IGAD CEWARN
CONFLICT EARLY WARNING AND RESPONSE MECHANISM

REGIONAL CONFLICT PROFILES AND SCENARIOS

2023



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PROFILES AND SCENARIOS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations and Acronyms 1

Acknowledgements 2

Executive Summary 3

1. Introduction 5

1.1. Conceptual Framework 5

1.2. Justification for Updating Report 6

1.3. Methodology 7

2. Conflict Landscape in IGAD region 7

2.1 Governance Deficit and Institutional Weaknesses 9

2.2. Economic Challenges 11

2.3. Security Challenges 12

2.4. Influence of External Actors 14

2.5. Gender, Ethnic, Religious and Media Dynamics 16

2.6. Climate Risks 17

2.7. Management of Natural Resources and Land 18

3. Conflict Outlook for IGAD region: Scenarios for Critical Issues 20

4. Media as Domain Concern 25

5. Conclusions and Recommendations 26

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Regional CEW Concerns in 2021 and 2023 9

Table 2: Governance deficit – issues, causes and impacts 10

Table 3: Economic challenges – issues, causes and impacts 12

Table 4: Security challenges – issues, causes and impacts 13

Table 5: Influence of external actors – issues, causes and impacts 15

Table 6: Mismanagement of diversity: issues, causes and impacts 16

Table 7: Climate risks – issues, causes and impacts 17

Table 8: Management of land and natural resources – issues, causes and impacts 19

Table 9: Scenarios for the critical issues 20

Table 10: Recommendations for policy action to achieve best-case scenario 26

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ATMIS	African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
AUBP	African Union Border Programme
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CBSG	Cross-Border Security Governance
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism of IGAD
CEWERU	Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
FBOs	Faith-Based Organizations
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
ICBT	Informal Cross-Border Trade
ICPAC	IGAD Climate Prediction and Application Centre
IDDRSI	IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MS	Member States
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRI	National Research Institute
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is the fruit of a series of consultations with national CEWERUs, national and regional thematic experts in economy, social affairs, governance, environment and security as well as with experts from IGAD programs and specialized institutions. It has also gone through rigorous reviews to be fit for use by national and regional decision makers with the aim of informing appropriate and timely responses to emerging threats to human security in the region.

It has also been enriched by insights from IGAD Peace and Security Division Director Hon. Siraj Fegessa and CEWARN Director Mr. Camlus Omogo. Subsequently, it was presented to and adopted by the 18th Technical Committee on Conflict Early Warning and Response (TCEWR) and the 17th Committee of Permanent Secretaries (CPS) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at their meetings on 26-27 July 2023 and 28 July 2023 respectively in Mombasa, Kenya.

We would like to recognize the invaluable contributions from the regional experts whose ideas have made this report high quality, precise and depicting the realities we have in the region. Your ideas have sharpened the conflict case scenarios for tangible recommendations.

Thanks to the Conflict Analyst, Dr. Sunday Angoma Okello, who has been running this programme together with the CEWARN Unit conflict analysis and communications team members. The CEWARN analysis team has been very helpful in corroborating all data from different sources, organizing the workshops and reviewing the contents of the report.

Finally, we would like to appreciate the EU financial support through the IGAD Promoting Peace and Stability in the Horn of Africa Region (IPPSHAR) project that has enabled CEWARN to review the 2021 report and generate this 2023 report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is an update of the 2021 Regional Conflict Profiles and Scenario Building Report. CEWARN conducts national and regional conflict profiling and scenarios building exercises as per the CEWARN's Protocol, which gives the Mechanism the mandate to continually monitor the region's conflict early warning, develop scenarios and recommend options for response. Major threats emerged, with some persisted, mutated, or became less significant in their potency. This has necessitated the sector wise analysis (economy, security, governance, societal, environmental) detailing the key issues, causes, actors, and impacts.

Since 2021, the region has been undergoing new developments, but also experienced new threats to peace and stability. The 2023 analysis notes successful management of the COVID-19, both within the region and globally. IGAD region witnessed some key positive milestones including in the implementation of the 2018 South Sudan revitalised peace agreement, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian and the Tigray peace agreement that was signed in December 2021, IGAD's involvement in the trilateral peace negotiation in Sudan, the formation of the IGAD Climate Security Coordination Mechanism, the continued success on the fight against Al-Shabaab by allied forces in Somalia, the successful and peaceful elections in Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, and Uganda. The IGAD Desert Locust Task Force (IDLTF) worked tirelessly to combat the spread of Desert Locust, thus undermining the risks of food insecurity in the region.

The mixed methodology used in the profiling, drew data from both secondary and primary sources, supported by the iterative processes of internal reviews by CEWARN conflict analysts, and validation workshops. Other data sources included weekly update reports, situation room reports, CEWARN reporter, and NRI sectoral reports, etc. The draft regional report was presented for validation by MSs Technical Committee on Conflict Early Warning and Response (TCEWR), and thereafter, sought the critical review and acceptance by the Committee of Permanent Secretaries (CPS) of IGAD's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The recommendation from the CPS guided the post-CPS experts' review to crystalize issues and recommendations. The intensive reviews emphasized on the relevance, realities, accuracy, syntheses of the recommendations and well detailed scenarios. The recommendations are both policy-oriented as well as programmatic.

Seven key concerns were identified as:

1. Governance deficit with three priority concerns entail: (i) weak adherence to the rule of law, constitutionalism, democracy, transparency and accountability; (ii) increased ethnically divisive politics and nepotism; (iii) political uncertainty and complex transitions.
2. Economic challenges with three priority concerns are: (i) poverty and food insecurity, (ii) youth unemployment, and (iii) high (and rising) cost of living
3. Security challenges with three priority concerns are: (i) violent extremism, (ii) armed militias, and (iii) cattle rustling and communal violence
4. Role of external actors with three priority concerns are: (i) violent extremism, (ii) armed militias, and (iii) cattle rustling and communal violence
5. Mismanagement of gender, ethnic and religious diversity with three priority concerns are: (i) gender inequality, (ii) escalation of identity politics, and (iii) negative influence of social media
6. Climate Change Risks with three priority concerns are: (i) increased droughts, floods, pests and disasters, (ii) climate security, (iii) global concerns to climate risks
7. Management of land and natural resources with three priority concerns are: (i) access to and management of extractives, (ii) access to and management of shared, transboundary resources, and (iii) contested intra- and inter-state boundaries.

The purpose of conflict early warning is to alert "decision makers of IGAD policy organs and the national governments of the Member States" on the "potentially violent conflicts as well as their outbreak and escalation in the IGAD region" in order to contribute to their preventive actions. Case scenarios (status quo, best and worst) can inform on the evolution of conflicts and how to address the challenges. The status quo is the current situation, and the positive trends are best case scenario, while the worsening situations inform about worst case scenario.

The recommendations in this report are aligned according to the areas of concerns starting with: Governance deficit, Economic challenges, Security challenges, influence of external actors, Mismanagement of gender, ethnic, religious diversity and media, Climate Risks, Land and natural resource management.

The role of media was identified as an important domain of concern and a critical factor that cuts across the different concerns, given its central and fast-evolving role due to advancements in technology.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2021, IGAD Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) issued the first Regional Conflict Profile and Scenario Building Report. The Report was based on data generated through CEWARN's integrated conflict early warning reporter system that includes country-specific thematic research, country conflict profiles, scenario-building reports, daily briefs, weekly update reports, national and regional situation room reports, sectoral country reports produced by National Research Institutes (NRI), and field data.

This report updates the analysis in the 2021 report taking into account developments that have occurred in the region over the past two years. It retains the structure of the 2021 report, but with adjustments aimed at ensuring greater coherence in presentation and analysis. This introductory chapter presents the conceptual framework that informs the analysis, provides the justification for updating the 2021 report, and explains the methodology used in developing it. Chapter two maps out the conflict landscape in the IGAD region, identifying critical conflict early warning concerns, the issues in each case, major causes and impacts. Chapter three presents the conflict outlook for the region, building scenarios on the key concerns and issues to anticipate the best- and worst-case scenarios. The two scenarios define the policy actions and interventions that Member States (MSs) would need to take to manage conflict and secure peace and stability in the region. The report concludes by providing recommendations for policy and programmatic interventions.

