Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism in the Horn of Africa:

IGAD as a Pioneer in Regional Conflict Prevention in Africa.

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Executive Summary

The policy recommendations concluded from this minor field study are accordingly:

- Inclusion of local people as stakeholders: The focus on women and youth as local representatives of the communities in conflict should be strengthened in order to secure representation within the conflict prevention mechanism without undermining the traditional measures that are functioning at present. These community structures are enabling effective and sustainable responses at the local levels, especially if supported by other stakeholders, such as governments.
- Collaboration between civil society and governments: The influence of civil society organizations at all levels should be increased and responsibilities divided according to the different actors' expertise and mandate on the ground. Implementation of operational guidelines is an important step as well as a systematic feedback mechanism to know what is effective on the ground.
- Regional and cross border cooperation Disarmament as an effective response?
 Cooperation of the national actors to secure sharing of information and best practices as well as finding joint policy responses across borders. Regional responses of voluntary disarmament should be attempted and coordinated across borders.
- Rapid Response Fund framework for linking early warning and response?
 Implementing the operational link to early responses within the conflict prevention mechanism without neglecting the long term preventive responses to enable effectiveness and sustainability at the local, national, and regional level.
- Capacity building: Upgrading the skills in CPMR for all the relevant stakeholders, especially at the local level where the dynamics of conflict and prevention are unfolded. Differentiating the capacity building and avoiding duplication of efforts to make sure conflict prevention measures are disseminated to all the levels from regional to local. Especially training of trainers is a possible step forward in spreading effective conflict prevention skills for all relevant stakeholders and sustaining the possibilities of peace.

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List of Abbreviations

AU African Union

CBO Community Based Organization

CC Country Coordinator

CEWARN Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism

CEWERU Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CPMR Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution

CSO Civil Society Organization

ECOWARN ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

ER Early Response

EW Early Warning

FM Field Monitor

IGAD Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

LPC Local Peace Committee

MFS Minor Field Study

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NRI National Research Institute

NSC National Steering Committee

REC Regional Economic Community

RRF Rapid Response Fund

SADC Southern Africa Development Community

SIDA Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Introduction

Conflict prevention in Africa is a new field in need of empirical studies. Regional organizations are becoming involved in the development of networks with civil society and state actors in the emerging culture of conflict prevention by African actors. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development¹ (IGAD) has as a sub-regional organization in the Horn of Africa started working in the field of conflict prevention, with the establishment of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) in 2002 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.² CEWARN has been operational since 2003 and is therefore the longest functioning mechanism on the African continent in comparison to ECOWAS, AU and SADC's initiatives of conflict prevention. Still the implementation has been mainly concerned with the early warning side of the mechanism, while the link and application of early responses of prevention are under development with the Rapid Response Fund (RRF) being setup in January 2009. The focus of this study is thus on how to effectively link early warning and response to prevent violent conflicts within the IGAD region as well as in general.

Conflict early warning and early response are connected as a mechanism of conflict prevention. The assumption is that by gathering information on early warning of escalating crises and analyzing the possibilities of early responses, the prevention of violent conflict is of greater likelihood. How such a mechanism is to be effective is not inherent and specified in theory, hence the causality of warning and response depends upon the actors involved in the measures taken to prevent conflict from escalating. Research is very limited on how to implement effective responses to prevent crises from escalating; there is therefore a great need to increase knowledge on how the relevant stakeholders deal with mitigating factors, collaboration and inclusion locally.

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¹ IGAD's Member states are Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

² IGAD 2002

The Aim of the Study

The purpose of conducting a minor field study in Ethiopia is to gather further knowledge on how responses of early warning are decided and acted upon by the involved actors as well as gain greater knowledge about how local stakeholders are involved in these processes to increase effectiveness. Since CEWARN is still in the process of designing and implementing a response framework; information available is scarce and yet to be examined systematically. It is thus necessary to interview the relevant stakeholders in a systematic way to get a more comprehensive view and assessment on how early responses are decided upon and carried out by different actors responsible. Conducting such interviews in the field will help fill a gap of lacking empirical primary sources regarding what and how preventive responses to conflict early warning works in effect to prevent escalation towards violent conflict in the Horn of Africa.

Theoretical Understanding

The debate within conflict prevention research is at present concerned with how to effectively bridge the gap between early warning and response to prevent the occurrence and escalation of violent conflict. Previous studies of CEWARN have examined the overall causality of early warning and conflict prevention. The correlation between mitigation of conflict and violence has been shown to be positive,³ while correcting for the effect of time lag the opposite effect has been proven,⁴ which means that there is a positive link between early warning and the prevention of conflict. However, there is no clarification within these studies of how preventive responses are effective under certain circumstances. It is thus of importance to further examine the causal mechanism of early warning and early response leading to conflict prevention in order to better understand the effectiveness of conflict prevention mechanisms. The linkage of early warning and response is claimed to be most effectively done with a people-centered perspective, since it involves people on the ground closest to the events.⁵

³ Meier, Bond and Bond 2007

⁴ Bock 2009

⁵ Meier 2007

People-centered conflict early warning and response is seen to be significant for operational prevention, ⁶ which calls for direct responses of preventive measures. Such an approach entails the assessment of mitigating effects to prevent escalation at the local level. An example in the case of CEWARN would be peace initiatives by community based actors such as civil society organizations and local government authorities. The inclusion of these actors in the decision making and implementation of responses is thus important for prevention of escalating conflict. ⁷ Response possibilities are then improved as the linkage between the actors' warning and responding is strengthened. ⁸ An integrative and inclusive mechanism of conflict early warning and response is called for to secure a positive impact on the ground where escalation of conflict takes place. The CEWARN Unit in Addis Ababa is intended to take on the role of facilitation between the local and regional stakeholders, which makes it the focal point of the minor field study. The different stakeholders working within CEWARN are then in focus as interviewees in order to assemble and assess how preventive responses are decided and carried out as well as their effectiveness of conflict prevention.

Methods of Conducting the Study

The technique of semi-structured interviews has been used to gather information from interviewees in positions of expertise and decision making. This method makes it possible to combine a structured agenda of specific questions with a flexibility to ask new related, open ended questions as the interviewees expand on certain topics and bring up new issues of relevance. The interviews have been recorded to best keep focus and flexibility at the same time. None of the interviewees have wished to stay anonymous when given the possibility. The interviewees have been identified through the approach of snowball sampling, where a number of interviews are made with representatives from the different stakeholders, which are then to identify other relevant persons to supply new information. This process was carried out until significant saturation of information, where no new views are unfolded, which is the ideal to gain the greatest insights.

