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ROLE OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS IN CONFLICT PREVENTION IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF THE ILEMI TRIANGLE

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DECLARATION

This PhD dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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To my wife Judith Linus Akedi, my daughter Tiffany Linus Adela and my Mother Monica Samba for the unconditional support during my study.

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ABSTRACT

In the last four decades, the international peace agenda has been dominated by debates on conflict prevention. In Africa, the post-cold war era has witnessed a shift in emphasis from conflict management to conflict prevention. While conflict management focuses on armed aspects of conflict, conflict prevention endeavors to contain and resolve imminent conflicts by responding to visible signs and indicators. Essentially, the shift is necessitated by the shortcomings of the reactionary rather than proactive nature of conflict management approaches. Irrespective of the paradigm shift towards conflict prevention, Africa continues to witness persistent overt conflicts. This study therefore, primarily seeks to examine and analyze the role of early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa. The adoption of early warning practice in conflict prevention has had its successes and failures. This clearly points out the need to scrutinize the current early warning systems available in Africa. Cases of success are evident in Sierra Leone, as well as the failure of the International community to contain the genocide in Rwanda. The study used the empirical case of the Ilemi Triangle; a conflict-hotspot contested by South Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya. This region is distinguished by the prevalence and persistence of armed conflict typified by both intra-state and inter-state wars. These conflicts have since gained renewed interest due to prospects of oil and other minerals. The study utilizes conflict prevention theory propounded by Michael S. Lund. Lund contends that the success of conflict prevention is contingent to the following three assumptions: early response to manifestations of danger; an all-inclusive, coordinated process to mitigate tension or threats to violence; and concerted attempts to transform the root causes of violence. This study therefore, is based on the assumption that, weak early warning systems lead to conflict escalation. Hence, the study involved conducting a survey research with the Ilemi Triangle as a case study. The sample population comprised of 316 adult male and female from the Turkana, Didinga, Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassanech pastoral communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle. The research employed both qualitative and quantitative research techniques which comprised of data collected by use of questionnaires, focus group discussions, interviews and observation. The data collected was then analysed using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The findings of this survey indicate that the persistence of overt conflicts in Africa is majorly caused by: marginalization; lack of official state presence; environmental scarcity (water, pasture and land for growing crops); disputed boundaries; and, long standing hatred between ethnic communities. From the research findings, it is evident that, violence is preventable and that emergences of early warning systems have a positive impact on conflicts in Africa. The study further points out that, strengthening and contextualizing existing early warning systems will lead to a significant reduction of conflicts in Africa. As such, this study is a contribution to the academia and policy on possible ways of strengthening the available early warning systems in Africa. Future researches need to delve deeper into methodologies of incorporating people at the grass-roots in the contextualization and operationalization of early warning systems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

AU- African Union

CEW- Conflict Early Warning

CEWARM- Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism

CEWARN- Conflict Early Warning and Response Network

CEWS- Conflict Early Warning System(s)

DEWS- Distant Early Warning Signs

DPDC- District Peace and Development Committees

IGAD- Inter-governmental Authority on Development

LCEWS- Local Conflict Early Warning System(s)

MDGs- Millennium Development Goals

PCIA- Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment

RFA- Rwandan Patriotic Army

RPF- Rwandan Patriotic Front

RTLMC- Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines

SPLA- Sudan People's Liberation army

SRIC- Security Research and Information Centre

UN- United Nations

UNAMIR- United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

UNDP- United Nations Development Program

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Over two hundred years ago, Immanuel Kant anticipated that nature's long run secret plan for mankind was "to bring forth a perfectly constituted (republican) state as the only condition in which capacities of mankind can be fully developed, and the external relation among states which is perfectly adequate to this end." And Kant argued, "to secure the external security of each state," a "cosmopolitan condition," "law of equilibrium and unified power" at the international level similar to the domestic arena is required by nature.[1]

In what appears like a fulfillment of Kant's revelation, the concept of conflict early warning emerged from the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Here, nations agreed to address conflict through a variety of steps such as embracing dialogue in a consultative manner, establishing the concept of non-aligned states and the creation of safety zones. The other key development was the concept of creating peaceful settlements to avoid the manifestation of deadly conflicts. The League of Nations was founded after the devastation and the damage that occurred after World War I. The league was the most determined pursuit that had ever been made to set up a peaceful global arrange. It was founded in an all-inclusive liberal assessment of the pre-war international system, which was widely believed to have been the cause of the bloodshed of 1914-18.[2] Even though the cold war was not characterized by violent conflict like the two world wars that came before it, its end led to the introduction of several attempts to re-orient the international

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[1] Alker R. Hayward, Ted Robert Gurr, Kumar Rupesinghe, Journeys Through Conflict: Narratives and Lessons (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 5.
[2] http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/league_nations_01.shtml, accessed February 19, 2014.

community's conflict response mechanism to conflict prevention rather than resolution that had for long dominated conflict responses.[3] Since the culmination of the cold war, the concept of conflict early warning has greatly advanced from its original conceptualization, and it has been assimilated into many conflict prevention agendas as well as disaster reduction across the world.[4]

Concerned about the high cost of peacekeeping, the African Union (AU) for instance embraced a protocol in 2002 that founded a fifteen-member Peace and Security Council (PSC) as "a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa."[5] Although considerable attempts have been made to develop early warning systems in the last two decades, no reliable, functional mechanism to provide authoritative early warning information exists, let alone one concentrated on African conflict. It is clear therefore, that neither generally accepted conceptual and organizational frameworks for early warning, nor practical system under active management, have emerged.[6]

Despite the international developments in conflict early warning practice, Africa's early warning systems have been harshly criticized for their failure to look at the future in a predictive fashion. Ability to predict the future inspires timely and effective action to contain or prevent the outbreak of violent conflicts. As a matter of fact, the post-cold war Africa has earned a negative niche as a region that bears witness to some of the grave humanitarian intervention failures the world has experienced.

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[3] Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, "Armed Conflict 1989 – 2000," Journal of Peace Research 38 (2001) No. 5: 632.
[4] Michael S. Lund, "Preventing Violent Intrastate Conflicts: Learning Lessons from Experience," in Searching for Peace in Europe and Eurasia, edited by Paul van Tongeren, Hans van de Veen and Juliette Verhoeven, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002), 99 – 119.
[5] Article 2 of the Protocol Relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, adopted by the first ordinary session of the Assembly of the African Union, Durban, South Africa, July 9, 2002, available at http://au.int/en/sites/default/files/Protocol_peace_and_security.pdf.
[6] William Godwin Nhara, "Early Warning and Conflict in Africa" (Occassional Paper No 1, February 1996).

The Ilemi Triangle,[7] for example is a contested border region between South Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya and perhaps one area where challenges facing conflict early warning systems are still glaring. This region is caught up in continuous spates of intra- and inter-state wars with little prospects for peace, stability and security. The triangle is home to five major ethnic groups that have settled in Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan.[8]

Despite the determined efforts in using conflict early warning for the prevention of conflict since the Vienna congress, it cannot be argued with absolute certainty that the world is in a better position to prevent occurrence of violent and costly conflicts such as the 1994 Rwandan genocide. This is an indication that conflict early warning approach still faces challenges. There is need therefore to explore the conflict early warning systems in Africa and factors that led to the emergence of early warning. The intractability of conflict in Africa calls for the interrogation of the impact of conflict early warning systems as well as an examination of the successes and failures of these systems in order to formulate early warning frameworks that are context-based.

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[7] The name Ilemi is derived from the name of a renowned Chief Anuak Ilemi Akwon from a community that hails from South Sudan's eastern border with Ethiopia.
[8] Fernando A. Herrera, Pastoralist Conflict in the Horn of Africa: The Turkana-Dassenech Case (Nairobi: Paulines Publication Africa, 2013), 37.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Violent conflicts all over the world have multiplied in complexity and intensity. The conventional paradigm of states going to war with each other has become less common. Today, intra-state conflicts are more prevalent. Since the establishment of African Union (AU) in 2002, African countries such as Kenya, Burundi, South Sudan, Somalia, DRC, Nigeria, Egypt, Uganda, South Africa, Tunisia, and Ethiopia (just to mention a few) have witnessed persistent overt conflicts. These conflicts are associated with civil wars, wars of independence, secessionist conflicts, national violence resulting from border disputes, poor governance, ethnic rivalry, competition over natural resources, declining economic conditions, and widespread poverty.[9] In the recent past, Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed an increase in the number of military interventions as a result of the rising violence across the continent. The Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) database of November 2014- March 2015 records a dramatic rise from over 3,000 violent events in 2009 to over 12,000 in 2014.[10]

Jeong,[11] states that conflict does not just arise, rather it goes through a series of phases and prevention is attainable at the latent phase. In a similar conception, Michael Lund[12] affirms that overt conflicts are preventable and the success depends on the available mechanisms for preventive responses at the latent phase of conflict. In this sense, effective early warning systems are irrefutable prerequisites for conflict prevention in Africa. Knowing who, what, where, when

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[9] Peter Wallensteen and Möller, F, "Conflict Prevention: Methodology for Knowing the Unknown," Uppsala Peace Research Papers 7 (2003): 3.
[10] Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, Conflict Trends (No. 36) Real-Time Analysis of African Political Violence, April 2015.
[11] Hoe Wang Jeong, Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis (SAGE publication Ltd, 2008.), 97.
[12] Michael Lund, "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice," in The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution, eds. Bercovitch J et al. (London: SAGE, 2009), 288-308.

and why conflict is likely to explode is ultimately a precondition for timely response that would register greater positive impact on conflict prevention in Africa.

Despite the centrality of the concept of conflict early warning in the AU Peace and Security Council protocol, its impact on conflict prevention has elicited mixed reactions. While there are substantial best case scenarios, there also exist worse case instances pointing to the weaknesses in the current systems available in Africa. These conflicts point to the inevitability of conceiving alternative means to avert conflicts from escalating into warfare and regional volatility.

The persistent conflicts in Africa demonstrate that the available early warning systems have not adequately prevented the occurrence of overt conflicts. In order to fill this knowledge gap, the study seeks to examine and analyze the role of early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa. To achieve this, the study examines and analyses the conflict trends in Africa. The study also looks at the factors that influence the effectiveness of early warning systems on conflict prevention and tries to scrutinize its operations. This study further interrogates the architectures of successful early warning systems across Africa and makes recommendations regarding how early warning systems can provide strategic approaches to prevention of conflict in Africa.

1.2.1. Research Questions

1. What are the underlying causes of conflict in Africa?
2. What factors influence the effectiveness of early warning systems in Africa?
3. How has the emergence of early warning systems impacted conflict prevention in Africa?

1.3. Research Objectives

1.3.1. Overall Objective

The overall objective of this study is to examine and analyze the role of early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

1. To deepen the understanding of conflict trends in Africa.

2. To assess factors influencing the effectiveness of early warning systems in Africa.

3. To examine the architectures of successful early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa.

4. To investigate the role and impact of early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa.

1.4. Justification of the Study

The study of the impact of conflict early warning systems in Africa can be justified from both policy and academic perspectives.

1.4.1. Academic Justification

Although there is a substantial amount of literature on early warning systems in Africa, overt conflicts have persisted. As a result of this persistence, there is need to scrutinize and analyse the impact of the available early warning systems for conflict prevention in Africa. In order to achieve this, the study focuses on two parts. The first part evaluates the historical background of the development of the concept of early warning and the factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems. Additionally, the study examines the impact and role of early warning

systems in conflict prevention. The study attempts to bridge the knowledge gap by developing insights into possible ways of strengthening early warning systems for effective conflict prevention in Africa, through cross-examining the successes and failures of early warning systems in Africa.

The current early warning system is marred by challenges, and in order to counter these, the study proposes a contextualised framework of operation. To that effect, the study has devised a framework for early warning for the Ilemi Triangle: a relatively simple evaluation of early warning systems in the contested triangle that integrates theory and practice, for the sole purpose of formulating timely, effective and preventive actions.

Part two of the academic justification delves deeper into exploring the link between early warning systems and conflict prevention and attempts to critically examine their practicality in Africa. Hence, the study contributes to the development of conflict prevention theory, which is the sub-structure of this study and the means by which the theory can be held tenable.

1.4.2. Policy Justification

Without cross-examination of the impact of the emergence of early warning systems, the methodologies employed and their relevance in conflict prevention, it is practically impossible to identify appropriate policy implications. Such implications are essential prerequisites for the recommendation of appropriate and effective strategies of conflict prevention. This study examines policy options targeting conflict prevention in Africa and offers recommendations to policy makers. The study has also attempted to design and synthesize new alternatives for conflict prevention as well as to modify existing prevention strategies. The study further provides

a foundation for conflict transformation and a road map towards prevention by developing context based early warning system.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Introduction

This section presents a review of literature related to the research purpose of examining and analyzing the impact of the emergence of early warning systems on preventing overt conflict in Africa. The eventual aim of this literature is: to review the historical development of early warning and response systems; to analyze the most practical conflict early warning and response systems; to assess the capabilities and flaws of existing systems; and to diagnose the impediments to conflict early response within the frameworks of conflict early warning signs already in existence.

1.5.2. Historical Trends in the Development of Conflict Early Warning and Response

The concept of conflict early warning took heightened attention in the 1970s and 1980s, even though it only arose on the global policy agenda after the conclusion of the cold war, when the conflict domain and the frameworks for managing conflict had rapidly advanced in reaction to the new geostrategic reality. For instance, the failure to prevent the Rwandan genocide of 1994 was a major spur to the advancement of an efficient conflict early warning and response system.[13] Between 1946 and 2001, the world witnessed 225 overt conflicts. Petter further indicates that this included 163 intra-state conflicts, 42 inter-state conflicts and 21 extra-state

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[13]Tim Jacoby, Understanding Conflict and Violence: Theoretical and interdisciplinary Approaches (New York: Routledge, 2008), 93.

conflicts.[14] This was the context in which early warning concept developed, indicating that it was conceived as a means of protecting overt conflict by ensuring that conflicts do not escalate to unmanageable levels. With the gradual culmination of the cold war in the early 1990's, the conflict dynamics changed since there were more intra-state conflicts occurring compared to interstate conflicts. The change in the nature of conflicts after the cold war prompted stakeholders in conflict to rethink new approaches and this scenario rallied the resolve to adopt conflict early warning as a way of preventing violent conflict.

Despite the fact that the original study about the use of social science research to the growth of early warning indicators for conflict anticipation was made public in 1979, academic work and classification of practical appliances for early warning only developed in the 1980s. In the beginning of the 1990s, the definitive tradition of early warning, with the exception of military functions, was essentially delimited to the deterrence of humanitarian disasters.[15]

Even though there have been strategies of preventing deadly conflicts based on the realities posed by the interstate and intrastate wars, the emerging threats of terrorism since the 9/11/2001 attacks have overshadowed conflict response mechanisms as counter-proliferation measures taken by the United States and other countries further complicate early warning strategies.[16]

Early warning today emerges as overly simplified, notably after the international community's defeat to forestall humanitarian disasters in the 1990s both in "Peripheral" African states and in inner Europe, it has been evident that early warning is more than just gathering and dissemination of information. In fact it is imperative that both the examination of the information

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[14] Gleditsch Nils Petter et al, "Armed Conflict 1946 – 2001: A New Dataset," Journal of Peace Research 39 (2002): 615-637.
[15] Silvia Ciotti Galletti, Piracy and Maritime Terrorism: Logistics, Strategies, Scenarios (Amsterdam: IOS Press VB, 2012), 44.
[16] Hoe Wang Jeong, Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis (SAGE publication Ltd, 2008.), 36.

and designing of proper and calculated options informed by that examination are integrated. Analysis is undeniably a fundamental constituent of monitoring, given that it exposes possible threats to peace and security that are essential pointers to reliable information that aids decision makers formulate the best possible deterrent policies for any impending disaster.[17]

The increase in terrorist attacks has also acted as a drive to the increased awareness in coming up with a framework for monitoring potential threats.[18] Based on the assumptions of Gleditsch *et al* - timely warning of possible outbreak of armed conflicts will provide several opportunities for stakeholders to undertake immediate preventive action and develop a framework for monitoring the development of peace. Conflict prevention mechanisms in their present state in Africa are predominantly reactive. The paradigm shift proposed by this study is to change from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention which can be achieved by putting a solid contextualized framework for monitoring conflict trends through early warning and early response system.

1.5.3. Phases of Conflict and the Position of Early Warning

Jeong, states that conflict does not just happen, rather it goes through a series of phases.[19] The development of conflict takes a long period of time and may go unnoticed before it develops into violence. This process is complex and unpredictable. Different authors name and describe these stages differently, but most of them include, at a minimum the following stages: "no conflict, latent conflict, emergence, escalation, stalemate, de-escalation, settlement/resolution, post-conflict peace building and reconciliation."[20]

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[17] Galletti, Piracy and Maritime Terrorism, 45.
[18] Petter Nils Gleditsch et al, "Armed Conflict 1946 – 2001," 618.
[19] Jeong, Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis, 97.
[20] Michael Lund, Preventive Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: A Guide for Post-Cold War Era (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994), 6.
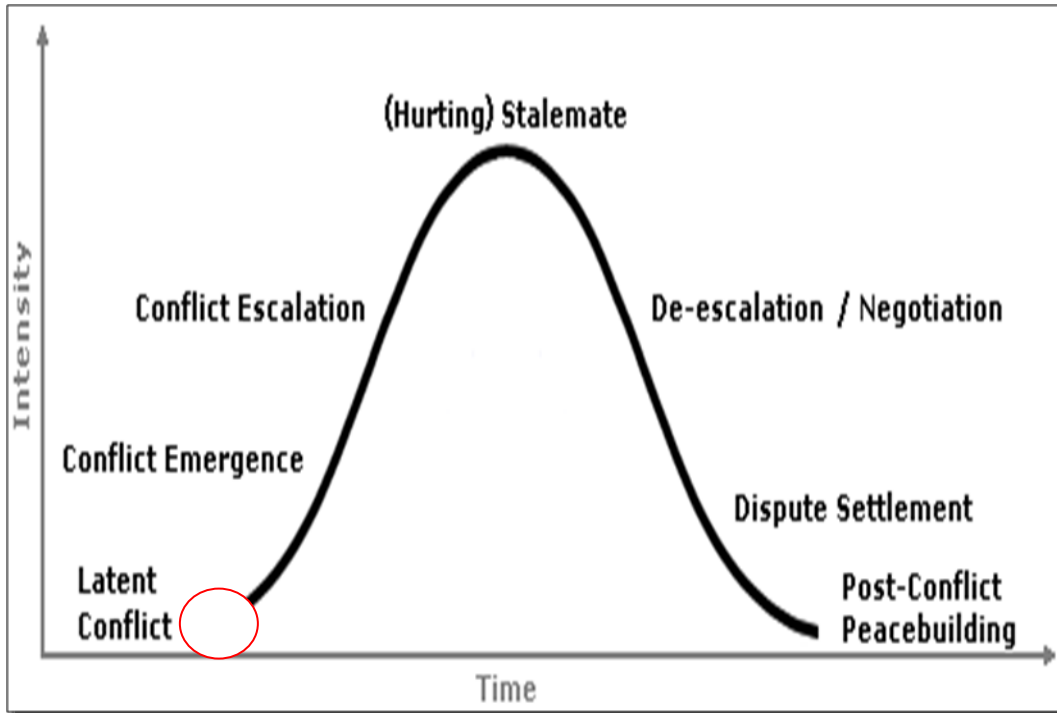
Figure 1: Phases of Conflict and the Position of Early Warning

Source: Michael Lund, 2009, 290.

Jeong argues that the outcome of conflict prevention varies with the methodology adopted at the different stages of the conflict cycle[21] thus latent phase, emergence, escalation, de-escalation phase and post-conflict peace building. Therefore, success is dependent upon proper identification of the signs and indicators at the latent phase and the actual response strategy, which is the prime focus of this study.

It is important to highlight the phases of conflict as shown by Lund because the kinds of response strategies adopted at different phases differ. It is worth noting that conflict early warning as a strategy of conflict prevention is only relevant at the latent phase of conflict. Hence

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[21] Jeong, Understanding Conflict and Conflict analysis, 4.

the analysis of the impact of conflict early warning systems adopted in this work is based at the latent phase of conflict.

1.5.4. Learning from the Previous Mistakes: Case of Rwanda

In the year 1994, Rwanda a small country in the Great Lakes region of Africa, hit the headlines and catapulted onto the international centre stage. Retrospectively, the international community has been harshly criticized for its failure to take preventive measures in a timely and effective way to contain the genocide in Rwanda, despite the knowledge that genocide was going to transpire. Thucydides articulated it plainly in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*— "when the citizens of Melos refused to bow to Athens, the opinion that the strong do what they will and the weak suffer what they must" was confirmed in the international system.

The internal strain, turmoil and violence in Rwanda had long characterized the Country's history. Rwanda is a country made up of two major ethnic groups— the *Hutus* and *Tutsis*, who speak the same language and share a common culture of the central Africa's *Banyarwanda* people. As Prunier[22] asserts, "abstract morals notwithstanding, even tragedies do not occur in a vacuum." The political power resistances and economic rivalries between the two major ethnic groups, strengthened by the colonial powers that ruled the area, divided the population and resulted on many occasions in the massacre and forced migration of large numbers of civilians.[23]

Estimates portray that 800,000 Rwandese citizens were butchered.[24] Various scholars are in consensus that the Rwandan genocide did not merely result out of mutual hatred between the

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[22] Gerard Prunier, The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1995), 1.
[23] The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information. p. 7
[24] Andrew Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good: Genocide in Rwanda and the Role of the 'West' (United States of America: n. p., 2012), ii.

Tutsis and Hutus, and neither was it triggered by the abrupt death of the then president Habyarimana. Instead, the signs of the impending genocide were seeable, and this was as a result of a well calculated public and political campaign of ethnic cleansing.[25] At the core of the debate that has followed this tragedy are the questions: how did Rwanda abruptly collapse into a civil strife? What reasons did the international community have for its failure to intervene and prevent genocide in the Rwandan situation even after it was evident that genocide was underway?

Even with the 1948 Convention on Genocide, Rwanda fell apart in the early 1990s and the Hutus and Tutsis took to slaughtering each other as the international community watched and speculated whether this anarchy was genocide or just a mere catastrophe. Simultaneously, civil strife raged, diseases multiplied, and children famished in different African countries—Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, and Angola.[26] These are not the only complex situations we could mention, but the needs for intervention were many. However, of all the aforementioned crises, perhaps none has been subjected to numerous debates like the international community's failure to intervene in the Rwandan genocide and civil war of 1994.

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[25] Taylor B. Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention: The Conditions for Success and Failure (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[26] Sean D. Murphy, Humanitarian Intervention (Philadelphia PA: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 1.

1.5.5. The Response of the International Community

The Role of Belgium

Belgium barely acted in response to the massacre. After the persecution that led to the death of their ten peacekeepers, Belgium lost interest in assisting Rwanda. By April 12th Belgium had withdrawn all its soldiers and military hardware from United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Subsequent to the withdrawal, the Belgian government instigated a diplomatic campaign to terminate UNAMIR. After the evacuation of the Belgian forces, the Army Chief of Staff assured the world that the army would under no circumstances participate again in a UN peacekeeping operation. This marked a significant setback since Belgium had provided the most-trained and finest-armed troops for UNAMIR. In addition, as the former colonial power, Belgium was thought to be the command most conversant and eligible to speak about Rwanda.[27]

The Role of the United States

Following the pull out of the Belgian troops, the US maintained that UNAMIR had nothing more to do in Rwanda due to lack of cease-fire to monitor. In point of fact, on April 16th, a US diplomat expressed that it was "unacceptable" that a "humanitarian drama" be the element of justification for maintaining the peacekeeping force in Rwanda. Still burning from the disgrace they experienced in Somalia, the US had no aspiration of intervening in Rwanda. The State Department declared on April 10th that "although there had been acts of genocide in Rwanda, all the murders cannot be put into that category" hence no intervention was compelled in the 1948 Genocide Convention.[28]

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[27] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.
[28] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.

During Security Council meetings, Madeleine Albright, the US Ambassador to the UN delayed the voting that was meant to realize the enlargement of the UNAMIR troops as she had received "no instructions." Subsequent to the final vote, she further postponed the issue citing reasons for "further assessment of the matter." Six weeks later, a mere 550 troops were in Rwanda notwithstanding that UN had approved ten times that number. Since it was acknowledged that Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC)[29] was instigating genocide, US officials were asked by Human Rights Watch to freeze the broadcasts. The State Department ruled, however that an international agreement on broadcasting and the American commitment to freedom of speech were more significant than breaking off genocide. In fact, the US added that freezing the transmissions would prove expensive. Authorities in the State Department were informed that genocide had begun, essentially avoiding the use of the word and turning a blind eye. By all accounts, there was no reason to intervene. After all, Rwanda was a small, poor, isolated, and no commercial or lacked strategic links, thus was beside the point to the national interests of the US.[30]

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[29]Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC) was a Rwandan radio station which broadcast from July 8, 1993 to July 31, 1994. It played a significant role during the April–July 1994 Rwandan Genocide.
[30] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.

The Role of United Nations

Lahneman[31] reports that the instant reaction of the United Nations has been branded as generally slow. The UN dealt with the genocide as an outcome of war and made efforts to bargain a cease-fire and support the implementation of the Arusha Peace Accords. Despite the conflicting information on the ground, no one seemed to understand or admit the depth of the situation. Thomson[32] asserts that four weeks into the massacre, nothing regarding the organized slaughter was examined in the Security Council. Early discussions revolved around what fraction of UNAMIR would be taken away and how soon. America sought to withdraw all its workers. Britain required only a minimum force left at the rear. The discussions hardly ever referred to the doom of the Rwandans. Negotiating for a cease-fire was more significant than discontinuing the slaughter. Thomson (ibid) further contends that on April 21st, in an even more deplorable attempt, the UN Security Council due to demands from America, Britain and Rwanda as a non-permanent member balloted to cut the size of UNAMIR by 90% to 270 men and constrained its mandate to mediation and humanitarian aid. The mandate did not incorporate averting the killing of civilians. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) faulted the UN of employing double standards by reducing troops in Rwanda yet reinforcing involvement in the former Yugoslavia. Doubt and contradictions were unrelenting in the face of comprehensible indications.

Lahneman[33] observes that when Resolution 918 was prepared, the UN seemed to at last react to Rwanda's misfortune. It supplied 5,500 troops under a Chapter VII authorization. Emphasis was laid on speed of deployment as the key to the success of the new mission, but UNAMIR II

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[31] William J. Lahneman, *Military Intervention: Cases in Context for the Twenty-First Century* (United States of America: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 72-87.
[32] Thomson, *See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.*
[33] Lahneman, *Military Intervention,* 72-87.

did not deploy for a further three months. In reality Resolution 918 was a deception. No armed troops were prepared, no airlift was ready and there was no arrangement of what they would do when they arrive. On May 25th during a press conference, Boutros-Ghali at long last confessed that genocide had taken place and that the UN Security Council was answerable: "Let us recognize that this is a failure, not only of the UN but also of the international community. All of us are responsible for this failure. I failed, it is a scandal." His Report to the Security Council on May 31st finished, "We must all realize that we have failed in our response to the agony of Rwanda and thus consented in the continued loss of life."

The Role of France

Some scholars[34] contend that due to its connections with the Rwandan army, government, and media, France could not have been uninformed of the genocidal plans of many senior officers and officials. But as it will be remembered, France availed no official declaration reproving the genocide instead it sustained its support for the genocidal regime. Behind its disguise of inactivity, the French government carried on with the breach of the UN arms prohibition, making available arms during five different episodes in May and June 1994. French policymakers, led by President Mitterand had resolved to obstruct a Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) victory even if it would take the form of joint forces with the genocidal regime. Pieterse[35] records that the French were protecting the perpetrators of genocide. An RPF conquest meant conquest for English-speaking Rwandans and a defeat for *le francophonie*. French support was verified with the start of Opération Turquoise on June 14th.

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[34] Such as Lahneman, 2004, p. 68; Seybolt, 2007, pp. 74-75; Thomson, 2012, n.p
[35] Nederveen J. Pieterse, World Orders in the Making: Humanitarian Intervention and Beyond (Great Britain: Macmillan Press, 1998), 222.

As open knowledge of the genocide became impossible to disregard, the Security Council annulled its verdict, approved strengthening of UNAMIR and permitted a French-led intervention under the flag of "Operation Turquoise." Thomson[36] and Pieterse[37] observe that mass killing had by that time been fruitfully accomplished. But now Rwanda's catastrophe all of a sudden turned to be central in France and a 'humanitarian' mission was invented. Thomson adds that the Operation had little, if anything to do with reality in Rwanda. In the period in-between, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RFA), the military arm of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) disobeyed the ceasefire agreement, overpowered the government army, halted the genocide and led over 1 million Hutu refugees into Tanzania and DRC.

The difficulties of refugees and the killers who walked among them, elicited an irresistible humanitarian aid response. One part of that response was a US military logistical attempt labelled 'Operation Support Hope'.[38] Thomson[39] notes that 2,500 French troops arrived in Rwanda on June 3rd to a warm welcome in Goma by the *intarahamwe* and local authorities. The RPF were infuriated and pronounced that Opération Turquoise was an act of war. Accordingly, Pieterse[40] adds that genocide persisted and as French troops lined up in medium sized towns, the killing was propagated in the hills. Following RPF 'victory', the French troops left Rwanda on August 21st leaving behind an accumulation of assault rifles and machine guns. Lahneman[41] derides that "compassion fatigue had set in amongst the French public and the government tried to leave as quietly as possible despite official denials." Operation Turquoise sustained the

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[36] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.
[37] Pieterse, World Orders in the Making, 223.
[38] Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention, 72-73.
[39] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.
[40] Pieterse, World Orders in the Making, 224.
[41] Lahneman, Military Intervention, 68.

massacre of Tutsis for an extra month and obtained the secure channel for the genocidal command to escape, with its weaponry into Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo).

1.5.6. The Role of Significant Others

Various significant countries portrayed a high level of delay and reluctance in intervening in the Rwandan genocide. DRC and Seychelles supported the acting government in acquiring arms, whereas arms leaders in Israel, Albania and the UK had no sense of right and wrong about importing weapons for a regime actively carrying out genocide. Lahneman[42] and Thomson[43] record that the British based Mil-Tec Corporation availed the genocidal regime with £3.3M worth of mortars, grenades, rifles and ammunition between April and July 1994. In addition, DRC actively frustrated the flight of Tutsis trying to escape the genocide, while Kenya deported some evacuees to an almost certain death in Kigali. One year after the genocide, in July 1995, the UK government unrelentlessly contested that genocide had transpired. The OAU contrasted the decrease of UNAMIR but also declined to use the word 'genocide', recounting the events as "carnage and bloodletting" and "massacres and wanton killings."

Against the background of what counts as a situation that warrants prevention before escalation into violent conflict, there is no doubt that Rwanda's situation should have been handled very differently. In his article, *Rescuing Thousands, Abandoning a Million: What Might an Emancipatory Intervention Have Looked Like in Rwanda,* Piiparinen[44] recounts that "all it would have taken to avert the UN's failure would have been mere willpower or a simple effort of will

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[42] Lahneman, Military Intervention, 68.
[43] Thomson, See no Evil, Hear no Evil, Do no Good.
[44] Touko Piiparinen, "Rescuing Thousands, Abandoning a Million: What Might an Emancipatory Intervention Have Looked Like in Rwanda," International Relations 21(2007): 47.

on the part of individual actors." In sharing the same sentiments, Klinghoffer[45] concurs that the moral resentment against genocide, and the dispute that more should have been done to save the victims, is certainly not misplaced.

From the analysis in the preliminary pages of this work on conflict early warning, it appears that we can hardly reach out to all victims of war. The failures of intervention in Rwanda reflect the challenges facing conflict early warning and early intervention in the contemporary international system. Challenges range from empty political rhetoric and lack of commitment— exposing the transparent international political order that we save some, yet not all victims of war— to financial setbacks as another major challenge. Just as the 'responsibility to protect' compels us to do, Kuperman[46] advocates 'preventative reinforcement,' and argues that the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) should have been bolstered prior to the genocide. There is need for establishing a clear and general framework for early warning and early intervention. Finally, conflict early warning and prevention has far more meaning and legitimacy when it is accompanied by long-term commitment to conflict resolution and reconstruction of the political, economic and social systems of the war-torn country. Without long-term resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation, a country is likely to fall back into war.[47]

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[45] Arthur J. Klinghoffer, "Book Review: The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda," Journal of Asian and African Studies 39(2004): 223.
[46] Klinghoffer, "Book Review: The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention," 223.
[47] Seybolt, Humanitarian Military Intervention, 276-277.

1.6. Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the conflict prevention theory as its theoretical framework. This theory hold that conflict does not just happen, that it goes through a cycle of phases, and that preventing the outbreak of overt conflict is possible depending on three assumptions: timely response to manifestations of danger; an all-inclusive, coordinated approach to mitigate the threats to violence; and an comprehensive attempt to transform the root causes of violence.[48]

Conflict prevention theory holds that it is possible to collect data in order to determine whether a situation is risky and likely to escalate into violence. A second tenet of this theory states that, in situations where clear information of an impending crisis exists, there remains the task of persuading stakeholders to act upon the warning signs in a timely manner. This theory further propagates the prospects of facilitating advanced planning and the early deployment of supplies and personnel, as well as prompting intervention efforts to rescue the situation.[49]

At present, most organizations that have been involved in a region before, during or after a conflict might claim to be actively involved in conflict prevention. However, if violent conflict is to be prevented successfully and systematically, conflict early warning systems should be contextualized. Scholars argue that such an understanding will need to circumscribe efforts in creating, providing, and applying early warning mechanisms. This will help to detect the emergence of a potential conflict as well as organized efforts to respond to escalating conflict in a bid to contain or stop widespread violence. [50] The former UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali refers to conflict prevention as "Preventive diplomacy". He defines it as "an action to prevent

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[48] Lund, "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice," 288-308.
[49] Lund, "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice," 288-308.
[50] Albrecht Schnabel and David Carment, Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Organizations and Institutions. Volume 1(United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2004), 4.

disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur." Boutros argues that "the most desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict—or, if conflict breaks out, to act swiftly to contain it and resolve its underlying causes."[51]

Conflict prevention requires the identification of both structural and proximate causes of conflict, as well as efforts to avert causes before the outbreak of violence. The championing for conflict prevention does not imply that conflict is undesirable. It just simply means that trying to resolve a conflict after it has happened complicates its resolution and it is costly. The practice of conflict prevention is divided into three stages: structural or long-term; early warning and analysis; and operational.[52] The two major principles of conflict prevention hold that "peacebuilding is only sustainable if it embraces core principles of conflict prevention; that preventive action is more feasible (although more complex) in post-conflict environment; and that lessons learnt from post-conflict preventive action must inform and encourage pre-conflict prevention."[53]

The application of conflict prevention theory in this research is based on the rationale that this study wishes to affirm that overt conflicts are preventable at the latent stage if appropriate systems are put in place and appropriate preventive measures taken at the right time. This theory connects rightly to the subject matter under investigation in that if conflict early warning signs are identified in good time and with good will from stakeholders, appropriate preventive initiatives can be taken, conflict prevention is likely to succeed.

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[51] Schnabel and Carment, Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality, 4.
[52] Emma J. Stewart, The European Union and Conflict Prevention: Policy Evolution and Outcome (Berlin: LIT Verlag Mǔnster, 2006), 14.
[53] Samuel Totten, The Prevention and Intervention of Genocide: An Annotated Bibliography (UK: Routledge, 2008), 551.

Conflict prevention theory is envisaged as a useful tool for analyzing the data collected for risk areas. Indeed, acting before high levels of conflict intensity is better than trying to end them.[54] Conflict prevention theory therefore provides important tenets for this study. The application of the conflict prevention theory has been successful in places where the risk of conflict was present but it was averted. Examples include South Africa, Macedonia, the Baltics, and the South China Sea.[55]

1.7. Research Hypotheses

This study tested the following hypotheses:

1. Conflict persists in Africa because the underlying causes have not been clearly established.

2. Weak early warning systems lead to conflict escalation.

3. Emergence of early warning systems has had positive impact on conflict prevention in Africa.

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[54] Jacob Bercovitch, ed., Resolving International Conflict: The Theory and Practice of Mediation (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), 55.
[55] William I. Zartman, "Preventing Deadly Conflict," Security Dialogue 32, (2001): 137–154.

1.8. Methodology

1.8.1. Introduction

This section provides the methodological framework that underpins the study. The section begins with a description of the population. This is followed by the sample design and sampling technique. The justification of the sample size, description of the research site, research instruments, data collection methods and data analysis are also presented in this section.

1.8.2. Study Design

The study employed a case study analysis conducted through in-depth study of the subject matter in the Ilemi Triangle. Cases of different stakeholders including governments, international organizations, security agencies, NGOs, grassroots organizations and communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle were studied. This study assumed that a case study design would help in understanding three major aspects that underpin the theory of conflict prevention: timely response to manifestations of danger; an all-inclusive, coordinated approach to mitigate the threats to violence; and efforts to transform the root causes of violence through a detailed contextual study of the Ilemi Triangle.

Both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches were used. Under quantitative approaches, surveys were used. These designs were preferred because they helped the researcher to collect data and explain the early warning systems in the Ilemi Triangle, histographical background, impact and role of early warning systems on conflict prevention. The governments (Ethiopia, Kenya, and South Sudan), international organizations (IGAD), security agencies, NGOs, grassroots organizations and communities were used as key informants during information gathering.

1.8.3. Sample size

The sample size comprised of 316 adult male and female from the pastoralist Turkana, Didinga, Toposa, Nyangatom and Dassanech communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle. These five communities are members of the larger ethno cultural groups of Ethiopia, Kenya, and South Sudan, but traditionally migrate to graze in the Ilemi triangle. The target population also included government officials, security agencies and NGOs working in the triangle. These were purposively selected. The Ilemi triangle is in proximity to the tribal boundaries where the five communities border and interface with each other.

1.8.4. Sample Design

Due to the large area where the Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Inyangatom, and Dassanech live, a survey research was preferable. The Design targeted the perpetrators and victims of conflict themselves from the five communities— those that have directly been affected by conflict in the Ilemi triangle. The broad area of survey research involves asking respondents questions that will make conclusions from the sample applicable to the entire population.[56] This correspondence between the sample and the larger population was very important since it ensured that the sample was representative of the larger population. This makes the conclusions valid and replicable. The researcher also used probability sampling. This gives all elements (persons) in the researched population equal opportunity of being included in the sample.[57]

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[56] Chava Frankfort Nachmias and David Nachmias, Research Methods in the Social Sciences (New York: St. Main's Press Inc., 1996), 30-45.

[57] Loraine Blaxter, Christina Hughes, and Malcolm, How to Research: Open up Study Skills (New York: Open University Press, 2010), 169-171.

1.8.5. Sampling Technique

Cluster sampling technique is commonly used when it is not possible to obtain a sample frame because the population is either very large or scattered over a large geographical area.[58] The sample frame for the Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Inyangatom and, Dassanech in the Ilemi triangle where the research was carried out does not exist. Cluster sampling was preferred for the study as it was economical and at the same time characteristics of a probability sample were retained.

In this sampling technique, it is the groups or clusters that are being randomly selected and not the individuals or cases. In this research, the clusters were the villages or settlements—temporary or relatively permanent – of Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Nyangatom, Dassanech. The selection of the clusters was purposeful. Fifteen clusters (three of Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Inyangatom and Dassanech) were being selected. Twenty one elements (individuals) then were being randomly selected from each of the fifteen clusters, resulting in a sample of 316 comprising of 63 individuals from each of the five communities. Along with cluster sampling technique, focus group discussions (FGD) – complementary to cluster sampling were employed.

The researcher sought assistance from the representatives of the local government administration and the local organizations in selection of appropriate candidates for the focus group discussion. Focus group discussions were being conducted with the Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Inyangatom, and Dassanech separately. Each group comprised of eight to twelve carefully selected individuals. The criteria of knowledge of the local environment, high regard, and significant level of respect among the local population was guiding the researcher in selecting candidates for focus group discussion. Therefore, the candidates were being selected mainly from the local

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[58] Olive Mugenda and A.G. Mugenda, Research Methods: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches (Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1999), 49-50.

administration (chiefs, assistant chiefs), local religious (pastors, priests, catechists,) local Non-Government Organizations (peace and development workers) and other respected opinion-shaping groups in the society, such as educators.