1.1. Conceptual Framework

The Protocol establishing CEWARN[1] mandates CEWARN Unit to gather, verify, process and analyse information about conflicts in the region, and communicate the same to decision makers of IGAD policy organs and MS. To fulfil this mandate, CEWARN undertakes periodic conflict profiles, develops case scenarios and formulates response options[2]. The process entails identifying critical concerns and specific issues that have the potential to cause regional conflict if no proactive preventive steps are taken. The concerns and issues identified constitute the baseline for analysis and scenarios building. In building scenarios, CEWARN considers on the one hand, how the issue is likely to evolve if appropriate and timely interventions are implemented (the best-case scenario); and on the other hand, what is likely to happen if no action is taken (the worst-case scenario). Trends are analyzed to establish whether there are positive or negative deviations from the baseline. A positive deviation from the baseline means a mitigating trend towards a best-case scenario, while a negative deviation connotes an exacerbation towards a worst-case scenario.

1 Protocol on the Establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism for IGAD Member States, 2003
2 Annex, Part I(1)(c)

CEWARN's profiling and scenario building exercises focus on identifying regional issues, i.e., those that manifest or have the potential to manifest in at least three of the seven MSs. For those issues that have regional implications, CEWARN identifies and recommends response options that would produce the best-case scenario to MSs. This report is designed to target a broad range of audiences.

1.2. Justification for this Report

The conflict situation in the IGAD region is extremely dynamic, reflecting on its ever evolving political, governance, economic, social and environmental landscape.

There have been significant developments in the region's conflict landscape since the publication of the 2021 report. New threats to peace and stability have emerged, even as old ones have either persisted, mutated, or become less significant in their potency. These developments make it necessary to update the 2021 report so that it may reflect the reality on the ground, while also profiling and building scenarios with respect to new and emerging threats to peace and stability in the region.

The implementation of the 2018 South Sudan revitalised peace agreement, the Federal Republic of Ethiopian and the Tigray peace agreement that was signed in December 2021, IGAD's involvement in the trilateral peace negotiation in Sudan, the formation of the Climate Security Coordination Mechanism, the continued success on the fight against Al-Shabaab by allied forces in Somalia, the successful and peaceful elections in Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda underscore some of the major positives.

The war in Sudan, the threats to relapse and escalation of war in Ethiopia's region of Tigray and Ahmara regions, increase in communal violence, terror threats, inflation and rising costs of living and taxation, impacts of climate change are some of the new and emerging dynamics.

Updating the 2021 report entails revisiting the key concerns and issues that were highlighted in the report to understand how they have evolved over time, and determine which of them remain relevant and in what way. Additionally, updating entails identifying and prioritizing new and emerging concerns and issues, and analysing them in terms of causes, actors, and impacts. The updated report thus profiles conflicts in the region and builds scenarios on them as at 2023. It concludes with recommendations to IGAD and its MSs that are equally updated to reflect the current reality of threats to peace and stability in the region.

1.3. Methodology

The primary and secondary information used in the report was gathered using mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative). The 2021 report constituted the baseline for updating the 2023 report. Other sources of information included the weekly update reports, situation rooms report, CEWARN Reporter, NRI sectoral reports, etc. The review exercise was conducted through sectoral and MSs group discussions, and involved break-out sessions and presentations, which were then subjected to plenary discussions. Decisions were arrived at by consensus.

The overall process was iterative bringing different stakeholders at all stages to ensure validity and ownership. There was active participation of key stakeholders and sectoral experts who were drawn from the seven IGAD MSs to discuss national and regional issues and concerns.

The regional concerns and issues were guided by the provision outlined in the methodological framework of analysis detailing concerns, issues, actors and impacts. The regional issues were subjected to plenary discussions and consensus building. This process resulted into the 7 issues and concerns.

A four days' regional validation workshop was convened for this purpose in May 2023 in Entebbe, Uganda. The workshop was attended by resource persons from MSs that included heads of Conflict Early Warning and Response Units (CEWERUs) and NRIs, as well as experts from IGAD programs and specialized institutions.

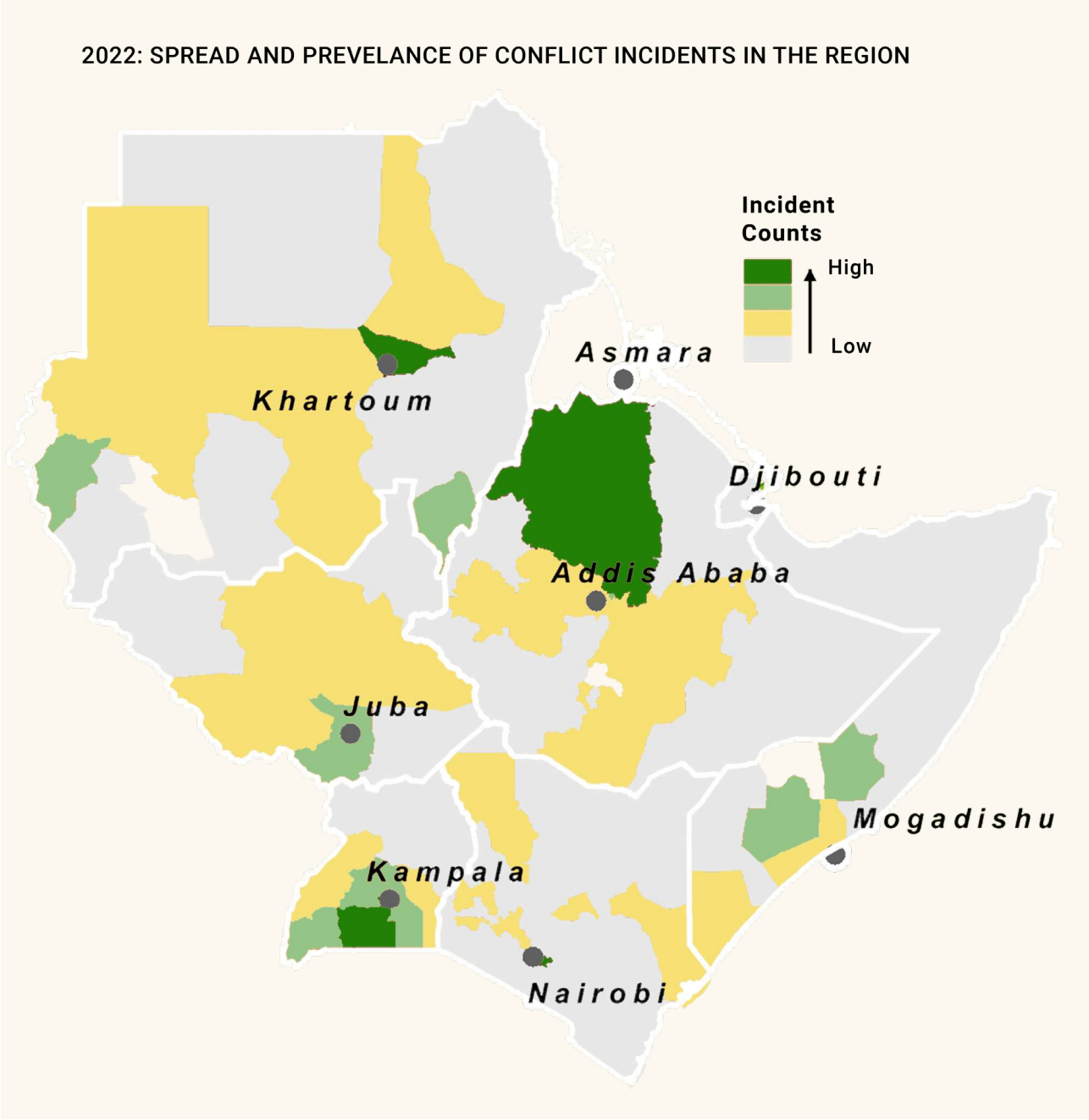
The draft document was subjected to the following additional processes: the internal CEWARN Unit reviews; validation by MSs 17th and 18th TCEWR meetings in May and in July 2023 respectively; presentation of the TCEWR inputs to the 17th CPS Meeting in July 2023, and the Post-CPS experts' reviews.

2. CONFLICT LANDSCAPE IN IGAD REGION

The conflicts in the IGAD region are characterised by multiple and inter-twined crises, internal and external variables, man-made and natural phenomena, and intra and extra regional influences.

In addition, the conflicts are dynamic in nature, with some of them characterized as either emerging, persistent, escalating or dissipating. The map shows spread and prevalence of conflict incidents in the region in 2022. Due to the region's social and cultural interconnectedness, conflicts in MSs have the potential to spill over to one or more countries. Although there are some commonalities and overlapping conflict typologies, priorities for interventions do vary with MSs. Despite the achievements, some challenges

are still persistent, though the magnitude, intensity and manifestation vary across MSs. In cases where MSs have taken appropriate actions, significant progress in conflict mitigation, prevention, and political settlement have been observed.