⁶ Barrs 2006

⁷ Bond and Meier 2005

⁸ Adelman et al. 2002

However, limited time and resources have not made it possible to meet with all of the relevant actors connected to CEWARN. Attempts to overcome this issue has been made with the use of different starting points for gaining interview contacts, which has been pursued with contact persons from CEWARN, the collaborating NGO - Inter Africa Group and from the Addis Ababa University all placed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The base of the minor field study has thus been Addis, since CEWARN Unit as the head quarter is situated in the capital of Ethiopia, which is also where many of the relevant actors are located. The specific actors interviewed are the responsible coordinators at CEWARN Unit and at Inter Africa Group, who are involved in analysis and response formulation. The first contacts made provided the next step in the snowballing, since these actors as research institutes and NGOs involved in CEWARN's work are doing so in their capacity of regional experts and hold contacts to local stakeholders and field monitors. CEWARN is currently operational in two cross-border areas: the Karamoja and Somali cluster, and reporting is done from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. The information is collected and reported to the responsible coordinators already mentioned. They therefore possess the relevant information for the minor field study as facilitators between the local and regional stakeholders. The interviews have therefore been conducted in Addis Ababa, where the decisions and linkages to the relevant actors are happening and coordinated, when it comes to formulation of early responses to prevent conflict in the Horn of Africa.

The minor field study of CEWARN's decision-making and inclusion of key stakeholders is based on the common criteria of effective early responses as preventive of conflict. The overall aim is to analyze the linkage of early warning to early responses by asking what is perceived as effective by the different stakeholders. The development of CEWARN's response framework is therefore to be illustrated by relaying the views of the involved actors in order to get a comprehensive view of a regional conflict prevention mechanism in Africa. The need is great for assessment of effective conflict prevention on the African continent, which this minor field study will help provide with policy guidelines for third party donors, member states as well as regional and local stakeholders in the field.

CEWARN as an Early Warning System

CEWARN is part of IGAD's Peace and Security Division, which connects them to the Council of Ministers and the Summit of Heads of States and Governments, where high profile decisions are made concerning conflict prevention measures in the region. CEWARN is the regional coordinating office taking the lead in implementing the IGAD mandate and then consulting with the various stakeholders, but in every member state there are focal points which coordinate the work. The establishment of CEWARN shows that the regional leaders want to find ways to bring stability and knowledge on how to prevent conflicts from escalating. The decision making bodies of CEWARN are the Technical Committee on Early Warning and the Committee of Permanent Secretaries as the senior policy organs. The Technical Committee brings together the representatives of the member states, which are the CEWERU Heads as well as civil society representatives. They meet at least once a year to give recommendations to the Committee of Permanent Secretaries, which are senior government officials from the relevant ministries handling CEWARN's work, such as the foreign ministry. They discus policy guidelines as well as lobby for and assist in implementation of CEWARN activities in the member states. Each CEWERU also has a National Steering Committee, which includes state and non-state actors like parliamentarians, police and military representatives as well as community leaders from civil society. 10

The Country Coordinators are the ones receiving the early warning information from the Field Monitors and link it to response channels through their analysis and reporting to CEWARN. The Ethiopian Country Coordinator, Bizusew Mersha explains that the information from the Field Monitors goes both horizontal to the Local Peace Committees and vertical to the CEWERUs on a weekly basis or whenever a crisis occurs. So it is a two-way information process, which makes it possible to take action for response at the local level as well as for follow up on the early warning information given. Issues of the early warning not coming from the field on time due to lack of transportation and IT support has now been overcome with the use of satellite phones.

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⁹ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

¹⁰ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN, and Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator.

The information from the Field Monitors is thereby given to the Country Coordinators who feed it into the electronic early warning system. The CEWARN Reporter is not open access to others than the Field Monitors and Country Coordinators due to security concerns and sensitivities of the member states. This is due to the fact that some of the information that CEWARN collects concerns the numbers and interactions of security personnel, government military, and clan militias, which the countries within IGAD do not want to share even with their neighbors, let alone any other countries. However, the CEWARN Research and Training Officer Abdel Moneim Elhoweris stress the fact that CEWARN is not gathering intelligence information for governments, but information from the communities accessible to all for conflict prevention. At the moment CEWARN is working on enriching their early warning information by adding collection of relevant structural information from the field as supplementary data in order to improve the analysis to have more realistic response options. The countries is not gathering in the field as supplementary data in order to improve the analysis to have more realistic response options.

The early warning information collected focuses on pastoral conflicts across borders within IGAD. This mandate in the CEWARN Protocol has been chosen as a regional focus and starting point, since the Horn of Africa is in terms of a sub-region possibly the largest pastoral community in the entire world. So working with conflict prevention related to pastoral conflicts is highly important for regional peace and security. CEWARN's focus on pastoral conflicts adds according to Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room of the AU, to the regional and continental efforts of conflict prevention; especially since CEWARN has people on the ground, who deliver information to the AU and thereby avoid duplication of efforts regarding early warning information in Africa. Information sharing between the AU and the regional mechanisms of the Regional Economic Communities, RECs has begun with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 2008, which covers the entire area of Peace and Security. According to the security of the entire area of Peace and Security.

¹¹ Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

¹² Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

¹³ Interview with Tigist Hailu, CEWARN PR & Communications Officer

 $^{^{14}}$ Interview with Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room of the AU

The aim is to have the RECs specialize on conflicts relevant at the regional level to secure complimenting efforts of conflict prevention on the African continent.¹⁵ CEWARN's significant place in this process is voiced in such a manner:

"At the continental level, we can see that CEWARN is one of the most advanced early warning systems that Africa has and CEWARN and ECOWARN are the two operational systems. At the AU level we are trying to encourage this development of the early warning mechanisms and we are trying to replicate the development of systems and share experiences that they went through to replicate for the other RECs, like the COMESA, who are in the process of developing their early warning systems. So we think that ECOWARN and CEWARN are at the best positions to provide this experience sharing to other upcoming RECs."

Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room, African Union

The question of how to link early warning and response is therefore of great importance for CEWARN to effectively prevent present and future conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Different perspectives and arguments are possible, but this study has chosen to focus on five thematic issues which have been emphasized in the field interviews. They are inclusion of local stakeholders, collaboration between civil society and governments, regional and cross border cooperation, the Rapid Response Fund, and capacity building as ways of effectively linking early warning and response. These aspects are now empirically analyzed in separate sections on the basis of the information and data collected in the field. At the end, the conclusions are drawn in regard to policy recommendations as future possibilities and challenges.

