Violent Extremism and Instability in the Greater Horn of Africa

An Examination of Drivers and Responses

BY EELCO KESSELS, TRACEY DURNER & MATTHEW SCHWARTZ

GLOBAL CENTER ON COOPERATIVE SECURITY

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ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report is part of a program implemented by the Global Center, supported by the U.S. Department of State, and aimed at understanding and strengthening capacities to prevent and counter violent extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa. It focuses on a subset of countries in the region—Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

In short, this report aims to

· provide an easily accessible overview of the Greater Horn's regional and national trends and drivers of violent extremism and related sources of insecurity,

· identify relevant actors and describe their responses aimed at preventing and countering violent extremism, and

· highlight entry points for developing holistic strategies on countering violent extremism (CVE) inclusive of governmental and civil society actors that promote good governance and community-based responses to violent extremism.

In conjunction with the Global Center report "Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Action Agenda" and related documents, this report may provide a guide to regional challenges and input for informing nationally tailored interventions to strengthen capacities to prevent and counter violent extremism.

Building on the Global Center's experience implementing CVE and related programs in the Greater Horn region, this report has been developed on the basis of desk research and in-country and remote stakeholder consultations with government officials, international experts from the United Nations and other intergovernmental and international

organizations, representatives from donor embassies, and subregional, national, and local civil society organizations, community groups, academics, and researchers. During in-country consultation visits, the authors interviewed 72 governmental and civil society actors representing 50 different organizations in the seven countries. These semistructured interviews and group discussions helped to verify the findings of the desk research and analysis of relevant reports and experiences, while filling information gaps and providing original primary data. Consulted stakeholders were provided an opportunity to review sections of the report and deliver feedback.

The broader analysis presented in this report aims to stress key issues and trends applicable to some but not necessarily all focus countries. The report's focus countries face differing forms and manifestations of extremist violence, and although some countries have the liberty to focus on preventing violent extremism, others face a specific, urgent, and ongoing threat. These differences, combined with divergent interpretations of the concepts of violent extremism and CVE, pose conceptual challenges in the analysis of the drivers of and responses to violent extremism.

Additionally, this report is not intended to offer an exhaustive assessment of the Greater Horn's trends on a regional or national level or its drivers of violent extremism or deliver a comprehensive catalogue of country responses. Rather, it provides an overarching view of the regional and national drivers of violent extremism and other sources of insecurity, offers strategic and policy-related insights for relevant CVE stakeholders, and highlights the need for holistic CVE strategies that support inclusive and sustainable responses to violent extremism.

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ACRONYMS

ADF	Allied Democratic Force (Uganda)
AU	African Union
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution) (Tanzania)
CUF	Chama Cha Wananchi (Civic United Front) (Tanzania)
CVE	countering violent extremism
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EIASC	Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FRUD	Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (Djibouti)
FRUD-C	FRUD-Combatant (Djibouti)
GDP	gross domestic product
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council (Kenya)
MUHURI	Muslims for Human Rights (Kenya)
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center (Tanzania)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (Uganda)
SNM	Somali National Movement
SNRS	Somali National Regional State
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
TFG	Transitional Federal Government (Somalia)
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (Ethiopia)
UIC	Union of Islamic Courts (Somalia)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme

HORN OF AFRICA

HORN OF AFRICA

Legend
- National capital
- Town, village
- ✈ Airport
- International boundary
- Road
- Railroad

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined.

Countries and waters: SAUDI ARABIA, YEMEN, ERITREA, SUDAN, SOUTH SUDAN, ETHIOPIA, DJIBOUTI, SOMALIA, KENYA, UGANDA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, INDIAN OCEAN, Lake Victoria, Lake Turkana (Lake Rudolf)

Selected places: Al Qunfudhah, Abhā, Najrān, Saʿdah, Jīzān, Hajjah, Shabwah, Ṣanʿā (Sanaa), Maʾrib, Al Ḥudaydah, Dhamār, ʿAtāq, Al Mukallā, Ash Shiḥr, Balḥāf, Ibb, Al Baydāʾ, Aḥwar, Taʿizz, Shaykh ʿUthmān, Adan (Aden), Khartoum, Atbara, Shendi, Sala, Alghiena, Nakfa, Afʿabet, Mersa Gulbub, Asmara, Mitsiwaʿe, Inghel, Kassala, Sebderat, Teseney, Mersa Fatuma, Wad Madani, Omhajer, Barentu, Adi Quala, Tio, Idi, Assab, Obock, Tadjoura, Djibouti, Saylac, Gedaref, Himora, Aksum, Adwa, Adigrat, Mekʿele, Debark', Gonder, Sekʿotʿa, Weldiya, Serdo, Dikhil, Ali Sabih, Boorama, Baki, Karin, Berbera, Ceerigaabo, Boosaaso, Butyaalo, Caluula, Xaafuun, Bandarbeyla, Gees Gwardafuy, Sinnar, Singar, Ed Damazin, Guba, Bahir Dar, Dese, Bati, Gewané, Dire Dawa, Harer, Jijiga, Hargeysa, Burco, Qardho, Garoowe, Eyl, Xamure, Kurmuk, Goha, Bure, Debre Mark'os, Fiche, Debre Birhan, Addis Ababa, Mojo, Boor, Nazret, Degeh Bur, Werder, Laascaanood, Mendi, Gimbi, Gidami, Dembi Dolo, Nek'emte, Hagere Hiywet, Awasa, Ginir, Goba, K'ebri Dehar, Shilabo, Gaalkacyo, War Galoh, Dhuusamarreeb, Hobyo, Kigille, Gambela, Gore, Agaro, Jima, Hosa'ina, Yirga 'Alem, Sodo, Imi, Akobo, Yeki, Shewa Gimira, Kibre Menguist, Negele, Filtu, Galadi, Ferfer, Beledweyne, Xuddur, Buulobarde, Ceeldheere, Pibor Post, Towot, Sogata, Arba Minch', Garadase, Kusa, Dolo Bay, Luug, Baydhabo, Murle, Banya, Mega, Moyale, Takaba, Ramu, Garbahaarrey, Jawhar, Kapoeta, Todenyang, Lokwa Kangole, North Horr, Buna, El Wak, Baardheere, Marka, Muqdisho (Mogadishu), Lodwar, Loiyangalani, Wajir, Habaswein, Bilis Qooqaani, Bu'aale, Baraawe, Moroto, Lokichar, Laisamis, Archer's Post, Meru, Jilib, Jamaame, Kismaayo, Maralal, Nyahururu, Nanyuki, Embu, Garissa, Buur Gaabo, Jinja, Tororo, Eldoret, Kakamega, Kisumu, Kericho, Nakuru, Nyeri, Tilka, Nairobi, Machakos, Garsen, Lamu, Musoma, Mwanza, Namanga, Moshi, Voi, Malindi, Kilifi, Shinyanga, Arusha, Tanga, Mombasa

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Greater Horn of Africa is one of the most conflict-affected parts of the world. All countries in East Africa have been victimized by terrorist acts, whether perpetrated by and against a country's nationals for a domestic cause or focused on extranational or extraregional targets, for example, embassies of Western countries. More than half the countries in the wider geopolitical neighborhood have experienced full-scale civil war within the past 30 years, and those that have not still contend with intermittent episodes of intercommunal and one-sided violence, insurgent groups, and state-perpetrated violence. Observers in the international community have increasingly raised concerns about the region's vulnerability to terrorism and violent extremism, particularly from al-Shabaab, which has experienced setbacks in Somalia but demonstrated its ability to conduct attacks in neighboring countries. The region's abundance of structural conditions conducive to violence, coupled with the recent global proliferation of violent extremist groups, contributes to concerns about ongoing threats to the stability of the region.

A growing body of research on violent extremism has led to the identification of two sets of drivers that can contribute to an individual's support for violent extremist agendas and participation in extremist groups. The first set is commonly referenced as "push factors." These structural conditions, such as underdevelopment, lack of access to education or employment, and social marginalization, in combination with other factors can fuel grievances that make individuals receptive to violent extremism. These grievances may be felt on behalf of communities with whom individuals share a cultural, ideological, religious, or ethnic bond, even if they are at a physical distance. The second set identifies "pull factors." These factors are more immediate incentives that make violent extremist ideas or groups appealing, including the attraction of charismatic individuals, powerful strategic communications and compelling messaging, financial or other material benefits, or the social status that some group members feel they achieve as being part of a terrorist or militant group.

This report focuses on the push factors that provide an enabling environment for violent extremism, although there is no consensus among researchers regarding the set or combination of drivers that carries greater weight in not only ideological radicalization but mobilization of individuals and groups to act violently on their grievances. Some observers might conclude that those who join violent extremist groups for financial and material incentives rather than ideology may have been driven by push factors such as poverty, unemployment, and other forms of economic hardship in combination with any number of contextual and individual factors. Given the vast majority of people in the region that are subjected to difficult conditions associated with underdevelopment, however, such an explanation does not account for the absence of broader support for violent extremism and terrorism. Others suggest that conditions under which individuals directly or indirectly are deprived of rights or justice have been shown to relate more closely to support for or participation in radical movements.

The basis for differentiating diverse manifestations of violence, actors perpetrating violence, and the factors that drive individuals and groups to become agents of violence is anything but straightforward. Extremist political violence in the Greater Horn region is symptomatic of deeply complex and overlapping economic, social, and political factors. The region's perceived vulnerability to violent extremism only underscores the importance of deepening the understanding of how, within each national context and across the broader region, these conditions may serve as drivers of or enabling conditions for violent extremism.

This study surveys the drivers of violent extremism and stakeholder responses aimed at countering violent extremism (CVE) in the Greater Horn region, based on an analysis of seven countries: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Compiled by the Global Center, this report examines the historical and contemporary drivers of extremist violence and other forms of political conflict at the national level, before synthesizing regional trends that cut across the boundaries of national jurisdictions and offering broad recommendations to address drivers of insecurity and strengthen community resilience. It was developed as part of a program aimed at understanding and strengthening capacities to prevent and counter violent extremism in the region.

Regional Trends

Analyses on a national basis revealed a number of regional commonalities and trends. Socioeconomic marginalization of significant segments of national populations can be observed in nearly all of the Greater Horn countries surveyed. A combination of rising income inequality, high unemployment, and limited market diversity and infrastructure, as well as unprecedented demographic shifts, long-term refugee crises, and environmental degradation, is at least partly to blame. Regardless of the mitigating factors, unmet expectations and feelings of relative deprivation ultimately contribute to increased tensions between different communities and between communities and their governments. The consolidation of economic gains within political elites and their constituencies and the inherent limitations in economic mobility for those outside the patronage network further perpetuate these circumstances.

Systemic corruption, nepotism, and patrimonial governance lie at the heart of many of the socioeconomic and political drivers of extremist violence in the region. Corruption not only undermines national economic development via the substantial theft or diversion of public revenues, but it also represents, on the one hand, the violence, discrimination, and injustice experienced by millions of people across the region on a daily basis and, on the other, the impunity and asymmetric power of the state and political elite. In some contexts, endemic corruption goes hand in hand with both de jure and de facto curtailments of civil and political rights. Where outlets for civic and political activism are limited or inaccessible, societies' tensions find

expression in other forms, resulting in nonviolent and violent consequences.

As evidenced by the relatively modest levels of terrorist violence experienced in the region as compared to other forms of (political) violence, conditions such as sociopolitical marginalization and disenfranchisement, limited economic mobility and relative deprivation, systemic institutional corruption, and restricted avenues of political or institutional redress are insufficient to produce violent extremism at the individual level. Engagement in violent behavior is conditioned by a combination of individual circumstances, interpersonal relationships, attitudes, and inclinations, as well as more proximate social, political, and economic factors and the crucial presence of, exposure to, and affinity with violent extremism and violent extremist groups. Some may be drawn to the appeal of extremist narratives that espouse violence as a viable method to achieve social and political goals. For the less ideologically inclined, the social, financial, and material inducements offered by violent extremist organizations are as much if not more a factor in recruiting followers. Although initial studies have begun to emerge on individual processes of radicalization and recruitment into regional militant groups, most notably in Kenya, further research is needed to understand the complex interplay of factors in order to better identify potential sources of resilience.

Djibouti

Djibouti's size—the smallest country in the region—is offset by its importance as a major shipping hub and role as host to a sizeable Western military presence. Although Djibouti has experienced less violent-extremist activity than other countries in the Greater Horn region, there may be several reasons for concern. Limited economic mobility, corruption, patronage, and political disenfranchisement, particularly among Djibouti's growing youth population, can be seen as sources of future instability and dissent and potentially as drivers of violence and violent extremism. The increased inflow of refugees escaping conflict in neighboring Somalia, Yemen, and elsewhere exacerbates these challenges and can fuel tensions with Djiboutian

communities. Domestic protests leading up to the reelection of President Ismaël Omar Guelleh for a third term in 2011, coinciding with Arab Spring demonstrations across North Africa and the Middle East, resulted in mass arrests of demonstrators and political opposition. Suppression of opposition groups and government critics, tight control of the media and freedom of expression, and widespread impunity of officials who commit abuses can contribute to spiraling grievances among marginalized populations absent meaningful reform. Although law enforcement measures constitute the bulk of Djibouti's national counterterrorism strategy, community engagement, including in the areas of youth, sports, and culture, is an increasingly important feature of its CVE efforts.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is considered a strong security state, and although it has experienced political violence and attacks by domestic violent extremist groups, it has yet to witness a successful attack by an internationally recognized terrorist group. Since 1991, the country has been governed under a system of federated ethnic states (ethnofederalism) by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, which is predominantly influenced by leadership emanating from the Tigray region in the north. Ethiopia has experienced a period of rapid economic growth and has made substantive achievements in poverty reduction. Yet, tensions have emerged as gains appear to be increasingly consolidated within the ruling elite. Intended to promote representative governance and equitable service delivery, some have alleged that ethnofederalism in practice has created a discrete yet powerful intermingling of state and party structures that is supported by an institutionalized system of resource patronage. Avenues for the redress of grievances are limited, with constraints on political agency and a highly restrictive civil society space that has left a dearth of alternative voices and contributed to feelings of disenfranchisement. Religious tensions have begun to increase in the country as the government has become more engaged in religious affairs. Ethiopia's role as a vital security partner to the West has ensured its continued place

on the global counterterrorism agenda, but security responses should be balanced with efforts to strengthen community resilience that promote the principles of fair and representative governance and respect for human rights.

Kenya

Kenya stands as a major regional commercial hub and its capital, Nairobi, is home to a burgeoning community of civil society organizations, UN agencies, and transnational enterprises. Nevertheless, beneath a veneer of cosmopolitanism, underlying political, social, and economic problems have left the country vulnerable to violence and violent extremism, including terrorism. In the lead-up to and since Kenya's October 2012 deployment into Somalia, attacks by al-Shabaab and its sympathizers in Kenya have become increasingly frequent and deadly. For much of its postindependence history, interethnic rivalries, periodically erupting in violence around the election season, have characterized Kenyan politics. The legacy of ethnic and regional discrimination continues to be reflected in disparities in access to education, jobs, health care, clean water, electricity, and serviceable roads and treatment by local police and justice officials. Corruption and institutional degradation, intense structural inequality, and a growing youth population with limited economic opportunity, combined with the effects of insecurity, are among the ingredients in Kenya that create conditions conducive to violent extremism. An increasing number of civil society actors focus on addressing the factors conducive to violent extremism as well as CVE-specific interventions, and the government is about to realize a national CVE strategy that has been developed in cooperation with nongovernmental actors. Meanwhile, Kenya's counterterrorism efforts have been subject to widespread criticism for their disproportionality and alleged human rights abuses. Implementation of the country's new constitution holds the promise of much needed reform, but Kenya has a long road ahead in addressing the political, economic, and social disparities and intercommunal conflicts that drive violence and violent extremism.

Somalia

The long-standing conflict in south and central Somalia since the fall of the Barre regime in 1991 has loomed large in the geopolitical affairs of the Greater Horn of Africa and beyond. A grassroots peace and reconciliation process in the north fostered an increasingly stable and independent polity in Somaliland, but the absence of such processes in the south has hindered the establishment of locally legitimate and sufficiently inclusive national institutions. Although ideology-tinged militancy was not absent from the groups that toppled the Barre regime, ideological militancy was hardly a central factor in the first decade of Somali civil war. Far more potent than ideological affinity with violent extremist causes, the primary drivers of intercommunal violence in Somalia have revolved around the politics of marginalization and exclusion on the basis of clan and family ties and the consequences of international interventions. Politics, control over state institutions, and access to public goods continue to be contested on the basis of clan lines, and interclan competition and mistrust have hardened over the course of more than two decades of conflict. Corrupt and limited in capacity, the nascent Federal Government of Somalia has yet to demonstrate its ability to effectively govern or provide security and basic services to the Somali people under its jurisdiction. To sustainably undermine the drivers of violent extremism, Somalis themselves must achieve an inclusive political settlement and establish the basis for a long and difficult process of social reconciliation, economic development, and participatory governance.

South Sudan

Since achieving independence in 2011, South Sudan has collapsed into a protracted civil war with significant humanitarian and development consequences. The ongoing conflict represents deep-rooted ethnic tensions and power struggles that were not adequately resolved in the rush to establish a unified government following independence. The Dinka-led government has been accused of tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and the marginalization of other ethnic groups from national political and economic platforms and resources. With a burgeoning economy almost entirely reliant on the oil industry, private sector growth is limited while unemployment rates are high, particularly among youth. South Sudan is further challenged by an abundance of internally displaced persons and poor literacy and numeracy rates, as well as the proliferation of small arms, which complicates efforts to shift from localized militias to a unified national army. Although there is no evidence in South Sudan of violent extremism per se, conditions of fragility may provide opportunities for violent extremist groups to operate or gather support and recruits. Political negotiations and internecine violence currently dominate the scene, but state-building efforts must be pursued simultaneously with peace-building initiatives while guarding against institutionalized systems of marginalization that can increase vulnerability to violence and extremist ideologies.

Tanzania

Distinctive in a region plagued by coups d'état and civil war, Tanzania has experienced low levels of violence and relatively peaceful democratic transitions of power since independence. Yet, with rural regions experiencing poverty rates eight times higher than those in the wealthy capital of Dar es Salaam, structural inequality and income disparity have been sources of increasing national tension. The question of increased autonomy for the predominately Muslim-populated archipelago of Zanzibar has been a lingering source of tension as well. Despite historically positive interfaith relations, grievances around economic and political marginalization, including the recent invalidation of Zanzibari elections, have become mixed with religious overtones at times. Interfaith relations may also be increasingly strained in the face of more intolerant attitudes many associate with conservative strands of Islam introduced from the Persian Gulf. In addition, Tanzania and specifically Zanzibar struggle with the prevalence of drug smuggling rings that may provide an entry point for violent extremist organizations seeking to recruit among disaffected youth populations. Tanzania has benefited from a potent community policing initiative that strengthened relationships between the government and communities. The government has indicated it is reviewing

its national counterterrorism strategy and is looking to create a CVE action plan. Elections provide a vital political outlet to lower tensions, but the management of that process will likely play a key role in the evolution of violent extremism in Tanzania.

Uganda

Uganda's longtime president, Yoweri Museveni, is commonly credited for leading the country out of a period of intense political violence and for his strong security agenda in the face of foreign and domestic terrorist threats, such as the Lord's Resistance Army, the Allied Democratic Forces, and al-Shabaab. Yet, increasing consolidation of power within the political elite is beginning to aggravate historical socioeconomic tensions, particularly for youth who have grown up in an era of relative peace and stability. Significant progress has been made on human development indicators such as poverty reduction, but regional disparities remain, particularly in areas of the country affected by past conflict and intermittent violence. Entrenched systems of corruption and nepotism have reduced confidence in public institutions and given rise to the perception of precious few prospects for economic mobility among the people, especially among historically marginalized groups that have been co-opted by various regimes seeking to shore up power bases. President Museveni has built his regime on a strong security platform, and his government has indicated an interest in developing a CVE strategy. Implementation remains ad hoc, however, and civil society space has been increasingly constricted. If Uganda wishes to continue on a path of stability and development, the government must focus on building inclusive, representative, and equitable systems of governance that will help strengthen community resilience to violent extremism.

Toward Building Resilience

Legitimate use of power and accountable governance; economic, political, and social inclusion; access to justice and effective avenues of redress; and equitable distribution of public goods lie at the heart of achieving sustainable peace and reconciliation and reducing susceptibility to violent extremism. Inclusive approaches to addressing economic, social, and political grievances and mechanisms to effectively respond to future grievances across governments, civil society groups, and communities are critical for long-term success.

This report concludes with a number of strategic recommendations for addressing drivers of insecurity in the Greater Horn of Africa. They are intended to be considered alongside more CVE-specific recommendations and programmatic proposals, such as those provided in the Global Center report "Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Action Agenda."

- *Enhance understanding of the drivers of violent extremism.* As a first step, national stakeholders should undertake an objective assessment of local and national factors conducive to extremist violence, taking stock of the perceptions of diverse cross-sections of society.

- *Tailor CVE interventions according to the level of the violent extremist threat.* A fundamental element of successful CVE interventions will be the alignment of actions with the combination of drivers affecting each country context. Tailor-made approaches will have the greatest potential for impact.

- *Increase public service delivery and accountability.* Expanding access to and accountable delivery of public goods and services to historically marginalized regions and groups is a critical early measure to begin mitigating socioeconomic and political tensions in society.

- *Build synergies between development assistance and CVE objectives.* Identifying synergies within existing and planned development assistance at the national and international levels to address drivers of violence and violent extremism is a strategic necessity for designing a holistic approach to CVE.

- *Enhance inclusive community engagement.* Trust among and between communities and their governments is an important element of resilience. Beyond the need for transparency,

public accountability, and active engagement of civil society, authorities must ensure that counterterrorism laws and policies adhere to the rule of law and fully safeguard human rights.

- *Increase the effectiveness, diversity, and accessibility of platforms for political activism.* Universally accessible mechanisms for peacefully achieving change can greatly reduce the risk of political violence. They are critical to correct for unresponsive and unrepresentative governments, reorienting them to effectively address individual and group needs.

- *Address youth illiteracy, unemployment, and the challenges of rapid urbanization.* Expanding opportunities for gainful employment, encouraged by measures such as vocational training and microfinancing, for the region's

growing population of young people can strengthen society's resilience to violence and violent extremism.

- *Engage the private sector.* Beyond promoting entrepreneurship and providing vocational training, the private sector can support grassroots initiatives and empowerment programs by providing access to professional networks, communication tools, and financial and other resources.

- *Develop common metrics for the monitoring and evaluation of CVE programs.* The inclusion of monitoring and evaluation components in project timelines and budgets across the region and the publication of findings are key in understanding and enhancing the impact of CVE programs.

INTRODUCTION

The Greater Horn of Africa has a reputation as one of the most conflict-affected areas in the world. Seven countries in the region—Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Uganda, and Yemen—have experienced full-scale civil war within the past 30 years. Even those that have not recently experienced large-scale conflict, such as Djibouti, Kenya, and Tanzania, still contend with intermittent episodes of intercommunal and one-sided violence, insurgent groups, state-perpetrated physical and structural violence, and the presence of nonstate armed actors ranging from benign to belligerent.

To a lesser extent, the Greater Horn region has also suffered from the presence of violent extremist groups. Kenya and Somalia have garnered the most international attention related to Islamist violent extremism over the past decade, and in this regard, al-Shabaab has clearly dominated the landscape, claiming responsibility for a number of attacks in Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, and Uganda. Other countries in the region also face to varying degrees a range of threats from extremist violence and terrorism-related groups. The Lord's Resistance Army, whose areas of operation have shifted to central Africa, continues to evoke significant anxiety and fears of resurgence in South Sudan and Uganda. Ethiopia too is confronted with terrorist-designated irredentist and separatist groups in its Oromo and Ogaden regions.

Although there is no exact science to understanding drivers of extremist violence, scholars have developed a range of analytical frameworks to make sense of its underlying complexity, many of which draw on analysis of the structural and proximate causes of violence and conflict prevention more broadly. Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter articulated one of the more widely referenced frameworks that helps explain violent extremism through a typology of complex interactions of "push"

and "pull" factors that indirectly combine with more proximate political drivers, individual motivations, and interpersonal relationships and group dynamics.[1] Push factors are structural conditions—underdevelopment, unemployment, political repression, or social marginalization, for example—that can fuel grievances, which, in combination with other factors, may help push individuals toward adopting violent extremist ideas and engaging in violent extremist actions. These grievances may be real or perceived and could be felt on behalf of communities with whom individuals share a cultural, ideological, religious, or ethnic bond, even if they are at a physical distance. Pull factors are classified as more immediate incentives that make violent extremism appealing. These may be the attraction of charismatic individuals, powerful strategic communications and compelling messaging, financial or other material benefits, or the social status that some group members feel they achieve when being part of a terrorist or militant group.

The basis for differentiating diverse manifestations of violence, actors perpetrating violence, and the push and pull factors that drive individuals and groups to become agents of violence is anything but straightforward. To better understand the underlying drivers of terrorism in the region, violent extremist groups must be analyzed in the socioeconomic and political context of each country individually and of the region. Within the Denoeux and Carter framework, this study offers an overarching analysis of regional trends and stakeholder responses to violent extremism in the Greater Horn region and provides a more nuanced discussion of how these trends have manifested within seven countries: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

This assessment identified a number of conditions that may constitute push factors for violent extremism in the region, including systemic sociopolitical

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1   Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter, "Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism," U.S. Agency for International Development, February 2009, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnadt978.pdf.

marginalization and disenfranchisement, limited economic mobility and relative deprivation, institutionalized systems of corruption and patronage, and an absence of political or legal avenues of recourse for grievances, all of which are further compounded by challenges of chronic underdevelopment and poor governance. Researchers are divided regarding which set or combination of drivers carries greater weight not only in ideological radicalization but in mobilizing individuals and groups to act violently. Some observers conclude that those who join violent extremist groups for financial and material incentives rather than ideology may have been driven by push factors such as poverty, unemployment, and other forms of economic hardship in combination with any number of environmental and individual factors. Given the vast majority of people in the region subject to various forms of deprivation, however, such an explanation does not hold up against the relative absence of support for violent extremism and terrorism. Others suggest that conditions in which individuals are deprived directly or indirectly of rights or access to justice have been shown to relate more closely to support for or participation in terrorist activity.[2] The international community has largely accepted a correlation between these structural conditions and increased vulnerability to violent extremism, outlining measures to address "conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism" under Pillar 1 of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted in 2006.

In part due to the organization and methodology of this report, research identified far fewer pull factors—material or immaterial inducements for individuals and groups to engage in violence—at the individual and community level, with notable exceptions in Kenya and Somalia. A relative absence or ineffectiveness of pull factors in motivating individuals to extremist violence might help explain why incidents of terrorism, so far as conventional definitions of terrorism are concerned, have not been an overriding feature of violence in the Greater Horn region outside of Somalia and, to a lesser extent, Kenya. Although the scope of this study focuses largely on push factors for violent extremism, there is space for a separate and distinct analysis on the individualized process of radicalization and recruitment to violence in the region. Alongside assessments on the structural conditions conducive to violence, such efforts may help foster a deeper understanding of the best methods for enhancing community resilience to radicalization and recruitment to violence as a component of broader strategies to prevent and counter violent extremism.

Although this report primarily focuses on extremist violence perpetrated by Islamist militant groups and actors subject to the concerns of contemporary counterterrorism actions, the focus on Islamist militancy is not intended to reduce or trivialize the urgency of other forms of extremist violence that have plagued the region. Indeed, underlying drivers of terrorist violence do not appear to be significantly different than those of other forms of political violence. As such, the report's focus on the structural push factors, as well as responses by governmental and civil society actors, is intended to highlight general lessons for addressing conditions conducive to terrorism and violence more broadly in the region.

This report elaborates key areas of action to inform national, regional, and international stakeholders' countering violent extremism (CVE) efforts in the Greater Horn region. CVE interventions aim to reduce support for or participation in extremist violence through noncoercive means. Such efforts typically include increasing social resilience, empowering local communities and civil society groups, encouraging credible narratives to counter violent extremist ideology, and assisting individuals with disengagement from violent extremism and reintegration into their communities. A further differentiation is made between CVE-specific and CVE-relevant measures, respectively indicating those interventions that are designed to address a particular threat or community vulnerability and those that are not explicitly aimed at preventing or countering violent extremism but may still indirectly contribute to it.