1.8.6. Justification of the Size of the Sample

The objective of the design in this research was to cover the target population sufficiently, taking into account the limited resources and the vast conflict zone in the Ilemi Triangle. For that reason, the sample was limited to those Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Nyangatom and Dassanech who live directly in the conflict zone. In order for research data to be meaningful, the sample size was 63 respondents from each side or 21 from 15 clusters. The researcher in deciding about the sample size took into account the following issues: the objectives of the research, geographical spacing, the question of an even statistical study, the response variable, the types of measurement, possibility of obstacles in data collection, the important sources of variation, the time frame and possible methods of data analysis.

1.8.7. Research Site

The Ilemi Triangle is a disputed area, claimed by South Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia. Following a number of attempts to define the disputed triangle over the last 100 or so years, Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan have all made differing claims. This has led to a situation in which there is almost no official state presence in the region. The Ilemi triangle is inhabited by five main ethnic groups. The Turkana straddle the region between South Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya and time and again this has exposed them to aggression from their adjacent neighbours.[59] The other ethnic groups in the Ilemi Triangle include the Didinga and Toposa from South Sudan, the

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[59] Herrera, Pastoralist Conflict in the Horn of Africa, 36.

Nyangatom, who move around South Sudan and Ethiopia, and the Dassenach, who have settled east of the Triangle in Ethiopia.[60]

The accurate borders of the contested triangle have been altered over time. The British colonial rulers were influential in sketching up the original margins. Currently, with the unearthing of oil, interests in the marginalized region have intensified and this poses the risk of inter-state conflicts. Until today, no known rigorous research has been undertaken to study the root-causes of this multi-layered conflict, and no sober attempts have been made to establish a framework within which a lasting peace could be visualized.[61]

The Ilemi triangle region is a deprived and underserved semi-arid area with very poor infrastructure. Important to note is however, that the population directly affected by the conflict is restricted to those living in proximity to the contested borders between the five communities.[62] The research was limited therefore to the full stretch of this contested border area. Clusters were identified along the conflict lines.

1.8.8. Research Instruments

The researcher used a questionnaire, comprising of closed-ended (generating quantitative data) and open-ended items (generating qualitative data), as is the standard procedure for survey research. It was being translated into Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Nyangatom, and Dassanech languages and subsequently pretested. The same was being done for the focus group discussion questions. The researcher administered interview schedules to government officials from the three countries, security agencies and the NGOs working within the Ilemi Triangle.

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[60] Hugh Miall, Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change (Houndmills: Palgrave/ Macmilan, 2007), 7-17.
[61] Zartman, "Preventing Deadly Conflict," 137–154.
[62] Herrera, Pastoralist Conflict in the Horn of Africa, 3.

A semi-structured interview schedule (also called an interview brief) was being used as it was participatory and engaged respondents in a conversation through a series of guided questions. It was flexible and allowed open-ended discussion with the government officials and NGO leaders. The interview schedule helped the researcher to discover the impact of early warning systems on conflict as well as how intervention efforts geared towards rescuing the situation can be promoted. The interviews were face-to-face where the researcher asked the respondents questions designed to obtain answers to the research problem. The first stage of interview was guided by open-ended questions that dug deep from the respondents the kind of knowledge, and perspective of early warning systems and their role in conflict prevention.

Secondary data was sought to inform the study. This included data collection from journals, books, internet sources, and dissertations. Histories and profiles of communities, and NGOs were being used as they offered systematic accounts of conflict early warning and conflict prevention. Cases and stories of change that manifested the subject matter under study were also being analysed. Focused group discussions were being used to obtain discussions and reflections on issues surrounding the communities under study, as well as compiling a list of issues that affected the communities.

The researcher also utilized an observation checklist to record what he observed during data collection. This was done during interviews. The researcher defined the behaviour and attitudes observed and then developed a detailed list of behaviours and attitudes. During data collection, the researcher noted each as it occurred. An observation checklist was preferred as it permitted the researcher to spend time thinking about what was occurring rather than on how to record it and this enhanced the accuracy of the study. In some cases, rating scales were used. The

researcher used this not only to observe the behaviours and attitudes but also to evaluate the behaviour on a rating scale. This was very useful in identifying the issues for recommendations and further research.

1.8.9. Data Collection Method

The data for this research was obtained from semi-structured questionnaires that contained both open and closed-ended questions, FGD and conducted in face-to-face interviews. The questions varied slightly between the respondents depending on the information required. The questionnaires were being self-administered with the help of translators. Fluency in Turkana, Toposa, Didinga, Nyangatom and Dassanech languages and good mastery of English was a key criterion for selecting translators.

Semi-structured interview schedule, which was guiding the researchers on asking respondents questions, was another key data collection instrument. There were two types of schedules for the two types of respondents namely: government officials and NGOs. The interviews were being undertaken throughout the day and sometimes into early evening depending on the availability of the respondents. To facilitate the recording process, a magnetic tape recorder was being used to record responses with the consent of the respondents. This was later transcribed and inter-checked with the written notes.

This research relied on both secondary and primary data. Secondary literature was useful both for identification of gaps in previous conflict analyses and enrichment of the study. The literature review was of conceptual and practical relevance to each of the thematic areas of the study. Such literature included reports of NGOs, commissions of inquiry, government reports, academic and practitioners' publications and/or outputs, and information from media sources. The survey had

been on-going since November 2013 through to August 2016. Primary data collection mainly relied on focus group discussions, questionnaires, and key informant interviews.

1.8.10. Data Analysis

The data collected was analysed using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of statistical analysis. The analysis of the frequencies, percentages, and other quantitative values paid special focus on determining the extent of causality between selected predictor and constant variables as well as the level of correlation between key variables. The analysed quantitative data is presented in graphs, charts and tables. Part of the qualitative data was categorised into similar groups after which the groups were coded then keyed in as quantitative data. However, the qualitative data, which was collected in a narrative form, was used to explain the quantitative values, which had been generated from the quantitative analysis. The preliminary findings were discussed with key community members, NGOs and government officials. The final version is the output of such discussions.

1.9. Chapter Outline

1.9.1. Chapter One: Introduction and Background to the Study

Chapter one has been divided into three sections; the presentation of the problem, the review of the existing literature and the methodology. The first section consists of the background to the study, the statement of the research problem, the research objectives and justification of the study. This section sets up the problem under investigation and provides the map for the investigation. This section also reviewed conflict prevention theory and a supposition made on the basis of limited evidence as a starting point for further investigation of this study. The literature review explores what is already known in relation to the concept of conflict early

warning with special focus on the historical background of the concept, the phases and position of early warning and the case of early warning failure in Rwanda. The methodology basically outlines the path that was followed to ensure that the required data was collected, as well as reasons for such methodologies.

1.9.2. Chapter Two: Historical Background of Conflict in Africa

Chapter two is basically a historical background of conflict in Africa, presenting the nature, context and dynamics of conflict in the continent. The chapter begins with a brief overview of global conflict trends, followed by a description of conflict in Africa. Finally the chapter discusses conflict between the five ethnic communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle. The chapter portrays how marginalization, absence of state presence in the area, insecurity, lack of proper policies, competition for resources, and cultures have impacted on conflict prevention in the region.

1.9.3. Chapter Three: The Emergence of the Concept of Early Warning Systems

Chapter three looks into the origins as well as the emergence of early warning systems as a concept in conflict prevention. The chapter discusses the concept of conflict early warning and early response and the factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems. It further discusses the entire process of conflict early warning exploring this process from the first step of information gathering, followed by analysis, warning dissemination and the last step of preventive action, exploring both the long-term and short-term prevention. Finally, the chapter highlights the signs for conflict early warning, and the mechanisms to conflict early warning and response.

1.9.4. Chapter Four: The Architecture of Conflict Early Warning Systems

Chapter four delves into the successes and failures of conflict early warning systems in Africa. The chapter analyzes how conflicts of different natures have been dealt with in Africa. Lastly, constraints facing effective operationalization of conflict early warning and what this means for effective conflict prevention in Africa are explored. The constraints facing conflict early warning systems have sparked various debates regarding the future of conflict early warning systems. Whether the current early warning architecture is likely to put us in a position to effectively manage conflict is still questionable. Challenges ranging from the disconnect between identification of signs and appropriate response, knowledge gaps, operational obstacles, unfavourable political environment and structural challenges are discussed in chapter four. The chapter also identifies the gaps in conflict early warning systems in Africa.

1.9.5. Chapter Five: The Role and Impact of Early Warning Systems on Conflict Prevention in Africa, Case of Ilemi Triangle

Chapter five presents the role and impact of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa. The chapter explores the purpose of early warning systems. The chapter then evaluates the stakeholders in early warning, ranging from governments, security agencies, regional organizations, civil society organizations and communities in the process of conflict early warning and early action. The chapter explores the development of early warning systems in the Ilemi Triangle, the approaches and mechanisms used and how early warning systems have been operationalized. Chapter five further assesses different ways stakeholders have employed early warning systems, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses, as well as their methodologies highlighted towards conflict early warning. Lastly, the chapter outlines how various stakeholders can use early warning and response mechanisms more effectively.

1.9.6. Chapter Six: Data Findings and Analysis: Towards a Framework for Conflict Early Warning in Africa

Chapter six presents the research findings on the impact of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa: case study of the Ilemi Triangle. Patterns of results are presented and analyzed in reference to the research questions and hypotheses. The findings of the research topic are organized by themes. The data for each hypothesis is then presented. The chapter has also attempted to map conflict in the Ilemi Triangle highlighting the complexity of issues in this contested triangle. The existing institutional environment for conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle is described laying emphasis on the need for change of these institutions. In this chapter, the researcher further attempts to propose a structure for conflict early warning system for the Ilemi Triangle highlighting the knowledge of conflict signs, methodologies of stakeholders, constrains and conflict causal factors.

1.9.7. Chapter Seven: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter seven summarizes the discussions that emerged during the analysis of various issues in this work. The chapter further provides the summary of findings derived from this research as well as report the conclusions and recommendations for future researches of similar interest. Key issues that emerged and issues that the researcher believes will advance the discussions for a proper early warning system for Africa are highlighted. Key components of success of early warning, and lessons learnt are also emphasized in this chapter. Finally, this chapter outlines a context based framework for conflict early warning system in the Ilemi Triangle.

1.10. Conclusion

Prospects for conflict anticipation in Sub-Saharan Africa sadly look fairly dismal. In fact, Sub-Saharan Africa's instability is manifested not only by the thousands of IDP and refugee camps scattered throughout the region, but also by the outwardly unrelenting revolutions and attempted invasions. While conflict is averted in one country, it quickly spirals in another. The overall objective of this study is to examine and analyze the impact of the emergence of early warning systems and from the findings develop a framework as well as contribute to theory building and policy formulation for preventing overt conflict in Africa. Having undertaken the study, there is a noticeable contradiction in this field. Despite the fact that some models reveal only a certain percentage of accuracy, an analysis of early warning literature exposes that an understanding of the actual indicators of conflict well enough to estimate its occurrence is still lacking. Efforts to build better qualitative, quantitative methods and hybrid models of the two approaches have not adequately addressed the problem.

The results of this thesis argue that communities at risk should consider the value of putting in place appropriate conflict early warning systems to anticipate overt conflict and take preventive measures in a timely manner. This thesis did not set out to assemble the ideal early warning system, though it questions whether the existing systems are indeed helping to avert conflict in Africa. Nor did the thesis set out to devise the ideal methodologies for stakeholders, though it enquires the usefulness of relying on methodologies that only computers could efficiently run. What this thesis explores are the various aspects ranging from the early warning knowledge, signs and indicators, response of stakeholders, challenges and then it seeks to understand the context of the Ilemi triangle with a purpose of designing practical and cost effective early warning framework within the context.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT IN AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter provides an overview of the historical trends of conflict in the world. The chapter also briefly discusses related concepts, including conflict and a culture of prevention. The chapter further delves into the historical background of conflict in Africa exploring the issues, the nature, context and dynamics of conflict. The chapter endeavours to deepen the understanding of the trends of conflict. A consideration on the discourse on the historical development is given attention in this chapter. The Chapter's core is conflict between the five ethnic communities that straddle this disputed triangle namely: the Didinga and Toposa from South Sudan; the Nyangatom, who move around South Sudan and Ethiopia; the Dassenach, who have settled east of the Triangle in Ethiopia; and the Turkana in Kenya. The Chapter delineates how marginalization, absence of state presence in the area, insecurity, lack of proper policies, competition for resources, and cultures have impacted on pastoralism as a way of livelihood for the five communities.

2.1.1. Global Conflicts Trends

While the concept of conflict prevention has been around since the earliest formal studies of international relations, the trends of conflict in the world seem to be getting worse. Conflict occurs in all human relationships—at international, national, community and interpersonal levels. In the wake of the nuclear age, the world hoped that the use of military power would become obsolete. Introducing nuclear weapons against another nuclear-armed state seem to discourage political effectiveness. The challenges of modern society concerning nuclear

invasions pose a threat to the stability of these societies. The actual use or threatened use of traditional military force against nonnuclear powers, for separatists or revolutionary purposes, retains value for decision makers under certain circumstances. War has been ever-present all through history, and the exploitation of war as a foreign policy tool persists to the present day. [63] John Mueller argues that rules opposing the exploitation of force scaled up even before World War I but were spurred on that conflict and by World War II. A fundamental characteristic of the world contest has been the control of the state. Since the culmination of World War II, approximately 150 states have been formed. Due to the multiethnic or multi-tribal populations of many of these states and the continuity of ideological and religious differences, governments have been under endless siege. Force has been used as a major apparatus by non-state actors to confront well-established governments for control of a state or a region that hopes to become a state in its own right. The use of force by non-state actors is one of the numerous complexities of nation-state in the present-day world order.[64] Violent conflict is disastrous. Across the world conflicts of violent nature disable our collective senses, which result in abhorrent collapse of economic and social assets and horrendous loss of human lives. Even many societies seem to cross from conflicts to peace and to costly conflicts again.

Known for its violent first half, a significant characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century was the absence of World War III. In its place, there was a cold war, a period of deep hostility devoid of actual war. The Cold War lasted four decades, from 1947 to 1989. The peak

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[63] Bruce Russett, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, World Politics: The Menu for Choice (USA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), 195-196.

[64] Russett Bruce, Harvey Starr, and David Kinsella, World Politics, 196-197.

of the Cold War was from 1947 to 1963, when there were few serious negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union.[65] A move by either side caused fear and suspicion on the part of the other. Disasters that could easily turn the Cold War into a hot or shooting war often interrupted the basic ideological fight over competing world orders. The uncertainty that a small conflict somewhere in the world would intensify into a full-blown nuclear war was ever present. The threat of a nuclear catastrophe in the end forced the two adversaries to co-exist, though within an atmosphere of mutual antagonism. The nuclear stand-off between the two superpowers concluded into more than four decades of peace in the sense that these states did not fight each other directly. In lieu of fighting a hot war, superpower contest and conflict ensued in almost every other form. Each side was in a quest to outshine the other in the arms race, the space race, the Olympics, the employment of client-states in the developing world, and the waging of propaganda and intelligence operations.[66]

The institution and maintenance of a systemic perspective on the general condition of peace in the global system is arguably the most important and challenging task for peace researchers today. Findings from the battlefields in Syria, Libya, Nigeria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine reveal that the world has become more violent. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), the number of armed conflicts globally in 2014 was 40, the highest in the history of the world since 1999.[67] The conventional definitions of conflict define conflict as the outcome of divergent interests concerning scarce resources, goal divergence and frustration. Ernst-Otto

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[65] Joseph S. Nye, Jr, Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History (New York: Dorling Kindersley, 2007), 115-116.

[66] Henderson W. Conway, International Relations: Conflict and Cooperation at the Turn of the 21st Century (USA: McGraw-Hill International Editions), 46.

[67] Scott Gates, "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2014," Conflict Trends (2016), accessed July 2015.

however recommends that conflict should not be defined simply in terms of violence or hostility, but also include incompatibility or "differences in issue position"[68]

2.1.2. The Post-Cold War Era

Post-cold war period is distinct from the global conflict trend. Major inter-state wars have reduced, while regional and intra-state wars have become more widespread. Of the 111 conflicts that ensued between the end of Cold War and the beginning of the new century, 95 were entirely intrastate (civil wars) and another 9 were intrastate with foreign involvement. The post cold war period is distinguished by terrorism, violent revolutions and devastating conflicts in various states, with no part of the world seemingly unaffected by these challenges or their effects. With a fast growing global population, unprecedented urbanization, and the threats resulting from climate change, increasing unemployment and growing inequality, the world is in a race against time. Whereas the human race is equipped with rapid technological advancements and inconceivable demographic prospects to build a better future, the current conditions call for collective expertise of our international community to seeking lasting peace. The intrastate conflicts that have characterized the post cold war era are often ethnic wars—in which belligerents define themselves in part along cultural lines such as language, religion, or similar characteristics. Most ethnic wars have occurred where existing instruments for mediating conflicts have broken down. The inability of governments to mediate conflict frequently occurs in the aftermath of collapsed empires, such as the European colonial empires in Africa or the Soviet Empire in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Such failed states either never had a strong government or their governments were undermined by economic conditions, loss of legitimacy, or outside intervention.

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[68] Ernst-Otto Czempiel, Internationale Politik: Ein Konfliktmodell (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1981), 198-203.

2.2. The Conflict History of the Ilemi Triangle

Ilemi triangle is an arid hilly terrain bordering Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia, with an extension of between 10,000 and14, 000sq.km dependent on the surveyor and year. The Ilemi area consists of dry and barren terrestrial with very poor vegetation. The heights of rainfall in the Ilemi are said to be between the months of March to May and between October to December. These two periods of rainfall sustain the growing of crops, natural vegetation, and livestock.[69]
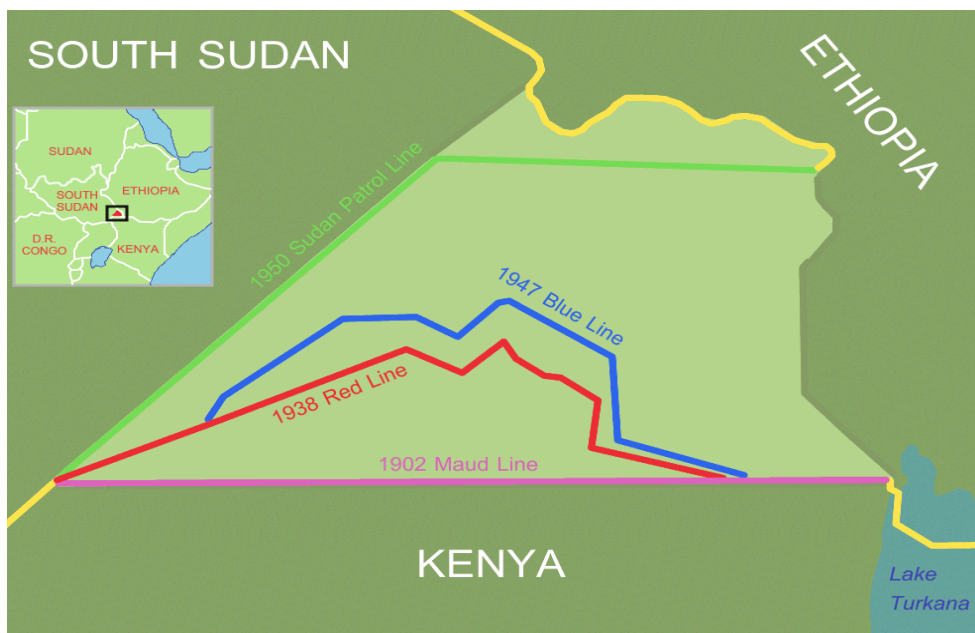
Figure 2: Ilemi triangle map

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ilemi_triangle_map.PNG

At the core of this contested triangle live the Turkana who move back and forth between South Sudan and Kenya. Surrounding them west to east are the Didinga and Toposa from the South Sudan who graze their cattle, sheep and goats on the western pastures of Ilemi, the Nyangatom

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[69] Jesse Creedy Powers, Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict,' ICE Case Studies: Number 238, (July, 2011), accessed June 2014, www1.american.edu/ted/ice/turkana-merille.htm.

from South Sudan and Ethiopia who oscillate across its northeastern boundary and the Dassanech who come out of the east from Ethiopia.[70] Even though the Dassanech of Ethiopia use the Ilemi triangle, Ethiopia has at no time placed an official entitlement on the Ilemi, which therefore leaves the ownership dispute primarily between Kenya and South Sudan.[71] Back in the 19th century, Ethiopia's Empror Menelik laid claim to Lake Turkana; South East of the Ilemi triangle. He established a border with the British that ran east from the Southern end of the lake to the Indian Ocean. This border was shifted North by mutual treaty in 1907, and reaffirmed in a treaty between Ethiopia and Kenya in 1970.[72]

The Maud line, which demarcated the border between Ethiopia and Sudan was surveyed in 1902 and adopted in the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement treaty of 1907. The exact location of the border was vague, but the entirety of the Ilemi triangle was placed on the British (now South Sudanese) side of the line. In a subsequent agreement in 1914, the Uganda-Sudan Boundary Commission agreed to provide Sudan with additional access to lake Turkana via the Sunderson Gulf, but this angered the Ethiopians, who armed the Nyangatom and Dassanech tribes after the end of WWI, leading to bloody battles in which hundreds died.[73]

In 1924, the unrestricted grazing point in the triangle was earmarked after the consultation at Kitgum, Uganda that brought together colonial officials from Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan.[74] Here governments of Kenya, Sudan and Uganda established that Sudan should hand over some territory north of the 1914 line to either Kenya or Uganda, who would then protect the Turkana people. Sudan consented to the Kenyan military crossing the line to defend the Turkana people.

[70] Rongxing Guo, Territorial Disputes and Resource Management: A Global Handbook (New York: Nova Publishers, Inc, 2006), 139.
[71] Lovell S. Hoare and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan (England: Bradt Travel Guides, 2013), 179.
[72] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 179-180.
[73] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.
[74] Maurice N. Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa," Kenya Studies Review 1 (2010).

Consequently, in 1928, the government of Kenya offered financial support to Sudan to take up the area. After two years neither Kenya nor Sudan was willing to take up the duty of administration of the area with the claim that the management of the area was expensive.[75]

In 1931 the Red Line, was sketched to change the 1914 boundary and to mark the points of Turkana pastures. During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (at that time Abyssinia) in 1936, Italy for a short time claimed the Ilemi triangle. The Italians however, rejected the Red line and instead recognized the 1914 straight line as the boundary. On the other hand, the Dassanech and Nyangatom initiated attacks against the Turkanas in 1939, leading to massive loss of lives. As a result, the Italians dropped the claim for the territory, as the British Air Force aggression on the Dassanech and Nyangatom raiders began.[76]

In the 1940s Britain's foreign office assessed a Blue "patrol" line in the northwestern course of the Redline, while Sudan drew their own border, deeper into Kenyan and Ethiopian territories that Kenyan and Ethiopian pastoralists were not allowed to go beyond. However, in 1956 the Sudanese authorities stopped their management in the area east of the "patrol" margin.[77]

Kenya and Ethiopia representatives convened an effort to amend the border line that led to a swap of border posts, specifically the Ethiopian post of *Namuruputh* that limited the entry of the Dassanech to Kenya. President Kenyatta officially requested the British officials for back up to get the Sudan government to defend their current border— the 1914 line, by the Red line in the Ilemi triangle. These efforts did not achieve much success and to date Kenya has not

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[75] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.
[76] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.
[77] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.

satisfactorily talked about the Ilemi dispute to re-draft the map of the Ilemi triangle.[78] The British ignored President Kenyatta`s request and the problem was pushed aside as the contested area was logically secure and succeeding governments were for that reason satisfied with the situation as it was.[79]

Instability returned to the Ilemi triangle in the 1990s after the Ethiopian regime provided guns for the Dassanech. The present day maps of Kenya portray the 1950 "patrol lines" as opposed to the Red Line, as the border recognized by the international community. Furthermore, it is said that Kenya and South Sudan signed a pact to surrender the Ilemi triangle for back up for the duration of the second Sudanese civil war. Sudan handed over the scramble for the Ilemi triangle to South Sudan after South Sudan's seceded in 2011. To date, the Ilemi triangle is still not an area of major concern for either of the disputant states with a view that the area bears little economic gains.[80]

However, Ilemi triangle is today alleged to have natural resources such as oil and minerals underneath. Kenya is a *de jure* occupant on the triangle, while Sudan in the mutual Anglo-Egyptian ruling had no interest because of the already mentioned perception that the area was not economically viable, and therefore it was worthless. The triangle was drawn to enhance ease of governance by Sudan. The Turkana who straddle the mountainous grazing lands of the Triangle with their animals during the dry times of year, required safeguarding against brutal attacks by the heavily-armed Dassanech, Nyangatom and Toposa rival communities and other raiders from Ethiopia and Sudan. By 1947 Kenya had seven police posts in the Ilemi triangle.[81]

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[78]Guo, Territorial Disputes and Resource Management, 140.
[79] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.
[80] Hoare S. Lovell and Lovell M. Hoare, South Sudan, 180.
[81]Guo, Territorial Disputes and Resource Management, 139-140.

2.3. Conflict Context in Africa: Case of Ilemi Triangle

International politics in the recent past has been characterized by an uproar that a multitude of interconnected occurrences—the end of the Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union, the democratization calls in several third world countries, and the increasing accent on the characterization of security along ethnic ranks, are playing a major role in structuring the new world order. In Africa the emergence of geopolitical and socio-economic volatility is marked mainly in the democratic insurgency sweeping across several regions of the continent, a transformation in previously protracted intra-state wars—Angola and Ethiopia in particular. For approximately forty years, African civil wars have been influenced by the US-Soviet enmity and currently a post-Cold War period with accent on conflict management. Evidently, the characteristics of Africa's decolonization and attempts of state building are still visible in fresh and intensified levels of volatility. Modern armed conflict situations (Liberia, Sierra Leon, Rwanda, or Somalia), impending armed conflict situations (Mauritania versus Senegal, Mali versus Burkina Faso, or Kenya versus Uganda), and old armed conflict situations (Sudan, Mozambique, or South Africa) have multiplied in Africa.

2.3.1. Lack of Official State Presence in the Ilemi Triangle

Arguably, political gimmicks are responsible for the conflict and instability facing the border areas of Kenya and her neighbours. This reality points to the paradox in the Ilemi triangle. Whereas deficiency of state presence at the borders is a major driver of insecurity, and in some

cases their presence actually fuels conflict. It is thus not sufficient to argue that state presence at the borders always prevents conflict.[82]

It is important to explore how each state involved in the Ilemi has contributed to or inhibited peace building efforts in the region. Both the Kenyan and Ethiopian authorities have made little attempts to reduce the enmity between the Dassanech and Turkana communities. On the contrary, from the 20th century until recently, both governments encouraged the tensions by supplying firearms to their ethnic communities who live along the borders of the disputed area. After the end of World War I the Ethiopian authorities provided the Dassanech with automatic weapons, and often joined them in the fight against the Turkana community. In the early 20th century illegal firearms were prohibited in Kenya, spiralling conflict between the two foes, as the Turkana became more susceptible to attacks.[83]

Apart from arming these communities with firearms, the negligence that both governments have had in tackling this conflict has also intensified this problem. Absence of development in the Ilemi triangle has led the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments to ignore the region even further. It is in the Ilemi Triangle region that endless conflicts have occurred over grazing rights. The negligence by the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments to tackle conflict in the Ilemi Triangle has enhanced the episodes of conflict over grazing land. Despite the two governments having organized a series of peace gatherings in 2006 in collaboration with representatives from each of the communities, the outcomes of these meetings have not bore any fruits. Both Kenya and

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[82] Kenya-Somalia Border Conflict Analysis Conflict Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Program for East and Southern' Africa (CPMRlESA) Managing African Conflict IQC Contract No. 623-1-00-03-00050-00 Task Order 001.
[83] Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."

Ethiopia have fuelled violence between the two ethnic communities in the past through failure to provide a regulatory aid and supplying weapons for each of the communities.[84]

The security roles of the Ethiopian and Kenya States have been by and large abortive. Besides, where improvements have been initiated, the powers of the local raiders far outnumber government forces.[85] Most facts give credibility to the propagation that the conflict surrounding the Ilemi triangle and its people has its origins in state neglects and marginalization by the relevant governments.

2.3.2. No Exact Boundary

Today's international order generally follows a distinct territorial definition. The leaders of such territories are the determinants of how these territories are governed. When this territorial order is contravened, history has it that the conflicts that ensue are often the most fatal and protracted.[86] In the world today, there is rivalry between many nation states, which has advanced the formation of rival groups that aggressively use violence to attain their selfish interests. These persistent conflicts, with extremely violent characteristics occur from time to time.[87]

In the North-Eastern corner of Africa, various colonial governments engaged in a contest for the borders of Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. These borders were altered to match the interests of various colonial authorities and depending on the relations and competition between them.[88] In the Horn of Africa, and probably the most serious blow to the pastoral economy in the Ilemi

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[84] Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."

[85] Kennedy Mkutu, "Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region," Saferworld (2003): 12.

[86] Hein E. Goemans, The Determinants of Territorial Conflict in Africa: A Geospatial Approach, Rochester University.

[87] Partha Gangopadhyay and Manas Chatterji, Peace Science: Theory and Cases (United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2009), xix.

[88] Gunther Schlee and Elizabeth Watson, eds., Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa: Volume II: Sudan, Uganda, and the Ethiopia-Sudan Borderlands (United Kingdom: Berghahn Books, 2013), 15.

triangle were the restrictions that came along with the colonial demarcation of boundaries. The British Colonizers in Kenya constrained the movement of communities along the border, depriving the pastoralist communities along the border of grazing land and water points. The Ilemi triangle was demarcated in the 1920s and 1930s, and guarded by an army called King's African Rifles with an aim of defending the Turkana against the Nyangatom and the Dassanech.[89]

In 1940s, the colonial administration in Kenya set up various police posts along the Ethiopian territory in areas such as Kokuro, Liwan, Lokomarinyang, Kaiemothia and Kibish. This move restricted the movement of the Nyangatom and the Dassanech to what they thought had been their long-established grazing lands. However, the Turkana benefited from this action by the colonial government since the boundary was drawn further north into the Dassanech and Nyangatom territories. This dented the Nyangatom-Turkana relationship.[90]

For decades now, Kenya has been the chief administration in the Ilemi triangle. This means that Kenya has had the most pronounced presence in the triangle. The lack of well-defined boundaries has been an excuse for state neglect and underdevelopment of the area. However, today with the prospects of the existence of minerals and oil in the Ilemi, the three countries seem to be re-focusing on this area, rendering the future of this triangle uncertain.[91]

The inexistence of boundaries shared by these three countries is in itself a driver of conflict. Armed groups and militia from the conflicting ethnic communities commit acts of violence and then retreat back to the safety of their states. For instance, at the border of Kenya and Ethiopia,

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[89] Susanne Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia: Dynamics of Social Categorization and Differentiation (Berlin: LIT VerlagMŭnster, 2014), 65.
[90] Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia, 66.
[91] Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia, 66.

the Dassanech and Turkana cross the borders to launch attacks and cross border raids against each other right in the eyes of the police from both countries.[92] These qualms make the Ilemi territory a case of undeclared conformity where a historical trend of uncertainty, secrecy, and confusion that the present day governments of the concerned states ought to devotedly look into.[93]

2.3.3. Scarcity of Resources

Several conflicts in Africa arise from scarcity of resources. In the pastoralist arid lands, raiding is a recurrent activity during drought. Today, raiders not only make away with livestock but also property that can be a source of income in the harsh environment.[94] Experience has shown that conflicts over livestock are very vicious and leave great losses of human lives behind.[95]

In the northwestern borders of Kenya and southern Ethiopia, the Turkana and Dassenach are pastoralist ethnic communities that have been engaged in a long-standing conflict over resources which tend to be scarce in the region. Global warming has also advanced the prevalent drought in the area further, exacerbating water and land scarcity.[96]

Nearly all studies of conflict in the disputed Ilemi triangle highlight that environmental pressure leaves the arid lands of the Ilemi susceptible to conflict. Besides most of the conflict in this region being driven by other factors already discussed in this work, resource scarcity is a deep-rooted cause of volatility. The Ilemi forms a good case where prospects for employment are

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[92] Kenya-Somalia Border Conflict Analysis Conflict Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Program for East and Southern' Africa (CPMRlESA) Managing African Conflict IQC Contract No. 623-1-00-03-00050-00 Task Order 001.

[93] Christopher Vaughan and Mareike Schomerus Lotjedevries, eds., The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives (United States: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 82.

[94] Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa."

[95] Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa."

[96] Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."

desolate. The uneducated from the five communities of the Ilemi are easy targets for conscription into unlawful armed forces. Politicians and the elite take advantage of this situation to sponsor division and violence. For the pastoralists living along the borders of the Ilemi, the gap between the rich and the poor has continued to raise dissatisfaction, exasperation, vexation and hostility.[97]

2.3.4. Omo River/ Gibe Dam III/ Lake Turkana

River Omo— the water body running towards the south from its source in the Ethiopian uplands distributes 90 percent of its waters in Kenya's Lake Turkana. For half a million pastoralists from the countries involved, the right to use river Omo and Lake Turkana means a matter of life and death.[98] River Omo bypasses areas occupied by the Dassanech and Nyangatom ethnic communities. Their close neighbours in Sudan are the Toposa and Turkana from Kenya.[99]

In Lake Turkana (which is the World's major permanent desert lake) region, violence is brewing between the Dassanech of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya.[100] In the recent years, drought and diminishing inflows have had effect on the decrease of Lake Turkana from the Ethiopian territory, with the most part of the Lake now in Kenya. As the waters of River Omo, which distributes into Lake Turkana retreat, the Dassanech and other Ethiopian pastoralists have started farming and fishing further south in what is believed to be within the Kenya territory, eliciting

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[97] Kenya-Somalia Border Conflict Analysis Conflict Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Program for East and Southern' Africa (CPMRlESA) Managing African Conflict IQC Contract No. 623-1-00-03-00050-00 Task Order 001.
[98] Carr, J. C, Humanitarian Catastrophe and Regional Armed Conflict Brewing in the Transborder Region of Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan: The Proposed Gibe III Dam in Ethiopia, December 2012, accessed from http://www.arwg-gibe.org.
[99] Human Rights Watch, "Evil Days: 30 Years of War and Famine in Ethiopian" Human Rights Documents Africa 3169 (1991): 339.
[100]Brahma Chellaney, Water, Peace and War: Confronting the Global Water Crisis (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 190.

sporadic fights between the concerned ethnic communities leading to thousands of losses of life.[101]

Amid Kenya's claim that Ethiopian nationals with the help of armed groups have illegitimately inhabited Kenya's territory, the water and border disputes in the region have been multiplied. The Gibe III dam, an initiative of the Ethiopian government funded by the Chinese might decrease further the stream into the already diminishing Lake Turkana. This Kenyan-Ethiopian disputes over water is a forecast of the uncertainties that await both countries.[102]

Driven by economic interests, the government of Ethiopia with the funding of international agencies have initiated the Gibe III dam project along the lower banks of River Omo with no consideration for the grave repercussions foreseen by the environmentalists. The project to redirect the flow of the Omo River is by now ongoing, hence interfering with the flow into Lake Turkana.[103] Analysts maintain that in its haste to complete this project, the Ethiopian government fell short of evaluating the impacts of the dam construction project, thereby dishonoring international standards.[104]

2.3.5. Culture and Conflict in the Ilemi

In today's global world, understanding and tolerance are beneficial among peoples of different cultures. The Turkana, Dassanech, Nyangatom, Didinga and the Toposa communities that live along the borders of the Ilemi triangle all have distinct cultural practices which have conflict

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[101]Chellaney, Water, Peace and War, 190.
[102]Chellaney, Water, Peace and War, 191.
[103] Carr, J. C, Humanitarian Catastrophe and Regional Armed Conflict Brewing in the Transborder Region of Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan: The Proposed Gibe III Dam in Ethiopia, December 2012, accessed from http://www.arwg-gibe.org
[104]Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."

connotations and obligations associated with raiding and violence.[105] These communities of pastoralists are linked with perpetrating large scale livestock raiding among themselves. Assertions are also made that the balance of power between these groups correlates with the holding of arms. Commercialization of cattle raiding and the politicization of violence in the region has notably augmented the levels of raiding and is, promoting economic, social and political changes at the border area.

Among the pastoralists, there exist clearly-defined customary systems of use of the grazing areas through well-defined migration routes and conservation of grass and watering points. When there is no alternative for negotiation especially when friendly neighbours have all lost herds, raiding becomes the only viable alternative for replenishing stock and for survival. Traditionally, raiding was a cultural enterprise carried out strictly for restocking purposes among pastoralists. Raiding was used to replenish depleted herds. After drought or when disease ravaged herds of one group, pastoralists often negotiated for stock among their neighbours which they paid back after replenishment and stability. As such raiding was a last resort when loaning had failed or when the whole neighbourhood where such animals could be borrowed were equally in short supply of livestock.[106]

Traditionally, among these communities, seizing of animals by raiders was downplayed by equating it to loss resulting from natural calamities. In the present day, this has been altered as during raiding there is loss of lives. The traditional practice of raiding has been distorted as a result of the supposed connection of some powerful political players, businessmen, and militia groups. These powerful groups are said to be using refined tactics to guarantee the

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[105] Margie Buchanan-Smith and Jeremy Lind, "Armed Violence and Poverty in Northern Kenya: A Case Study for the Armed Violence and Poverty Initiative" Centre for International Cooperation and Security CICS, (2005).
[106] Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa."

accomplishment of the raids. Some of the tactics consist of detailed arrangement and implementation of raids, application of sophisticated armaments, use of Lorries for transportation of stolen animals, and finding an instant market for the animals. This complicates rescue and recovery of the raided animals.[107] As the rate of recurrence of raiding activities rises, the sequence of revenge attacks and violent conflict in the Ilemi triangle also deepens.[108]

On the whole, despite their historical connection, the Nyangatom and Turkana have become archenemies locked in protracted bloody fighting and livestock raiding. The Turkana are often portrayed as deceitful, untrustworthy, aggressors, merciless killers, and averse to reconciliation by the Nyangatom. Since defending the people and livestock of the Nyangatom is considered a duty, and since revenge against strong enemies brings prestige, the Nyangatom people revere killing and raiding the Turkana and other enemies.[109]

2.4. Conflict Dynamics

2.4.1. Availability of Illegal Weapons

According to Weiss,[110] the availability of automatic weapons is possibly one of the key components of pastoral conflict and indeed are part of a vicious conflict cycle. As noted by Buchanan-Smith, the sophisticated weaponry available in the Ilemi region, mainly come from trade between the neighbouring communities of these countries bordering each other that are also caught up in long histories of conflict.[111]

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[107]Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia, 68.
[108]Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia, 68.
[109]Epple, Creating and Crossing Boundaries in Ethiopia, 68.
[110] Taya Weiss, "Guns in the Borderlands Reducing the Demand for Small Arms," in Monograph 95 (2004): 27.
[111]Margie Buchanan-Smith and Jeremy Lind, "Armed Violence and Poverty in Northern Kenya: A Case Study for the Armed Violence and Poverty Initiative" Centre for International Cooperation and Security CICS, (2005).

