SYMPOSIUM ON ENHANCING PEACE AND SECURITY IN EASTERN AFRICA

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THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE SUPPORT TRAINING CENTRE, KAREN, NAIROBI, KENYA

SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDING REPORT

Enhancing Capacity for Regional Peace and Security through Peace Operation Training

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Executive Summary

This event was the second of its kind to be hosted and organized by the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC). The symposium afforded the researchers an opportunity to present their research findings and plenary discussions with the objective of garnering feedback from the participants. The symposium was conceptualised on the premise that the best way of enhancing utility of peace and security research knowledge is by harnessing the views and suggestions generated through such forum.

Every year IPSTC brings different stakeholders together to disseminate research findings. The 2010 symposium looked at the challenges and opportunities that existed within regional organisations, regional economic communities (RECs) and mechanisms (RM). The results of last year's research pointed to the need for a comprehensive mechanism in addressing challenges of peace and security in the region. To this end, this year the researchers looked at the emerging and contemporary peace and security issues within the Eastern African region. The 2011 theme was: **Regional Peace and Security: Contemporary Issues in Eastern Africa**. Three papers were presented, the culmination of studies conducted by IPSTC researchers:

1. Leah Kimathi: *Radicalisation in Eastern Africa: Implications for Regional Peace and Security*
2. Francis Onditi: *Multiple Livelihood – Conflict Triggers among Boarder Communities in Easter Africa: A New Framework for Conflict Analysis*
3. Julius Kiprono: *The Emerging Asymmetric Threats in Eastern Africa: Implications for Peace and Security*

The studies highlighted the causes of conflict and focused on how to address various forms of conflict from the early warning stages to post conflict measures. The studies took cognisance of the larger mandate of the Centre's aim to contribute to the broader framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) through applied research.

It was the intent of IPSTC that the Symposium would be an intellectual forum for a diverse set of stakeholders to be informed and to give feedback on the current dynamic issues that face stability of the region. The ensuing discussions offered a plethora of views that it is hoped will positively influence the final research papers in form of Occasional Papers.

The first paper: Radicalisation in Eastern Africa: Implications for regional peace and security, was presented by Leah Kimathi. The paper acknowledged that radicalisation is not a new phenomenon in the region. The aim of the study was to analyse how radicalisation impacts on issues of security.

Two causes of radicalisation were identified, namely:

i. **Fragility of the State systems in the region:** Research indicates that there is a correlation between the inability of the State to perform its core functions and the perceptions of State illegitimacy held by its subjects.

ii. **Religion:** The researcher argued that religion has often times been exploited by groups of people to achieve their personal interests. Research indicates that there is an increase in the use of religion for political ends in the Eastern Africa region. The use of religion to further political ends in Somalia was cited as an example (the potential impact of the call to war by Sheikh Ali Mahamud Raage for example).

The researcher discussed the origins of some of the militia movements in Kenya. The opening of the democratic space in the post colonial era had its origins in the 90s, the so called 2nd revolution. The period saw the emergence of militia movements related to the disillusionment related to perceptions that the expansion of democratic space was not associated with a corresponding change in government institutions.

The researcher also delved into the consequences of international politics and the proxy wars that were taking place in the 1980s. The structural adjustment programs resulted in massive unemployment and a corresponding rise in informal settlements.

The paper also discussed the criminalization of resources, through land grabbing and illegal allocation of land and the resulting displacement of communities.

The study recommended a multi-pronged approach within the public and private sector in an effort to curb the impact of radicalization.

The second paper was presented by Francis Onditi. Based on the issues of peace and security, the objective of the study was to formulate a "**New framework for conflict analysis**". The study looked at the multiple livelihood conflict triggers and the effects of the emergence of a gun culture among certain communities across the Eastern Africa borders. Also, the paper elaborated the evident struggle between certain armed groups and State armed forces and the increasing trends of the violation of women and children in the conflict prone areas.

The study identified some gaps in the existing conflict analysis frameworks as related to social, natural and physical shocks. The paper also discussed political shocks which include the centralized political systems of governance as depicted by most states in the region. The study sought to establish the relationship between conflict trends and livelihoods. It analyzed the previous intervention mechanisms with view of increasing their effectiveness as strategies for

intervention by both governmental agencies and humanitarian organisations. The study proposes a new framework that captures elements left out by the existing framework. The study proposes that a solution to the problem lies in the building of peace indicators that will help to enhance self-reinforcing systems of intervention specific to the Eastern Africa region.

Julius Kiprono presented the third paper on the emerging asymmetric threats in Eastern Africa and their implications on peace and security. The paper focused on the threats emanating from Somalia. The presenter justified his research topic and area but noticing that though Somalia is not the only area where asymmetric threats have been witnessed, in his opinion it informs regional insecurity, and posed the largest threat to regional peace and security.

The Symposium Concept

The International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) is a training and research institution whose focus is capacity building at strategic, operational and tactical levels for peace operations within the context of the African Peace and Security Architecture. The Centre endeavours to address the complexities of contemporary UN/AU integrated peace support operations by exposing actors to the multidimensional nature of these operations. The training and research undertaken cuts across the broad spectrum of conflict; from prevention, management and post conflict recovery. The Centre is a key training institution within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture through the necessary cooperation with partners from all over the world including, Japan, The United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, and the United States of America.