These include the successful management of COVID-19, the peaceful and orderly elections that were conducted in Uganda, Djibouti, Kenya and Somalia, on-going improvement and observance of peace agreements in South Sudan, Sudan, Ethiopia, and the collaborative efforts to address climate change risks like the establishment of the climate security coordination mechanism.

Table 1 below shows the key concerns and specific issues identified in 2021 and 2023 respectively.

Table 1: Regional CEW Concerns in 2021 and 2023



In sum, all the issues that were listed in the 2021 report apart from the pandemics continue to be relevant in 2023. Within each of these concerns there are underlying causes, actors at varying levels with competing and far-reaching impacts. The section that follows examines each of the 7 concerns.

2.1. Governance Deficit and Institutional Weaknesses

Governance deficit refers to the failure to achieve good governance that is characterized by regular competitive, free and peaceful elections, which lead to orderly and peaceful transfer of power; and democratic, transparent and accountable political decision-making processes that are inclusive of all sectors of society. A key element of good

governance is the rule of law, founded on predictable mechanisms for resolving disputes and managing conflicts, and functional judicial systems backed by effective enforcement mechanisms. The three key issues that manifest in governance deficit in the IGAD region are: weak adherence to the rule of law, constitutionalism, democracy, transparency and accountability; the spread of identity politics and nepotism; and political uncertainty and complex political transitions. The weakness of governance institutions and procedures fosters the spread of identity politics and nepotism. Ethnic mobilization for political competition is in part a response by citizens to the weakness of governance institutions and an expression of their lack of trust in the institutions to secure their rights.

Although all IGAD MSs are founded on constitutions that uphold democracy and good governance, the region is characterised by persistent and recurrent conflicts driven by governance-related contestations. Results of most general elections held in the region have been contested on claims of rigging and other electoral malpractices. A number of MSs experience cycles of violence and instability that are tied to electoral calendars. Apart from the threats posed to peace and stability, these cyclical disturbances exacerbate social tensions, disrupt production and reverse economic gains, causing lasting damage to development prospects. According to some reports, governments and non-state fighters alone were responsible for up to 10,000 deaths in 2020 translating to 27 deaths a day (Monitor news article; May 03 2021). Additionally, most of the recently held elections in the region including in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya have ended up in either post elections litigation or violence.

The table below shows some of the underlying key causes, actors, and impacts for specific issues of governance deficit.

Table 2: Governance Deficit – Issues, Causes and Impacts

	1	2	3
ISSUES	**Weak adherence** to the rule of law, **constitutionalism**, democracy, transparency and **accountability**	Increased **ethnically divisive** politics and **nepotism**	**Political uncertainty** and complex **transitions**
CAUSES	**Quality of leadership**, Weak public institutions, **clientelism**, **Patronage**, **Unethical** behaviour	Quality of leadership; **Corruption**; **clientelism**, patronage, **Unethical** behaviour, Mismanagement of **diversity**, **Social, Political** and Economic exclusion	**Non-compliance** and weak enforcement of **peace agreements**; Fear of the unknown, Weak and **compromised electoral**, Legal and institutional frameworks, **Inadequately resourced peace** agreements, **Weak punitive measures** for non-compliance
IMPACTS	**Distortion** of political, **Social** & **Economic** procedures, **Political** instability, **Uncertainty**, and **Unpredictability**, Social **Injustice**.	Distortion of **Political**, **Social**, and **Economic** procedures, Weakening of **Institutions** & **Rule of law**, injustice.	**War**, breakdown of state institutions, **Deepening** of **fault lines** within the state, **instability**

The primary actors responsible for perpetuating the governance deficit in the region are identified to be but not limited to the major political actors who are namely: politicians, political parties, parliaments, and the military (generally law enforcement agencies). The main interest driving these actors is the pursuit of political and economic power, authority and influence and reactions to perceived injustices. There are also secondary actors including religious and cultural leaders and institutions, the business community, civil society organizations (CSOs), and communities. These are motivated largely by the quest for social capital and communal solidarity to secure collective interests and reactions against perceived marginalization and perceived injustices.

The impacts of governance deficits lead to the distortion of political, social and economic procedures, and weakening of institutions of governance and rule of law, leading to political instability, uncertainty, and unpredictability especially with regards to peaceful transitions based on outcomes of electoral competitions. In extreme cases, and in the absence of appropriate interventions, this may lead to violent conflict and breakdown of state institutions, thus deepening fault lines within the state and compounding instability.

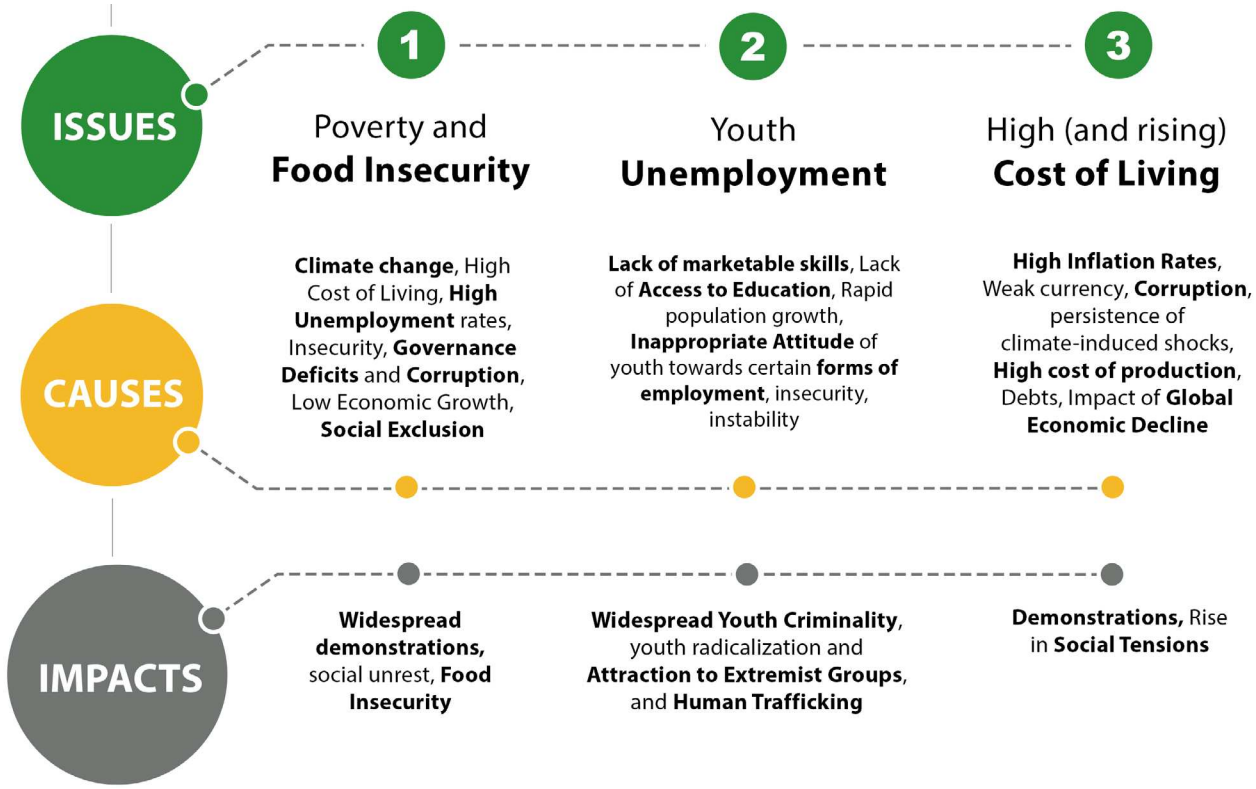
2.2. Economic Challenges

IGAD MSs face economic transformation challenges in the context of rapid population growth of over 230 million people and global economic decline from 2.7 percent last year to 1.2 percent and 1.4 percent this year and next year 2024. The global growth is estimated to slow from 3.4 percent in 2022 to 2.9 percent in 2023 then rebound to 3.1 percent in 2024.The key manifestations of economic challenges in the region are poverty and food insecurity; youth unemployment; and high (and rising) cost of living. Overall, according to some sources, the youth unemployment in the East African Countries is at about 51-57% with unemployment among rural women being at about 67%. According to the OCHA relief web, in South Sudan, approximately 6.6 million people – or over half of South Sudan's population were projected to experience high levels of acute food insecurity between October and November 2022, while an estimated 22.6 million people were said to be suffering from food insecurity across Ethiopia, approximately 6.7 million people across Somalia were expected to have faced high levels of acute food insecurity (IPC Phase 3+) in the same period in 2022.