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2   Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Malečková, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 119–144.

REGIONAL TRENDS

The Greater Horn of Africa occupies an interesting place in the history of contemporary terrorism. Osama bin Laden lived and maintained a base of operations in Sudan for several years beginning in 1991. While bin Laden's nascent East Africa–based organization was not particularly successful in soliciting recruits from the region during this time, enough groundwork was laid to orchestrate bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Despite the spectacle of these high-profile attacks, it was not until the mid-2000s that al-Qaida–inspired groups began to significantly proliferate, most notably characterized by the expansion of al-Shabaab in Somalia starting in 2006.[3] Since then, the Greater Horn region has suffered a number of terrorist attacks by various groups, although individual country experiences have varied widely (table 1).

Table 1. Incidents of Terrorism, 2004–2014

Country	Incidents	Fatalities
Djibouti	2	5
Ethiopia	43	213
Kenya	329	816
Somalia	1,532	2,996
South Sudan	41	681
Tanzania	20	12
Uganda	41	468

Note: Incidents include those in which two of the three Global Terrorism Database criteria were met and database analysts concluded that the incident involved terrorists, although many of the incidents were attributed to unknown groups.

Source: National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Global Terrorism Database, https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/ (accessed 22 February 2016).

Regional Drivers of Violent Extremism and Instability

Several common themes can be discerned from the exploratory assessment of overarching drivers of violent extremism and instability in the Greater Horn region. First and foremost is the near-universal experience of marginalization of certain segments of national populations. Legacies of discrimination in the delivery of public goods, services, and infrastructure investment are a hallmark of marginalization in the region and are often supported and perpetuated by institutionalized systems of resource patronage and nepotism.[4] These structural conditions result in unmet expectations and feelings of relative deprivation that contribute to increased friction across communities—those that benefit from or compete for access to power and those that do not—and between communities and their governments. These tensions can be exacerbated when the political and economic climate is sustained by state coercion and violence.

Poverty and violent extremism have no causal link,[5] but people living in poor countries are the most affected: only approximately 5 percent of all deaths from terrorism since 2000 have occurred in countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.[6] Although the region contains some of the world's fastest growing economies, it continues to struggle with high levels of poverty and chronic underdevelopment. In fact, many of the focus countries rank in the bottom one-quarter of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index.[7]

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3   The initially loosely defined partnership between al-Qaida and al-Shabaab was solidified in February 2012 when Ayman al-Zawahiri released a video confirming the alliance.

4   Regional Integration Department, World Bank, "(Draft) Regional Initiative in Support of the Horn of Africa," 23 October 2014, http://reliefweb.int/sites /reliefweb.int/files/resources/917830WP0Horn00Box385358B00PUBLIC0.pdf.

5   Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Malečková, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (Fall 2003): 119–144.

6   Institute for Economics and Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2015: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism," *IEP Report*, no. 36 (November 2015), http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/2015-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report.pdf.

7   The 2014 Human Development Index ranked Djibouti ranked at 170, Ethiopia at 173, Kenya at 147, Tanzania at 159, and Uganda at 164. The index did not rank Somalia and South Sudan. UNDP, "Human Development Report 2014," 2014, table 1, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library /corporate/HDR/2014HDR/HDR-2014-English.pdf?download.

Additionally, the region has some of the highest rates of income inequality in the world, with the World Bank Gini Index scores for the focus countries ranging from 33.2 to 48.5, on a scale where zero represents perfect income equality and 100 perfect income inequality.[8] The consolidation of economic gains by political elites and their constituencies and the inherent limitations in economic mobility for those outside the broader patronage network further perpetuate relative deprivation and socioeconomic disenfranchisement. It has also constrained and at times even precluded the development of trust among communities and between communities and the state. This can exacerbate intercommunal tensions, mutual suspicion, and mistrust and could heighten the potential for extremist violence.

The dearth of employment opportunities represents a major challenge to the region. Public sector jobs are perceived as being awarded based on ethnic, clan, and family ties rather than merit, and service sector growth has not kept pace with population growth (averaging among the highest globally at roughly 3 percent).[9] Given the educational advancements and the generally rising literacy and secondary school enrollment rates across the region, the inability of the service sector to absorb employment-seeking youth could become a major source of resentment and marginalization as unmet expectations collide with feelings of injustice. Additionally, failure to gain employment often leaves youth unable to meet cultural markers of adulthood, such as property, family, and children, further fracturing social fabrics already strained by rapid urbanization. This may contribute to feelings of inadequacy among youth, on which violent extremist narratives that offer recruits remuneration, the ability to obtain status, and a sense of belonging can capitalize.

The presence and recent increase of large refugee populations within the region, namely from South Sudan and Yemen, adds another layer of complexity. Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda have received the largest influxes,

estimated respectively at 660,000, 550,000 and 385,000 as of the end of 2014.[10] The inflows of politically and economically disadvantaged populations are sometimes perceived by local communities as a strain on already limited resources. In some countries, the current threat environment has led governments toward the rapid securitization of certain refugee populations, where these vulnerable populations may be subjected to increased coercion by governmental forces and xenophobic sentiments from host populations. Poor conditions in refugee camps, the inability to successfully integrate with local communities, and the refugees' relative deprivation may contribute to some of them deciding to find alternative sources for security, livelihood, and identity.

Limitations placed on political agency mutually reinforce poor socioeconomic conditions, that is, marginalized groups who would benefit most from responsive governance often have few if any platforms on which to mobilize for effective political change. According to Freedom House, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Uganda were categorized "not free" with regard to their levels of political rights and civil liberties, while Kenya and Tanzania were recognized as "partially free."[11] Accusations of election fraud persist in all of the focus countries that have held recent national elections. Such limitations on political agency reduce the ability to debate, criticize, and propose political solutions through official (e.g., elections and parliamentary assemblies) and unofficial platforms of dialogue (e.g., media and public demonstrations) due to curtailments of the rights to fair elections, free speech, and public assembly.

The lack of citizens' political voice and representation is often underscored by corruption, nepotism, and resource patronage, further contributing to a sense of injustice. Corruption is pervasive in the region, from exploitations by top-tier officials down to petty bribes encountered by the local populations on a daily basis. No country in the study scored higher than 34 out of

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8   World Bank, "Gini Index (World Bank Estimate)," http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (accessed 22 February 2016) (data for 2012).
9   Three percent is the average of the seven countries included in this report. World Bank, "Data: Population Growth (Annual %)," http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW (accessed 22 February 2016).
10   Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "Global Trends 2014," 18 June 2015, pp. 44–47, http://www.unhcr.org/556725e69.html.
11   Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2015," 2015, pp. 21–27, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015#.VhLjFflVhBc.

100 on the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index in 2015, which measures perceptions of the misuse of public power for private benefit, with zero indicating "highly corrupt" and 100 "very clean."[12] Major corruption cases are rarely brought to trial, and many perceive that addressing corruption is not prioritized within administrations despite governmental rhetoric to the contrary. The police, followed by the judiciary, have been consistently ranked among the most if not the most corrupt institutions in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.[13] The Ibrahim Index of African Governance, an annual statistical assessment of the quality of governance in Africa's 54 states, scored Kenya slightly above the continental average; Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Djibouti slightly below average; and South Sudan and Somalia ranking as the worst performers on the continent.[14]

Where outlets for civic and political activism are ineffective, restricted, undermined by systemic corruption, or otherwise inaccessible, rising tensions can find expression in a variety of forms. Some societies experience increased identitarianism, when subnational identity groups ultimately come to see one another in increasingly monolithic and adversarial terms. Many ethnocultural and linguistic communities, large or small, straddle or transcend national boundaries in the Greater Horn region. Such intra- and extraterritorial communities can provide a stronger basis of identity and solidarity than that of the nation-state, particularly in those countries where ethnic exclusivity and patrimonial privilege have been used as tools of governance. Some individuals and communities, marginalized and suffering daily discrimination, injustice, and impunity, retreat from the wider political society and find comfort in increased religiosity.[15]

The Greater Horn region has experienced steadily closer ties with its regional neighbors in the Persian Gulf, and expanding trade relations and steady flows of migrant

workers have facilitated an increased exchange of cultural practices and ideologies, particularly within the Muslim community. Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have in turn made large investments to support schools, mosques, and other development initiatives in the Greater Horn region, often paired with scholarship programs for young African clerics to receive religious schooling abroad.

Interlocutors across the region generally described interfaith relations as positive, often citing instances of intermarriage or respect for different forms of religious worship, but tensions appear to emerge at the policy-making level. Some regional governments appear to be directly associating more conservative religious interpretations and Wahhabi influences with violent extremism. This has strained relationships between religious institutions and governments as the state has sought greater presence in and oversight of the traditionally internal affairs of religious governance and practices of Muslim communities. Lacking credible avenues to express grievances, feelings of disenfranchisement and religious discrimination may fester and contribute to various forms of social conflict and political violence. In these contexts, some may be drawn to the appeal of extremist narratives that espouse violence as a viable method to achieve social and political goals.

Although pull factors cannot be examined in isolation from individual circumstances and context, certain trends can be partially discerned. Religious conservatism is by no means a predicate to violent behavior, but violent extremists frequently lay claim to religious authority as a means of asserting moral and spiritual certitude in a commonly understood discourse to legitimize their commitment to violence. In these instances, in combination with a range of complex factors, individuals and small groups could be co-opted by violent extremists articulating local grievances through the lens of distorted but locally understood religious dogma.

12   TI, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2015," n.d., http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table (accessed 5 April 2016).

13   For TI's East Africa bribery indexes for 2009–2014, see Transparency International Kenya, "East Africa Bribery Index," n.d., http://www.tikenya.org /index.php/the-east-african-bribery-index. See also Pauline M. Wambua, "Police Corruption in Africa Undermines Trust, but Support for Law Enforcement Remains Strong," *Afrobarometer Dispatch*, no. 56 (2 November 2015), http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6 _dispatchno56_police_corruption_in_africa.pdf.

14   Mo Ibrahim Foundation, "IIAG Data Portal," http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/iiag/data-portal/ (accessed 22 February 2016).

15   For a description in the context of Tunisia and Uzbekistan, see Sarah Chayes, *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), pp. 75, 105.

The less ideologically inclined can be drafted by the social, financial, and material inducements offered by violent extremist organizations. In countries such as Kenya and Somalia, active recruitment for militant groups such as al-Shabaab frequently benefits from the ability to offer material inducements including cash and the promise of regular payments, as well as social inducements including a sense of self-worth and social prestige. In Somalia, spiritual, social, and direct material inducements can prove subordinate to the political inducements of clan allegiances, particularly from minority or marginalized clans, attached to which are a variety of economic, social, and physical security inducements for oneself and one's family and community.

Regional Responses

Reactionary and punitive responses by law enforcement, military, and intelligence services have frequently characterized counterterrorism policies and actions in the Greater Horn region. Heavy-handed, discriminatory, and arbitrary responses can further isolate impacted communities and reduce trust in governments, proving tactically and strategically counterproductive. Further compounding this relationship with local communities is the propensity of governments to characterize terrorism-related challenges in generally monolithic, black-and-white ideological terms. By framing the underlying challenges as ideological or discursive in nature, governments tend at best to obscure if not dismiss the political, social, and economic grievances of societies facing conflict. Interventions that aim to counter "radical" ideas or narratives while disregarding these grievances, whether real or perceived, are unlikely to mitigate violence and may exacerbate existing tensions.

There has been a recent shift within the global discourse from a predominate focus on counterterrorism to recognizing the importance of developing proactive, inclusive, and durable approaches to preventing and countering violent extremism as part of a comprehensive strategy to address terrorist threats. In September 2014, the UN Security Council first adopted the language of CVE in Resolution 2178 on the threat of foreign terrorist fighters.[16] In February 2015, the United States convened the three-day White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism; subsequent regional iterations, including one held in Nairobi in June 2015, have advanced opportunities for dialogue among governments and civil society. The United States also hosted the Leaders' Summit on Countering ISIL and Violent Extremism during the UN General Assembly in September 2015, and the UN Secretary-General presented his action plan on preventing violent extremism to the General Assembly in early 2016.[17]

The existence of al-Qaida–aligned groups within the Greater Horn of Africa has made the region a matter of urgency on the international agenda. Numerous workshops and summits have been organized in the region, including one held in February 2014 by the Global Counterterrorism Forum Horn of Africa Working Group, co-chaired by Turkey and the European Union, and several forums facilitated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development for its member states on CVE, including a high-level experts workshop and the High-Level Dialogue on Peace and Security in partnership with the UN Department of Political Affairs held in Djibouti in August and November 2015, respectively.[18] Plans are also underway to establish a new Horn and Eastern Africa Countering Violent Extremism Center of Excellence and Counter-Messaging Hub that will serve as a regional coordinating body for CVE initiatives and capacity building.[19]

Additionally, the region has received support for a number of national and regional CVE efforts from bilateral and multilateral donors. Operational since

16   UN Security Council, S/RES/2178, 24 September 2014, paras. 15, 16, 18, and 19.
17   UN General Assembly, "Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism: Report of the Secretary-General," A/70/674, 24 December 2015.
18   IGAD, "Tackling Violent Extremism: A Regional and Global Concern," 31 August 2015, http://igad.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=
1199:tackling-violent-extremist-a-regional-and-a-global-concern&catid=45:peace-and-security&Itemid=128.
19   IGAD, "Strengthening Regional Capacities to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa," 22 February 2016, http://igad.int
/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1282:strengthening-regional-capacities-to-prevent-and-counter-violent-extremism-in-the-greater-horn-of
-africa-&catid=45:peace-and-security&Itemid=128.

2009, the U.S. Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism, known as PREACT, has focused on CVE, enhancing the capacity to respond to immediate threats, and addressing longer-term vulnerabilities in each of the countries covered in this study. The EU has issued "A Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa"[20] and the "EU Counter-Terrorism Action Plan for the Horn of Africa and Yemen"[21] and supports CVE initiatives in Kenya and Somaliland through its Strengthening Resilience to Violent Extremism in the Horn of Africa program. National efforts are also underway to develop country-specific CVE strategies in a number of countries in the region. This partial enumeration of these types of programs reflects the growing importance placed on CVE by the international community.

Although designed to counterbalance more reactive and hard-line counterterrorism approaches, the CVE field remains relatively undefined and broad in scope. It struggles with ambiguity over what constitutes CVE and a reluctance to participate by key partners and stakeholders due to concerns over stigmatization resulting from having self-selected as vulnerable to violent extremism. Further, the frameworks for monitoring and evaluating CVE programs are inadequate, resulting in limited evidence that has subsequently hindered the field's effective development.[22]

20   Council of the European Union, "Council Conclusions on the Horn of Africa," 14 November 2011, annex, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms _data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/126052.pdf.

21   European Commission and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, "Joint Communication to the Council: EU Counter-Terrorism Action Plan for the Horn of Africa and Yemen," JOIN(2012) 24 final, 31 August 2012.

22   For more discussion on the effectiveness of CVE initiatives, see Peter Romaniuk, "Does CVE Work? Lessons Learned From the Global Effort to Counter Violent Extremism," Global Center on Cooperative Security, September 2015, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09 /Does-CVE-Work_2015.pdf.

DJIBOUTI

Legend:
- ✪ National capital
- ◉ District capital
- ○ Town, village
- ✈ ✝ Airports, airstrips
- Wadis
- — · — International boundary
- — · · — District boundary
- —— Main Roads
- —— Secondary Roads
- ┼┼┼ Railroads

Scale:
0 — 25 — 50 km
0 — 10 — 20 — 30 mi

ERITREA

ETHIOPIA

SOMALIA

Red Sea

Gulf of Aden

Golfe de Tadjoura

Districts: OBOCK, TADJOURA, DIKHIL, DJIBOUTI, 'ALI SABÎEH

Cape Doumera, Perim, Cape Siyan, Cape Bir, Cape Duan, Île Maskali, Île Moucha

Towns and villages:
Debaysima, Raheita, Nacta, Bissidiro, Moulhoulé, Sacalatta, Sidiha Menguela, 'Ankoli, Herkalou, Amotalale, Abhi, Gori Menguéla, Alaili Dadda', Khôr 'Angar, Sêdorré, Boûyya, Dadda'to, Lâ'assa, Gaherré, Moudo, Assa Gaila, Gorriliyita, Dorra, Ouaddi, Lofefle, Malâho, Guirrori, Garba Naba, Médého, Balho, Gaoura, Adailou, Terdo, Orôbor, Obock, Deda'i, Randa, Mâraoulé, Ribta, Bahkoualé, Dittilou, Kalaf, Tadjoura, Garenlé, Ouê a, Ambabbo, Galati, Maskabou, Sâgallou, DJIBOUTI, Dorálé, Ouramous, Yoboki, Arta, Gué'a, Chabellei, Damerdjog, Loyada, El Qori, Goubétto, Tokhoshi, Gour'obbous, Hol Hol, Da'asboyo, Dânan, Doudoub Boloé, Ab aïtou, Mouloud, Ali Sabîeh, Ali Addé, Kontali, Guelilé, Guistir, Koûta Boûyya, Dikhil, Daouenlé, As Éla, Bondara, Rahele, Lasdeit, Soudda, Sankal, Meru, Nacta

Geographic features:
Magdoul Forest, Great Rift Valley, Dalha Mountains, Plateau of Obock, Mabla Mountains, Goda Mountains, Lac 'Assal, Plateau of Hanlé, Baba Alou, Gagadé Plains, Plateau of Gammaré, Gobaad, Abhé Bad (Lac Abhé), Petit Bara, Grand Bara, Arta Mountains, Ghoubbet El Kharâb

Inset globe: DJIBOUTI

DJIBOUTI

In Djibouti, the smallest country in the Greater Horn of Africa, the two dominant ethnic groups—the Issa-Somali and the Afar, currently making up 60 percent and 35 percent of the Djiboutian population, respectively[23]—have complex and at times conflicting relations. Traditionally nomadic pastoralists and traders, both groups were politically well organized internally but had no aspiration to form a political union. France, after declaring a protectorate over its sphere of influence in 1885, established the colony of Somaliland in 1888 on the territory of present-day Djibouti. The French alternated promotion of the two communities, resulting in a divisive policy that laid the groundwork for postcolonial conflicts.[24]

In 1958, a referendum was held to decide whether French Somaliland would remain with France or join the future Somali Republic, which would be borne from a union between newly independent Italian Somaliland (generally inclusive of south-central Somalia and Puntland) and British Somaliland (generally coterminous with the territory of Somaliland) in 1960. Despite support for separation from a majority of the Issa-Somali community, the vote resulted in continued association with French Somaliland due to support by the Afar and resident Europeans.[25] A second referendum took place in 1967 with results similarly divided along ethnic lines and favoring continued relations with France. As with the previous survey, reports of vote rigging and other questionable practices by the French authorities were widespread.[26] That same year, the French renamed Somaliland to the French Territory of the Afars and Issas.

Against a background of a steadily increasing Somali population and the high cost of maintaining France's

last colony on the continent, a third referendum in 1977 finally led to Djibouti's independence. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, an Issa-Somali politician who had been a key player in the independence movement, became the nation's first president, governing from 1977 until 1999. During his rule, a civil war broke out in 1991 between Aptidon's Rassemblement Populaire pour le Progrès (People's Rally for Progress), which was predominantly Issa-Somali and the only party allowed to govern, and the Front pour la Restoration de l'Unité et de la Démocratie (FRUD) (Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy), an Afar rebel group that demanded multiparty elections and furthered Afar interests. As a result, a new constitution was adopted, and multiparty elections were held in 1992. Fighting continued mainly in the north of the country until 1994 when the government and the more moderate faction of FRUD signed a peace accord that appointed two FRUD members to cabinet positions in an effort to increase the Afar presence in government.

President Aptidon resigned in 1999, and Ismail Omar Guelleh, his nephew, won the subsequent presidential elections with the support of FRUD and is currently serving his third term following a heavily protested constitutional change extending the presidential terms of office.[27] Although political power is currently shared by an Issa-Somali president, an Afar prime minister, and an almost equal division of the other cabinet members, Issa-Somalis are still seen to be the predominant ethnic group in the civil service and in President Guelleh's ruling party—something that continues to fuel resentment and political competition between Djibouti's two major ethnicities.[28]

23   U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "The World Factbook: Djibouti," 29 March 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos /dj.html.
24   Countries and Their Cultures, "Djibouti," n.d., http://www.everyculture.com/Cr-Ga/Djibouti.html.
25   Lowell Barrington, *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2006), p. 115.
26   Francis Wiafe-Amoako, *Africa 2015–2016*, 50th ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2015), p. 206.
27   "Djibouti: President Ismael Omar Guelleh Wins Third Term," BBC News, 9 April 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13024117.
28   Dominic Moran, "Djibouti in Eye of the Storm," ISN Security Watch, 15 February 2008, http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles /Detail/?lang=en&id=51984.

Despite its proximity to conflict-affected countries such as Eritrea, Somalia, and Yemen, Djibouti's relatively small territory and geostrategic alliances have shielded it from major episodes of violence over the past two decades.[29] Djibouti has only suffered one successful terrorist attack on its territory: on 24 May 2014, two Somalis conducted a suicide bombing at a restaurant frequented by foreigners, killing one Turkish national and injuring more than 20 locals and foreign nationals.[30] Claiming responsibility, al-Shabaab argued that the attack was punishment for the participation of Djiboutian troops in the African Union Mission to Somalia and for the Western military presence in the country.

Djibouti hosts a number of military representatives, reportedly from as many as 27 Western countries, including a significant presence from France, which functions as the "external guarantor of Djibouti's security."[31] France also plays a central role in the maritime antipiracy operations of the European Union, EUNAVFOR Atalanta and EUCAP Nestor, which are based out of Djibouti. The U.S. military has been visible in Djibouti since 2002, growing Camp Lemmonier into the principal logistical hub for U.S. and allied operations in the Greater Horn region and the Arabian Peninsula, including drone surveillance and targeted attacks in Somalia, Yemen, and the wider region. Although the May 2014 bombing was an attack on Djiboutian soil, it was publicly perceived to target foreign elements rather than Djiboutians.[32] Al-Shabaab has since expressed its intent to initiate similar attacks against Djiboutian and Western targets in Djibouti.[33]

Local Context and Drivers

Djibouti is one of only a few countries in the region that has no known cases of nationals involved in prominent militant or violent extremist groups. The only exception is the armed FRUD splinter group FRUD-Combatant (FRUD-C). According to a 2011 report by the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, FRUD-C is active in northern Djibouti, in the region of the Mabla mountains between Obock and Tadjourah, where it conducts military operations with the aim of harassing Djiboutian forces and, according to Djiboutian officials, engages in banditry and extortion to sustain itself.[34] FRUD-C split off from the more moderate faction of FRUD that signed the peace agreement in 1994 and is currently part of the ruling coalition in Djibouti. Since 2008, FRUD-C has reportedly received limited support from Eritrea, but its attacks "have remained small-scale and largely ineffective."[35]

Djibouti has seen less violent extremist activity than other countries in the region, but there are several reasons for concern. Limited economic mobility, corruption, patronage, and political disenfranchisement are seen as sources of instability and dissatisfaction in Djibouti and have been shown to be potential drivers of violent extremism in other countries in the region.

Although experiencing steady growth, only a small Djiboutian elite consisting of civil servants and a few successful businesspeople have truly benefited, earning Djibouti a World Bank Gini Index score of 45.1 on a scale where zero represents perfect income equality and 100 perfect inequality.[36] With limited natural resources and suffering an almost continuous drought over the last few years, the majority of Djiboutians face pervasive poverty, food insecurity, and abysmal living standards—a livelihood "largely indistinguishable from those of the country's transient population of migrants and refugees from neighboring states."[37] Of its total population of less than 900,000,

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29 There have been lower-intensity episodes of violence over the last decade, including a three-day border conflict with Eritrea in June 2008.
30 Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," June 2015, p. 21, http://www.state.gov/documents /organization/239631.pdf.
31 David Styan, "Djibouti: Changing Influence in the Horn's Strategic Hub," *Chatham House Briefing Paper*, AFP BP 2013/01 (April 2013), p. 11, http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Africa/0413bp_djibouti.pdf.
32 Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Djibouti, June 2015.
33 "Al-Shabaab Planning Attacks in Djibouti, Says Foreign Office," Agence France-Presse, 12 June 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/12 /somali-insurgents-al-shabaab-planning-attacks-djibouti.
34 UN Security Council, *Letter Dated 18 July 2011 From the Chairman of the Security Council Committee Pursuant to Resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) Concerning Somalia and Eritrea Addressed to the President of the Security Council*, S/2011/433, 18 July 2011, p. 74.
35 Ibid., p. 75.
36 World Bank, "Gini Index (World Bank Estimate)," http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI (accessed 22 February 2016) (data for 2012).
37 Styan, "Djibouti," p. 16.

60 percent is estimated to be unemployed,[38] with 23 percent living in extreme poverty.[39]

Djibouti ranks 170 out of 187 countries in the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index, with living standards, educational levels, and access to health services all subpar.[40] The educational system, a leftover from the French colonial administration, had an academic and elitist focus and was ill suited to local context and needs. Following the passing of the Education Planning Act in August 2000, the Djiboutian government has made a concerted effort to improve the system, introducing nine years of mandatory education and a stronger vocational focus.[41] Significant progress has been made, although access to education, especially for nomadic people, is still substandard and teacher attrition and unemployment figures continue to be high.[42]

Feeding the growing dissatisfaction and economic deprivation among parts of the population is a political patronage system and the unequal delivery of public services that have given rise to feelings of inequality and relative deprivation. On the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index in 2015, Djibouti scored a 34 out of 100, where zero indicates "highly corrupt" and 100 "very clean."[43] The fact that the continued presence of foreign military bases in the country seems to benefit only the elite while raising Djibouti's vulnerability to terrorist targeting is not likely to help the government's domestic standing, although overt public criticism does not seem to exist.[44]

Additionally, suppression of opposition groups and government critics, tight control of the media and freedom of expression, and widespread impunity of officials who commit abuses have also been sources of instability.[45]

Domestic protests leading up to the reelection of President Guelleh for a third term in 2011, coinciding with Arab Spring demonstrations across North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, resulted in mass arrests of demonstrators and political opposition. Continued oppression of the opposition and lack of democratic reform could lead to potent grievances that may be exploited by violent groups, including FRUD-C.

Furthermore, the conflicts in neighboring Eritrea, Somalia, and Yemen have the potential to destabilize Djibouti, first and foremost due to the increasing number of refugees from those countries. In addition to the substantial Somali refugee population (approximately 30,000), many of them living in the Ali Addeh and Holl Holl refugee camps for more than two decades already, Djibouti is facing a new influx of refugees from Yemen. Fleeing the conflict back home, they cross the Gulf of Aden in boats to find refuge in the arid Obock region of Djibouti. In early August 2015, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) reported that "21,726 people had arrived from Yemen as of the end of July. Of these 9,953 (46 percent) are Yemeni nationals, while a further 9,946 are transiting third country nationals and 1,827 (eight percent) are Djiboutian returnees."[46] The increased inflow of refugees puts a strain on the country's already limited resources and service delivery system and could potentially lead to tensions with local communities that have concerns about possible terrorist elements among the more recent refugees from Somalia and Yemen.[47]

Given its long-standing relations with the Arabian Peninsula, many youth leave Djibouti for work or religious studies in Arabic-speaking countries each year. Although their return might have led to some difficulties in neighboring countries, the general sense among

38   Ibid.

39   World Bank, "Djibouti: Overview," 2 March 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/djibouti/overview#1.

40   UNDP, "Djibouti: Human Development Indicators," http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/DJI (accessed 22 February 2016).

41   Harry Hare, "ICT in Education in Djibouti," *Survey of ICT and Education in Africa*, June 2007, pp. 3–4, http://www.infodev.org/infodev-files/resource /InfodevDocuments_398.pdf.

42   Ibid.

43   TI, "Corruption by Country/Territory: Djibouti," n.d., http://www.transparency.org/country/#DJI (accessed 5 April 2016).

44   Styan, "Djibouti," pp. 10–11.

45   Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "Djibouti 2014 Human Rights Report," n.d., http://www.state.gov/documents /organization/236564.pdf.