The Research Department of IPSTC undertakes research for two broad objectives; curriculum development for peace support operations training and to provide policy recommendations towards the enhancement of regional peace and security. In pursuit of these objectives, the Centre conducted field research as part of the 2011 Research Agenda, whose overarching theme is: '**Regional Peace and Security: Contemporary Issues in Eastern Africa**. It is in this regard that IPSTC organized a Symposium to present key findings and issues arising from the research.

Objectives of the Symposium
The symposium was aimed at fulfilling the following objectives:
- Serve as a platform for dissemination of the results of the research conducted in the 2011.
- Consolidating views from stakeholders including but not limited to practitioners, academia and Research Agenda 2011.

Expected Outcome
The symposium was intended to have three major outcomes:

- Strengthen networks of collaborations with different organizations, institutions and partners in peace and security.
- Serve as platform for sharing the lessons learnt over the period of research.
- Symposium report outlining comments and suggestions by participants

Participants

The symposium brought together representatives from different Ministries, Institutions of Higher Learning, Regional Economic Communities, Regional Mechanisms, think tanks, Peace Missions among others.

Venue and Date

The Symposium took place at the International Peace Support Training Centre, Westwood, Karen, Nairobi, Kenya on the 29th June 2011.

Methodology

During the symposium the key research findings were presented by the respective researchers. This was followed by moderated plenary discussions.

Areas of Discussion

The following thematic areas formed the central topics of discussion based on regional field research findings by the IPSTC researchers:

Radicalization in Eastern Africa: Implications for Regional Peace and Security

Abstract

While radicalization has recently gained attention in Eastern Africa as a result of the ongoing global war on terrorism, it is however not a new phenomenon in the region and predates independence in some countries like Kenya. This paper looks at the rise of radicalism in the region especially as a consequence of the weak states as well as Islamic radicalism, more so given the collapse of the state of Somalia. Towards, de-radicalization, the paper underscores the need for a holistic approach including addressing the root causes of state fragility as opposed to the current popular strategy of the use of force to suppress radicalism.

The Emerging Asymmetric Threats in Eastern Africa: Implications for Regional Peace and Security

Abstract

The context of Eastern Africa security terrain show the region faced various types and forms of asymmetrical threats. These threats range from insurgency, piracy, terrorism, political violence and armed criminal groups. What stands out however is that threats emanating from Somalia have engulfed the entire region and have become global security issue. This paper looks at the regional threats in greater details with special focus on Somalia. In the hierarchy of regional

threats, armed opposition groups in Somalia, particularly the Al shabaab features prominently and is given emphasis because of the seriousness, scope and breadth of these threats. Though the current threats require multidimensional peace support operation, the author argues that the peace operation actors are faced with challenge of having to work in an insurgency environment particularly in the central and southern regions of Somalia. The paper thus analyses such a scenario in depth then proposes practical recommendations for policy makers

Multiple Livelihood-Conflict Triggers among Border Communities in Eastern Africa: A New Framework for Conflict Analysis

Abstract

It is becoming evident that livelihood related activities; assets and outcome are major source of conflict within the Eastern Africa region. For example, in the recent past the border areas in the region have seen escalating levels of armed inter-communal resource conflict and cattle rustling being characterized with loss of lives and disruption in socio-economic set ups. The paper examines the relationship between livelihood characteristics and the occurrence of conflict among the inhabitants of border regions in Eastern Africa. Specifically, case studies are drawn from South Sudan, Uganda and the border of Kenya and Ethiopia with the aim of developing evidence-based policy strategies for intervention. The findings of the study show that pastoral and sedentary social groups of the region are heterogeneous in their perception of various livelihood-based conflict triggers. Across the villages surveyed, results show that other than the traditionally known drivers of conflict such as boundary disputes and uncontrolled movement of cattle, there are emerging small-scale conflict triggers with wider implications. Based on these findings, the author proposes a new framework for conflict analysis comprising of possible conflict triggers (CT), corresponding indicators (QI) and response mechanisms (RM) including a list of organisations for intervention.

Preamble

The IPSTC acknowledges the fact that knowledge generation is a promising approach to continuing efforts towards the ideals of resolving conflicts that involve the entire Eastern Africa region. However, it is possible that best practices obtained through various research initiatives in the broad spectrum of conflict prevention, management and post-crisis reconstruction does not find an opportunity to be practiced by different stakeholders in the region.

This symposium was therefore an opportunity for these stakeholders to discuss pertinent issues in the region that affect the state, people's livelihoods and safety that have wider implications on the general progress and stability of the region. Participants drawn from the wider community of practitioners, diplomats and academia were brought together to explore best ways of utilising the knowledge and general information gathered by the IPSTC researchers during the first half of 2011.

This report contains opening remarks by the Keynote speaker (the Deputy Ambassador of Japan to Kenya), remarks by the IPSTC Director, presentation of key findings as well outcome of key emerging issues that were discussed during plenary sessions. The report also contains the general strategic recommendations that were suggested by participants based on the conclusions generated during plenary discussions.