The border areas of the Ilemi triangle are perhaps the remotest regions of the world. The peoples of these regions have never been entirely controlled by their respective states. In the 1980s, the violence between the peoples of the Ilemi transformed with the coming of contemporary firearms. The firearms led to arming of various groups by their governments. The consequences were unmatched figures of death. The big number of deaths recorded led the Kenyan government to intervene militarily, a move that may in future provoke similar responses from the other governments.[112]

In the past, the conflict between pastoralist communities was fought with traditional weaponry such as spears. Today in the Ilemi triangle it is supposed that every male above 17 carries a weapon.[113] With the arrival of colonialists, came the flare-up of firearms that have been used against the traditional cultural values where during raids respect for the lives of the women, children and the elderly was observed.[114] It is said that guns were first brought to the Dassanech people in 1898 by businessmen and defence force coming to Ethiopia. Since then guns have been flooded in the Dassanech community by the Ethiopian government for them to defend their borders. As from 1978 the Kenyan government has also been alleged to be providing guns to the Turkana people. The guns and bullets are always acquired in exchange for livestock.[115]

A lot of questions have been raised about the role of states in their provision of security and administration in the Ilemi triangle. Security is the most important need a country can provide to its citizens. The wide-ranging unlawful ownership of firearms is suggestive of states' failure and

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[112] Human Rights Watch, "Evil Days: 30 Years of War and Famine in Ethiopia" 339.
[113] Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."
[114] Nene Mburu, "Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa," The African Studies Quarterly (2003) accessed from http://www.africa.ufl.edu/
[115] Powers, "Climate Change and the Turkana and Merille Conflict."

disregard of security in the Ilemi triangle.[116] The deplorable state of abandonment portrayed by different states in the Ilemi triangle has continued to sustain violent criminal activities that go almost unabated. This state of affairs has caused a situation where communities own firearms in order to protect their survival.

2.4.2. Insecurity

Insecurity is irrefutably a chief contributor to any disorder. Security is a key component and a necessary condition at the same time of any peacebuilding attempt. Unfortunately, insecurity in the Ilemi Triangle is a major cause of conflict between the communities that border this region. Traditionally elders among most pastoralist communities were vital to peaceful co-existence among different ethnic communities and communities need not have taken an oath of peace to co-exist peacefully.[117]

Today, the influence of the elders towards peaceful co-existence in these communities has diminished drastically. Peacebuilding attempts by elders today tend to be imposed and their meetings end up serving the interests of a few in the maintenance of conflict. Today peacebuilding gatherings involving elders are planned in conference halls, rendering elders contribution towards conflict resolution futile. Such gatherings are stripped off any binding traditional observances and rituals, while its partakers are perceived to be motivated by a sitting allowance only. This adversely loads on the elder's contribution towards security in the Ilemi triangle.[118]

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[116]Jan Kamenju Mwachofi and Francis Wairagu, "Terrorized Citizens: Profiling Small Arms and Insecurity in the Northern Kenya" An Oxfam Report (2003).
[117] Kennedy A. Mkutu, African Issues: Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2008), 26.
[118] Mkutu, African Issues, 26-27.

In a similar conception of insecurity as a cause of conflict in the Ilemi triangle, raiding and killing which are main contributors to insecurity generate a climate of fear of the ethnic other which would not be the case if the particular ethnic community felt that their lives and livestock are secured by the state. Raiding and killing have further caused unending violent revenge attacks among communities. For these communities, revenge is as a result of loss of members of the ethnic other in a violent conflict situation. For the group that sustains losses, the question is not whether or not to revenge; rather it is simply a matter of planning and executing the revenge attacks at the appropriate time.[119]

For the people of the Ilemi, insecurity is a twofold phenomenon. They face insecurity of their lives as well as that of their livestock. During raiding, and pursuing of the raiders to recover seized livestock, lots of lives are lost. Security in the Ilemi triangle will entail protecting all the ethnic communities that straddle the disputed area. For quite some time now proliferation of small fire arms has been attributed to violent conflict between pastoral ethnic communities. Availability of these fire arms and indiscriminate use of the firearms makes members of various ethnic communities vulnerable to insecurity. Communities acquire firearms to protect themselves and their livestock. Proliferation of guns is irrefutably an indication of state failure to guarantee security and to secure the control on the use of violence.[120]

On a different note, insecurity in the Ilemi triangle is sustained because police service is under-equipped. In addition, the training they undergo does not adequately prepare the police to execute the rule of law over the acts of impunity. Typically, criminals who commit violent acts against the other ethnic communities are often arrested, and then released on the grounds of lack

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[119]Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa."
[120]Herrera, Pastoralist Conflict in the Horn of Africa, 43.

of evidence, for example. Therefore, the incidents of arresting the participants of interethnic violence, although serve as proof of insecurity, are not sufficient enough to make a significant change in terms of creating peaceful environment.[121]

2.4.3. "Us" versus "them" Attitude

Identity is another source of conflict in the Ilemi triangle. Identity in itself is positive and in fact an important characteristic of any community. However, it can be the basis of conflict, especially when it takes the nature of "us" versus "them" contrast. The Ilemi triangle is an area that is highly politically-ethicized. For the communities that engage in conflict in this area, "us" is one's ethnic group whereas "them" are those who are ethnically different from "us". The "us" are alike in indispensable ways and share nothing in common with the "them".[122] This contradictory thinking, so pervasive in the Ilemi triangle upholds the perception of the other as not at all like "us". The contrast enhances the perception of "them" (e.g. Dassanech, Turkanas, Didinga, Nyangatom, Toposa) as extremely different, in so doing providing grounds for discriminatory practices which favour the "us" against the "them".

Shared history is an ethnic marker for the communities that straddle the Ilemi triangle. This shared history determines how social confines and relationships between the Turkanas, Dassanech, Didinga, Nyangatom, and Toposa are maintained. It denotes shared experiences and memories. These tend to be used to justify violent conflict behaviour against the ethnic other with different histories and memories.[123]

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[121] Mkutu, African Issues, 23.
[122] Aquiline Tarimo, "Competing Identities, Loyalties and Interests," in Ethnicity, Conflict and the Future of African States, eds., Aquiline and Paulin Manwelo (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2009), 26.
[123] Maximiano Ngabirano, Conflict and Peace Building: Theological and Ethical Foundations for a Political Reconstruction of the Great Lates Region in Africa (Kampala: Uganda Martyrs University Book Series, 2010), 213.

In the Ilemi triangle, language is the most extensively used benchmark for determining ethnic community difference. However, for ethnic communities that border each other language alone may not be enough. For instance, there are Dassanechs who speak Turkana and vice versa. The fact that one is multilingual is nonetheless not always a plus. There are incidences of people being killed by the members of their own community only because they were speaking the language of their adversaries. While spying is an important aspect of planning a raid, bilingual people are very useful for each side and a threat at the same time.

Executers of violent attacks often have no regrets for doing so. There is an attitude that there is nothing to feel sorry about, or to apologize for. There are no feelings of self-restrain, because conscience is not bothered. The executers of violent acts often do not feel remorseful, and psychological egoism triumphs over considerations of ethics and morality.[124] Feeling remorseful would lessen the frequency of occurrence of violent conflict and, in doing so, contribute to decreasing insecurity.

2.4.4. Conflict Memory

A different cause of conflict in the Ilemi triangle is animosity towards people of a different ethnic group that results from experiences of the past. Animosity is often built up as a consequence of having been injured or wronged in the past, regardless of whether the past is recent or distant.[125] The Dassanech, Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom and the Didinga are all ethnic communities that straddle the Ilemi triangle. For a long time, relations between these ethnic groups were not characterized by animosity because these communities undertook an oath not to

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[124]Herrera, Pastoralist Conflict in the Horn of Africa, 39.
[125]Ngabirano, Conflict and Peace Building, 70.

attack each other. The oath was adhered to by the warriors. Even today the oath still has some influence on the relations among members of these ethnic communities.

For example, Turkana are historical enemies of the Dassanech. The animosity between these two communities is rooted in history and culture. Male circumcision is a cultural practice of Dassanech whereas Turkana do not circumcise their males. The aspect of Dassanech- Turkana cultural difference is implicated in the animosity, both past and present. It is culturally legitimate for Dassanech to overlook Turkana because they are uncircumcised. When Dassanech raid Turkana and the latter resist they are killed because of a combination of animosity rooted in history and cultural difference.

Members of ethnic groups (Dassanech, Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom and the Didinga) posses common memories that promote feelings of distinction among them. Yet, at times, this feeling of distinctiveness becomes a source of interethnic violent conflict. Pastoral ethnic communities perform rituals pertaining to religious beliefs and cultural practice. Some of the rituals – some aspects of the rite of passage, for example – require killing a person who belongs to a certain neighbouring ethnic community. Because culture is dynamic, the practice of killing the ethnic other for reasons of rite of passage and the like is changing. Nevertheless, it is a case that only a particular ethnic community is targeted for killing its members in the interests of religious belief, magic, witchcraft, divination, and rite of passage.[126]

Conflict memory continues to be a motivation for attacking, injuring and killing. Each community has memorized the incidences of violent attacks by their adversaries, and as a result the feelings of hatred have gradually been built up and passed over the decades to generations.

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[126] Mkutu, African Issues, 18-27.

The long standing hatred is not therefore an outcome of recent events, but rather a cultural moral obligation that the current generation must embrace, respect and pass to the next one. Such memories certainly do not help processes of reconciliation as all communities feel that some kind of reparation must be done before peace is restored.

2.4.5. Conflict Intractability

When destructive conflicts persist for long periods of time and resist every attempt to resolve them constructively, they can appear to take on a life of their own. Such conflicts are known as intractable conflicts.[127] Intractable conflicts can occur between states, ethnic groups and even spouses. Intractable conflicts between states can become increasingly intricate and become a threat to basic human needs and values. Some conflicts such as the territorial dispute between three countries in the Ilemi triangle have persisted for centuries.

Some conflicts explode and are resolved amicably in a short time, while others just resist any effort of termination. The deep-rooted dispute over the Ilemi triangle has over the years bred additional aggression and bloodshed. The Ilemi triangle dispute has not just been persistent, it is also more likely to be violent and vicious, and certainly more complex to resolve. Deep-rooted feelings of fear and enmity have made the Ilemi dispute very difficult to deal with, let alone resolve. Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan are currently trapped in negative relations and aggression. This pattern keeps persisting and exacerbating, with those concerned incapable of controlling the escalation of conflict.[128]

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[127]Peter T. Coleman, "Intractable Conflict," in The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice, eds., Morton Deutsch et al. (United States: Jossey-Bass, 2006), 533-559.
[128]Jacob Bercovich. "Characteristics of Intractable Conflicts." Accessed August 13 2011. http://www.beyondintractability.org/action/essay.jsp?id=29671&nid=1005.

2.4.6. Social Exclusion and Marginalization in the Ilemi Triangle

As a multi-dimensional and context-based issue, social exclusion poses as a very difficult concept to define, yet a clear and accurate understanding of the concept is necessary if the issue is to be effectively and appropriately defined. Smith draws a number of elements within which to define social exclusion. Smith highlights that social exclusion may include:

> "disadvantage in relation to certain norms of social, economic or political activity pertaining to individuals, households, spatial areas or population groups; the social, economic and institutional processes through which disadvantage comes about; and the outcomes or consequences for individuals, groups or communities."[129]

Social exclusion dispossesses communities of alternatives and openings to escape from poverty and deprives them of a voice to claim their right. Communities that are discriminated against frequently end up being cut-off from society, the economy and political involvement and contribution. As a result, these people are more pushed to poverty. They are predisposed to denied access of income, assets and services. These communities suffer from social exclusion and because of this poverty reduction is almost impossible.[130]

In the Horn of Africa's contested frontier—the Ilemi Triangle bears witness to some of the worst forms of social exclusion and marginalization of the present day. The Ilemi is susceptible to prevalent rates of violent attacks, famine, diseases, repression, access to and use of unlawful weapons. Although the Ilemi region has been claimed by different governments, by and large, social exclusion and marginalization continue manifesting themselves as public administration services, such as the legal system, education, basic infrastructural facilities, security apparatus, roads and health services, as well as in the community and in the entire societies are insufficient.

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[129]Janie Percy Smith, ed., Social Exclusion: Towards Inclusion (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 3.
[130]Michael Edwards and David Hulme, eds., Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd, 1993), 13.

Quite often the agent of marginalization is the state in terms of its virtual failure to provide political goods. Provision of political goods could be the first step in coming up with alternatives to pastoralism. Coming up with the alternatives to pastoralism is blocked by the existing institutional arrangements. They are frustrated but cannot attack the government. The ethnic other is the 'scapegoat' of their frustrations. Social exclusion and marginalization have had incredible negative effects on development in the Ilemi triangle which scores the lowest in human development index.[131] People of the Ilemi triangle have been prevented from participating fully in their development as well as their societies. Consequently, marginalization fosters aggression and leads to conflict. In this sense, the area under study can be considered by all means a marginalized area. It is important to note that when organizational barriers that block people's attainment of their livelihoods, human development and equal rights are dismantled, there are great chances that conflict may reduce.

There is a shared feeling among the members of the Turkana, Dassanech, Didinga, Toposa and Nyangatom communities that their various state institutions are paying inefficient attention towards the empowerment of their communities. Lack of fairness disadvantages these ethnic communities in socio-economic terms. Competition for resources is an aspect used to express injustice that the communities employ in order to be considered equal with their opponents. The negative competition brings resistance by one community that results in physical fights or raids.

In the Ilemi triangle, it has been established that social exclusion is a sprouting threat that has been highlighted by various civil society partners who are doing a vast amount to give excluded

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[131]United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), (2010), 'Kenya National Human Development Report 2009', Nairobi.

groups a voice, to make certain their involvement in poverty reduction programmes and to fabricate social engagements that stipulate stronger responsibility.

2.5. Conflict Intervention in the Ilemi Triangle

2.5.1. Track I Conflict Prevention- Governments

Internationally, it is ratified that the chief role of conflict prevention is vested in the hands of the local government. Some scholars argue that community participation in local peace building initiatives enhances ownership and sustainability. The support from outsiders' is merely to facilitate favourable environment for successful achievement of the peacebuilding efforts.[132]

The government of Kenya has initiated various programs geared towards peacebuilding. For example, the county government arrangement consists of a County Commissioner whose major role is to harmonize the obligations and roles of the government as well as to boost cordial relations, both within the borders of Kenya and without. The District Peace Committees (DPC), an initiative of the government was started to keep an eye on and advance coexistence in the areas befallen by violent conflict. In addition, and despite the many challenges faced, the government of Kenya is alleged to have strengthened safety measures, through establishment of security patrols, both within the borders and without. The Kenyan authorities have tried to put up security by putting up police posts in the regions affected by conflict.[133]

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[132]Catherine Barnes, "Governments and CSOS: Complexity of Engagement" in Joint Action for Prevention: Civil Society and Government Cooperation on Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding, Paul Van Tongeren, et al. (The Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2007), 16.

[133] Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya, downloaded at www.pragya.org

2.5.2 Track II Conflict Prevention- NGOs

The Ilemi triangle in the Horn of Africa offers some cases of agencies that keep on playing important tasks in prevention of conflicts in the region. One such organization is the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). This agency's inception dates back to the 1980s after a persistent famine left many counties in the Horn devastated. IGAD was initiated with an aim of countering the foreseen drought in the horn that threatened to decrease the occurrence of rainfall and harvests. Additionally, the intruding "desertification" and the resultant ecological repercussions coupled with resource depletion threatened to aggravate food security.[134]

In Eastern Africa region, IGAD has allocated a delegate whose role is to keep track of conflict early warning signs at the grassroots. Through IGAD, the government of Kenya and that of Ethiopia even made efforts to hold diplomatic talks to attempt settling the border disputes. With their efforts, a group of evaluators was sent by the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments to establish and draw the boundaries. However, this has since been left unaccomplished, making the efforts of both governments to unite their communities futile.[135]

In the Ilemi region are also local Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) and human rights advocates in an effort to realize peace in the region. Grassroots organizations have been extremely on the go in the region, especially along the Kenyan border. These organizations are composed of different groups of people with different interests in politics, economics, while some are development minded. These groups have been transformed over the years and today form a vibrant network of peacebuilding organizations.

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[134]Lionel Cliffe, "Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Horn of Africa," Third World Quarterly 20 (1999): 89-111.
[135] Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya, downloaded at www.pragya.org

The groups have in the recent past offered responses to conflict such as communication, offer professional expertise and skills in conflict prevention.[136]

2.5.3. Traditional Structures and Mechanisms

Often conflicts result from misinterpretations whose origins are divergent cultural beliefs and the connotation attached to gestures.[137] Conflicts, although a little contained now, have been commonplace in the north of Kenya and the neighbouring regions for a long time. As a result, traditional conflict prevention measures have been initiated, and as the dynamics of conflict take on new trends, the traditional management structures are getting more and more unproductive in preventing conflict, and they might require transformation. Some of the measures are discussed in the subsequent pages of this work.

2.5.3.1. Council of Elders

A key characteristic of the pastoralist communities is the respect accorded to elders. The elders convene with other important community members to make key decisions concerning the entire community. These prominent members are also involved in laying down the rules and regulations, that community member are obliged to follow, failure to which warrants punishment. Among the Turkana, authority is often the domain of men, although today some integrate women and the youth. This authority is charged with the mandate of dispute-settlement, rules and regulations of grazing and safety of the community.

Some of the roles for elders seen between Turkana of Kenya and Dassanech of Ethiopia call for the intervention of what would be the present day peace envoy, that is always accompanied by

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[136] Kenya-Somalia Border Conflict Analysis Conflict Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Program for East and Southern' Africa (CPMRlESA) Managing African Conflict IQC Contract No. 623-1-00-03-00050-00 Task Order 001.

[137] Russell J. Leng, and Patrick M. Regan, "Social and Political Cultural Effects on the Outcomes of Mediation in Militarized Interstate Disputes," International Studies Quarterly 47(2003): 431-452.

dialogue among representatives from both communities. The peace envoy's role then is to ask forgiveness on behalf of his community, usually a delegate from the communities divided by conflict. The delegate then moves towards the delegate from the rival community as he waves a fair feather to symbolize a pleasant visit. The delegate was then given a go ahead to convey the message of peace, after which elders from both communities would convene, dialogue and settle the dispute.[138]

2.5.3.2. Inter-Ethnic Alliances and Marriages

Inter-ethnic marriages are another conflict prevention mechanism embraced by the communities of the Ilemi region to help reduce interethnic violent conflicts. In some incidences, some ethnic communities form coalitions to defend each other from attacks and together prevent violence. These coalitions also act as a restraint against hostility. Ethnic communities such as the Turkana and Dassanech intermarry to help neutralize the bad blood between members of both communities. Such inter-marriages have in some instances restrained interethnic attacks in the region.[139]

2.5.3.3. Compensation for Losses

Compensation for losses is a traditional move towards conflict prevention. This mechanism involves returning the stolen livestock and working hand in hand as communities divided by conflict to guard each other's pastures against damage by animals.[140]

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[138]Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya, downloaded at www.pragya.org
[139]Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya, downloaded at www.pragya.org
[140]Conflict Assessment Northern Kenya, downloaded at www.pragya.org

2.5.3.4. Resource Management Agreements

The communities of pastoralists that have common pastures and water points regularly negotiate and arrive at a mutual agreement on the utilization of the scarce pastures and water. These agreements are extremely strong and above all valuable for the duration of droughts.

2.6. Findings

The concept and practice of Conflict Prevention has evolved from being focused almost exclusively on Preventive Diplomacy, to a new more comprehensive approach that can be defined as Structural Prevention. This new approach includes long-term initiatives targeting the root causes of conflict. However, the evolution of Conflict Prevention as a practice will depend on the necessary resources being committed to Conflict Prevention initiatives in the future. In Africa, and in the Ilemi Triangle, Conflict Prevention faces serious problems in this respect because it is extremely difficult to evaluate whether conflict prevention initiatives have had major impact on mitigation of conflict.

Conflict prevention theory postulates that knowledge of the root causes of conflict is fundamental in choosing the right strategies for prevention and the right targets for intervention. The Conflict prevention approach implies looking at the causes while thinking about the solutions. In the Ilemi Triangle context, the literature reveals that the underlying causes of conflict have not been clearly understood. Preventive intervention is more effective when addressing some factors rather than others, each entailing different policy implications.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter having highlighted the conflict causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle presented a growing body of literature. The review focused on depicting the historiographical issues, the nature of conflict, the context of the Ilemi Triangle and the issues leading to conflicts and the dynamics of conflict. The focuses on the aforementioned topics provide an opportunity to better understand the drivers of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle. Presenting the nature of conflict, the context, the issues leading to conflicts and the dynamics of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle is key for the realization of the goal of this study. In order to design a framework for conflict early warning in the Ilemi Triangle, an understanding of these factors is mandatory.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter delves into the theoretical issues that informed the emergence of early warning. The study contends that the changing trends of conflict in Africa led to the emergence of early warning and that for early warning to have an impact, decision makers ought to comprehend the background that informed the development of the concept as well as the practice. This is essential in informing systems that are conversant with the context of Africa.

Internationally, there are increasing efforts among various actors to construct different models for early warning. This chapter illustrates the numerous harms which for the most part have been caused by lack of cooperation and political goodwill. This fact, coupled with shortcomings on how decisions are made by governments on when to act on early warnings are highlighted as the major contributors that led to humanitarian failures in different parts of the world.

The chapter further critically looks at the signs of early warning that constitute the factors that led to the emergence of early warning. The chapter utilizes the conflict prevention theory to access the concept and practice of conflict early warning and response, thus laying the foundation for the discussion on the role and impact of early warning systems in Africa in chapter four.

3.2. Conceptualizing Conflict Early Warning and Early Response

In more basic terms, early warning is perceived as data collection and dissemination. For conflict to be forecasted, information about its characteristics is crucial on one hand and the situation at risk on the other hand. Early warning is also perceived as the dissemination of information, highlighting the magnitude of data collected. Just merely having a regularly-updated database on states at risk of conflict, whose data has been shared among interested parties, is not exhaustive of an early warning system.[141] Conflict early warning therefore refers to the examining and tracking of early indications of impending conflict, with a purpose of foreseeing possible dangers in time and acting effectively.

Scholars are in agreement that a successful intervention to conflict is one that is able to contain conflict in its premature phases. It is for that reason that scholars root for a characterization of early warning that denotes specific types of violence rather than just large-scale warfare, which often manifest in the later stages of a conflict. Therefore early warning, characterized as a tool for conflict prevention should help to a certain extent, to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict by way of a so-called "early response". Such an intervention could include a variety of both (military and non-military) intervention by stakeholders, such as states, international organizations or individual intermediaries.[142]

Early warning as defined by Jonathan Whittall denotes "initiatives that focus on systematic data collection, analysis and/or formulation of recommendations, including risk assessment and information sharing." The purpose is to initiate or draw early responses that happens at the latent stages of an anticipated violent conflict, with an aim of averting, lessening, resolving, or

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[141] Galletti, Piracy and Maritime Terrorism, 44.
[142] Mahmoud Musa/Dr. Yana Korobko, The Shifting Global Balance of Power: Perils of a World War and Preventive Measures (USA: Xlibris Corporation, 2014), 299.

changing circumstances that may increase the likelihood of violent conflict breaking out. Some of the most crucial activities in the course of early warning consist of information gathering and verification, analysis, mapping and monitoring, and estimation of risks, informing, advocacy, monitoring, and evaluation.[143]

Warning happens when predictive conclusions and a verification to support them are produced and disseminated to various stakeholders. Thus warning entails championing for well-timed and proper restorative actions as "response options" for prevention and transformation before conflict intensifies. This perspective presupposes a consistent, well-timed, and regular practice, in which inputs and decision-making processes about the information that is disseminated are comprehensible and sufficiently flexible to produce well-timed interventions. Reality, on the other hand, reveals the contrary, whereby decisions to intervene in situations of impending violence are time and again subjected to concerns over interests or sovereignty of states or are postponed as a result of reservations over who should in fact take action and under whose authorization.[144]

3.3. Factors that Led to the Emergence of Early Warning

There are two main schools of thought that inform the origins of the Early Warning System. Historically speaking, some authors hold that early warning emanated from a military origin whilst some ascribe its development to an altruistic frame of reference. Pursuant to the first perspective, early warning emerged during the Cold War in the broad area of national military intelligence to reinforce and strengthen the anticipation of impending aggression. On the contrary, the second school of thought postulates that early warning has emerged as a system of

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[143] Sheri P. Rosenberg, Tibi Galis, and Alex Zucker, Reconstructing Atrocity Prevention (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[144] Rosenberg, Galis, and Zucker, Reconstructing Atrocity Prevention.

foretelling threats, largely to anticipate natural disasters calamities such as floods, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. In the wake of the 1980s, early warning was also used for forecasting fiscal situations of the stock exchange. Important to note however is that, the emergence of early warning is a direct response to disasters that affected individuals and communities as a whole. For this reason, the focal point of early warning embarked on humanitarian issues and also incorporated famine and refugee migration in the late 1980s. These movements were spearheaded by relief organizations that are mainly non-governmental, making them the first actors to use early warning as a system of humanitarian assistance.[145]

Sébastien Jodoin and Marie-Claire Cordonier Segger argue that the primary goal in the prevention of international crimes is singling out cases that may cause their commission. Just like Birikit Terefe Tiruneh, Sébastien Jodoin and Marie-Claire Cordonier Segger affirm that in the 1970s and 1980s, the initial conflict early warning methodologies were deliberately devised as a medium of safeguarding and defending life. After the gradual end of the Cold War, early warning approaches significantly shaped the political agenda, despite the tools proving incapable to avert the 1994 Rwandan genocide, neither did they transform the conflict in the Balkans. Following the Rwandan genocide, the Steering Committee of the joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda established that substantive information was obtainable that, if assembled and assessed, would have hinted to the policy makers that both political assassinations and mass killings were bound to arise. These events of the Rwandan genocide provoked institutional efforts from international organizations and academics to correlate, elaborate, and advance early

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[145] Birikit Terefe Tiruneh, Establishing an Early Warning System in the African Peace and Security Architecture: Challenges and Prospects, KAIPTC Occasional Paper No. 29 September 2010

warning systems. The core of prevention was however, restricted to mass atrocities. Most of the current early warning systems today center on intolerance, ethnic tension, and racial hatred.[146]

In was not until 1992 that early warning as a system of conflict prevention was founded in the UN Secretariat after the then Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali's report, '*An Agenda for Peace*', emphasized the connection between humanitarian action and the peace process. In his report, Boutros Boutros Ghali acknowledged the "valuable work" of the early warning system in averting environmental risks, the threat of nuclear disasters, natural catastrophies, mass movements of people, the danger of food crisis and the spread of diseases. The former Secretary General further stressed that "there is a need to strengthen arrangements in such a manner that information from these sources can be synthesized with political indicators to assess whether a threat to peace exists and to analyze what action might be taken by the UN to alleviate it."[147]

In a different turn of events, the nature of conflict in Africa, the increasing death toll and the weight of human rights violations, augmented the high cost of peacekeeping and other post-conflict efforts that awoke the international community and African authorities to contemplate on conflict prevention. This led to a paradigm shift in the direction of early warning to the advancement of knowledge-based approaches that reinforced the decision maker's capacity to unearth important policy developments in a well-timed manner. What followed as the institution of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in 1992. This was not functional until June 1993 with the enactment of the Cairo Declaration which founded the Central Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. Whereas the Cairo

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[146] Sébastien Jodoin, and Marie-Claire Cordonier Segger, Sustainable Development, International Criminal Justice, and Treaty Implementation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 333.
[147] Birikit Terefe Tiruneh, Establishing an Early Warning System in the African Peace and Security Architecture: Challenges and Prospects, KAIPTC Occasional Paper No. 29 September 2010.

Declaration constituted most of the AU institutions (such as the Peace Fund) and traditions (such as the use of eminent persons) that were afterwards incorporated in the PSC Protocol, it failed to particularly allow for the institution of a body for early warning. The specific mention of an early warning system at the level of the OAU Heads of State emerged in the Yaoundé Declaration of 1996 which followed a June 1995 OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, that adopted a proposition introduced by then Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim for the formation of a continental early warning system. Subsequently, early warning as an organ of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) was actively advanced in 2004 under the Peace and Security Secretariat of the African Union. The PSC incorporates the Continental Early Warning System in addition to the other organs under the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Since its establishment the CEWS has transformed. Key among the transformations is the incorporation of the eight Regional Organizations as key actors, the classification of indicators for data gathering and the formation of the situation room in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Actualizing the aims of CEWS has not been easy and has sparked different contests and discussions, especially about the purpose of EW and how and when to use it.[148]

3.4. Key Stages in Conflict Early Warning

Marwala and Lagazio argue that the preliminary step of conflict early warning is completely intertwined with conflict prevention. In fact, early warning has been held as a tool of conflict deterrence that aids in establishing the likely occurrence of violent conflicts and how to arbitrate and avert these conflicts. As conceived by Alexander, early warning denotes a series of activities whose intentions are to accumulate, join together and evaluate records with the sole purpose of

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[148] Birikit Terefe Tiruneh, Establishing an Early Warning System in the African Peace and Security Architecture: Challenges and Prospects, KAIPTC Occasional Paper No. 29 September 2010.

discovering and categorizing the preliminary indications of an upcoming predicament prior to explosion. In practice, early warning entails three steps: information gathering (data collection), processing and analysis (detection), translation and signalling (prognosis).[149]

Scholars who have intensively studied early warning make a distinction between two stages in the operationalization of this tool. The first one is that of gathering and evaluating information that may be regarded as characteristic of an impending violent conflict. If the analysis reveals a looming conflict, and that timely response can make a change, the early warning process then assumes a subsequent phase: a warning is relayed to the political decision-makers who should take the necessary action to ensure the violence is prevented.[150]

3.4.1. Collection of Conflict Early Warning Data

Collection of early warning data is an imperative stage of the entire process. More importantly, data collection enables tracking of an event or events and their effects as well as how these events affect stakeholders. In a similar conception, Leatherman emphasizes that data collection makes up a key element of an early warning system. However, Leatherman holds that the "reliability" and "validity" of the data gathered must be observed for any achievements to be met in the execution of early warning systems. Leatherman recommends that it is a necessity for early warning systems to have the power of being systematic, investigative and must possess the institutional competence to process, calculate and make use of any incoming information. An appropriate early warning system ends up with an assessment that informs a political decision of taking or not taking an action.[151] On a positive note, the wide-ranging toil in and outside

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[149] Tshiidzi Marwala, and Monica Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling Using Computational Intelligence: Advanced Information and Knowledge Processing (London: Springer-Verlag, 2011), 220.
[150] Mahmoud Musa/Dr. Yana Korobko, The Shifting Global Balance, 299.
[151] Leatherman et al., Breaking Cycles of Violence: Conflict Prevention in Intrastate Crises (n.p.), 39.

academic circles, tied with the information insurgency, has enhanced access to information. Mwaûra and Cirû are however keen to warn that, easy access to information does not automatically impact on indicators. Indicators are determined through comprehensive analysis that categorizes the multifaceted causes that may lead to escalation of armed conflict. Today, monitoring of major early warning indicators has not been given due attention. Nevertheless, most analysts contend that tailoring early warning around groups of "family" indicators is useful. The figure below shows a graphic display of such an analytical and monitoring framework.[152]

Root Causes	Proximate Causes	Positive Intervening Factors	A R M E D C O N F L I C T
Used to assess the risk potential of a country Necessary but not sufficient causes of armed conflict Mostly state-change only slowly overtime Embedded in historical /cultural context Can be instrumentalized Examples are: • Ethnic diversity • Colonial history • Economic	Can create conditions (with the root causes) armed conflict Interplay with root causes Closer in time to the outbreak of armed conflict May change overtime Often linked to the (in) ability or willingness of a government to cope with a situation Examples are: • Government type • Increase in poverty level	Decreasing the likelihood of conflict Example: civil society initiative **Negative Intervening Factors** Increasing the likelihood of conflict Example: arms trade	

Figure 3: Graphic display of such an analytical and monitoring framework

Adopted from **Mwaûra, Cirû, and Schmeidl, 2002, p. 80.**

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[152] Cirû Mwaûra and Susanne Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management in the Horn of Africa (Eritrea: The Red Sea Press, 2002), 79.

Chen et al. have grouped indicators into:

> "Systemic-general underlying, structural, deep-rooted (e.g. economic disparity, historic oppression, high military expenditure); proximate- specific situational circumstances (e.g. increasing insecurity on streets, frequency of political arrests); triggers-electoral fraud, political assassination, new and enforced discriminatory policies."[153]

In early warning, two major elements—root cause and proximate causes are given consideration. Root causes include pervasive factors that form the foundation of a people and may form the pre-conditions for violence. According to Clark, root causes are a deep-rooted state of affairs that have been passed on for generations, and their change is gradual. Root causes are entrenched in a people's way of life. Root causes are hence crucial for the overall evaluation of a country's risk potential.[154]

Proximate causes on the other hand are close in proximity to the real conflict and can be the breeding site for armed conflict. Proximate causes contribute to a climate favourable for violent conflict or advance its intensity, at times actually indicative of a deeper problem. These are definite situations such as an enlarged income difference, antagonism between ethnic groups, uprisings. As such, proximate causes may transform with time and often follow a government's capability/failure or readiness/reluctance to correct situations[155] (for instance a government's failure to put up laws that enhance fairness in the political and economic spheres of an especially ethnically diverse society).

Intervening factors also known as accelerators have a two-fold effect. They can either augment or reduce the chances of armed conflict and augment or reduce the prospects of peace (hence contributing to the intractability of conflict or contributing to conflict resolution). Specialists

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[153] Chen Hsinchun et. al, Terrorism Informatics: Knowledge Management and Data Mining for Homeland Security (New York: Springer, 2008), 117.
[154] Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 80.
[155] Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 80.

have reached a consensus that aiding and restraining factors to conflict escalation are key to note for anticipation of events that could act as accelerators as well as devising strategies and organizing effective responses.

Lund on the other hand holds that collection of data and analysis are significant, not only for predicting conflict, but also for devising suitable response strategies for particular conflict contexts. The Rwandan case point to the international community's was inability to comprehend the events that took place in April 1994. Lund postulates that one reason for the failure on the part of the international community was the community's failure to gather and evaluate the options that were present. Just like Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Lund also advances that early warning calls for accuracy, complete and logical data on conflict which he maintains most early warning responses lack. Rupesinghe further recommends that the collection of precise and consistent information in a logical manner is better executed by a well-established network, composed of both the external and internal organizations, where early warning work is decentralized and roles given on the basis of a proper division of labour. Regional attempts such as the continental early warning system that was initiated in 1995 by the then African Union in Addis Ababa, were some efforts in that direction.[156]

Conversation on the most excellent systematic technique of information gathering set in the academic circles at some stage in the 1970s and concluded that both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are important for comprehensive analysis of information from areas of crisis. Researchers of quantitative studies concur that systems with a more macro-level structural approach are above all valuable in producing risk assessments despite the fact that quantitative approaches possess limitations of data availability in general and chronological data in particular.

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[156]Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modelling, 224.

Approaches that have attempted to use many explanatory variables have been met with difficulties and complexities of setting off variables in a way that can use existing data sources. These macro-level approaches nonetheless set the precedence for analysis, as well as the micro-level approaches which are essential for the real monitoring course of action or to predict conflict. Accordingly, in view that structural approaches lead analysis to the extent that they are based on certain postulations, in many cases it has proved impossible to attain the necessary data to prove hypothetical arguments. Based on this, an all-encompassing approach that merges indicator models with case evidence is encouraged. Mwaûra and Schmeidl argue that:

> "Indicator models provide general information about factors that should be monitored, while case studies provide in-depth information about key personalities, issues, events that are needed to gauge the prospects for conflict resolution. The necessary detailed information often aids in fine-tuning data accurately to anticipate conflicts that can often be gained only through a context-sensitive qualitative approach."157

As discussed earlier in this work data gathering has already portrayed the fact that violent conflict is caused by a set of various interrelated causes. Whereas information gathering is connected to a broad-spectrum of vital categories, early warning analysts are encouraged to begin on a case-by-case foundation, the specific factors, the influence each factor has as well as a classification of the most crucial ones, and the origin. For this reason it is significant to devise a country-specific analytical framework with targeted indicators.[158]

Finally, Leatherman et al argue that data gathering is only but just one part of the entire system of an early warning. They remind that analysis and appropriate dissemination of information are other crucial elements of the general structure. The picture perfect combination of all the roles executed by different actors in the early warning system present a difficult challenge.

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[157]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 82.
[158]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 83.

Suggestions have been made to incorporate the early warning information provided by NGOs with official local and global systems for early warning. The Commission on Global Governance suggested the formation of an international system for linking early warning information gathered by a range of actors the world over.[159] However, Leatherman is sceptical that a number of concerns need to be tackled for suggestions of this nature to be achieved.

Chen et al. propagate that the classification of the underlying causes of conflicts necessitate data gathering and analysis. The information gathered portrays facts and statistics or a collection of facts and statistics that when tracked over time, foretell about the political and economic dynamics of a country and as such are employed in anticipating conflict. Basing on the technique of information gathering, the indicators can be qualitative, major principle to be considered in the mapping of a conflict, and quantitative, statistics-based, quantifiable records on certain countries and circumstances.[160]

As Fisher and Keashly affirm one drawback in putting forward harmonization of responses is the fact that recognizing ways of smoothening the progress of the envisaged coordination of effort is almost impossible. However, one way is the advancement of early warning systems to anticipate ethnic conflict and setting up an NGO to harmonize domestic and international methods of conflict resolution.[161]

A global framework that enhances cross-regional fertilization by widening the scale of data and practice, and by supporting contribution in the collection and investigation and fast distribution

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[159]Leatherman et al., Breaking Cycles of Violence, 41.
[160]Hsinchun et. al, Terrorism Informatics, 117-118.
[161]Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom Woodhouse, Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution (Great Britain: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 113.

of early warning data from a multiplicity of sources, is part of a continuing discussion within the social science community. Moreover, Duffy suggests that:

> An internet-based system would ensure an instant opportunity for UN officials, government officials, rebel groups, the media, NGOs, scholars, business managers, and common citizens to suggest and problem solve together. It cannot clean or monitor to silence voices, yet no one is surged with information. However, the internet-based system should show realistic outcomes for those laying down strategies to be taken seriously. The major issue[162] turns out to be what is done by policy makers with the data in circumstances of spiraling ethnic conflicts.

Succeeding Austin's categorization, early warning systems can be qualitative (FAST), quantitative (KEDS) or both (FAST). Qualitative systems are dependent on field-based analysts and use qualitative indicators, which are major aspects in the comprehension of the outburst of a conflict. News media possess incredible effect on the forecast and evaluation of a country's conflict and disaster. Event data pulled out from media informants are exploited in quantitative analysis by minimizing journalists' accounts to conclusive information that can be examined demographically. Kansas Event Data System (KEDS) reinforced in the department of political science at the University of Kansas is a completely functional machine coding system for producing event data from English language news records. The FAST (early detection of tension and interrogative) early warning system, a project of the Swiss Peace Foundation, merges both qualitative (field monitoring, fact finding and expert analysis) and quantitative techniques (event data analysis). FAST's selectivity is the employment of event data examination, self-activating dispensation of data classified into "single cooperative and conflictive events" and the dissimilarity between root causes, proximate causes and positive/negative intervention.[163]

On the other hand, it could become the task of the UN to devise an NGO called ethno-watch whose aim would be to effect a worldwide watchful structure centering on safeguarding

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[162]Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution, 113.
[163]Hsinchun et. al, Terrorism Informatics, 118.

communities from ethnic-based violence, and collecting information for an early warning record. Ethno-watch could also consolidate the roles of various characters within diverse groups to offer a data network for actors by standing-in as a clearing house and as a discussion for local NGOs.

Ethno-watch could also assist generate deliberate points of contact and organization by forming improved relationships between doings of local and outsider groups, access to distribution of resources, and devising a structure for settlement of conflict. The plan would be to not only monitor the wave of conflict but also to examine the trend. It is important to keep track of the data on the development and changes of conflicts that have been settled. Duffy advocates for the creation of the Delphi technique to ensure correspondence between various groups in different parts of the world through e-mail to ensure vigilance among the world leaders in the UN. The Delphi system is very practical for obtaining a wide variety of current technological data and proposals on particular issues that may not be obtainable in the present scholarly writing. The system aids major specialists who are disconnected by locations yet inspired by individual concerns to elucidate and contribute vital facts on a central subject.[164]

3.4.2. Analysis of Data Coming from Crisis Areas

Multifaceted structures of investigation are compulsory for scrutinizing conflicts consisting of various actors and problems. With divergent levels of difficulties, every conflict is prone to possess different chronological progressions and results. An understanding of the state of a conflict arises from exploring the background and changes of relationships between opponents. Additionally, conflict tree can be used to portray the underlying sources of conflict, noticeable anxieties, and their consequences. Drawings present a structure for demonstrating the extent of a conflict by evaluating the objectives of the actors, the kind of relationships between them, and

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[164] Ramsbotham and Woodhouse, Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution, 114.

the subject of contention. Classifying the actors in a conflict is a fundamental move preceding the comprehension of their opinions, interests, and abilities as well as the extent of outside support. The progression of interactions among actors and their social environment can be scrutinized in terms of temporary and enduring changes. A chronological order of events is to be made basing on how the major actors perceive the implication of every happening, particularly in a protracted social conflict.[165]

Conflict early warning data takes into consideration two broad types of information— quantitative data (structural, event data, statistics) and qualitative data (narrative/descriptive data/ information). Generally, analysts should be able to differentiate raw data (unprocessed indicators) from analytical data (information that has already been set into context). Preferably, the center of attention should be on raw data for analysis. However, analytical data can also be used to inform the analytical process or to compare results and theories. Early warning specialists strongly advise on a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods in order to achieve an all-encompassing approach.