 $^{^{15}}$ Interview with Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room in the African Union

Inclusion of Local People as Stakeholders

The inclusion of key stakeholders is very important in the peace process to prevent conflict as well as for the issue of conflict sensitivity, so that CPMR activities do not assert conflict or create new conflicts at the local level, which might escalate regionally. CEWARN has established Local Peace Committees with the composition of district officials, elders, women and youth leaders and now they have moved on to set up village peace committees. The members are selected by the committees themselves as well as the chair who will be a member of the Local Peace Committee at the district level. 17

Initiative of including the local people in the communities is taken by both civil society and governments according to Bizusew Mersha, the Ethiopian Country Coordinator, since there is an understanding of using traditional leaders and structures, because both government and civil society is very limited in these marginalized pastoral areas. The traditional leaders are primarily found among male elders of the communities, which give them a greater possibility of influence in deciding on how to prevent conflict in their specific community. Nevertheless, CEWARN supports the notion of inclusion in every sense of the word, in terms of gender, age, social status, and institutional setup in order to make the early warning and response mechanism representative. ¹⁸

"It is important to incorporate elders, clan leaders, and CBOs. Actually in the Karamoja cluster on the Ethiopian side, at the local levels it was mostly NGOs, who took initiative for the Local Peace Committees, so what we did was to incorporate them into the CEWARN structures."

Abdeta Driossa, Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU

Decisions are to a greater extent abided by in the communities when they are made and implemented by the Local Peace Committees, which creates more local ownership. The Acting Director of CEWARN, Raymond Kitevu says that CEWARN therefore is advising the governments to let the communities and local civil society organizations do the talking, which has proven to be effective in preventing conflicts among pastoralists.

¹⁶ Interview with Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp

¹⁷ Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

¹⁸ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

"When there is a problem the communities are better placed to tell than CEWARN how to deal with crisis or when violence is escalating. We have realized that we should not be dictating from the center here in Addis, but it should be done down there as a bottom up approach. So we want our early warning and response to be locally driven and owned, so we only want to support what they think is best for them." Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

One way that CEWARN is trying to secure inclusion of all members of the communities is in the Local Peace Committees and their submission of projects for the RRF. In principle the Local Peace Committees are to be a platform where anyone can propose CPMR projects. ¹⁹ The inclusion of women in CPMR is an important part of securing overall representation in the pastoral communities as well as human security in general, since when the men go to raid, the women are left alone to take care of the kids and protect them. So CEWARN is planning by next year to have an Engendering Manual where focus is put on how to deal with women as important players and victims in these pastoral conflicts. ²⁰

The idea is to include women and also youth in conflict prevention in the pastoral areas, but it is important not to undermine the cultural norms by which everybody is guided in these communities. The only thing we can ask of the communities according to Dr. Elias Cheboud at the University of Peace is not to oppress or exclude but have a unified voice in matters of preventing community conflicts from escalating. At the moment, measures are taken within CEWARN to expand the youth representation as well, because experience with the pastoral communities has shown that the youth are becoming outliers. Previously it was assumed that in pastoral communities the traditional male elders were the ones in charge, but it is changing and now the youth has begun to go against the elders' recommendations.²¹ The cultural norms are then being challenged, which makes it important to strive for greater inclusion of the youth. Especially the youth leaders are now in focus when it comes to early response and involvement in peace processes.

¹⁹ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

²⁰ Interview with Abdel Moneim Elhoweris, CEWARN Research and Training Officer

²¹ Interview with Teemt Bekele, Ethiopian Assistant Country Coordinator

The youth leaders are today the ones that can make the difference between peace and conflict as representatives of the young men, often called warriors, who are in charge of the raiding in the communities.²² Inclusion in peace talks is important for the communities to create their own agreements of peace, since they are the ones that last longer than a couple of months. If they only participate in arranged meetings and do not take the initiative, early warning reports of violence continues to come from the field.²³ So community based initiatives for conflict prevention and responses to the early warning has shown to secure greater sustainability and effectiveness, which is connected to greater inclusion and representation of all relevant stakeholders in the local communities. One very significant factor for sustainability of peace agreements is who of the stakeholders that are represented in the peace talks:

"Do they really represent their communities and are they really the local leaders on the ground? These are the issues important to consider, and then you have to think about post-agreement issues, which means that you have to set up a social contract with a group supervising the implementation of the agreement at the local level themselves. They are now making such structures in their committees at the local and district level to figure out who is going to implement them so that the peace agreements have a lasting impact."

Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

The Local Peace Committees are thus the ones to create awareness among the communities, since the early warning and response mechanism will work better with inclusion of all the relevant stakeholders at the local level. The implementation of operational guidelines has now started in Ethiopia and Kenya in order to secure feedback and representation from the local levels.²⁴ Revitalization of the local structures of the CEWERUs is ongoing at the moment, which is necessary to enable representation and thereby inclusion of all relevant stakeholders on the ground. The local stakeholders can thereby take early response measures based on the early warning if they believe that escalation of conflict and violence is going to take place between two communities.²⁵

²² Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

²³ Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

²⁴ Interview with Abdeta Driossa, Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU

²⁵ Interview with Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp.

CEWARN is also attempting to access the communities to secure inclusion through support of community radio as another good way to reach the local communities other than the Local Peace Committees, since they do not have news papers or television in the pastoral areas.²⁶

In general, the field interviews have shown the support for an appropriate stakeholder inclusion in order to connect early warning and response to avoid spoilers and thereby prevent conflicts and their escalation. At this point, the early warning side of the mechanism is fairly strong and well institutionalized within the CEWARN framework. However, when it comes to early response, inclusion of local stakeholders has been weak but is developing through the Local Peace Committees.²⁷

In terms of early response, mobilization of security forces definitely acts as prevention and it seems to be the best way to secure retrieval of raided livestock. In terms of long term response, peace talks between the communities are successful and effective, where they can air out their grievances and find solutions themselves. Their power of reconciliation should not be taken away, since they have a pretty strong impact with their customary practices of peacebuilding.²⁸ The local communities meet and discuss the establishment and sustainability of their peace agreements. The traditional mechanisms of peacemaking have thus shown to be more binding and effective,²⁹ but the involvement of the politicians is also necessary to avoid possible spoilers.³⁰