46   UNHCR, "Almost 100,000 Flee Yemen in Four Months Since Fighting Started," 4 August 2015, http://www.unhcr.org/55c0d5c09.html.

47   UNHCR, *Djibouti Response Plan for Yemen Crisis: April–September 2015*, May 2015, pp. 8–9, http://www.unhcr.org/557066809.pdf; civil society and Djiboutian National Human Rights Commission representatives, interviews with authors, Djibouti, June 2015.

Djiboutians is that these youth do not come back radicalized to violence but rather politicized, eager to engage actively in protests and rallies at their universities and against the government.[48]

The combination of disenfranchisement, unemployment, and a lack of future prospects has the potential to sow seeds of discontent and may undermine Djibouti's apparent stability, particularly among Djibouti's large youth population (54 percent of the population is under 25 years old).[49] Deprived of platforms to effectively achieve change to the status quo, such discontent can boil over into violence. The importance of paying attention to youth was recognized by Djibouti's economy, finance, and planning minister, Ilyas Moussa Dawaleh, in 2012, who highlighted the areas for primary intervention as "fighting poverty and unemployment of our youth. Terrorists will be using that to manipulate those in need."[50]

National Responses

Given the small size of the country and its population, governmental control is strong, and communities are closely knit, easily spotting new or foreign elements among them and informing the authorities accordingly.[51] Nevertheless, the 2014 attack has stirred concerns about the potential for increased violent extremist activity in the country, although with the perception that Westerners continue to be the primary target of al-Shabaab's rhetoric and actions.

Most of Djibouti's national counterterrorism measures come in the form of law enforcement actions, checkpoints, and border patrol operations. At the same time, the various foreign military bases on its territory, soon expected to include China,[52] continue to be the center of operations against terrorism and piracy in the region. Djibouti has also offered to host the to-be-established Horn and Eastern Africa Countering Violent Extremism Center of Excellence and Counter-Messaging Hub, which will serve as a regional coordinating body for CVE initiatives and capacity building.

Djibouti, lacking a comprehensive CVE strategy, has several programs in place to support youth populations. Members of parliament and officials from the Ministry of Islamic Affairs convene regular meetings in low-income neighborhoods, and the Ministry of Youth and Sports organizes sport leagues and events to engage youth in positive and collaborative activities.[53] Yet, without any actual positive change in (youth) unemployment figures and standards of living, the effect of this kind of outreach is uncertain.

The government seems to have good cooperation with local civil society organizations and community centers that focus on building community cohesion and resilience against violent extremism and strengthening partnerships with the local police.[54] Although the constitution allows for freedom of association, provided the civil society organizations and nongovernmental organizations register and obtain a permit from the Ministry of Interior, community groups are strictly regulated, and Djiboutian authorities have intimidated and closed down several organizations over the last few years.[55]

Additionally, the government via the Ministry of Islamic Affairs has substantial authority over all Islamic matters and institutions ostensibly to prevent, detect, and counter radicalization and recruitment to violence in mosques.[56] It exercises censorship authority over

48   Government officials, interview with authors, Djibouti, June 2015.
49   CIA, "World Factbook: Djibouti."
50   "Djibouti: Western Bases Pose a Manageable Risk," Reuters, 11 July 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/07/11/us-djibouti-security -idUSBRE86A1BV20120711.
51   Ibid.
52   John Lee, "China Comes to Djibouti: Why Washington Should Be Worried," Foreign Affairs, 23 April 2015, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/east -africa/2015-04-23/china-comes-djibouti.
53   Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," pp. 22–23.
54   Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Djibouti, June 2015.
55   Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "Djibouti 2014 Human Rights Report," p. 11.
56   Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," p. 23.

Friday sermons, restricting worshipers to discourse pre-approved by the government. These powers have been used to arrest and replace several imams and to close certain mosques temporarily.[57]

Although largely peaceful despite its proximity to conflict-affected countries, Djibouti faces a range of human development issues that have the potential to become drivers of violent extremism in the future, including a lack of employment opportunities and future prospects among the country's disenfranchised youth and a growing refugee population that further strains Djibouti's sparse resources and services. Investments will need to be made to improve these conditions and ensure that politics and socioeconomic policies are inclusive and benefit all, not just a select few.

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57   Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "Djibouti 2014 Human Rights Report," pp. 8–9.

ETHIOPIA

Legend

- ✪ National capital
- ○ Town, village
- ✈ Airport
- ▪–▪ International boundary
- Road
- +++ Railroad

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined.

Scale

0	100	200	300 km
0	100		200 mi

Globe inset

ETHIOPIA

Map labels

SAUDI ARABIA

Al Qunfudhah · Abhā · Najrān · Sa'dah · Jīzān · Hajjah · Shabwah · Şan'ā (Sanaa)' · Ma'rib · 'Atāq · Al Mukallā · Ash Shiḩr · Al Ḩudaydah · Dhamār · Al Baydā' · Balḩāf · Ibb · Ta'izz · Aḥwar · Shaykh 'Uthmān · Adan (Aden)

YEMEN

Red Sea · *Jaza'ir Farasān* · *Dahlak Archipelago* · *Bab al Mandab* · *Gulf of Aden* · *Geès Gwardafuy*

SUDAN

Atbara · Shendi · Khartoum · Wad Madani · Gedaref · Sinnar · Singar · *Nile* · *Atbara* · *Blue Nile* · *White Nile* · *Dinder*

ERITREA

Sala · Alghiena · Nakfa · Mersa Gulbub · Af'abet · Sebderat · Kassala · Mitsiwa'e · Inghel · Asmara · Barentu · Teseney · Omhajer · Adi Quala · Mersa Fatuma · Tio · Idi

ETHIOPIA

Himora · Aksum · Adwa · Adigrat · Mek'ele · Metema · Debark' · Sek'ot'a · Serdo · Gonder · Weldiya · Bati · Bahir Dar · Dese · Assab · Bure · Gewané · Debre Mark'os · Fiche · Debre Birhan · Dire Dawa · Nek'emte · Addis Ababa · Mojo · Boor · Harer · Hagere Hiywet · Nazret · Gimbi · Agaro · Asela · Jima · Awasa · Ginir · Goba · Hosa'ina · Yirga 'Alem · Sodo · Shewa Gimira · K'ebri Dehar · Werder · Imi · Arba Minch' · Kibre Menguist · Galadi · Shilabo · Murle · Garadase · Negele · Filtu · Ferfer · Mega · Kusa · Dolo Bay · *Tana Hayk* · *Abay (Blue Nile)* · *Awash* · *Tekeze* · *Omo* · *Wabe Gestro* · *Wabe Shebele* · *Genale* · *Dawa* · *Abaya Hayk* · *Ch'amo Hayk* · *Ch'ew Bahir*

DJIBOUTI

Obock · Tadjoura · Djibouti · Saylac · Dikhil · Sabin

SOMALIA

Boorama · Baki · Berbera · Karin · Ceerigaabo · Caluula · Butyaalo · Boosaaso · Xaafuun · Bandarbeyla · Hargeysa · Burco · Qardho · Jijiga · Laascaanood · Garoowe · Eyl · Xamure · Degeh Bur · Gaalkacyo · War Galoh · Dhuusamarreeb · Hobyo · Beledweyne · Xuddur · Buulobarde · Ceeldheere · Luuq · Baydhabo · Jawhar · Baardheere · Marka · Muqdisho (Mogadishu) · Bu'aale · Baraawe · Jilib · Jamaame · Kismaayo · Buur Gaabo · *Webi Jubba*

SOUTH SUDAN

Ed Damazin · Guba · Kurmuk · Goha · Mendi · Gidami · Dembi Dolo · Kigille · Gambela · Gore · Akobo · Yeki · Pibor Post · Towot · Sogata · Kapoeta · Todenyang · *Gilo Wenz* · *Akobo* · *Pibor* · *Administrative Boundary*

UGANDA

Moroto · Jinja · Tororo

KENYA

Banya · Lokwa Kangole · Lodwar · Lokichar · North Horr · Loiyangalani · Moyale · Takaba · Buna · El Wak · Ramu · Garbahaarrey · Laisamis · Wajir · Maralal · Eldoret · Kakamega · Archer's Post · Meru · Habaswein · Bilis Qooqaani · Nyahururu · Nanyuki · Kisumu · Kericho · Nakuru · Nyeri · Embu · Garissa · Tilka · Nairobi · Machakos · Garsen · Lamu · *Lake Turkana (Lake Rudolf)* · *Lake Victoria* · *Tana*

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Musoma · Mwanza · Namanga · Moshi · Arusha · Shinyanga · Voi · Malindi · Kilifi · Mombasa · Tanga · *L. Natron* · *L. Eyasi* · *L. Manyara* · *Galana* · *Pangani*

INDIAN OCEAN

Based on UN map No. 4188 Rev. 5

ETHIOPIA

Many see Ethiopia as a strong, stable state in a geopolitically turbulent and conflict-affected region. The country has established itself as a willing security partner to the United States and other key allies since the Cold War era and has attracted large influxes of donor aid. A foremost player in regional politics, Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, is the seat of many international and regional bodies, including the African Union and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and many of the offices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Unlike most of its neighbors, Ethiopia repelled imperial powers during the scramble for Africa and was never subject to colonial rule.[58] The last emperor, Haile Selassie I, was overthrown in a military coup d'état that established a Communist-style regime in 1974 under a military junta known as the Derg. In 1991, after a protracted civil war, the Derg was deposed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of ethnic political and military groups led by the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF). After assuming power, the EPRDF sought to institute a system of ethnic federalism that decentralized state structures into nine ethnically defined regions.[59] The country experienced a peaceful transition of power following the death in 2012 of longtime prime minister and TPLF leader Meles Zenawi, who had ruled the country since 1991. He was succeeded by his appointed successor, Deputy Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn.

The 2005 elections resulted in the first significant losses for the EPRDF since assuming power, with opposition parties increasing their combined number of parliamentary seats from 12 to 172, or 31 percent of the total seats.[60] Despite these gains, opposition party members claimed large-scale electoral fraud and launched a series of protests that were met by harsh governmental crackdowns. Nearly 200 people were killed, and an estimated 20,000 students and opposition supporters were arrested, more than 100 of whom were charged with crimes such as attempted genocide and treason.[61] The EPRDF and its affiliates have since reclaimed power, winning virtually all parliamentary seats in 2010 and 2015.[62]

Following the 2005 elections, the government implemented new regulations for media and civil society and passed the country's first counterterrorism legislation in 2009.[63] Many opposition groups were weakened and divided following the postelection arrests, and some have criticized this legislation as serving to further stifle political dissent.[64] New opposition groups have emerged in Ethiopia, but a number of others were forced into exile, including Ginbot 7, which seeks to remove the EPRDF by "any means necessary,"[65] and ethnic-based groups such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), which have sought greater autonomy or even self-determination for their people. The ONLF was responsible for a 2007 attack on a Chinese oil exploration site that killed 74 civilians, including nine

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58   After repelling an invasion in 1896, Ethiopia was briefly occupied by the Italians during 1936–1941.

59   For an English-language version of article 39 of the Constitution of Ethiopia, which instituted this system, see http://www.eueom.eu/files/dmfile /ethiopian-constitution-1994_en.pdf.

60   Terrence Lyons, "Ethiopia: Assessing Risks to Stability," CSIS Africa Program, June 2011, p. 6, http://csis.org/files/publication/110623_Lyons_Ethiopia _Web.pdf.

61   Ibid.; Anthony Mitchell, "193 Protestors Said Killed in Ethiopia," *Washington Post*, 18 October 2006, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content /article/2006/10/18/AR2006101800242.html.

62   MG Zimeta, "Ethiopia's Election Results and the Myths of African Politics," *Atlantic*, 24 June 2010, http://www.theatlantic.com/international /archive/2010/06/ethiopias-election-results-and-the-myths-of-african-politics/58623/; "Ethiopia's Ruling Party Wins by Landslide in General Election," Agence France-Presse, 22 June 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/22/ethiopias-ruling-party-win-clean-sweep-general-election.

63   Proclamation No. 652/2009: A Proclamation on Anti-Terrorism, *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, no. 57 (28 August 2009), pp. 4827–4842; Proclamation No. 590/2008: A Proclamation to Provide for Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information, *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, no. 64 (4 December 2008), pp. 4322–4362; Proclamation No. 621/2009: A Proclamation to Provide for the Regulation and Registration of Charities and Societies, *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, no. 25 (13 February 2009), pp. 4521–4566 (hereinafter charities and societies proclamation).

64   Freedom House, "Freedom of the Press 2015: Ethiopia," n.d., https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2015/ethiopia.

65   "A Message From Patriotic Ginbot 7: Dr. Berhanu Nega Joined His Comrades in the Ground," ECADF, 18 July 2015, http://ecadforum.com/2015/07/18 /a-message-from-patriotic-ginbot-7/.

Chinese workers.[66] Although not designated as such by the United States, European Union, or United Nations, the Ethiopian government has designated these groups as terrorist organizations and arrested a number of high-profile members of these groups in recent years.

The domestic security threat stemming from the OLF and ONLF is further compounded by alleged support for these groups from Eritrea, which is seen as utilizing them as proxies to promote continued instability within Ethiopia. From 1961 until 1991, Eritrea and Ethiopia were engaged in a war over Eritrean independence. Eritrea eventually joined forces with the EPRDF against the Derg regime, but conflict reemerged in 1998 when Eritrean armed forces attacked the border town of Badme. This action escalated into full-scale war, claiming an estimated 100,000 lives.[67] Demarcation agreements in 2002 awarded Badme to Eritrea, and although violence currently remains subdued, deep political grievances and suspicion remain between the neighboring countries.

Ethiopia has also experienced threats from foreign extremist elements, such as the Somalia-based al-Ittihad al-Islamiyaa, a now inactive group considered to have been influential in the formation of al-Shabaab and engaged in numerous acts of terrorism in Ethiopia.[68] In 2013 two Somali nationals with alleged links to al-Shabaab attempted to carry out a suicide bombing at a local football stadium in the capital but failed when the explosives were prematurely detonated.[69]

There has been a history of conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia, including Somalia's invasion of Ethiopia during the Ogaden war in the late 1970s and Ethiopia's 2006–2007 invasion of Somalia. As of 2014, Ethiopia is a primary troop-contributing country to the African Union Mission to Somalia.

Local Context and Drivers

Ethiopia's economy is one of the five fastest growing in the world.[70] Benefiting from a strong government-led development strategy, growth has been underpinned by heavy public sector infrastructure investment, including a hydroelectric dam and a railway to Djibouti, and a focus on economic liberalization through expansion in the services and tourism sectors. Agriculture remains the cornerstone of the economy, accounting for 80 percent of employment and 40 percent of gross domestic product, but recent years have seen significant growth in manufacturing production, leading some to call Ethiopia the potential "African manufacturer of the future."[71]

The Ethiopian government has prioritized service-focused spending that has led to significant advancements in social and development indicators. It identified six key sectors, including health, education, agriculture, rural roads, water, and decentralization, allocating 84 percent of all public spending to these priorities.[72] As a result, Ethiopia achieved one of the fastest increases of primary school enrollment in Africa (3.1 percent annually) and one of the largest declines in extreme poverty in the world, dropping from 63 percent in 1995 to 37 percent in 2011.[73] Ethiopia has also been able to maintain a less pronounced level of income inequality among low- and lower-middle–income countries, ranking third in sub-Saharan Africa, according to the World Bank Gini Index.[74]

66   "Scores Die in Ethiopia Oil Attack," BBC News, 24 April 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6588055.stm.
67   International Crisis Group (ICG), "Ethiopia and Eritrea: War or Peace?" *ICG Africa Report*, no. 68 (24 September 2003), p. I, http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/ethiopia-eritrea/Ethiopia%20and%20Eritrea%20War%20or%20Peace.pdf.
68   David Chazan, "Who Are Al-Ittihad?" BBC News, 30 November 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2530633.stm.
69   Tesfa-Alem Tekle, "Al-Shabaab Behind Plot to Bomb Stadium, Says Ethiopia," Sudan Tribune, 25 December 2013, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49331; "Somalis Die 'Making Bomb' in Ethiopia," Al Jazeera, 14 October 2013, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/10/somalis-die-making-bomb-ethiopia-20131014173143235960.html.
70   Admit Zerihun Wondifraw, Haile Kibret, and James Wakaiga, "Ethiopia 2015," *African Economic Outlook*, 2015, p. 2, http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/2015/CN_data/CN_Long_EN/Ethiopia_GB_2015.pdf.
71   Ibid., pp. 3–4.
72   Ibid., p. 11.
73   "One Foot on the Ground, One Foot in the Air: Ethiopia's Delivery on an Ambitious Development Agenda," Overseas Development Institute, September 2015, pp. 2–3, http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9834.pdf.
74   Ibid.

Increases in service delivery, especially to rural populations, are in part the result of Ethiopia's ethnofederalist structure, although it remains one of the EPRDF's most contested policies. Its supporters point to Ethiopia's rapid economic development, relative stability, and improved human development indicators. Its detractors claim that it is undermining Ethiopian national identity and has increased resource competition among ethnic groups.[75] Some have alleged that ethnofederalism in practice, despite being intended to promote representative governance and equitable service delivery, has created a discrete yet powerful intermingling of state and party structures that extends EPRDF and, in turn, TPLF influence down to the local level through resource patronage.[76] State ownership of all land means that rural populations are reliant on local officials, many of whom are affiliated with the EPRDF, to ensure continued tenure rights and service provision.[77]

Additionally, there are many direct or familial affiliations between leaders of the ruling party and several big businesses and major Ethiopian providers of development assistance, and some have alleged discrimination in access to state services or employment opportunities based on party affiliation.[78] National humanitarian and development aid administrators have similarly been accused of collusion at the federal and *woreda* (smallest locality) levels, which contributes not only to the chronic politicization of aid in the country but also to increased marginalization.

For example, many Oromo in the central lowlands of Ethiopia feel marginalized by the system of ethnofederalism. As the largest ethnic group, comprising 34 percent of the population,[79] the Oromo has had

long-standing tensions with the highland Tigray and Amhara populations (6 percent and 27 percent, respectively) that it believes to be disproportionately represented in government. Rich in natural resources, the Oromia region continues to be ruled strongly by the Ethiopian state, which has sought to consolidate power over the region since its conquest and annexation in the late 19th century.[80] The Oromo fought alongside the EPRDF to overthrow the Derg and are still represented within the ruling coalition,[81] but the OLF split with the government in the early 1990s and has continued to call for self-determination for the Oromia state. Designated a terrorist group by the Ethiopian government, the OLF and its alleged supporters have been the subject of governmental campaigns that have resulted in numerous arrests but have also been marred by accusations of human rights abuses.[82] OLF leadership remains fragmented, often operating in exile, but its low-level insurgency perpetuates national instability and may continue to provoke heavy-handed security responses that could exacerbate feelings of persecution among the Oromo population.

Another area of long-standing tension has been the predominately ethnic Somali Ogaden region in eastern Ethiopia, formally referenced as the Somali National Regional State (SNRS). Under the guise of pan-Somali expansionism, Somalia invaded Ethiopia in the Ogaden war of 1977–1978 in an attempt to annex the Somali-inhabited region. Although the invasion proved disastrous for Somalia, pan-Somali nationalism lingers, and groups such as the ONLF continue to call for a referendum on self-determination. The Ethiopian government maintains a vested interest in stability promotion in the Ogaden, seeking to curb pan-Somali sentiment, bolster

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75   ICG, "Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and Its Discontents," *Africa Report*, no. 153 (4 September 2009), pp. 22–23, http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media /Files/africa/horn-of-africa/ethiopia-eritrea/Ethiopia%20Ethnic%20Federalism%20and%20Its%20Discontents.ashx.

76   Ibid., p. 18.

77   Ibid.

78   Lyons, "Ethiopia," p. 10.

79   U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook: Ethiopia," 15 September 2015, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos /et.html.

80   Emperor Menelik II launched a campaign against the Oromo that allegedly resulted in the death of nearly half the Oromo population (an estimated five million people) between 1868 and 1900. The Derg also allegedly persecuted the Oromo, including through a mass "villagization" program that forced relocation into what some have described as concentration camps. Akbar Ahmed, "The Oromo and the War on Terror in the Horn of Africa," Al Jazeera, 16 July 2013, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/07/2013714133949329934.html.

81   The Oromo People's Democratic Organization remains one of the four members of the ruling EPRDF coalition, while the OLF has been banned as a terrorist organization and is now operating in exile from Eritrea.

82   Chris Albin-Lackey, "Suppressing Dissent: Human Rights Abuses and Political Repression in Ethiopia's Oromo Region," *Human Rights Watch* 17, no. 7(A) (May 2005), https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/ethiopia0505.pdf.

resistance to terrorist incursions by violent groups in Somalia, and encourage resource exploration to exploit potentially lucrative hydrocarbon reserves.[83] In 2008 the Ethiopian government established a special security force known as the Liyu (Amharic for special) police. Although successful in reducing violence, some international observers have accused the Liyu police of human rights violations.[84] Over time, the Ethiopian government has shifted its strategy to focus on major educational, infrastructure, and development investments in the Ogaden region.[85] Following years of simmering conflict,[86] the Ethiopian government has held a number of mediation sessions with the ONLF, including some facilitated by the Kenyan government;[87] but no resolution has been found, and sporadic clashes continue. In 2015, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn sought the dissolution of the Liyu police and its integration into local authorities, actions that the SNRS president resisted strongly.

In addition, Ethiopian implementation of resettlement policies has created friction with local populations. A recent governmental plan to expand the capital into rural farming lands resulted in violent protests that killed 140 people and caused the government to cancel the expansion.[88] A three-year "villagization" program was intended to relocate and consolidate 1.5 million rural households from four regions with the ostensible goal of improving access to basic socioeconomic infrastructure.[89] In Gambella, where the process is most advanced, an estimated 35,000 out of the target 45,000 households have been relocated as of 2013.[90] The governmental program is intended to offer fair compensation and resources such as access to clean water, schools, and health clinics. Yet, some have argued that the promises have not materialized to the extent the government had indicated and that the program actually serves to clear land for commercial agriculture.[91] Government officials have acknowledged that funding constraints have presented challenges to service provision in select areas but maintain that the project overall has been effective in transforming lives.[92] Ethiopia has a tense history of relocation programs, including a controversial program under the Derg regime during the 1984 famine that contributed to residual tensions within the lowland population, particularly in Oromia.[93] Regardless of the potential long-term positive impacts of the present villagization program, feelings of marginalization and persecution in the short and medium term could foster an environment conducive to conflict and instability.

The Ethiopian constitution provides for a separation between religious and governmental affairs and respect for religious freedom. Historically, Christians and Muslims have coexisted relatively peacefully in the country. Yet in 2011, 69 churches were burned, and thousands of Protestants were displaced following allegations that desecrated pages of the Koran were found at a church construction site. The Ethiopian courts convicted 558 people for the attacks, and local

83   Tobias Hagmann, "Talking Peace in the Ogaden," Rift Valley Institute, 2014, http://riftvalley.net/download/file/fid/3297.
84   "Ethiopia: 'Special Police' Execute 10," Human Rights Watch, 28 May 2012, https://www.hrw.org/news/2012/05/28/ethiopia-special-police-execute-10.
85   William Loyd George, "Ethiopia's Special Police Seek to Build Trust After Rights Abuse Claims," *Guardian*, 17 July 2013, http://www.theguardian.com /global-development/2013/jul/17/ethiopia-police-liyu-abuse-claims.
86   Rebecca Bloom and Eben Kaplan, "Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF)," *Council on Foreign Relations Backgrounder*, 1 November 2007, http://www.cfr.org/ethiopia/ogaden-national-liberation-front-onlf/p13208.
87   Abdi Ahmed, "Kenya Hosts Peace Talks Between Ethiopia and the ONLF," Tesfa News, 11 February 2015, http://www.tesfanews.net/kenya-hosts-peace -talks-between-ethiopia-and-onlf/.
88   Endalk Chala, "Ethiopia Scraps Addis Ababa 'Master Plan' After Protests Kill 140," *Guardian*, 14 January 2016, http://www.theguardian.com /world/2016/jan/14/ethiopia-addis-master-plan-abandoned.
89   Clar Ni Chonghaile, "Ethiopia's Resettlement Scheme Leaves Live Shattered and UK Facing Questions," *Guardian*, 22 January 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/jan/22/ethiopia-resettlement-scheme-lives-shattered.
90   William Davison, "Ethiopia's 'Villagisation' Scheme Fails to Bear Fruit," *Guardian*, 22 April 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014 /apr/22/ethiopia-villagisation-scheme-fails.
91   Chonghaile, "Ethiopia's Resettlement Scheme Leaves Live Shattered and UK Facing Questions"; John Vidal, "Ethiopia at Centre of Global Farmland Rush," *Guardian*, 20 March 2011, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/21/ethiopia-centre-global-farmland-rush; "'Waiting Here for Death': Forced Displacement and 'Villagization' in Ethiopia's Gambella Region," Human Rights Watch, January 2012, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports /ethiopia0112webwcover_0.pdf.
92   Davison, "Ethiopia's 'Villagisation' Scheme Fails to Bear Fruit."
93   John W. Clay and Bonnie K. Holcomb, "The Politics of Famine in Ethiopia," *Cultural Survival* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1985), https://www.culturalsurvival.org /ourpublications/csq/article/the-politics-famine-ethiopia; Thomas P. Ofcansky and LaVerle Berry, eds., *Ethiopia: A Country Study* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).

authorities held meetings to ease tensions and foster stronger community relations.[94] Many Muslims were reported to have participated in the rebuilding of some of the churches.[95] The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme Council (EIASC), the central organizing body for the Ethiopian Muslim community, condemned the 2015 killing of 28 Ethiopian Christians in Libya by an arm of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, describing them as genocidal acts not in line with the teachings in the Koran.[96]

The Ethiopian government has become increasingly concerned about the potential for growing conservatism within the Muslim community, including greater Wahhabi influence resulting from the return of Ethiopian clerics trained in Persian Gulf states and the opening of several mosques, madrasas, and orphanages funded by Saudi Arabia.[97] In 2009, new anti-Wahhabi leadership was elected to the EIASC, although many have alleged that EPRDF selected the leaders, raising concerns about the independence of the EIASC leadership and the extent to which it credibly represents its membership base.[98]

The situation further escalated in June 2011 when the Ministry of Federal Affairs and the EIASC introduced a national training program run by the Lebanese anti-extremist Sufi religious movement al-Ahbash. Some in the Muslim community viewed this as an unjustified infringement by the government into religious affairs, and the subsequent dismissals of clerics over their refusal to participate in the government-led program resulted in a series of protests in mosques across the country.[99] The Muslim community established an arbitration committee to negotiate for the end of the al-Ahbash campaign and convene fresh EIASC elections, but the government arrested the committee's 17 members in July 2012. Nine were later charged with "plotting acts of terrorism" as part of a larger group of 29 protestors.[100] The EPRDF did allow new elections for the EIASC but stipulated that state-run election structures rather than Muslim institutions must administer them.[101] This act did little to allay interventionist concerns from the Muslim community, and although relations appeared to improve in the run-up to the 2015 elections, many remain concerned that tensions continue to simmer.

Similar to many other countries in the region, Ethiopia's government has been accused of curtailing or monitoring activities to prevent the formation of a cohesive opposition following elections.[102] For example, a new opposition party called the Semayawi (Blue) Party has emerged in the last three years and successfully held a number of rallies at its initial formation. Similar to the experience of opposition groups before the 2005 elections, however, the party claimed it was increasingly subject to harassment, arrests, and disruption of activities by the EPRDF in the lead-up to the May 2015 elections.[103] The government denied these claims and reiterated its commitment to multiparty democracy but warned of consequences if the opposition engages groups the government has designated as terrorist organizations.[104]

94   "Hundreds Jailed for Religious Attacks in Ethiopia," Reuters, 1 July 2011, http://af.reuters.com/article/ethiopiaNews/idAFLDE76016820110701?sp=true.

95   Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "International Religious Freedom Report for 2011," n.d., http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192923.pdf.

96   "Ethiopian Muslim Affairs Supreme Council, Ethiopian Orthodox Church Condemn IS Killings," 21 April 2015, http://allafrica.com/stories/201504230012.html.