Although the region boasts some of the fastest growing economies in Africa, the gains of economic growth are negated by factors such as high population growth rates, the impacts of climate change, natural disasters and high debts management costs.

The table below shows some of the underlying key causes, actors, and impacts for specific issues of economic challenges.

Table 3: Economic Challenges – Issues, Causes and Impacts



The primary actors with regards to economic challenges are governments of MSs, private sector (employers, producers and traders), education institutions, financial institutions, families and the youth. These are the people and institutions whose actions contribute to the challenges, and who in turn hold the key to addressing them. Secondary actors include Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), donors, and global actors and interests (including countries, groups, and individuals). The major interests are the pursuit of political and economic power and influence, as well as the search for livelihoods opportunities.

Economic challenges have widespread impacts that go beyond livelihoods security, and extend into other sectors, including governance and security in a systematically symbiotic manner. They cause disaffection among populations, leading to demonstrations that in turn may cause social unrest, and undermine production and productivity, thereby compounding livelihoods and food insecurity. Limited economic opportunities create vulnerabilities that may drive youth into violent behaviour, susceptibility to radicalization and recruitment by extremists and criminal groups.

2.3. Security Challenges

The IGAD region's security challenges include violent extremism, armed militias, and cattle rustling and communal violence. These are closely linked to governance, economy, and socio-cultural attributes at the national, regional and global context. Moreover, the

region has also attracted the external interest due to its geo-strategic location and natural resource endowment. According to the 2021 Global Report on Internal Displacement, at the end of December 2020, there were 8.9 million conflict-related internally displaced persons, 4.6 million refugees and asylum seekers, and nearly 3 million people who were newly displaced by disasters.

Cattle rustling and communal violence are rampant and widespread in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) of the IGAD region, particularly along the borderlands that skirt Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan and Uganda. Although it is a traditional practice among pastoral communities, cattle rustling has mutated in modern times, having been commercialised and now underwritten by criminal gangs that take advantage of its traditional antecedents. The main explanations for cattle rustling and communal violence include the collapse of traditional institutions and systems of governance and conflict management, the pursuit of economic interests, and the failure of formal justice systems. Cattle rustling is underpinned by a range of motivations, including heroism, prestige, economic interests, culture, revenge, territorial dominance, disputed borders, resource competition, commercialized raid and organized crime.

Table 4: Security Challenges – Issues, Causes and Impacts

	1	2	3
ISSUES	Violent **Extremism**	Armed **Militias**	Cattle Rustling and **Communal Violence**
CAUSES	Ramifications of the global war on terror, **Competing ideologies,** Influence of radical clerics, **Failure of governance**, Inequality and exclusion, **Poverty**, Identity, social dynamics, **Easy means of SALW smuggling** by sea and land	**Monetized and politicized militarization of ethnicity**, Identity bias and grievances, **Poor governance**, decentralization of security	**Collapse of Traditional institutions** and systems of governance and conflict management, **Pursuit of economic interests,** failure of formal justice systems, **Prestige, economic interests**, Culture, revenge, territorial dominance, **Disputed borders**, Resource Competition, Commercialized **Raid and organized crime**
IMPACTS	**Death and destruction of property**, Economic decline, Forced **Displacement & Migration**, Organized crimes, State collapse, **Human rights abuses**, Environmental degradation, **Collapse of social structures**, ethnic cleansing, **Human trafficking**	**Death and destruction, political instability**, crime, economic decline, **State collapse**	Death and destruction, **Displacement, disruption of social order**, crime, **Economy, poverty**, Gender violence, Increased number of **Women and child-led households**

The major actors in connection with security challenges are terrorist organizations (ADF, Al-Shabaab, ISIS and Al Qaeda), governments (central, regional, and local), politicians, religious leaders, businesspeople, youth, women, CSOs, media, clan and tribal leaders, external actors, and diaspora. The main interests at play in this connection are ideology, power politics, competition for political influence, money and economic power, ethnic and religious loyalties and pride, defence of collective communal interests in land and natural resources, access to water and pastures, and cultural beliefs.

Women and children are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of security challenges, as the death of men in wars and conflicts places on them the burden of providing for households, evident in the large number of women and child-headed households in the region. Unless intervention actions are taken, the security challenges will escalate, leading to more loss of lives, destruction of property, terror attacks, more vulnerable households.

2.4. Influence of External Actors

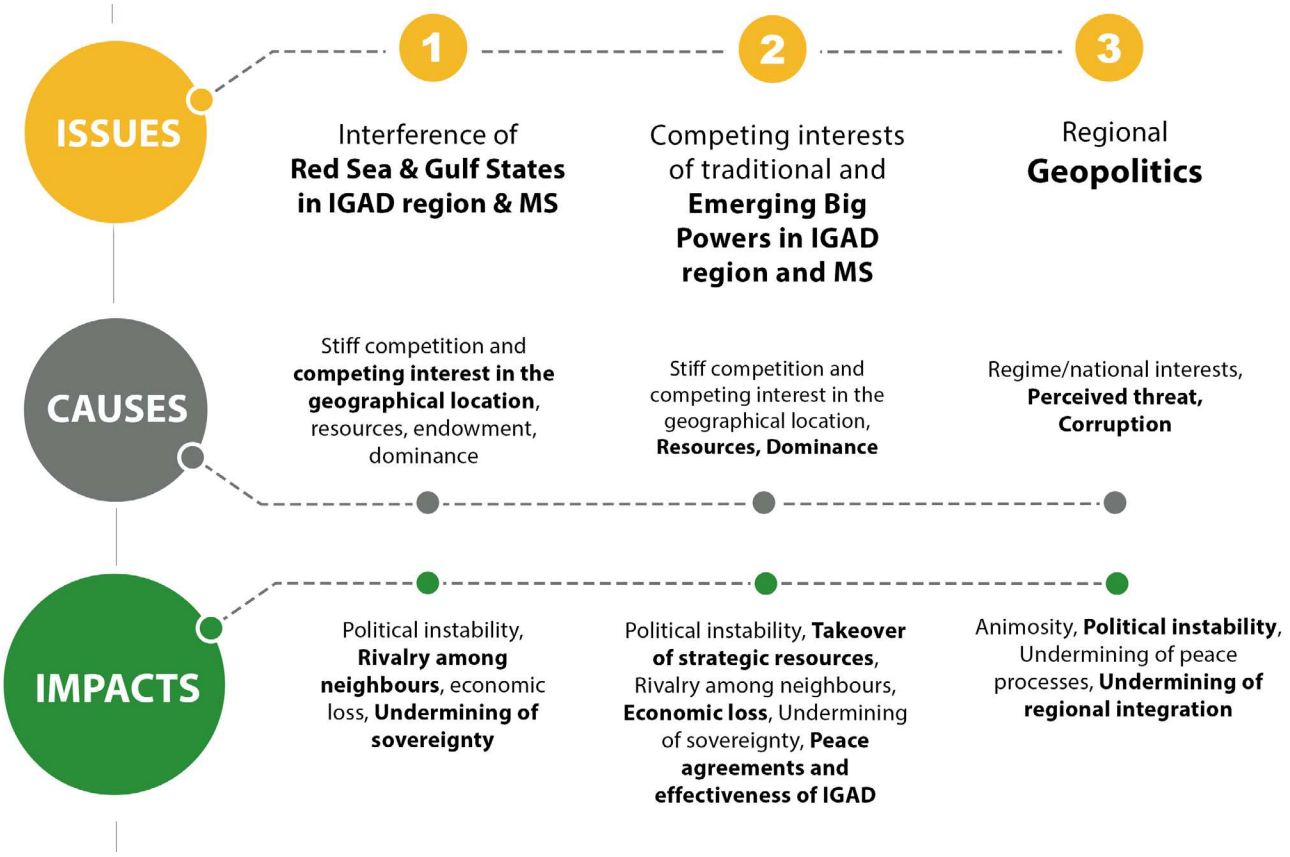
The strategic location of the IGAD region with reference to areas of major geopolitical interest has attracted interests from within and outside of the African Continent. The latter comprises the Red Sea and Gulf States, part of the BRICS, and Western Powers among others. The former are African countries neighbouring IGAD MSs. Their interests vary from commerce, politics, security concerns due to perceived threats and general visibility. They engage in different forms from bi-lateral to multi-lateral arrangements. The region has become a theatre for competition among Big Powers and between them and emerging powers.