A collaborating relationship between the different stakeholders is therefore necessary since, if they work together on the early warning system, they are more equipped to respond. This kind of collaboration enables them to take effective responses in the field.³¹

²⁶ Interview with Tigist Hailu, CEWARN PR & Communications Officer

²⁷ Interview with Teemt Bekele, Ethiopian Assistant Country Coordinator

²⁸ Interview with Teemt Bekele, Ethiopian Assistant Country Coordinator

²⁹ Interview with Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, Director of the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

³⁰ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

³¹ Interview with Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp

Collaboration between Civil Society and Governments

The CEWARN Protocol supports the establishment of linkages to civil society, and the CEWERUs are the link to the governments through which CSOs and government institutions can interact.³² Civil society also plays a pivotal role for CEWARN since the main information for early warning is collected by civil society and not governments, which is meant to give focus to human security rather than national security. However, governments do not like to be monitored by others, and in particularly when it comes to conflict issues. So an intergovernmental organ like CEWARN must often be even more sensitive when monitoring activities and their governance responsibilities.³³

CEWARN is a good example of a functioning network of governments and NGOs from the community level to the national and regional levels.³⁴ However there is a lot of ownership by the governments, which is widely accepted in the member states. For example, CSOs are members and decision makers when it comes to early warning at the regional level, but they may not be equally powerful all of them.³⁵

"There are various challenges as to how we involve civil society because civil society has different space and roles in the different IGAD countries. In Kenya and Uganda they have more space while in Djibouti, Sudan and Somalia the space is limited. So we are trying to share experiences and cross-pollination of ideas on how to ensure that lessons are learned from each other in terms of advocacy, overall peace building, project planning and execution. So there is a lot to learn from civil society in the region. Our goal and idea is to open up more space for civil society, since we cannot do without civil society."

Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

³² IGAD 2002

³³ Interview with Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, Director of the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

³⁴ Interview with Tigist Hailu, CEWARN PR & Communications Officer

³⁵ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

The unique nature of CEWARN as a mechanism of both early warning and response has helped improve the relationship between civil society and governments, as there now is less suspicion and conflict because the different actors are seeing the advantages of collaboration and willingness within the member states as well as across borders.³⁶

"Civil society is the background for our peace and security, but it has to be a partnership between state and non-state actors. We are therefore promoting the IGAD civil society forum, and the member states are seeing the necessity of their involvement for peace and development to be sustainable. So a partnership is needed to be effective."

Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

In order strengthen this partnership between civil society and governments CEWARN has set up certain criteria for the Local Peace Committees to secure transparency, accountability and representation. One of the criteria is that membership should be rotational and evaluated within a certain set time frame as well as the selection of members should be democratic and not be controlled by certain institutions, like governmental ones. In fact, Raymond Kitevu, the Acting Director of CEWARN prefers to have non-state actors chairing, because they do not have specific interests related to government policies that are allowed to dominate, he says. For example in Kenya, civil society actors are chairing, which enables communal ownership and legitimacy, and CBOs have carried out the formation process of Local Peace Committees in Ethiopia.

"You find that since these organizations have often been working there for a long time, and they have garnered a lot of trust within the local communities. They have strong linkages, especially when they are CBOs because a lot of their members are from these communities. So working with them just garners more trust and you have much more oversight with these organizations on the ground. When you combine that with the field monitors on the ground, you have a pretty good collaborative effort. There is always the problem of too many initiatives going on at the same time, so it is good to streamline these efforts, so that is what we are trying to do within the CEWERU."

Teemt Bekele, Ethiopian Assistant Country Coordinator

 $^{^{\}rm 36}$ Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

The member states in the IGAD region cannot achieve peace by themselves and peace is necessary for any kind of long term development. So the governments need CSOs for corporation of peace building in the region, but collaboration needs to go both ways, individual endeavors are not enough to prevent conflict, says Worku Menamo. His work for the NGO, Mercy Corp regards peace building in Ethiopia and he supports the notion that IGAD and CEWARN as the regional organizations should initiate and coordinate the collaboration among governments and CSOs working in the pastoral areas. However, cooperation may be difficult at times, since:

"Civil society is not at the same level of development in all countries of the IGAD region. There are those governments that embrace civil society and see a positive role for them and you can see that in Kenya and Uganda, whereas you see a very limited role for civil society in Ethiopia and Sudan and civil society is almost non-existing in Eritrea and Djibouti."

Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

Given these different levels of influence for civil society in the region, CSOs cannot make decisions that are binding on governments. It all boils down to matters of progress in preventing conflicts by linking early warning and response. So when governments and civil society work together there is rapid progress, and when there is friction progress is slower.³⁷ Cooperation is thus vital for effective conflict prevention.

As the CEWARN representative of the Ethiopian government, Abdeta Driossa stress the fact that the IGAD member states decides nationally on the degree of involvement of civil society within the Steering Committee of the CEWERU. In the Ethiopian case, there are 2 representatives from civil society, while the rest of the 12 members are from governmental security, defense, development and political organs and all have equal votes.

Civil society does not necessarily bring peace and can hinder prevention if NGOs start to support the different sides of the conflicts. As part of an intergovernmental organization, it is important for CEWARN to make sure that the governments are accountable and take responsibility to monitor and manage the early warning and response mechanism.

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³⁷ Interview with Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union.

According to the Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU Abdeta Driossa that is only possible if the governments are in control of all the levels of the mechanism. The role of civil society is then to do advocacy and create awareness for sensitization, since they cannot recover livestock like within the local government structures.³⁸ So there are different responsibilities for the different actors.

Monitoring and guaranteeing peace agreements is also something important to involve governments in, since civil society does not have any power of enforcement and you might end up with a repetition of peace meeting upon peace meeting. If they were successful it would not be necessary for civil society to have peace meetings every week.³⁹ Abdeta Driossa concurs by saying that:

"It is the local government institutions that have taken part in forming peace agreements within the communities. So the best response mechanism is regarded to be having ways of securing that the agreements are upheld at the local level, which we support at the federal level as well as push for more influence at the local level in these matters."

Abdeta Driossa, Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU

The contrasting point of view is that civil society should be the actors involved in conflict prevention, since the governments are political organizations who react in ways to avoid embarrassment which limit their involvement to encouraging interactions of the conflicting parties. On CEWARN is the mediator between governments and civil society that can go down to the grass root level and deal with the needs there. Their focus should be more on the communities in conflict and bring it up from bottom up, says Dr. Elias Cheboud from the University of Peace, but they are spending too much time dealing with the spoilers, which leaves more time for the conflicts to escalate and accelerate instead of preventing them.