Opening Remarks: Brigadier Robert Kibochi

The Director opened the symposium by appreciating the participants that had taken their time to attend the conference. He noted that the centre had been doing capacity training for over a decade and was proud to be able to contribute to peace and security in the region through the various training programmes. In the recent years, the centre had decided to delve deeper into understanding the dynamics of conflict in an effort to improve their training and capacity development. He emphasised the fact that applied research was key in analysing regional peace and security issues pertinent to not only training and education of peace builders but also for policy contribution to the broader framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). In recognition of the complex conflict situations that have arisen in the region, the Director noted that there was a need to develop policy options in diverse areas that could assist the various stakeholders in formulating feasible policies and strategies for promoting peace and stability in the Eastern Africa region.

Keynote Address: Yoichiro Yamada

The Deputy Ambassador of Japan to Kenya while delivering his speech acknowledged the signing of the Memorandum of Cooperation (MOC) by IPSTC and congratulating the centre over the same. He noted that the memorandum will serve to reinforce the partnership between Japan and Kenya. He also noted that the MOC will further enable IPSTC to enhance future cooperation with Japan and other partners.

He noted the significance of this year's theme, recognizing the Centre's efforts in enhancing its contributions to the area of peace and conflict. The speech acknowledged the fact that the challenges likely to be experienced by the country in its political and social stability are similar those of economic development.

The Deputy Ambassador in borrowing from Marx's theories on society and economic development predicted that ultimately the inconsistencies witnessed in economic development within the region will culminate in social and political struggles. To expound on this, he offered three salient issues that are presently affecting the Eastern African region:

  i.   Rapid Population Growth
  ii. Rapid urbanization
  iii. Climate change and environmental degradation

He decried that whereas these three issues have a significant impact on society, lack of the requisite attention from the political arena to spearhead them into being national agendas was evident in most countries of the region.

While citing the population growth rate of Kenya (by 10 million, 2009) the Deputy Ambassador mentioned that this variable ultimately translates into socio-economic demands such as need for educational opportunities and eventually demands for jobs. Meeting these kind of demands would be a challenge for any nation.

Closely associated to the increase in population growth is the issue of urbanization. The Deputy Ambassador noted that whereas urbanization can be an indicator of positive economic growth, metropolises are notorious for the prevalence of delinquent social behaviour such as drug abuse and crime. Urban centres attract the young unemployed whose presence can be argued to exacerbate social and political instability.

The speech attributed the recent revolutionary wave witnessed in the Arab world to the growing population of frustrated and unemployed youth. The issue of youth unemployment if not adequately addressed, is thus a social ticking time bomb. To this end the Deputy Ambassador pointed at the need to 'emancipate' those that fall into this demographic bracket.

Climate change made up the third and final issue mentioned by the Deputy Ambassador. In reiterating concerns that have long been priority of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate change, the Deputy Ambassador noted the vulnerability of the region to climate change. He noted that it is predicted that the reduction in available resources as a result of climate change will fuel conflict between States and communities. While denoting the rising continental temperatures (by 0.5 degrees Celsius) he affirmed that this further increase in temperatures might put a greater strain on agricultural yields that has implications on peace and stability.

The Deputy Ambassador concluded that though he does not wish to be an alarmist, it is however important to bring to the fore the effects of climate change and the residual effects it would have on social interaction. He noted that the challenges faced as a result of the aforementioned issues require a holistic approach and IPSTC's expertise are well suited in that regard. The Deputy Ambassador concluded by recapping Japan's support to IPSTC and his wish that the symposium would result in a creative approach to dealing with conflict issues.

Presentation of Findings

Radicalisation in Eastern Africa: Implications for Regional Peace and Security
The purpose of the study conducted by Ms.Kimathi was to investigate how radicalisation impacts on issues of regional security. The paper broadly defined Radicalisation as *'use of violence as a means of achieving political goals'*.

Case studies were conducted in Kenya and Uganda. In Kenya, the research was carried out within two of Nairobi's informal settlements and Mombasa's Kisauni area. In Nairobi's Kariobangi area the interviews were conducted amongst 100 youth. The questions focused on why there appears to be a prevalence of radicalisation within informal settlements.

The researcher noted that, certain areas such as Mombasa had continuously been associated with the longest movement of militia groups. Research showed that part of the reasons for this included: marginalization, religion, state brutality and unemployment. One of the key movements indentified in Mombasa have adopted the name "**The Mombasa Republican Council".**

In Ugandan the researcher interviewed some of the past and present members of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). The research suggested that radicalisation emanated from lopsided development policies.

The study noted that radicalisation occurs at three different levels, namely: Individual, Group and Mass. It identified two main causes of radicalisation and noted that they are expressed or are manifested differently within the region:

  i. Fragility of state systems in the region (the loss of state legitimacy as a result of their inability to perform core functions)
  ii. Religion (the use of religion for political ends)

The paper also touched on de-radicalisation, which it defined as *abandoning radicalisation.* It notes that the process involves three perspectives:

  i. Abandoning violence by supporters;
  ii. De-legitimisation of violence;
  iii. Organizational change.