For example, in the recent African Climate Summit held in Nairobi, the United Arab Emirate (UAE) pledged $ 9.3 billion and United States pledge $ 30 million to tackle climate change. Sudan's peace process convened in Jeddah rather than improve on the trilateral arrangements where IGAD is involved are considered a display of external influence than home grown solution. Equally important in this regard are regional geopolitical dynamics arising from competition among MSs.

Currently, some of the external partners and the countries they are engaged in include Turkey in Somalia; US African command in Lamu, Kenya; China, U.S, France, have bases in Djibouti; Oil explorations in Kenya and Uganda by British, France and Chinese exploration company.

Table 5 presents a summary of issues, causes and impacts associated with the role of external actors in the region.

Table 5: Influence of External actors – Issues, Causes and Impacts



The major actors in this competition are the traditional big powers and emerging powers, regional governments and groups, and IGAD MSs. The interests at play include trade, national security interests, extension of dominance and influence, building of alliances, and access to strategic natural resources.

The major impact of competition among global powers for a foothold in the IGAD region is that it undermines sovereignty, political stability and regional integration. The competing actors play MS against each other creating rivalry and frustrating the articulation of common regional approaches. It should be stressed that some of IGAD MSs are also members of EAC, COMESA and other RECs/RMs, which at times poses challenges to the forging of coordinated responses. This directly undermines the impact and effectiveness of IGAD, including in its key role of brokering peace agreements. Furthermore, the potential for economic loss increases as key regional resources (e.g., ports) come under the control of foreign powers.

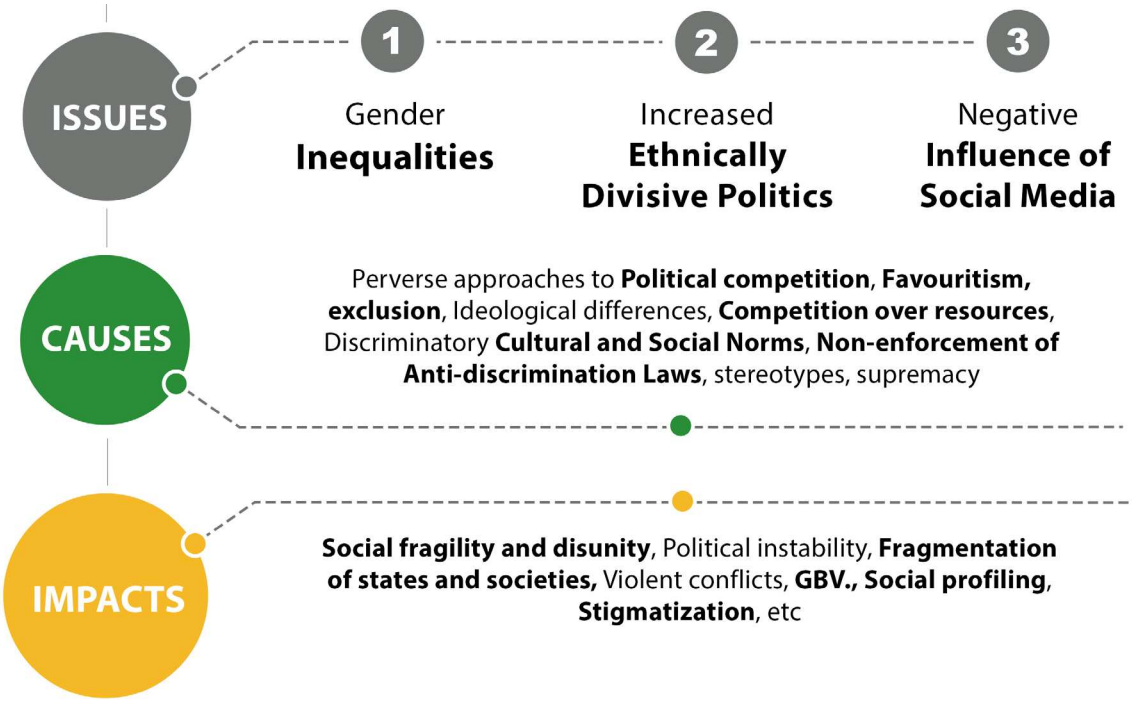
If not well managed, the external influence and their competing interests may have harmful and detrimental effects on region's social, political, economic, security, environment and natural resource management, thus making them serious concerns for conflict early warning.

2.5 Gender, Ethnic, Religious and Media Dynamics

The population of the IGAD region is highly diverse in its composition, (in gender, ethnic and religious terms as well as media terrain) and constitutes important human resources. Various MSs have made efforts towards fostering national and regional integration and cohesion in order to harness this vital and diverse human resource. However, management of each of these diversity remains a challenge. Many a political conflict in the region is underpinned by claims of diverse groups that they are excluded from political and economic opportunities. This claim is at the heart of the ethnic mobilization that characterises political competition in many MSs. While diverse religions have coexisted in the region peacefully for millennia, in recent years the threat of religious intolerance has emerged, largely as a result of the region finding itself in the crosshairs of global and geopolitical imperatives around the war on terror. These tensions have significant implications for conflict early warning.

The priority issues with regards to management of diversity are gender inequalities; escalation of identity politics; and negative influence of social media. Women, youth and persons with disability are the key victims of gender inequality in the region. With this context, design and implementation of policies to ensure their inclusion in political decision making and economic activities is a major agenda for the region and MSs. In Uganda, for example, which is lauded for having more women representation in Parliament, in the region, women constitute a meagre 33% in the 2021 parliament. The current intercommunal wars and violence that have engulfed Ethiopia, South Sudan, Somalia and Kenya are all linked to ethnic and or clan divisiveness. Uganda's social media has of late been awash with tribalism and nepotism rhetoric and political and governance discourse. The search for inclusion (especially by ethnic and religious groups) is a key driver of identity politics that adversely impacts the drive for democracy and good governance

Table 6: Mismanagement of Diversity: Issues, Causes and Impacts



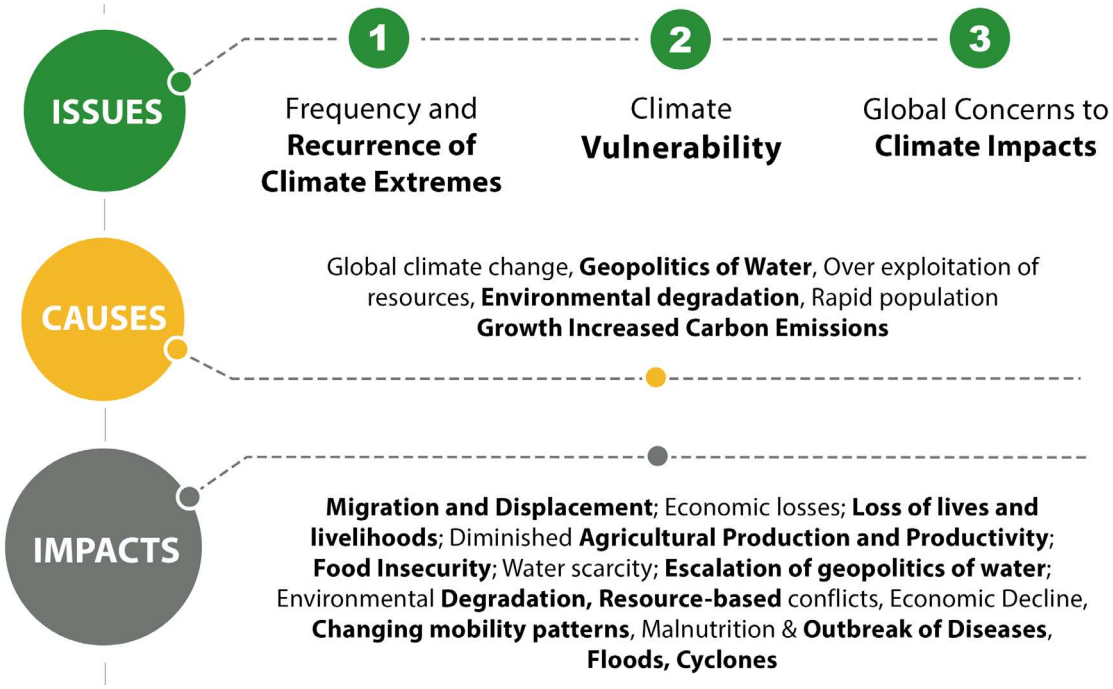
in the region. This situation is compounded by protagonists using social media to fuel discord. The primary actors involved are governments, political leaders, social media groups, community leaders, and communities; while secondary actors include CSOs, NGOs, Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs), social media groups and social groups. The major impacts of mismanagement of gender, ethnic and religious diversity are social fragility and disunity, political instability, fragmentation of states and societies, violent conflicts, inequitable development and gender-based violence (GBV). Unless addressed, these situations pose a major challenge to the national and regional stability, integration, and prosperity.