³⁸ Interview with Abdeta Driossa, Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU

³⁹ Interview with Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

⁴⁰ Interview with Dr. Elias Cheboud, University of Peace

Generally speaking, times are ready now for civil society to get involved and governments are accepting the importance of collaboration with CSOs in matters pertaining to conflict prevention, which is an opportunity in the region to link early warning and response through CEWARN. The willingness is there for civil society to speak up and gain acceptance and the governments are seeing the mechanism more and more as jointly owned.⁴¹ So the biggest challenge for CEWARN is to create coordination and strengthen the structures for collaboration between civil society and governments within the member states of IGAD to avoid duplication and repetition, if conflicts are to be prevented by linking early warning and response.

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⁴¹ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

Regional and Cross Border Cooperation - Disarmament?

CEWARN has as a regional mechanism been operational in the Karamoja cluster since July 2003, which means it has been functional the longest in areas of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda of all the IGAD member states. In Ethiopia, the area covered is very small with only two districts, while in Kenya it is 11 districts covering around 500.000 people, and for Uganda it is probably not more than 200.000 people. 42 This regional variation makes for differences in conflict-related deaths. However, the highest numbers since operations have begun in the Karamoja cluster are found on the Ugandan side of the cluster. 43 So the geographic size does influence the differences in conflict intensity. Another reason is the difference in governance and administration. The Ethiopian system is decentralized, which has meant that the regional governments have been allocated more responsibilities from the federal government in dealing with early responses to conflict. The result has been a less bureaucratic and faster possibility of responding, since the regional authorities do not need to consult the capital for authorization, like in Kenya. 44 This is crucial for the respond time of the early warning information received for the Karamoja cluster in order to be able to prevent conflicts from taking place or escalating. Then there is also the difference in the levels of development, which relates to resources and furthermore to how governments run their business. Some governments are perceived to be more authoritarian while others are not flexible when it comes to allocating responsibilities to non-state actors, says Raymond Kitevu, the Acting Director of CEWARN.

"In Uganda, the main issue is the resistance against the disarmament program, as to why the incidents have increased. They have now started this disarmament program and it is not well received by the communities, if you ask them to disarm their guns that they are very close to, there is resistance between the army and the communities. So with unilateral disarmament the communities are very vulnerable to cross-border attacks. So those issues contribute hugely to the increased incidents you can see in Uganda."

Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

⁴² Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

⁴³ Human deaths from July 2003 to August 2008 are for Ethiopia 267, for Kenya 566, and for Uganda 2841 according to the CEWARN reports. www.cewarn.org

⁴⁴ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

The issue of small arms in the region is therefore also influential on how to link early warning and response in the Horn of Africa as a whole. Disarmament has been attempted as an early response to prevent conflict within and across borders of the Karamoja cluster and there are different opinions on whether and how it should be done.

In Uganda, the government has implemented all types of disarmament, both forceful and voluntary, and at the moment they are implementing forceful, because some of the communities are not willing to hand over their illegal guns freely. In Kenya, they have tried all types of disarmament, but they have not succeeded because there is no firm policy in terms of voluntary or forceful disarmament. Secondly, it has to do with national policies, where in Uganda the government is saying that it will continue to do forceful disarmament until there are no more guns in Karamoja. In Ethiopia, they are saying that they are not disarming they are registering guns and give ownership of the guns to the local administration and militias for safety and security. Now the Kenyans are saying that they are not going to disarm because the other communities within neighboring countries are not being disarmed.

"So the main problem is the lack of a clear approach, which is key in order to establish peace in the area, since you cannot disarm the Ugandan side and not disarm the Kenyan one, because the disarmed community becomes vulnerable to cross border attacks. At the moment, I would not advocate for disarmament on either side of the countries because it needs a regional approach to be effective and fruitful."

Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

In the absence of providing security for the disarmed communities, disarmament will thus become a negative.⁵⁰ The disarmament processes in Uganda have been criticized for human rights violations by Human Rights Watch as well as other governments.⁵¹

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⁴⁵ KIDDP - Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Program 2007

⁴⁶ Interview with Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, Director of the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

⁴⁷ Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

⁴⁸ Interview with Abdeta Driossa, the Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU

⁴⁹ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, the Acting Director of CEWARN

⁵⁰ Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

⁵¹ Human Rights Watch 2007

Nonetheless, things seem to be improving in regard to the implementation of the forceful disarmament, according to Betty Abebe from the CEWARN staff, who visited the area in July 2009. Now the Ugandan government is seen to learn from their experiences and other stakeholders within CEWARN to inform the communities and create awareness. The communities are thus said to be seeing the signs of conflict decreasing and the violence is reported to be going down as the security forces are present and maintain security for the disarmed pastoralists. 52 Sustainability of these preventive efforts is important if disarmament as an early response is going to have a chance in the Karamoja cluster and an impact generally in the region. Discussions on the issue of disarmament have now begun at cross border meetings and communities are meeting to find out what they will get in return for handing over their illegal guns to the governments.⁵³ So the regional approach is coming, which both CEWARN and civil society are pushing for to happen in the near future. Politician are also seeing it as a must in the long run, says Abdeta Driossa, the Head of the Ethiopian CEWERU, but priorities are different in the member states, for example with the situation in South Sudan, where the referendum of 2011 will be influential for the future regional approach to conflict prevention. However,

"Before you even talk about disarmament, given the scenario that currently exists, would it be possible for you to have a livelihood in these clusters if you are not armed? If you are talking about disarmament, what kind of security are you providing to allow them to disarm? Instead of talking about disarmament, you should begin by looking at the inflow of arms and ammunition and their sources may be the same government that is saying it is going to do disarmament. The biggest spoiler is the inability of the governments to first and foremost uphold the rule of law."

Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

One attempt to do so was done in Ethiopia in 1991 after the civil war, where Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe was in charge of the demobilization processes. Here the small arms were controlled through registration of guns with the local authorities and the effect was a decrease in violent conflict in the country as the need to carry a gun was no longer present.