Mwaûra and Schmeidl argue that information must live up to some principles; these principles they argue, include: the information must be well-timed, precise, convincing, consistent and provable.[166] The two authors however warn that standardization is extremely enviable, but very difficult to achieve. Nonetheless, employing a set of "family indicators" serves to simplify the task. Like-minded organizations are very important in supporting the collection and authentication of early warning information. This allows consumers of the information to judge source reliability and the authority of the analysis. Most important to remember is that

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[165] Ho-Won Jeong, Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), 20.
[166] Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 81.

information (though refined) is not early warning. Mwaûra and Schmeidl maintain that information devoid of analysis is as the popular adage goes, "like an orange without sunshine." Analysis helps to fit information into context that further enables the prediction of violent conflict. Finally, it promotes devising of case scenarios and response choices that make early warning whole.

Early warning analysis entails evaluating a number of questions that lead the analyst towards a comprehension of both underlying and apparent concerns rooted in a particular conflict. The major inclination in particular areas of crisis aids in the assessment of the possibility for escape from unfriendly environments. Despite the fact that every conflict context is distinctive, indicators can be tailored to enlighten on their linkages in diverse backgrounds. Signs are important for the reduction of a complex situation to manageable concrete features and to assign useful issues against which to observe any transformations. Not only are the variations of party, aspirations, problem, and approach that illustrate the nature of conflict, but also the styles and effects of opposition. The features determine the conflict approaches but also shape dynamics associated with mutual relations. The planning ought to authorize conflict analysts to discover particular conducts which provoke conflict and maintain the intensification of the conflict. Parties in a conflict are often grouped according to different levels of obligation to the fight and capacities to marshal resources as well as their perceptions of each other.

Isenhart and Spangle argue that conflictual issues may derive from mismatched principles, interests, and needs. The salience of purposes, like survival and interrelated problems hamper the choice of issues. Various levels of inaptness impact on the attainment of a satisfactory resolution. Modifications in approaches and courses of violence are liable to be exposed by dynamics in the objectives that are somewhat obtained from the costs of conflict and the vision of emerging

successful. Every actor's views of the significance of their own and the other actor's aspirations affect the level of readiness to embrace cooperation. Changes in relations resulting from opponents' characteristics, respect, and worldview give details about the possibility of a conflict's occurrence and its life-span. The relations involving the actors are, largely dependent on the approaches of resistance and the character of the controversy. In devising approaches to avert intensification, third party involvement is necessary to inform the negative conduct that provokes an adverse choice of actions.[167]

For example, in the United Nations Secretariat, examination of early warning data is based in the department of political affairs (DPA) and performed through qualitative approaches, mainly on a context-specific approach. The department is mandated with the duty to establish possible or real conflicts and put forward suggestions to the Secretary General on the course of action. The DPA division is structured into regional. Every regional division has a "division policy analyst" and there is a "policy analysis team" that convenes as much as it is deemed necessary to assess the proposals from the regional divisions.

A structure for synchronization made up of delegates of the division of Political Affairs, the division of Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO) and the division of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) has been created to advance harmonization of scheduling and the distribution of data between the three divisions mainly engaged in the deterrence of conflict. There is also a distinguished supervision group chaired by the Secretary General or the Under Secretary General for Political Affairs, that convenes once a week and is mandated to evaluate probable dangers and to chat about achievable interventions of the Secretary General.

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[167] Jeong, Understanding Conflict, 22.

Discussions with scholarly authorities are extremely constructive in the analysis phase of early warning. DPA has maximized the chances that have occurred due to the readiness of professors to come to the United Nations for unofficial suggestion gatherings, even though such sessions have been very few. Involvement by Secretariat employees in scholarly seminars is limited by the lack of ability of the United Nations to reimburse travel costs. ORCI was authorized to sustain contact with the intellectual society and to track progress in intellectual analysis. There will be mutual successful records for the United Nations and the intellectual society if such a contact framework will be re-established and an organized outreach to the scholarly community managed.[168]

3.4.3. Early Response Plan

There seems to be unanimity that for analysts to establish the sources of conflict, and effectively forecast the eruption of bloodshed and alleviate the conflict, an early warning system ought to include six central systems: Data collection; data analysis; assessment for earning or identification of different scenarios; formulation of action proposals; transmission of recommendations; assessment of early response. However, there are reservations to whether such an ideal model is attainable. Despite decades of research and practice, the record of success has been uncertain and the added value of early warning has not been obvious. Nevertheless, an early warning system is comprised of three elements: receiving, believing, and taking preventive measures.[169]

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[168] Klaas Van Walraven, Early Warning and Conflict Prevention: Limitations and Possibilities (Netherlands: Kluwer Law International, 1998), 125.
[169] Anna Matveeva, Early Warning and Early Response: Conceptual and Empirical Dilemmas, Issue Paper 1, September 2006, Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Every approach for the creation of an anticipatory strategy has to be particular on a case-to-case starting point, denoting that it is Impossible to devise a 'one fits all' methodology. To make such an anticipatory action plan functional would need the harmonization of actions by preventive parties, and the examination and assessment of the effect of the anticipatory action assumed. Lund advocates for the designing of a successful prevention strategy which can generally be categorized into three areas: conflict examination (the analysis of the deep-rooted and proximate causes of conflict deterrence and detection of prospective preventive parties), prevention examination (a harmonization of preventive approaches to the established sources of conflict and an initial evaluation as to the potential success of such strategies once put into operation) and preventive action (how to systematize and execute anticipatory action, examination and assessment of the outcomes of such action).[170]

There are four essentials of early warning: "risk knowledge; technical monitoring and warning service; communication and dissemination of warnings; and community response capability" is incorporated to stress the main machinery that encompass a successful participatory early warning structure, and why all are significant.

3.4.3.1. Risk Knowledge

Threats emerge from the mixture of hazards and susceptibilities at a certain place. Evaluations of risk necessitate logical gathering and careful scrutiny of information and ought to consider the changing environment of vulnerabilities that surface from practices such as urbanization, rural land-use change, ecological dilapidation and global warming. Risk evaluations and charts assist

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[170] Alice Ackermann, "the Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention," Journal of Peace Research 40 (2003): 343-344.

in encouraging communities to put precedence on early warning system requirements and steer measures for disaster prevention.

3.4.3.2. Monitoring and Warning Service

Forewarning facilities are at the heart of any early warning system. There must be a rational logical starting point for envisaging and anticipating threats and a dependable calculation and warning mechanism that functions 24 hours a day. Constant observation of threats, factors and preceding events is important to produce precise, well-timed warnings. Warning provisions for various risk factors ought to be harmonized and where possible enhance joint interventions.

3.4.3.3. Dissemination and Communication

Warnings are disseminated in order for them to impact especially the communities at risk. Simple and comprehensible information possessing messages containing straightforward information is crucial to facilitate appropriate interventions that will promote protection of lives and livelihoods. Regional, state-based and local level communication structures must be established and suitable reliable influences created. The employment of various messaging outlets is compulsory for reaching a bigger number of people and to prevent failure of anyone channel, and to support successful warning dissemination.

3.4.3. 4. Response Capability

It is necessary that communities recognize the impending dangers; value the warning structures available and have a slight idea of how to act in response. Instruction and awareness programmes are very vital. It is also crucial that the available risk management preparations are habitually

exercised and assessed. The community should be aware of alternatives for safe behaviour, existing escape routes, and how best to prevent destruction and loss of property.[171]

Coordination of conflict early warning and response is one very problematic yet delicate process. The complexities of the process emanate from the commonly documented reasons of protocol (i.e., who has the command to "lead" a synchronized intervention), impartiality (as many groups do not wish to participate in coordinated action), and reputation (the role assigned to an organization may not produce the visibility that an organization yearns for). In order to avoid the aforementioned challenges, some early warning attempts have concentrated on a devolved methodology, where stakeholders convene on a quarterly or monthly basis to share information on activities and on the present conflict situation. This methodology however, necessitates consensus in selecting a convener (who should be nonthreatening) and a group that compares information on activities and conflict dynamics in the region covered.[172]

3.5. Signs for Conflict Early Warning

To most external observers who are unaccustomed to the complexities of life in the remote parts of African countries, the disasters that spew in Africa seem unanticipated and unforeseeable. However, those who seek to establish the potential signs understand that these disasters could have been foreseen and anticipated. For instance, the explosion of genocide in Rwanda traumatized the world. It was unimaginable how such an explosion could ensue without warning signs. What is more disturbing is that by 1993, it was obvious the country had hit a stalemate. The civil war that lasted around two years had given birth to a great catastrophic situation—

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[171] EWC III Third International Conference on Early Warning From concept to action 27 – 29 March 2006, Bonn, Germany, Developing Early Warning Systems: A Checklist.
[172] David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel, Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Opportunities and Innovations (New York: Lexington Books, 2004), 169.

refugee influx, IDPs, political struggles put the leadership under siege, weapons were being re-stocked in various parts of the country etc.[173]

The volume of human rights abuse can be mutually related to the scale of conflict in interethnic relations, which in turn can be associated with the number of refugees and internally displaced. As a result of the collapse by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) of the radical genocidal government of Rwanda, additional refugees and displaced persons were realized in a 24-hour period, the biggest phenomenon in the history of the UNHCR.[174]The challenge here is that, an influx of refugees, and increased abuse of human rights are some of the preliminary telling signs that a state is by now in a late warning phase.

Similarly, the type of government in power—whether an unstable government desiring to bolster its control or, a government that strives to declare its authority by victimizing a particular ethnic group. This kind of a situation is further convoluted by the involvement of an outsider, an actor with muscles (France in Rwanda) and the actual state of destitution and suffering in the country—which may aggravate the conflict, and at the same time impede the work of humanitarian agencies (NGOs, the UN) in lessening the conflict. Below is a diagram to represent some of the various signs of conflict:[175]

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[173] Chester A. Crocker and David R. Smock, African Conflict Resolution: The U.S. Role in Peacekeeping (Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 1995), 27-28.
[174] Walraven, Early Warning and Conflict Prevention, 69.
[175] Walraven, Early Warning and Conflict Prevention, 69.

External state actors

Weak or unstable government or powerful repressive regime

Human rights violation

INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT:

- **A)VERTICAL**
- **B)HORIZONTAL**
- **C)MINORITIES**
- **D)SECESSIONIST**

Internal poverty

NGOs and UN agencies,

Refugees and
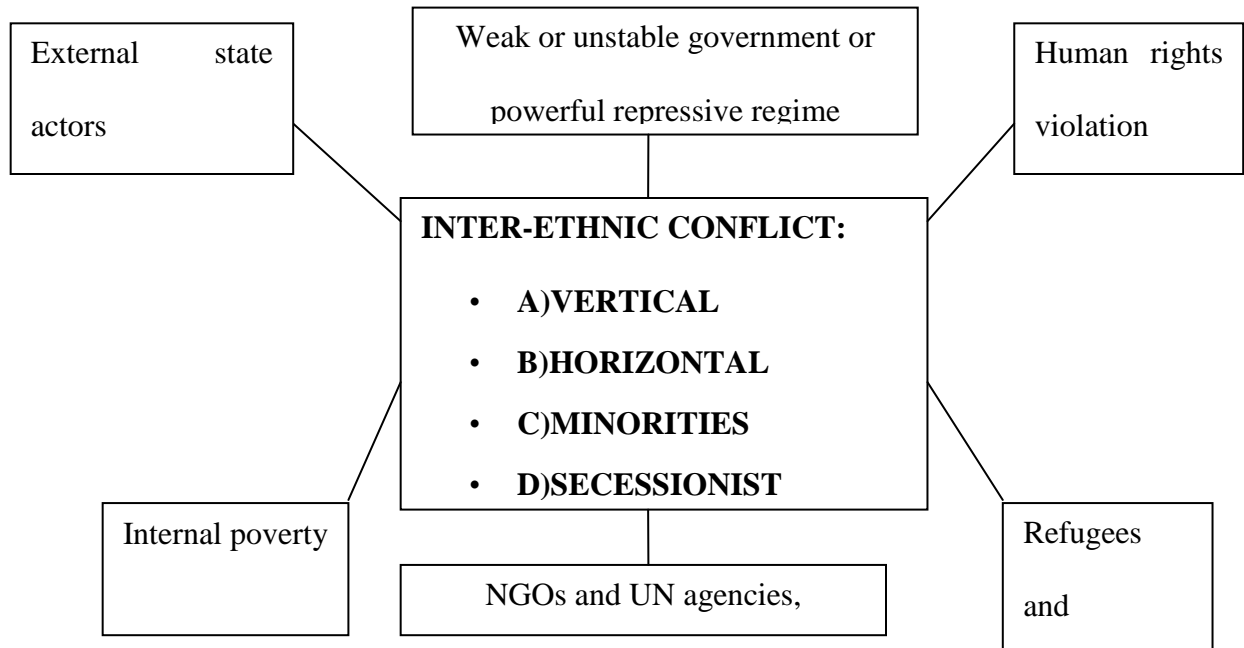
Figure 4: Early Warning Factors in Inter-Ethnic Conflict

Adopted from Klass Van Walraven pg. 69

Notably, in Sierra Leone, it was during the Momohh rule that the civil war broke out. The history of Sierra Leone prior to this era reveals that the signs of discontent among the civilians and intrinsic animosity for government of the day had been visible early enough to attract preventive action, both from the authorities in Sierra Leone and the global community. Early warning manifested themselves in form of "terrible performance of the economy, evolution of a rebellious "intelligentsia", the breach between senior and junior military officers, and the fear that the Liberian civil war might spill-over into Sierra Leone."[176]

In a different conception of the signs for early warning, Barbara Harff and Helen Fein, outline six factors that augment the possibility of genocide: previous genocide in the same polity, dictatorship, ethnic minority rule, political turmoil during war or revolution, exclusionary

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[176] Lawrence Juma, Human Rights and Conflict Transformation in Africa (Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2013), 231.

ideology, and closure of borders to international trade. On the other hand Gregory H. Stanton has designed a developmental model of stages of genocide. According to his model, the eight phases of genocide are "classification ('us vs. them'), symbolism, dehumanization, organization (the formation of hate groups), polarization, preparation (the identification, expropriation, rounding up, and transportation of victims), extermination, and denial." Stanton's model was devised so that policy makers can acknowledge early warning signs and put into practice particular countermeasures to prevent genocide.[177]

In the World Bank's index, the accounts of the new world order of the 21st Century reveals the challenge of unstable and failing states as the most grave than generally thought. It is argued that about two billion people live in insecure countries, with changing levels of vulnerability to prevalent civil wars. Most of these are in the peripheral states of the world, Africa producing the largest number of countries. Of the indicators used, early warning signs of failing state were responsible for the lack of development in these countries that is evident through the existence of inequality within these countries. "Criminalization" of the state, which develops when state institutions are deemed corrupt, illegitimate, or unproductive also featured highly. Dynamics such as population pressures resulting from refugee-influx, internally displaced populations, and environmental degradation, also emerged in most at-risk countries, as well as human rights abuses.[178]

The Human development index records that a people with the capability for balance and sharing of social and economic resources, have the ability to contain tensions with a lesser amount of

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[177] Jodoin and Segger, Sustainable Development, International Criminal Justice, and Treaty Implementation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 333-334.

[178] Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako and Okyere B, Traditional Institutions and Public Administration in Democratic Africa (USA: Xlibris Corporation, 2009), 115.

risk resulting from institutional and social breakdown than a society characterized by destitution such as extreme poverty, severe socio-economic inequalities, integral absence of opportunities, and an absence of reliable institutions for dealing with injustices. Societies characterized by instability are likely to experience the following challenges that in the long run could give rise to violent conflict: transition processes and rapid change; increased socio-economic differences; scapegoating of ethnic and other differences; and resource-based conflicts.[179]

Therefore, in order to prevent or lessen the likelihood of ethnic conflict, an early warning and response mechanism is advised to allow policymakers to reduce the involvement of armed forces by predicting conflict early enough and planning for the assignment if a military role is in the end mandatory. Peace in Africa is frustrated by a multiplicity of elements, some of which are a risk to the very existence of the civilians in these states. Any citizenry which must essentially centre on individual survival has valuable minimal time to dedicate to the security and welfare of larger communities. In the same spirit, general national unity is dependent to a great extent on a government's ability to support the citizenry in fighting such warnings. Possible causes of instability in Africa have been grouped into four broad types: disease, economic misery/localized overpopulation/urbanization, ecological factors, and state failure.[180]

3.6. Approaches to Conflict Early Warning and Response

There are two main approaches of practicing conflict prevention. One is the straight preventive approaches: whereby a disaster is deemed to be at a risky stage of armed intensification, or circulation. Therefore, there is a call to act in reaction to this risk and to thwart mounting threats.

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[179] Hélèn Grandvoinnet and Schneider Hartmut, Conflict Management In Africa: A Permanent Challenge (France: OECD Publishing, 1998), 112.
[180] William C. Fox, Jr, Military Medical Operations in Sub-Saharan Africa: The DoD "Point of the Spear" for a New Century (DIANE Publishing, 1997).

The party involved is usually a third party whose concentrations are less pressing and not frankly concurrent to the incongruity between the main actors. The second approach pays more attention to the structural prevention, where the focus is to generate such situations that conflict and disagreements barely occur or are not likely to spiral into militarized action. Here, a third party could be concerned in providing support for such situations to grow. These two forms of deterrence are known as light, direct or operational prevention on the one hand and deep or structural on the other hand, according to different researchers.[181]

On the other hand, the purpose of early warning is double-edged: to avert conflicts and to impact on deterrence. Nevertheless, it would be ingenious to presuppose that attaining an early response is merely supplying the right records and data at the opportune moment to the appropriate unit or individual. Conflict anticipation demands both competences and that the interceding body has adequate local reliability to afford it with the responsibility to take action.[182]

It is baffling that with all of the transformations in the world political and security sphere ever since World War II, the frequency of fresh violent conflicts has changed only a little in the past six decades. On the other hand, the apparently hastening rate of world dynamics, with the number of parties and issues that impinge on war and peace multiplying, creates fresh bottlenecks to conflict deterrence approaches. If the present and future world context is in fact more difficult than ancient times, it may necessitate key adjustments in attitudes and approaches. Multifaceted structures are manifested by their volatility, absence of dependable "cause-effect relationships," and ironically, flexibility and understanding to minor agitations. Policymakers and specialists equally may be required to reflect in a different way regarding ways of planning

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[181]Hugh et al. Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 97.
[182]Matveeva, "Early Warning and Early Response."

and executing successful policies to avert violent conflict in this context. For example, attention may be required more on the possibility for inadvertent effects and assume strategies devised purposely for functioning in difficult arrangements—such as the search, logic, response mechanism in place of approaches determined by "rational-action" structures.[183]

Despite the fact that world politics and security continually change, vital aspects of political decision making in regimes and international bodies emerge as mostly unchanging. A number of these anticipated features of the way political authorities arrive at a verdict work against promising preventive endeavours. Notwithstanding numerous political devotions to conflict deterrence, alleged national interests every so often prompt Regimes to devise policies to aid certain actors to triumph in a conflict rather than to assist, forestall or settle conflict. Several political disputes hang about even in the absence of most important interests that work against conflict prevention. For instance, heads in nations facing great threats of conflict are normally unwilling to look for external assistance in overseeing impending fierce conflicts, particularly if they are considered domestic issues. Political authorities of third-party nations are likely to mark down the negatives and positives of conflict or its deterrence somewhat significantly when threats mainly weigh down on inhabitants of a distant nation as opposed to the nationals of their individual country. Similarly, legislators nominated on two or four year electoral succession are likely to demonstrate tremendously short time scopes so that it is hard to convince them to pay little charges now to circumvent possible hefty charges at an undefined future point. In addition, political motivations for anticipatory responses can be hard to come by since deterrence usually does not have concrete end results that political authorities search for to make an impression to their electorates. Finally, political authorities are often significantly burdened and hence

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[183]Lawrence Woocher, Preventing Violent Conflict Assessing Progress, Meeting Challenges, United States Institute of Peace www.usip.org Special Report.

motivated by an obligation to control existing predicaments to the disregard of significant but less immediately pressing distresses. This subject is all the more manifest as situations preceding violence hardly ever draw major media or public interest.[184]

3.7. Findings

In relation to conflict prevention, early warning is arguably an instrument with an essentially short-term objective. While it is aimed at finding out when and where violent conflicts may erupt and at preventing their occurrence-and therefore focuses on intervening and response conditions-it does not concentrate on the background variables, which function as a necessary, but not sufficient cause of conflict. This is a long-term objective which should be the province of international development co-operation. It is argued that sustainable development and early warning may in this way complement each other to create an environment where (massive) violent conflicts are likely to occur and economic development is not disturbed or annulled by the eruption and escalation of conflict. As discussed earlier in this chapter, proper functioning of early warning mechanisms calls for fulfillment of various conditions.

3.8. Conclusion

It is evident from the above discussions that conflict early warning encompasses a systematic and interconnected methodology from gathering of information on the signs of an impending conflict to response strategy. The steps should not only be systematic but also mutually reinforcing. The steps are so interdependent that a failure in one step undermines the success in all the others. Whether or not conflict early warning becomes a success, depends on proper identification of the signs and appropriate response strategies that are undertaken to avert conflict. For conflict early

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[184]Woocher, Lawrence, Preventing Violent Conflict Assessing Progress, Meeting Challenges, United States Institute of Peace www.usip.org Special Report

warning in Africa, more efforts need to be put in to help policy makers and implementers to understand how identification of early warning signs is a vital step towards prevention.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SUCCESS OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

4. 1. Introduction

The need to prevent, rather than merely react to conflicts through peacekeeping and enforcement has been an on-going challenge for the international community. Notwithstanding several successes, e.g., South Africa and Macedonia, conflict prevention and early warning came under heavy criticism especially after the embarrassing failures by the UN, the USA and other international actors to stop the massive genocide in Rwanda in 1994. This failure, together with more recent episodes of enfolding conflicts (Iraq and Afghanistan to cite only two) has revealed that there is still a gap between rhetoric and reality. To close the gap between conflict prevention theory and praxis, prevention ought to be embraced as a specialized and legislative endeavor. An important aspect that will lead to this commitment is to address the still pressing need to actively engage in crisis prevention.[185]

Some conflict early warning success stories point to the prevention of ethnic conflict in Macedonia in the 1990s by the operation of a UN Peacekeeping force; the role of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide in putting pressure on the authorities of Côte d'Ivore to end radio broadcasts inciting ethnic hatred in the middle of an intensifying conflict; and the preventive diplomacy that has occurred in Burundi since 2002.[186]

This chapter aims to review the successes and failures of conflict early warning systems in conflict prevention. One of the core arguments presented in the earlier chapters of this study is

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[185]Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling, 223.
[186]Jodoin and Segger, Sustainable Development, International Criminal Justice, 333.

that, it is insufficient to assume that the existence of conflict early warning systems on their own will serve in ensuring that appropriate information is disseminated in a timely manner to the right department or stakeholders. This chapter interrogates the successes and failures of the current early warning systems by also presenting their strengths and weaknesses.

4.1.1. Success Stories of Early Warning in West Africa

An evaluation of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) Early Warning and Early Response practice happened in the context of reflection on intra-state conflicts which plagued the West African sub region in the wake of the late 1980s and the successive attempts by civil society organizations to work within regional institutional partnerships to establish conflict prevention structures. Countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d`Ivoire were involved in armed dissent which jeopardized the political and economic state of the region. This was a major setback for the Economic Community of West African States as it endeavoured to institute conflict prevention and management structures to increase political stability, peace and human protection in the West African region. This attempt was enhanced by the peacebuilding activities of civil society organizations-activities rarely paid attention to because these organizations had inadequate opportunities to share these experiences and evaluate their successes.[187]

The West Africa Early Warning Network (WARN) is a fundamental component of the West African Preventive Peacebuilding Program coordinated by WANEP. WARN envelops the entire Economic Community of West African States and sub-region including Cameroon and Chad. The concept of WANEP-WARN gained momentum with the conflagration of violent conflicts in

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[187] Early Warning and Early Response Workshop on "Early Warning & Early Response Practice: Sharing the WANEP Experience" & Strategy Planning, August 7-9, 2007 Accra, Ghana, Organized by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention /GPPAC Global Secretariat. Accessed from https://www.peaceportal.org/documents/130276236/dd525e83-9b73-4d49-a6d7-c40d514554bc.

West Africa from the late 80's to mid 90's. The war in Liberia for example, in the long run spilled over into Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Cote d`Ivoire. As a result, WARN centered on founding a regional civil society-based partnerships for early warning analysis and intervention in the West Africa sub region.

In Nigeria, the early warning program was established in 2003 by the WANEP regional office which at the time was partnering with an unstable network of Nigerian CSOs. Because of the urgency to institute an official platform for Nigeria, a WANEP country office was founded in 2002. Specific successes of this structure include reinforced response system and production of Nigeria incidence and situation accounts for ECOWARN as an appendage of the ECOWAS/WANEP early warning system for West Africa. A different achievement has been the evolution of Election Barometer monitoring and analysis system for Nigerian elections of April/May 2007, culminating into a letter of cooperation with WANEP regional office by the Action Congress before the elections.

4.1.2. Success Stories of Early Warning in East and Central Africa

The Eastern and Central African Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict-Early Warning and Early Response (GPPAC-EWER) activities are lead by the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI-Africa) as the regional architect based in Nairobi, Kenya, and bring together 13 states: Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, the Republic of Congo/Brazzaville, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. IGAD as a regional institution has been concerned about early warning and early response in Eastern Africa. Though their interventions structures are not as detailed as the ECOWAS system, CEWARN has demonstrated a significant instrument for dealing with major conflicts in the region. The achievements of CEWARN have been made possible by CEWER which comprises

of CSOs from 7 member countries. Individual field monitors are remunerated by IGAD to produce early warning information and reports to the CEWAR. These monitors are not associated with either government or civil society bodies. They work with a set of 50 indicators and present their accounts to the National Research Institute, which evaluates, regulates and forwards the records to IGAD for response. CSOs also have ad hoc intervention mechanisms. For instance the National Council of Churches commenced intervention programs/activities in Kenya to tackle political conflicts as a result of the multi-party elections. In spite of prosecution and threats from the government, the council created peace committees to tackle internal displacement resulting from political violence. The district peace committees acknowledged the influence of the church as they sent early warning reports to the government and the church. The Church leaders were able to tackle political conflicts and promote popular participation in the democratic processes because they were held in high regard. Their achievements and impact led to the formation of a civil society-based peacebuilding and management commission, which works directly with the IGAD monitors and district peace committees.[188]

4.2. Ability of Existing Mechanisms to Deal with Conflicts

Judging from the findings from the different countries, particularly when assessing relations between pairs of neighbouring countries depicts a wide variety of differing experiences in terms of ability to restrain disputes and disruptions and in setting up institutional machinery for managing them. Four distinctive categories exist in which conflicts across state boundaries can surface: borderline disputes, battles between communities across borders, joint interventions by outside governments in internal conflicts, and inter-state warfare.

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[188] Early Warning and Early Response Workshop on "Early Warning & Early Response Practice: Sharing the WANEP Experience" & Strategy Planning, August 7-9, 2007 Accra, Ghana, Organized by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) and the European Centre for Conflict Prevention /GPPAC Global Secretariat. Accessed from https://www.peaceportal.org/documents/130276236/dd525e83-9b73-4d49-a6d7-c40d514554bc.

4.2.1. Borderline Disputes

The war between Eritrea and Ethiopia underlines a case in point with terrible human costs when such disputes escalate into major violent confrontations. It serves as a reminder that the best action in other such cases would be conflict prevention. In such a context a conflict prevention formula is likely to be one in which each pair of neighbours agrees to set up a joint commission (with or without a third party mediator such as the UN or IGAD itself) to settle any outstanding ambiguities or counter claims about border delineation or demarcation. One such instance that resulted in some degree of acceptance transferred territory claimed as Ugandan to Kenya-but this was accomplished while there was still a single colonial authority ruling both countries. Other instances of unilateral "settling" of frontiers by the later colonial powers, such as the Haud, are still remembered as a source of grievance. It should be recognized that the existence of disputed enclaves in some cases only threatens to generate open conflict when relations between two governments deteriorate because of other factors. This was one finding in the Sudan study of Sudan-Egyptian and other disputes. The lesson may be to initiate exploration of disputes and options for their resolution, but only when timing is appropriate, that is, when countries are in good terms or are resolving other matters.[189]

Eritrea's disputed border in the Red Sea with Yemen is one of the only cases where a definitive ruling was made by an international legal body and accepted. But there again the lesson is that such steps could have been taken preemptively before a violent clash had caused loss of life and soured relations. There have been instances of conflict management in such border disputes, meaning in this context that action is taken to prevent a descent into open conflict. In one or two instances, it would be more appropriate to talk about inaction: Kenya and Sudan seemed to have

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[189]Mwaũra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 51.

reached an agreement at the top political level not to do anything to disturb (or clarify) the ambiguous status of the Elemi Triangle. Similar disputes between Somalia and Kenya were defused many years ago. Yet these and many others are instances tacit agreement often exists-one centered at summit or other high diplomatic level as part of a political arrangement. The agreements are not codified nor made public and transparent. Nor are monitoring and regulatory mechanisms set up and institutionalized.

The Eritrea-Ethiopia case is a cautionary tale in many ways, but specifically in this context, because a joint commission was in place to seek clarification of the border and to ease tensions that were recognized as building up (thus hardly a case of lack of early warning). The Eritrean case study thus makes a point of providing detailed review of the experience of that commission and the failure of it and other mechanisms to achieve what they had been set up to do. It is worth reading closely, for the report concluded that the failure was not in any inherent defectiveness of the commission but at higher political levels. Specifically, in a context where issues between the two countries were routinely settled by personal dialogue at the summit level, there was no awareness of the problem or sufficient political will to manage it by means other than violence. This analysis supports a general conclusion that border issues of prevention and management have usually been handled on an *ad hoc* basis, being taken seriously only after tensions have been built up, and by political dialogue at leadership levels. Even though the latter process has chalked up some successes as well as spectacular failures, the lesson would seem to be that processes that are more transparent and institutionalized might be more sustainable, especially if undertaken before tensions mount and while relations are not mutually suspicious.[190]

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[190] Mwaũra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 52.

4.2.2. Battles between Communities across Borders

Conflicts and disturbances between communities living on opposite sides of the border are common in Africa. These may involve rustling of livestock or other forms of theft, terrorizing of communities, destruction of crops, smuggling and imposition of illegal levies on trade, and trade in arms. Such violent events may be essentially local ones between communities. But because they involve international frontiers, they have the potential to escalate, as a result of some combination of the conflict becoming "ethnicized" or through involvement of government personnel. The implication is that conflicts that might otherwise be managed or resolved by customary, inter-community mechanisms tend to involve local administrators and even foreign ministries and state security services. These conflicts also tend to be dealt with in an *ad hoc* way, and in response to escalation of open conflict rather than on a pre-emptive and institutionalized basis. Two examples of a more formalized mechanism being put in place may offer more generally applicable lessons. Sudan and Chad have had a joint border commission operating and meeting regularly for many years. This body deals with a wide variety of problems, including encroachment by rebels from across the border and even border demarcation issues. At one time a committee was set up to deal with conflicts across the Somali-Kenya border, originally reaching out from the Kenya district of Wajir but now extended to other districts of the Northeast Kenya. This innovative committee involves administrations from the two areas as well as army and police on either side of the border, but also traditional authorities and civilian representatives. The body is also remarkable in that there are no formal "authorities" or

"security" services on the Somali side of the border-but that has not prevented whatever informal authorities exist on the ground from being involved in a system that works.[191]

4.2.3. Joint Interventions by Outside Governments in Internal Conflicts

There is a persisting systematic pattern whereby internal rebel groups operate from neighbouring countries, often with the support of governments. Intervention escalates on a tit-for-tat basis. These tendencies aggravate and amplify the internal conflicts and make them harder to resolve. They also exacerbate tensions between countries and make contested issues between them harder to settle peaceably. Indeed, this pattern is often at the root of the chronically unstable and volatile regional security regime that characterizes African Countries. Although some individual internal conflicts have been resolved, and occasional (but usually short-term) improvements do occur in bilateral relations, little has been done systematically so far to tackle this combined problem of internal conflicts feeding off external support from countries whose relations are antagonistic. Given this complexity for example, IGAD could not be expected to come up with an immediate formula for such a fundamental transformation. But it constitutes the only forum where on such discussion and imaginative rethinking can take place. The temporary restraint on interference, suggests that the present pattern is not immutable. There are also instances like the agreement between the Ethiopian and Somalia governments in 1988 that emphasized the mutual advantage in non-intervention. This should be stressed as opposed to the seeming short-run political gains from intervention.

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[191] Mwaũra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 53-54.

4.2.4. Peacemaking in Inter-state Wars

In the Horn of Africa, there had only been the one case of inter-state war, the Somalia-Ethiopia war of the 1970s, until the 1998-2000 war between Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, one can also say that, despite Africa's conflict ridden image, the Horn appears to be the only region in Africa where inter-state wars have occurred. So, even if very rare, the wars' enormous human and political cost and the fact that they have occurred at all mean that it is vital to explore what mechanisms are in place to resolve and prevent them. The Eritrea-Ethiopia war is of great significance for future conflict resolution in the region, and specifically for IGAD. A look back to events following the outbreak of war in 1998 shows that there was a delay before initiatives got underway. The world was shocked and did not anticipate the escalation and scale of fighting or its long duration. But neither were there any clearly available mechanisms for stepping in. Eventually there were a host of peace initiatives, mostly by particular governments at first-Burkina Faso, Rwanda, the U.S., and regional bodies like EU, which appointed a special representative, and the Arab League. The UN Security Council passed resolutions but took no active part in mediation, until it came in to play the crucial role (and one that only it can play) of monitoring peacekeeping and settling the border, as well as setting up commissions to deal with the compensation and identifying "causes." In fact the OAU played a critical role, especially through its central organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution (COMCPMR). IGAD itself was unable to register any considerable successes in any of these initiatives. This inertia was perhaps predictable as the war involved two member governments with whom other members had intimate relations. These circumstances raised the issue of whether IGAD could ever have been an appropriate and sufficiently disinterested third

party. Even if it had been seen as appropriate, the antagonism between the two countries also imposed strains on the organization itself and generated a paralysis.[192]

4.3. The Constraints facing Early Warning in Africa

There are several obstacles noted of the existing gap in knowledge of conflict early warning in the literature reviewed by this study. To begin with, the role of methodological frameworks for informing response mechanisms still remains inadequate. Secondly, "*ad hocism"* and narrow tactical thinking is a dominant feature. Experience shows that most stakeholders do not outline or encourage clear approaches for promoting peace in violent conflict situations. The lack of these kinds of calculated structures provides room for incoherence and inept responses. Third, sustainability concerns remain unresolved. It does not matter whether the concerns are associated with "macro-level" methodologies for stabilization or "sector-specific" methodologies, interventions are seldom devised to stand the test of time. Fourth, "stove piped" interventions, founded on merely institutional basis are yet to be conquered. Underlying problems between organs that safeguard human protection and development bodies and a tendency for "blueprints" as far as various states are concerned still pose as cause for concern.[193]

The difficulty with reaching at a set of principal political conflict escalation indicators that cut across time and space is that there is a large variety of conflicts in and between states, ranging from ideological (religious, racist) conflicts to resource, trade, and territorial conflicts, from secessionist, irredentist, nationalist ethnic rebellions to mass- or elite-based revolutionary or counterrevolutionary attempts to gain, maintain, or regain state power. In addition to these

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[192] Mwaũra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 55-56.
[193] Conflict and fragility, preventing violence, war and state collapse: the future of conflict early warning and response, isbn 978-92-64-05980-1 OECD 2009.

"primary conflicts" we also have reactive forms of conflict waging, based on individual or collective self-defense: conflicts to enforce international law, collective sanctions or peace, or to offer security to threatened groups of people. The terminology of conflict classifications is complex and confusing and there are few pure cases in real life.[194]

If contextual factors and challenges that produce varied opinions of risk can be comprehended, more efficient early warning systems will be founded. We should also be in a state to recognize proper complementary responses to mitigate the effects of any catastrophes. It is possible that in various locations, we are laying too much emphasis on the failure to effectively prevent conflict by the early warning systems themselves as opposed to laying emphasis on tackling contextual challenges by widely advancing management approaches. A people's perception of its own impending disaster is contrary to that of an external observer. Outsiders might find it extremely hard to comprehend how societies view and respond to threats. Early warning experts frequently lack an understanding of such issues. Early warning structures (forecasts and warnings) begin at international and state levels, and afterwards spread externally and vertically through the administrative structure. In this perspective, the local communities or neighborhoods are on the margin. But the people at risk, their residence and environs are at the center of focus.[195]

Early warning is dependent on appropriate prediction of the possibility and magnitude of an underlying conflict rising into violence. Similarly, conflict prediction can be conducted by highly institutionalized and indicator-informed warning systems supplying "quantitative" results or, "qualitative semi-intuitive" specialist forecast of conflict trends. In spite of which system is

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[194] Davies L. John and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems (England: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1998), 43.
[195]Jochen Zschau and Andreas N. Kŭppers, eds., Early Warning Systems for Natural Disaster Reduction (Springer Science & Business Media, 2013), 22.

being employed and what kind of specialist is engaged, prediction for anticipatory reasons poses obstacles associated with accuracy and relevance. However, the main problem with forecasting is that some states or areas are "off the radar" of international authorities, as personnel resources are focused on only a few areas, leading to insufficient well-timed and comprehensive information on incidents that could generate violence.[196]

4.3.1. The Constrain of What Information to Collect

In collection of conflict early warning information, one of the first constraint one meets is: early warning of what? If one looks at the early warning literature one finds agreements as to what early warning should be about in the human rights and humanitarian field. Should it focus on: armed conflict; genocide, politicide, or democide; refugee flows; complex humanitarian crises; internal displacement; state failure; minorities at risk; political terror; or gross human rights violations. While there is a great similarity between these elements of conflict early warning efforts, the etiology of all of them cannot be implied to be one and the same. For instance, in the field of uprootedness of people, there is an immense but not comprehensive and similar characteristic between external refugee flows and internal displacement. In a nutshell, occasionally internal conflict may spill over and become cross-border displacements whereas in other cases it does not.[197]

Further challenges of early warning and conflict prevention can be found in the limited extent to which existing operational early warning systems can be identified areas of potential conflicts in sufficient time for effective preventive actions to be taken. Data gathering and analysis are critical, not only in assisting to anticipate a crisis, but in determining the appropriate early

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[196]John Brante et al. Worse, Not Better: Reinvigorating Early Warning for Conflict Prevention in the Post-Lisbon European Union (Eekhout: Academia Press, 2011), 11.
[197]John and Gurr eds., Preventive Measures, 40.

response for a particular situation. As the Rwandan case outlines, international actors could not draw the appropriate conclusions on events unfolding on the ground. This was partly because there was a strategic failure to collect and analyze the data that was available and translate this wealth of information into strategic plans and actions. Issues also remain about the gathering and centralizing of data in a systematic way. Due to these shortfalls, much information is either under-used or not used at all, and there is a reliance on information which has been gathered on *ad hoc* basis. George and Holl tend to argue that too little information leads to misinterpretations (or lacking understanding) of the situation.[198]

Rupensinghe notes that the task of gathering accurate and reliable data in systematic fashion should be performed by an integrated network, made up by international and local organizations, where early warning work is decentralized and responsibilities allocated on the basis of an appropriate division of labour. Regional efforts, such as the continental early warning system that was established in 1995 by the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa, are a step in this direction.[199]

The question of how information can be gathered and assessed in order to establish threats to peace in a timely manner, evaluate the nature of those threats, and disseminate the findings to the relevant stakeholders have been asked. Several attempts have concentrated on positioning states basing on their vulnerability to conflict. However, the biggest undoing has been obtaining the information for the grassroots communities to assist NGOs or local peacebuilding stakeholders to channel their resources more efficiently. Additionally, early warnings can be false alarms.