2.6. Climate Risks

The region is vulnerable to climate induced shocks and stressors. These challenges encompass physical, economic, social and ecological dimensions. IGAD, in partnership with the UN Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Horn of Africa (UN OSE-HoA), laid out the available data on climate-related risks to peace and security and described four pathways by which climate, peace and security are interlinked, as perceived by the IGAD Member States. They include among others: threats to food and water security; climate-induced mobility; climate related historical grievances and cultural practices; governance and fragility.

The importance of addressing climate threats to peace and security in the IGAD region is based on the implications of climate change to livelihoods and development opportunities of the people of the region, which is a function of the critical role of land, environment and natural resources in the region's economy. The region suffers substantially from climate variability and change, as evidenced by periodic droughts and floods, which are occurring with increasing frequency and severity.

Table 7: Climate Risks – Issues, Causes and Impacts



According to some sources, by early May of 2023, the Horn of Africa region was reported to have suffered up to 6 consecutive failed rain seasons leading to the longest drought ever witnessed in the region in 40 years. From the sources, statistics suggest that over 43.3 million people are in need of aid in the region as a consequence of the climate change; 28.6 million of which are in Ethiopia, 6.4 million in Kenya and 8.25 million in Somalia. Over 23.5 million people are facing high levels of acute food insecurity in the three countries.

Governments of MSs, industries, communities, community leaders, and citizens are the primary actors, while CSOs, NGOs, FBOs, development partners, IGAD (in particular the CEWARN, ICPAC), and the IGAD Climate Security Coordination Mechanism are the secondary actors in so far as managing the challenge is concerned. The interests of the actors include securing access to food, implementation of global frameworks for managing the climate crisis, targeted development aid, resource control and management, and competition for political power, dominance and influence.

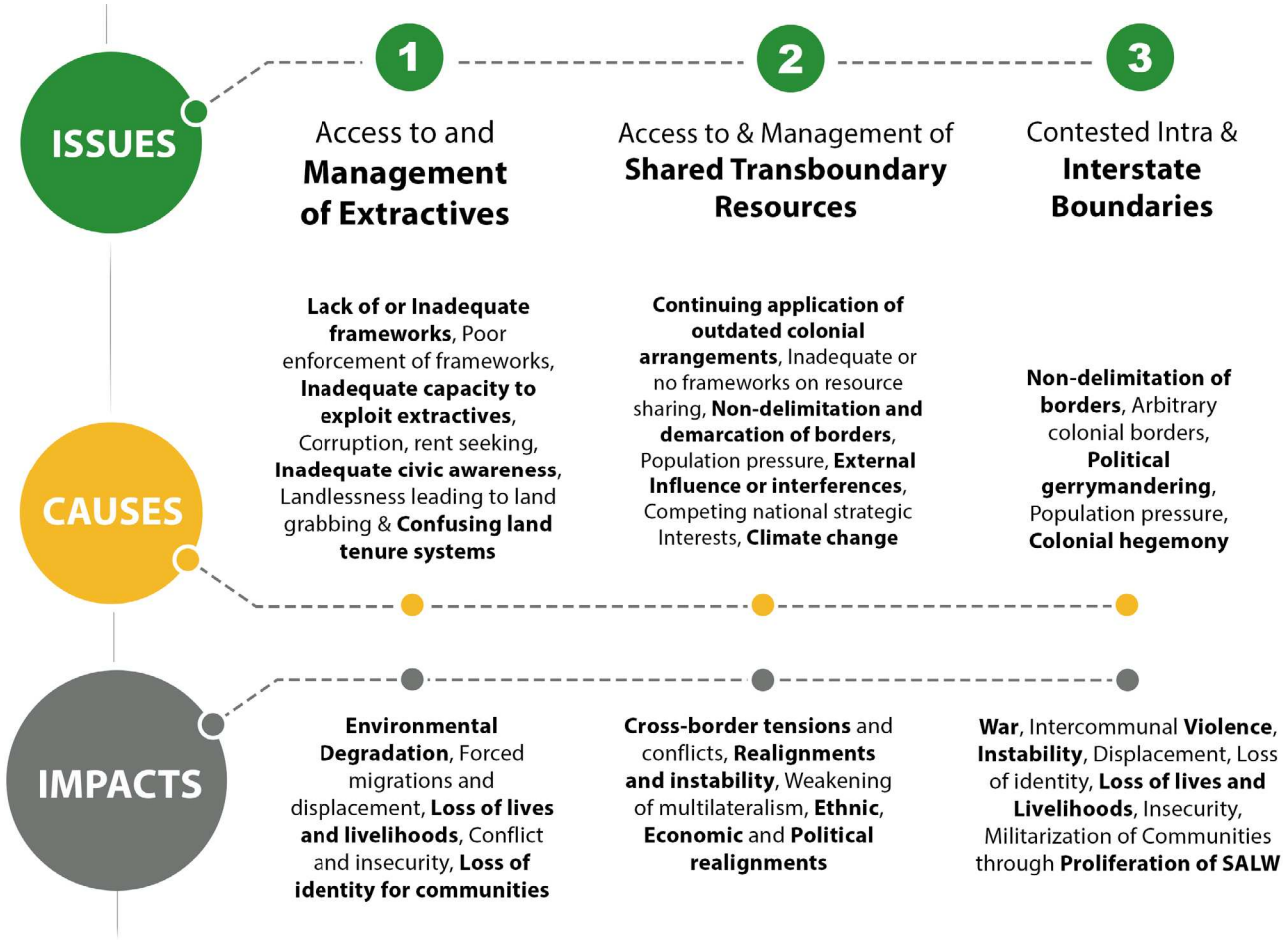
The impacts of climate risks to peace and security in the region are far reaching and cut across all sectors of political, economic and social life. These include migration and displacement; economic losses; loss of lives and livelihoods; diminished agricultural production and productivity leading to food insecurity; water scarcity, which drives geopolitics of water; environmental degradation, which drives competition for access to resources leading to conflicts; malnutrition and outbreak of diseases and increased criminality.

Climate extremes and environmental degradation lead to food and water insecurity making it difficult for vulnerable populations to break the cycle of poverty. Impacts on food productivity lead to inflation. Drought, for example, has been known to lead to lower productivity, deteriorated health and body conditions in livestock, susceptibility to disease and livestock mortality. Multiple climate-related hazards are contributing to displacement of people and loss of assets across the region, including wildfires, drought, floods, cyclones, increasing lake levels and sea level rise. Environmental factors like deforestation and land degradation have also led to an increase in mudslides in the region.

2.7. Management of Natural Resources and Land

The importance of land and natural resources to livelihoods and economic opportunities of the IGAD region has been alluded to, severally in the foregoing analysis. The management of land and natural resources is key to political, economic and social progress of the region, not least because up to 70 per cent of the region is made up of arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), which receive less than 600 mm of rainfall annually, and are characterised by significant climate variability across time and space. It is the combination of aridity, increased climate change and rapid population growth that make the management of land and natural resources a critical concern for conflict early warning.

Table 8: Management of Land and Natural Resources – Issues, Causes and Impacts



The primary actors with regards to the management of land and natural resources are foreign actors, governments (national/local), border communities, MNCs, rebel groups and militias where they exist, and former colonial powers. Secondary actors are investors, donors, mediators, middlemen, proxies or mercenaries. The interests are various, and include the pursuit of political power, control and economic benefits, territorial integrity, security, land ownership and sense of belonging, entitlement and or preservation of rights, identity, geopolitics, and protection of strategic interests.

The challenges associated with access to and management of extractives lead to environmental degradation, forced migrations and displacement, loss of lives and livelihoods, conflict and insecurity, violation of indigenous peoples' rights, and loss of identity for communities when they lose their ancestral lands. The challenges associated with access to and management of shared, transboundary resources lead to cross-border tensions and conflicts, realignments and instability, and weakening of multilateralism. The contested borders lead to war, intercommunal violence, instability, displacement, loss of identity, ethnic, economic and political realignments, loss of lives and property, loss of livelihoods, insecurity, and militarization of communities through proliferation of SALW.