The researcher went on to expound on what she perceived as the causes of de-radicalisation.

i.   The presence of a charismatic leader and their demise or overt behavioural changes that are subsequently adopted by followers. The perception of change in the leader is important in triggering the corresponding transformation amongst the followers;

ii.   Intense suppression. The study found that using force to suppress illegal movements was to a large extent counterproductive. It noted that in Kenya experience has shown that this is the method mostly used when addressing radical groups. There are indications that this method has the net effect of fuelling radicalism; and

iii.   Selective group incentives. In light of the potentially negative results from the use of force, group incentives are the preferred method of triggering de-radicalisation. Unfortunately, it would appear only the civil society in Kenya has recognized its beneficial factors and embraced its use. In comparison, Uganda has developed a comprehensive blueprint to guide relevant authorities.

In summation, the study noted that radicalisation appears to emerge where there is a weak State. Rebel movements recognizing this weakness attempt to exploit the opportunity and rise to wrestle for power or to fill the void created as a result of the State abdicating from its role. There is an urgent need for the State to evaluate how they are fulfilling the responsibilities it has towards its subjects.

On the threat of future radicalisation, the paper notes that the youth within the region are a ready source of recruitment for various militia factions. Aside from the youth element, relevant stakeholders should note that radicalisation does not only manifest itself in the form of terrorism. Interested parties must therefore be alive to the dynamism of the issue. In this light, a multi pronged approach should be introduced to address the problem of radicalisation that embraces both private and public partnerships.

The researcher recommended that in view of the dynamics of radicalisation in the region, regional organizations and international non-state actors thus have an important role to play in the process of de-radicalization.

Key Issues Emerging from the Plenary Discussion

One of the key points brought forth during the discussion session was what informed the researcher's study. Pertinent question on conceptualisation of the study was posed as "was there a distinction between terrorism and insurgency or do they fall under the general umbrella labelled as *Radicalisation?"* Flowing from this question, further input was requested regarding the researcher's methodology. In terms of methodology and approach the presenter was tasked to elaborate on the salient characteristics in the case studies that would indicate to the reader that the specific areas chosen, represented the problem.

Though there was general agreement on the various sources of radicalisation presented through the study, it was suggested that the researcher identify specific links that would make one conclude for example that state fragility is linked to radicalisation? For example, how would the equitable distribution of resources, or the lack thereof, link to the presence of radicalisation?

It was also recommended that the paper should have considered the link between radicalisation and political current affairs. An example was given of the Republican Movement in Mombasa and the fact that there appears to be a correlation between their resurgence and current political events such as electoral processes.

The study pointed to the complacent nature of the response taken by the State. In recognition of this, participants recommended that the paper should consider delving further into exploring the intricacies of political interests. In this regard, concerns were raised that since The LRA was one of the case studies, the researcher thus requested to use LRA as platform to discuss perceptions of how the State handles grievances and why the threat still exists?

It was also suggested that the final paper should reflect the fact that the intention of the State and State officials can be divergent, and this disharmony may feed threats to regional security. Tied into this fact is the idea of the internationalisation of radicalism. To this end the presenter was asked to substantiate for instance, how many other stakeholders benefit from the existence of the LRA?

Further issues to be addressed in the paper included: What are some of the political incentives behind the sponsoring of groups such as the LRA? A comment on the result of the absence of State or existence of a failed State should be discussed. It was suggested that the researcher should look at various regions, Southern Sudan was mentioned specifically, to widen the scope of the study since LRA may not adequately represent the region and may not completely inform the hypothesis that there is a correlation between a failed State and radicalisation of groups.

Dr. Njeru in commending the paper, pointed at four additional reasons why the state may lose legitimacy:

i.   Failure to provide basic needs. In discussing this point it may useful to analyze past examples such as the food riots in the 70s that were witnessed in Zambia, or the crisis that is presently facing Kenya with the shortage of essential commodities. These examples should be analyzed in juxtaposition with that of the presence or emergence of radicalisation;

ii.   Inflation of essential commodities, the rise in the cost of living;

iii.   Absentee governments;

iv.   Failure to control borders.

The aforementioned observations intimate that there may be need to question the often negative label that is attached to radicalisation. For example, where does the barrier lie between radicalisation and agitation for the State to deliver what it is their duty to provide their subjects?

Often times the presence of democracy or lack thereof may be assigned blame as the cause for activities that threaten peace. It is doubtful that there are a perfect set of democratic ideals that can be attributed to lead to a reduction in radicalisation. Rwanda has often been cited as having a

model government, yet it is also criticised for its lack of democratic space. There are numerous States that have achieved great success in terms of economic development amidst the practice of deplorable democratic ideals. The subjects of a State should have the right to demand ideals from the government despite the existence of poverty. Possibly the analogy of a parent/child is informative in understanding the role of the State. The State should give the type of guidance that a parent would give its child. There was general observation by participants that the issue being witnessed in the region is that the 'parent' has misused their power. Thus, "A child cannot be expected to be reasonable on an empty stomach."

It was suggested that a more in-depth discussion on the issue of street children and their existence as a present and potential source for recruiting, should be incorporated into the final paper. Street children are a ready source that can be recruited by emerging and existing groups. Aside from their potential for recruitment, they also act as an example of the failure of the State to meet its duties to its citizens.