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⁵² Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

⁵³ Interview with Raymond Kitevu, the Acting Director of CEWARN

So according to Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, guns were given over to the authorities, but stayed in the areas for security reasons, which means that when the communities feel the need for protection against raiding from other communities, they can contact the local authorities and get access to guns. Often in these communities it is part of the culture for a man to carry a gun, which does not mean that it will lead to conflict, but in those pastoral areas the local people are often the only ones there to protect themselves. So this type of voluntary disarmament could be an effective possibility if it is carried out across borders in the region.

Cross border cooperation is therefore crucial for streamlining the preventive efforts in the region. The existing cross border linkages are at the moment only bilateral. So the need is there for more concrete structuring of responsibilities, locally, nationally, and regionally. Recognition of this need and information sharing is coming along. The challenge thus lies in synchronizing the regional efforts, which may be an opportunity to improve the regional mechanism in order to link the functioning early warning side with the response side.⁵⁴

Another challenge is then to link the response side to the policy making institutions of the member states. Regional initiatives concerning disarmament have the benefit of the already existing institutions and forums within CEWARN which can be an opportunity for regional policy input on conflict prevention. The governments thus need to take responsibilities in order to make it operational, says Abdeta Driossa representing the Ethiopian government in matters related to CEWARN, and the regional collaboration among governments within IGAD has definitely improved due to CEWARN, he adds. So harmonization of the stakeholders is again an important challenge for CEWARN when it comes to regional cooperation in order to come up with a consensus across borders on how to prevent conflicts in the region. The link between early warning and response may then lay in effective regional and cross border approaches to preventive responses and policies in the short and long term.

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⁵⁴ Interview with Teemt Bekele, Ethiopian Assistant Country Coordinator

⁵⁵ Interview with Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

⁵⁶ Interview with Dr. Elias Cheboud, University of Peace

Rapid Response Fund - Framework for Early Response

CEWARN's Rapid Response Fund has been established on January 16th 2009 by the member states and implementation is now progressing in simultaneous phases. The first one concerns finalization of the documents and posting them on the website for transparency for all the stakeholders with access to funds and projects through electronic signatures from the Local Peace Committees. The second phase is having policy dialogue and consultation workshops within the member states, which has taken place in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, while Djibouti might be in the last week of September and Sudan in the beginning of next year. The potential applicants are CEWERU members: Local Peace Committees, regional organizations and security agencies as the CEWARN stakeholders working in the area of CPMR and pastoral development. The application process has already started with emergency funds of 10.000 US\$ for peace talks in the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster on initiative from the Local Peace Committee and CEWERU, since they are the ones to respond and be the link from the early warning, which may be within 1hour for it to be rapid. ⁵⁷

"CEWARN has decided to start with the Rapid Response Fund as a multi donor basket fund. The main aim of the fund is to provide the CEWERUs with the flexibility and rapid response capacity that is required with early warning to address the pastoral conflicts. Specifically it is aimed to support CPMR from the local levels. The other thing is to help the member states build the required capacity at all levels for both state and non-state actors. This fund is to enable IGAD and its partners to jointly contribute to the early response of CEWARN, in other words this is also a means of mainstreaming collaboration and CPMR between the stakeholders."

Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

The RRF will have emergency projects for rapid response approved by the Heads of CEWERUs and regular projects for more long term response approved by the RRF Steering Committee. The plan is for CEWARN to proposition 50.000 US\$ in the accounts of the CEWERUs for fast application and interventions within 24 hours as well as later approval by the Acting Director of CEWARN and reporting to the RRF Steering Committee at the next meeting.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

⁵⁸ Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

The two decision making bodies of the RRF are the Steering Committee at the regional level and the CEWERUs at the national level, with the CEWARN Unit in Addis as technical support. The RRF Steering Committee will decide on policy issues and compose of CEWERU members and a member of IGAD's Peace and Security Division as well as representatives from civil society and development partners, while the Head will be the Acting Director of CEWARN. One of the formal criteria according to the Rapid Response Framework is for response projects to have a one year perspective in order to make the results sustainable. The idea is for the communities to take part in the development of response strategies in order to secure their involvement and organize responsibilities at the local level. The operational guidelines in some member states will help institutionalize this part of the RRF, so the whole system can act properly and initiate systematic responses. The link between early warning and response will then become possible with the alert of an early warning and action taken within 24 hours. The constant and regular monitoring operation of weekly and monthly reports will give the evidence to identify patterns of negative and positive change on the ground.

There are different opinions on the effectiveness of early response and how the RRF should function:

If early responses are locally managed then they can have a preventive effect, but it depends on the availability and conditionality of resources at CEWARN, says Dr. Elias Cheboud from the University of Peace. CEWARN has now opened up and given various responsibilities within the RRF to civil society actors in the Local Peace Committees to play a critical role within the national and local response structures.

"Before we had to contact governments and we were not sure if actions were being taken, so now we want to tie it to actual action, so that we know the information and what has been done then. So that will inform us on how to better structure the mechanism, because now we have both the early warning and the response sides being strengthened. So we want the best response to conflicts via the RRF to come from the local communities."

Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

⁶⁰ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

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⁵⁹ Rapid Response Framework, CEWARN 2009

⁶¹ Interview with Bizusew Mersha, Ethiopian Country Coordinator

Charles Mwaura, former Coordinator of CEWARN when it first started in 2003 does not think that the RRF is an alternative to better coordination at the policy level, internally or related to cross border issues. His skepticism is that with a focus on short term response, the long term does not get implemented. He is afraid that the focus will shift from conflict prevention to the fire brigade approach, as he calls the mainstream adapted take in dealing with conflicts in the world. His concern relates to the issues of adequate cooperation among governments and local civil society actors when it comes implementing the response side of the mechanism:

"If governments are not engaged in the short term, they will not be able to see what they want to do in the long term. They have to be connected if you are to see policy options that will minimize conflicts in the future. Governments are often just looking at the short term. If you have the RRF being run by the Local Peace Committees and they have very little linkage to governments the chances are that they will only see what is within their mandate. Now the government will continue to make policies at the center irrespective of whether there are the Local Peace Committees or not."

Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

There is thus a need for political will of the member states to address these conflicts. CEWARN therefore wants the member states to structure a policy response, which acknowledges that these conflicts are based on systemic and structural problems, such good governance in order to minimize marginalization and exclusion of pastoral people and their issues in the regional policy making. ⁶²

"The conflicts will not end if plans to battle desertification are not taken. The pastoralists should not only be depending on livestock, but also be empowered in skills of farming and fishing and avail them diverse livelihood systems. Right now we have been undertaking operational responses and we need to get involved in policy response and advocacy to change all this."

Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

Responses at the policy level concerning conflict prevention can be separated into what is needed to be done operationally from structurally, and so far the mechanism of CEWARN still lacks putting in place the part which responds to structural prevention.⁶³

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⁶² Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

⁶³ Interview with Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division, African Union

In order to strengthen the response side of the mechanism, the RRF is important as an institutional framework that clarifies who responds and how in order to fill the gap between early warning and response. The establishment of the RRF is one way to secure this link, but the responses should also be long term in order to have an effect in the communities. So there is a need for greater government presence and synchronization of efforts within the region. The RRF is going to do so through provision of capacity building and resources, says Abdirashid A. Warsame, the CEWARN Response Coordinator.

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⁶⁴ Interview with Prof. Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, Director of the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University

Capacity Building and Training of CEWARN Stakeholders

CEWARN is developing manuals for capacity building, CPMR, and report writing skills for training of all the CEWARN stakeholders to be done by selected trainers by the end of 2009, says Abdel Moneim Elhoweris, Research & Training Officer at the CEWARN Unit. At the moment, training is given to Field Monitors, Country Coordinators and CEWERU Heads, when new areas of reporting are established as well as training on setting up indicators and collecting data to anyone interested in establishing early warning systems. So basically all CEWARN stakeholders are going through training and maintain contact with the regional unit by following up with further capacity building according to what they need.

With the establishment of the RRF, CEWARN's capacity building is going to be both top down and bottom up. When it comes to CPMR activities initiative is coming from the local level as bottom up, while CPMR capacity building is top down, where CEWARN will assess and analyze the capacities at the national level of the CEWERUs and they are supposed to link up with the local stakeholders and analyze their capacity building needs.⁶⁶

Another actor from civil society, the NGO Mercy Corp is also doing capacity building for the different stakeholders from government, civil society and local communities in the areas where CEWARN works. The need and objectives for capacity building is the same for the different stakeholders and the training brings them all together, but they receive different support to sustain their capacities, where local civil society is given technical and financial support which is not for the government, says Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor at Mercy Corp.

"At times we also engage with conflicting partners to create peaceful dialogue. So if they come up with a plan for peace initiatives, the capacity building is mainly for selected leaders of the process. Then afterwards to make it public, we conduct outreach campaigns which are organized by the people, but we do provide technical and financial assistance. So in that case we maximize the peace building."

Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp

⁶⁶ Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator

⁶⁵ Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

With conflict prevention, the capacities of both sides of the conflict have to be built in order to bridge the gap between early warning and response.⁶⁷ An important notion in this regard is according to Worku Menamo from Mercy Corp to work with CSOs in the local communities as partners, since they are the ones who have lived there for long and will continue to do so. It is therefore vital to bring in CSOs at the local level and build their capacities as well. Even though all the different stakeholders receive the same training the effect of conflict prevention differs at the local level.

"Anyone likes to bring peace, but the difference is how they implement it on the ground. It varies and depends on the motivation of the individuals. So in some areas where people are committed to peace building it is successful and in some places they are just not motivated from both the civil society and government side. So even though they might be happy with the training, their motivation is not there. So the impact is different."

Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp

CEWARN is at the moment contemplating ideas of expanding their capacities into other types of conflicts than related to pastoralists. Opinions are generally expressed as a positive next step for CEWARN, when considering their continued efforts within their strategy, ⁶⁸ but views differ as how to go about it in the most effective way.

The issue of time is of concern as CEWARN works through the political structures of the member states and according to Worku Menamo from Mercy Corp the member states need to address their own conflicts trough the CEWERUs before dealing with cross border political issues in the region. His recommendation for CEWARN is thus to work on prevention of internal conflicts through the CEWERUs and then from there they can learn and share experiences on how to deal with cross border conflicts on a bigger scale. This approach of expansion will be a way to build the capacities for peace within the different member states.

"The IGAD member states are the most conflict ridden countries in the whole of the Sub-Saharan region, like the conflicts in Somalia and Sudan. So I think CEWARN should be proactive and start dealing with the other conflicts as well, of course it has its own capacity and resource implications, but at least in the long run it should build its capacity to also confront these conflicts."

Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room, African Union

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⁶⁷ Interview with Dr. Elias Cheboud, University of Peace

⁶⁸ CEWARN 2006

The complexity of the pastoral conflicts means that there is the need for developing capacities of the member states in dealing with issues concerning resource allocation and sharing, arms availability and proliferation, as well as elections, contested borders, and human rights violations.

"I do believe that we are also doing capacity building in the field, so we are seeing that governments are learning how to deal with conflict in a peaceful way, it is about deployment of security personnel and other apparatus to enhance peaceful co-existence among communities."

Raymond Kitevu, Acting Director of CEWARN

CEWARN and others in the field have contributed to this development, but a vital improvement for them all is to collaborate as well as share resources and experiences on how to get the capacity to prevent conflicts in the region. CEWARN should thus take initiative to coordinate all these actors in the region, who work to build the capacity for peace and first of all IGAD should maximize its office, since CEWARN is a very small unit at present.⁶⁹ Capacity building can then become part of how to effectively link early warning and response in the greater picture of conflict prevention in Africa.

CEWARN's implementation of institutions within the mechanism is part of the capacity building in the field. Without proper implementation response will be very difficult to be effective and sustainable. Capable institutions on the ground will not only help prevent pastoral conflicts, but can also be used for other types of conflicts in the region. CEWARN's biggest challenge and achievement would then be to operationalize the institutions within the mechanism for them to be viable on their own even if CEWARN would not be operating in these areas in the future.

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⁶⁹ Interview with Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor, Mercy Corp

⁷⁰ Interview with Betty Abebe, CEWARN IT & Data Management Officer

Conclusions: Future Possibilities and Challenges

The interviews from the field study conducted in Ethiopia have shown how effective conflict prevention is perceived by stakeholders in the field of conflict early warning and response in the region. With the focus on how to link early warning and response in an effective manner has strengthened the importance of inclusion of local people, collaboration of civil society and governments, regional and cross border cooperation, implementation of the Rapid Response Fund, and capacity building of all CEWARN stakeholders. These findings have been elaborated through discussion of the different views relayed in the interviews, which are then summarized as general conclusions and policy recommendations for the future of CEWARN and conflict prevention in Africa and in general. These experiences learned can thus help the improvement of existing conflict early warning and response mechanisms as well as for the creation and further development of future conflict prevention mechanisms.