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[198]Mwaura and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 77.
[199]Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling, 224.

Prediction of uncommon incidents can produce warnings to conflicts that in fact are unlikely, and such warnings can have severe effects on communities.[200]

Ideally, regular frameworks for early warning should scrutinize all pertinent information as thoroughly as possible, examining if there is any substantial information contained therein, register all happenings and indications to recognized stakeholders and agencies and then notify the powers-that-be to impending dangers. Yet, a different challenge with this arrangement is to recognize and recover the most appropriate records contained in the sea of information on the internet and elsewhere. Another bottleneck is to categorize and systematize these reports into significant themes.[201]

4.3.2. Analysis of Information

Challenges also exist in relation to analysis and operationalization. Different theoretical notions and models of conflicts have been developed. However, there is no agreement on which notions or models can best explain and predict different kinds of conflicts. Conflicts are the consequences of historical factors which build up over long periods of time as of sudden dynamic accelerating triggers. They take place within societies, in other words in complex and open systems. Shermer contends that a feature of such systems is that they are highly adaptive and in constant transformation. An additional problem is that since societies are open, they are sensitive to factors which may be external and this makes prediction even more difficult.[202]

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[200] National Academy of Engineering, United States Institute of Peace, Sensing and Shaping Emerging Conflicts: Report of a Joint Workshop of the National Academy of Engineering and the Unired States Institute of Peace: Roundtable on Technology, Science, and Peacebuilding, (United States of America: National Academy of Sciences, 2013), p.5.

[201] Mark Last, Web Intelligence and Security: Advances in Data and Text Mining Techniques for Detecting and Preventing Terrorist Activities on the Web (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2010), 56.

[202] Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling, 224.

For example, in the case of Rwanda and Yugoslavia, there was enough information, but not enough analysis, which in turn led to misreading the situation at hand. It is also possible that an entirely new occurrence that has never been researched before impairs understanding. One of the biggest challenges (and causes for hesitation for involvement) in the case of Somalia was the fact that the incidence of a "failed state" was then still a relatively novel phenomenon, one that actors did not know how to approach.[203]

As Suhrke and Adelman demonstrated previously in their systematic evaluation of the botched response to the genocide in Rwanda, the collapse in exchange of information that resulted to failure in a well-timed response was to a large extent due to approaches of "passing the buck" and "waffling" by lead actors who dynamically supported situational uncertainty to disapprove specific scrutiny's that would set off crucial reactions. The media fulfilled its role by participating in miscommunication, deducing the plans of leaders who cautiously laid out arrangements with genocidal targets.[204]

The requirement for well-timed and accurate analysis is a huge challenge in conflict early warning. Most past analyses have taken for granted the fact those individuals or persons who take part in structural anticipation are aware of the warning indicators and signs to look out for at the beginning of their assignment. Often times, major difficulties come up in accomplishing the resolutions of the analysis. Misinterpretation can generate "situational ambiguity" in which there is indecision about cause and effect, giving room to views of high risk with slight or no prospective for long-term impact. In the circumstances of uncertainty, policy makers make use of the slogan "the absence of political will" to downsize their nonintervention. Scholars such as

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[203]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 77.
[204] Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict (Routledge, 2010), 173.

Woocher (2001), Jentleson (2003) and Ivanov and Nyehim (2004), among others, argue that political will is a for the most part "smokescreen" for either not setting aside the time to get the analysis accurately or for not adequately comprehending the type of capabilities that were appropriate for stationing to tackle the problem.[205]

4.3.3. When to Provide Information –How Early is Early

There are several explanations as to why decision makers often take time to act in response to early warning: the warning may be vague; it may not be well-timed; pertinent information may not be obtainable; or decision makers at times just misunderstand the warning. This in most cases turn out to be a major challenge to the ability of the conflict early warning systems to avert mass atrocities because of the systems' propensities to act very late anywhere it assumes response at all. As portrayed in the earlier chapters of this work, in Rwanda, well-timed alerts were communicated to the UN and other international stakeholders best placed to put a stop to the genocide, but there was no intervention. A different aspect that clearly exposes the crack in conflict early warning and early response is the tendency of early warning bodies depending on a bureaucratic arrangement of transmission early warnings. For instance, scholars such as Wulf and Debiel argue that international and regional actions are predisposed to update policy makers at the top-level. A lesser amount of consideration is accorded to the strength and handling capacities at the local level.[206]

In a similar vein, CirûMwaûra, Susanne Schmeidl argue that the failure for how early is early is time and again associated with bureaucratic complications or breakdowns. An illustrious example is the fax that General Dallaire of the United Nations Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR)

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[205] Cordell and Wolff, Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict, 173.
[206] Dan Kuwali and Frans Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: Article 4(h) of the African Union Constitutive Act (London: Routledge, 2014), 167.

peacekeeping force sent on January 11, 1994, warning the UN of an impending huge massacre of Tutsis in Kigali. Despite the fact that the fax was disseminated inside the Department of Peace Keeping Operation (DPKO) and soon after within the humanitarian and political divisions, it by no means made its way to the Security Council. The only directives Dallaire obtained were to notify the embassies of the U.S., France, and Belgium in Kigali, but his appeal to investigate and confiscate weapon arsenals was rejected. Afterward, Dallaire made efforts three more times in February with an application to look for and wipe out weapon warehouses, but DPKO declined all the three appeals.[207]

4.3.4. Acting on Information- Who takes Preventive Measures

For a long time, conflict early warning machineries have not necessarily meant success in conflict early response. The relation between warning and response still remains inadequate. This is as a result of reduced excellence of early warning and undeveloped mechanisms and response strategies, alongside a variety of individual, institutional and political weaknesses that impinge on decision making. If initially the challenge "early warning is not wired to the bulb", presently it could be the existence of countless "bulbs" opposing each other or not operational when need be.[208]

4.4. Operational Obstacles in African Early Warning

The first response strategy to Africa's wars involved strengthening the continent's conflict management organizations. It was based on the idea that keeping peace required permanent organizations, not just *ad hoc* responses. The process of building such an organizational

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[207]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 77-78.
[208] Conflict and fragility, preventing violence, war and state collapse: the future of conflict early warning and response, isbn 978-92-64-05980-1 OECD 2009.

architecture across the continent entailed four elements: defining priorities, allocating resources (human and financial), and constructing both bureaucratic structures and mechanisms and a capacity to create and disseminate knowledge (and hopefully act upon it). In the early 1990s, one of the central challenges was that Africa's regional bodies were generally not geared up to manage armed conflicts; they were underfunded, they lacked personnel, and most had been established to stimulate economic growth and sub-regional integration. Moreover, the attempt to refashion these organizations came at a time when armed conflicts engulfed much of the continent: African governments and their external funders were thus forced to try and build effective organizations while simultaneously attempting to stem a significant number of ongoing crises. [209]

For example, involvement with the regional economic communities (RECs) at high-ranking levels needs to be upgraded. Both conflict early warning systems (CEWS) and RECs still lack technical apparatus. The situation room which ideally should be the appliance room of the system is disadvantaged by the challenge of inadequate capacity as regards professional early warning staff, resources and technical resources. The CEWS is extremely underfunded and this has undesirable effects on the early warning system and its general efficiency in mass atrocity prevention. The CEWS was anticipated to be entirely functional by 2012, but it is uncertain whether this target was attained owing to these challenges.[210]

Another challenge to conflict early warning and conflict prevention lies in the fact of the limited extent in which the already functional early warning systems are able to recognize areas of imminent dangers in good time for successful preventive measures to be assumed. Collection of

[209]Paul D. Williams, War and Conflict in Africa (John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 1.
[210]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 170.

data and analysis are very crucial, not only in supporting anticipation of a disaster, but also in shaping the suitable early response that seeks to avert particular conflict situation.[211]Unfortunately, in Kenya for instance, conflict lessening bodies are present at local and national levels, with representatives supported to those offices by the government, in addition to district peace committees (DPCs). Yet the success and practical effectiveness of these conflict early warning institutions as well as their fast response is disadvantaged by a lack of financial support and resources from government.[212] While there is a slim difference between the economic and social transformation disasters, the economic aspect has in the past been given almost no attention in the conflict prevention activities.[213]

4.4.1. Human Resources

Human resources pose as obstacles to many conflict early warning systems. In the design of conflict early warning systems, it was correctly indicated that a significant element of the conflict early warning system is proficient staff with the "analytical capability of early warning functions—data collection, analysis and the provision of policy option.'' Lack of expert human resources has sustained the failure of the conflict early warning and early response systems. As at the last count in 2012, the situation room of the Conflict Early Warning System (CEWS) in Addis Ababa had a team of 13 personnel, five among the 13 being the only early warning specialists and work on a 24/7 shift. This kind of arrangement impacts negatively on staff performance because staffs are stretched to their limits. Even if the AU is able to obtain state of the art apparatus for the conflict early warning systems, the lack of competent workforce impacts

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[211]Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling, 224.
[212]Mary Kirkbride, Survival of the Fittest: Pastoralism and Climate Change in East Africa (N.P: Oxfam International, 2008), .22.
[213]Gärtner Heinz, Adrian G.V. Hyde-Price, and Erich Reiter, Europe's New Challenges (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 287.

negatively on the entire system. Without experienced employees, the most excellent Information Communication Technology (ICT) services will not bring a valuable conflict early warning system.[214]

4.4.2. Lack of Cooperation

The regional approach to peace and security is very much a work in progress. To date, as one close observer of the African scene noted, "African structures and mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution have been marked by a stress on formal intergovernmental structures within formal commitments." Questions relating to external institutional linkages between sub-regional organizations, the AU, and from there the UN remain unanswered and still to be defined. Internally questions relate to the extent of interaction and cooperation between sub-regional organizations and complementary networks and resources to be found within civil society.[215]

For example, although the AU Commission is a new actor, it is not free from the influence of member states. As a result of the institutional frameworks described previously, they bring their individual interests to bear. These interests as supported by realist theory may reveal "self-help" strategies directly contradicting the agreed on norms.[216]

Common and methodical attempts to avert conflict still linger as weak in relation to the challenges that play against the majority of weak nations. Successful anticipation joins maintenance for early warning structures with rapid and adaptable early response machineries and customary assessments of their usefulness. This is hardly ever the concern for development

[214]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 168.
[215]Mwaura and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 100-101.
[216]Fredrik Soderbaum and Rodrigo Tavares, Regional Organizations in African Security (Routledge, 2013), 23.

partner-supported structures or actions. Additionally, disseminating risk analysis emerges as the omission other than the custom, and this thwarts successful combined interventions and futuristic discourse with national peers. Development associates need to reinforce the relationship between early warning and early response and perform customary assessments of the efficiency of their assistance to deterrence projects.[217]

4.4.3. International Stakeholders

African policy makers have not wholly taken control of their countries' future. As argued by Gilbert Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons in their path-breaking 2001 text, entitled *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, more than a few "severe constraints" invade on the free will of African policy makers. First and foremost is the need to secure control and fulfill socioeconomic requirements at home; second, the fact that outside players have significant control over most facets of African life. This manipulation is in part why anti-colonial stances and resistance to outside interference has been created, and continues to shape major characteristics of Africa's foreign and security policy behaviour. Without a doubt, African foreign and security policy at the start of the twenty-first century is still subjugated by overarching limitations on continued existence of fragile states. The essentials of national survival force elites to use foreign policy to acquire political and economic power from outside. Whether made singly or collectively, foreign and security policy reflect the continual attempts by elites to manage threats to domestic security and insulate their decision making from untoward external manipulation.[218]

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[217]OECD, Conflict and Fragility International Engagement in Fragile States Can't We Do Better? Can't We Do Better? (N.P: OECD Publishing, 2011), 14.
[218]Jane Boulden, Responding to Conflict in African: The United Nations and Regional Organizations (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 52-53.

The national governments and grassroots communities have a primary obligation to enhance conflict prevention. The role of relevant local actors—be they national or local government representatives or parties, civil society actors or organizations, religious organizations, local media, trade unions, private sector organizations, or registered non-governmental organizations—is extremely important. Engaging with the government and appropriate local actors, and supporting their efforts to manage conflicts internally and systematically, such that they do not turn violent, are desirable and likely cost-effective in terms of time spent, resources deployed, and ultimately lives saved. However, institutionally, interaction between various partners has been minimal—the interaction that occurs is typically ad hoc and tends to be a function of personal relationships. The relative lack of interaction has been a result of both institutional and bureaucratic differences between the two very different types of stakeholders, and belies the difficulty of identifying relevant local actors that can be partners for positive peace.[219]

International actors have consequently been accused of neglecting what states and communities already do themselves to manage diversity and mitigate risk. Principle proponents of prevention include the UN, regional organizations, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and wealthy nations acting as donors. Key preventive actors are almost always external to the places deemed at risk.

The global community has worked tirelessly to widen the idea of human protection and encourage related approaches to guarantee such security. While international bodies are hesitant to intervene in intra-state wars, there is an increasing acknowledgement that such interventions

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[219]Sriram Lekha Chandra and Karin Wermester, From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), 382.

may be necessary in some exceptional cases. In order to be successful and reliable, combined international efforts must be objective, well-timed and on a degree proportionate to the assignment. The time of the intervention is important: current practice depicts that when intervention is postponed or ignored, intra-state war can spread across into neighbouring states, resulting into international conflicts that may be extremely expensive in terms of loss of human lives and missed development opportunities. A set of indicators to allow the international community to estimate susceptibility to conflict and to undertake early warning on impending threats should be produced with urgency.[220]

The challenge lies in the roles and responsibilities of the intergovernmental bodies. While much has been made of the difficulties of coordination faced by UN departments and agencies, less emphasis has been on the importance of ensuring collective support at the political level—that is among member states—for conflict prevention. However, the two are fundamentally linked: the challenges of harmonization experienced by the UN system are as a result of the absence of political will, resources, and lack of resolve by member states as much as they are the result of inevitable bureaucratic ineffectiveness and inertia. The main obstacle to increased consultation and perhaps coordination among the intergovernmental bodies is essentially procedural. The functioning of the intergovernmental organs is characterized by excessive rigidity, which is only compounded by the political sensitivities that are raised among member states regarding the role and membership of each.[221]

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[220]United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Development Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa and Post-Conflict Countries: Report of the Committee for Development Policy on the Seventh Session (14-18 March 2005), (New York: United Nations Publications, 2005) p.14.
[221]Chandra and Wermester, From Promise to Practice, 381.

4.4.4. Unfavorable Political Environment

This is linked to political interests of local, regional, and international actors. Sometimes actors do not favour peace but are interested in armed conflict for political or economic reasons— the spoiler problem. At other times, actors may have had no interests either way. Finally, action is sometimes disregarded in order not to avoid meddling in the business of strong states (Chechnya in Russia, East Timor in Indonesia). Action often accompanies political interests, for example prevention of spillover potential of a conflict (Macedonia) or threats, for example, the fear of major refugees influx, Kosovo).[222]

4.4.5. Persistent Disconnect between Early Warning and Early Response

According to Evans, "if early warning alarm bells do not generate enough response they might as well not be rung at all." Violent conflicts and massacres barely explode without at least a forewarning and the most significant element is in fact collecting the accurate data and having a clear comprehension of that kind of data. More often than not, there would be both root and proximate causes reinforcing and generating the clash or massacres. For instance, an arrangement where election fraud is followed by elimination of political leaders would be trigger events, whereas structural indicators such as political exclusion, economic inequality, unequal land distribution, institutional failures like rule of law, various forms of discrimination, new repressive laws, arbitrary killings, arrests and disappearances, protests, demonstrations and crackdowns, would also meet the criteria as triggers. In as much as some of these signs differ in their appearances with diverse dynamics in diverse environments, they are more often than not existent. However, there continues to be a crack between early warning and early response which some have ascribed to various aspects, among them malfunction of early warning designs,

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[222]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 78.

a detachment between the early Warner and policymaker, lack of political will and bureaucratic

blockages and interests.[223]

A primary assessment of conflict early warning and early response mechanisms is that in as

much as delivering caution is somewhat unproblematic, pulling together an early response is not.

This censure has been pointed primarily at large-scale systems. Gerorge and Hall refer to this as

the "warning-response problem." Indications in point of fact show that the "warning-response

problem" is being resolved, at least in part, with large-scale systems. International institutions

and governments are by means of satellite images trailing huge massacres and causing

international anxiety to bear to end them. For example, the United States Agency for

International Development (USAID), with support from Google Earth and the United States

Holocaust Memorial Museum, trails the detrimental behaviour of the Janjaweed militia in

Darfur, Sudan. In the same way in Southern Sudan, the Satellite Sentinel Project merges field

accounts and satellite descriptions with Google's Map Makers for an early warning system of

massacres.[224]

Contrastingly, Carment and Schnabel argue that the challenges of linking early warning to

response are abundant and come about as a result of what is time and again dubbed "lack of

political will." Unloading the key components of political reluctance to act is the first move

towards building approaches to tackle the problem.

Countering these challenges is a difficult task and conceivably an unrealistic mission. It calls for

realistic and rational responses to deal with the lack of political will to take action. The lack of

political will has meant that conflict anticipation has been ad hoc and inept. Obtainable literature

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[223]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 166.
[224] Joseph G. Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence: Social Media and Violence Prevention (MIT Press, 2012), 4-5.

mainly documents the incidents of 'missed opportunities' and centers minimally on linking the warning-response gap. There is a figurative association between early warning and early response that calls for the improvement of approaches that match up with institutional mandates, competencies and machineries. The supposition is that institutional anticipation structures and organizational know-how in anticipation make policymakers more open to early warnings. This supports for the advancement of institutional terms of office and practical intervention capabilities for anticipation. Presently, policy makers tend to lean less on the demand for early warning, save for the fact that they take it seriously and respond to it.[225]

Conflict early warning is confronted by considerable, perhaps unattainable, assessment standards. The question of how systems can lessen conflict is dependent on two possible postulations: (a) that conflict can be alleviated in the first occurrence, and (b) that one is aware on how to alleviate it—both are extremely far from certain. With reference to the second assumption, the discipline of conflict management is shifting from a tender age to a more philosophical state. In the recent past, there have been rising conspiracy theories about what is effective and what is ineffectual through the different moral learned and best practices projects.[226]

The lack of political will has often been acknowledged as the principal factor hampering both inter-governmental and regional organizations from acting resolutely in the early days of conflict spiral. Unlike NGOs, governmental organizations have a higher threshold to wait before acting upon signals. There are political sacrifices implicated with identifying and evaluating early warning signals. Political misunderstandings within organizations; incompetent and ineffectual

[225]Sarah Linnell Bessell, B.A. Early Warning Receptivity in the UN and U.S, UMI Number: 1456989, 2008, 16.
[226]Alex Austin, Martina Fischer and Nobert Ropers, Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict: The Berghof Handbook (AlleRechteVorbehalten: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2004), 142.

interventions and principles such as nonintervention and sovereignty are some of the obstacles that reign. Even an influential international security apparatus such as the UN Security Council is still not proficient enough to discover impending disasters and act in response to early warning. An additional aspect that adds to the suspension between information and warning is the fact that information is time and again put at par with senior policy makers, a reduced amount of consideration is paid to players at the local level — who are directly affected and often have an improved knowledge of the local dynamics of minority conflicts, the causal factors and the extenuating factors.[227]

Nearly all of the political, legal, economic, socio-economic among other devices that are utilized as part of the universal peace-building attempt to advance the objectives of a permanent peace are intended to avert violence in general rather than being directed to any specific category of violence (such as guerrilla warfare, terrorism or criminal violence). As conflict-related terrorism is a very particular type of violence, the devices that could be tailored to supply anti-terrorist requirements successfully should be chosen from the wide-ranging collection of peace-building appliances. Moreover, this should be completed without necessarily altering the nature of the tools utilized in order not to compromise them as peace-building tools. This should be kept in mind as the possible role for peace-building instruments in fighting and anticipating terrorism at the conclusion of a conflict or at the post-conflict phase.[228]

Most early warning systems convey unprocessed data which calls for analysis so as to make available tangible policy recommendations that can be actualized by policy makers to alleviate

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[227] Stefanie Elies, Sol Iglesias, and Yeo Lay Hwee, Early Warning Systems In Minority Conflicts: A Framework For Developing Regional Responses, 7th asia-europe roundtable workshop Singapore 20-21 May 2010 (Singapore: Asia-Europe Foundation, 2010), 23.
[228]Stepanova Ekaterina, Anti-terrorism and Peace-building during and After Conflict, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, June 2003.

the consequences of conflict. As illustrated by FAST, their work was intended at "enhancing the ability of decision makers and their staff in state and non-state institutions to identify critical developments in a timely manner so that coherent political strategies could be formulated to either prevent or limit destructive effects of violent conflicts, or to identify windows of opportunity for peacebuilding." On the other hand, despite the accessibility of clear information, warning signals may be postponed and consequently the connection between early knowledge and early warning, and between early warning and early action still hang about as weak.[229]

4.4.6. Gap between Early Warning and Early Response

The duty to act rests in the hands of policy makers, whereas the scrutiny of information, knowledge, and indicators as well as early warning is vested in the hands of policy analysts. The conversion of information from analysis to policy can be sustained by the activities of civil society groups, lobbyists and other players. As a matter of fact, there is an additional significance of those bodies and organizations that put on various hats — supplying both assessment and back up associated with early warning. Even when early warning is executed appropriately, there remains an even further considerable disparity — between warning and response. Past experiences have revealed, with disturbing consequences, both a breakdown of warning (as in the case of Kosovo) and a decline to act (as in the case of Rwanda).Minimizing the holdup between warning and response becomes critical to the success of early warning system in its ability to thwart conflict from rising into a full-scale disaster. A disconnection between early warning and response epitomized past early warning systems. The first and second generation of early warning systems based entirely on quantitative or qualitative data and then later, a blend of the two. These were unable to demonstrate their added value — they could not reveal their

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[229] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 23.

impact (as in the case of FAST International). The present third generation of early warning systems now relies on and support home-grown initiatives in early warning and early response. For example, due to local efforts in Ambon, Indonesia, the first early warnings of conflict go to the local community leaders (in the case of Ambon, the Rajahs) who use the information to forestall and prevent violence in the community through mediation.[230]

4.4.7. Weak and Inappropriate Response

Different scholars hold different views about where the real obstacles to conflict early warning and response rest. Some hold the belief that there is need to recover approaches of collecting information about imminent crises and build up improved early warning indicators of crises. Others disagree that there is more often than not adequate warning in most humanitarian crises or circumstances relating to human rights violation, ethnic conflict, civil strife, or regional conflict. George suggests that:

> "The problem is not a lack of warning but the fact that governments often ignore an incipient crisis or take a passive attitude towards it until it escalates into a deadly struggle or a major catastrophe." In his study of so-called missed opportunities, Jentleson disagrees that "where opportunities for preventive diplomacy were seized, it was in part due to the timely availability of reliable intelligence and other early warning information. Where opportunities for preventive diplomacy were missed, it was despite early warning availability."

All said and different to what is regularly argued, early warning was not the issue. As Jentleson further notes, the reason why often times early warning is erroneous is not the nonexistence of well-timed information but "flawed analysis" of the possibility of intensification of conflict and or the risks/costs of inaction.[231]

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[230] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 26.
[231] Fen Hampson Osler and David Malone, From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 141.

Another challenge that should be mentioned is the antecedent of the best practices movement. From the 1950s a small subdivision of analysts has incessantly endeavored to separate, from the wide-ranging continuum of activities, the most suitable alternatives for each phase of conflict. These have produced various frameworks. In a nutshell, even if conflict can be moderated, the wide-ranging subject of conflict management is at present attempting to cut off customs to take on activities productively. As Lund argues "there is a lack of understanding and knowledge, particularly at the high and middle policymaking levels of the US governments and other key entities, of the range of potential risks posed by post-Cold War trends and of their real costs, of the various policy method and entities that can in fact be used to reduce them, of the particular strategies that appear to work the best and of how to implement those strategies."[232] Unless there is additional tangible information ensuing from best practices and lessons learned, early warning will still face challenges regarding what, when and by whom initiatives should be taken.

4.4.8. Incoherent, Inconsistent, Inadequate, Contradictory, Incomplete, or even Harmful Response Strategies

Deterrent action was too sluggish and/or not well-timed (particularly evident in Kosovo and East Timor). The kinds of intervention assumed were insufficient, and/or the long-standing outcomes were not taken into account (for example, the early acknowledgment of Croatia's independence without taking into account the impact on Yugoslavia as a whole, exclusion of Kosovo in the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords in order to bring about closure in Bosnia).Responses taken were incoherent and incongruous (for example the Yugoslavia, military intervention in Kosovo that

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[232] Austin, Fischer and Ropers, Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict, 142-143.

had no regard whatsoever for the ground troops). Responses in this difficult circumstance were not pursued, seen from beginning to end (for example, Somalia).[233]

Early warning attempts should be made that seek to enhance improved harmonization of the various early-warning purposes. Harmonization of various bodies is confronted by a two-fold setback. The different early warning bodies collect differing indicators, and an accurate image of the situation cannot come into view unless they have been integrated: and there is no sufficient institutionalization of constant collaboration among the different institutions so as to give an accurate picture of the situation.[234]

Whereas development associates are more and more dedicated to state building, their methodologies do not satisfactorily replicate the need to assist government institutions, while nurturing state-society affairs. They have not moved beyond "technical" institution building and capacity development to hold up wider political discourses and courses of action. State building attempts are inclined to center on the executive at central level, with a smaller amount of aid for the legislature, judiciary and decentralized administrations. Assistance is often concerted on formal institutions and "traditional" areas of intervention such as election support, public sector management and service delivery, while support to civil society organizations in order to foster free and fair political processes, domestic revenue mobilization or job creation is left behind.[235]

4.4.9. Complexity of Early Warning Systems in Minority Conflicts

The most crucial rationale of an early warning system is to keep an eye on the rise in tensions, establish threats and, sound warning signals to avert conflict. In the circumstances of minority

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[233]Mwaûra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 78-79.
[234]Heinz, et. al, Europe's New Challenges, 287.
[235] OECD, Conflict and Fragility International Engagement in Fragile States Can't We Do Better? Can't We Do Better? (N.P: OECD Publishing, 2011), 14-15.

conflicts, early warning systems turn out to be more difficult. The social, historical, political and economic situations and interests of various parties have to be taken into account which makes it hard to put early warning machinery in place. Also, there is a lack of willingness to confer on the question of intra-state conflicts on a wide-ranging level. The rule of non-intervention emerges, and it often assumes a violent situation to bring about a reaction. Furthermore, international pressure on its own may be an ineffectual tool.[236]

4.5. Structural Challenges in African Early Warning

Most early warning systems are inaccurately structured and gaps exist both in external and internal infrastructure. Very often, warning is broken away from early response, so that the stakeholders who the information is conveyed to are different from those who have the authorization to synchronize a response. An encouraging example, in which the exemption demonstrates to be more successful, is the OSCE's office of the High Commissioner of National Minorities whose powers tolerate greater independence. In Macedonia, when conflict broke out, the High Commissioner could relay the early warning to the relevant national and central authorities, without having to wait for authorization from the OSCE Chairperson's office.[237]

4.5.1. The 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs

Early warning efforts often fail because of players with diverse competing interests — 'spoilers' or Conflict entrepreneurs. Players may have their own plans/motivations and be openly involved in the conflict. This is particularly true of local leaders and business men and women who may

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[236] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 26.
[237] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 26.

act as "ethnic entrepreneurs", driving their own political and economic plans without essentially speaking for the interests of the minority group.[238]

4.5.2. ICT Challenges

Communication in crisis zones is confronted by two major obstacles. The first challenge is access to communication technology. Access is mainly restricted due to political necessity and lack of economic development. The second challenge is safety, both in terms of field-security and data security. These challenges affect the "big world" and the "small world" in alike and unlike ways.

4.5.3. Delays in Early Warning and Response

Delays are a characteristic that jeopardize the performance of multifaceted systems. Sterman argues that "delays are pervasive. It takes time to measure and report information. It takes time to make decisions. And it takes time for decisions to affect the state of a system." Delays may lead to "counterintuitive behaviors or to striking differences between short-term and long-term behaviors. Two main types of delays are usually considered in the literature on dynamic systems, material delays and information delays." The first one concerns the delay in the flow of material objects. Take for example the time required to set out a UN peacekeeping force on the ground once the resolution has been made. The contingents from countries that play part in the peacekeeping force must be gathered, and afterward transferred to the site. All these take some time and often impact negatively on the mission's success. More difficult is the type of delay that has to do with communication, views and attitudes. The process of getting information from the crisis area for instance takes time to reach the media. Also it takes much time for the

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[238] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 27.

government to reach an agreement on a viable humanitarian response. Information delays may play a key role in circumstances where several stakeholders are present, and operating in correspondence with one another. The absence of appropriate information of the other stakeholders' interventions and an imprecise assessment of their aims, may result in disastrous outcomes.[239]

4.5.4. Representation

One question that has been posed as a constrain in the field of early warning that has been asked time and over is who speaks legally on behalf of minorities in early warning of minority conflicts? Representatives could be in form of external and an internal assessment. The external assessment would analyze whether the existing legislation is discriminatory in any manner. It may look at the country reports to the UN monitoring bodies of monitoring Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) — such as Amnesty International, Minority Rights Group, Human Rights Watch, Asia Watch and discover unresolved cases of human rights violations in the country. An internal assessment would be to look at the documents and websites of minority representatives, local community reports and testimonies as sources of information. However, representation in such issue has remained a challenge.[240]

4.5.5. Early Warning Fatigue

Most early warning systems speed-read only the face of the causes of conflict, without any actual concern of interest mapping or scrutiny of the underlying causes and tensions. In cases where

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[239] Giorgio Gallo, Conflict Theory, Complexity and Systems Approach, Systems Research and Behavioral Science Syst. Res. (2012), Published online in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com) DOI: 10.1002/sres.2132.
[240] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 27.

tensions are not adequately examined and early warnings are misreported these have generated false alarms and caused early warning fatigue.[241]

4.5.6. Avoiding the Conflict Prevention versus Mass Atrocity Prevention Trap

There is a predisposition to center on the prevention of conflict and overlook the likelihood of mass atrocity crimes in peacetime. Most of the apparatus intended for conflict deterrence are also used for the deterrence of mass atrocities. The danger in this is that it makes it complicated to predict where mass atrocities would blow up in the nonexistence of armed conflict. It is hard to tell the difference between an early warning sign for armed conflict and an early warning for mass atrocities unless a specific relationship begins to materialize in the situation that point to a particular dimension. If the conflict early warning systems are centered mainly on conflict deterrence, as most AU policy documents put forward at present, then it could fail to spot signs of looming peacetime mass atrocities. The probable executor of peacetime mass atrocities would be state authorities or agents, for example, under a brutal dictator. If the conflict early warning systems are looking for early warning of armed conflict in such a case, it could find structural conditions but nothing might point to the fact that there is a looming mass atrocity since there is no armed conflict.[242]

4.5.7. Multiple and Multiply-Interconnected Components

Structures are made of substructures and, at the same time, they are substructures of bigger and more multifaceted structures. The difficulty is that often, when encountered with a conflict or a

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[241] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 27.
[242] Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 165.

incident of insecurity, the complexity is overlooked, in anticipation that the situation will go down and consequently long-term peace turns out to be almost unachievable.[243]

4.6. Future Directions for Early Warning and Response

When passing judgment on conflict early warning, prevention and management, we need to be conscious that the whole subject is still a major work in progress-especially since it did not begin to boom until the end of the Cold War. Yet, the experience over the past decadehas provided some important lessons that assist in structuring a practicable mechanism not destined for collapse from the beginning. The key point so far is that it may not be the notions of early warning and conflict prevention that are flawed per se, but potentially our relevance or failure thereof. We can distinguish failures associated with early warning's technical features (information collection and analysis), its institutional features (communication channels and decision-making processes), as well as its response side. Failures at the response side of conflict avoidance not only tend to be associated with technical or institutional constraints but also to situational and political conditions.[244]

Long-term security is process-based, different from being a short-range, deliverable product. Dedicating concentration to the process is paramount because it shapes the building blocks of trust, a vital precondition for all conflict resolution dealings. In the context of interstate conflicts, process obtains even greater impact because of the psychopolitical dynamics implicated. As observed by Michelle Parlevliet, "to overcome negative feelings and perceptions so that structural issues can be addressed, protagonists have to develop trust in the process and in those who guide it." hence, whether security is being sought in a troublesome environment, or as

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[243] Giorgio Gallo, Conflict Theory, Complexity and Systems Approach, Systems Research and Behavioral Science Syst. Res. (2012), Published online in Wiley Online Library (wileyonlinelibrary.com) DOI: 10.1002/sres.2132.
[244]Mwaŭra and Schmeidl, Early Warning and Conflict Management, 76.

conflict deterrent action, it is a process that is based on agreements, trust and cooperation between various subdivision of society at the local, national, and regional levels.[245]

There are two viable ways to tackle the disparity between early warning and early response. Early warning systems must be: (a) "built back-to-front. To augment the possibility that the suggestions would be followed, the early warning systems must openly employ the assistance and, furthermore, the capacity of the decision makers. Unless, this is accomplished, then it will make a small difference how much is devoted in the correctness of the mechanism; (b) built as a satellite around particular conflict hindrance machineries in so doing directly connecting warning with concrete response initiatives. The system should not be built in seclusion."[246]

To overcome the disparity between conflict prevention theory and practice, prevention needs to develop into around the clock specialized and governmental venture. A significant feature that will direct this obligation is to deal with the urgent need to actively get involved in crisis prevention. In particular, concentration should be aimed at advancing all the major actions entailed in the prevention process, from the identification and projection of when, why and where conflict will explode to how to mediate.[247]

There is need for conflict early warning systems to integrate, at different stages of the warning process, different groups of stakeholders involved in governance so that when particular occurrences are conveyed such actors or groups are automatically set off as part of a wider response strategy and therefore protect the warning from vanishing on transit as it moves from the warning room at the bottom to the decision makers at the top. This type of organization

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[245]Laurent Mwesiga Baregu and Chris Landsberg, From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), 245.
[246] Austin, Fischer and Ropers, Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict, 144.
[247]Marwala and Lagazio, Militarized Conflict Modeling, 223-224.

would have been useful in a situation like Kenya where the national government was warned but the information did not arrive to others who could have taken action where the government did not.[248]

The underlying principle behind the development of early warning systems for instability in general and conflict and crises in particular lies in the acknowledgment that it is simple to power international events in their initial phases, before they become more hostile and less controllable. Such systems, while in their formative years, hold promise of providing early enough warning so that policy makers can lay down, standardize, and fine-tune their strategies so as to be at the forefront of instability events.[249]

Development partners acknowledge that the context should serve as the first point of reference, and that knowledge of local political economy realities is important, yet they neither carry out regular and systemic assessments, nor methodically distribute the ones they have carried out, nor do they necessarily use the analysis to inform their programming. On the contrary, international stakeholders still use "pre-packaged" programming rather than modifying assistance to fit local realities. For example, lack of donor knowledge of needs and context at the sub-national level considerably hampers the success of programming, whereas development partners' methodologies to tackling gender inequalities risk being counterproductive except if they are founded in a reliable understanding of the context. In the same way, it is felt that development

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[248]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 167.
[249]Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Myth and Reality in International Politics: Meeting Global Challenges through Collective Action (New York: Routledge, 2016), 23.

partners tend to devise their country strategies without sufficiently seek advice from their beneficiary countries.[250]

4.6.1. Strengthen Leadership and Coordination to Ensure an Effective Response

Leadership and coordination are indispensable in the successful management of all phases and response to crises, from early warning to relief, recovery, and difficult structural causes. The role of both the governments and UN are fundamental. While precise tasks depend on the context and the level of state capacity, major standards comprise of guaranteeing the deployment of qualified leadership; the development of national agendas that have the extensive back up of the humanitarian community, donors and governments; support to national capacity to provide effectual harmonization; and support to civil society to hold governments to account.[251]

Averting the outburst of armed conflicts still remains one of our most complicated challenges in the twenty-first century. And so does management, settlement, and transformation of conflicts. Whereas up to date figures reveal that the amount of destructive conflicts has fallen off since the 1990s, they are expected to remain a defining characteristic of the international system. The 2005 Human Security Report stresses that policies spanning from preventive diplomacy to post-conflict peace building are significant in our efforts in the direction of realizing long-lasting peace and human security. Different types of international activism, consisting of the expansion of conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding activities, mostly on the part of the United

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[250]OECD, Conflict and Fragility International Engagement in Fragile States Can't We Do Better? Can't We Do Better? (N.P: OECD Publishing, 2011), 14.

[251] Stephen Cockburn, Food Crisis in the Sahel: Five Steps to Break the Hunger Cycle in 2012 (N.P.: Oxfam, 2012), 6.

Nations, but also other international organizations, have undoubtedly weighed in on such shifting patterns of violent conflicts.[252]

Warners need to offer early warning and courses for response at all phases of the conflict scale. The significance of warning is lessened if its center is exclusively on forecasting the eruption of violence. Second, the development of cost-effective and up-to-date early warning arrangements necessitates the harmonization of several issues.[253]

4.6.2. Better International Regulatory Frameworks and Norms

The role of the United Nations in averting wars and open conflicts can be reinforced by giving more concentration to making available international regimes and norms to preside over some of the causes and accelerators of conflicts. A very broad range of laws, norms, agreements and preparations are significant here, covering legal regimes and dispute resolution mechanisms, arms control and disarmament regimes, and dialogue and cooperation arrangements.[254]

4.6.3. Better Information Analysis

Conflict deterrence calls for early warning and analysis that is founded on informed and independent research. While the United Nations has some early-warning and analysis competence spread among different organs and subdivisions, the Secretary-General has not succeeded in instituting any appropriately-resourced unit proficient enough to incorporate inputs from these offices into early warning reports and tactic options for reasons of decision-making. The best alternative for generating a consistent capacity for developing strategic options is to

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[252]Dennis J.D. Sandole, Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution (London: Routledge, 2007), Xiii.

[253]Hayward, Gurr, and Rurpesinghe, Journeys Through Conflict, 417-418.