3. CONFLICT OUTLOOK FOR IGAD REGION: SCENARIOS FOR CRITICAL ISSUES

The concerns and issues identified in the previous chapter constitute the critical current challenges to peace, security and stability in the IGAD region, as suggested and agreed upon through the processes indicated in the Methodology section above. Table 9 summarizes with respect to each issue, its current status (the status quo), how it is likely to evolve if action is taken (the best-case scenario), and if no action is taken (the worst-case scenario). The action that needs to be taken in order to move the region to the best-case scenario for each of the issues will inform the recommendations in the next chapter.

Table 9: Scenarios for the Critical Issues

1 GOVERNANCE **DEFICIT**		
ISSUE NO. 1: WEAK ADHERENCE TO THE RULE OF LAW, CONSTITUTIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY		
STATUS QUO	**BEST CASE SCENARIO**	**WORST CASE SCENARIO**
Constitutional and legal processes are manipulated to serve regime interests, there are restraints on exercise of freedom of speech, rising impunity, and increased state fragility	Constitution and laws are effectively enforced, policies are implemented to respond to existing and emerging threats, peace agreements are implemented, governments resolve disputes through peaceful means, elections management is strengthened, elections are held peacefully and according to the law, and democracy is deepened, civilian governance structures in place and functioning effectively.	The rule of law breaks down, coups and assassinations emerge; governments become repressive, and states collapse
ISSUE NO. 2: INCREASED ETHNICALLY DIVISIVE POLITICS AND NEPOTISM		
Low tolerance, exclusion of diverse groups from governance decisions, ethnic conflicts escalate, there is increased fragmentation along ethnic lines	Equal opportunities are enforced across the region; policies, laws and institutions are in place and enforced to address exclusion and marginalization of groups, parties to peace agreement comply with terms thereof, governments resolve disputes through peaceful means, elections management is strengthened, elections are held peacefully and according to the law	Excluded groups secede, civil wars increase, anarchy, ethnic cleansing and genocide

ISSUE NO. 3: POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY AND COMPLEX TRANSITIONS		
Weak compliance with peace agreements, peace negotiations and transitions are stalled, civil wars increase, and foreign interventions rise in number	Elites compromise and build consensus, civilian governance structures are in place and functioning effectively	Entranced military and emergence of coup, state collapse, increased out-migration, citizens are forced into exile

2 ECONOMIC **CHALLENGES**

ISSUE NO. 1: POVERTY AND FOOD INSECURITY		
Poverty is widespread, low food distribution, recurrent food insecurity, low purchasing power, low wages, reduced prospect for growth.	Plenty of food due to increased production, productivity and trade, reduced poverty levels due to increased economic growth and opportunities, communities are gainfully engaged in productive ventures	Collapse of social services and safety nets, reduced resilience, and increased vulnerability, risks, crime and loss of lives

ISSUE NO. 2: YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT		
High and increasing youth unemployment across the region, youth have limited opportunities, and they lack marketable skills	Increased opportunities for appropriate vocational and education training, increased employment opportunities in manufacturing and service sectors, businesses offer internship and apprenticeship to the youth	High crime rates and lawlessness, youth radicalization and recruitment into criminal acts such as armed militia and terrorist groups, violent riots, economic decline, outmigration of youth

ISSUE NO. 3: HIGH (AND RISING) COST OF LIVING		
High cost of living across the region, prices increasing by the day, poor productivity, high import and cost of production	Living standards are affordable and sustainable, inflation is low, market regulation policies and laws are enforced	Increased poverty; rising crime rates, insecurity, public riots and demonstrations

3 SECURITY **CHALLENGES**

ISSUE NO. 1: VIOLENT EXTREMISM		
Violent extremism on the rise, exacerbated by emergence of cultism, Somali Government and local militias making progress in pushing back Al-Shabaab, with renewed offensive planned with support of frontline states, ATMIS and the International Community	Regional and national efforts eradicate Al-Shabaab and other extremist groups, the various ongoing joint military operations across the region to stem extremist groups succeed	Increased radicalization, recruitment and terrorist attacks undermining the state, emerging and rebranding terror groups, regrouping of Al-Shabaab, ADF and other terror groups

ISSUE NO. 2: ARMED MILITIAS		
Number of armed militia groups rising in the region, with support from external powers, stability of MS threatened	Armed militias join mainstream governance structures; progress is made in ongoing regional peace processes; Security Sector Reforms are implemented successfully	Violence escalates across the region, increased social and political fragmentation; proliferation of SALWs and militias, mass atrocities and human rights abuses; increase in criminal activities, heightened cattle rustling
ISSUE NO. 3: CATTLE RUSTLING AND COMMUNAL VIOLENCE		
Cattle rustling and communal violence persistent and escalating in ASAL areas; increased commercialization and politicization of cattle rustling and communal violence; conflicts enabled and multiplied by proliferation of SALW	There is significant reduction in cattle rusting and inter-communal violence	Destruction of livelihoods and loss of lives; forced displacements and migration raids, increased GBV, human trafficking, escalated group grievance, militarized civic population

4 INFLUENCE OF **EXTERNAL ACTORS**

ISSUE NO. 1: EMERGENCE OF RED SEA AND GULF STATES INFLUENCE IN IGAD REGION		
Increased interest in the region by emerging powers, emerging global powers forging alliances with different political groups to deepen influence and control, ongoing peace processes undermined	Interference from the emerging powers are minimized, MSs agree on and or implement common approaches to interactions with emerging powers	Reversal of governance and development gains, civil wars, proxy wars, emergence of mutiny leading to coups, eventual fragmentation of MSs, agitations for cessations, militarisations, political instability
ISSUE NO. 2: COMPETING INTERESTS OF TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING BIG POWERS IN IGAD REGION AND MS		
Escalation of big powers competition in the region due to geostrategic location, competition undermines regional systems and processes as the powers push to exert their influence	Interference of big powers in regional processes minimized, IGAD regional mechanisms have full ownership and control of all regional peace building and conflict management processes	Arms race, neo-colonial scramble for resources, reversal of governance and development gains, civil wars, proxy wars, emergence of mutiny leading to coups, eventual fragmentation of MSs, agitations for cessations, militarisations, political instability

ISSUE NO. 3: REGIONAL GEOPOLITICS		
Regional geopolitics undermining integration efforts, as MSs create bilateral alliances, and bypass regionally deliberated positions and mechanisms, donor dependency	Increased trust and collaboration of MSs within the framework of IGAD	Sovereignty is undermined; there is increased animosity and political instability, IGAD is weakened

5 GENDER, ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND MEDIA DYNAMICS

ISSUE NO. 1: GENDER INEQUALITIES		
High prevalence of physical, sexual and emotional violence; increased social stratifications and economic marginalization, religious intolerance	Perpetrators of GBV are punished, survivors are supported, violence is reduced, equal opportunities available for all	Increased: conflict related GBV, violation of human rights, strained relations with international partners, impunity, family and societal breakdown, levels of poverty, economic decline, and marginalization on the basis of gender
ISSUE NO. 2: INCREASED ETHNICALLY DIVISIVE POLITICS		
High prevalence of ethnocentric favoritism and tribalism, communities are disgruntled, there is increased religious intolerance and emergence of cultism	Laws and institutions to promote equal opportunity are in place and enforced, anti- sectarianism laws are in place and enforced, civic education is promoted, there is regular inter parties dialogue on national issues, and ethnic political parties are outlawed	Increased: riots, violent conflicts, political instability, and state collapse, inter-communal violence, political mobilization along ethnic lines, marginalization, nepotism, ethnic profiling and targeted abuses
ISSUE NO. 3: NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA		
Social media creates conditions for hate speech, cyber bullying and social tension, security of the state and individuals is undermined, social cohesion is under threat, and there is increased potential for incitement to violence	Social media is used responsibly, there is increased awareness and ability to verify information provided by social media; policies regulating use of social media are in place and implemented	Increased: cyber bullying and hate speech, incitement, tensions, social unrest, civil disobedience, confrontations between citizens and state, disruption of social cohesion