97   David H. Shinn, "A Look at Muslim-Christian Relations in Ethiopia," International Policy Digest, 21 January 2014, http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2014/01/21/a-look-at-muslim-christian-relations-in-ethiopia/.

98   "Ethiopia Does Have a Legitimate Fear of Violent Religious Extremism," 22 April 2013, http://aifdemocracy.org/speech-transcript-ethiopia-does-have-a-legitimate-fear-of-violent-religious-extremism-21413/ (address by Commissioner M. Zuhdi Jasser, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 14 February 2013).

99   Aaron Maasho, "Ethiopian Muslims Protest Government 'Interference,'" Reuters, 11 May 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/05/11/ozatp-ethiopia-religion-idAFJOE84A00W20120511.

100   "Ethiopia Charges 29 Muslims Under Anti-Terror Law," Al Arabiya News, 29 October 2012, http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/10/29/246554.html.

101   Terje Østebø, "Salafism, State-Politics, and the Question of 'Extremism' in Ethiopia," Comparative Islamic Studies 8, nos. 1–2 (2012): 165–184.

102   Civil society representatives, interview with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015.

103   Elias Meseret, "Ethiopia: Opposition Claims Harassment Ahead of Elections," Associated Press, 13 May 2015, http://news.yahoo.com/ethiopia-opposition-claims-harassment-ahead-elections-122429605.html.

104   William Davison, "In Repressive Ethiopia, a New 'Blue Party' Struggled to Offer a Choice," Christian Science Monitor, 21 November 2013, http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2013/1121/In-repressive-Ethiopia-new-Blue-Party-struggles-to-offer-a-choice.

The political dominance of the EPRDF, including its deep penetration down to the local level, has created a dearth of alternative voices and, increasingly, feelings of disenfranchisement. Whether organized by ethnicity or religion, beneath the public mantra of EPRDF support apparently lies a smoldering discontent, lacking a credible outlet.

National Responses

Ethiopia remains largely peaceful, has enjoyed remarkable economic growth, and has made significant development gains, but much of its stability is the result of strong and highly centralized state security apparatuses. Although successful in maintaining security, this may prove to be a double-edged sword as disproportionately forceful security responses to domestic opposition have been shown elsewhere to be counterproductive and may increase susceptibility among individuals or entities to the allure of violent extremist or insurgent ideologies.[105]

Ethiopia has begun making efforts to shift from hard-line security responses to more measures to prevent and counter violent extremism. Like most of its regional peers, Ethiopia is a member of the U.S. Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism, known as PREACT, and in 2014 cohosted a dialogue on strategic approaches to CVE in the Greater Horn of Africa with the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.[106] Additionally, Ethiopian government officials participated in a workshop organized by the IGAD Security Sector Programme to promote rule of law–based approaches to countering terrorism in the country. The Ethiopian Muslim community has also supported efforts to build resilience against violent religious extremism. In 2015,

Ethiopian Grand Mufti Abdullahi Sharif Ali served as a co–keynote speaker for a meeting of more than 300 delegates representing Sufi orders from Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.[107]

In practice, however, political and civil society space in Ethiopia might be described as fluctuating. The 2009 charities and civil society law prohibited nonprofit organizations that received 10 percent or more of their funding from international sources from working in the areas of democracy, human rights, or other domestic issues.[108] This law has been identified as having effectively curtailed civil society operations in the country, given the limited pool of domestic funding streams to address these issues.[109] International observers have also questioned Ethiopia's commitment to freedom of the press,[110] and many have accused the EPRDF of abusing its 2009 counterterrorism law to prosecute journalists critical of the regime and its policies.[111]

Some have argued that Ethiopia's role as a vital security partner has sheltered the government from international criticism on this front and led to a perception that the country's strategic location has enabled it domestic liberties not afforded to other regimes.[112] Recently, U.S. President Barack Obama visited Ethiopia and praised it as an "outstanding partner" in counterterrorism efforts but called on the government to improve its human rights and governance record.[113] The EPRDF must remain committed to its founding ideologies of free and fair democracy, equitable service delivery, and respect for the freedoms of religion and speech in order to ensure that its diverse communities feel represented and included.

105 "Ethiopia Zone 9 Bloggers Charged With Terrorism," BBC, 18 July 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28366841.

106 Paul Nantulya, "Africa Center Co-Hosts Countering Violent Extremist Messaging Workshop in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 27 February 2014, http://africacenter.org/2014/02/africa-center-co-hosts-countering-violent-extremist-messaging-workshop-in-addis-ababa-ethiopia/.

107 Rashid Abdi, "East Africa's Sufi Path to Countering Violent Extremism," ICG, 15 September 2015, http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/2015/09/15/east-africas-sufi-path-to-countering-violent-extremism/.

108 Charities and societies proclamation.

109 International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, "NGO Law Monitor: Ethiopia," 21 March 2015, http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/ethiopia.html; Human Rights Watch, "Ethiopia: New Law Ratchets Up Repression," 8 January 2009, https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/01/08/ethiopia-new-law-ratchets-repression.

110 Freedom House, "Freedom of the Press 2015."

111 Human Rights Watch, "Journalism Is Not a Crime," 21 January 2015, https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/01/21/journalism-not-crime/violations-media-freedoms-ethiopia.

112 Embassy official, interview with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015; Lyons, "Ethiopia," p. 6.

113 "Obama Praises Ethiopia Over Fight Against Al-Shabab," BBC, 27 July 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33671340.

KENYA

SOUTH SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

UGANDA

SOMALIA

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

INDIAN OCEAN

Administrative Boundary

Konso
Negēlē
Guenale
Dawa
Yabelo
Houdat
Dolo Odo
Kelem
Banya
Sabarei
Mega
Banissa
Ramu
Mandera
Todenyang
Lokichokio
Ch'ew Bahir
Sibiloi National Park
Kakuma
Moyale
Takaba
Kaabong
Lokwa Kangole
Lake Turkana (Lake Rudolf)
Central I.
Central Island N. P.
North Horr
Buna
El Wak
El Beru Hagia
Lodwar
Tarbaj
Moroto
Lokichar
South I.
South Island N. P.
Loiyangalani
Marsabit
Marsabit National Park
Girito
Wajir
EASTERN
Lokori
South Turkana Nat. Reserve
Baragoi
Losai National Reserve
Laisamis
Habaswein
Dif
RIFT VALLEY
Tot
Maralal Game Sanctuary
Maralal
Kisima
Archer's Post
Mado Gashi
Liboi
Bilis Qooqaani
Mbale
Mount Elgon N. P.
Kitale
Lorule
L. Baringo
NORTH-EASTERN
Lak Dera
Tororo
WESTERN
Eldoret
Marigat
Nyahururu (Thomson's Falls)
Nanyuki
Meru
Isiolo
Kinna
Meru Nat. Park
Bisanadi Nat. Res.
Rahole Nat. Reserve
Hagadera
Webuye
Busia
Butere
Kakamega
Solai
Shaba Nat. Res.
Kisumu
Londiani
Kericho
Mt. Kenya 5199 m
Mt. Kenya Nat. Park
North Kitui Nat. Res.
Kora National Reserve
Tana
Molo
Nakuru
Aberdares N. P.
Nyeri
Embu
Garissa
Homa Bay
Kisii
Gilgil
Naivasha
Murang'a
Nguni
Bura
Kolbio
Buur Gaabo
NYANZA
L. Naivasha
Thika
Masinga Reservoir
Mwingi
Hola
Kaambooni
Mfangano I.
Migori
Narok
CENTRAL
NAIROBI AREA
Kitui
Arawale Nat. Res.
L. Victoria
Nairobi
Machakos
South Kitui Nat. Res.
Tana River Primate Nat. Res.
Boni Nat. Res.
Musoma
Masai Mara Nat. Res.
Kajiado
Sultan-Hamud
Garsen
Lamu
Pate I.
Lamu I.
Manda I.
Dodori Nat. Res.
L. Magadi
Magadi
Kibwezi
COAST
Ungama Bay
Namanga
Amboseli Nat. Park
Mtito Andei
Tsavo East National Park
Lake Natron
L. Amboseli
Tsavo
Tsavo
Malindi
Kilimanjaro 5895 m
Tsavo West Nat. Park
Voi
Kilifi
Arusha
Moshi
Taveta
Mariakanii
Same
Nyumba Ya Mungi Reservoir
Mombasa
Shimba Hills Nat. Park
Moa
Wete
Tanga
Korogwe
Pemba I.

Legend:
- National capital
- Provincial capital
- Town, village
- Airport
- International boundary
- Provincial boundary
- Main road
- Secondary road
- Other road or track
- Railroad

KENYA

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

0 50 100 150
0 25 50 75 100 mi

KENYA

Kenya stands as a major regional commercial hub and home to the headquarters of numerous international organizations working in the Greater Horn of Africa and beyond. Nevertheless, underneath its veneer of success and cosmopolitanism are serious political, social, and economic problems and a history of intercommunal violence. Kenya has also long been a target of international terrorism. The 1981 People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine attack on Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel can be considered one of the earliest contemporary transnational terrorist attacks in sub-Saharan Africa. The August 1998 attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam heightened international attention to the threat posed by al-Qaida in the region.

Starting prior to Kenya's October 2012 deployment into Somalia, attacks by al-Shabaab and its sympathizers in Kenya have become increasingly frequent and deadly. In September 2013, a well-armed group of al-Shabaab operatives stormed the Westgate shopping center in Nairobi, leaving scores dead and many more injured. In April 2015, 700 students were taken hostage in an assault on Garissa University College, leaving 157 dead and many more injured. Although the recent wave of terror inflicted on the country by al-Shabaab has become the focus of local and international attention since 2010, political violence and violent extremism in Kenya is neither new nor solely an extension of its proximity to the protracted conflict in Somalia.

Like much of the continent, the territory of contemporary Kenya was cast from the mold set by its former European rulers. More than 70 ethnolinguistic groups reside within Kenya's borders, with the five largest—Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, and Kalenjin—accounting for around 70 percent of the population.[114] By the time of Kenyan independence in 1963, the United Kingdom had ruled over the diverse populations of eastern Africa for nearly 70 years.[115] Colonialism would leave its mark on the political, social, and economic identities of Kenyan communities and the institutions of the Kenyan state. The prevalence of patronage and violence in politics, ethnic discrimination, provincial marginalization, and institutional fragility can be traced back to norms and institutions established under colonial rule.[116]

Independence in 1963 saw the rapid consolidation of power under President Jomo Kenyatta, whose governance style would be a continuation in many ways of that during colonial rule.[117] Reforming a system of patrimonial governance dominated by ethnic elites, lands and other stolen assets inherited by the government on independence served as a trough for personal enrichment and source of patronage for Kenya's early leaders, drawn primarily from the Kikuyu ethnic elite.[118] Daniel Arap Moi, who came to power after President Kenyatta's death in 1978, continued this agenda. As a member of the Kalenjin ethnic group and lacking access to the spoils left by the United Kingdom to use as patronage, President Moi's power rested on the further pilfering of state revenues, strong centralized control, and, following an attempted coup in 1982, increasingly repressive action against political opponents. Corruption, political violence, and ethnic discrimination have characterized Kenyan politics for some time and serve as the basis of a wide spectrum of socioeconomic grievances that have continued to fester under subsequent administrations.

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114   University of Pennsylvania African Studies Center, "Kenya—Ethnic Groups," *East Africa Living Encyclopedia*, n.d., http://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH /kethnic.htm (accessed 22 February 2016).
115   Only in the 1920s were the amalgamation of peoples and territories that would be ruled as the British Crown Colony of Kenya, subsequently Kenya, brought together under a single administrative unit that began to resemble contemporary national borders.
116   See Thomas Obel Hansen, "Political Violence in Kenya," *ISS Paper*, no. 205 (November 2009).
117   See Mwandawiro Mghanga, *Land, Election and Conflict in Kenya's Coast Province* (Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2010).
118   Geir Sundet and Eli Moen, "Political Economy Analysis of Kenya," *Norad Report*, no. 19/2009 (17 June 2009), p. 6, https://www.norad.no/globalassets /import-2162015-80434-am/www.norad.no-ny/filarkiv/vedlegg-til-publikasjoner/political-economy-analysis-of-kenya.pdf; Gertrude Chawatama, Berhanu Dinka, and Ronald C. Slye, "Dissent: Statement by International Commissioners; The Final Report of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya," 3 May 2013, http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=tjrc (hereinafter TJRC, Kenya dissent).

One summary of the policies of Presidents Kenyatta and Moi characterized them as "the deliberate weakening of control institutions" as part of a strategy to maintain unchecked centralized government, which was "increasingly seen as serving the country's elite rather than the people."[119] These trends would prove all the more toxic with the introduction of multiparty elections in 1992, which have often been characterized by widespread violence and mass displacement, allegedly orchestrated by elites for political gain.[120] Election-related violence alone has killed at least 4,433 people—1,100 in the 2007 cycle—and displaced more than 1.8 million since 1991.[121] The zero-sum, interethnic rivalry that pervades Kenyan politics is popularly characterized in the phrase "it's our turn to eat," where elections represent bitter contests between ethnically defined patrimonial networks of political elites for "privileged access" to public revenue streams.[122] The marriage of political and business interests, corruption, and institutional degradation against the backdrop of deep structural inequality, a growing and underemployed youth population, and the effects of a rising sense of insecurity by the state and the public has left Kenya subject to various forms of violence and violent extremism.

Local Context and Drivers

Ethnicity-based politics not only perpetuates a deepening of social tensions but ensures that larger ethnic groups have a greater chance of success in electoral contests. These groups thus stand a better chance of maintaining control over and reaping the benefits of public administration, leaving many Kenyan communities perpetually disenfranchised. Although political and governance reforms, including the passage of a new constitution in 2010, aim to overcome the legacy of violence in Kenyan politics, the social and economic repercussions of this system will likely take generations to surmount.

Land rights and equitable land policies have been a central and long-standing grievance for many Kenyan communities. Settler colonialism in Kenya by the United Kingdom was based on a campaign of organized armed robbery of the most fertile and profitable lands from the native populations.[123] Prior to UK control, the political elite of the Sultanate of Zanzibar similarly disregarded native land rights in the territory of the future Coast province.[124] Further "land-grabbing"—the practice of selling and buying ancestral lands without the knowledge of the customary owners—would become commonplace in successive Kenyan regimes. Failure to address and the perpetuation of such grievances in land tenure is a central source of frustration and misery in many communities. Land rights was one of the key drivers of the Mau Mau insurrection in the 1950s.[125] Kenya's former Coast province was among those greatly affected by the early postindependence land-grabbing by the members of the political elite.[126] This issue is of central concern in the political demands of activists in Coast and local secessionists such as the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) movement.[127] The MRC, whose popular slogan is "Pwani si Kenya" (Coast is not Kenya), formed in 1999 to give voice to the political and economic concerns of the marginalized communities of the Coast region. The MRC largely

119 Sundet and Moen, "Political Economy Analysis of Kenya," p. 7.

120 Ibid., p. 8.

121 Abdullahi Boru Halakhe, "'R2P in Practice': Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya," *Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect Occasional Paper*, no. 4 (December 2013), p. 6, http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/kenya_occasionalpaper_web.pdf. See Human Rights Watch, "Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance," 16 March 2008, https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/03/16/ballots -bullets/organized-political-violence-and-kenyas-crisis-governance.

122 The phrase was also used as the title of Michela Wrong's book, *It's Our Turn to Eat* (2009), which tells an account of the activist and one-time anticorruption czar under President Mwai Kibaki, John Githongo, whose investigations offered a glimpse into the extent of ethnic patrimonialism in Kenyan politics and governance.

123 Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC), Kenya, "Report of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission," vol. IIA (3 May 2013), pp. 11–12, http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=tjrc.

124 Mghanga, *Land, Election and Conflict in Kenya's Coast Province*, pp. 19–21.

125 TJRC, Kenya, "Report of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission," p. 12.

126 TJRC, Kenya dissent.

127 See Mghanga, *Land, Election and Conflict in Kenya's Coast Province*; "Kenya's Coastal Separatists - Menace or Martyrs?" IRIN, 24 October 2012, http://www.irinnews.org/report/96630/briefing-kenya-s-coastal-separatists-menace-or-martyrs. See also Liat Shetret, Matthew Schwartz, and Danielle Cotter, "Mapping Perceptions of Violent Extremism: Pilot Study of Community Attitudes in Kenya and Somaliland," Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, January 2013, pp. 7–17, http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Jan2013_MPVE_PilotStudy.pdf.

sought to address the ethnoreligious discrimination of the Coast region's large Kenyan Muslim population. Kenyan authorities outlawed the organization in 2010 and labeled it an "organized criminal group," but the Kenyan High Court in 2012 deemed this decision unconstitutional and overturned it.

Grievances over land and property rights is just one of multiple dimensions of ethnoregional, socioeconomic discrimination in Kenya that impacts different communities in different ways. The consequences of long-standing, institutionalized socioeconomic inequality and political exclusion are particularly apparent in Kenya's ethnic Somali–inhabited Northeast region.[128] Disregarding the findings of a 1962 commission report showing an overwhelming majority of the population favoring unification with Somalia, which had declared independence in 1960, the United Kingdom decided to incorporate the Northeast region into Kenya following independence. In response, Somali communities boycotted the first Kenyan elections, and an armed secessionist insurgency ensued. An indication of the nascent Kenyan government's unwillingness to acknowledge the concerns and national aspirations of Somali Kenyans, the ensuing four-year war became known as the Shifta (Somali for "bandit") War. Kenyan forces ultimately defeated the insurgency, brutally "pacifying" the region by 1968.[129] Until as late as 1992, Kenya imposed emergency law that placed the Northeast "under harsh security state rule" characterized by endemic human rights abuses, massacres, and impunity of Kenyan forces.[130]

Relative deprivation on an ethnoregional basis is reflected in disparities in access to education, jobs, health care, clean water, electricity, and serviceable roads and treatment by local police and justice officers. The stark divergences in human development indicators across Kenya's ethnoregional boundaries have been reinforced by decades of significantly disproportionate development allocations from the central government.[131] The consequences of persisting institutionalized political and socioeconomic inequality are particularly dire for the nation's growing population of young people. Youth between the ages of 15 and 34 constitute about 35 percent of the Kenyan population[132] but around 75 percent of Kenya's 2.3 million unemployed.[133] In 2013, youth unemployment was approximately two times higher in the Coast region and more than three times higher in the Northeast region than unemployment rates in central Kenya.[134] A testament to the structural effects of marginalization and economic disenfranchisement, high proportions of unemployed youth in the Coast and Northeast regions can be attributed to the near absence of formal employment opportunities and low student enrollment in these regions.[135]

Although many may view the recent wave of terrorist acts by groups such as al-Shabaab as an extension of the conflict in Somalia perpetrated by Somalis,[136] a 2011 UN report suggested that non-Somali Kenyans played a particularly substantial and active role within al-Shabaab.[137] There have since been growing

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128 For general background, see Taya Weiss, "Guns in the Borderlands," *ISS Monograph*, no. 95 (1 January 2004), pp. 66–88, https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Mono95.pdf.

129 See TJRC, Kenya, "Report of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission," vol. IV (3 May 2013), pp. 12–21, http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=tjrc.

130 Ken Menkhaus, "Conflict Assessment: Northern Kenya and Somaliland," Danish Demining Group, March 2015, p. 18, http://www.somalilandtimes.net/sl/2015/661/SSRN-id2589109.pdf.

131 Maurice Odhiambo Makoloo, "Kenya: Minorities, Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Diversity," Minority Rights Group International and Cemiride, 2005, p. 33, http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-147-Kenya-Minorities-Indigenous-Peoples-and-Ethnic-Diversity.pdf. See World Bank, "Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment; Volume I: Synthesis Report," June 2008, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPGENDER/Resources/PAKENYA.pdf (draft report).

132 Harry L. Kaane, "Youth Employment in Africa; Policies, Mechanisms and Schemes for Integration of Youth Into the Workforce and Job Creation: Kenya Country Report," Association for Development of Education in Africa, May 2014, p. 3, http://www.adeanet.org/min_conf_youth_skills_employment/sites/default/files/u24/Kenya%20Country%20Report_0.pdf.

133 UN Development Programme (UNDP), "Kenya's Youth Unemployment Challenge," January 2013, p. 16, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Kenya_YEC_web(jan13).pdf?download; "Kenya Tries to Tackle Youth Unemployment," Al Jazeera, 28 July 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2014/07/kenya-tries-tackle-youth-unemployment-201472463345503624.html.

134 UNDP, "Kenya's Youth Unemployment Challenge," p. 63.

135 Ibid.

136 Volker Krause and Eric E. Otenyo, "Terrorism and the Kenyan Public," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28, no. 2 (2005); Jan Bachman, "Governmentality and Counterterrorism: Appropriating International Security Projects in Kenya," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 6, no. 1 (2012): 46.

137 UN Security Council, *Letter Dated 18 July 2011 From the Chairman of the Security Council Committee Pursuant to Resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) Concerning Somalia and Eritrea Addressed to the President of the Security Council*, S/2011/433, 18 July 2011, p. 149.

concerns that Kenya's large, marginalized, and disadvantaged non-Somali Muslim youth in Nairobi and the Northeast and Coast regions could be particularly vulnerable to recruitment and targeted by radical clerics luring them with compelling narratives, charisma, and a small stipend (with the promise of more) to fight for al-Shabaab in Somalia, abroad, or closer to home.[138]

Although some security experts suggest that the presence of marginalized youth in the Greater Horn region offers groups such as al-Shabaab a "large pool of potential recruits,"[139] there is little indication that they have achieved anything more than minor successes in the recruitment of the region's vast population of disaffected youth. At the same time, as the frequency and intensity of al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya grow, Kenyan Somalis and Somalis residing in Kenya may be subjected to further discrimination by national counterterrorism efforts.[140] Kenya's police and justice authorities, long viewed as corrupt and ineffective by the Kenyan public,[141] may increasingly be perceived as a source of insecurity among its ethnic Somali and Muslim citizens.[142]

National Responses

The Kenyan government, with the support of the international community, has embarked on a wide range of efforts that seek to address the underlying drivers of violent extremism. At the broadest level, the implementation of reforms extending from Kenya's new constitution offers the most promising potential for addressing long-standing political and socioeconomic grievances. Among them are a process for devolution that provides a standard basis for revenue allocations from the central government to 47 new county-level jurisdictions, including weighted percentages based on poverty index, size, and population.[143] Although these allocations will account for only 15 percent of the national budget, appropriate investments at the national level may begin to alleviate some of the long-term structural marginalization experienced by many Kenyan communities. Yet, there are concerns that certain marginalized minorities, such as pastoral communities, will not benefit from the trickle-down effect of the devolution process.[144]

The new constitution also prompted long overdue reforms of the police and judiciary. A series of new laws brought Kenya's two main police services, the Kenya Police Force and the Administration Police Service—relics of UK colonial rule—under a single Inspector General of Police and established much needed oversight and accountability mechanisms. The judiciary has also been overhauled to reduce executive interference, decentralize court structures, and restrain misconduct. Like the county budget devolution process, progress on these reforms has experienced a number of false starts, setbacks, and controversies.[145] Nevertheless, the reforms represent promising opportunities to fundamentally improve Kenyan perceptions of and relationships with the state over the long term.

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138   See Peter Taylor, "On the Trail of al-Shabab's Kenyan Recruitment 'Pipeline,'" Mail and Guardian, 2 October 2013, http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-02-on-the-trail-of-al-shababs-kenyan-recruitment-pipeline.

139   See Christopher Anzalone, "Kenya's Muslim Youth Center and al-Shabaab's East Africa Recruitment," CTC Sentinel 5, no. 10 (October 2012): 913; International Crisis Group, "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalization," Africa Briefing, no. 85 (25 January 2012), http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/kenya/b085-kenyan-somali-islamist-radicalisation.aspx; Bronwyn Bruton, "IntelBrief: Kenya: Bringing Terror Home," Atlantic Council, 19 October 2012, http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/external/intelbrief-kenya-bringing-terror-home.

140   For example, see Human Rights Watch, "Kenya: Police Abuse Nairobi's Refugees," 29 May 2013, http://www.hrw.org/node/115922; Karen Attiah, "The Global Squeeze on Somalia Just Got Worse, Thanks to Kenya," Washington Post, 10 April 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/post-partisan/wp/2015/04/10/the-global-squeeze-on-somalia-just-got-worse-thanks-to-kenya/; Joseph Akwiri, "Kenyan Court Orders Muslim Groups Removed From 'Terror List,'" Daily Mail, 11 June 2015, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-3120109/Kenyan-court-orders-Muslim-groups-removed-terror-list.html.

141   For Transparency International's East Africa bribery indexes for 2009–2014, see Transparency International Kenya, "East Africa Bribery Index," n.d., http://www.tikenya.org/index.php/the-east-african-bribery-index. See also Sarah Mount, "A Force For Good? Improving the Police in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda," Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, April 2014, http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/publications/police/A_FORCE_FOR_GOOD_Improving_the_Police_in_Kenya_Tanzania_and_Uganda.pdf.

142   Stephen Buchanan-Clarke and Rorisang Lekalakem, "Is Kenya's Anti-Terrorism Crackdown Exacerbating Drivers of Violent Extremism?" Afrobarometer Dispatch, no. 37 (2 July 2015), http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno37.pdf.

143   Kenyan Commission on Revenue Allocation, "CRA Consults Senate," n.d., http://www.crakenya.org/cra-consults-senate-on-second-generation-formula/ (accessed 22 February 2016).

144   Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Nairobi, Kenya, June 2015.

145   For example, see Moguno Munene, "Stalled Reforms Blamed on Rogue Police," Daily Nation, 22 August 2015, http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Stalled-reforms-blamed-on-rogue-police/-/1056/2842882/-/lf32ldz/-/index.html; Cyrus Ombati, "Police Reforms Stall Due to Lack of Funds, National Police Service Commission Says," Standard Digital, 20 October 2014, http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000138826/police-reforms-stall-due-to-lack-of-funds-national-police-service-commission-says; Tom Odula, "63 Police Officers Fired Over Corruption in Attempt to Reform Kenya's Criticized Police Force," Associated Press, 15 October 2015, http://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2015/10/15/63-police-officers-fired-over-corruption-in-kenya-reforms.

Direct counterterrorism efforts in Kenya have been subject to widespread criticism for alleged human rights abuses.[146] Nevertheless, the 2012 Prevention of Terrorism Act further expands law enforcement powers in the context of countering terrorism. Several Kenyan strategies on countering violent extremism (CVE) also exist, most prominent among them the one developed by the Kenyan National Counter-Terrorism Centre and one drafted by the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims. They are now focusing on developing a collaborative national approach. A task force has been formed to spearhead that process, and it seems as though the strategy will be endorsed soon. A committee of governmental and civil society actors will be established to oversee the implementation of the strategy. Despite progress in this regard, there have been delays in the implementation of a national CVE strategy and some civil society groups have expressed concerns over the extent of national commitments to address governance deficits.

A vibrant and active civil society community in Kenya focuses on CVE measures and youth engagement. A number of civil society organizations are working actively with the youth populations, including through radio and cultural programming, community centers, and vocational training programs. Yet, youth participation in some of the more influential Islamic institutions and civil society groups is seen by some as lagging behind because the leadership traditionally has consisted of older men.[147] Furthermore, the government has cooperated with civil society organizations; but tensions remain, particularly around reintegration and community policing issues. The government recently released an official list of 86 organizations that "sponsor terrorism," including credible human rights advocacy organizations such as Haki Africa and Muslims

for Human Rights (MUHURI). In June 2015, the Mombasa High Court ordered that Haki Africa and MUHURI be removed from the government's terrorist list. In November 2015, the court lifted the ban freezing the bank accounts of the two organizations.

Kenyatta's powerful statement at a regional CVE summit held in Nairobi in June 2015 may reignite hope for enhanced civil society and community engagement around CVE, but reducing drivers of violent extremism in the country requires urgent action across a number of fronts. In the short term, implementing counterterrorism actions with respect for human rights conventions is a critical first step toward building trust with marginalized ethnic Somali and Muslim communities. In this regard, the recent amnesty provided to approximately 85 individuals that were intending to join or had joined al-Shabaab[148] is a promising development, although it needs to be followed with structural reintegration support to the returnees and their families. Breaking down barriers to deepen cooperation with Kenyan civil society and community groups, whose credibility in many parts of Kenya far eclipses that of the government, will bring focus and legitimacy to national CVE efforts. This will require openness to criticism and a willingness to take action based on these criticisms of governmental policy. Extending an olive branch to human rights advocates subjected to Kenya's terrorist listing procedures will help set the tone for renewed government–civil society partnerships. In the long term, however, the most effective CVE returns can only be achieved by addressing structural discrimination in Kenya's sociopolitical economy. Following through with promised governance reforms, restorative justice, and regional development initiatives are central to Kenya's CVE efforts.