[254] Great Britain: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the United Nations Secretary General High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (Norwich: The Stationery Office, 2005), 28.

reinforce the Office of the Secretary General through creation of a Deputy Secretary General for Peace and Security.[255]

4.6.4. Balanced Sociation

"Balanced sociation is a deliberate attempt by a society to create both cooperation and conflict prominent in public consciousness, formal education, and public investment. The postulation is that an ongoing tension between the two is vital for unwavering and productive social relations. Aho speaks of "tension wisdom" emerging within a society like the United States, with its members growing" more and more open-minded about disagreements and differences and learning how to live with them more innovatively and effectively. Balanced sociation could be reinforced through a society's education process. Skills of differing constructively could be taught together with those of cooperating and getting along.[256]

For early warning to be successful — in any context and with regard to any threat — one should try to take such a systematic approach. Consequently, stakeholders in early warning and response call for toiling closely together. Early warning systems need to be impartial and even while emerging to be serious with official actions, they need to make sure that all actors occupied in the process seek to actively cooperate with one another. Schnabel and Krummenacher draw attention to how a centering on restoring the root causes for human insecurity – which is a less politically responsive issue – can have an affirmative impact on discovering and tackling early the underlying causes for conflict. Threat analysis, warning and avoidance systems and appliances are present at national level. Moreover, there are quite a lot of

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[255] Great Britain: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility, Report of the United Nations Secretary General High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (Norwich: The Stationery Office, 2005), 28.
[256] Bartos J. Otomar and Paul Wehr, Using Conflict Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 150.

well-designed regional early warning and prevention programmes and activities. For instance, the European Commission and the OSCE practice early warning and preventive activities, and so do a number of African sub-regional organizations, such as ECOWAS, IGAD, ECCAS and SADC. While the distribution of classified intelligence is intricate even among close and forthcoming organizations, such regional endeavors tend to depend on open-source analysis (that is, the analysis of publicly obtainable information resources, such as media reports). Once regional neighbours concur on the nature of regionally appropriate threats and necessities for the most appropriate responses, combined strategies can be put into place to build realistic responses to ward off difficult threat situations. Most important for a systematic approach is the need for not only assembling information on imminent conflict but to evaluate the information and distinguish early warning signals. The accurate signs have to be discovered in good time in order to foresee and plan for the outburst of conflict. This also implies analysts and policy makers need to work closely to make certain that suitable response is embarked on by the right authority in an opportune time.[257]

4.6.5. Capacity and Scenario Building for Early Warning

Realizing a sustainable regional framework of an early warning system for conflicts calls for building capacities at all levels — local, national, bilateral, regional, and international. Whereas their communities may vary, there is a need for different stakeholders at each level to be able to scrutinize conflict trend as they develop. Early warning could be an extremely rigorous exercise and difficult in a multi-level context and the lack of improved education can put the efforts made at risk. For that reason, systematic capacity building intended at developing different stakeholders, becomes central, so that they are completely oriented and equipped for early

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[257] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 25.

warning and early action. Capacity building can be costly and the lack of available funding can reduce the possibility of many actors to be actively involved in the early warning and early response process. Very often, there is a rivalry for resources between the actors involved. Hence there is a requirement for a lasting approach to increase coordination and synergies between the various stakeholders for the universal profit of all. In addition to capacity building, scenario building trainings could help towards developing the trends and indicators for an early warning regional structure. An excellent model that scenario building could be founded on is the Mont Fleur scenario-building process, which was originally assumed in South Africa during 1991–92 to persuade people from both private and public sector organizations to think innovatively about their country's future. Indicators of this model are mapped by analyzing past experience; present development trends; and possible future direction. In the initial model, participants narrowed down from 40 scenarios in the first year to four models in the fourth year. The government used these scenarios to guide itself during the development of different dynamics to act in a way that contained tension and disembark on the best-case scenario.[258]

4.7. Findings

From the discussions made earlier on in this work, it is clear that progress has been made in detecting and monitoring early signs of conflict, and this has been enhanced by local initiatives that facilitate ownership. Conflict prevention mechanisms have been established at global, regional, and local levels, which provide useful insights into potential crises. However, these mechanisms should be strengthened to produce timely and tangible outcomes. In different countries, Early Warning Systems have been operationalized, and collaboration with the regional early-warning mechanisms are being developed. The conflict prevention theory clearly states that

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[258] Elies, Iglesias, and Hwee, Early Warning Systems, 29.

prevention of conflict depends on clear identification of signs and assuming appropriate action to prevent the outbreak. The countries that have recorded successful early warning processes in this chapter portrayed improved communication with other regional mechanisms and stakeholders mandated to act on early warning, as well as stronger cooperation with civil society organizations.

Nevertheless, several challenges still remain for the international community to strengthen conflict prevention. They include coordination between early-warning actors and decision makers who can act on proposed policy options, identifying the relevant actors or institutions to respond to a particular conflict, and mobilizing the necessary capacity and resources to provide a timely response.

4.8. Conclusion

Conflict early warning efforts have been met by severe challenges in Africa. These challenges have manifested themselves in different forms: some in Knowledge gaps, some in operational obstacles, unfavourable political environment, while some as structural challenges. Various early warning attempts have portrayed mixed levels of success. Effective early warning and response is no mean feat in contexts where constraints abound and major structural issues run deep. Yet even the flawed attempts at early warning and response described in chapter five offer important lessons for stakeholders, lessons that should be taken into account during future operations and incorporated into national policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS ON CONFLICT PREVENTION IN AFRICA

5.1. Introduction

Effective prediction and analysis of impending conflicts should be underlined with some type of early warning-system. Proper investigation is in the long run a waste of time and resources if it fails to be acted upon by the decision makers. The thought of a universal early-warning system for conflict prevention is not new. The concept of conflict early warning and early response entails monitoring when violence is about to befall and enhancing well-timed intervention to avert or avoid conflict. Conflict early warning involves a broad range of stakeholders: from leaders at a local level (such as members of a peace committee), middle level (such as parliamentarians of that part of a country), and top level (such as the head of a government ministry or a diplomat). Important to note in conflict early warning however, is that when there is only little time left, the local community and those immediate members who are fully occupied by collecting data regarding an impending storm are the key interveners who can physically inhibit conflict or persuade prospective targets to avoid it.[259]

Although the roles of stakeholders were first propagated through the corporate social responsibility drive, the idea has been functional mainly by international organizations operational in development and conflict management. Harvard's Global Negotiation Project supports a way of approaching conflicts which is opposed to looking at conflict from a single

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[259] Joseph G. Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence: Social Media and Violence Prevention (MIT Press, 2012), 1.

side but also from the bigger standpoint of the immediate community which is otherwise referred to as the stakeholders' perspective.[260] The entire linkage of early warning stakeholders and target groups is made up of networks of local monitors, trained analysts, journalists and media, intelligence services, diplomatic missions, development agencies, local committees, early warning country coordinators, research institutes, donors, economic actors, and their local affiliates, as well as even the rule of law bodies.[261]

The Harvard Project on Negotiation maintains that, "early warning signals appear most clearly to those immediately around the disputants."[262] These early warning indicators are open source intelligence signals that local stakeholders are more likely aware of than outsiders. Nevertheless, it should be explicitly acknowledged that all informants—remunerated or voluntary, third-party or stakeholder—carry their own insecurities to a monitoring attempt, and these insecurities may or may not be compatible with those of the local communities. This Chapter is a presentation of the key stakeholders involved in conflict early warning, their roles and some of the factors that hinder their effective intervention.

5.2. Purpose of an Early Warning System in Africa

History has it that the appeal for an early warning system dates back to at least 1978: it nevertheless took close to nine years before it got to the United Nations. Rupensinghe contends that, there are numerous contemporary interventions in the early warning field. The United Nations organs that dealt with the EWS activities are the Department of Political Affairs in New York and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs at Geneva. The Geneva information station is

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[260]David Carment, David Carment and Martin Rudner, Peacekeeping Intelligence: New Players, Extended Boundaries (Routledge), 132.
[261]Kacsó Zsuzsanna, Civilian Conflict Management: The Role of Scenario Building in the, 143.
[262]Carment, Carment and Rudner, Peacekeeping Intelligence, 132.

currently known as the "Relief Web". There is also the Rocard initiative situated in Brussels. The EWS structure in Africa that emerged in the beginning of the seminar in Addis Ababa in January 1996 particularly dedicated to reviewing EWS structure intended to have the signatories of the OAU, now the African Union as the primary local points. The regional organizations—for example, ECOWAS, the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the UN and its special organs, academic institutions, the research centres, the media and the ever growing NGO faction-as outlets or co-ordination points.[263]

Contrary to the traditional intelligence systems, early warning systems make use of the most convenient methods obtainable to everyone and usually endeavor to contribute to human security, as opposed to state security. Early warning relies on distinct methods and the dissemination of information between various stakeholders. However, the system heavily relies on the civil society for reports, recommendations and analysis. It further necessitates a collective effort at international, regional, national, and local levels. The rationale of early warning thus is to invent premeditated interventions so as to avert further advancement of early-stage conflicts, or possible conflicts. Preventive actions are assumed for the advantage of common good. What this means therefore is that in addition to gathering and substantiating information, early warning calls for the examination of that data, the dissemination of the findings to all significant stakeholders, and the conception and execution of actions.[264]

During the institution of the OAU at the Cairo Summit, when the Heads of States established the machinery for conflict prevention, management and resolution, they intended to endow the continental body with an up-to-date institutional framework for the advancement of peace,

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[263] Celestine Oyom Bassey and Oshita O. Oshita, Governance and Border Security in Africa (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2010), 72.

[264] Karin, Dokken, African Security Politics Redefined (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 136.

security and stability through the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The leaders were conscious of the fact that there cannot be substantial and sustainable development in Africa in the absence of peace, security and stability. As an amendment to the machinery, the AU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim says that the EWS is seen as being:

> ''Originally intended at allowing specialists in the field of conflict prevention, the opportunity of predicting and countering crisis situations before they get out of hand, or in the very least, allow them the bargaining chip to take corrective action in order to alleviate their negative effects once they are underway.''[265]

5.3. Key Stakeholders in Conflict Early Warning

Austin asserts that a set of connections of country professionals, policy makers and analysts, the International Crisis Group, or associations of practitioners and bodies examining specific circumstances, can caution and support efforts. Just like some scholars and practitioners of peace and conflict, Joseph Bock affirms that the center of conflict early warning and early response should be on the "grassroots." Experience has it that the "outsider" approach has not been effective and so attention has been diverted to the local level. Scholars such as John Paul Lederach argue that sustainable change is that which focuses from bottom-up. Bock adds that early warning responses ought to take place from "grassroots" to "middle-out", connecting the grassroots with modest leaders at middle and top levels of political, civic, and religious leadership. Promoting community participation in early warning responses has proved successful with the technology of text messages and social media. Bock recommends technologically advanced methods. These methods involve all concerned members through crowd sourcing,

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[265] Bassey and Oshita, Governance and Border Security in Africa (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2010), 72.

encouraging all concerned parties to present information about tension and conflict through text messages, social media feed, and internet form submissions can be helpful for systematizing.[266]

Therefore, it is understandable that conflict early warning and early response involving top-level leaders, usually international outsiders has had a disappointing record. In contrast, approaches supporting people at a local level to intervene to prevent violence in their own communities are being noticed and acknowledged. Training people living in communities suffering from considerable intergroup tension, warning them that violence is likely and then facilitating initiatives to prevent it or to flee from an attack can and has worked.

The deliberations of the third international conference on early warning held in Bonn, Germany in 2006 reveal that devising and executing a successful early warning system necessitates the involvement and harmonization of various actors. On the other hand, the final report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, reveals that some of the key players in an early warning system comprise of states, international bodies, profit making companies, religious leaders, scientific groups, and the media. All these players have different capabilities to gather information, analyze, disseminate and take preventive measures.[267]

Similarly, Carment and Albrecht define stakeholders in a conflict as any individuals, groups and institutions who contribute to conflict and/or are affected by it (in a positive or negative manner), and/or are engaged in dealing with it. It is important to understand the motives, interests, and relationships between stakeholders. Moreover, it is of importance to know their capacities, their peace agenda, and the incentives they respond to, as well as the roles they play in either fuelling

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[266]Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence, 1.
[267]Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Preventing Deadly Conflict: Final Report with Executive Summary.

conflict or reducing the same. Suhrke divides stakeholders into two major categories; positive stakeholders and negative (spoilers) stakeholders.[268] A number of main stakeholders such as traditional and community leaders, victims of conflict, intervening NGOs, the "media, religious groups, trade unions, criminal organizations and networks, security forces, armed groups, political leaders, prominent civil servants, conflict mediators, neighboring governments", and human rights organizations can play a positive role in conflict prevention using early warning. Similarly, international players and policymakers are central to peace processes and taking them into account should be the focus of conflict early warning frameworks.[269]

To avoid intractability of conflict, particular attention should be paid to spoilers. Spoilers are particular people or groups of people whose interest in the retention of the negative state of affairs overrides their endeavor for peaceful co-existence. If particular attention is not paid to this group of people in the process of developing a framework for the prevention of violent conflict, they pose the risk of frustrating peace initiatives. Other than spoilers, Suhrke observes that the assessment of the institutional capacities for peace is crucial in further defining the entry points required in addressing the causes of violent conflict.[270] According to Davies, the capacities of institutions and organizations as well as the mechanisms and procedures adopted by a society in dealing with conflict and differences of interest ought to be improved so as to ensure that chances of success of conflict early warning signs are heightened.[271]

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[268]Suhrke A, and B. Jones, "Preventive Diplomacy in Rwanda: Failure to Act or Failure of Actions," in Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized, Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World, ed. Bruce.W. Jentleson (New York: Rowman& Littlefield, 2000).
[269]David Carment and S. Albrecht, Conflict Prevention: Path to Peace or Grand Illusion Conflict Prevention: Path to Peace or Grand Illusion (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 2003), 11.
[270]Suhrke and Jones, "Preventive Diplomacy in Rwanda,"
[271] Davies L. John and Ted Robert Gurr, Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 1998), 61.

In the Ilemi triangle various common characteristics appear in an analysis of the stakeholders in conflict early warning. The disputes surrounding the Ilemi triangle could pass as first of all, internal or intrastate (they take place within internationally recognized borders); localized (violence does not affect the whole country); regionalized; and internationalized (causes as well as consequences must be duly understood within the greater regional and international context). As some Scholars discussed earlier, all categories of stakeholders, each with their agenda and rationale, contribute in the dynamics of conflict. The stakeholders in the Ilemi triangle could be categorized into primary, secondary, tertiary and spoilers which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent pages.[272]

5.3.1. The African Union Continental Early Warning System

The AU previously known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963 to articulate the interests of African states as members of the international community. The founding of OAU was a great triumph for the cause of decolonization. The OAU's charter gave it a wide mandate, and it was intended that the organization would spearhead and coordinate African platforms on issues such as development and cooperation. However, with the settlement of conflict in South Africa, the organization suddenly found itself without a common cause. It therefore needed to search for, and articulate a new agenda, if it was not to become irrelevant in the twenty first century. This study would argue that the issue of conflict management in Africa could be an area in which the OAU could make a more substantive contribution and show leadership within institutions.[273]

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[272]Richard Bowd and Annie Barbara Chikwanha, Understanding Africa's contemporary conflicts Origins, challenges and peace building (Addis Ababa: The African Human Security Initiative (AHSI), 2010), 27.
[273]Mwagiru Mukami, Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006), 142.

Following fundamental political and socio-economic changes which were taking place in the world in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the then OAU Secretary-General Dr. Salim A. Salim submitted to the 58th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, and 29th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in June 1993 in Cairo, a report on the establishment within the OAU, of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (MCPMR). Based on that report, the Assembly, in turn, adopted a declaration establishing within the OAU, a mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa.[274]

During the Cold War, OAU conflict management revolved around two approaches. The first was that the OAU created a dichotomy between internal and inter-state conflicts. Having created this dichotomy, the OAU argued that its conflict management mandate applies to inter-state conflicts rather than to internal conflicts. The argument was that the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states precluded the organization from involving itself in internal conflicts in member states. The second policy of OAU conflict management was that mediation under the OAU was undertaken by committees of heads of state. These committees were appointed *ad hoc* and reported back to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.[275] The adoption of the mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa which Professor Jannie Malan describes as a truly African product signaled Africa's determination to solve its own problems. Indeed, by establishing within the OAU this mechanism, the Heads of

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[274]BIiswaro J. Mukama, The Role of Regional Integration in Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa The Case of African Union, Bras¡lia 2013. http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/1038-Role_of_Regional_Integration_in_Conflict_Prevention_Management_and_Resolution_in_Africa_The.pdf
[275]Mwagiru, Mukami, Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006), 143.

State and Government gave concrete expression of their commitment to work together towards a peaceful and speedy resolution of all conflicts on the Continent.[276]

According to the report, the Mechanism would be equipped with the "objectives and principles of the OAU Charter. The principle entail, the sovereign equality of Member States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States, their inalienable right to independent existence, the peaceful settlement of disputes as well as the inviolability of borders inherited from colonialism. It would also function on the basis of the consent and the cooperation of the parties to the conflict."[277]

The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) is a structure that is core to the fulfillment of Africa Union's conflict prevention, management and resolution mandates as without the capacity to monitor, analyze and develop tailored and timely response and policy options to threats of peace and security on the continent, the AU would be severely limited in its ability to address these appropriately. The PSC Protocol gives the CEWS a fundamental responsibility for which a carefully developed methodology and process are required: that of anticipating and preventing the occurrence of overt conflict through the provision of information and analysis of the Chairperson of the Commission. In the fulfillment of his responsibility to advise the PSC on potential threats to peace and security in Africa, as well as recommend best courses of action, the Chairperson relies therefore on a well-functioning, comprehensive and AU specific early warning system. Consequently, the CEWS assumes a critical role as regards the ability of key institutions of the Union and other pillars of the peace and security architecture to perform their

[276]BIiswaro J. Mukama, The Role of Regional Integration in Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa The Case of African Union, Bras¡lia 2013. http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/1038-Role_of_Regional_Integration_in_Conflict_Prevention_Management_and_Resolution_in_Africa_The.pdf

[277]BIiswaro J. Mukama, The Role of Regional Integration in Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa The Case of African Union, Bras¡lia 2013. http://funag.gov.br/loja/download/1038-Role_of_Regional_Integration_in_Conflict_Prevention_Management_and_Resolution_in_Africa_The.pdf

responsibilities, particularly the PSC, other Departments within the Commission, the Panel of the Wise, and the Pan-African Parliament among others.[278]

The purpose of the "continental early warning system is the provision of timely advice on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security to enable the development of appropriate response strategies to principle decision-makers at the AU: the Chairperson of the Commission, the PSC and other Departments within the Commission. Others include various organs and structures of the AU, namely the Pan-African Parliament, the Panel of the Wise and the African Commission on Human and People's rights."[279]

5.4.1.1. Methodology of AU's Continental Early Warning System

In the African Union's continental early warning system, the use of text messaging is a useful step forward for local conflict early warning and early response. If using this mechanism, there are seven stages to producing data, namely: "(1) categorizing and queuing; (2) expanded use of natural language interface; (3) verification of statements by key leaders; (4) translation software; (5) unstructured data feeds; (6) image recognition; and (7) using the stars." The first method of categorizing and queuing was put together by the European Commission's Joint Research Center (JRC) and has been taken up in the African Union's Continental Early Warning System (CEWS).[280]

CEWS approach entails three constant and synchronized phases. These comprise: data gathering and monitoring; conflict and cooperation evaluation; and the establishment of response strategies

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[278] Gomes João Porto and Engel Ulf, Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2013), 91.

[279] El-Ghassim Wane et al., "The Continental Early Warning System: Methodology and Approach," in Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, eds. Dr. Joào Gomes Porto, Prof Ulf Engel (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2013), 92.

[280] Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence, 191.

are nonstop, and conjoint. The primary phase centers on the nonstop (and semi-automated) data collection process, which safeguards monitoring of political, economic, humanitarian, social and military developments across Africa. The primary objective of the founding of CEWS was that there would be teamwork with both global and sub-regional early warning systems. Despite the fact that CEWS, through the PSC, has succeeded in enhancing collaboration with early warning machineries of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD ECCAS and AMU, there still remains a great amount of work to be done. Important to note nevertheless, is that not all the RECs have founded their own early warning systems. The SADC region has no official body like ECOWAS, but has a provisional operational system within the structure for politics, defense and security known as the inter-state defense and security committee (ISDSC). Major challenges that face the operations of CEWS comprise the obstacle of national sovereignty, question of information ownership, spelling out early warning modules and their possession within the AU, absence of technological infrastructure, and inadequate financial and human resources. Similar to all other continental systems, the operationalization CEWS is mainly constrained by political influence that is inattentive to the urgency for change.[281]

5.4.2. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

The seven IGAD member states (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda) created the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN). CEWARN as a "collaborative effort targeted at mitigating and preventing violent conflicts in the sub-region. Since its establishment in 2002, CEWARN has had a particular focus on cross-border pastoralist and related conflicts. Its mandate is to receive and share information concerning potentially

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[281] Juma, Human Rights and Conflict, 122.

violent conflicts as well as their outbreak and escalation in the IGAD region, undertake analysis of the information and develop case scenarios to formulate options for response."[282] For example the CEWARN field monitors picked up the hostilities between groups within Kenya and Uganda quite early and made appropriate reports, helping to douse the flames of an open dispute. CEWARN is divided into zonal offices in each member state. The CEWARN system also depends on Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs) which collect information using field monitors. Information collected in this way is analyzed at the national level and then synthesized into a regional response. It is particularly important to note the existence of peace committees at the local level in each district and at village level.

Boundary and border disputes and tensions in the IGAD area have traditionally been picked up at the local level and through individuals known as field monitors. It has been suggested during interviews that IGAD is mostly faced with human security issues. Thus, in theory boundary tensions could be addressed through the various local structures such as the peace committees and use of village elders. If it became more serious it would be taken up by the Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit (CEWARU). CEWARU, in the first instance, can attempt to manage the conflict. It is, however, unlikely that actual delimitation and demarcation can be handled at any stage without involving bilateral commissions and/or reference to the sub-regional body itself.[283]

The prognosis for boundary disputes in the IGAD area is quite high. In May 2011 communities between Ethiopia and Kenya attacked each other leading to more than 24 fatalities. Kenya and Ethiopia eventually settled the matter later through diplomatic responses. CEWARN field

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[282]Oduntan Gbenga, International Law and Boundary Disputes in Africa (Routledge, 2015), 127-128.
[283]Gbenga, International Law, 128.

monitors picked the incident up quite early in 2009 and made appropriate reports. Later analysis showed that it arose from misunderstandings over grazing rights. Indeed, by the time governments waded in (according to CEWARN officials), the local peace committees had swung into action to prevent further deterioration of the situation.[284]

The IGAD early warning system was established under the IGAD Protocol on Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) acceded in Khartoum, Sudan in January 2002. CEWARN machinery comprises: the Assembly; Council and the Committee as the policy arm; the IGAD Secretariat as the administrative arm; and the CEWARN unit and CEWERUS as the technical arm. These organs function in harmony with the sub-regional bodies, the Committee of Permanent Secretaries of member states and the Technical Committee on Early Warning. Its operations comprise of gathering, evaluating and sharing out of information about conflicts in the region. CEWARN has been recognized for monitoring cross border cattle rustling and arms trafficking. It manages three regions in areas well-known as conflict prone: in Karamoja Cluster that monitors Kenya; Uganda; Ethiopia; and Sudan; Somali Cluster that monitors Ethiopia, Somali and Kenya; and the Afar Issa Cluster, which monitors Ethiopia and Djibouti. CEWARN operations have broadened to embrace the reinforcement of peace agreements among rival ethnic groups, educational programmes to manage cultural intolerance and heightened state presence in remote areas. The biggest challenge of CEWARN that has been acknowledged by experts is its absence of oversight machinery, which accords member states a mandate to resolve whether to act on early warning information or not. Another major setback is the fact that governments in the region do not have the might and good will to actualize change.[285]

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[284]Gbenga, International Law, 128-129.
[285] Juma, Human Rights and Conflict, 122-123.

A notable failure of the IGAD so far might be seen in the inability to achieve a conclusive solution to the dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, it is also notable that IGAD has demonstrated strong political resolve in prevention of cross-border conflicts within the region, and it was as a result of the organization's persistent efforts that the Eritrean state had to suspend her IGAD membership in 2007.[286]

Because of its focus on pastoralist issues, IGAD is particularly useful in detection and understanding of border and cross-border conflicts whether they arise out of shared amenities, resources or struggles over natural resources around the border areas between IGAD states:

> "The CEWARN mechanism has been able to develop a primary source of early warning capacity and is in the process of enhancing its link with the early response. The CEWARN's five-year strategy (2007-2011) articulated how the mechanism intends to link this capacity with an appropriate 'response component' in order to proactively and pre-emptively tackle the scourge of pastoral and related conflicts in the region. CEWARN has also developed the concept of the Rapid Response Fund (RRF) to help finance short-term projects" which aim to prevent, de-escalate or resolve pastoral and related conflicts in the region.[287]

Our research into the work of IGAD shows that most disputes involving grassroots indigenous communities relate to shared resources, particularly farmlands, water and grazing grounds. Particular expertise has been developed in these areas by IGAD in its attempts to defuse the tensions and immediately address boundary problems. A particularly impressive practice discovered in the work of IGAD is its institutionalization of the mechanism of the 'councils of elders' who mediate or negotiate the disputes that arise out of the interaction of boundary communities. The council of elders endeavors to ascertain as quickly as possible the facts of the developing situation or actual crisis. On the basis of their findings and reports, or evidence supplied to them, they offer solutions and recommendations to bring a situation under control or resolve a conflict and have been successful in doing so on many occasions.[288]

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[286]Gbenga, International Law, 129.
[287]Gbenga, International Law, 129.
[288]Gbenga, International Law, 129-130.

5.4.3. The ECOWAS Conflict Early Warning System

In 1999, the West African states discontented by the intrastate wars that were present in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leon at the time, ratified the convention Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security. This convention founded an early warning catalogue to assist in keep an account of the risks prone to spiral into violent conflict, and to support the organization in the devising of suitable interventions to looming conflicts or their escalation. In 2007, an office of the Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security was set up and charged with the mandate to execute operations of the mechanism, whose one major function was devising an early warning system. The structure under ECOWAS was envisaged as one whose functions would consist of gathering and evaluating conflict data, evaluate the warning indicators under the various set-ups, invent suitable intervention inputs, disseminate recommendations and evaluate early response.

The structure has an Observation Monitoring Center (OMC) that checks the four Observation and Monitoring Zones (OMZ) that fall under all the countries in the region. OZM are governed by zonal bureau chairpersons and are authorized to gather information in all states under their watch. The information then disseminated to OMC. After analysis of the information gathered the OMC compiles situational reports (briefings on security situation), incident reports (specific incidents of significance to security), and country profiles. Similar to the CEWARN, ECOWAS early warning system has not been very successful in accomplishing its original decree. Even though, the data collection has been comparatively exceptional, ECOWAS has as well recorded poor performance of the early warning response strategies and policies. Failure to work in

harmony between information gatherers, analysts, decision makers as well as field workers is the undoing of most early warning systems.[289]

5.4.4. International Actors: A Case of Failure

Judging from the remarks of the leaders in developed countries, they have a strong interest in advancing peace and human rights globally, and the major challenge occur from within the war-prone countries, possibly because of the intractability of tribalism, the widespread poverty or the greed of 'extremists' and 'illicit power structures'. Impunity has a key international aspect, both during complex emergencies and in the preceding period. International involvement in complex emergencies may have set in long before the crisis, whether through the impact of colonialism or through the backing of violent administrations during the cold war. Colonialism and the succeeding support for dictators often set the stage for an outburst of grievances in the 1980s and 1990s and for a good number of elite efforts to direct grievances, politics and violence along ethnic lines. In his book Famine Crimes, Alex de Waal notes that the list of the chief African beneficiary of US bilateral aid in 1962-88 appears like a record of the modern political emergencies: Sudan, Zaire (DRC), Somalia, Liberia, Ethiopia, with semi-stable Kenya contributing only a fractional exception to the rule. In view of the support that France specifically accorded the dictatorial government in Rwanda ahead of the genocide, it emerges that long-term assistance has a great role to play.

For example in Sudan, governments in Khartoum over the years have advanced a refined sense of what kind of violations they can escape (it helps if it looks like 'tribal warfare') and what kinds of matters on the part of key powers (access to oil, humanitarian access, cooperation in the Cold War or the 'war on terror', cooperation in the north-south peace negotiations) can be taken

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[289] Juma, Human Rights and Conflict, 123-124.

advantage of to guard international compliance (in practice, if not necessarily at the level of rhetoric). It should be noted that in matters of tackling war economies, judicial action has been exceptionally inadequate. For instance, the Security Council did not invoke the situation in Darfur to the ICC until March 2005 and the succeeding fact-finding lasted an entire twenty months. Infamous sanctions-busters like arms trafficker (and former Soviet military officer) Victor Bout-who is behind arms supply in conflicts in Angola, DRC, and Liberia, for instance-has enjoyed implicit impunity. One can criticize (and one should criticize) the contribution of South African Mercenaries in many African conflicts. It will be necessary to figure out how such flows may be (adaptive, abusive) interventions to political changes within militarized countries, offering an opening for prospective 'spoilers' of domestic amendments within Russia, China, South Africa and elsewhere. Consequently, the task of understanding (and making provision for) prospective spoilers should not be confined to crisis-affected nations but should also be stretched to richer countries where influential actors may be in quest of answers for some of their own problems-or at least acceptable processes that offer such (damaging) solutions.

5.5. The Gaps in Conflict Early Warning Systems in Africa

Despite the increasing significance of NGOs advanced scientific-know how, the majority of the present early warning systems at the regional or sub-regional level still pose as centralized and vertically structured. Examples include the AU's Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), ECOWAS' ECOWARN and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN). Despite the fact that these systems continue to be overwhelmed by challenges of political uncertainty, bureaucratic inefficiencies and unstable relations with local actors, steps are presently being undertaken to enhance their proper functioning. The AU's Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)

network, for instance has made noticeable steps in gathering data, analysis and transmission of such information over the past several years. At the sub-regional level, these top-down restructuring attempts are being complemented by NGO-advanced efforts to advance the receptiveness of CEWS' organs. For instance, the grassroots backing offered by the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) to ECOWARN has bolstered its ability to monitor issues at the local level and the participation of the Information and Communication Technologies for Peace Foundation (ICT4Peace) with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) has helped it to explore horizontal communication methods.[290]

The situation room of the Conflict Early Warning System (CEWs) examines progress in 54 AU Member States on the continent, despite the fact that its concentration is on impending conflict, open violence and post-conflict environs. It synchronizes its activities with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and other associations with similar outlooks. Nevertheless, the Kenyan situation depicts poor harmonization between the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) CEWARN and the CEWS situation Room. The CEWARN, it appears failed to detect the early warning signs in the Kenya predicament due to its bias on pastoralist conflicts. It has since enlarged the scale of its activities to envelop other vicious conflicts in member states across the region. One practical incident from the Kenyan occurrence is the need for some sort of division of labour between the RECS and the CEWS in monitoring developments to prevent mass atrocities. The RECS and national early warning systems would be best suited for such a task.[291]

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[290] Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, The Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict (London: Routledge, 2016), 176-177.

[291]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 165-166.

The implementation of the CEWS could also suffer from political and bureaucratic bottlenecks and the tendencies for organizational protection of "own turf" and control which could result in duplication and wastage in the system. To avoid this, the subsidiary principle implicit in the organizational relationship between the CEWS and RECs envisaged in the APSA must be preserved and strengthened. IGAD and ECOWAS early warning and response network (ECOWARN), with the most sophisticated early warning systems, may wish to push their own values, having been in the programme far longer than anyone else. Apart from ECOWARN and CEWARN, other RECs are yet to operationalize their early warning systems. There is already data circulation between the CEWS and the RECs but there are still challenges in the area of data collection from stakeholders, analysis and response options formulation and how decision-makers access and utilize this information.[292]

5.6. Effective Stakeholder Involvement in Conflict Early Warning

Striving for measuring and monitoring stakeholder participation and cooperation, are all central to facilitating stakeholder cooperation. Organizations should ensure the right people are involved, by assessing who is participating, in which activities, and what their concerns and contributions are. They should also regularly identify and address weaknesses in the change decision-making process in order to assess which activities are being poorly conducted and thus, take corrective actions. Finally, monitoring the extent to which stakeholders are cooperating with each other during the change process can provide early warning on potential "derailers" to the initiative.[293]

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[292]Kuwali and Viljoen, Africa and the Responsibility to Protect, 166.
[293] Serbrenia J. Sims and Ronald R. Sims, Managing School System Change: Charting a Course for Renewal (IAP, 2004), 125.

In every conflict in the world, it is always conceivable for someone, somewhere, to do something that helps at least a bit to transform the conflict in a positive direction. Even so called "intractable" large-scale conflicts are rarely limited to the activities of the main partisans. They involve diverse actors including NGOs and non-profit groups; stakeholders at the local, national, or international level; financial organizations; social networks; and other stakeholders. Each of these actors has particular entry points and ways to influence the direction of the conflict. For example, even when the official representatives of antagonistic sides of a conflict are unwilling to communicate directly with each other about possible settlements, it may be possible for members of diaspora communities to apply leverage directly or by influencing the governments of their new countries of residence.[294]

Alternatively, social movements, interest groups, and other unofficial actors can also be used to advance peace initiatives in cases where states lack leverage, credibility, or will. Such actors have increasingly demonstrated their capacity to engage partisans in unofficial diplomacy, provide conflict monitoring and early warning, utilize social network technologies, and advance the work of civil society organizations in conflict zones. Waging conflicts constructively typically entails different stakeholders doing different things at different times. Sometimes elites may focus on transforming conflicts through new policies and laws; other times private parties can constructively transform conflicts by attending to the emotional wounds or problematic narratives that sustain conflicts. At still other times, the assistance of intermediaries may be

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[294]Louis Kriesberg and Bruce W. Dayton, Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 6.

necessary to convene meetings, to transmit information, or to guarantee the adherence to agreements that are made.[295]

The objective of strategic roundtables is to "build coalitions willing to respond as early as possible to a growing conflict. However, consideration must also be given to the manner in which stakeholders are involved in the planning process. Following the organization of the last roundtable on Javakheti (May 2000), it became clear that the stakeholders, especially donors, need to be convinced of several things. First, they need to be convinced of the potential for conflict. Second, the roundtable" should facilitate identification of particular action steps/projects and their association to prevention of impending conflict. Third, early warning structures require an unending monitoring capability in an area in order to help retain donor interest in a potential conflict.[296]

The Javakheti experience has also demonstrated the need to engage the bigger intergovernmental organizations such as the UN and EU at the earliest possible stage. The bureaucratic processes within such agencies "are such that early responses must be commenced well in advance for the responses to be effective. Additionally, a clear exit strategy must be outlined in order to prevent the type of "stakeholder fatigue" which may cripple, if not completely undo, the effectiveness of the planning process. Related to this issue of ensuring stakeholder involvement is the challenge of finding ways for stakeholders who have invested to be accountable to that process. Stakeholders with their personal agenda may continue to pursue them, even if their actions prove to be counterproductive to the peacebuilding effort. The strategic roundtable is an excellent means for raising the overall visibility of the planning process by explicitly articulating common

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[295]Kriesberg and Dayton, Constructive Conflicts, 6.
[296]David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel, Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Opportunities and Innovations, Volume 2 (Lexington Books, 2004), 173.

vision of peace. This, in turn makes it easier to identify actors/stakeholders who are working cooperatively and in a concerted manner to accomplish the objectives of the strategic action plan and those who are working contrary to the vision of peace they may have helped to create."[297]

5.7. Findings

As discussed earlier in this work, conflict prevention requires careful monitoring of indicators of rising tensions and taking measures to ease them. Conflict prevention theory postulates that most conflicts can be prevented if the right information is delivered to the right stakeholders, at the right time, in the right format, enabling the stakeholders to take the right actions. Early warning consists of data collection, risk analysis, and providing information with recommendations to targeted stakeholders. Early warning systems should monitor human security indicators that include protection of gender and minority rights, as notable violations can be indicators of rising tensions and emerging conflict.

The literature reviewed in this study reveals that the biggest challenge for conflict early warning systems is that they have not yet been effectively transformed into a preventive response. While making accurate predictions is challenging, it is much harder to persuade political leaders and the public to act upon warnings. There are problems bringing the information gathered back to the communities who may be able to respond to the threat of violence. Often civil society organizations end up playing the dual role of warning and response, although sometimes they lack the capacity to record and respond effectively. The system is made less effective by a duplication of actions by the wide range of organizations involved in early warning and early response. Recent research on regional organizations suggests that the key constraint facing early

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[297]Carment and Schnabel, Conflict Prevention, 173-174.

warning systems is not lack of quality data, but rather organizational weaknesses and internal political divisions.

5.8. Conclusion

Chapter four explores the role and impact of continental early warning systems on conflict prevention. In fact, the chapter assumes that early warning analyses, should as well seek to feed into the effective process of conflict anticipation, as opposed to only feeding into policy planning. The chapter analysis reveals that realizing an effective early warning system involves bringing together an array of stakeholders in order to respond concertedly to the indications of an impending conflict. Successful conflict early warning systems take into account the interests of each stakeholder and build upon a common vision of peace articulated from that consideration.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter presents an analysis of data collected from the field research. The research was conducted in the Ilemi Triangle. The analysis is guided by the study objectives. The main objective of the study was to examine and analyze the impact of the emergence of early warning systems for preventing overt conflict in Africa. Taking Ilemi triangle as a case study, the study set out to investigate conflict early warning systems and their impact on conflict prevention. To achieve this, the study explores the conflict trends in Africa. The study also looks at the factors contributing to the emergence of early warning systems and tries to scrutinize its operations in the region. In order to bridge this knowledge gap, the study looks into the successes and failures and makes recommendations regarding how to strengthen early warning systems for effective conflict prevention in Africa. Chapter six constitutes an analysis of the study that synthesizes the key themes focusing on issues that flow throughout the study using conflict prevention theory as an analytical tool. First, the study examines and analyzes the key findings emerging from the study of the impact of early warning systems on conflict prevention as spelt out in the study objectives. The nature of this study is both qualitative and quantitative, therefore the analysis is done using SPSS statistical package. Inferential analysis is also employed to produce more supportive facts using factor analysis and Pearson's correlation. The researcher makes use of frequency tables, figures and charts.

6.2. Demographic Description

Demographic analysis was selected as an indicative factor which has an important influence upon the practice of conflict early warning and conflict prevention. From the study, 37.7% were female respondents while 62.3% were male respondents. The figure below gives a summary of age distribution from our sample. The results show that 61.7%, of the respondents were of ages between 36 to 50 years, a further 22.2% of the respondents were aged between 18-35 years and a small fraction of 16.1% of the respondents was aged between 51 and 75 years. This indicates that the male-elderly category of respondents produced the biggest percentage of the participants in the study. This is attributed to the patriarchal nature of the culture in the Ilemi Triangle.

Table 1: Summary of Age Distribution from our Sample
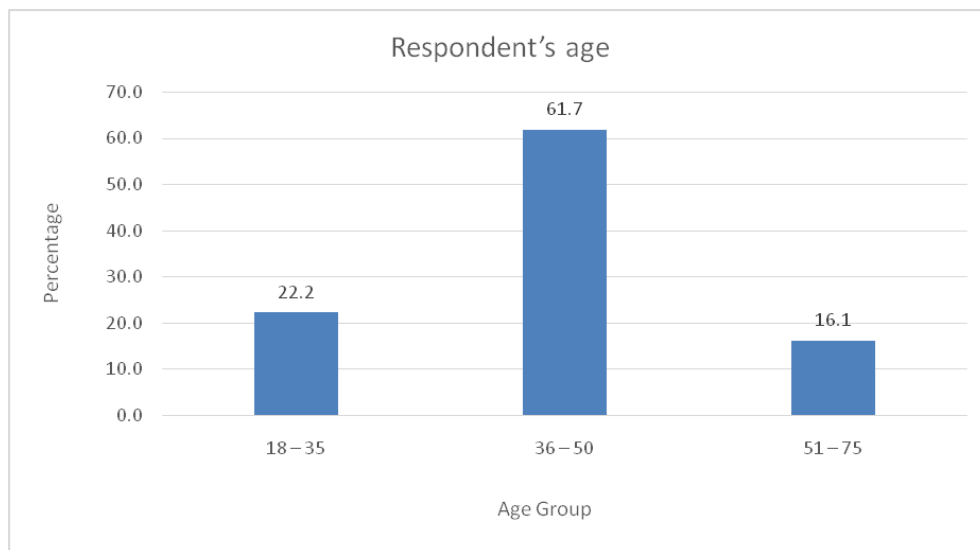
The composition of residents in the Ilemi Triangle based on the highest level of education was as follows; about three quarters 71.5% of the respondents went through the informal education system, 9.8% had achieved secondary level of education and a further 4.1% of the respondents had attained a university education. The finding indicates that the illiteracy levels in the Ilemi

Triangle are high owing to the fact that majority of its inhabitants had attained just informal education. The figure below gives a summary of level of education of the respondents.