It was noted that democracy is subjective: its meaning varies depending on the particular circumstance. In Rwanda for example, democracy means access to food and basic security. In time, its meaning may change but the situation on the ground necessitates a different perception of democracy that may differ with western perceptions.

While noting that the paper was limited in terms of scope, participants suggested broadening of the issues under analysis so as to capture regional dynamics in as far as radicalisation is concerned. Further comments suggested consideration of the concept of political entrepreneurship as to whether it relates to radicalisation in the light of state fragility.

Multiple Livelihood-Conflict Triggers among Border Communities in Eastern Africa: A New Framework for Conflict Analysis

The study conducted by Mr.Onditi, set out to establish the multiple livelihood triggers within the Eastern African region. The objective of the study was to formulate a new framework for conflict analysis based on the premise that exiting frameworks have failed to address issues from a multidimensional perspective. The researcher also argued that most frameworks do not necessarily consider the socio-political and environmental unique features of the Eastern Africa borders hence the observed protracted cyclical livelihood-based conflicts.

The paper discussed the pertinent issues that should be incorporated in the existing framework. The study found adequate information is lacking on when, how and who should be involved in tackling livelihood-based conflicts in the Eastern Africa region.

The study looked specifically at the interplay between different livelihood assets, activities and outcome and conflict trend with specific cases of cross-border communities. Specific examples example were also cited on the emergence of the phenomenon of a" gun culture" amongst certain communities; the struggles between armed civilian verses government forces and the disturbing trend of the violation of women and children in conflict especially in countries emerging from conflicts such as South Sudan.

The researcher explained the choice of Eastern Africa as the research area, citing the emerging conflict issues that point towards the need for a new framework of conflict analysis as justification. To illustrate his point, he gave the recent bombings in Kampala as an example of the present predicament facing peace and conflict policy makers. The origin composition of the 32 suspects shattered past profiling and brought to light the changing face of conflict within the region.

It was noted that the conflicts in the region are as a result of the following characteristics found to be present in the border areas:
  i.   Lack of vivid boundary demarcations
  ii. landmines,
  iii. cultural disharmony, and
  iv. environmental shocks especially among the Arid and Semi Arid areas (ASALS).

In making his presentation, the researcher noted existing frameworks, for instance the USAID 2005 framework of analysis and identified some of the gaps. Based on the analysis of the existing frameworks, the study identified other important elements such as those related to social, political and environmental shocks that determine how a community cope with challenges of resource limitations. He also noted that many of the communities have disparate backgrounds

that inform their culture. A current framework should thus address the very pertinent issue of cultural disharmony.

Aside from social shocks, the study also endeavoured to understand the influence of political shocks. In the region (Sudan exempted), the majority of the systems of governance are centralized, thus creating the perceived phenomenon of marginalisation by some communities at the border regions. This phenomenon was found to influence political processes such as resource distribution and often times conflicts may arise because of the non-equitable distribution of these resources.

The main gaps in the existing frameworks of conflict analysis that the researcher identified could be summarised:

  i. Social shocks: the existing cultural disharmony where it was noted that there is need to identify the crisis among the war victims and returnees.
  ii. Natural and Physical shocks: environmental degradation.
  iii. Political shocks: these include centralized political systems and governance.

The study was thus guided by several objectives. It sought to establish the relationship between conflict trends and livelihoods. It also attempted to analyze the existing frameworks; identify gaps and create a framework that would incorporate that which was missing.

The methodology used in the study borrowed from the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF); Human security framework (HSF 2003) and the Human Development Approach with specific inclination to the 2010 Human Development Report that emphasises the issues of human security.

The research involved interviews in four key areas:

  i. Eastern Equatorial (Southern Sudan)
  ii. East African borders
  iii. Kenya-Ethiopia border
  iv. Uganda-South Sudan border

The study was done in two parts; the first part looked at the major drivers of conflict and the second, the specific livelihood conflict triggers. The researcher noted that building peace indicators is one of the long-term aims of the project. The intent is to create a self-reinforcing system and a continuous process that would be informative to government agencies and humanitarian organisations for an effective intervention.

According to the presenter the following were some of the findings:

Southern Sudan

- Drivers of conflict
  - The study showed that there was a correlation between physical conditions such as seasonal changes and certain conflict triggers. This analysis was based on the Eastern

Equatoria's county of Torit of Southern Sudan. It was found that there were increased deaths in the months of December and November (usually dry).

- o While pointing out the role of Population dynamics as a major driver to the increased conflict in the region, the study isolated and ranked certain elements as conflict triggers. Those established to be more risky were as follows:
  - a. kinship network;
  - b. territorial borders;
  - c. uncontrolled movement of livestock;
  - d. unequal property ownership, and
  - e. cultural practices among other triggers.

A part from these conflict triggers the study also identified some other issues that were closely associated with intersectional and inter-tribal conflicts across the borders. These were as follows:

i.   Territorial boundaries and uncontrolled movement of livestock, tied in with kinship networks;
ii.   Inequality in access to common property and resources;
iii. Cultural practices.
iv.   Witchcraft among the communities
v.   Emerging group of disillusioned youths

Ethiopia- Kenya border
According to the study findings some of the drivers of conflict in the region are as a result of territorial disputes. Majorly the lack of clarity of demarcation was attributed to the influence of colonial administration mainly by the Britons and Italians.