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146 See Jonathan Horowitz, "Counterterrorism and Human Rights Abuses in Kenya and Uganda: The World Cup Bombing and Beyond," Open Society Foundations, 2013, http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/counterterrorism-human-rights-abuses-kenya-uganda-20130403.pdf; Human Rights Watch, "'You Are All Terrorists': Kenyan Police Abuse of Refugees in Nairobi," May 2013, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kenya0513_ForUpload_0_0.pdf; Open Society Justice Initiative and Muslims for Human Rights, "We're Tired of Taking You to the Court: Human Rights Abuses by Kenya's Anti-Terrorism Police Unit," Open Society Foundations, 2013, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/human-rights-abuses-by-kenya-atpu-20140220.pdf. See generally Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "Kenya 2012 Human Rights Report," n.d., http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/204343.pdf.

147 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Nairobi, Kenya, June 2015.

148 Stella Cherono, "Interior Ministry Says 85 Have Surrendered After Amnesty Offer for Radicalized Youth," Daily Nation, 29 May 2015, http://www.nation.co.ke/news/85-radicalised-youths-surrender-after-amnesty-offer/-/1056/2733372/-/vuvuijz/-/index.html.

SOMALIA

GULF OF ADEN

DJIBOUTI

Djibouti

ETHIOPIA

KENYA

INDIAN OCEAN

Regions (red labels): AWDAL, WOQOOYI GALBEED, TOGDHEER, SANAAG, SOOL, BARI, NUGAAL, MUDUG, GALGUDUUD, HIRAAN, BAKOOL, BAY, GEDO, SHABELLE DHEXE, SHABELLE HOOSE, JUBA DHEXE, JUBA HOOSE, BANADIR

Āsayita, Dikhil, Saylac, Raas Maskan, Karin, Raas Khansiir, Raas Surud, Xiis, Maydh, Boosaaso (Bender Cassim), Bandar Murcaayo, Caluula, Breeda, Gees Gwardafuy, Butyaalo, Bargaal, Raas Binna, Qandala, Jaceel, Bullaxaar, Berbera, Laasqoray, Hurdiyo, Raas Xaafuun, Baki, Boorama, Ceerigaabo (Erigavo), Iskushuban, Xaafuun, Dirē Dawa, Nazrēt, Hārer, Togwajaale, Jijiga, Hargeysa, Burco (Burao), Der, Garadag, Qardho, Dudo, Bandarbeyla, Oodweyne, Kiridh, Xudun, Taxeex, Karkaar Mountains, Degeh Bur, Buuhoodle, Laascaanood, Garoowe, Raas Gabbac, Gori Rit, Eyl, Eyl, Werdēr, Megalo, K'ebrī Dahar, Berdaale, Xamure, Beyra, Seemade, Garacad, Īmī, Gaalkacyo (Galcaio), Godē, Shilabo, War Galoh, Baxdo, Mirsaale, Hilalaya, Hargele, Mereer-Gur, Dhuusamarreeb (Dusa Marreb), Hobyo, Ferfer, Ceel Buur, Ceel Huur, Beledweyne, Xarardheere, Derri, Dolo Bay, Xuddur (Oddur), Buulobarde, Luuq, Tayeeglow, Ceeldheere, Garbahaarrey, Baydhabo (Baidoa), Mahadday Weym, Cadale, El Beru Hagia, Buurhakaba, Wanlaweyn, Jawhar (Giohar), Baardheere, Diinsoor, Balcad, Afgooye, Afmadow, Qoryooley, Muqdisho (Mogadishu), Marka (Merca), Bu'aale, Haaway, Baraawe, Jilib, Jamaame, Bilis Qooqaani, Wajir, Kismaayo (Chisimayu), Isole Giuba, Buur Gaabo, Raas Kaambooni, Garsen, Lamu

Webi Jubba, Webi Shabelle, Silil, Dahot, Darro

Legend

- National capital
- Regional capital
- Town, village
- Airport
- International boundary
- Regional boundary
- Undetermined boundary
- Main road
- Track
- Railroad

0 50 100 150 200 km
0 50 100 mi

SOMALIA

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

SOMALIA

The long-standing conflict in south and central Somalia has served as a leading source of instability in the Greater Horn of Africa. Since the fall of the Barre regime in 1991, various factions have fought for control over the fractured country. The south and central parts of the country became engulfed in more than two decades of protracted violent conflict and a quagmire of international political and military interventionism while a national peace and reconciliation process in the north fostered an increasingly stable and independent polity in Somaliland. The lack of inclusive, locally legitimate peace and reconciliation processes in the south has constrained peace-building, state building, and development efforts that could help alleviate conditions conducive to extremist violence.

Although never unified under a single national polity in the modern sense, Somalis constitute one of the largest ethnolinguistic groups in eastern Africa and are a majority, as in Djibouti, or a significant minority of the population inhabiting Somalia's neighboring countries, as in northeastern Kenya and Ethiopia's Ogaden region.[149] Regardless of their nationality, Somalis have long shared a common language, clanship affiliations, customs, and traditions.

The formation of modern Somalia could be said to have begun in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Prior to European colonization, the land comprising contemporary Somalia has been ruled by a rich tapestry of local dynasties and Arab-Islamic city-states going back to ancient times, existing at the crossroads of Arabia and the Levant and the Greater Horn of Africa. The British East India Company established commercial routes with Somali trade centers beginning in 1840, gradually establishing a protectorate over the north by 1886. France took control of the port of Djibouti, establishing the "Côte française des Somalis" in 1885. The Somali-populated Ogaden was occupied by Ethiopia in 1897 during the reign of Menelik II. Italy staked its claim to "Italian Somaliland" that same year. The encroachment of foreign imperial powers would fan the flames of a more than 20-year Somali war of resistance under the Dervish State leader Mohammed Abdille Hassan, resulting in the decimation of Somalia's northern population by 1920.[150]

British Somaliland gained independence on 26 June 1960 and formed a union with Italian Somaliland to form the Somali Republic on 1 July 1960. This short-lived republic largely continued to operate as two distinct entities "with different legal, administrative, and educational systems."[151] Although European colonial rule made its mark on Somalia's bifurcated institutional fabric of hardened interclan rivalries, Ethiopian control of the Ogaden, which it annexed at the end of the 19th century, would ultimately become a rallying cry for future Somali nationalists and Ethiopian regional separatists. The concept of pan-Somalism—aspiring to the political union of Somali eastern Africa—which had been gaining traction in pre-independence Somali politics, became an integral part of Somali political identity during the Somali Republic period.[152]

After General Muhammad Siad Barre's coup d'état in 1969, Somalia would be subjected to a far-reaching program of "scientific socialism," which sought to transform the economic and social fabric of the country. President Barre aimed to dislodge the power of traditional clan structures and nomadism that have long

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149   Mary Harper, *Getting Somalia Wrong* (New York: Zed Books, 2012), p. 31. See "Ethnic Groups: Somalia's Clan Families and Major Subclans," n.d., http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia_ethnic_grps_2002.jpg (map).

150   Mollie Zapata, "Somalia: Colonialism to Independence to Dictatorship, 1840-1976," Enough Project, 31 January 2012, http://www.enoughproject.org /blogs/somalia-colonialism-independence-dictatorship-1840-1976. The conflict was portrayed in largely "religio-civilizational" terms by all parties of the conflict.

151   Ibid.

152   A major blow to the pan-Somali movement during the period was the United Kingdom's disregard for the results of the referendum of the Northern Frontier District. A majority voted for union with the Somali Republic, but the United Kingdom ceded the territory to Kenya following its independence in 1963, leading to the four-year Shifta War.

played a central role in Somali society through economic modernization, civic education, public works, and institutional reform. Initially welcomed by many, President Barre's program was enforced through severe political, cultural, and economic repression; state censorship; nepotism; and the coercive power of a massive security state. He also played realpolitik and sustained his rule by the patronage of the Soviet Union and then the United States during the Cold War.

By 1977, faced with economic stagnation following a devastating drought and likely aware of growing internal opposition, President Barre trumped up his nationalist "Greater Somalia" rhetoric and invaded Ethiopia's Ogaden region, where Somalia had been secretly supporting insurgents against Addis Ababa. The war ended in disaster for Somalia and was the beginning of the end of the Barre regime. With President Barre exposed, opposition quickly galvanized largely along clan lines, most rapidly in the north under the Somali National Movement (SNM) where the economic and political marginalization of the Barre regime had been most acute. As other clan-based groups entered into the fold, President Barre responded by escalating campaigns of repression and centralized control. "By the mid-1980s, Somalia was already a failed state. With the partial exception of the security sector," propped up by the United States, "most government institutions began to atrophy…. Fierce government repression, heightened clan cleavages and animosities, gross levels of corruption, and low salaries all combined to accelerate the state's decline."[153]

In January 1991, after a three-year civil war that claimed tens of thousands of lives and produced hundreds of thousands of refugees and facing a united front of clan-based insurgent groups, President Barre fled the capital. That May, the north declared Somaliland's independence under the leadership of the SNM and embarked on a series of inclusive, locally engineered,

national peace, reconciliation, and state-building processes with minimal support or interference from outside powers. The south would languish in civil war for another two decades.[154]

The violence that raged in south and central Somalia during the 1990s and 2000s across shifting coalitions of localized clan-based militias was fueled by clan-based warlordism, the widespread availability of small arms, and intermittent periods of devastating famine and drought. Although the groundwork for intercommunal divides in Somalia can be traced back to the legacies of colonialism, the Cold War, and the Barre regime, a more proximate geopolitical driver of violent extremism in Somalia can be traced back to the 2000s. The rise of al-Shabaab and similar groups in Somalia can be attributed, at least in part, to the consequences of foreign interventionism.

In the years following the 9/11 attacks in the United States, some U.S. policymakers were increasingly concerned that al-Qaida could establish a foothold in Somalia. By 2006 the United States had begun supporting a group of warlords in an effort to capture or kill several known or suspected supporters of al-Qaida believed to be operating in the country.[155] The U.S.-backed warlords wielded indiscriminate violence on local communities, and many Somalis welcomed the ascension of a coalition of clan-based local religious courts that wrested the capital from warlord rule in the summer of 2006. The coalition, named the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), rapidly extended their control over much of southern Somalia. Although religiously stringent, the short-lived rule of the UIC promoted law and order, peace and security, social service provision, and commerce. Far from being a homogenous body, the UIC consisted of an eclectic mix of moderate and fundamentalist Islamists, militants, clan leaders, jurists, and businessmen who shared a common local agenda to expel the warlords and establish law and order in the country.[156]

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153 Ken Menkhaus, "Governance Without Government in Somalia," *International Security* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2006/2007): 80; Mark Bradbury, *Becoming Somaliland* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 42–43.

154 For a background on international and locally led peace processes in Somalia, see Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy, eds., "Whose Peace Is It Anyway? Connecting Somali and International Peacemaking," *Accord*, no. 21 (2010), http://www.c-r.org/downloads/21_Somalia.pdf.

155 Jeremy Scahill, "Blowback in Somalia: How U.S. Proxy Wars Helped Create a Militant Islamist Threat," *Nation*, 26 September 2011, http://www.thenation.com/article/blowback-somalia/.

156 Markus Virgil Hoehne, "Counter-Terrorism in Somalia: How External Interference Helped to Produce Militant Islamism," n.d., http://webarchive.ssrc.org/Somalia_Hoehne_v10.pdf.

The UIC's inclusion of former members of al-Ittihad al-Islamiyaa, a now inactive Somali militant group that engaged in numerous acts of terrorism in Ethiopia, and several suspected al-Qaida operatives precluded friendly relations with Addis Ababa and Washington. The UIC's expansion swiftly eclipsed the corrupt and enfeebled but externally backed Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG). Confrontation with the TFG and the imminent threat of Ethiopian invasion proved a self-fulfilling prophecy, increasing the influence of the hard-liners in the UIC's decision-making. Ethiopia's invasion in December 2006 and subsequent two-year occupation of the country have been said to have ensured the ascendency of al-Shabaab.[157]

Local Context and Drivers

Somali politics and society have long revolved around norms and rules associated with clan and family structures, but the growth of Islamism as a political force and the ultimate rise of al-Shabaab and other Somalia-based terrorist groups must be understood in its historical context.[158] Religious conservatism in Somalia has increased over the past several decades, generally attributable to the influx of Saudi Arabian–funded religious schools and charities.[159] Although two decades of conflict in the south have eroded traditional clan and family structures to some degree, Islam remains a fundamental current in Somali society and in its politics. As with any ideology, when Islamism is mobilized

for political purposes, it serves as an important tool for claiming authority and rationalizing decisions and as a lens for interpreting one's environment and articulating grievances. Clearly, the politicization of Islam plays an important role in encouraging recruitment for Somalia's violent extremist groups.[160]

Prior to 2006, al-Qaida's global jihadist agenda had little appeal in Somalia, and the organization made little headway in its attempts to plant its roots in the war-torn country in the 1990s.[161] Islamic organizations, Islamist groups, and religious leaders were targeted for persecution under President Barre's program of scientific socialism. Many were forced to flee the country or were imprisoned, forced into hiding, or executed.[162] Some who fled the country fought for the mujahideen against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Religious leaders and militants, from Wahhabi and Salafist to Sufi, took part in the war to overthrow the Barre regime, and relatively non-religious groups sometimes framed their struggle using religious imagery.[163] Although ideology-tinged militancy was not absent from the groups that toppled the Barre regime, religion and ideological militancy was hardly a central factor in the first decade of Somalia's civil war.

Far more potent than ideological affinity with extremist causes, a primary driver of intercommunal violence in Somalia has been social, economic, and political marginalization and exclusion. Clan and family varyingly play an important role as the basis of social identity in

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157 An August 2006 report noted,

> Ironically, the crisis is a direct product of ill-conceived foreign interventions. Ethiopia's attempts to supplant the earlier Transitional National Government (2000-2003) with one dominated by its allies alienated large sections of the Hawiye clan, leaving the TFG with a support base too narrow to operate in and near Mogadishu. The calls of the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development … for foreign peacekeepers, intended to bolster the TFG, have instead cast it as ineffectual and dependent on foreign support, and provided a rallying cry for diverse opposition groups. U.S. counter-terrorism efforts meant to contain foreign al-Qaeda operatives have accelerated the expansion of jihadi Islamist forces and produced the largest potential safe haven for al-Qaeda in Africa.

> International Crisis Group (ICG), "Can the Somali Crisis Be Contained?" *Africa Report*, no. 116 (10 August 2006), p. i, http://www.crisisgroup.org/~ /media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/Can%20the%20Somali%20Crisis%20Be%20Contained.pdf.

158 ICG, "Somalia's Islamists," *Africa Report*, no. 100 (12 December 2005), http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia /Somalias%20Islamists.pdf. In the early 1980s, Somalia's main Islamist groups focused primarily on promoting social justice and conservative Islamic norms, which ultimately brought them into confrontation with the Barre regime. As the civil war began, some maintained a humanitarian mission, working with refugees in Somalia and Ethiopia. Influenced in part by returning mujahideen from Afghanistan, some ultimately became intertwined with the plight of Ethiopian Somalis in the Ogaden or took up arms in the ongoing conflicts in south and central Somalia. Somalia's first major jihadist group and precursor to al-Shabaab, al-Ittihad al-Islamiyaa, evolved out of this context.

159 See ICG, "Somalia's Divided Islamists," *Africa Briefing*, no. 74 (18 May 2010), http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia /B74%20Somalias%20Divided%20Islamists.pdf.

160 See Muhsin Hassan, "Understanding Drivers of Violent Extremism: The Case of al-Shabab and Somali Youth," *CTC Sentinel* 5, no. 8 (August 2012): 18–20; Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile, "Radicalisation and al-Shabaab Recruitment in Somalia," *ISS Paper*, no. 266 (September 2014), https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper266.pdf.

161 "Al-Qaida's (Mis)adventures in the Horn of Africa," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, n.d., https://www.ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads /2010/06/Al-Qaidas-MisAdventures-in-the-Horn-of-Africa.pdf.

162 ICG, "Somalia's Islamists."

163 For example, see Bradbury, *Becoming Somaliland*, p. 64.

Somalia and therefore are significant factors in economic and political life. Affiliation to stronger and influential clans and one's position within the clan are key determining factors in one's access to levers of political and economic power.[164] In the south, lines of interclan competition and mistrust have hardened over the course of more than two decades of conflict. Politics, control over state institutions, and access to public goods continue to be contested on the basis of clan.[165] Although this does not necessarily translate to violent extremism, individuals and groups align with actors according to their interests and security. Al-Shabaab has been extremely adept at exploiting and capitalizing on clan rivalries, forging alliances with clans that have been marginalized or subordinated by more powerful factions.[166]

Initially, al-Shabaab's narrative was that it would eliminate the hierarchy of power within Somalia's clan system. This was evident within the violent extremist organization since its previous and current leaders both hailed from the Somaliland-based Isaaq clan and commanded a militia largely comprised of adherents from south Somali clans. Although this lack of clan-identity rhetoric initially pleased some segments of the Somali population, over time, al-Shabaab realized that it too could not escape clan politics and was forced to manipulate the Somali customary clan order to enforce its edicts. For example, al-Shabaab placed emirs (leaders) from minority or traditionally marginalized clans in leadership positions in areas where stronger or larger clans inhabited. This allowed the group to enjoy fierce loyalty from the emirs, who finally were in a position

to exert power and have access to wealth. Somalis who were originally supportive of the group for its more "egalitarian" approach to the traditional clan hierarchy soon saw through al-Shabaab's manipulative measures and withdrew their support.

In contrast to the north, the continued absence of an inclusive national reconciliation process in the south has hindered the establishment of locally legitimate and inclusive-enough national institutions. Despite valuable lessons that were gained from the experiences in Somaliland, the priorities of external partners continue to drive governance arrangements in the south to the benefit of successive ineffectual governments.[167] "[R]ecent state-building efforts in Somalia have, without exception, contained the seed of their own failure in the form of state capture—corruption on a grand scale, in which private interests succeed in manipulating policy formation and even shaping the emerging rules of the game to their own, very substantial advantage."[168] The current Federal Government of Somalia has continued its predecessor's institutionalization of personal and clan privilege. Successive federal governments have used institutions of state regularly as patronage favoring the kinship groups of elite.[169] The absence of transparency and accountability, despite being priority focus areas for development-based international intervention since 2010, is palpable. Petty bribery, extortion, and misappropriation of public funds by governmental authorities are systematic and widespread. Grievances informed by acute deprivation and the experience of daily injustice at the hands of corrupt and ineffectual

164 Evie Browne and Jonathan Fisher, "Key Actors Mapping: Somalia," GSDRC, November 2013, http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/somaliaGSDRC2013.pdf.

165 Matt Bryden, "Somalia Redux? Assessing the New Somali Federal Government," Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 2013, http://csis.org/files/publication/130819_Bryden_SomaliaRedux_WEB.pdf.

166 ICG, "Somalia: Al-Shabaab – It Will Be a Long War," Africa Briefing, no. 99 (26 June 2014), pp. 13–15, http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/b099-somalia-al-shabaab-it-will-be-a-long-war.pdf.

167 For example, see Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: State-Building As If People Mattered," Enough Project, 26 October 2011, http://www.enoughproject.org/files/Somalia%20State-Building.pdf; Ken Menkhaus, "Local-Level Impact of External Peace Interventions in Somalia" (paper presented on a panel titled "Rethinking International Peace Interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa," American Political Science Association Annual Conference, 2–5 September 2010, Washington D.C.), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID1669791_code1327811.pdf?abstractid=1669791&mirid=1.

168 Bryden, "Somalia Redux?" p. 14.

169 The UN Somalia and Eritrea sanctions monitoring team noted in October 2014 that, "under the transitional federal institutions, the systematic misappropriation, embezzlement and outright theft of public resources had essentially become a system of governance …, undermining the prospects of stabilization and perpetuating a political economy of State collapse. A change in political circumstance with the establishment of the Federal Government in 2012 notwithstanding, underlying corruption as a system of governance has not yet fundamentally changed and, in some cases, the situation arguably has worsened." UN Security Council, Letter Dated 10 October 2014 From the Chair of the Security Council Committee Pursuant to Resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) Concerning Somalia and Eritrea Addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2014/726, 13 October 2014, para. 63 (Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 2111 (2013): Somalia).

governance can be powerful drivers of violence, conflict, and violent extremism in Somalia.[170]

Patronage-based political systems are mutually reinforced in the private sector, exacerbating income inequality, underdevelopment, and unemployment in fragile environments. Youth are disproportionately affected by conflict and along with other vulnerable groups suffer from poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment at higher rates.[171] After decades of conflict, the average mortality age is 55, and approximately 73 percent of the population lives in poverty. Unemployment is estimated to be 54 percent and around 67 percent for young people under the age of 29, who comprise an estimated 65 percent of the population. Due to a dearth in education provision, only an estimated 31 percent of the adult population is literate, with even lower literacy rates among the youth.

Given these dire conditions, the promise of economic opportunity has worked considerably to the advantage of al-Shabaab and other militant groups seeking to recruit in Somalia. Interviews conducted with 88 former al-Shabaab fighters in Mogadishu in September 2014 revealed that economic incentives were an overwhelmingly powerful factor in their decision to join al-Shabaab.[172] One 14-year-old interviewee related that he and his friends were persuaded to join after being given mobile phones and the promise of $50 per month.[173] Direct recruitment is not the only way al-Shabaab leverages financial incentives. "Playing on the divide between those in cities and towns, the group gives salaries to elders who stay in rural areas with their clans. It also empowers younger men, especially from clans dominated by others, to better protect their communities and immediate families."[174]

National Responses

Despite considerable support from bilateral and multilateral donors, the nascent Somali government is unable to effectively govern or provide security and basic services to the Somali people. Pervasive violence, instability, corruption, and political infighting; poor resource management; and a lack of public trust severely hamper the capabilities of state institutions.

A number of bilateral and multilateral development assistance projects are helping Somalia in an effort to mitigate the drivers of violence and violent extremism in the country. For instance, with support from the European Union and Japan, the UN Development Programme is assisting the development of people-facing justice and safety services. Yet, previous efforts to devise and implement strategic development and security policy that might address some of the underlying drivers of violent extremism suffered from an overreliance on top-down implementation by weak and ineffectual federal institutions based on the agendas of external partners. In 2014 the U.S. Department of State observed that Somalia had limited investigative and enforcement capacity to prevent terrorism, limited judicial capacity to prosecute suspected terrorists, and limited capacity to draft counterterrorism laws.[175] The only specific countering violent extremism (CVE) interventions being undertaken by the government were public messaging campaigns via Radio Mogadishu and state-owned television stations.[176] Although the government adopted a national counterterrorism strategy in April 2015,[177] it is difficult to foresee the impact of any strategy that relies so heavily on the proactive and capable governance of Mogadishu.

170 Mercy Corps, "Youth and Consequences: Unemployment, Injustice and Violence," n.d., https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/MercyCorps _YouthConsequencesReport_2015.pdf; Afyare Abdi Elmi, "Somalia's Corruption Epidemic," Al Jazeera, 2 July 2010, http://www.aljazeera.com /focus/2010/07/2010759144137365.html. See generally Sarah Chayes, *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).

171 See UN Development Programme, *Somalia Human Development Report 2012: Empowering Youth for Peace and Development*, 2012, http://hdr.undp .org/sites/default/files/reports/242/somalia_report_2012.pdf.

172 Botha and Abdile, "Radicalisation and al-Shabaab Recruitment in Somalia," p. 5.

173 Ibid.

174 ICG, "Somalia," p. 14.

175 Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," June 2015, pp. 47–50, http://www.state.gov/documents /organization/239631.pdf.

176 Ibid.

177 Hanad, "President of Somalia Hassan Welcomes Adoption of Counter Terrorism Strategy," Jowhar.com, 7 April 2015, http://www.jowhar.com/president -mohamud-welcomes-adoption-of-counter-terrorism-strategy/.

With the backing of diaspora communities, a number of small and large governmental and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are supporting humanitarian and economic empowerment programming, such as microfinancing for young entrepreneurs, alternative energy solutions, agricultural innovation, and small-scale manufacturing. A growing network of Somali civil society actors, some in partnership with international NGOs, are working to facilitate grassroots-level peace and reconciliation, community safety, and civic activism activities.

Even before the African Union Mission to Somalia gained ground over al-Shabaab, many Somalis had been returning from the diaspora to help with humanitarian and development efforts, grassroots peacebuilding and civic engagement, and other civil society and business ventures. Many entered politics and played prominent, if not always effective, roles in the TFG and current government. Members of the Somali diaspora have had extremely active roles in Somali economic life. Cash contributions from the diaspora make up a substantial portion of Somalia's national gross domestic product, providing Somalia-based family members with a source of subsistence or supplementary income or even startup and investment capital to support their business ventures. Yet, against the backdrop of increased but weakly substantiated international concerns over the financing of terrorism, many governments and banks have closed or been threatening to close the accounts of remittance companies facilitating cash transfers to Somalia.[178]

External support for direct CVE interventions such as those focused on countering violent extremist ideologies in Somalia may not be the most appropriate approach to address underlying drivers of violent extremism in the country, particularly given the multilayered nature of human insecurity faced by many Somali communities. Instead, assistance may be more effectively directed to support diverse, locally led initiatives that improve the lives and livelihoods of Somali communities. Ultimately, the Somalis themselves must achieve an inclusive political settlement because externally enforced political interventions have exacerbated intercommunal distrust, insecurity, and conflict, which fuel conditions conducive to violent extremism. Adopting a conflict-sensitive approach, these initiatives should partner with and empower locally legitimate grassroots and civil society actors that operate in concert with and are accountable to the communities in which they work.

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178 For more information on "de-risking," see Tracey Durner and Liat Shetret, "Understanding Bank De-Risking and Its Effects on Financial Inclusion," Oxfam America and the Global Center on Cooperative Security (Global Center), November 2015, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11 /rr-bank-de-risking-181115-en.pdf; "Hanging by a Thread: The Ongoing Threat to Somalia's Remittance Lifeline," Adeso, Global Center, and Oxfam International, 19 February 2015, https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bn-hanging-by-thread-somalia-remittances-190215 -en.pdf.

SOUTH SUDAN

SUDAN

En Nahud
Abu Zabad
Al Fula
Ed Da'ein
Tullus
Buram
Muglad
Kadugli
Nuba Mts.
Talodi
Kologi
Ed Damazin
Famaka

Renk
Umm Barbit
Paloich
Kaka
Junguls
Boing
Kodok
Riangnom
Fagwir
Mayom
Bentiu
Fangak
Malakal
UPPER NILE
Abwong
Daga Post
War-awar
Wun Rog
Wang Kai
Gumbiel
Kan
Nasser
Kigille

WESTERN BAHR EL GHAZAL
NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL
Bai
Gossinga
Raga
Malek
Aweil
Gogrial
Kuacjok
Akop
UNITY
Leer
Adok
Waat
Fathai
Akobo

Radom
Kafia Kingi
Bahr el'Arab

Deim Zubeir
Bisellia
WARRAP
Madeir
Duk Fadiat
JONGLEI

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Wau
Bir Di
Atum
LAKES
Kongor
Peper
Akelo
Wakela
Tonj
Rumbek
Jonglei
Pibor
Bo River Post
Rafili
Akot
Yirol
Ukwaa
Lol
Bor
Khogali
Boli
Mvolo
Pap
Malek
Lowelli
Towot

WESTERN EQUATORIA
Tambura
Amadi
Jerbar
Terakeka
Kenamuke Swamp
Kobowen Swamp
Administrative boundary

Li Yubu
Madreggi
Lanya
Bunduqiya
Lafon
Kapoeta
Ezo
Maridi
Yambio
Roue
CENTRAL EQUATORIA
Juba
Torit
Nagishot
Lotagipi Swamp
EASTERN EQUATORIA

DEM. REP. OF THE CONGO
Yei
Kajo Keji
Opari
Lofusa
L. Turkana (L. Rudolf)
KENYA
UGANDA
Albert Nile
ETHIOPIA
Omo
Sobat
Pibor
Dinder
Abay

White Nile
Jur
Pongo
Lol
Jonglei Canal
Bahr ez Zaraf
White Nile
S u d d

Abyei

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Legend

- National capital
- State (wilayah) capital
- Town
- Major airport
- International boundary
- Undetermined boundary*
- State (wilayah) boundary
- Abyei region**
- Main road
- Railroad

* Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined.
** Final status of the Abyei area is not yet determined.