The case of CEWARN has proven that civil society has gained greater acceptance and involvement in conflict early warning and response, but there is still way to go for effective inclusion to secure conflict prevention. Focus should be given to the inclusion of youth and women in the local communities to ensure representation of all relevant stakeholders at the local level. An important tool is the setting up of operational guidelines to divide responsibilities between actors from both civil society and government institutions according to their comparative advantages, mandates and experiences in the field of conflict prevention. Involvement in both early warning and response is vital and advantageous in providing an effective linkage of the two components the conflict prevention mechanisms in the Horn of Africa and in general.

With the establishment of the Rapid Response Fund a link between early warning and response has been made at the operational level, but it is important to remember the connection to long term responses of conflict prevention on the ground and through political decisions. Simultaneous implementation and development of the local, national and regional responses are crucial for enabling sustainable conflict prevention in the region and across borders. CEWARN should continue and stress for an active role of facilitator between these stakeholders at all levels and such facilitation needs strong political support and will by the member states of IGAD.

In order to do so, regional and cross border cooperation should be strengthened beyond the bilateral capacities at present. One way forward that could develop this regional cooperation in the Horn of Africa is the development of joint disarmament ideas and policies, if the proliferation of small arms is to be prevented. Voluntary disarmament seems to be a sensitive response with coordination across borders to secure the protection of local communities from raiding after laying down their arms. With this in mind, the RRF could in the future be a possibility for CEWARN to support both short and long term peace measures. Monitoring of peace agreements and responses are necessary to make sure that the prevention mechanisms of CEWARN are effective and sustainable in the long run. Local inclusion in these matters will ensure local ownership which also is important for effectiveness and sustainability in conflict prevention.

Capacity building of CPMR for all CEWARN stakeholders is furthermore of importance to secure effective early warning and response coordination and CEWARN should again take the lead in facilitating the regional, national, and local training. There is a great need for evaluation and feedback mechanisms to learn from each other and past experiences. Assessment of the different stakeholders' needs for building their capacities for peace and conflict prevention could be a necessary first step in upgrading and securing the right training at the different levels of CEWARN. Especially training of trainers will be important for ensuring the dissemination of CPMR skills down to the local levels.

In the end, the prevention of violent conflicts breaking out or escalating in these pastoral areas in the Horn of Africa and anywhere else can only take place if a multitude of inclusive, collaborative and capacity building responses are addressed for all the relevant stakeholders for the link between early warning and response to be effective.

The overall recommendations are hereby summarized below for policy implications:

Policy Recommendations

- Inclusion of local people as stakeholders: The focus on women and youth as local representatives of the communities in conflict should be strengthened in order to secure representation within the conflict prevention mechanism without undermining the traditional measures that are functioning at present. These community structures are enabling effective and sustainable responses at the local levels, especially if supported by other stakeholders, such as governments.
- Collaboration between civil society and governments: The influence of CSOs at
 all levels should be increased and responsibilities divided according to the
 different actors' expertise and mandate on the ground. Implementation of
 operational guidelines is an important step as well as a systematic feedback
 mechanism to know what is effective on the ground.
- Regional and cross border cooperation Disarmament as an effective response?
 Cooperation of the national actors to secure sharing of information and best practices as well as finding joint policy responses across borders. Regional responses of voluntary disarmament should be attempted and coordinated across borders.
- Rapid Response Fund framework for linking early warning and response?
 Implementing the operational link to early responses within the conflict prevention mechanism without neglecting the long term preventive responses to enable effectiveness and sustainability at the local, national, and regional level.
- Capacity building: Upgrading the skills in CPMR for all the relevant stakeholders, especially at the local level where the dynamics of conflict and prevention are unfolded. Differentiating the capacity building and avoiding duplication of efforts to make sure conflict prevention measures are disseminated to all the levels from regional to local. Especially training of trainers is a possible step forward in spreading effective conflict prevention skills for all relevant stakeholders and sustaining the possibilities of peace.

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Appendix - List of Interviews

Interview with Abdirashid A. Warsame, CEWARN Response Coordinator at the Hilton Hotel in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Wednesday the 5th of August 2009.

Interview with Abdeta Driossa, the Ethiopian Head of the CEWERU, at the Hilton in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Tuesday the 25th of August 2009.

Interview with Abdel Moneim Elhoweris, CEWARN Research & Training Officer, CEWARN Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Friday the 7th of August 2009.

Interview with Betty Abebe, IT & Data Management Officer, CEWARN Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Tuesday the 11th of August 2009.

Interview with Bizusew Mersha, CEWARN Coordinator at the Inter Africa Group at Axum Hotel in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Wednesday 5th of August 2009.

Interview with Charles Mwaura, Conflict Management Division at the Peace and Security Department, African Union Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Friday the 28th of August 2009.

Interview with Dr. Elias Cheboud, African Research Program at the University of Peace, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Thursday the 27th of August 2009.

Interview with Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, Director of the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Monday the 24th of August 2009.

Interview with Raymond Kitevu, the Acting Director of CEWARN, CEWARN Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Tuesday the 11th of August 2009.

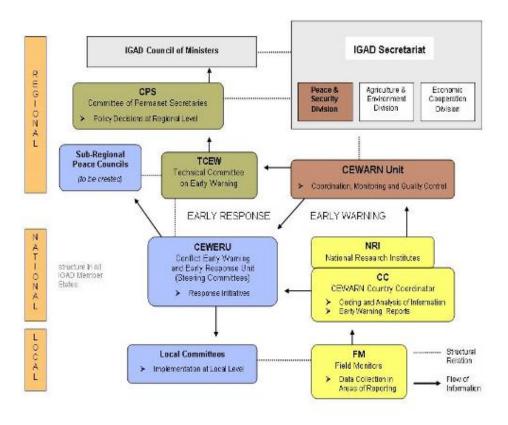
Interview with Shewit Hailu, Coordinator of the Situation Room, Conflict Management Division, Peace and Security Department, African Union Commission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Wednesday the 26th of August 2009.

Interview with Teemt Berhanu Bekele, Assistant Country Coordinator at Inter Africa Group, at the Hilton in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Tuesday the 25th of August 2009.

Interview with Tigist Hailu, CEWARN PR & Communications Officer, CEWARN Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Friday the 7th of August 2009.

Interview with Worku Menamo, National Peace Building Advisor for the CPR Program at Mercy Corp, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Monday the 17th of August 2009.

Appendix - CEWARN Structure



Source: www.cewarn.org