Table 2: Summary of Level of Education of the Respondents
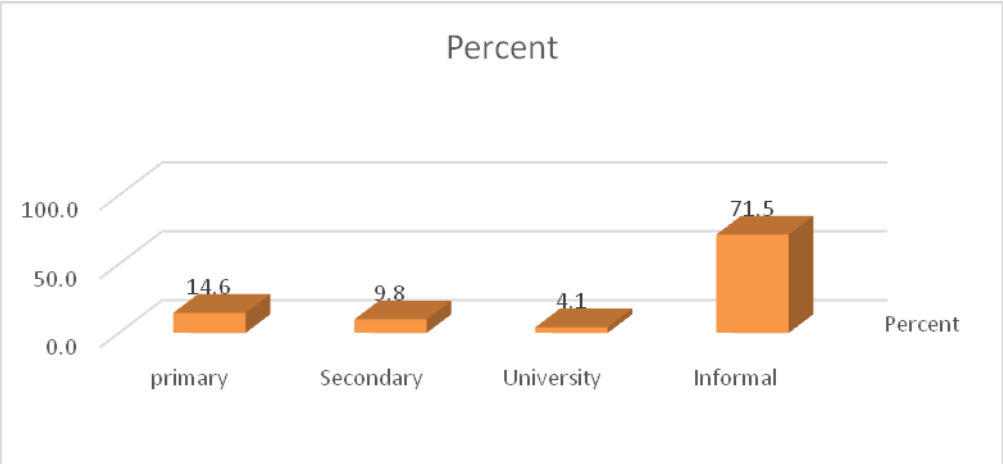
6.2.1. Summary of Occupation of the respondents

The process of early warning entails data collection, analysis, dissemination of information and early action. These factors have a greater impact when stakeholders have some form of education. More of the findings based on the respondents' occupation further revealed that, 61.39% of the respondents are pastoralists, 15.82% are housewives, and 9.18% are businesspersons. The other occupations include village elders 5.7%, Teachers 2.22% and catechists 5.7%. Comprehensive breakdown of the findings is summarized in table 3.

Table 3: Summary of Occupation of the respondents
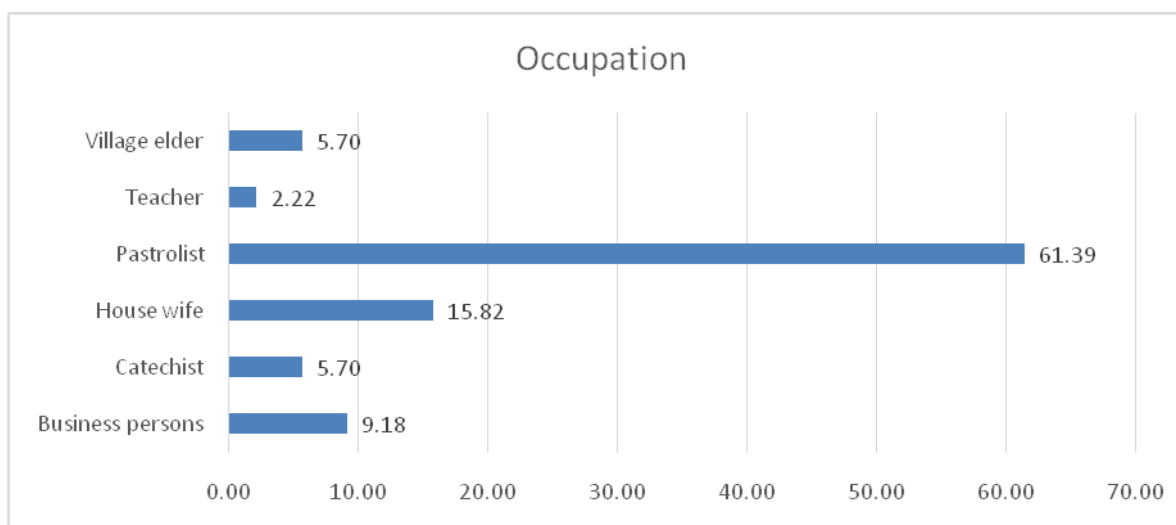
6.2.2. Summary of Ethnic Composition of the Respondents

The ethnic composition of the respondents in the Ilemi Triangle includes Turkana 25.6%, Didinga 18.7%, Toposa 24.7%, Inyangatom 18.4% and Dassenach 12.7%. The presence of different ethnic groups who are pastoralists explains the reason why conflicts and raids are common in the Ilemi Triangle.

Table 4: Summary of Ethnic Composition of the Respondents

Respondent's ethnic identity	Frequency	Percent
Turkana	81	25.6
Didinga	59	18.7
Toposa	78	24.7
Inyangatom	58	18.4
Dassenach	40	12.7
Total	316	100.0

6.3. Historical Background of Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle

Comparison of findings from the Ilemi triangle region, when reviewing the historical background of conflict shows similar experiences from the ethnic communities under study in terms of the root causes of conflict and its dynamics. The conflict causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle were investigated and stood out in the sense that they revealed a large number of factors that have been discussed under this topic. The research revealed the following as the conflict causal factors: marginalization; lack of official state presence; environmental scarcity; disputed boundaries; and longstanding hatred between ethnic communities. The results of the survey indicated a very strong consensus within the community that conflicts do occur and hardly a month can go by without reported cases of death in the region. Furthermore, conflict claims many lives owing to its high level of violence, combined with the increasing ease of availability, affordability and accessibility of firearms such as guns. In the Ilemi triangle region, conflict has not been anticipated because communities have failed to effectively use early warning systems in conflict prevention.

6.3.1. Victims of Overt Conflict

Overt conflict is often divisive and threatens the survival of society itself. It leads to complete collapse of the society by claiming lives, destruction of property and it is costly. Conflict affects different categories of people differently. This finding shows that in the Ilemi triangle; the elderly, children, women and people with disability bear the most severe consequences of violent conflict at 62.62%, while other members of the community are affected at 37.38%. These findings point to the need for conflict response mechanisms to pay particular emphasis on

women, children, elderly and people with disability by providing them safe havens before, during and after conflict.
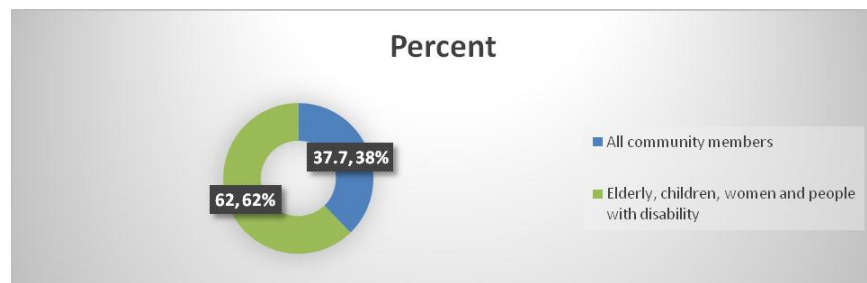
Figure 5: The Most Vulnerable Category of People to the Effects of Conflict

Community level effects were examined with the question: *Which category of people is most vulnerable to the effects of conflict whenever it occurs in your village?* Based on the combined responses, our study revealed considerable consensus that inter-ethnic conflict has had major adverse effects on the community. "Us" versus "them" contrast is deemed as one of the underlying causes of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle. At the same time, conflicts are likely to aggravate vulnerability, resulting to poverty-conflict traps at the household, community and national levels. A greater part of the Ilemi Triangle is vulnerable to this kind of traps with South Sudan characterizing the difficult associations between environmental adversity, conflict and poor governance. Environmental adversity and continuous population increase seem to be generating regular disastrous occurrences with devastating effects in the triangle. Attacking members of the rival community is a relatively recent development in pastoralist raids and counter-raids. In today's attacks communities are raided, members killed, and their animals are taken away because of two reasons. First, the owners of the livestock cannot pursue the raiders in an effort to recover their livestock because they have been killed and second, the owners cannot go and report the raiding incident to government security establishment because they have been

killed. This is considered efficient, profitable and safe in that the chances of the raiders being caught (arrested by security officers) are reduced to the very minimum, if not zero. Attacking with the dual purpose of killing and escaping safely with the livestock is dreaded because owners of the livestock are killed irrespective of whether or not they resist the raids. An important emphasis is that nearly 62% of the respondents reported that the elderly, children, women and people with disabilities were the most vulnerable category of people affected by violent conflicts. More than a third of the respondents (38%) agreed that all community members were susceptible to the effects of conflict. Dassanechs, Turkanas, Toposa, Nyangatom and Didinga are neighbouring ethnic communities. For a long time relations between them were not characterized by animosity because, these communities had an undertaking by oath not to attack each other. In fact is believed that the Nyangatom are cousins of the Turkanas. The warriors adhered to the oath. To date the oath still has some influence on the relations of some of these ethnic communities. Turkana on the other hand are historical foes of the Dassanechs, Toposa and even the Didingas. The enmity is rooted in history and culture. There is not and there has never been an undertaking by oath between Turkanas and Dassanechs not to attack each other. Male circumcision is a cultural practice of Dassanechs whereas Turkanas do not circumcise their males. The aspect of Dassanech-Turkana cultural difference is implicated in the animosity – past and present – between Dassanechs and Turkanas. It is culturally legitimate for Dassanechs to overlook Turkanas because they are uncircumcised. When Dassanechs raid Turkanas and the latter resist they are killed because of a combination of animosity rooted in history and cultural difference.

6.3.2. Greatest and Predominant Causes of Interethnic Violent Conflict

The greatest and predominant causes of interethnic conflict were examined with the question: *Which of the following do you consider the greatest cause of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighboring ethnic communities?* The suggested responses were "Marginalization", "Lack of official state presence", "Environmental scarcity (water, pasture and land for growing crops)", "Disputed boundaries" and "Long standing hatred between ethnic communities". About a third exact, 28.2% of community members reported that environmental scarcity of water, pasture and land were the greatest causes of violent conflict between members of neighboring communities in the Ilemi triangle. Amutabi further acknowledges this cause in his 2010 publication on *Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa*.[298] From an FGD conducted with the Toposa elders in Naita, it emerged that land is a great contributor to conflict because as pastoralists they depend on land for water and pasture for their livestock. Disputed boundaries 23.4% and long standing hatred between ethnic communities 22.2% are the other major causes of conflicts. The perceived lack of official state presence (who owns Ilemi Triangle?) 13.0% and marginalization 13.3% are perceived as minor causes of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle. In an interview with key government officials, it was revealed that the residents of the Ilemi bear intense conflict memories that trigger feelings of vengeance among communities.[299]

Environmental scarcity emerged as the greatest cause of conflict in the region. The Ilemi Triangle covers three different countries with the same environmental challenges. Under environmental scarcity water, pasture and land for cultivation emerged as the major

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[298] FGD with Toposa Elders, Feb, 2016, Naita
[299] Interview with Government Official, Feb 2016, Kokuro

contestations. Among the five communities studied in the Ilemi triangle scarcity of pasture leading to violent conflict between them is a characteristic of the rainy season. During the rainy season, there is plenty of pasture all over their landscape and water is easily available. Each ethnic community plans how to use the available pasture. This involves taking their respective livestock to graze in the lowland areas in order to preserve the pasture around their villages or around the mountain areas. The preserved pasture will be used during the dry season. Members of each community move to the lowlands. The herders from different ethnic communities encounter each other and/or their respective herds move closer and closer to one another. Scarcity arises during the rainy season due to overgrazing along the lowland region or during a period when herders of one ethnic community cross more and more into the territory of another ethnic community in search of fresh pasture. This movement of herders and their flocks tends to result into fighting and raiding because of the following reasons. First, during the rainy season there is a lot of idleness among the warriors because they are free from their daily chores of watering and grazing animals, and so they plan and execute raids. Second, warriors who offer security surveillance for their animals spy on their neighbouring community and get to know who is taking care of livestock, the kinds of weapons that the other side possesses, and movement of likely opponent. Knowledge gotten through spying is used for launching raids. Third, in the period of rain there is a lot of merry making, which includes girls, singing traditional songs intended to lure warriors into raiding and counter-raiding. Fourth, water is available in the corridors used for raiding purposes and, consequently, warriors will not experience problems of thirst. Five, the traditional pattern of grazing fields was interrupted by creation of intra-state, administrative boundaries.

Water, unlike pasture, generates inter-ethnic violent conflict during the dry season. Competition for decreasingly available water, which is a function of the passage of dry season time per se, tends to degenerate into violent conflict. The undoubtedly convincing reason why water came out as the most significant variable of environmental scarcity is that it (water) is necessary for human life as well as animal life.

Also the link between food and violent interethnic conflict in the Ilemi triangle is subtle and complex because of multiple intervening variables. These communities as pastoralists considerably depend on their animals for food. Loss of their animals through raids/theft, prolonged drought and animal disease renders them seriously food deficient and impoverished. One consequence of this state of affairs is an increase in making of illegal brews as an alternative source of income. Warriors emboldened by consumption of the brews and in disregard of elders' prescriptions, raid *manyattas*/settlements of rival ethnic communities for restocking. They encounter resistance with a result that harm and loss of life occurs. Dependence on animals as the main means of life sustenance is a characteristic of ethnic communities who live in dry lands of IGAD countries precisely because by and large their habitat does not lend itself to growing food crops. So when they loose most or all their animals because of prolonged drought they are, as a result, driven to destitution. They need to have and must have a certain minimum size of livestock so as to be able to sustain themselves in the inevitable mode of production— pastoralism. They do not expect replenishment of the dead animals to be done by their respective governments. However, it is important to note that drought in the Ilemi triangle area is a natural phenomenon, occurring regularly. Therefore, state agencies responsible for disaster management, civil society organizations and pastoralists themselves should consider developing mechanisms that will shield them from the negative effects of drought. In the circumstances, where such

mechanisms are absent it becomes necessary for both pastoralist communities to engage in acts of livestock rustling and raiding directed against the ethnic other for the purpose of restocking. Resisting the raiders/rustlers and/or pursuing them in an effort to recover the animals they have taken usually results in physical injury and/or killing involving the raiders and the owners of the animals.

The Ilemi Triangle is one of the many pastoralist-dominated regions experiencing major environmental problems. The climatic conditions have made land for cultivation, water and pasture relatively scarce in the Ilemi triangle forcing different communities to straddle the triangle in search of the same. This migration has led to communities encountering each other as they compete for the few resources available. The demographic demands have augmented demand for land and pressed natural resources past their carrying capacities. Weak management measures, property rights, and common property resource governance have resulted in rising resource competition and violent conflict. Communities have been displaced as a result of conflict over resource possession, which exacerbates resource-based conflict further. Where communities are not displaced, conflict still ensues as an outcome of inappropriate use of resources by competing groups. While the environmental challenges vary from community to community, the Ilemi Triangle's experience over the past two decades is illustrative. Climatic conditions and inefficient practices led to increasing scarcity of water, pasture and cropland. This scarcity, leads to competition for the available few resources. Communities of the Ilemi triangle have found themselves fighting over the scarce resources available in the area. Disruptive social effects such as these, in turn, have led to violence under certain conditions, especially when inter-ethnic tensions are high, pastoralism and relative deprivation can be a particularly volatile mix. In the Ilemi triangle, interethnic conflict becomes a serious problem as the pastoralist

communities straddle the triangle in search of the scarce resources. The result has been long-running inter-ethnic attacks that have simmered since the 1920s.

Excessive use has degraded natural resources, thus reducing productive agricultural and livestock areas, eroding soil and depleting soil nutrients, and diminishing the quality of rangelands and watersheds. With declining quality of inputs into the production process, yields have subsequently declined. Resource competition and degradation have fostered hazardous conditions that will probably worsen without effective interventions. In sum, the connection between environmental scarcity and inter-ethnic conflict is indirect but significant. Environmental scarcity is never the sole cause of conflict, but it is often an aggravating or contributing factor. Future efforts at conflict prevention therefore should take the role that environmental scarcity plays into account, and appropriate interventions to prevent demand-supply, and structurally-induced scarcity should be pursued.

Table 5: Summary of Conflict Causal Factors in the Ilemi Triangle
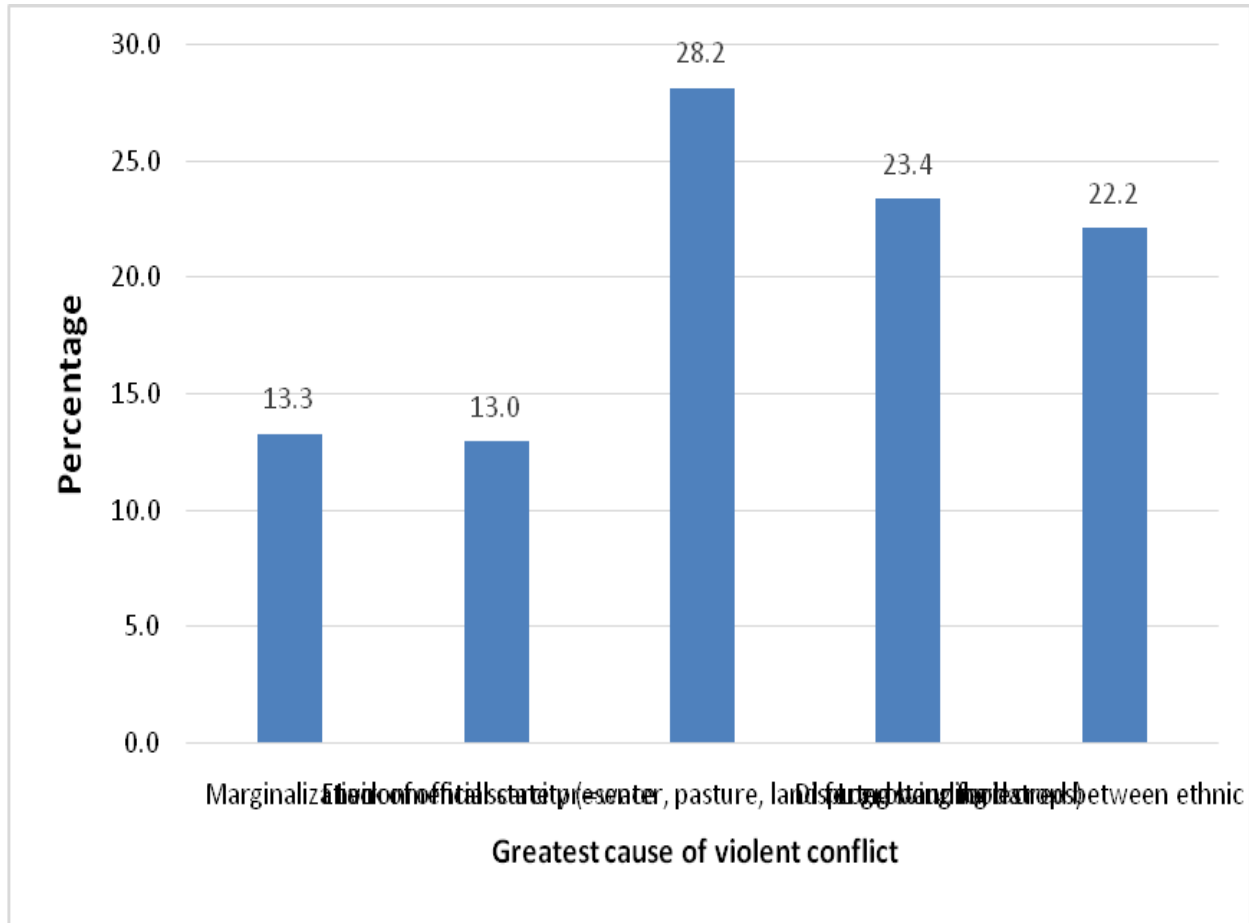
6.3.3. Predominant Cause of Ethnic Violent Conflicts

The predominant cause of ethnic violent conflicts was examined by asking respondents for their views on whether causes of conflicts disaggregating for ethnic difference, cultural difference, religious difference, economic difference and political difference was increasing, decreasing or constant in their own areas. A significant majority of 55.4% felt that the ethnic differences remain a predominant cause of conflict compared to 17.7%, 14.6%, 7.3% and 5.1% who felt that

cultural difference, religious difference, economic difference or political difference was a predominant cause of violence respectively. The magnitude of ethnic differences being a major cause of conflict have been confirmed by Tarimo who argues that the Ilemi triangle is an area that is highly politically-ethnicized, and for the communities that engage in conflict in the Ilemi, "us" is one's ethnic group whereas "them" are those who are ethnically different from "us". A key religious leader in the area further confirmed these sentiments. One religious leader lamented, "These people hate each other, just because one is from a different ethnic community."[300]

Table 6: Predominant Cause of Violence

Predominant cause of violence	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic difference	175	55.4
Cultural difference	56	17.7
Religious difference	46	14.6
Economic difference	16	5.1
Political difference	23	7.3
Total	**316**	**100.0**

While ethnicity by itself is neither negative nor positive, and in fact is an important aspect for any community, it can be also a cause of conflict, especially when it takes the form of "us" versus "them" dichotomy. The "us" are alike in "essential" ways and share nothing in common with the "them." This dichotomous thinking – so pervasive in the Ilemi triangle region promotes the image of mythical other who is not at all like "us". The dichotomization yields a vision of "them" (e.g. Turkanas, Toposas) as profoundly different, thereby providing grounds for discriminatory practices which advantage the "us" and disadvantages the "them". That explains why ethnic differences are significantly ranked as the predominant cause of conflict.

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[300]Interview with Religious Leader, Feb 2016, Kibish.

On the other hand, culture shapes what the communities in this region consider valuable and worth fighting for. Violent conflict among the five communities under study that is often expressed in terms of raiding/stealing livestock occurs in specific cultural settings. The conflict occurs partly because they come from different cultures and with different assumptions. Occurrence of incidents of violent conflict is in some measure a function of Turkanas and Dassanechs for example relying on their respectful culturally influenced understanding of antecedent and precipitating events of the conflict situation contextualized in the structure and process of their realizations, sometimes reading unintended meanings into the situation.

Religious differences were ranked third in this analysis. Often times the causes of conflict have to do with traditional African beliefs/practices in the domain of religion. Religion is tied to issues of emotional intensity that are especially important for warriors. Often times warriors are blessed by diviners and magicians (including practitioners of witchcraft) before going to raid the others who are profoundly considered unlike the warriors. The warriors are thus emboldened and the consequences are dramatic.

The survey showed that guns were the most available and accessible type of firearm in the Ilemi triangle. Nearly 97% of the respondents reported that this type of firearm are available and felt that people who illegally carry guns tend to use them against other people who do not belong to their ethnic community. The survey also examined the source and suppliers of guns in the Ilemi Triangle using the question: *Where do members of your ethnic community get guns?* The evidence collected in this study strongly suggests that conflict entrepreneurs and external forces have a lot to answer with regard to the sourcing of firearms in the area. In addition, ex-government and government security organs were moderately incriminated in sale of illicit

firearms to the communities. The extent to which various agents are implicated in the provision of weapons to the communities is shown in the sub-section of the most implicated actors in the provision of illegal firearms.

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Table 7: Partial Correlations

Correlations		Greatest cause of violent conflict	Number of incidents of violent conflict in the past two years	Predominant cause of violence	People illegally carry guns	Source and Suppliers of guns	Number of times people were violently attacked and/or murdered	Actions the security personnel taken in cases of cattle raiding
Greatest cause of violent conflict	Correlation	1.000	-.030	-.107	-.214	.000		.000
	Significance (2-tailed)		.600	.065	.000	1.000		1.000
	df	0	296	296	296	296	296	296
Number of incidents of violent conflict in the past two years	Correlation	-.030	1.000	.198	.077	.000		.000
	Significance (2-tailed)	.600		.001	.184	1.000		1.000
	df	296	0	296	296	296	296	296
Predominant cause of violence	Correlation	-.107	.198	1.000	.045	.000		.000
	Significance (2-tailed)	.065	.001		.438	1.000		1.000
	df	296	296	0	296	296	296	296
People illegally carry guns	Correlation	-.214	.077	.045	1.000	.000		.000
	Significance (2-tailed)	.000	.184	.438		1.000		1.000
	df	296	296	296	0	296	296	296
Source and Suppliers of guns	Correlation	.000	.000	.000	.000	1.000		-.091
	Significance (2-tailed)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000			.115
	df	296	296	296	296	0	296	296
Number of times people were violently attacked and/or murdered	Correlation						1.000	
	Significance (2-tailed)							
	df	296	296	296	296	296	0	296
Actions the security personnel taken in cases of cattle raiding	Correlation	.000	.000	.000	.000	-.091		1.000
	Significance (2-tailed)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	.115		
	df	296	296	296	296	296	296	0

6.3.4. Most Implicated Actors in the Provision of Illegal Firearms

The table above indicates that conflict entrepreneurs were highly implicated at 58.3% and external forces at 41.7%. This implies that the research participants were well aware of existence of conflict entrepreneurs (spoilers) and the fact that many of these sources were not from within the communities themselves. It is further noted that they supply communities with guns and send them to raid, after which the stolen livestock is shared among the raiders and the conflict entrepreneurs. In addition, respondents in an FGD conducted in Koyasa lamented that illegal firearms are sourced from neighbouring countries.[301] This reality that the other major suppliers of the arms include neighboring countries, is an element that has strongly been referred to in this study by Buchanan-Smith, who confirms that the sophisticated weaponry available in the Ilemi region, mainly comes from trade between the neighbouring communities of the countries bordering the Ilemi Triangle, who are also caught up in long histories of conflict.

Thus, it is more of a regional concern involving more than one State's interests, as conflict entrepreneurs from neighbouring countries are involved in the proliferation of firearms, further protracting and complicating the conflict. In all the study sites, South Sudanese, Ethiopian and Somali militias were implicated in the illicit trade of firearms in exchange for cows. Firearms were said to be readily available on the black market and could be accessed with ease through buying or exchange with livestock from dealers and brokers who are well known by the residents of the Ilemi triangle.[302]For instance, an FGD with Kenya Police Reservists in Koyasa revealed that an AK 47 was said to be equivalent to 5-7 good cows in Todonyang, 8-10 cows in Kibish and much cheaper in South Sudan and Ethiopia respectively. The fact that proliferation of illegal

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[301] FGD in Koyasa indicated that SALWs also come from neighbouring countries
[302] An FGD with elders in sies

firearms is a common phenomenon in the Ilemi triangle is supported by Weiss' argument mentioned earlier that the availability of automatic weapons is possibly one of the key components of pastoral conflict and that the easy access to guns are part of a vicious conflict cycle. Furthermore, elders also mentioned politicians, former and current government officers are complicit in the provision of illegal firearms. They not only sell ammunition to locals, but also hire out their firearms to cattle raiders in different regions. In Napak, respondents indicated that raiders leased most of the arms given to police reservists.[303]

With respect to the available choice of Illegal firearms in the area respondents asserted that the commonly used illegal firearms include: AK-47s, G3s, M-16s, Uzis, American carbines, and many brands of pistols. The findings, however, revealed that the most popular types of small arms, a commonality in all the study sites were G3 and AK 47. The AK 47 was particularly preferred as it is described as light, and easy to carry and hide. The G3 was described as a long-range assault rifle, which is perceived as more accurate; however, it is heavy and the rounds of ammunition used in it are not as readily available.

Table 8: Most Implicated Actors in the Provision of Illegal Firearms

	highly implicated	moderately implicated	lowly implicated	not implicated	Don't know
Conflict entrepreneurs	58.3%	25%	0	8.3%	16.7%
Ex-combatants	25%	25%	0	0	16.7%
Government security organs	8.3%	33.3%	8.3%	41.7%	8.3%
Ex-government security officers	25%	41.7%	8.3%	0	8.3%
Local artisans	8.3%	33.3%	0	0	25%
External forces	50%	16.7%	8.3%	0	8.3%

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[303] Remarks by respondents in Napak

6.3.5. Types of Firearms used in the Study Site

The participants of FGDs in Kokuro explained that arms are transported to the area through the bush using donkeys or are carried by people who walk for between 5 to 7 days.[304] Small arms are also smuggled in oil tankers, dead livestock and in sacks of cereals, which make it hard for the police to detect them. Some guns are reportedly also transported using police vehicles or NGO vehicles, which are not inspected at police barriers. Thus, small arms dealers were said to be well connected to politicians and government officials who compromise them and allow them to pass through the police barriers. The porous borders have also been major entry points of these arms.

Table 9: Types of Firearms Used in the Study Sites
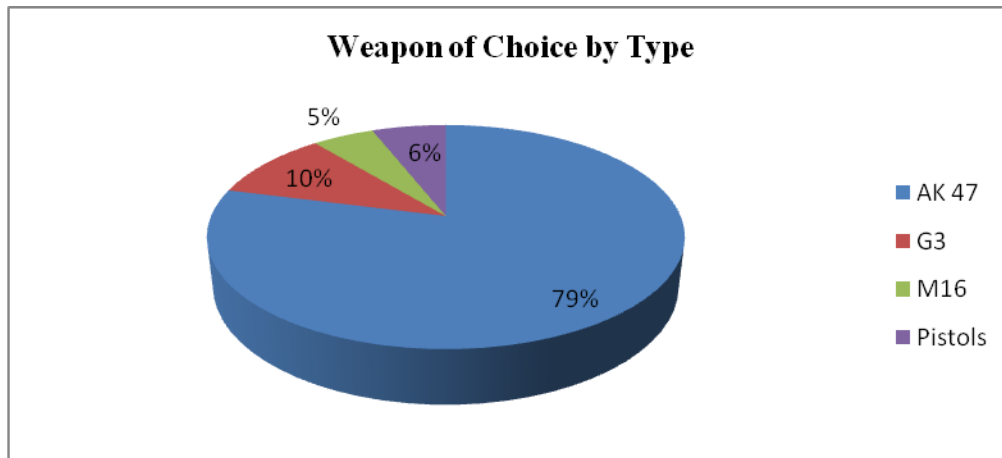
6.3.6. Actions Taken by the Security Personnel in Cases of Cattle Rustling and Raiding

The survey also examined community views on the actions taken by the security personnel when cases of cattle rustling and raiding are reported to them using the question: What actions do the security personnel take when you report cases of cattle raiding? The expected responses were

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[304]Participants of FGDs in Kokuro explained on the flows and routes of illegal firearms.

"Sometimes the security personnel pursue the raiders/thieves", "Sometimes the security personnel do not pursue the raiders" and "Sometimes the Security Personnel are slow to take action".

The kind of action taken by the security personnel in cases of cattle raiding was an important indicator of the efforts of the authorities to curb the menace of violent conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle. It is therefore a significant register in this area that nearly 44% of the respondents reported that sometimes the security personnel are slow to take action. These results pose the question of adequate or effective law enforcement. The security personnel are deployed in these areas with the sole purpose of preventing attacks and raids but their laxity in dealing with the matter has transformed the Ilemi Triangle into a hotbed and a theatre of violent conflicts. This is evident since 31.1% of the residents in the Ilemi Triangle felt that sometimes the security personnel pursue the raiders and a further 24.7% feel that these personnel do not pursue the raiders at all.

Table 10: Actions Taken by the Security Personnel in Cases of Cattle Rustling and Raiding

Actions taken by security personnel in cases of cattle raiding	Frequency	Percentage
Sometimes the security personnel pursue the raiders/thieves	99	31.3
Sometimes the security personnel do not pursue the raiders	78	24.7
Sometimes the Security Personnel are slow to take action	139	44.0
Total	**316**	**100.0**

Table 11: Factor Analysis

Correlation Matrix[a]

		greatest cause of violent conflict	how many incidents of violent conflict	predominant cause of violence	people illegally carry guns	source of guns	Number of attacks in the village	actions of security personnel	South Sudan-Ethiopia border	Kenya-South Sudan border	Kenya-Ethiopia border	Do resident of this village feel secure enough	Govts of Ethiopia, South Sudan and Kenya send security forces	Pasture scarcity	Water scarcity	Food scarcity	Livestock scarcity brought by long drought	Scarcity of effective security personnel
Correlation	greatest cause of violent conflict	1.000	.201	.351	-.124	.135	.035	-.489	.167	.429	.150	-.191	-.253	.211	.253	.186	-.367	.675
	how many incidents of violent conflict	.201	1.000	.089	.045	.178	.081	.073	.329	.296	.044	-.141	.183	.070	.401	.248	-.009	.221
	predominant cause of violence	.351	.089	1.000	.027	.007	-.307	-.366	-.045	.168	.302	-.059	-.150	.222	.029	.063	-.133	.269
	people illegally carry guns	-.124	.045	.027	1.000	-.009	.009	.086	-.114	.034	.008	-.050	.094	.063	.034	-.043	-.008	-.017
	source of guns	.135	.178	.007	-.009	1.000	-.038	-.122	.001	.122	.041	.182	-.363	.074	.275	.359	-.180	.186
	Number of attacks in the village	.035	.081	-.307	.009	-.038	1.000	-.024	.097	-.172	.006	.025	.035	.027	-.110	.144	-.070	.026
	actions of security personnel	-.489	.073	-.366	.086	-.122	-.024	1.000	-.181	-.038	.005	-.363	.404	.117	.078	-.437	.387	-.405
	South Sudan-Ethiopia border	.167	.329	-.045	-.114	.001	.097	-.181	1.000	.024	.346	.035	-.183	-.269	-.004	.607	-.273	.257
	Kenya-South Sudan border	.429	.296	.168	.034	.122	-.172	-.038	.024	1.000	.185	-.200	.381	.316	.052	-.066	-.099	.449
	Kenya-Ethiopia border	.150	.044	.302	.008	.041	.006	.005	.346	.185	1.000	-.114	-.097	.345	-.217	.286	-.033	.030
	Do resident of this village feel secure enough	-.191	-.141	-.059	-.050	.182	.025	-.363	.035	-.200	-.114	1.000	-.521	-.722	-.235	.357	-.156	-.197
	Govts of Ethiopia, South Sudan and Kenya send security	-.253	.183	-.150	.094	-.363	.035	.404	-.183	.381	-.097	-.521	1.000	.376	-.146	-.325	.296	-.049
	Pasture scarcity	.211	.070	.222	.063	.074	.027	.117	-.269	.316	.345	-.722	.376	1.000	.097	-.344	.301	.040
	Water scarcity	.253	.401	.029	.034	.275	-.110	.078	-.004	.052	-.217	-.235	-.146	.097	1.000	.249	-.218	.131
	Food scarcity	.186	.248	.063	-.043	.359	.144	-.437	.607	-.066	.286	.357	-.325	-.344	.249	1.000	-.619	.309
	Livestock scarcity brought by long drought	-.367	-.009	-.133	-.008	-.180	-.070	.387	-.273	-.099	-.033	-.156	.296	.301	-.218	-.619	1.000	-.700
	Scarcity of effective security personnel	.675	.221	.269	-.017	.186	.026	-.405	.257	.449	.030	-.197	-.049	.040	.131	.309	-.700	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	greatest cause of violent conflict		.000	.000	.013	.008	.267	.000	.001	.000	.004	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	how many incidents of violent conflict	.000		.058	.214	.001	.076	.097	.000	.000	.217	.006	.001	.107	.000	.000	.433	.000
	predominant cause of violence	.000	.058		.313	.448	.000	.000	.210	.001	.000	.149	.004	.000	.304	.131	.009	.000
	people illegally carry guns	.013	.214	.313		.433	.434	.065	.022	.276	.445	.189	.048	.134	.271	.222	.444	.379
	source of guns	.008	.001	.448	.433		.251	.015	.495	.015	.235	.001	.000	.093	.000	.000	.001	.000
	Number of attacks in the village	.267	.076	.000	.434	.251		.333	.043	.001	.460	.328	.267	.318	.025	.005	.108	.322
	actions of security personnel	.000	.097	.000	.065	.015	.333		.001	.249	.466	.000	.000	.019	.083	.000	.000	.000
	South Sudan-Ethiopia border	.001	.000	.210	.022	.495	.043	.001		.333	.000	.267	.001	.000	.474	.000	.000	.000
	Kenya-South Sudan border	.000	.000	.001	.276	.015	.001	.249	.333		.000	.000	.000	.000	.178	.123	.040	.000
	Kenya-Ethiopia border	.004	.217	.000	.445	.235	.460	.466	.000	.000		.022	.043	.000	.000	.000	.278	.297
	Do resident of this village feel secure enough	.000	.006	.149	.189	.001	.328	.000	.267	.000	.022		.000	.000	.000	.000	.003	.000
	Govts of Ethiopia, South Sudan and Kenya send security	.000	.001	.004	.048	.000	.267	.000	.001	.000	.043	.000		.000	.005	.000	.000	.192
	Pasture scarcity	.000	.107	.000	.134	.093	.318	.019	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.042	.000	.000	.242
	Water scarcity	.000	.000	.304	.271	.000	.025	.083	.474	.178	.000	.000	.005	.042		.000	.000	.010
	Food scarcity	.000	.000	.131	.222	.000	.005	.000	.000	.123	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000
	Livestock scarcity brought by long	.000	.433	.009	.444	.001	.108	.000	.000	.040	.278	.003	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000
	Scarcity of effective security personnel	.000	.000	.000	.379	.000	.322	.000	.000	.000	.297	.000	.192	.242	.010	.000	.000	

a. Determinant = 5.770E-006

6.3.7. The Seven Conflict Causal Factors in the Ilemi Triangle

The scree plot below has a thunderbolt indicating the point of inflexion on the curve. Since our curve begins to tail off after seven factors, there is another drop before reaching the stable plateau. Therefore, we can justify retaining seven conflict causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle; pasture scarcity, the Kenya – Ethiopia border, people illegally carrying guns, shortage of effective security personnel, food security, frequent attacks and slow government response to incidents of violent attacks. Given our large sample it was necessary to assume KMO criterion, the SPSS extracts together with the scree plot in order to compare results and produce reliable outcomes. Since the tests in our study of conflict early warning systems are divided into several sub measurements; it was useful to run a factor analysis on the data to check whether it is possible to make use of factor scores. Another interesting use of factor analysis in this study is to determine how the covariates co-vary with the dependent variables.

As it happens, these covariates measure different aspects of the conflict causal factors, such as a great cause of violence, predominant cause, the source and suppliers of firearms as well as the actions of the security personnel in cases of cattle raiding in general. By discovering which sub measurements cluster on which covariates to which account, it is possible to find out which kinds of causal factors are used in which sub measurements.

Table 12: Scree Plot
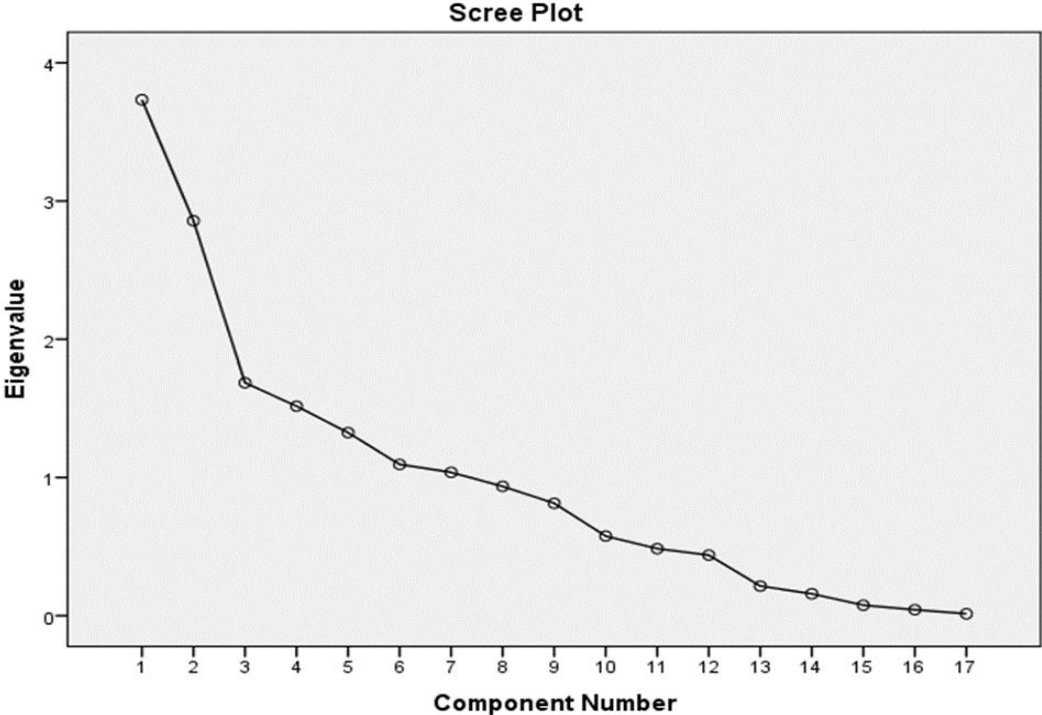
Table13: Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix[a]							
	Component						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Scarcity of effective security personnel	.887						
greatest cause of violent conflict	.795						
Livestock scarcity brought by long drought	-.718						
actions do the security personnel take	-.683	.430					
resident of this village feel secure enough		-.850					
governments response		.753					
Pasture scarcity		.710			.507		
Kenya-South Sudan border	.405	.541					
South Sudan-Ethiopia border			.835				
Food scarcity		-.428	.655				
Number of incidents of violent conflict			.604				
Water scarcity				.810			
Source of guns				.725			
Kenya-Ethiopia border					.880		
number of times of violently attacks						-.900	
predominant cause of violence					.466	.548	
People illegally carry guns							.944

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. Rotation converged in 18 iterations.