0   100   200 km
0   100 mi

Map No. 4450 Rev.1   UNITED NATIONS
October 2011

Department of Field Support
Cartographic Section

SOUTH SUDAN

Born out of a series of protracted civil wars,[179] South Sudan emerged as an independent state in 2011. Sudanese wars were the longest running in Africa, claiming two million lives and displacing an additional four million people.[180] Peace was finally achieved in 2005 with the signing of a peace agreement that reinstated autonomy for the south and included a provision for a referendum on independence,[181] which took place in 2011 and resulted in a vote in favor of independence of 99 percent.[182]

Initial hopes were high that independence would quell the violence, but South Sudan collapsed into civil war just two years later. Predominately Catholic but ethnically and linguistically diverse, South Sudan had long been united against a common enemy: the Arab and Muslim north. The removal of that counterforce exposed deep-rooted political and ethnic divisions within the rebel-group-turned-ruling-party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and its military arm, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

President Salva Kiir Mayardit, an ethnic Dinka, heads the SPLM/SPLA. On the heels of a number of contentious governmental debates, President Kiir dismissed his entire cabinet in July 2013, a move many argue was designed to consolidate power and sideline Vice President Riek Machar, an ethnic Nuer.[183] The dispute turned violent on 15 December 2013 when fighting broke out between factions of the SPLA loyal to each man.

The cause of the skirmish remains disputed and is key to understanding the intractable nature of the current civil war. President Kiir accused Machar of an attempted coup d'état,[184] while Machar denies the claim and argues the accusation was merely a cover to incite the resulting ethnic violence. Machar now leads the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition (SPLM-IO), which has taken control of parts of the Nuer-dominated and oil-rich states of Jonglei, Upper Nile, and Unity. [185]

The split represents deep-rooted ethnic tensions and power struggles. Many have accused the SPLM/SPLA of being Dinka-dominated at the expense of the other ethnic groups.[186] The rush to establish a unified party following the 2011 referendum did not adequately resolve ideological and power-sharing divides, which have paved the road to the ongoing conflict that has killed tens of thousands and displaced 1.9 million.[187] The two SPLM/SPLA factions committed to a number of peace deals during the mediation process led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), yet all have collapsed in the face of continued fighting.

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179   Egyptian and UK colonialists had divided northern and southern Sudan until 1947, before uniting the country and eventually giving political power to the north when Sudan achieved independence in 1956. Fearing marginalization, southern Sudan rebelled in a civil war that lasted from 1955 to 1972. The conflict ended when the south was awarded a degree of autonomy, but the imposition of Sharia law in 1983 and a military coup d'état by Islamist Omar al-Bashir in 1989 reignited tensions and launched a second civil war from 1983 to 2005. For more information, see Francis M. Deng, "Sudan – Civil War and Genocide: Disappearing Christians of the Middle East," *Middle East Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 13–21.

180   Peter Martell, "After Independence, What Next for South Sudan?" Africa Renewal, August 2011, http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/august-2011/after-independence-what-next-south-sudan.

181   "The Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army," n.d., http://unmis.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIS/Documents/General/cpa-en.pdf.

182   Southern Sudan Referendum Commission, "Southern Sudan Referendum Final Results Report," 7 February 2011, p. 13, http://southernsudan2011.com/sites/default/files/Final_Results_Report_20110206_1512.pdf.

183   Ibid.

184   Isma'il Kushkush, "President Says a Coup Failed in South Sudan," *New York Times*, 16 December 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/17/world/africa/attempted-coup-in-south-sudan-president-says.html.

185   UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), "Interim Report on Human Rights: Crisis in South Sudan," 21 February 2014, http://unmiss.unmissions.org/Portals/unmiss/Human%20Rights%20Reports/HRD%20Interim%20Report%20on%20Crisis%202014-02-21.pdf; "South Sudan: War Crimes by Both Sides," Human Rights Watch, 26 February 2014, https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/26/south-sudan-war-crimes-both-sides.

186   Kenneth Omeje and Nicodemus Minde, "Stakeholder Perspectives on Priorities for Postconflict State Building and Peace Building in South Sudan," *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal* 7, no. 1 (June 2014): 14–29.

187   UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), "South Sudan: Humanitarian Response Plan 2015," 1 December 2014, p. 10, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/SOUTH%20SUDAN%20HRP%202015_0.pdf.

The parties reached a peace agreement in August 2015 and a permanent cease-fire and transitional security arrangement in October.[188] As of February 2016, Machar had yet to return to the capital despite his reinstatement as vice president.[189]

Local Context and Drivers

There is no evidence of violent extremism in South Sudan, but similar conditions of fragility in other instances have provided opportunities for extremist groups to operate or drum up support and recruits. Although the intercommunal nature of the ongoing violence in South Sudan may not immediately lend itself to the establishment of operational hubs for violent extremist groups in the region, the inability of the government to secure territory against criminal and violent elements may make South Sudan a potentially attractive avenue through which to transmit material support. Additionally, weak and divided political institutions, corruption, and historical ethnic and religious tensions have already manifested in brutal violence and may irrevocably divide the young nation and reduce community resilience to future violence, should a sustainable peace process and effective governance not be achieved.

Currently, the most pressing concern for South Sudan is peace. Many in the opposition have indicated they view the recent conflict as an ethnic war between Dinka and Neur despite clear linkages to the political struggles within the SPLM/SPLA.[190] The Dinka largely dominate the administration, as 42 percent of

the postindependence cabinet is Dinka and most key governmental positions were awarded to members of President Kiir's Dinka Rek clan.[191] Other ethnic groups have accused the government of tribalism, including rampant nepotism and marginalization from national platforms and resources.[192] This builds on historical tensions between the two pastoral societies related to resource competition and a legacy of cattle rustling, as well as the 1991 Bor massacre in which Machar and the Neur-led White Army were responsible for the deaths of 2,000 Dinka civilians.[193]

Observers have recorded allegations of rampant killing, rape, and abduction on each side,[194] and an African Union (AU) report cited crimes that "could constitute either war crimes or crimes against humanity" and called for the establishment of an African court to prosecute those responsible.[195] As the degree and severity of violence denotes a depth of resentment that surpasses political rivalries among the elite, it will be important for stakeholders to ensure that these divides, including those among rebel non-SPLM factions and the community, are addressed adequately and systematically during the peace process to ensure sustained sociopolitical cohesion.

South Sudan sits atop the 2015 Fragile States Index, followed by neighbors Somalia, Central African Republic, and Sudan.[196] Since independence, the incidence of poverty has increased 12 percentage points, reaching an estimated 57 percent in 2015.[197] An estimated 2.8 million people (23 percent of the population) were considered severely food insecure in

188 Tesfa-Alem Tekle, "South Sudan's Rival Parties Sign Security Arrangements," Sudan Tribune, 26 October 2015, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article56851.

189 "Hopes Rise for South Sudan Peace Deal," Guardian, 12 February 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/12/hopes-rise-for-south-sudan-peace-deal.

190 Jacey Fortin, "Civilians at War: White Army Mobilized as Machar Aims for Oil Fields in South Sudan," International Business Times, 31 March 2014, http://www.ibtimes.com/civilians-war-white-army-mobilizes-machar-aims-oil-fields-south-sudan-1565106.

191 Omeje and Minde, "Stakeholder Perspectives on Priorities for Postconflict State Building and Peace Building in South Sudan."

192 Ibid.

193 International Crisis Group (ICG), "South Sudan: A Civil War by Any Other Name," Africa Report, no. 217 (10 April 2014), http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/south%20sudan/217-south-sudan-a-civil-war-by-any-other-name.pdf. Machar accepted responsibility and apologized for the Bor massacre in August 2011. "Machar Has Apologized to Dinka Bor Community – Army Official," Sudan Tribune, 10 August 2011, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article39795.

194 UNMISS, "Flash Human Rights Report on the Escalation of Fighting in Greater Upper Nile – April/May 2015," 29 June 2015, http://unmiss.unmissions.org/Portals/unmiss/Reports/Final%20version%20Flash%20Human%20Rights%20Report%20on%20the%20Escalation%20%20of%20Fighting%20in%20Greater%20Upper%20Nile.pdf.

195 AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan, "Final Report," 15 October 2014, http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/auciss.final.report.pdf.

196 Fund for Peace, "Fragile States Index 2015," 2015, http://fsi.fundforpeace.org/.

197 World Bank, "South Sudan: Overview," 4 March 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southsudan/overview.

January–March 2016, and continued conflict, climate shocks, destruction of agriculture-based livelihoods, and soaring food prices have created a "bleak forecast" for 2016 food security.[198] An estimated 6.1 million people are in need of humanitarian assistance, including more than 2.3 million who have been forced to leave their homes since the outbreak of conflict, the majority of whom are children.[199]

Economic prospects are limited. South Sudan is the most oil production–reliant country in the world, accounting for 99 percent of exports, 95 percent of state revenue, and approximately one-half of the country's gross domestic product (GDP).[200] Economic development suffered drastically during a 2012 halting of oil production over transit fee disputes with Sudan,[201] which has the required refineries and pipeline to the Red Sea. Although production has resumed, the resurgence of conflict has caused a 20 percent decline in production, further compounded by a global drop in oil prices in late 2014.[202]

South Sudan has indicated its prioritization of private sector investment to help diversify the economy, including launching the One Stop Shop Investment Centre to facilitate approvals and permits for investors,[203] but growth remains stunted by instability and a severely underdeveloped infrastructure. South Sudan has only 190 miles (300 kilometers) of paved roads, and much of the country is isolated during the six-month rainy season when dirt roads are impassible.[204]

Decades of war have had consequences on South Sudan's human capital. Only 27 percent of the population over the age of 15 is literate, and the secondary school completion rate was 2 percent in 2014.[205] It is estimated that nearly one in three schools has been destroyed, damaged, occupied or closed in South Sudan as a result of the recent violence.[206] This presents challenges to investors and significantly limits economic prospects for the population. As a result, the economy is focused largely on subsistence: 85 percent of the working population is engaged in nonwage work, concentrated largely in agriculture (78 percent).[207]

Like much of East Africa, South Sudan is home to a large youth population, with approximately two-thirds below the age of 30.[208] Unemployment is high in this demographic,[209] plagued by low levels of education and limited job prospects. Youth believe that they have "nothing to lose" and often feel "hopeless,"[210] a feeling of marginalization on which recruiters for opposition groups have already capitalized to mobilize violence. The emergence of an independent nation created high hopes for peace and prosperity, and disillusionment now poses a real threat to the credibility of the government and institution building. If the country is not able to spur economic growth, improve education and service delivery, and mitigate resource conflicts, it runs the risk of intercommunal conflict devolving into widespread criminality, which could be leveraged by violent extremist networks.

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198   Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, "South Sudan: Situation Report," March 2016, p. 1, http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/emergencies/docs/FAOSS_%20Situation%20Report_March%202016.pdf.

199   OCHA, "2016 Humanitarian Needs Overview: South Sudan," November 2015, pp. 1–2, 4, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2016_HNO_South%20Sudan.pdf.

200   Guy Blaise Nkamleu and Frederick Mugisha, "South Sudan 2015," *African Economic Outlook*, 2015, http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/2015/CN_data/CN_Long_EN/South_Sudan_GB_2015.pdf.

201   "Oil Row Grows as South Sudan Halts Production," Al Jazeera, 31 January 2012, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/01/20121309321274188.html.

202   World Bank, "South Sudan: Overview."

203   Nkamleu and Mugisha, "South Sudan 2015," pp. 7–8.

204   Ulf Laessing, "In Landlocked South Sudan, One Road Is a Lifeline – and a Bottleneck," Reuters, 30 August 2013, http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/30/us-africa-investment-southsudan-idUSBRE97T0GT20130830.

205   United Nations, "South Sudan Statistics," January 2014, https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/SouthSudan/South_Sudan_Media_Briefing_Pack/South%20Sudan%20humanitarian%20and%20development%20statistics%20-%20December%202013.pdf.

206   OCHA, "2016 Humanitarian Needs Overview: South Sudan," p. 1.

207   World Bank, "South Sudan: Overview."

208   Ibid.

209   Nkamleu and Mugisha, "South Sudan 2015."

210   South Sudanese civil society representatives, roundtable discussion with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015.

Despite enthusiasm in the wake of independence, the populations of South Sudan have had little opportunity to define and develop a sense of shared national identity. A diverse coalition from the start, the SPLM/SPLA has struggled to establish a unified voice and build an inclusive and representative government following independence. The genesis of the country is partially rooted in a religious divide with the north, and although a majority of the country is Christian, there is also a sizable group of followers of traditional African religions as well as a small Muslim population.

South Sudan's Transitional Constitution includes provisions protecting freedom of worship and a separation of church and state,[211] yet some in the Muslim population are concerned about more subtle forms of discrimination, including political marginalization and denial of identification documents.[212] There have been reported incidents of official confiscation of Muslim land and property, and although President Kiir has made assurances that the government would return these lands,[213] it remains to be seen if sufficient reparations will be issued.

The Muslim community of South Sudan has nevertheless benefited from generally positive interfaith relations, and mixed-faith marriages and extended families are prevalent.[214] Positive interfaith relationships will prove important to remaining resilient to violent extremism, particularly as many subversive elements may seek to take advantage of ongoing instability and porous borders. President Kiir has stressed the importance of resilience to imported violent extremism and has indicated a willingness to engage with communities of all faiths.[215] In the face of mounting political and security challenges, it is unclear how deep and sustainable that commitment will be.

South Sudan was beginning to establish its administrative structures when fighting started in December 2013. Although a number of laws have been passed, implementation continues to be strained by political instability. The current conflict has cost up to an estimated 15 percent of GDP in 2014[216] and diverted much needed resources from development initiatives and service provision that could help alleviate intercommunal conflicts.

Challenging these nascent institutions is a large, internally displaced population—1.4 million and an additional 500,000 that have fled to neighboring countries.[217] Conditions in the refugee camps are grim, with severe overcrowding, poor sanitation, disease, and lack of access to clean water and adequate food.[218] Women and girls face a particular danger, with prevalent reports of rape and gender-based violence.[219] A number of organizations are working to provide humanitarian relief, but continued fighting has constricted access to the camps. Once security is restored, the resettlement and reintegration of these communities will be vital to easing humanitarian pressures and restoring stability.

Like much of the region, corruption is pervasive in South Sudan. The country scored a 15 out of 100 in the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index in 2015, where zero indicates "highly corrupt" and 100 is "very clean."[220] A 2011 study conducted by the South Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission indicated that 95 percent of respondents believed that corruption was common. Given its vast oil reserves, corruption presents an acute challenge in South Sudan as vital governmental revenues may be siphoned off to line the pockets of the political elite.

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211 "The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011," http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/The_Draft_Transitional_Constitution_of_the_ROSS2-2.pdf.

212 South Sudanese civil society representatives, roundtable discussion with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "South Sudan 2012 International Religious Freedom Report," n.d., http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/208410.pdf.

213 "South Sudan President Warns Against Importing Radical Islam," Sudan Tribune, 27 July 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article51831.

214 South Sudanese civil society representatives, roundtable discussion with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015.

215 "South Sudan President Warns Against Importing Radical Islam."

216 World Bank, "South Sudan: Overview."

217 OCHA, "South Sudan: Humanitarian Response Plan 2015," p. 10.

218 Simona Foltyn, "Rainy Season Worsens South Sudan Crisis," Al Jazeera, 13 July 2014, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/07/rainy-season-worsens-south-sudan-crisis-201471211626270952.html.

219 Andrew Green, "Women Fearful in South Sudan Camps," IRIN, 9 September 2014, http://www.irinnews.org/report/100591/women-fearful-in-south-sudan-camps.

220 TI, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2015," n.d., http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table (accessed 5 April 2016).

President Kiir has made corruption an issue for his administration, issuing a public letter in 2012 to former and current government officials seeking the return of $4 billion in missing state funds.[221] Some have criticized the administration's commitment to translating those words into practice, particularly as the letter has yet to result in any prosecutions or returned funds.[222]

The proliferation of small arms presents a clear challenge to peace as the country struggles to shift from guerrilla militias to a unified national army. At independence, an estimated 3.2 million arms were in circulation, two-thirds of which were thought to be civilian owned, and this number likely has increased significantly in the past four years.[223] The SPLM/SPLA made early efforts to integrate its militia forces, offering amnesty to anyone who chose to join the SPLA.[224] The influx in personnel, however, overwhelmed the defense budget, with salaries alone accounting for 80 percent of spending, severely undermining efforts laid out in the SPLA's Objective Force 2017 policy, which seeks to professionalize and modernize the army.[225]

South Sudan will also face reintegration challenges for the estimated 12,000 child soldiers—many of whom were abducted from conflict areas—that the warring factions recruited.[226] Demobilization and reintegration programs for these children and their adult militia counterparts will be key to long-term stabilization efforts and should be done in conjunction with investments in education and job growth to help engage the youth population with state structures in a productive and positive manner.

In South Sudan, where conflict has ostensibly stemmed from institutionalized marginalization, it is particularly important that state-building happen simultaneously with peace-building initiatives. Given the deep political, ethnic, and historical divides currently at play, a national reconciliation process inclusive of rebel elements beyond the SPLM/SPLA factions will be important to establishing national unity and addressing systemic grievances.

National Responses

Political negotiations and ongoing violence currently dominate the discourse in South Sudan and have yet to include a dimension on countering violent extremism. The country has drafted a national development plan[227] and an infrastructure action plan in collaboration with the African Development Bank,[228] but economic and security concerns continue to hamper implementation. Until peace can be achieved, there is likely to be little political capacity to address South Sudan's myriad development challenges at the governmental level.

Instead, many international and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have stepped in to fill the gap. The government appears willing to engage with civil society, including participating in an IGAD-facilitated multi-stakeholder symposium in June 2014 as part of the ongoing peace process.[229] Security, however, is still

221 "Corrupt South Sudan Officials Have Stolen $4 Billion: Kiir," Al Arabiya News, 4 June 2012, http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/06/04/218585.html.

222 "South Sudan Civil Society Skeptical of President Kiir's Speech on Corruption," Sudan Tribune, 11 July 2015, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article55670.

223 Charlton Doki and Adam Mohamed Ahmad, "Africa's Arms Dump: Following the Trail of Bullets in the Sudans," *Guardian*, 2 October 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/02/-sp-africa-arms-dump-south-sudan.

224 The policy of offering amnesty was controversial, with many senior (and Dinka) SPLA members opposed to the idea, saying it encouraged rebellion and undermined the army by absorbing potentially disloyal (and largely Nuer) elements. ICG, "South Sudan," p. 6.

225 Brian Adeba, "Making Sense of the White Army's Return in South Sudan," *CSG Papers*, no. 1 (February 2015), p. 15, http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/CSG-Paper-1-Adeba-Feb-2015.pdf.

226 Lisa Schlein, "South Sudan Factions Recruit Thousands of Child Soldiers," Voice of America, 20 March 2015, http://www.voanews.com/content/south-sudan-recruit-child-soldiers/2688927.html.

227 South Sudanese Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, "South Sudan Development Plan 2011-2013," August 2011, http://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/ssd149673.pdf. This plan has been extended until 2018.

228 African Development Bank Group, "South Sudan: An Infrastructure Action Plan," 2013, http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Generic-Documents/South%20Sudan%20Infrastructure%20Action%20Plan%20-%20%20A%20Program%20for%20Sustained%20Strong%20Economic%20Growth%20-%20Full%20Report.pdf.

229 Jérôme Tubiana, "Civil Society and the South Sudan Crisis," ICG, 14 July 2014, http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/2014/07/14/civil-society-and-the-south-sudan-crisis/.

seen as largely a state issue, and the government has not prioritized the engagement of NGOs in developing comprehensive strategies to prevent and mitigate violence.[230]

The international community has been a strong backer of South Sudan, providing $1.6 billion in total assistance.[231] The United States has been a leading funder, providing more than $30 million in humanitarian assistance in 2015.[232] Most agree that South Sudanese independence was largely due to U.S. backing, but some contend it was a strategy of regime change by proxy for the increasingly Islamic regime in Khartoum[233] while others attribute it to international backlash resulting from the genocidal atrocities in Darfur.[234] Conflict and the lengthy rainy season had complicated the delivery of humanitarian aid,[235] and many bilateral donors have been withholding support for capacity-building initiatives in the face of political infighting.[236]

Uganda has deep ties to the SPLM/SPLA forged through multiple military deployments to pursue Ugandan rebel leader Joseph Kony. At the onset of conflict, Uganda backed President Kiir by deploying troops to help secure the capital of Juba.[237] A voluntary withdrawal began in October 2015[238] as the continued troop presence ran contrary to the calls

for a commitment to the cease-fire agreement being advocated by the United Nations, AU, and IGAD and led some to question Uganda's neutrality in mediation efforts.[239] There is also an economic incentive to regional involvement in the conflict: South Sudan remains keen to establish an alternative pipeline routing outside of Sudan for its oil reserves. The selection of a site will have long-standing economic and political ramifications, and therefore many argue that the actions of its neighbors will impact South Sudan's decision.[240]

South Sudan currently stands at a crossroads: a continued legacy of divisiveness and conflict or the difficult task of inclusive state-building. In order to ensure sustainable peace, political leaders need to facilitate an all-inclusive national discussion on what it means to be South Sudanese and determine clear and actionable priorities for development and equitable service provision. The threat of violent extremism is yet to materialize in South Sudan, but the oft-seen ingredients of sociopolitical and economic exclusion, ethnic marginalization, impunity, and widespread corruption that may push an at-risk population toward violent extremism are abundant. Building an inclusive, representative, and accountable framework of governance is vital to the stability of the country and to strengthening resilience against violent extremism in the region.

230 South Sudanese civil society representatives, roundtable discussion with authors, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2015.
231 Global Humanitarian Assistance, "South Sudan: Key Figures 2012," n.d., http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/countryprofile/south-sudan (accessed 13 August 2015).
232 U.S. Agency for International Development, "South Sudan – Crisis," *USAID Fact Sheet*, no. 10 (31 July 2015), https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files /documents/1866/south_sudan_fs10_07-31-2015.pdf.
233 "Sudan Expert: International Community Enabled South Sudanese Corruption," Al Jazeera, 12 April 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows /fault-lines/articles/2015/4/12/sudan-expert-international-community-enabled-south-sudanese-corruption.html.
234 Alan Boswell, "The Failed State Lobby," Foreign Policy, 9 July 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/07/09/the-failed-state-lobby/#sthash.8wvaNcSO .KbCrWLEE.dpbs.
235 "Rainy Season Worsens South Sudan Crisis," Al Jazeera, 13 July 2014, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/07/rainy-season-worsens -south-sudan-crisis-201471211626270952.html; Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "2015 UNHCR Country Operations Profile – South Sudan," n.d., http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4e43cb466.html (accessed 22 February 2016).
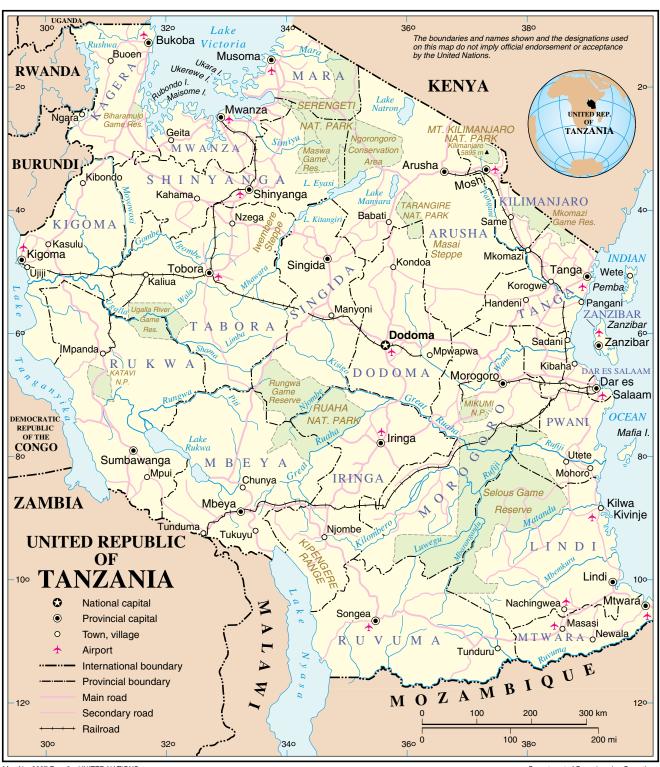236 "Netherlands Cuts Aid to South Sudan," Sudan Tribune, 5 September 2014, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article52282.
237 Nicholas Bariyo, "South Sudan to Extend Ugandan Troops' Presence," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 February 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/south-sudan-to -extend-ugandan-troops-presence-1423059784.
238 Peter Clottey, "Uganda Begins Troop Withdrawal From South Sudan," Voice of America, 22 October 2015, http://www.voanews.com/content/uganda -begins-troop-withdrawal-from-south-sudan/3018884.html.
239 Uganda has not participated in the IGAD mediation since its deployment. ICG, "South Sudan," pp. 22–23.
240 Ibid., pp. 18–19.

UGANDA

RWANDA

BURUNDI

DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC
OF THE
CONGO

ZAMBIA

KENYA

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

UNITED REP. OF TANZANIA

INDIAN

OCEAN

MALAWI

MOZAMBIQUE

Lakes and water features: Lake Victoria, L. Rushwa, Lake Natron, Lake Nyasa, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Rukwa, L. Eyasi, Lake Manyara, L. Kitangiri

Towns and cities:
Bukoba, Buoen, Musoma, Ngara, Geita, Mwanza, Kibondo, Kahama, Shinyanga, Nzega, Babati, Arusha, Moshi, Same, Mkomazi, Tanga, Wete, Korogwe, Pemba, Handeni, Pangani, Kasulu, Kigoma, Ujiji, Kaliua, Tobora, Singida, Kondoa, Zanzibar, IMpanda, Manyoni, Dodoma, Mpwapwa, Sadani, Kibaha, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, Sumbawanga, Mpui, Chunya, Iringa, Utete, Mohoro, Mafia I., Mbeya, Tunduma, Tukuyu, Njombe, Kilwa Kivinje, Songea, Tunduru, Nachingwea, Masasi, Newala, Lindi, Mtwara

Regions:
KAGERA, MARA, MWANZA, KILIMANJARO, SHINYANGA, KIGOMA, ARUSHA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, SINGIDA, TABORA, RUKWA, DODOMA, PWANI, DAR ES SALAAM, MOROGORO, MBEYA, IRINGA, LINDI, RUVUMA, MTWARA

Parks and reserves:
SERENGETI NAT. PARK, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, MT. KILIMANJARO NAT. PARK, Kilimanjaro 5895 m, Biharamulo Game Res., Maswa Game Res., Mkomazi Game Res., TARANGIRE NAT. PARK, Masai Steppe, Ugalla River Game Res., KATAVI N.P., Rungwa Game Reserve, RUAHA NAT. PARK, MIKUMI N.P., Selous Game Reserve, KIPENGERE RANGE

Rivers:
Mara, Simiyu, Moyowosi, Gombe, Isombe, Iwembere Steppe, Mhwara, Wala, Ugalla, Shama, Limba, Piti, Rungwa, Kisigo, Great Ruaha, Njombe, Wami, Rufiji, Matandu, Kilombero, Luwegu, Mbarangandu, Mbemkuru, Ruvuma, Ruhudji, Pangani

Legend

⊛ National capital
◉ Provincial capital
○ Town, village
✈ Airport
▪─▫─ International boundary
─·─·─ Provincial boundary
── Main road
── Secondary road
─┼─┼─ Railroad

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Map No. 3667 Rev. 6 UNITED NATIONS
January 2006

Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Cartographic Section

0 100 200 300 km
0 100 200 mi

TANZANIA

Distinctive in a region plagued by coups d'état and civil war, Tanzania has experienced relatively peaceful and democratic transitions of power since its independence. Formed as a union between the mainland Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar in 1964, Tanzania was established with a dual-government but single-party system. Although the constitution was amended to allow for multiparty politics in the early 1990s, the government has continually been run by the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (Party of the Revolution).

