As the commune or municipality has a legal personality, the LSCs of the institutional model have the possibility (via the mayor or Burgomaster) to sign contracts and thus institutionalize the partnerships they define. In

the community model, which is generally not anchored at the level of the local authority but simply holds an administrative function without legal and moral personality, the issue of contracts does not arise. However, in South Africa, the LSCs are authorized to mobilize local resources and their flexibility with this regard is considerable. They can thus obtain donations, including to build a police station.

¹⁰. Streets, places, towns, villages, and village districts have been divided into small manageable blocks (clusters) to easily manage and control crime.

Comparative Analysis

This comparative analysis of experiences between African countries has revealed a number of success factors:

Pillars of COP approaches:

The two elements that come up most often are partnership and problem solving, followed by others such as getting closer to the population or communication¹¹ ;

On the objectives of reform:

These include improvement of confidence, the participation of the population in its own security, bringing the police services closer to the population, the prevention of crime and improving collaboration and communication between police and citizens.

On security flows in African countries:

Governance structures of security and prevention are different from one country to another. The structures for coordination and integration of such structures and practices across countries are almost non-existent on the African continent¹².

On Local Security Committee models:

A variety of models exist, from the institutional model (consultation platform for the creation of an integrated approach to security), to the community model (dialogue platform between the police services and the community to improve relations between the two), to a mixed model, which combines elements of both.

¹¹. Community Policing: A Comparative View, Dominique Wisler and Ihekwoaba D. Onwudiwe, Working paper NO 6, International Police Executive Symposium Geneva Centre For The Democratic Control Of Armed Forces

¹². Chevallier, J. (2003). Governance, a new state paradigm? Journal of Public Administration, 1 (105-106): 203-217.

On the characteristics of LSCs, key characteristics include:

- **Codification**: several countries have still not adopted a specific legal framework (Tunisia for example), but others have already had such frameworks in place for several years (Burkina Faso, DRC, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania or South Africa);
- **Territory**: the institutional model of LSCs tends to be established at the level of the municipalities (DRC, Tunisia, etc.), while those of the community model is often done at the lowest level (district, group, etc.) as is the case in South Africa, Ghana, etc.

On the composition of LSCs:

In the institutional model, three categories of actors are necessarily represented in LSCs (security actors, the administration of justice and local authorities). In the community model, the dominant category is that of civil society, with a constant presence of the police services. Local political and administrative actors are often absent from these structures, or their role is very marginal. For example, the case of Tunisia is quite particular insofar as the composition incorporates actors from both models¹³.

On the selection methods of members:

In the institutional model most LSCs members are appointed ex officio. In the community model there are generally community representatives who are appointed in ways that differ from country to country.

On the role of civil society in LSCs:

In the countries studied the situation varies widely. In some countries, such as Sierra Leone and Tanzania, the community and civil society play an important role in civilian governance of the police. In other countries such as the DRC or Tunisia, civil society plays only a very limited role in matters of civil governance.

On the leadership of the LSCs:

There are three scenarios: it is either local elected officials who head the LSCs, local community leaders or local police officers.

On decision-making mechanisms:

The rule is consensus-based decision-making, with the exception being majority voting, as is the case in Tunisia.

On proceedings of the sessions:

The frequency of meetings varies from one country to another and from one model to another. The secretariat is assumed either by representatives of the administration, the police force or another member of the LSCs.

On working methods:

In several countries (often the institutional model), LSCs must carry out a Local Security Diagnosis and a local action plan. One of the most important challenges for the sustainability of these working methods is the presence of a permanent support structure for carrying out these procedures (example: the security observatory of Ouagadougou which assists the police in realization of the Local Security Diagnosis).

On financing LSCs:

Few of the African case studies have set up a financing mechanism. In the DRC, the financing of the LSC must be included in the Decentralized Territorial Entity's budget and a provincial Local Safety and Prevention Committee fund is created at the provincial level. Citizen contributions have been introduced in Tanzania and there is fundraising of Police Community Forums in South Africa.

¹³. Yann-Cédric QUERO, "Study on the police in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa: structures and missions with regard to crime prevention", Montreal February 2008, Thematic analysis report of the international center for the prevention of crime.