The study also carried out perception analysis and found out that the local community had divergent views as to the extent to which boundary disputes influence stability. Some of the views expressed include: the free movement of the people and the need to accommodate the increasing demands of basic commodities by the people as a result of new demographic trends.

East African Community border
The main drivers of conflict according to the presenter's findings in this area include; The 'Gun Culture' especially in the areas of Moroto, Turkana, West Pokot, Kuria and Kisoro. The cost of arms in these areas is relatively low (less than $1 per gun) and acquisition of the same is driven by expectations of ownership for purposes of self defence or as a means of protecting one's property. The influence of Blacksmith was also found to bear implications on proliferation of arms particularly among the Abakuria on the Kenya-Tanzania border.

Southern Sudan and the Uganda border

The main triggers of conflict identified by the presenter include violation of civilians by the official government forces, coupled with the issue of the elusive boundaries and the activities of the rebel groups and militia movement.

The presentation was concluded by recommendations and some of the strategic points that can be pursued to ensure peace and stability include:

1. Partnership from actors to enhance a multi dimensional approach;
2. The study noted that livelihood characteristics vary and as such, any intervention programmes should focus on household coping strategies and the different gender roles in relation to both active conflict and post-conflict environment;
3. Stakeholders must recognize the existence of a generational gap. Much has to be done to address this issue especially among groups such as the "**Nigas**" in the Southern Sudan or other youth groups that display obvious militaristic characteristics. The researcher noted that the new conflict analysis conceives that conflict begins at the family level, and then springs to the neighbourhood then across borders and this could be accelerated by several factors identified analysed in the paper; and
4. Need to de-militarise development particularly in states emerging from conflict such as South Sudan in the region.

The study recommended a Cross-border Conflict Detection Device (CBCDD). According to the study, a fully developed CBCDD would encompass the following elements:

i. the Conflict Trigger such as kinship network;
ii. the Conflict Indicator (inter- tribal groupings);
iii. Response Mechanisms(balanced community support system), and
iv. the partners (such as church based Non-Governmental Organizations, government agencies, traditional leaders and other youth gap networks) ought to be involved in dealing with the issues of peace and security.

In terms of regional policy implications, the researcher noted that to develop the CBCDD, there is need to extent financial support to assist in development of a **Monitoring Unit** in the Eastern Africa regional Centre of Excellence (COE). The rationale behind this model is to ensure that the required information is collected in a manner that is timely and accurate for an effective intervention by both government agencies and humanitarian organisations.

Key Issues Emerging from the Plenary Discussion

In general terms, participants observed that issues raised in the paper had economic and political implications, since peace and security issues rely largely on livelihood characteristics of a community. The development of the cross-border detection device as illustrated by the researcher was welcome by participants as a contribution to the fight against resource-based conflicts in the region. Further development and improvement of the device was however recommended by majority of participants and discussants.

It was further pointed out that the researcher needs to identify the process of conflict and the broad categories of its sources, the economic causes; competition for natural resources and democratic shifts in the country's governance structure.

It was noted that the presenter ought to have identified the issues that touch on supremacy, water, droughts and land ownership, and put this into perspective. For instance, how would these lead to the increased conflict in the region? Related to this is the fact that there seem to be a relationship between the causes of the conflict and business rivalry for livestock products among the people in the region. This is compounded by the increase in livestock diseases that seem to be another conflict trigger among cross-border communities.

Other areas of concern as per the first discussant pertained to the inclusion of the following issues in the paper:
  i. The cumulative effects of the conflict on borders;
  ii. the diversion of resources to other areas apart from the development of the
      region; and
  iii. the issues of poverty and the collapse of systems that can be utilized to deal with
      the conflict triggers.

Based on the CBCDD the discussants generally agreed with the new concept and viewed this as a major contribution towards analysing border conflicts for appropriate intervention. However, the presenter was challenged to identify the major steps taken towards the development of the model. For the purpose of developing the framework participants recommended the following in regard to the framework: i) profile peace indicators; ii) carry out regional stakeholders' analysis; iii) the mainstreaming of the livelihood, development and equality and development should also be included in the analysis.

Whereas the methodology employed by the researcher was clear and relevant to the field of study, the need to be explicit on ethical issues pertaining research was deemed necessary.

On the nature of the border porosity, a different lense of analysis was proposed by the discussants. The concept of *mobile communities* who lack citizenship across the borders was introduced in the discussion by Prof. Amutabi. This was emphasised as key in analysis of peace and security issues affecting border stability.

In relation to gender dynamics, it was noted that the change in 'codes' of conduct in cattle raids amongst the pastoralist communities in relation to the treatment of women and children should be addressed. If the percentage of women and children affected has increased, the paper should identify the mortality rate, rather than making general aspersions.

Also emerging from the discussion was the historical dimension of cattle rustling. It was brought to the discussion that historically only cattle were taken during the raids, overtime the type of livestock that is taken has changed. The paper should try and identify what is causing these changes in the community's behaviour.