Although the CCM remained dominant in the political landscape with the 2015 presidential election of John Magufuli, a number of credible opposition parties have emerged in recent years to present an effective electoral challenge. Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) (Party for Democracy and Progress) has gained a following among young people and other disenfranchised voters on the mainland. On Zanzibar, the primary opposition comes from Chama Cha Wananchi (Civic United Front, or CUF), which has built a strong base of support among the Muslim-dominated population on the islands. The CUF has advocated for greater autonomy for Zanzibar, with some members calling for full independence. It and two smaller parties signed a preelection memorandum of understanding to present a unified front for all elected seats in 2015[241] with former CCM member and former Prime Minister Edward Lowassa as the presidential candidate.[242] Lowassa

received 40 percent of the vote, compared to President Magufuli's 58 percent, but rejected the results and filed a petition with the electoral commission to demand a recount. [243]

On Zanzibar, the chairman of the election commission canceled all local election results over concerns of voter fraud and improper interference after witnessing fistfights between election commissioners. Despite a boycott from the opposition party, which claimed it had fairly won the first election, a rerun was held March 2016 that resulted in a victory for the incumbent CCM candidate with 91.4 percent of the vote.[244] Elections have turned violent on Zanzibar previously, and a string of small postelection bombings indicated rising unrest that could turn increasingly more violent.[245] Others contend that the bombings were fake and intended to justify a stronger state security presence on the archipelago.[246]

The 2015 election came on the heels of a controversial constitutional reform process intended, in part, to address the question of Zanzibari autonomy. Through an extensive series of consultations,[247] the Constitution Review Commission developed a proposal for a federal three-government system, consisting of an overall unity government and state governments for the mainland and Zanzibar. This was a sticking point in the constituent assembly convened to review the proposal and eventually resulted in a boycott of the process by opposition groups who claimed their concerns were not

241   "Tanzanian Opposition Parties Form New Coalition," Sabahi, 28 October 2014, http://allafrica.com/stories/201410290227.html.

242   Fumbuka Kg'wanakilala, "Tanzanian Opposition Coalition Nominates Former PM for Presidency," Reuters, 4 August 2015, http://uk.reuters.com/article /2015/08/04/uk-tanzania-election-idUKKCN0Q920P20150804.

243   Jeffrey Gettleman, "John Magufuli Declared Winner in Tanzania's Presidential Election," *New York Times*, 29 October 2015, http://www.nytimes.com /2015/10/30/world/africa/tanzania-presidential-election-john-magufuli.html.

244   Zac Crellin, "Africa's Super Sunday: Congo, Niger, Zanzibar Marred by Violence and Repression, Benin Elects New President, Cape Verde Sweeps Ruling Party From Power," International Business Times, 22 March 2016, http://www.ibtimes.com.au/africas-super-sunday-congo-niger-zanzibar-marred-violence -repression-benin-elects-new-president-cape.

245   Willy Lowry, "Zanzibar Bombings May Be Related to a Disputed Election," *New York Times*, 1 November 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/02 /world/africa/zanzibar-tanzania-bombings-elections.html?_r=0.

246   Civil society and media representatives, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, January 2016.

247   Between July and December 2012, the Constitutional Review Committee held 1,773 meetings and received the opinions of 1.4 million citizens, organizations, and international experts from all districts of the republic. Kitu Cha Katiba: Eastern Africa Centre for Constitutional Development, "Report of East Africa Consultative Theme on the Tanzania Constitutional Review Process," 2013, pp. 21–22, http://www.constitutionnet.org/files/report_on_the _tanzania_draft_constitution_jan_2014_0.pdf.

being addressed.[248] Despite protests, the draft constitution was scheduled for a public referendum in 2015, which was postponed due to voter registration issues; a new date has yet to be scheduled.[249]

As political tensions intensify, Tanzania has experienced an increase in religious tensions as Zanzibari separatist aspirations overlap with religious demographics. Zanzibar and the mainland have seen a recent increase in violence, including acid attacks and the killing of priests and moderate Muslims, as well as bombings and raids on churches.[250] Additionally, a number of police stations have come under attack, with assailants killing police officers and stealing weapons caches.[251] Although no cohesive group has come forward to claim responsibility, the attacks are reminiscent of the type of sectarian violence previously experienced in parts of Kenya and have many concerned about potential spillover from Islamist extremist groups such as al-Shabaab or al-Qaida.

Tanzania has struggled with foreign terrorist elements, including the 1998 bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam and the participation of a Tanzanian national in the 2014 al-Shabaab attack on a school in Garissa, Kenya.[252] Tanzanian security forces dismantled an al-Shabaab training camp and child indoctrination center in 2013,[253] and a number of people have

been arrested for terrorist recruitment, conspiracy, or attempting to join al-Shabaab.[254] Although current domestic threat levels are perceived as low, concern is rising that Tanzania may serve as a source of recruitment for al-Shabaab and that returning fighters may begin cooperating with domestic militant groups, creating a convergence of regional threats and domestic tensions similar to Kenya.[255]

Local Context and Drivers

Historical relations between Christians (30 percent of the total population) and Muslims (35 percent)[256] in Tanzania have largely been peaceful. Both have held key positions in the federal government, including an informal rotation of the presidency. Despite this, many still feel that Catholics dominate the political elite;[257] and Muslims have accused the CCM of discrimination and denying access to housing, governmental jobs, and business licenses.[258] Additionally, questions surrounding the autonomy of Zanzibar have become one of the key sources of conflict. There, grievances around economic and political marginalization have become blurred with religious overtones at times, given the islands' nearly 99 percent Muslim population.[259]

Concern about the equitable representation of Zanzibar in the Tanzanian government has been present since the

248 Nick Branson, "Party Rules: Consolidating Power Through Constitutional Reform in Tanzania," *Africa Research Institute Briefing Note*, no. 1501 (March 2015), p. 3, http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/ARI_Tanzania_Briefing_Notes_download.pdf; Michael Arseneault, "Fears of Delays, Sectarian Violence as Tanzania Prepares Referendum," RFI, 31 March 2015, http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20150330 -fears-delays-sectarian-violence-tanzania-prepares-referendum.

249 Fumbuka Ng'wanakilala, "Tanzania Postpones Referendum on Constitution," Reuters, 2 April 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/02/us -tanzania-politics-idUSKBN0MT21U20150402.

250 For a more detailed listing of the attacks, see Andre LeSage, "The Rising Terrorist Threat in Tanzania: Domestic Islamist Militancy and Regional Threats," *Strategic Forum*, no. 288 (September 2014), p. 6, http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/stratforum/SF-288.pdf.

251 "Gunmen Kill Seven in Attack on Tanzanian Police Station," Reuters, 13 July 2015, http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFKCN0PN1Q520150713; "2 Killed, 2 Injured in Tanzania Police Station Attack," TCV News, 7 September 2014, http://www.tvcnews.tv/?q=article/2-killed-2-injured-tanzania-police -station-attack.

252 Alphonce Mung'ahu, "Tanzanian Remanded in Terror Case," *Star* (Kenya), 10 April 2015, http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2015/04/10/tanzanian -remanded-in-terror-case_c1116498?qt-most_popular_sections=0.

253 Deodatus Balile, "Tanzania Dismantles Al-Shabaab Child Indoctrination Camp in Tanga Region," Sabahi, 15 November 2013, http://allafrica.com /stories/201311180387.html.

254 Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," June 2015, pp. 51–54, http://www.state.gov/documents /organization/239631.pdf.

255 LeSage, "Rising Terrorist Threat in Tanzania," pp. 9–12.

256 U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook: Tanzania," 24 September 2015, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos /tz.html.

257 Harvey Glickman, "The Threat of Islamism in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Tanzania," *Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Notes*, April 2011, http://www.fpri.org/wp-content/uploads/docs/media/201104.glickman.islamismsubsaharanafrica.pdf.

258 Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Dar es Salaam and Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015; Glickman, "Threat of Islamism in Sub-Saharan Africa."

259 Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Dar es Salaam and Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.

founding of the union, particularly following accusations of election rigging by the CCM during the 1995, 2000, and 2005 Zanzibari elections.[260] A Government of National Unity was created in 2010 to enable power sharing between the CCM and CUF on Zanzibar, and although successful in bridging the divide between rival political factions, many viewed the collaboration as an acceptance of the status quo by the CUF, leaving Zanzibaris without a formal political party to serve as their advocates and potentially opening the door to more radical nongovernmental leadership alternatives.[261] The sidelining of the constitution also has stoked separatist aspirations on Zanzibar, where a 2012 survey indicated that nearly 90 percent of the population wanted a change in the existing union structure (compared to 44 percent of mainlanders) and 23 percent wanted a complete dissolution of the union.[262]

One group emerging to further those aspirations is known as Uamsho (The Awakening). Originally established as a nongovernmental organization (NGO), the group has taken an increasingly conservative Islamist position and openly calls for independence from the public leaders of Tanzania it describes as "liars, unjust and corrupt."[263] Uamsho has been involved in multiple violent protests on Zanzibar since 2012 and blamed for inciting the rising violence across the country.[264] Some have alleged linkages to al-Shabaab, al-Qaida, and Boko Haram, and in 2014 the second vice president of Zanzibar declared the group's flag illegal.[265] Nevertheless, some have argued the group is more political in nature and less cohesive than it may appear,

arguing that fragmentation is likely, should a resolution to the autonomy question be found.[266]

As one of Africa's rising economies, Tanzania is on track to reach middle income status, and a recent rebasing of national accounts shows gross domestic product (GDP) per capita has grown from $665 in 2009 to $955 in 2014.[267] Growth rates average around 7 percent annually, led by increasingly high foreign direct investment, particularly in the mining and oil exploration sectors, which has supported a 20 percent decline in aid inflows from 2010/11 to 2013/14.[268]

Agriculture remains the core of the Tanzanian economy, employing two-thirds of the population and accounting for one-third of the GDP.[269] Yet, the sector continues to be plagued by low productivity and poor infrastructure, which has hindered growth. The provision of services and infrastructure development is a source of tension in Tanzania. Regional development is handled through a system of Local Government Authorities, but inequitable fiscal allocations have contributed to substantive differences in service delivery between urban and rural regions.[270] Rural regions experience poverty rates eight times higher than those in the wealthy capital Dar es Salaam, and rural households account for 83 percent of the country's poor.[271]

On the islands of Zanzibar, tourism is a booming industry, accounting for 80 percent of foreign currency earnings and indirectly employing 60,000–100,000 people.[272] As tourism is new to the predominately farming and fishing communities on Zanzibar, many

260 Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2011: Tanzania," 2011, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2011/tanzania#.VemkEBFVhBc.

261 LeSage, "Rising Terrorist Threat in Tanzania," p. 8.

262 Stephanie M. Burchard, "Constitution-Making in Tanzania: The Undoing of a Country?" Institute for Defense Analyses, November 2014, p. 4, https://www.ida.org/~/media/Corporate/Files/Publications/IDA_Documents/IAD/2015/D-5374.ashx.

263 Dismas Lyassa, "Religious Violence Growing in Tanzania," The Media Project, 23 February 2013, http://themediaproject.org/article/religious-violence-growing-tanzania?page=full.

264 LeSage, "Rising Terrorist Threat in Tanzania," p. 9.

265 "Tanzania: Zanzibari Vice President Declares Uamsho Flag Illegal," Sabahi, 4 November 2014, http://allafrica.com/stories/201411050460.html.

266 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.

267 World Bank, "GDP per Capita (Current US$)," http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD (accessed 22 February 2016).

268 World Bank, "Tanzania: Overview," 9 April 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tanzania/overview.

269 Prosper Charle and Rogers Dhliwayo, "Tanzania 2015," *African Economic Outlook*, 2015, http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/2015/CN_data/CN_Long_EN/Tanzania_GB_2015.pdf.

270 Per Tidemand et al., "Local Government Authority (LGA) Fiscal Inequities and the Challenges of 'Disadvantaged' LGAs in Tanzania," Overseas Development Institute, August 2014, http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9144.pdf.

271 Charle and Dhliwayo, "Tanzania 2015."

272 Issa Yussuf, "Tanzania: Agriculture vs. Tourism as Backbone of Zanzibar's Economic Growth," Tanzania Daily News, 12 November 2014, http://allafrica.com/stories/201411120799.html.

senior management positions have gone to professionals from Arusha on the mainland or from Nairobi and Mombasa in Kenya, giving rise to dissatisfaction among Zanzibaris who believe they are being excluded from the industry's benefits.[273] Zanzibar has retained close linkages with the coastal communities in Kenya, including deep business ties and a sense of shared community identity that some have described as being stronger than that between Zanzibar and the mainland.[274]

Similar ties also exist between Zanzibar and Somalia, exemplified by a growing number of Somali investors purchasing hotels and building homes on the island.[275] Although there has been a recent influx of refugees from Burundi, Somalis have been seeking refuge in Tanzania for many years. Additionally, Tanzania has recently repatriated Zanzibaris who fled the islands and eventually sought refuge in Mogadishu following an outbreak of postelection violence in the archipelago in 2000–2001.[276] Some Zanzibaris have expressed concern about the potential for violent extremists to be concealed among the refugee inflow.[277]

The Sufism practiced in Tanzania might historically be viewed as less disposed to the strict orthodoxy of more conservative strands of Islam, but Zanzibar has experienced a growing influence of Wahhabism imported from the Persian Gulf over the past decade. There are an estimated 2,000 Muslim religious schools (madrassas) on Zanzibar (population one million), and Saudi Arabia alone spends more than $1 million annually to support some of these institutions.[278] Additionally, a

number of foreign-funded charities have been established on the island, offering scholarships for Islamic study in the Gulf and building health clinics, Internet cafes, mosques, and madrassas.[279]

In general, primary school enrollment rates are high in Tanzania, reaching 90 percent in 2013[280] following the elimination of primary school fees in 2001. This influx of pupils has created resource challenges and, in some instances, forced reliance on volunteer teachers, causing many Muslims to send their children to the better resourced madrassas.[281] Increasing Wahhabi influence has raised concerns about the potential for these schools to serve as centers for a more fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. In response, the Zanzibar Ministry of Justice and Legal Affairs is pushing to register schools, offer training seminars for teachers, and develop a uniform curriculum.[282] The United States is also supporting educational initiatives on the island, spending $75 million on textbooks and teacher training, as well as building preschool madrassas throughout Zanzibar.[283]

Despite the growth in educational rates, youth unemployment, compounded by rapid urbanization, remains a key issue. Across Tanzania, youth unemployment rates in 2015 were 13.4 percent compared to 11.7 percent of the total labor force.[284] On Zanzibar, an estimated 17.1 percent of youth are unemployed compared to 4.4 percent of the general population.[285] This has left many youth idle and contributed to a rise in street gangs. These gangs have been described as largely resentful of the government, resulting from continued marginalization and a failure to adequately address the question of

273   Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.
274   Civil society representatives and government officials, interviews with authors, Dar es Salaam and Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.
275   Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.
276   Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "After a Decade in Mogadishu, Tanzanian Refugees Return to Zanzibar," 10 July 2012, http://www .unhcr.org/4ffc06779.html.
277   Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.
278   Katrina Manson, "Extremism on the Rise in Zanzibar," *Financial Times*, 28 December 2012, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c85b0054-42c0-11e2-a4e4 -00144feabdc0.html#axzz3kmYDAbDU.
279   Glickman, "Threat of Islamism in Sub-Saharan Africa"; Manson, "Extremism on the Rise in Zanzibar."
280   World Bank, "Tanzania: World Development Indicators," http://data.worldbank.org/country/tanzania#cp_wdi (accessed 22 February 2016).
281   Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015; Manson, "Extremism on the Rise in Zanzibar."
282   Issa Yussuf, "Tanzania: Madrassa to Have Uniform Curriculum," Tanzania Daily News, 22 January 2015, http://allafrica.com/stories/201501220355.html.
283   Manson, "Extremism on the Rise in Zanzibar."
284   Charle and Dhliwayo, "Tanzania 2015," p. 11.
285   Labour Market Information System, Zanzibar, "Employment Situation in Zanzibar," n.d., http://www.zanzibaremploymentservices.go.tz/node/14 (accessed 6 October 2015).

Zanzibari autonomy.[286] The sidelining of the constitution and concerns about the fairness of elections may exacerbate these tensions and could potentially result in violent protests.

Tanzania, specifically Zanzibar, struggles with the prevalence of drug-smuggling rings due to its location on the shipping routes between producing countries in Asia and the heroin markets of the United States and Europe. Drug use is high on the islands, with an estimated 7 percent addiction rate within the Zanzibari population alone.[287] The existence of these established criminal networks, coupled with the growth in local street gangs, may provide an entry point for violent extremist organizations seeking to recruit among the disaffected youth population.

Although ranking better than some of its regional peers,[288] corruption is central to political and economic grievances in Tanzania. The CCM suffered severe reputational damage following a series of high-profile, high-value corruption cases. Most recently, a $180 million energy scandal resulted in the firing of four senior politicians and caused international donors to withhold approximately $490 million in support until action had been taken.[289] Additionally, four government ministers were fired in 2013 due to accusations of murder, rape, and other human rights abuses conducted by security forces during an antipoaching operation.[290] Opposition candidate Lowassa has been subject to allegations of corruption, which, although disputed, caused him to resign as prime minister in 2008.[291] The discovery of large natural gas reserves off the coast[292] may potentially exacerbate the situation as political leaders may fall victim to the temptation of graft.

National Responses

Tanzanian security institutions are plagued with similar challenges as their regional peers, including porous borders and geographic proximity to violence and conflict-affected countries, the presence of transnational criminal networks engaged in trafficking and poaching, and limited institutional and human resources. Through the U.S. Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism, known as PREACT, joint training exercises were held in 2014 with Kenyan and Ugandan military and law enforcement counterparts to help enhance regional cooperation and border patrol.[293] Additionally, Tanzania has adopted a regional counterterrorism strategy in collaboration with its East African Community partners Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda.[294]

On a national level, the government has indicated it is reviewing its national counterterrorism strategy and is looking to create a strong action plan on countering violent extremism (CVE).[295] Tanzania's National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) has been an active player in these discussions and serves a key role as a coordinating body. The NCTC has recently given focus to combating radicalization in prisons and states its main concern for the country is the potential for it to become a safe haven for terrorist elements.[296] Tanzania has benefited from a strong community policing initiative that is perceived as effective in easing

286 Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.
287 Abigail Higgins, "Fighting Heroin Addiction in Conservative Zanzibar," Al Jazeera, 28 May 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/05/fighting-heroin-addiction-conservative-zanzibar-150514102028439.html.
288 Tanzania scored a 30 out of 100 on the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perceptions Index in 2015, where zero indicates "highly corrupt" and 100 "very clean." TI, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2015," n.d., http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table (accessed 5 April 2016).
289 Erick Kabendera, "Tanzania Cabinet Reshuffled as Energy Scandal Claims Fourth Politician," *Guardian*, 28 January 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/28/tanzania-cabinet-reshuffle-energy-scandal-jakaya-kikwete.
290 Fumbuka Ng'wanakilala, "Tanzanian President Sacks Four Ministers Over Poaching Abuses," *Guardian*, 21 December 2013, http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/21/us-tanzania-politics-idUSBRE9BK04X20131221.
291 "Tanzanian PM to Resign Over Graft," BBC News, 7 February 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7232141.stm.
292 Nicholas Bariyo, "Tanzania Says Gas Reserves Rise 18% to Reach 55 Trillion Cubic Feet," *Wall Street Journal*, 8 June 2015, http://blogs.wsj.com/frontiers/2015/06/08/tanzania-says-gas-reserves-rise-18-to-reach-55-trillion-cubic-feet/.
293 Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," pp. 51–54.
294 Eric Kabeera, "East Africa: EAC Leaders Endorse Regional Counter Terrorism Strategy," *New Times* (Kigali), 1 May 2014, http://allafrica.com/stories/201405020318.html.
295 Government officials, interview with authors, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 2015.
296 Ibid.

intercommunal tensions and curbing crime rates.[297] Officially introduced during 2006 police reforms, these grassroots structures are designed to improve relationships with the public and encourage community resilience to criminal and extremist elements. They have provided a clear access point to judicial mechanisms to otherwise marginalized populations, but officers, although respected, are often less well trained than regular police forces.[298] Additionally, the failure to achieve justice in several high-profile cases on Zanzibar has raised questions about the government's commitment to justice, particularly in a small community where the majority of actors are well known among communities and police forces.[299]

Unlike much of the region, Tanzania's population is politically and civically active. The country has a vibrant and diverse civil society that works cooperatively with government on a number of social, development, and governance issues. Registration requirements and supervisory measures for NGOs are in place but largely viewed as administrative necessities rather than discriminatory in nature. Security remains largely a state matter, but the government has made efforts to engage civil society in the development of CVE strategies, particularly related to youth engagement. With the threat of violent extremism just beginning to emerge in Tanzania, however, capacity gaps and limited institutional knowledge have constrained these engagement efforts.

As challenges mount to the existing power structures, adherence to the principles of free and vibrant democratic procedures and discourse is vital to ensuring continued peace and stability in Tanzania. Rising violence, unresolved political grievances, and increasingly conservative Islamist rhetoric suggest that Tanzania, particularly Zanzibar, is becoming increasingly more vulnerable to the extremist threats plaguing Somalia and Kenya. Elections provide a vital opportunity for political outlets to deescalate tensions, but the management of the process by the authorities will likely play a key role in the evolution of violent extremism in the country.

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297 Theophil Laurian Pima, "Report of the Impact Evaluation of Community Policing Is Out," *Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology eNewsletter*, no. 36 (November 2014), pp. 2–3, http://www.costech.or.tz/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/COSTECH-eNewsletter-November-issue3.pdf.

298 Embassy official, interview with authors, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 2015.

299 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Stone Town, Tanzania, June 2015.

UGANDA

Legend:
- ⊛ National capital
- ○ Town, village
- ✈ Airport
- International boundary
- District boundary
- Main road
- Secondary road
- Railroad

SUDAN

KENYA

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Lopodi

Bahr el Jebel (White Nile)

YUMBE
MOYO
ADJUMANI
Nimule
Albert Nile

KITGUM
Kitgum
Paye
KOTIDO
Kotido
Aringo

Arua
ARUA
Ora
NEBBI

GULU ✈ Gulu

PADER
Agago
Acuwa (Moroto)

Moroto

Kibali

Victoria Nile
Lira

APAC
LIRA
Okok
Oker
MOROTO
Lothaa

Kibali

MASINDI
Masindi
Lake Kwania

KATAKWI
Katakwi
L. Bisina
Namalu
NAKAPIRIPIRIT

Shari
Bunia

Hoima
HOIMA
Kafu
Nkusi

NAKASONGOLA
Lago
Lake Kyoga
SOROTI
Soroti
Kumi
KUMI
Kapchorwa
KAPCHORWA

Ituri

Semliki

BUNDIBUGYO
Fort Portal
KABAROLE
KIBAALE
KIBOGA

KAMULI
Kamuli
PALLISA
Mbale
MBALE
Kitale

KYENJOJO
Mubende
MUBENDE
LUWERO
KAYUNGA
Bombo

IGANGA
Iganga
TORORO
Tororo
BUSIA

Nzoia
Bungoma

KASESE
Kasese
KAMWENGE

Kampala
KAMPALA
JINJA
Jinja
Buvuma

L. George

MPIGI
Entebbe ✈
WAKISO
Damba
Kome

Sigulu
KENYA

Lake Edward
Kazinga Channel
Ibanda

SEMBABULE
Katonga

MASAKA
Masaka
Kalangala
Bugala
Sese Is.
MUKONO
MAYUGE
BUGIRI
Lolui
Mfangano
Winam Gulf

BUSHENYI
MBARARA ✈ Mbarara

RAKAI
KALANGALA

RUKUNGIRI
KANUNGU
KISORO
NTUNGAMO

KABALE
Kabale
Kagera
Kyaka

Bumbire

Lake Victoria

RWANDA
Kigali

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Ukara
Ukerewe
Speke Gulf

Lake Albert
Lake George
Lake Edward

Victoria Nile
KABERAMAIDO
SIRONKO

30°   32°   34°

0°   2°   4°

Scale:
0   25   50   75   100 km
0   25   50   75 mi

UGANDA

UGANDA

Although no stranger to violence, Uganda is considered a hub of relative stability. Led by a former guerrilla fighter, the country has remained resilient in the face of foreign and domestic violent extremist threats. Yet, increasing consolidation of power within the political elite may strain historical socioeconomic tensions within this diverse country, raising concerns that this may potentially open the door for violent extremist ideology to take hold among disaffected populations.

With Yoweri Museveni's seizure of power in a military coup d'état in 1986, many Ugandans were optimistic about the prospects for more inclusive and democratic rule. President Museveni and the ruling National Resistance Movement implemented several measures designed to support broad-based government, including the introduction of a "no party" democratic system and the development of a new constitution through an extensive consultation process.[300] Seeking to rebuild after decades of violent conflict, President Museveni also embarked on a process of economic liberalization that resulted in average gross domestic product growth of 7 percent annually in the 1990s and 2000s.[301]

President Museveni's 30-year tenure has faced significant challenges. A gruesome war led by Joseph Kony and his Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) terrorized the north from 1986 to 2005, abducting and conscripting an estimated 66,000 children into his army and displacing two million people at the height of the crisis.[302] Ousted from Uganda in 2005, the LRA has continued its campaign of violence in the undergoverned border regions of neighboring Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and South Sudan. The strength and threat posed to Uganda by the now fragmented and diversified LRA force remains debated,[303] and some have contested that the north has continued to exaggerate the threat in order to sustain the flow of international donor aid.[304] Regardless of the current threat levels, the LRA's legacy of brutality remains a visceral fear for northern Ugandan populations who suffered brutality, rape, and abductions under their reign. As such, perceptions of the post-conflict reconciliation and recovery process play an important role in sustaining and strengthening the community's resilience to conflict, instability, and violent extremism.

In the west, disgruntled elements of the Islamic Tabliq sect joined forces with actors from Uganda's deposed political regimes to form the Allied Democratic Force (ADF), a terrorist group that has been described by the United Nations as seeking to impose Sharia law across Uganda.[305] From 1998 to 2000, the ADF waged a series of attacks on Ugandan targets, including one in 1998 on a technical college where 80 students were burned alive.[306] An offensive by the Ugandan People Defense

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300 International Crisis Group (ICG), "Uganda: No Resolution to Growing Tensions," *Africa Report*, no. 187 (5 April 2012), p. 1, http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/uganda/187-uganda-no-resolution-to-growing-tensions.pdf.

301 World Bank, "Uganda: Overview," 9 April 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/uganda/overview.

302 Office of the Spokesperson, U.S. Department of State, "The Lord's Resistance Army," 23 March 2012, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/03/186734.htm (fact sheet).

303 The fragmented and mobile nature of LRA forces makes it difficult to accurately estimate numbers, which are also politicized by stakeholders seeking to overestimate or downplay the threat. One estimate from 2014 places the remaining force at approximately 250 fighters. Charlotte Florance and Brett D. Schaefer, "Lord's Resistance Army: Questions on Increasing Troops to Fight Joseph Kony's LRA," *Heritage Foundation Issue Brief*, no. 4192 (4 April 2014), http://thf_media.s3.amazonaws.com/2014/pdf/IB4192.pdf.

304 Civil society representatives and embassy officials, interviews with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015. Since 2008, there has been a significant drop in humanitarian funding as donors shift to focus on postconflict transition programs, especially in the north. Aid agencies have complained of a funding gap, as humanitarian aid had been made available much more expediently than funds for development and recovery. See Kerry Smith, "Uganda: Resources for Crisis Response, Vulnerability and Poverty Eradication," Global Humanitarian Assistance, November 2012, http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Uganda-resources-briefing.pdf.

305 UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, "Foreign Armed Groups," n.d., http://monusco.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=10727 (accessed 27 August 2015).