African good practices in COP

Best practices for implementing COP identified through this analysis are grouped into four areas¹⁴:

The first group of good practices relates to **getting closer to the population**:

- Improvement of hosting structures (in Tunisia for example) in terms of architecture, organization, and quality of service;
- Creation of new specialized structures or units mainly in combatting violence against minors and women (Mauritania, Uganda, etc.);
- Creating functions dedicated to relations with citizens (Ghana with Community Policing Assistants, Sierra Leone with Community Relations Officers or Botswana with crime prevention coordinators);
- Improvement of communication: creation of a central communication structure (Morocco), establishment of information boxes (Kenya);
- Adoption of sectoral approaches: establishment of police officers or neighbourhood teams (South Africa, Botswana).

The second group of good practices is in relation to **partnerships**¹⁵:

- Establishment of local coordination structures (steering committee in Kenya or local policing partnership boards in Sierra Leone).

These structures are implemented at several levels: municipalities (Local Safety and Prevention Committee in Tunisia, DRC and Central African Republic) / villages

or sectors (Burkina Faso or Tanzania) / neighbourhoods (Ghana, South Africa, DRC, CAR, Kenya, or Botswana). Their field of action ranges from safety management to prevention.

- Establishment of mixed training teams including police officers and representatives of civil society (Kenya).
- Adopting a participatory budget which allows local citizens to decide on the allocation of part of their own local budgets and to help determine investment projects in their communities: in the DRC, it has been tested in the province of South Kivu and institutionalized in the public finances of Decentralized Territorial Entities.
- The development of public-private partnerships: in Kenya via the Naivasha community project, in South Africa in certain business districts.
- Creating joint security: In Nigeria, the partnership between police and the community has materialized, among other things, through the training of a group of more than 1,000 young people called 'Atanakpa' to help fight crime in Esanland. Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has established police vigilante liaison officers to interact with vigilantes (which in Nigeria have a good reputation, generally speaking) to, at least, know what these groups are doing and advise them on their limited legal rights and powers.

The third stream of good practices relates to **prevention through problem solving**¹⁶:

- Raising awareness among certain target audiences: for example, the pilot initiatives of the "Community-Oriented Policing Strategies (COPS) in the Sahel" project in Niger and more particularly the program "referent police officer in schools" and the "vigilant neighbours" program. We can also mention awareness-raising actions in schools and specialized police officers in schools in Morocco.

14. Terpstra Jan 2009, "Community Policing in Practice: Ambitions and Realization", Policing, 4 (1), pp. 64-72.

15. Dominique Wisler, "modèles de police communautaire et réformes policières". 2010.

16. Reisig Michael D. et Roger B. Parks 2004, "Can Community Policing Help The Truly Disadvantaged?" Crime And Delinquency, 50 (2), 2004, pp. 139-167.

- Reinforcement of internal control measures of police services by strengthening inspection and control structures (Tunisia, Morocco, etc.).
- Urban readjustment of security: the experience of Rabat through the wider coverage of the city by police patrols and security units capable of adapting to urban expansion.
- Establishment of neighbourhood watch committees: such as the "Atanakpa" group in Nigeria, the NWCs in Ghana and the Zelethemba model or the peace corps in South Africa.
- Fostering local initiatives: such as the «Watch Dogs» in Ghana or the vigilance committees in Cameroon
- Collaborative mapping development: for instance, the mapping developed in some slums like Mamelodi in South Africa;
- Structured local traditions: certain local structures continue to play an important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, as is the case in Somalia with the "Xeer";

The last stream of good practices is linked to the **methodologies** applied:

- Development of a clear national policy: Kenya has developed a clear national policy on CBP. This was also the case of Tunisia, DRC, CAR, Burkina Faso, and Tanzania.
- Providing mentorship and coaching: provide coaching to police officers on the ground to promote changes in behaviour and attitudes (Tunisia);
- Development of a central coordination structure on specific themes: such as the National Working Group on Gender and the Security Sector in Liberia or the National Crime Prevention Coordinating Unit in Botswana.