The researcher was urged to give a clear explanation on the community's perception on resource distribution as a potential trigger. Questions were also raised on the role of the government and recent disarmament campaign in which it was observed that only one community would be disarmed. The question of who protects the disarmed community is worthwhile addressing since this in the long run leads to the emergence of conflict between the two communities. Should more effort be put into ensuring communities understand their role as far as conflict prevention is concerned. It was noted that the assumption that cross-border communities are predisposed to conflict can be dispelled with if proactive economic interventions are introduced.

The Emerging Asymmetric Threats in Eastern Africa: Implications for Peace and Security

The study by Mr.Kiprono focused on threats emanating from Somalia, and admitted that though this may have been limiting, it was also impossible to cover all forms of threats. One of the underlying questions that informed the paper related to the common denominator of the threats faced in the region. The foundation of the study was laid on the understanding that asymmetric threats are not covered under the various treaties and arms agreements. Questions should be asked on how we can better understand regional threats and how to best identify the measures to address these threats.

The research used key information interviews amongst 47 interviewees. The information was drawn from Kenya and Uganda; it involved government officials, security experts and CSOs. The survey sought to garner perceptions on regional threats.

The research findings indicate that there are numerous types of threats within the region, insurgency being one of key threats.

Aside from internal concerns, there is evidently no coherent strategy from international stakeholders on how to tackle the problem. Presently individual efforts from various bodies are not well coordinated. The study suggests that the preferred response may be to stabilise the region first before any attempts are made at reconstruction. The process of initiating stability should be spearheaded by the UN to ensure it maintains actual and perceived credibility, and region wide acceptance.

The researcher asserted that advantage there seem to be an opportunity for tackling the problem given the fact that Al Shabaab appears to be losing its popularity. Warnings from Somali leaders that present views on Al Shabaab are too simplistic should be noted. Case in point was the recent bombings in Kampala. The researcher suggested that perceptions regarding the members of terrorists groups must be realigned to reflect what is taking place on the ground. The increasing radicalisation outside of Somalia is a key security challenge. The presenter noted that the stark reality is that unless Somalia is stabilized, the region will continue to experience threats.

Policy recommendations from the study on how to address the issue focused on sustainable solutions. The presenter suggested the use of incremental approaches as well as a unified international effort to stabilize and reconstruct the Somali state. Efforts should be made to follow up on the UNSG 2009 proposed modalities of transitioning the AU force into a UN mission.

There also has to be both State and regional level strategies to deal with radicalisation in the region. On this point, the presenter noted that the State also has to address the negative externalities associated with unemployment and poverty. The presenter suggested that further research should be done to study the cause of increased recruitment of non-Somali youth in the

movement. In concluding, the presenter posed the question whether this latter phenomenon is an indication of a trend that requires a specific strategy to be implemented.

Key Issues Emerging from the Plenary Discussion

The discussion session for the third paper was led by Stephen Singo and Felix Mboyi. Mr. Singo opened the plenary discussion by noting that the title of the study *"The Emerging Asymmetric threats in Easter Africa: Implications for regional peace and security"* should be substantially revised given that the substance of the work is about Somalia and not the Eastern Africa region.

Disconnect in the organisation of the paper was noted. In respect to this, it was suggested that regional threats should not come before the findings, unless the latter was introduced as an executive summary. Also, the paper lacked clear conceptualisation. For instance a question was posed as to why the threats exist in the first palace.

Methodological concerns were also raised in this study. The researcher indicated that he used key informant interviews from Kenya and Uganda because of the specific problem question being addressed. However, despite the justification, there were still concern over the sample size, only 47 people were interviewed. Questions as to whether this sample was adequate enough to collect the data required for such a study with regional implications?

Suggestions by participants indicated that, it would have been beneficial to interview members of the business community to find out what their perspectives are. Consideration should be given to whether it would make economic sense for members of the business community to advocate for peace?

It was noted that there appears to be an invisible hand that is benefiting from the chaos in Somalia, as such further investigations should be done on what may be the repercussions of well planned puppeteering or political and economic manipulation.

Furthermore, the participants pointed out the study should recognize that the Somali people are not a homogenous group. There are two approaches when studying the differences amongst the people. It can either be looked at from the difference in religious makeup, namely the Shiite versus the Sunni dimension or alternatively the differences can be analyzed in terms of clan disparities.

It was reiterated that neither of these has been addressed in the paper and this could be a fundamental flaw, since friction caused by the diversity in these two categories may have significant implications on peace and security in the region.

It was acknowledged that this is a new area of study and albeit the Somali question is bigger and possible more urgent to address, it is certainly not the only one. However, if the focus is to be on Somalia, then it is necessary to address why Somalia has become an international imbroglio.

The researcher should have addressed certain questions, such as why doesn't the UN have a mission in Somalia? Did the events of the 1993 Battle of Mogadishu influence the present attitudes of the international community towards Somalia? The study needs to delve into unearthing the core root of what is at stake in Somalia. Why is there a reluctance to get involved from the majority of States; should it not be a concern that only Uganda and Burundi have troops in Somalia?