6 CLIMATE RISKS

ISSUE NO. 1: EXTREME WEATHER CONDITIONS		
Droughts and floods are more frequent and severe, forced migration and displacement, economic losses, loss of lives and livelihoods, environmental degradation	Policies and mechanisms effectively implemented to manage drought emergencies, regulations on land and water use in place and implemented, adaptation and mitigation efforts are supported, communities are resilient	Depletion of sources of livelihoods and weakening of safety nets, increased fragility, vulnerability, violent conflicts and loss of lives
ISSUE NO. 2: CLIMATE VARIABILITY		
High levels of conflicts and insecurity in areas most affected by climate change, malnutrition and disease outbreaks, food insecurity	Reduction in resource-based conflicts, low levels of occurrence of conflicts in climate affected areas, communities are resilient to climate shocks and climate related diseases	Escalation of humanitarian crises, forced migration, displacement and conflicts, loss of lives and livelihoods, increases risk of food insecurity, increased vulnerability to drought, floods and related shocks, depletion of sources of livelihoods weakening of safety nets, increased fragility, violent conflicts and loss of lives.
ISSUE NO. 3: REGIONAL CONCERNS ON GLOBAL DISCOURSE ON CLIMATE CHANGE		
Persistent frequency and adverse impact of extreme climatic events, inaccuracies in weather and climate prediction and information, mismatch between early warning and early action, inadequate mitigation efforts to reduce global carbon gas emissions, persistent competing narratives on the reality of Climate Security, lack of commitment to interventions (adaptation and mitigation), lack of consensus, commitment and coherence on policy declarations, and interventions	Consensus and commitment to tangible interventions, increased and equitable distribution of climate financing, respected climate justice, improved resilience of countries and communities, improved reliability of weather and climate information and services, strengthened capacities for early action (DRM) in climate sensitive sectors, effective climate financing to countries most affected by global warming	Escalation of the adverse impacts of climate change leading to: failure to achieve increased and equitable distribution of climate financing, and respected climate justice, increased levels of forced displacement, high vulnerability to irregular or illegal migration including human trafficking and smuggling, worsening peace and security situation in climate change impacted areas, wars, increased greenhouse gas emissions and high risk of related diseases, risk of climate induced extinction of human populations, animals and plants

7 MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL **RESOURCES AND LAND**

ISSUE NO. 1: ACCESS TO AND MANAGEMENT OF EXTRACTIVES		
Different countries have different levels of efficiencies and frameworks for managing certain extractives such as cement; systems across the region seem to be working but challenges persist with extractives that have an export factor such as oil, likelihood of escalation of grievances if effective frameworks are not instituted	Political will exists, problematic frameworks are negotiated, improved and implemented, sensitization and civic education conducted, exploitation of resources takes place in a peaceful environment, there is equitable sharing of benefits, environmental degradation is minimized, peaceful coexistence of communities, prosperity, stability and sustainable socio-economic development is realized, mortality rates are reduced	Forced migrations and evictions, formation of community militias, emergence of rebellions and cessation demands, communities seize mines or evict MNCs, rise of extremist groups, forced disappearances, arbitrary arrests, killings, bribing of leaders, hiring mercenaries to protect MNCs, disruption of mining operations, loss of economic benefits, secession demands, environmental pollution, poverty
ISSUE NO. 2: ACCESS TO AND MANAGEMENT OF SHARED, TRANSBOUNDARY RESOURCES		
Different countries have different levels of efficiencies and frameworks, likelihood of escalation of grievances, contestations over access to certain resources such as water, pasture, minerals in specific intra and interstate border regions	Political will exists, problematic frameworks are negotiated, sensitization and civic education conducted, access, use and exploitation of the resources takes place in a peaceful environment, equitable sharing of resources is guaranteed and the resources are used sustainably, peaceful coexistence of communities; prosperity, stability and sustainable socio-economic development, reduced mortality rates, regional integration is enhanced	Competition leads to depletion of the shared, transboundary resources; intra and interstate conflicts increase, war and instability, death and destruction, poverty, strained communal and regional relations
ISSUE NO. 3: CONTESTED INTRA- AND INTER-STATE BOUNDARIES		
Increased border disputes within and between states, political gerrymandering	Peace, stability and prosperity in the region due to enhanced regional integration, free movement of persons and goods guaranteed, social cohesion enhanced	Escalation of intercommunal violence, instability due to wars between bordering countries, forced displacement, loss of identity for border communities, loss of lives, property and livelihoods, militarization of society through proliferation of SALW

4. MEDIA AS DOMAIN OF CONCERN

The concerns and issues identified in the previous chapter constitute the critical current challenges to peace, security and stability in the IGAD region, as suggested and agreed upon through the processes indicated in the Methodology section above. Table 9 summarizes with respect to each issue, its current status (the status quo), how it is likely to evolve if action is taken (the best-case scenario), and if no action is taken (the worst-case scenario). The action that needs to be taken in order to move the region to the best-case scenario for each of the issues will inform the recommendations in the next chapter.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has updated the IGAD-CEWARN 2021 Regional Conflict and Scenario Building Report. It affirms the continued relevance of eight of the nine key issues that were identified to be of conflict early warning concern in 2021. The issues have however been categorised afresh, resulting in an updated list of 7 conflict early warning concerns. For each of the seven concerns, three priority issues have been identified (see Table 1). Scenarios have been built for each of the 21 priority issues, with the status quo as the baseline. The status quo for each of the issues is one of challenges that have the potential to cause or drive conflict if not addressed or contained. The report signals how each of the priority issues is likely to evolve if appropriate action is taken to address the challenges (best-case scenario) and if no action is taken (worst-case scenario).

Table 10 recommends policy actions that need to be taken to move the situation from the status quo to the best-case scenario. The recommendations are organized by reference to the seven critical conflict early warning concerns, and addressed to IGAD as the framework for collective action by MS. While it is envisaged that the specific recommendations for MS will be articulated in national level reports, the role of development partners cut across all the issues that have been identified in this report.

Table 10: Recommendations for Policy Action to Achieve Best-Case Scenario

CONFLICT EARLY WARNING **CONCERNS**	POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES **ACTIONS TO WORST-CASE SCENARIO**
1. **Governance deficit**	1. Inculcate the culture of constitutionalism including developing, and adherence to the implied frameworks. 2. Develop a peer review mechanism to enforce agreed governance procedures and standards. 3. Organize negotiation platforms and frameworks for parties in dispute and create and implement enforcement mechanisms. 4. MSs to enact laws that facilitate equitable allocation of resources across diversities.

2. Economic challenges	1. Identify and develop productive sectors that can address unemployment and generate wealth. 2. Implement policy measures that can effectively address the rising cost of living. 3. IGAD to support the implementation of broad frameworks that facilities free movement of people and trade including Informal Cross-Border Trade (ICBT) and Cross-Border Security Governance (CBSG) and Protocol on Free Movement of Persons in the IGAD Region.
3. Security Challenges	1. Enhance collaboration and political commitment to address security challenges. Work with MSs to improve implementation of peace processes, integration of militias and strengthen local conflict resolutions.
	2. Strengthen ongoing joint initiatives to address radicalization. 3. Develop and implement a common policy on cross-border disarmament, and strengthen regional collaboration to stem proliferation of SALW and resource sharing mechanisms.
4. Influence of External Actors	1. Strengthening cooperation among MSs and develop common procedures for engagement with external actors on regional issues. 2. Strengthen and deepen regional cooperation and integration.
3. Gender, ethnic, religious and media dynamics	1. Support MSs to develop and implement policies to recognize and foster inclusivity, and peaceful coexistence. 2. MSs to promote economic empowerment especially for women. 3. MSs to develop policies and institutional capacity and mechanisms for regulation of media including social media.
6. Climate Risks	1. Work with MS and partners to operationalize the IGAD Regional Climate Security Coordination Mechanism including developing and implementing common positions on addressing Climate change risks. 2. Strengthen the role of the IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) and its linkages with national level Disaster Resilience building programmes. 3. Work with MSs to resource and operationalize the Regional Disaster Management Fund. 4. Support MSs to regularly update and implement their NDC targets on climate change. 5. Support improvement of capacity for weather and climate early warning systems at different levels.
7. Management of Natural Resource and Land	1. Support MSs to develop policies and institutional capacities and frameworks for sustainable investments in extractives and shared transboundary resources. 2. Support MSs to ratify and implement regional instruments for enhanced cross-border cooperation and mobility, including the Niamey Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation, AUBP, and the IGAD Protocol on Transhumance. 3. Support MSs to develop and implement development programmes to enhance growth, service provision and peaceful coexistence of border communities.



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