306 Felix Basiime, "Uganda: ADF Survivor Recounts the Day the Rebels Attacked Kichwamba Technical College," *Daily Monitor*, 7 August 2015, http://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/ADF-survivor-recounts-the-day-the-rebels-attacked-Kichwamba-TC/-/691232/2823396/-/140hl29/-/index.html.

Force quelled the uprising and pushed ADF remnants into eastern DRC, although the Ugandan government has attributed the killing of 12 Muslim clerics since 2012 to the ADF[307] and recent attacks on border towns caused 60,000 Congolese to flee into Uganda.[308]

The group appears to be receiving assistance from external actors, but the exact source remains unclear. The ADF received early support from Sudan, and Uganda has alleged there are current linkages to the Somali Islamist group al-Shabaab.[309] Recent UN reports, however, were unable to confirm evidence of linkages between al-Shabaab, al-Qaida, or Nigeria's Boko Haram.[310] Al-Shabaab has been operational in Uganda, conducting suicide bombings against crowds watching the 2010 World Cup finals that killed 74 people[311] in the capital city of Kampala. The group was also planning a bombing that was eventually foiled in 2014.[312] Thirteen people were arrested for alleged participation in the World Cup bombing—seven Kenyans, five Ugandans, and one Tanzanian—but the trial has stalled after the top prosecutor was killed in a drive-by shooting in March 2015.[313] Uganda's continued engagement in Somali peacekeeping missions has provided a motive for these attacks and may continue to encourage al-Shabaab recruiters to focus on Uganda's small and often marginalized Muslim community.

Local Context and Drivers

President Museveni is commonly credited for leading Uganda out of a period of intense political violence under the regimes of Milton Obote and Idi Amin[314] and for fostering the development of one of Africa's more successful economies. Like his predecessors, he has struggled to bridge the numerous regional, ethnic, and religious divides that have plagued the country since the colonial period. Although President Museveni secured a fifth term with 60 percent of the vote in the 2016 elections, the election was marred by accusations of violence and fraud,[315] and a petition has been filed to the Supreme Court to challenge the results.[316]

Uganda has made notable progress toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals under President Museveni, including strides in promoting gender equality, reducing child mortality, and achieving debt sustainability.[317] Most remarkable has been the achievement on poverty alleviation: rates fell from 56 percent in 1992/93 to 20 percent in 2012/13.[318] Yet, clear regional disparities remain. Bearing the brunt of the conflict with the LRA, the north is still plagued by a lack of infrastructure and disproportionately higher poverty rates (44 percent compared to 5 percent and 9 percent in the central and western regions, respectively).[319]

307 "Uganda Charges 18 for Murder of Muslim Clerics," *Daily Mail*, 30 January 2015, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2932918/Uganda-charges-18-murder-Muslim-clerics.html.

308 "Rebels Drive More Than 60,000 From Congo to Uganda," Associated Press, 14 July 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/15/world/africa/rebels-drive-more-than-60000-from-congo-to-uganda.html?_r=0.

309 "Al-Shabab Fighters Joining ADF – Army," Observer, 14 July 2013, http://www.observer.ug/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=26405:al-shabab-fighters-joining-adf–army&catid=34:news&Itemid=114; Lindsay Scorgie, "The Allied Democratic Forces: Moving Beyond Popular Narratives," Al Jazeera, 27 July 2013, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/07/2013722215812878743.html.

310 UN Security Council, *Letter Dated 12 January 2015 From the Chair of the Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1533 (2004) Concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo Addressed to the President of the Security Council*, S/2015/19, 12 January 2015 (*Final Report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo*).

311 Xan Rice, "Uganda Bomb Blasts Kill at Least 74," *Guardian*, 12 July 2010, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jul/12/uganda-kampala-bombs-explosions-attacks.

312 Nicholas Bariyo, "Uganda Forces Discover Suicide Vests, Explosives at Suspected Terrorist Cell," *Wall Street Journal*, 15 September 2014, http://www.wsj.com/articles/uganda-forces-discover-suicide-vests-ieds-at-suspected-terrorist-cell-1410783132.

313 "Lead Prosecutor in al-Shabaab Bombing Trial Shot Dead in Uganda," *Guardian*, 30 March 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/30/uganda-prosecutor-al-shabaab-bombing-case-shot-dead-uganda.

314 Milton Obote led Uganda from independence in 1962 until he was overthrown in a coup d'état by Idi Amin in 1971. Amin is often cited as one of the most brutal dictators in Africa, responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands. He was overthrown in 1979, restoring Obote to power until he was again deposed in 1986.

315 "Uganda's Museveni Re-elected Amid Controversy," Al Jazeera, 20 February 2016, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/02/uganda-museveni-elected-president-protests-160220130613164.html.

316 Conor Gaffey, "Uganda 2016: Mbabazi Mounts Challenge to Election Result," *Newsweek*, 2 March 2016, http://www.newsweek.com/uganda-2016-mbabazi-mounts-challenge-election-result-432329.

317 Ugandan Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, "Millennium Development Goals Report for Uganda 2013," September 2013, http://www.ug.undp.org/content/dam/uganda/docs/UNDPUg-2013MDGProgress%20Report-Oct%202013.pdf.

318 World Bank, "Uganda."

319 Alexis Rwabizambuga et al., "Uganda 2015," *African Economic Outlook*, 2015, p. 2, http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/fileadmin/uploads/aeo/2015/CN_data/CN_Long_EN/Uganda_GB_2015.pdf.

The government has attempted to address these disparities through the development of the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for 2007–2010 and the subsequent Peace, Recovery and Development Plan II for 2010–2015. These two strategic plans were designed to facilitate the peacebuilding process and lay the groundwork for recovery and economic development in the north, including investments in infrastructure, education, and health. Anecdotal evidence has indicated that PRDP funds were not over and above regular budget allocations and therefore have not had the "catch up" effect in the north that was intended.[320] Additionally, the government's slow response to halting the brutal conflict with the LRA, coupled with its inability to capture or prosecute its perpetrators, have led to a perception among many that the conflict and alleviating its inherent suffering were not a priority for President Museveni.[321] Reports of atrocities committed by LRA and governmental forces have further weakened trust and entrenched feelings of marginalization in the region.[322] As international aid flows are reduced in the postconflict era,[323] governmental provision of services will become increasingly important to protecting against a relapse of insecurity.

Most of the two million displaced during the war with the LRA have successfully returned,[324] but land and resource conflicts among returnees present a key source of instability.[325] Additionally, challenges remain to addressing social trauma and rebuilding community structures. The government provided amnesty for willing former combatants and established an Amnesty Reintegration Program for the demobilization and reintegration of returnees from the LRA and other rebel groups. Limited resources, however, have constrained efforts. As of March 2012, only 5,335 of more than 26,000 ex-combatants have been reintegrated, and packages are often limited to immediate aid rather than more sustainable vocational training programs.[326] Amnesty is a controversial topic, with some viewing the returnees as victims while others view them as murderers who do not deserve governmental support. The failure to effectively reintegrate ex-combatants presents an obstacle for the transition to peace and an easy target for violent extremist recruiters.

Constructive engagement with Uganda's bulging youth population will be key to securing community resilience. Nearly two-thirds of the population is under the age of 30, and this number is expected to rise due to high fertility rates, growing from 35 million to 47 million in 10 years and to more than 60 million in 2040.[327] With such a young population, education remains a core issue for development. Enrollment in primary education is 82 percent, but completion rates are only 67 percent. At the secondary school level, enrollment rates drop to 22 percent.[328] Even for those who graduate with advanced degrees, institutionalized nepotism that places a priority on tribe and region over merit continues to limit job prospects.

Disproportionately high levels of unemployment among youth (32 percent compared to 9.4 percent

320 International Alert, "Monitoring the Impact of the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan on Peace and Conflict in Northern Uganda," 2015, pp. 112–113, http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Uganda_PRDPNorthernUganda2014_EN_2015.pdf.

321 Peace talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA collapsed in 2008 when Kony refused to appear to sign the agreement. The Ugandan government responded with a U.S.-backed military offensive but, after failing to capture Kony, scaled back troop deployment in 2010, possibly to pursue more politically pertinent goals. ICG, "The Lord's Resistance Army: End Game?" *Africa Report*, no. 182 (17 November 2011), http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/uganda/182%20The%20Lords%20Resistance%20Army%20-%20End%20Game.pdf. Some in the north suggest that President Museveni was slow in responding due to tribal divides with the northern population. Andrew Harding, "Analysis: Uganda's Failure to Defeat Rebels," BBC News, 3 March 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3526275.stm. President Museveni has denied these claims, pointing to numerous military initiatives to track down Kony as evidence.

322 Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Making Peace Our Own: Victims' Perceptions of Accountability, Reconciliation and Transitional Justice in Northern Uganda," 2007, http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/46cc4a690.pdf.

323 Smith, "Uganda."

324 Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "UNCHR Closes Chapter on Uganda Internally Displaced People," 6 January 2012, http://www.unhcr.org/4f06e2a79.html.

325 Saferworld, "Whose Land Is This? Assessing the Land Conflict Between the Acholi and Jonam Tribes in Northern Uganda," *Saferworld Policy Briefing*, 21 July 2014, http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/147--uganda-land-conflict-briefing.pdf.

326 "Uganda: Lack of Funding Stalls Ex-Combatants' Reintegration," IRIN, 18 June 2012, http://www.irinnews.org/report/95672/uganda-lack-of-funding-stalls-ex-combatants-reintegration.

327 Rwabizambuga et al., "Uganda 2015," p. 13.

328 Ibid., p. 11.

overall)[329] have led to increasing urbanization as youth seek economic opportunities in the more developed city centers. This has contributed to a collapse of the traditional family system, as youth often leave their families to pursue jobs in economic centers. Financial stability has replaced family and farm as the core tenant of adulthood, causing youth to be increasingly frustrated by the exclusion from political and economic structures that has left them unable to obtain these cultural milestones.[330] As poverty collides with hopelessness in this growing population, extremist groups may capitalize on rising dissatisfaction to support and reinforce their violent narratives.

Uganda is home to a minority Muslim community (12.1 percent of the population, according to the 2002 national census)[331] that various regimes, seeking to shore up power bases, have alternatively marginalized and co-opted, leaving it in a tenuous relationship with Uganda's political and security structures. Educational levels are particularly low within the Muslim community, which had traditionally prioritized business over educational pursuits or participation in the public sector, further contributing to a legacy of socially entrenched marginalization in Christian-dominated state institutions. President Museveni has appealed to Ugandan Muslims to participate in development efforts and to help eradicate poverty in the country,[332] and interfaith dialogue and coordination appear to be happening at the policy levels. Yet confronted with social stigma and discrimination, many within the Muslim population have found it difficult to participate in the political and social fabric of Uganda. Some have reported facing harassment and accusations of

terrorist linkages, while others point to more systemic forms of discrimination such as prejudice in public employment.[333]

Although Ugandans are arguably in a better situation than they were before President Museveni took power in 1986, many have begun to express deep dissatisfaction with the regime. Originally hailed as part of a "new breed" of African leaders, criticism has begun to emerge as President Museveni's tenure has continued well past the initial 10-year term limit and power has become increasingly consolidated.[334] Despite overall economic growth, income inequality sits at 43 percent,[335] and institutionalized systems of nepotism and corruption have generated a perception that there is little space for wealth creation among the general population.[336] This has bred discontent and increased the potential for destabilization in the country, particularly in the aftermath of a contentious 2016 presidential election.

Public confidence in the accountability of public institutions is low, with a pervasive belief that the regime is looting the population and that money and political connections can acquire traditionally merit-based rewards such as advanced degrees and governmental postings.[337] Uganda scored a 25 out of 100 on the Transparency International (TI) Corruptions Perception Index in 2015, where zero indicates "highly corrupt" and 100 "very clean."[338] A number of high-profile corruption scandals, let alone widespread petty corruption, have plagued the administration and ransacked public coffers with an estimated 2.5 trillion Ugandan schillings being lost to corruption since 2000.[339] This lack of confidence fuels the potential for violent extremism because the population lacks faith in

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329 Ibid., p. 12.
330 Civil society representatives, interviews with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015.
331 U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook: Uganda," 24 March 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html.
332 Ali Mambule, "Be Patient, Museveni Tells Muslims," *Daily Monitor*, 19 July 2015, http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Be-patient--Museveni-tells
      -Muslims/-/688334/2797630/-/cgbwq3z/-/index.html; "Museveni Urges Muslim Leaders to Assist Gov't in Effort to Eradicate Poverty," Ugo News, 12
      July 2014, http://news.ugo.co.ug/museveni-urges-muslims-leaders-assist-govt-effort-eradicate-poverty/.
333 Siraje Lubwama, "Muslims Lift the Veil on 'Discrimination,'" Observer, 29 August 2014, http://www.observer.ug/news-headlines/33570--muslims-lift-the
      -veil-on-discrimination.
334 Constitutional limits of two five-year terms for the president were lifted as part of the 2005 constitutional referendum to reintroduce multiparty democracy,
      allowing President Museveni to run for a third and then fourth and fifth terms as president.
335 Rwabizambuga et al., "Uganda 2015," p. 4.
336 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015.
337 Civil society representatives and embassy officials, interviews with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015.
338 TI, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2015," n.d., http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015#results-table (accessed 5 April 2016).
339 "Uganda Vows to Fight Corruption," World Bulletin, 11 December 2014, http://www.worldbulletin.net/corruption/150462/uganda-vows-to-fight-corruption.

its government and feels it is without recourse or access to justice to address political and other grievances.

President Museveni has increasingly shifted focus away from democratic ideals and toward retention of power, utilizing tactics of corruption, nepotism, and centralization of power that mimic his more violent predecessors.[340] For example, main opposition party candidate Kizza Besigye was repeatedly arrested and detained in advance of the elections,[341] and numerous journalists have reported incidents of harassment and detention during the 2016 election season.[342] For those not within the political elite, this shift has presented a key source of discontent and marginalization, which are often cited as contributing factors to instability and the spread of violent extremism.

National Responses

President Museveni has built his regime on a strong security platform, and a recent survey shows that 85 percent of the population feels the peace and security situation in their community is stable.[343] As the brutality of conflict fades with each passing generation, however, a growing emphasis is placed on employment and political representation over security matters.

Uganda has adopted a regional counterterrorism strategy in collaboration with its East African Community partners Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania[344] and held joint training exercises in 2014 with Kenyan and Tanzanian military and law enforcement counterparts to improve border patrol through the U.S. Partnership

for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism, known as PREACT.[345] Uganda's continued engagement in external conflicts in the region, however, namely those in the DRC, Somalia, and South Sudan, has led many to believe that the government is becoming part of the problem by fueling violent extremism rather than combating it.[346] Still others argue that the security threat is a scapegoat, masking the persecution of rivals under the guise of countering terrorism to ensure continued domestic and international support for the existing regime.[347]

The Ugandan government has indicated an interest in developing a strategy to prevent and counter violent extremism, but real progress is lacking. Dialogue between the government and civil society organizations is limited, complicated by the perception in the government that security is purely a state matter and by low levels of awareness on countering violent extremism among civil society organizations. A nongovernmental organization (NGO) forum was established in 2009, but nearly 90 percent of its funding comes from external sources,[348] and many remain unclear about who is driving its agenda. Civil society activity stands to be further curtailed in the coming months as Uganda seeks to follow Ethiopia in passing a new NGO bill that many allege is aimed at tightening control over political opponents, critics, and dissidents.[349]

Worthy of mention is Uganda's community policing program, established as early as 1989, officially launched in 2000, and relaunched in 2008.[350] The initiative is interpreted from the Ugandan constitution

340 ICG, "Uganda," p. 1.

341 Josh Kron, "Kizza Besigye, Main Opposition Candidate in Uganda, Is Arrested Again," *New York Times*, 19 February 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/20/world/africa/kizza-besigye-main-opposition-candidate-in-uganda-is-arrested-again.html.

342 Lizabeth Paulat, "Uganda Journalists Arrested; Opposition Contests Poll Results," Voice of America, 2 March 2016, http://www.voanews.com/content/uganda-journalists-arrested-as-opposition-contests-poll-results/3216365.html.

343 International Alert, "Monitoring the Impact of the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan on Peace and Conflict in Northern Uganda."

344 Eric Kabeera, "East Africa: EAC Leaders Endorse Regional Counter Terrorism Strategy," *New Times*, 1 May 2014, http://allafrica.com/stories/201405020318.html.

345 Bureau of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism 2014," June 2015, pp. 54–56, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/239631.pdf.

346 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015.

347 Civil society representative, interview with authors, Kampala, Uganda, June 2015. For more information about the alleged abuse by the Ugandan Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force, see Human Rights Watch, "Uganda: End Torture by Anti-Terror Unit," 8 April 2009, http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/04/08/uganda-end-torture-anti-terror-unit.

348 Uganda National NGO Forum, "Funding Sources," n.d., http://ngoforum.or.ug/funding-sources/ (accessed 12 November 2015).

349 Alon Mwesigwa, "Uganda: NGO Bill Aims to Muzzle Civil Society, Says Activists," *Guardian,* 24 June 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jun/24/uganda-ngo-bill-aims-muzzle-civil-society-say-activists.

350 Okoth Ochola, "Community Policing in Uganda" (paper presented at the 6th Annual Justice, Law, and Order Sector Forum, March 2012), http://www.jlos.go.ug/old/index.php/document-centre/document-centre/doc_download/173-presentation-on-community-policing-programme-at-the-6th-national-jlos-forum.

under article 212(d), which states that one of the functions of the Uganda Police Force is "to cooperate with civilian authorities and other security organs established under this constitution and with the population generally."[351] As part of this program, the government recently trained tens of thousands of "Crime Preventers" to guard and prevent against crime in their communities, introducing more than 90,000 across the country in August 2015 alone.[352] The community policing effort has been credited with several successes for preventing crime and reporting suspicious activities. Yet, some have accused it of being driven by the administration's desire to maintain power and control dissent. For example, in November 2015, Crime Preventers in Gulu were allegedly tricked into attending a pro-Museveni rally.[353] If used effectively and appropriately, the community policing initiative could be a strong approach to prevent not only crime, but also the spread of violent extremism.

Given the al-Shabaab terrorist attacks, much of the international community's focus has been on engagement with the Ugandan Muslim community, but civic engagement is a new arena for Muslim organizations as they have traditionally practiced advocacy within their internal religious organizations and schools. Many are struggling to assume the role of thought and change leaders while navigating a complex and often politically precarious relationship with governmental institutions. Interfaith initiatives exist, and many stressed the importance of fostering interfaith dialogue as a way of reducing discrimination, promoting religious tolerance, and reducing vulnerability to extremist elements.

Uganda is transitioning from a postconflict country to one reaching for middle income status.[354] As with much of the region, the legacy of violence and instability has left weak institutions that often struggle to balance complex and overlapping security, economic, and social challenges in the face of limited resources. Islamic violent extremism is still a fairly new phenomenon in the country, but Uganda is home to a complex blend of resource, tribal, political, and economic tensions that are deeply rooted in the social fabric. If Uganda wishes to continue on this path of stability and development, it is important that the government remain true to its roots and focus on building inclusive, representative, and equitable systems of government that support the population over the party.

351 Polly Namaye, "Crime Preventers Link Communities and Police in Fight Against Crime," *Daily Monitor*, 24 August 2015, http://allafrica.com/stories /201508241177.html.

352 Ibid.

353 Julius Ocungi, "Crime Preventers Duped to Attend Museveni Rally," *Sunday Monitor*, 6 November 2015, http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Crime -preventers-duped-to-attend-Museveni-rally/-/688334/2944628/-/brisi3z/-/index.html.

354 Joseph Olanyo, "Uganda Targets Middle Income Status by 2020," Observer, 20 February 2015, http://www.observer.ug/business/38-business/36458 -uganda-targets-middle-income-status-by-2020.

CONCLUSION

Extremist political violence in the Greater Horn of Africa, regardless of the identity or label applied to the perpetrators, is symptomatic of deeply complex and long-standing political, economic, and social problems. The drivers and conditions that contribute to extremist violence are not dissimilar to those that fuel violent conflict in general. Legitimate exercises of power and accountable governance; economic, political, and social inclusion; access to justice and effective avenues of redress; and equitable distribution of public goods lie at the heart of achieving sustainable peace and reconciliation and reducing susceptibility to violent extremist ideologies and organizations.

In addressing the push factors of violent extremism, an inclusive process that lays the groundwork for addressing existing economic, social, and political grievances and mechanisms to effectively respond to future grievances are critical for long-term achievement. Successfully curtailing extremist violence will require, first, an objective understanding of the underlying drivers of violence and, second, the adoption of measures tailored to respond to these challenges in alignment with local, national, and regional contexts, based on partnerships between international and national actors and across governments, civil society groups, and communities.

Given the crosscutting nature of drivers of insecurity in the Greater Horn region, stakeholders from the region emphasize that coordination among all actors is vital to ensure that strategies are holistic, initiatives are synchronized, and good practices and lessons learned are shared. This report includes a strong focus on structural conditions that may create an enabling environment for violent extremist ideas or groups, and the following recommendations include several avenues of action that can help address these conditions. They are intended to be considered alongside recommendations

and programmatic proposals more specific to countering violent extremism (CVE) provided in the Global Center report "Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Action Agenda."[355]

- **Enhance understanding of the drivers of violent extremism.** Primary stakeholders in the region, as a first step, must undertake an objective assessment of local and national factors conducive to extremist violence, for instance, through surveying local communities and taking stock of the perceptions of groups that represent the diversity of the country. This can be done through myriad ways, including town hall meetings that provide citizens opportunities to voice their concerns directly, surveys by polling bureaus, and regular interactions between government officials and community representatives and civil society actors. These meetings should take place in a safe environment, where all parties feel comfortable speaking their mind and cultural norms are taken into account.

- **Tailor CVE interventions according to the level of the violent extremist threat.** CVE efforts must be toned to match the level of threat found within each country. Although a regional risk-reduction strategy is possible, especially on issues such as anti–money laundering (AML) and countering the financing of terrorism and criminal justice cooperation, tailor-made CVE approaches will have the greatest rate of success. Such assistance would be most effective if directed at locally led initiatives rather than internationally led efforts. CVE interventions in countries that currently face a lower level of violent extremism threat, such as Djibouti, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, should receive assistance to design preventative CVE strategies that help improve the

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355 Global Center on Cooperative Security, "Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Action Agenda," May 2015, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/HoA_Action_Agenda_Low_Res.pdf.

security situation or, at the very least, maintain the status quo.

- **Increase public service delivery and accountability.** Expanding access to and accountable delivery of public goods, safety and security, and services to historically marginalized regions and groups is a critical early measure to begin mitigating socioeconomic and political tensions in society. A trust deficit exists in the Greater Horn region between citizens and states, and improving statutory and nonstatutory mechanisms for delivering public goods, from civil and political rights to housing and infrastructure to justice, security, and jobs, is key to alleviating this deficit. Some of the foremost contributing factors to citizens' experience of injustice and discrimination can be found in daily encounters with bribery and corruption. Establishing mechanisms for overt or anonymous reporting of corrupt service providers, introducing legal standards and disciplinary measures in governmental institutions to curb corruption, and encouraging participation in anticorruption training and awareness raising can all contribute to increased governmental accountability. Legally and operationally empowered independent oversight and accountability measures to take decisive action and stronger AML controls are essential for addressing lower-level and grand corruption.

- **Build synergies between development assistance and CVE objectives.** Identifying synergies within existing and planned development assistance at the national and international levels for addressing drivers of violence and violent extremism is a strategic necessity for designing a holistic approach to CVE.[356] A drivers approach to CVE focuses on addressing the underlying political and socioeconomic grievances of communities, and diverse streams of development assistance will be the primary means of achieving CVE goals. For example, supporting local entrepreneurship

initiatives in communities can have an enormous impact on alleviating conditions of acute deprivation and sociopolitical marginalization. Supporting governance reform, electoral monitoring systems, advocacy groups, and effective political party and campaign organization is essential for expanding the space for political empowerment and a crucial component for addressing grievances of political and socioeconomic disenfranchisement.

- **Enhance inclusive community engagement.** Trust among diverse national communities and between communities and their government is important for maintaining peaceful societies. Addressing long-standing grievances in society depends on a safe and open environment for constructive and inclusive dialogue. For example, the use of counterterrorism laws and policies for the persecution of minority groups, the press, and political opposition severely damages community trust and limits the possibility of constructive dialogue. Strengthening intercommunal dialogue and engagement with civil society can help demonstrate governmental willingness to accept criticism and make policy changes to address community concerns. Civil society can serve as an essential public good in and of itself outside the realm of politics. Groups such as the Youth Arts Development and Entrepreneurship Network work in urban areas throughout East Africa with the aim of engaging young people and empowering them to actively participate in the social, cultural, and economic development of their communities. Including such nongovernmental actors and other relevant stakeholders in the design and delivery of inclusive national CVE strategies can further enhance their impact and broaden their support base.

- **Increase the effectiveness, diversity, and accessibility of platforms for political activism.** Peaceful mechanisms for promoting and achieving change are critical to compensate for circumstances in which political institutions are not responding

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356 For more recommendations on enhancing synergies between CVE and development assistance, see Eelco Kessels and Christina Nemr, "Countering Violent Extremism and Development Assistance: Identifying Synergies, Obstacles, and Opportunities," Global Center on Cooperative Security (UK), February 2016, http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Feb-2016-CVE-and-Development-policy-brief.pdf.

to citizens' and communities' needs and can greatly reduce the risk of political violence. Elections, independent courts, and mechanisms such as civil society organizations, the media, and advocacy groups can provide outlets for airing grievances, facilitating negotiation and reconciliation between groups and the state, debating solutions constructively, and channeling aspirations for effectively achieving political change. Civil society is a vital asset in expanding civic education and engendering social, cultural, political, and economic development.

- **Address youth illiteracy, unemployment, and the challenges of rapid urbanization.** Throughout the Greater Horn region, youth are systemically plagued by a lack of job opportunities due to poor or no access to education or the challenges of urbanization. Countries where the rural population is flocking to cities often suffer from limited sources of employment and consequently tend to see higher rates of drug abuse and criminal activity, including joining violent extremist organizations, among the urban youth population. In addition to support in the form of appropriate urban planning, an expansion of opportunities for the considerable youth bulge to gain employment, train in a vocational skill, or receive microgrants to encourage creativity and entrepreneurships will provide greater resilience to violent extremists' appeal.

- **Engage the private sector.** Beyond promoting entrepreneurship and providing vocational and technical skills training, the private sector can support grassroots initiatives and empowerment programs by providing access to networks, communication tools, and financial and other resources. This includes local businesses and regional, subregional, or national branches of multinationals that can contribute individually or pool their investments to maximize impact, for instance through the recently established Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund. One domain in which the private sector has played an influential role is the provision of employment and livelihood to former militants that are reintegrating into society, as well as to their families.

- **Develop common metrics for the monitoring and evaluation of CVE programs**. The field of CVE is still struggling with issues of definition and coherence, and monitoring and evaluation frameworks remain underdeveloped. Evaluation is occurring at the project level but is often incomplete and not publicly available, creating difficulties in drawing analytical comparisons that would allow for the identification of larger trends and general best practices. Despite the inherent challenges of developing universal evaluation frameworks for such a diverse field, the growing body of literature on CVE evaluation can be further elaborated and refined to advance the development of common evaluation metrics. A key facility would be the inclusion of monitoring and evaluation components in project timelines and budgets across the Greater Horn region, as well as the promotion of publishing findings in order to allow for comparison and analysis.

The Global Center works with governments, international organizations, and civil society to develop and implement comprehensive and sustainable responses to complex international security challenges through collaborative policy research, context-sensitive programming, and capacity development. In collaboration with a global network of expert practitioners and partner organizations, the Global Center fosters stronger multilateral partnerships and convenes key stakeholders to support integrated and inclusive security policies across national, regional, and global levels.

The Global Center focuses on four thematic areas of programming and engagement:

- multilateral security policy
- countering violent extremism
- criminal justice and the rule of law
- financial integrity and inclusion

Across these areas, the Global Center prioritizes partnerships with national and regional stakeholders and works to ensure respect for human rights and empower those affected by transnational violence and criminality to inform international action.

Building stronger partnerships for a more secure world