In addition, it was strongly suggested that there are other sources of asymmetric threats in the region, such as Northern Uganda. To capture the extent of the impact within the region, the areas studied may need to be wider than just Somalia. The presenter did however note that the threat posed by Al Shabaab is directly linked to regional threats, hence the study's focus on South and Central Somalia.

It is commendable that policy options have been outlined in the study; it is advisable to elaborate on what the study means by _incremental approaches._ Is there a possibility for tripartite approach amongst the various bodies that are affected (IGAD, EAC etc). Evidently there is a need for increased partnership. IGAD is presently in Somalia; however, it lacks the capacity to adequately address the problem. How do we empower organizations to ensure their presence makes yields constructive positive results? The study failed to mention the presence of the Eastern African Standby Force (EASF). There is need to strengthen regional partnerships, this will assist in dealing with trans-regional crime. In addition to the preferred responses, consideration should also be given to the effect of the democratisation of Somalia as a tool for stability.

Taking into account the first paper's discussion on radicalisation, is there a need to address the country's porous borders in an attempt to curb the effects of these asymmetric threats? The researcher was asked to address the question of how the problem can be addressed without fuelling perceptions of discrimination amongst practitioners of the Islamic faith.

In discussing border porosity, how do we address the lethargy amongst State players who should have the responsibility of policing their borders? What type of action are law enforcement agencies taking in the border regions? The various national bodies need to start engaging with each other with more freedom recognizing that they share a common goal. Non-cooperation becomes a hindrance in curbing emerging regional threats. It was suggested that the study should also include an analysis of the legal frameworks that have been implemented to address these threats.

Regarding the current issue of piracy, it was observed that the paper does not touch the topic. Is there a link between the mutation of the various groups and international security? On this point, it was further noted that what the researcher presented as asymmetric threats may be too narrow. Consideration should have been given to other threats such as illegal exploitation of resources,

poaching, and corruption amongst others. The researcher should widen the scope when defining what asymmetric threats are. Taking cognisance of these types of issues, it was also suggested that the study should consider the existence of national terrorist cells. The large majority of recruits appear to be from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, what can be inferred from this observation. It was suggested that the paper should consider whether there would be positive externalities (in relation to the fight to curb asymmetric threats) if economic incentives were to be introduced as a tool to curb the emergence of asymmetric threats.

The region is embracing technology, this has both its advantages and disadvantages. Technology opens a new avenue for networking and smuggling. It was thus suggested that the paper should address some of the emerging trends in technology as they relate to asymmetric threats. Further studies should be conducted in an attempt at exploring the impact of information technology. The internet era has introduced new ways for people to relate and exchange ideas. The study should look at the positive side of technology and whether it can be used as an avenue to engage the Somali Community.

The discussants noted that the concerns expressed by the individuals interviewed were not portrayed in the paper. Views garnered from the various groups such as the business community in the regions studied would have been pertinent. For instance, the blacksmith's views on disarmament and how it would affect their livelihood.

In terms of the solutions offered and the proposed policy options given, the study should identify who is best placed to present the messages. There may be room to involve civil society movements. The paper does not mention if there is a time frame regarding when the proposals will be implemented. It may assist if there was a way to weigh the threat so that any intervention measures can be shaped appropriately.

Further Observations

Regarding all the presentations, some participants felt that it would have been useful to indicate some of the challenges faced during field research. For example, it would be informative to know how the researchers gained the confidence of members of the Lord's Resistance Army or members of Al Shabaab. Participants also revealed that collective effort in research activities enhances the possibility of more comprehensive results. In this light, researchers were advised to identify similar studies and make an effort to pool their resources and exploit their expertise and strengths with other similar institutions in the region.

General Strategic Recommendations

In light of the research presentations by IPSTC researchers, participants identified gaps and opportunities for the centre in regard to research activities as outlined below:

- The IPSTC researchers need to collaborate with other research institutions with similar mission and goals (collaboration) for conducting joint research.
- Regional approach to research – there is need for the centre to establish Memorandum of Associations (MOA) with the regional Member States in order to legitimate recommendations originating from research efforts by the centre. An example was given of the trust that the ICGLR and IPSTC have created over time and now the two enjoys the mutual relationships through applied research, training and curriculum development.
- Need for a multidisciplinary approach to research where all the stakeholders have a role to play: this could be achieved by undertaking stakeholder analysis in the region. This was emphasised as a remedy to duplication of efforts in the region.

Symposium Conclusions

Majority of participants noted that the question of stakeholder in the regional peace and security architecture was a common denominator that ran through all three research papers. It would be necessary therefore to look at the stakeholders and identify who sits on the demand side and who is on the supply side of the information that is being disseminated

Similarly, the issue of collaboration was mentioned several times during the plenary discussions. In light of this understanding it was generally recommended for IPSTC research unit to identify other individuals conducting similar research so as to increase utility of research information.

On this note, there was a general consensus that lack of harmony and the general suspicion between different regional institutions acts as a hindrance towards the development of effective regional strategy to counter challenges related to radicalisation, livelihood conflicts as well as asymmetric threats.
Generally, the participants reaffirmed that the areas covered and findings were very current and that the centre ought to increase accessibility of the information therein to different actors and stakeholders. Thus the need to identify a relevant journal for publishing the pieces of work.

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