The ulinzi shrikishi can be considered a success in the fight against crime. On the other hand, the approach is a failure in terms of improving public perceptions of the police.

The United Nations recommendation is one police officer for every 450 people. Almost all the countries studied have lower averages. Faced with this constant and given the limited means available to these countries, recourse to the support of community structures for the fight against crime becomes essential.

The situation in African countries is extremely different from one context to the others, and each situation calls for a different approach. Hence, there is a need for contextualized models that consider the links between human security and Community Policing in order to put in place a system that corresponds to local security needs and priorities.

It is certainly important to draw inspiration from the good practices of other countries in the world or on the continent, but taking into consideration the local context is essential.

The COP implementation process goes through experimentation, successes, and failures, and it is through these processes that each African country will manage to find the viable approach in line with its needs and priorities. Many actors are called upon to intervene in this process, each apprehending the implications and imperatives in a different way.

The local approach will need to be adapted to the purpose sought by the country's policing reformers as well as the local context.

If the purpose of the community structure is more oriented towards the participation of the community in the management of security, the most appropriate level for its implementation is that of the police station's sector of action (usually districts). Depending on the country, this may be at the neighbourhood or village level.

Experiences show that it is useful to develop a comprehensive training program for community actors involved in civilian governance of security (improving legal knowledge, knowledge relating to human rights, problem-solving techniques¹⁷, communication skills, etc.).

Sectorial control by police services can prove to be an effective approach for police to get closer to the population and for effective management of local crime and crime prevention (cf. the approach in South Africa and Botswana). This is usually enabled through the creation of the function of agent or neighbourhood team,

depending on the size of the community and the security challenges to be met. Preconditions for security sector reform based on Community-oriented Policing include a commitment to inclusion and an enabling environment for the implementation of such reforms.

Special attention should be given to the involvement of all relevant actors, in particular marginalized populations as well as representatives of civil society and the training of the various stakeholders (police, members of local forums and committees) particularly in the areas of community mobilization, partnerships and problem solving¹⁸.

Moreover, key factors affecting the success of implementation include communication and training strategies, mobilization of resources (human, material and technological), the selection of mechanisms for citizen participation in security (e.g. through Local Security Committees or other forms of partnerships).

Furthermore, robust monitoring and evaluation policies are strongly recommended as a tool to promote the sustainability of change. Ongoing evaluations of Community Policing

methods are critical inputs for updating and consolidation of the model based on the verification of its level of institutionalization and acceptance by local populations.

In several African countries, reforms have met with resistance from all the actors concerned, including the police as well as the community. While the former does not see the usefulness of getting closer to the community, the latter is still sometimes a victim of brutality, corruption, and bad attitudes of some police officers.

A lesson that can be drawn from all these experiences is that it is necessary to plan a coherent global strategy in terms of communication supported by a detailed action plan for each target audience as well as a permanent structure allowing the effective coordination of the action plan and the strategy (the case of Morocco)¹⁹.

Targeted training must be organized according to the purpose and main missions of the community structures put in place (LSC, policing community forums, etc.) in the areas of community mobilization, partnership and problem solving.

Importing western community policing model may fail due to structural reasons.

It is essential for the success of any COP intervention that police and associated state institutions operate with impartiality, integrity and openness to the population. Otherwise, all efforts to improve relations and citizen trust in police services are undermined, and the police will be perceived as state instruments to control society rather than to serve it²⁰.

Finally, opportunities for knowledge exchange and transfer on good practices and lessons learned in crime prevention and COP must be encouraged, both at the national and the regional levels.

17. Benjamin BENGIBEYI, « vers une approche sud-africaine de résolution des conflits en Afrique sub-saharienne ? ».

18. Skogan, Wesley 2003. « L'impact de la police de proximité dans les quartiers : une étude croisée ». Les Cahiers de la Sécurité Intérieure, janvier 2003, hors-série, pp. 299-33.

19. Joseph Vincent NTUDA EBODE "Analyse - comprendre la persistance de l'insécurité dans la région des Grands Lacs », janvier 2018.

20. Wong, Kam C. 2000. "Community policing in comparative contexts: P.R.C. versus USA", Polizei-Newsletter.



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