6.4. Factors that Led to the Emergence of Early Warning Systems for Conflict Prevention in Africa

The study sought to determine what in the respondents' opinion constituted the factors that led to the emergence of conflict early warning systems for conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. Factors that led to the emergence of conflict early warning systems were evaluated using five elements: *signs of possible overt conflict, sources of information of a potential conflict, behaviour of the community members in case of a possible attack and effectiveness of the conflict early warning systems in conflict prevention*. The results of the research indicated a very strong consent in the community that there are factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems in the Ilemi Triangle. The findings are discussed below:

6.4.1. Possibility of a Conflict

The possibility of conflict in the Ilemi triangle is generally contributed to by factors in the social environment which include situational as well as interpersonal factors. The possibility of a conflict occurring in the Ilemi Triangle was examined through the question: *Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?* Several alternatives were provided to select from. Respondents generally reported that ''Yes'' they get to know that a conflict is likely to occur in their neighborhood at 58.9% and 26.3% felt that sometimes the likelihood of an attack is seen. Less than 15% of the residents never get to know that a conflict is going to happen by reporting ''No'' and ''Not Applicable''. FGDs with community members in Napak revealed that most members of the community often times know that a conflict is going to break out, but do not know where to report this type of information or which action to take other than self defense.[305] The scarcity of basic services in the Ilemi triangle region enhances this state of

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[305] FGD with Community members in Napak, Feb 2016

affairs. There is a shared feeling among the members of the communities under study that the state institutions of Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan are paying inefficient attention towards the empowerment and development of their communities. This is at least, a crosscutting reality in which the communities feel that the governments do not act fairly in matters of conflict anticipation and violence prevention. Respondents revealed that often times, by observing certain patterns, and events in the community they can predict the likely occurrence of a conflict, but preventive actions are missing.

Table 14: Respondents Knowledge of Conflict Occurrence at Village Level

Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	186	58.9
No	34	10.8
Sometimes	83	26.3
Not Applicable	13	4.1
Total	**316**	**100**

6.4.2. Signs of Possible Conflict

Participants were given a list of some of the signs of possible overt conflict and asked to rate them along the gradient of 'least common, moderately common and most common'. Based on the combined responses, the survey revealed a significant approval of signs of conflict in the community. The figure below illustrated the conflict early warning signs within the Ilemi Triangle:

Table 15: Conflict Early Warning Signs in the Ilemi Triangle
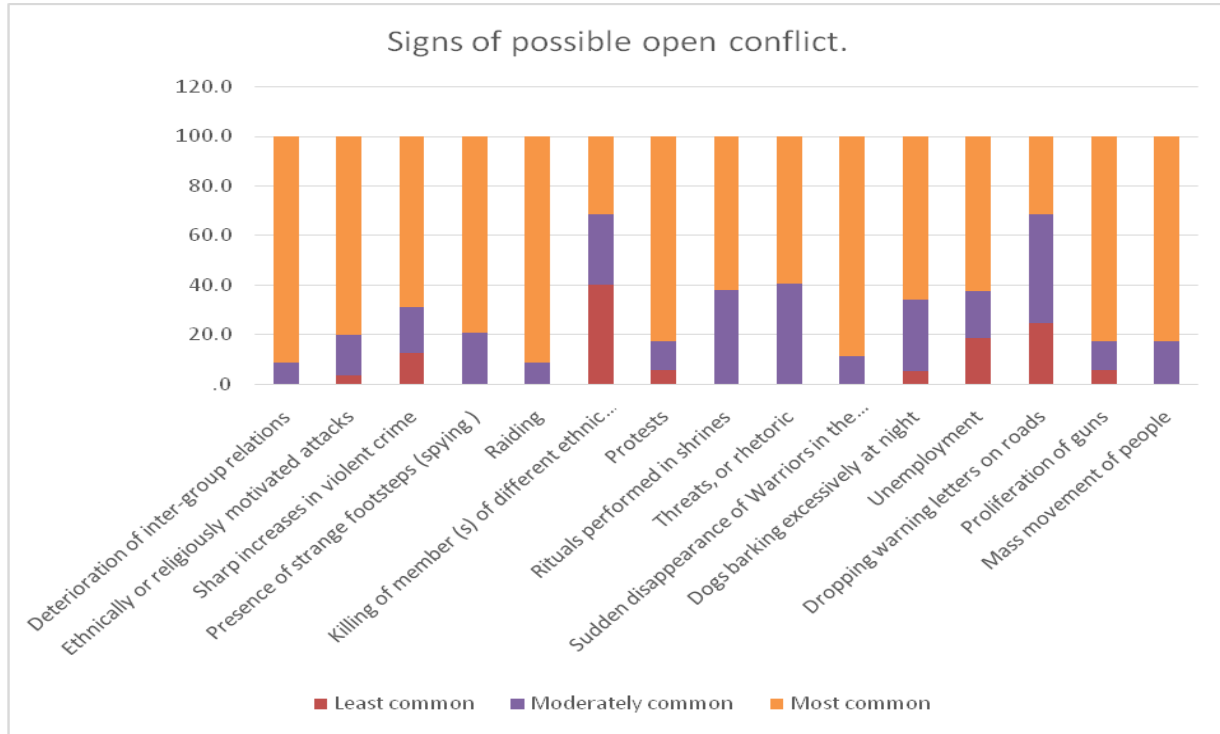
Table 16: Correlation Matrix of Conflict Early Warning Signs in the Ilemi Triangle

Correlations

		Deterioration of inter-group relations	Presence of strange footsteps (spying)	Raiding	Killing of member of different ethnic community	Protests	Rituals performed in shrines	Threats, or rhetoric	Dropping warning letters on roads	Proliferation of guns
Deterioration of inter-group relations	Pearson Correlation	1	.225**	-.026	.311**	-.133*	-.240**	.068	-.386**	.120*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.643	.000	.018	.000	.230	.000	.032
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Presence of strange footsteps (spying)	Pearson Correlation	.225**	1	.242**	.199**	-.192**	-.087	.103	.185**	-.220**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.001	.122	.068	.001	.000
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Raiding	Pearson Correlation	-.026	.242**	1	.139*	-.115*	.165**	.058	-.003	-.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.643	.000		.013	.042	.003	.302	.952	.094
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Killing of member(s) of different ethnic community	Pearson Correlation	.311**	.199**	.139*	1	-.190**	-.166**	.303**	-.082	-.313**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.013		.001	.003	.000	.148	.000
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Protests	Pearson Correlation	-.133*	-.192**	-.115*	-.190**	1	.132*	.098	.322**	.212**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	.001	.042	.001		.019	.081	.000	.000
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Rituals performed in shrines	Pearson Correlation	-.240**	-.087	.165**	-.166**	.132*	1	.099	.229**	.331**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.122	.003	.003	.019		.078	.000	.000
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Threats, or rhetoric	Pearson Correlation	.068	.103	.058	.303**	.098	.099	1	-.093	-.136*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.230	.068	.302	.000	.081	.078		.098	.015
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Dropping warning letters on roads	Pearson Correlation	-.386**	.185**	-.003	-.082	.322**	.229**	-.093	1	-.249**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.952	.148	.000	.000	.098		.000
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316
Proliferation of guns	Pearson Correlation	.120*	-.220**	-.094	-.313**	.212**	.331**	-.136*	-.249**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.032	.000	.094	.000	.000	.000	.015	.000	
	N	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316	316

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

6.4.2.1. Deterioration of Intergroup Relations

There is a statistically significant correlation between deterioration of inter-group relations and spying that is often manifested by the observation of 'strange footsteps' within a certain community. In fact, in chapter two Herrera (2013) argues that spying is an important aspect of planning a raid. A frequent occurrence of one of these factors inevitably results into an increased frequency of the other by .225. Hence, at 0.01 level of significance, and with 316 degrees of freedom, there is a positive relationship between the two variables. This therefore means that deterioration of intergroup relations should sound a warning in the Ilemi Triangle that there is a possibility of an outbreak of conflict.

6.4.2.2. Killing of Member (s) of Different Ethnic Communities

From the Correlations table, it can be seen that the Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) equals 0.313, indicating a relationship. p< 0.000 indicates that the coefficient is significantly different from 0. Thus we can conclude that in the Ilemi Triangle there is evidence that killing of member (s) of different ethnic communities and proliferation of guns are signs of impending conflict. This finding is also supported by Amutabi (2010) in Chapter two who argues that raiding and killing have caused unending violent revenge attacks among communities. For the communities of the Ilemi triangle, revenge is as a result of loss of members in a violent conflict situation with the ethnic 'other'. Additionally, Herrera confirms that for quite some time now proliferation of small firearms has been attributed to increased violent conflict between pastoral ethnic communities. Availability of these firearms and indiscriminate use of them makes members of various ethnic communities more vulnerable to insecurity. Communities often acquire firearms to protect themselves and their livestock. Proliferation of guns is irrefutably an indication of state failure to guarantee security and to secure the control on the use of violence.

Violent conflict is an aspect of conflict experienced between different ethnic communities in the Ilemi Triangle. Killing of a member of a different ethnic community is indeed a violent expression that in effect serves to perpetuate conflict by partly producing and reproducing it. Often times occurrences of violent conflict incidents will lead to revenge. The revenge may be for people/individuals killed by members of the ethnic other or for raided livestock. Loss of lives is likely to be the motivating force of revenge if the number of people killed by members of the other ethnic community during one incident is high. Acts of revenge for raided livestock are comparatively easy, even safe, to execute successfully than acts of revenge for killed people. When the two are jointly, the motivating force for revenge behaviour becomes more likely to be engaged in. The long-term effect of revenge is protracted violence and counter-violence, which serves the course of repeated violent attacks.

6.4.2.3 Proliferation of Guns

From the Correlations table, it can be seen that the Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) equals 0.313, indicating a positive relationship. $P < 0.000$ indicates that the coefficient is significantly different from 0. Thus we can conclude that for conflict early warning signs in the Ilemi Triangle there is evidence that proliferation of guns and rituals performed in the shrines are signs of possible conflict. In Chapter two, an article by Human Rights Watch documents a past account where in the 1980s, the violence between the peoples of the Ilemi transformed with the coming of contemporary firearms. The article argues that the proliferation of such firearms led to arming of various groups by their governments, the consequences of which were unprecedented figures of death and destruction of property.

For quite sometime now proliferation of small firearms has been blamed for much violent conflict between pastoral ethnic communities. Availability of these firearms and often indiscriminate use of them makes members of neighbouring ethnic communities with a history of violence and counter-violence feel insecure. This is especially much more so because members of the ethnic other who the guns are entrusted to be used are typically unable to predict when they will be attacked. People often obtain guns in order to protect themselves and their livestock.

Figure 6: Peterlinus with warriors from Turkana community

6.4.2.4. Dropping Warning Letters on Roads

The Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) of -0.386, indicates a negative relationship. P < 0.000 indicates that the coefficient is significantly different from 0. Hence we can deduce that at 0.001 level of significance, dropping warning letters on roads and deterioration of inter-group relations are negatively correlated, implying that a frequency in dropping of warning letters results into a decrease in the deterioration of inter-group relations and less likelihood of violent encounters between the communities.

6.4.2.5. Threats or Rhetoric

The relationship between threats or rhetoric and killing of member (s) of different ethnic communities is positive since the Pearson's correlation value is .303 and it is significant (p<0.000) at 5% level of significance. Therefore, an increase in violent rhetoric means that killing of member (s) of a different ethnic community increases. Most interethnic conflicts in the Ilemi triangle have been preceded by threats and use of rhetorics.

6.4.3. Sources of Information of Potential Conflict

One major step of any conflict early warning system is collection of data. Sources of information of potential conflict in the Ilemi Triangle were examined with the question: *The following are the sources of information of potential conflict that would have taken place in your village. Rate these sources of information on a scale of 1 to 4.* Respondents were expected to choose either "Agree", "Do not know", "disagree" or "Not applicable". Based on the analysis results the greatest consensus was in community leaders, seers and diviners as the main sources of information of a potential conflict. An important emphasis is that nearly 90% of the respondents reported that community leaders had the lead to the root cause of conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle. In an FGD conducted for influential community leaders in Kibish, it was revealed that elders make decisions ranging from going to conflict with certain ethnic communities to making peace with various ethnic groups and rarely is an action taken without their knowledge.[306]

Community leaders emerged as the key sources of information of potential conflict. In pastoralist communities such as those that straddle the Ilemi triangle, actions of raiders (who are part of the respective communities), warriors and their decision to attack is influenced by community

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[306] FDG in Kibish, February 2016

members, particularly elders, women and chiefs. However, their role of attacking is ambivalent. In the short term, in cases of raiding the community usually gets a share of the acquired livestock, especially after a successful mass raid. The interview findings on the role of the elders as the sources of potential information of conflict are particularly outstanding. On the one hand, the majority of community members from all the five communities reported that the elders bear the information on the possible conflicts because at times they encourage or even assist their raids with blessings and information (for example, where to find the enemy's livestock). Further, several community members stated that the elders receive a share of the livestock, sometimes even 'the biggest bull'. On the other hand, most elders claim to discourage the conflict. One FGD with elders in Koyasa was instrumental to match these seemingly opposing views. During times of peace with the rival ethnic community, the elders discourage the youth to raid, while during times of conflict, the elders hardly ever refuse a pre-raid blessing.

For a long time elders were a key to peaceful co-existence among different ethnic communities – even as there was no oath of peace between the ethnic communities – because of the control they had over warriors. However, in the current post-colonial states the contribution of elders' meetings to peace has tended to decrease all along. Elders are time imposed and their meetings tend to end up serving the interest of those who have personal interest in the continuation of occurrences of incidence of inter-ethnic violent conflict. Also, the fact that a number of elder's meetings are organized by different non-governmental organizations in big administrative centers (often in hotels), rather than in the interior, surrounded by other members of the community lowers the significance of such events. Such meetings are stripped of any traditional ceremonies and rituals, while its participants are perceived as being interested in a sitting

allowance only. This affects negatively the impact of elders' negotiations on peacebuilding process.

Seers and diviners who in most cases are the elderly in the communities also recorded a significant percentage as the sources of information on potential conflict. Seers and diviners have an influence on the occurrence of conflict as they bless the attacks. They both encourage their warriors and as well play a discouraging role, for example, by expressing their fear to lose the fight. The village chiefs are in a difficult position. On the one hand, they are the representation of the national government on the ground and hence have to prevent or sanction attacks; on the other hand, they understand why the community engages in attacks. Conflict early warning signs among some communities in the Ilemi Triangle have a spiritual aspect. In an interview with a (Diviner/seer) in Kibish, when asked how they can detect early signs of conflict, he described how they sensed early signs of conflict through their interpretation of the intestines of a goat and that this was 'a proven and tested indigenous knowledge system.

Figure 7: Peterlinus witnessing a (diviner/seer) interpret the intestines of a dead goat

Table 17: Source of Information of Potential Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle
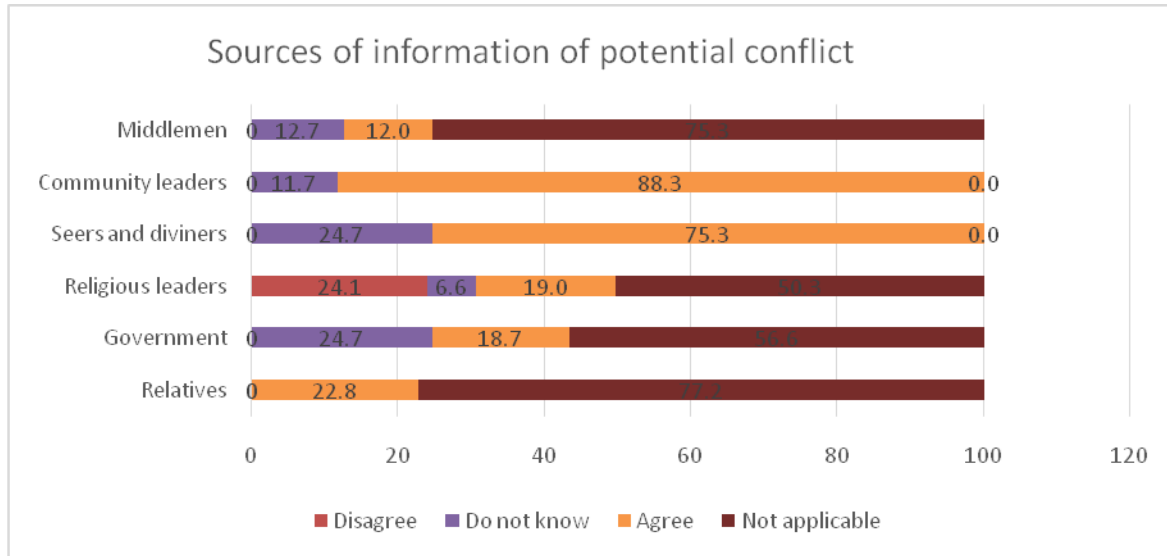
6.4.4. Behaviour of the Community Members in Case of a Possible Attack

Behaviour of the community members in case of a possible attack was examined with the question: *How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack? Respondents were expected to answer by choosing one of the following options: "Grouping", "Acquisition of Weapons", and "Migration, especially women and children" or "Sudden disappearance of Warriors.* Based on the responses, the survey revealed significant approval of these common behaviors in the community, meaning that indeed they are the possible signs of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle. Over a quarter of the respondents reported that grouping was their response (25.0%), Acquisition of weapons (31.3%) and sudden disappearance of warriors (25.0%) are the most common observable behaviors indicating possibility of an attack. The ethnic communities of the Ilemi have no qualms about counter-attacking one another and causing harm and deaths to victims of the attacks. Counter-attacks are a cultural practice-where culture is instrumentally defined as a variety of tactics and their socially agreed-upon methods of use, which produce consequences for the user. The expectation is that the attack will

produce desirable consequences (i.e. harming and/or killing the attacked and escaping with their livestock). As far as the attackers (who in most cases are warriors) are concerned, the consequences are a manifestation of the need to master their natural environment as a territory in which human action occurs and as itself modified by human agency in the struggle against scarcity. Sudden disappearance of warriors from the village is a major sign of possible attacks.

Table 18: Behaviour of Ethnic Communities that Precede Occurrence of Conflict

How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?	Frequency	Percentage
Grouping	79	25.0
Acquisition of Weapons	99	31.3
Migrations especially women and children	59	18.7
Sudden disappearance of Warriors	79	25.0
Total	**316**	**100.0**

Table 19: Factorability of the Correlation Matrix

Column legend (used as V1–V24 in the tables below):

- V1 = Possibility of a conflict
- V2 = Deterioration of inter-group relations
- V3 = Ethnically or religiously motivated attacks
- V4 = Sharp increases in violent crime
- V5 = Presence of strange footsteps (spying)
- V6 = Raiding
- V7 = Killing of member(s) of different ethnic community(ies)
- V8 = Protests
- V9 = Rituals performed in shrines
- V10 = Threats, or rhetoric
- V11 = Sudden disappearance of Warriors in the village
- V12 = Dogs barking excessively at night
- V13 = Unemployment
- V14 = Dropping warning letters on roads
- V15 = Proliferation of guns
- V16 = Mass movement of people
- V17 = Relatives
- V18 = Government
- V19 = Religious leaders
- V20 = Seers and diviners
- V21 = Community leaders
- V22 = Middlemen
- V23 = One Most Common Behavior
- V24 = Effectiveness of Conflict early warning signs

Correlation

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23	V24
V1	1.000	.015	.022	.353	-.135	.036	-.169	.169	.023	-.194	-.070	-.136	.196	-.091	.169	-.014	.158	-.055	.054	.030	-.332	-.096	.541	.093
V2	.015	1.000	.167	.019	.225	-.026	.311	-.133	-.240	.068	-.111	-.208	-.221	-.386	.120	-.143	.165	.129	-.260	-.177	-.112	-.165	.112	-.192
V3	.022	.167	1.000	.216	.058	-.060	-.072	-.080	-.342	-.228	.239	.151	-.101	-.068	-.091	-.219	-.064	-.160	.139	-.271	-.172	-.164	.118	.048
V4	.353	.019	.216	1.000	.070	.042	-.231	-.253	-.266	-.153	.071	.136	.556	-.085	-.122	-.289	-.146	-.396	.180	-.149	-.227	-.333	.163	-.096
V5	-.135	.225	.058	.070	1.000	.242	.199	-.192	-.087	.103	.271	.090	-.046	.185	-.220	.082	-.277	.022	.092	-.009	.193	-.272	-.373	-.127
V6	.036	-.026	-.060	.042	.242	1.000	.139	-.115	.165	.058	.021	-.117	-.025	-.003	-.094	.030	.070	.065	.151	.028	.094	-.167	-.097	-.120
V7	-.169	.311	-.072	-.231	.199	.139	1.000	-.190	-.166	.303	-.263	.150	-.152	-.082	-.313	-.246	.589	.018	-.253	-.270	.371	.359	-.410	-.579
V8	.169	-.133	-.080	-.253	-.192	-.115	-.190	1.000	.132	.098	-.121	.066	-.031	.322	.212	.373	.013	.171	-.179	.261	-.157	.066	.257	.269
V9	.023	-.240	-.342	-.266	-.087	.165	-.166	.132	1.000	.099	-.202	-.309	.097	.229	.331	.279	.129	.577	.076	.434	-.283	.127	-.047	.373
V10	-.194	.068	-.228	-.153	.103	.058	.303	.098	.099	1.000	-.260	-.355	.314	-.093	-.136	.238	.101	.445	-.217	.077	.418	.045	-.511	-.506
V11	-.070	-.111	.239	.071	.271	.021	-.263	-.121	-.202	-.260	1.000	.361	-.257	.233	-.155	-.167	-.195	-.088	.553	-.206	-.131	-.192	-.029	.343
V12	-.136	-.208	.151	.136	.090	-.117	.150	.066	-.309	-.355	.361	1.000	-.240	.306	-.292	-.313	-.139	-.545	.135	-.165	.052	.172	-.255	.218
V13	.196	-.221	-.101	.556	-.046	-.025	-.152	-.031	.097	.314	-.257	-.240	1.000	.276	-.170	.057	-.044	.090	-.039	-.037	-.023	.078	-.152	-.311
V14	-.091	-.386	-.068	-.085	.185	-.003	-.082	.322	.229	-.093	.233	.306	.276	1.000	-.249	.039	-.136	.088	.065	.255	.031	.288	-.333	.327
V15	.169	.120	-.091	-.122	-.220	-.094	-.313	.212	.331	-.136	-.155	-.292	-.170	-.249	1.000	.660	.013	.171	.078	.515	-.157	-.231	.458	.278
V16	-.014	-.143	-.219	-.289	.082	.030	-.246	.373	.279	.238	-.167	-.313	.057	.039	.660	1.000	-.252	.186	.111	.465	.295	-.248	.055	-.013
V17	.158	.165	-.064	-.146	-.277	.070	.589	.013	.129	.101	-.195	-.139	-.044	-.136	.013	-.252	1.000	.206	-.129	-.311	-.198	.488	.091	-.338
V18	-.055	.129	-.160	-.396	.022	.065	.018	.171	.577	.445	-.088	-.545	.090	.088	.171	.186	.206	1.000	.226	-.294	-.002	-.078	-.117	.216
V19	.054	-.260	.139	.180	.092	.151	-.253	-.179	.076	-.217	.553	.135	-.039	.065	.078	.111	-.129	.141	1.000	-.021	-.156	-.452	.064	.216
V20	.030	-.177	-.271	-.149	-.009	.028	-.270	.261	.434	.077	-.206	-.165	-.037	.255	.515	.465	-.311	.226	-.021	1.000	.202	-.117	.099	.365
V21	-.332	-.112	-.172	-.227	.193	.094	.371	-.157	-.283	.418	-.131	.052	-.023	.031	-.157	.295	-.198	-.294	-.156	.202	1.000	.045	-.510	-.538
V22	-.096	-.165	-.164	-.333	-.272	-.167	.359	.066	.127	.045	-.192	.172	.078	.288	-.231	-.248	.488	-.002	-.452	-.117	.045	1.000	-.185	-.189
V23	.541	.112	.118	.163	-.373	-.097	-.410	.257	-.047	-.511	-.029	-.255	-.152	-.333	.458	.055	.091	-.078	.064	.099	-.510	-.185	1.000	.342
V24	.093	-.192	.048	-.096	-.127	-.120	-.579	.269	.373	-.506	.343	.218	-.311	.327	.278	-.013	-.338	.117	.216	.365	-.538	-.189	.342	1.000

Sig. (1-tailed)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23	V24
V1		.397	.347	.000	.008	.261	.001	.001	.341	.000	.107	.008	.000	.052	.001	.402	.002	.164	.170	.298	.000	.044	.000	.050
V2	.397		.001	.367	.000	.322	.000	.009	.000	.115	.025	.000	.000	.000	.016	.005	.002	.011	.000	.001	.023	.002	.024	.000
V3	.347	.001		.000	.152	.144	.101	.079	.000	.000	.000	.004	.036	.114	.053	.000	.128	.002	.007	.000	.001	.002	.018	.198
V4	.000	.367	.000		.107	.227	.000	.000	.000	.003	.105	.008	.000	.066	.015	.000	.005	.000	.001	.004	.000	.000	.002	.044
V5	.008	.000	.152	.107		.000	.000	.000	.061	.034	.000	.055	.209	.000	.000	.073	.000	.350	.051	.433	.000	.000	.000	.012
V6	.261	.322	.144	.227	.000		.007	.021	.002	.151	.355	.019	.329	.476	.047	.296	.109	.123	.004	.309	.047	.001	.042	.017
V7	.001	.000	.101	.000	.000	.007		.000	.002	.000	.000	.004	.003	.074	.000	.000	.000	.378	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
V8	.001	.009	.079	.000	.000	.021	.000		.009	.040	.016	.120	.291	.000	.000	.000	.412	.001	.001	.000	.003	.121	.000	.000
V9	.341	.000	.000	.000	.061	.002	.002	.009		.039	.000	.000	.043	.000	.000	.000	.011	.000	.089	.000	.000	.012	.203	.000
V10	.000	.115	.000	.003	.034	.151	.000	.040	.039		.000	.000	.000	.049	.008	.000	.036	.000	.000	.086	.000	.215	.000	.000
V11	.107	.025	.000	.105	.000	.355	.000	.016	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.003	.001	.000	.059	.000	.000	.010	.000	.305	.000
V12	.008	.000	.004	.008	.055	.019	.004	.120	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.007	.000	.008	.002	.180	.001	.000	.000
V13	.000	.000	.036	.000	.209	.329	.003	.291	.043	.000	.000	.000		.000	.001	.154	.220	.055	.247	.258	.342	.083	.003	.000
V14	.052	.000	.114	.066	.000	.476	.074	.000	.000	.049	.000	.000	.000		.000	.243	.008	.059	.126	.000	.293	.000	.000	.000
V15	.001	.016	.053	.015	.000	.047	.000	.000	.000	.008	.003	.000	.001	.000		.000	.412	.001	.084	.000	.003	.000	.000	.000
V16	.402	.005	.000	.000	.073	.296	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.154	.243	.000		.000	.000	.025	.000	.000	.000	.163	.412
V17	.002	.002	.128	.005	.000	.109	.000	.412	.011	.036	.000	.007	.220	.008	.412	.000		.011	.000	.000	.000	.000	.053	.000
V18	.164	.011	.002	.000	.350	.123	.378	.001	.000	.000	.059	.000	.055	.059	.001	.000	.011		.006	.000	.000	.489	.084	.019
V19	.170	.000	.007	.001	.051	.004	.000	.001	.089	.000	.000	.008	.247	.126	.084	.025	.000	.006		.358	.003	.000	.127	.000
V20	.298	.001	.000	.004	.433	.309	.000	.000	.000	.086	.000	.002	.258	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.358		.000	.019	.039	.000
V21	.000	.023	.001	.000	.000	.047	.000	.003	.000	.000	.010	.180	.342	.293	.003	.000	.000	.000	.003	.000		.213	.000	.000
V22	.044	.002	.002	.000	.000	.001	.000	.121	.012	.215	.000	.001	.083	.000	.000	.000	.000	.489	.000	.019	.213		.000	.000
V23	.000	.024	.018	.002	.000	.042	.000	.000	.203	.000	.305	.000	.003	.000	.000	.163	.053	.084	.127	.039	.000	.000		.000
V24	.050	.000	.198	.044	.012	.017	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.412	.000	.019	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	

a. Determinant = 5.615E-011

Table 20: Scree Plot, Component Number

The previous table showed the importance of each of the twenty-four principal components. Only the first nine have eigenvalues over 1.00, and together these explain over 81.894% of the total variability in the data. This leads us to the conclusion that a nine-factor solution will be adequate to explain factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems in the Ilemi Triangle. This conclusion is supported by the scree plot above whereby all the factors with an eigenvalue less than one, form a straight line, whereas the first nine are forming a steep slope as they have Eigenvalues greater than one.

Table 21: Rotated Component Matrix

	Component								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Most Common Behavior	.854								
Community leaders	-.740	-.406							
Possibility of a conflict	.670					.407			
Threats, or rhetoric	-.650								
Government		.936							
Rituals performed in shrines		.721						-.440	
Dogs barking excessively at night		-.624					.456		
Mass movement of people			.887						
Proliferation of guns	.403		.638						
Seers and diviners			.496	-.467					
Relatives				.874					
Killing of members of different ethnic				.672					
Effectiveness of Conflict early warning	.526			-.535					
Middlemen				.503					
Religious leaders					.876				
Sudden disappearance of					.772				
Unemployment						.909			
Sharp increases in violent crime						.727			
Dropping warning letters on roads							.870		
Protests			.562				.603		
Deterioration of inter-group relations								.771	
Ethnically or religiously motivated								.484	
Raiding									.792
Spying								.493	.557

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 20 iterations.

In conlusion, the research established that conflict early warning signs are well understood in the Ilemi Triangle, but the warning systems are lacking on when to warn, who to warn and how to respond to the warning signs. The study reveals that the identification of conflict early warning signs in themselves cannot prevent the occurrence of violent conflict, and therefore an effective, functional early warning system necessitates putting in place measures on when to respond, how to respond and who to involve in timely response. As a matter of fact, an FGD conducted in Naita, revealed that the locals at 80% understand fully the early warning signs of overt conflict, but lack effective early response mechanisms. This study therefore confirms the hypothesis that overt conflict persists in Africa because conflict early warning systems have not been operating effectively.

6.5. Role and Impact of Early Warning Systems on Conflict Prevention in the Ilemi Triangle

The interaction between the early warning systems and conflict prevention has long been thought to have positive effects on communities at risk. Experiences from the conflict early warning systems in the region provide important lessons for the region and Africa in general. The role and impact of early warning systems on conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle were established through examination of situational factors like the most vulnerable category of people that suffer the consequences of conflict, the role of various actors in conflict prevention, the common interventions by the governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia, the role of international institutions, the role of the elders' negotiations in reducing hostility and preventing future incidents of inter-ethnic violence, and finally the role played by influential people in contributing to violence as well as the efforts towards preventing acts of inter-ethnic violence. This study outlines the role and impact of early warning systems and its implications for regional

conflict prevention strategies, with special attention to communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle region.

6.5.2. Role of Various Stakeholders in Conflict Prevention

The role played by some key persons in preventing conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle area is quite important. Our study revealed that village elders (88.9%), IGAD (81.0%) and governments (50.3%) are the key stakeholders in curbing the menace of violent conflicts. The role played by the local administration represented by the chiefs is to ensure that there is peace and harmony within their jurisdiction. Our study revealed that contrary to this, chiefs in the Ilemi area are playing a trivial role to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts. Earlier on in this work, a study by Nene Mburu reveals that in fact, some governments, such as the Ethiopian government equipped the Dassanech with new weapons with a justification that the Dassanechs were at risk of attack from their Kenyan Turkana and Sudanese opponents. Arresting perpetrators of inter-ethnic violence is an act of retributive justice, an important component of conflict management. Although retributive justice has its own limitations, it contributes towards creation of the rule of law and prevents incidents of revenge. As such, it can foster a culture of peace. However, in the context of the Ilemi triangle, occurrences of such arrests happen but are inefficient. The survey shows that the police service is ill equipped and/or ill trained to sufficiently execute the rule of law over the acts of impunity. In addition, criminals who commit violent acts against the other ethnic communities are often arrested, and later released on the grounds of lack of evidence. Therefore, the incidents of arresting the participants of interethnic violence, although serve as proof of insecurity, are not sufficient to make a significant change in terms of creating peaceful environment.

An interview with an IGAD official revealed that the IGAD early warning and response unit CEWARN initially focused on cross-border pastoralist conflicts. However, a new strategy adopted in 2012 broadened this mandate to cover a range of other types of conflict and geographic areas. The interview revealed that while early warning and response capacities have developed in different ways from one country to another, some have not been operational for several reasons indicating that the impact is minimum. For example, while Sudan's Conflict Early Warning Response Unit (CEWERU) has structures in place, they have not been engaged in activities due to limited funds. In Kenya on the other hand, these units are much more advanced and synergies have been built with pre-existing peacebuilding structures and initiatives. While CEWARN provides a relevant regional framework enabling cooperation between a range of actors (especially when more formal diplomatic contacts are non-existent), it is largely dependent on the role and capacity of national structures to collect and process information, and to provide early and longer term responses. Respondents identified opportunities to address these challenges, especially by increased use of technology, through partnerships with the private sector, and by enhancing horizontal information sharing and more local analysis of information.

The success of rapid response is dependent on individuals, their level of motivation, commitment and ability to mobilize local resource. Respondents involved emphasized that local actors (communities, civil society, peace committees, local authorities and security actors) should be empowered to play a greater role in providing responses. Civil society has played a key role in supporting the CEWARN system in terms of building the capacity of different stakeholders, providing funding, facilitation of peacebuilding processes, research, monitoring and accountability, and as an entry point into communities. The new CEWARN strategy sets out a more important role for civil society organizations at all stages of the warning and response

cycle, which is a positive step towards more, and necessary, involvement by local actors. However, in order to maximize this role, several challenges need to be addressed such as their dependence on external resources to sustain initiatives, their impartiality vis-à-vis certain groups, and the competition between organizations which sometimes prevails over much needed collaboration. In Kenya and Ethiopia for example, CEWARN (through national CEWERUs) has worked collaboratively with civil society organizations who have mainly been engaged in capacity building of local structures such as the peace committees and elders groups, among others.

Two broader lessons have also come out of this process that can be used to enhance effectiveness of early warning systems in and outside the region. Firstly, it is key to set up frameworks allowing multi-stakeholder cooperation so networks can draw on a wide range of expertise from state, civil society, private sector, security and peacebuilding actors, and community groups for analysis and response. Secondly, it is also critical that frameworks are implemented at all levels: from the local level where actors need to be empowered to respond to simmering tension and violence, to the national level where policy and political decisions need to take place to address more structural causes of conflicts.

Table 22: Role of Various Stakeholders in Conflict Prevention
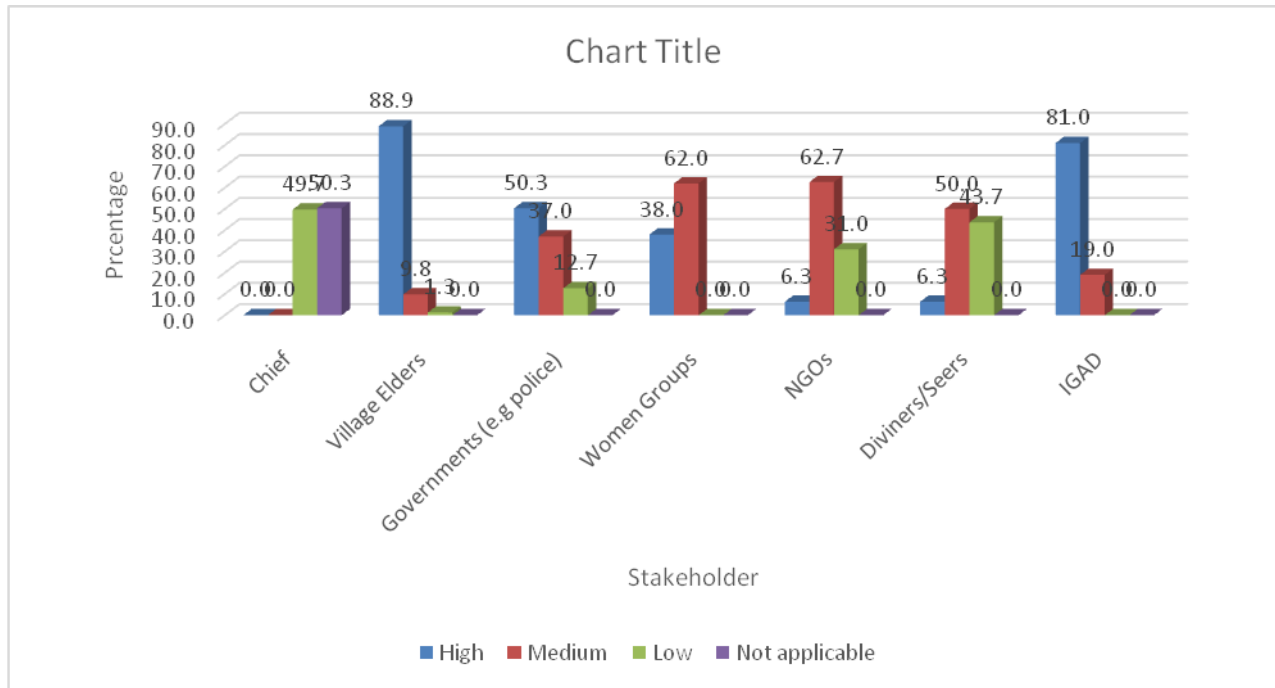
6.5.3. Interventions by the Governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia in Preventing Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle

As part of stakeholder intervention in conflict, the governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia were examined with the question: *Which among the following interventions do the governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia most commonly perform in preventing conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?* Based on the participants' responses, our survey showed that safeguarding their borders (55%) was the most common type of response performed by the governments bordering the Ilemi Triangle. In addition, Kenyan, South Sudan and Ethiopian governments did provide security forces to protect people against attacks (32.3%). Educating the people and arresting as well as punishing law offenders were not common in this area as reported by 7.9% and 4.7% of the respondents respectively. This means that any preventive initiatives could take

these factors as entry points. Mkutu in earlier chapters maintains that the Kenyan, Ethiopian and South Sudanese States' security mechanisms in the Ilemi Triangle have been inappropriate and unhelpful. In the eyes of some community leaders, the major underlying cause of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle region is weak governance; rendering all other structural causes of conflict secondary by comparison. Ineffective governments in the "peripheries" of the states bordering the Ilemi Triangle mean the governments are unable to provide security, control armed groups and violent criminality, dispense justice, or promote development. Where security forces do have a full-bodied presence, they are widely viewed as the principal source of crime and predation, rather than as sources of protection and enforcers of the rule of law. "There is no trust between us and the police, if anything they are here to protect the boarder not us," observed one key opinion shaper from the Toposa community.[307]

Mkutu reveals that the power of the local conflicting parties outnumbers government forces present in the triangle. Available evidence indicates that the conflict surrounding the Ilemi triangle and its peoples remains because security forces are insufficient to monitor conflict early warning signals and take preventive measures to mitigate it. An Interview with a police officer in Kibish revealed that while the governments through the police are active stakeholders in conflict prevention, in the Ilemi Triangle, the police have been criticized for failing to prevent attacks because of weak coordination and poor relations between intelligence and policing departments. The impression that security services are weak, and that they do not understand the cultural context encourages the emergence of local militias and allows those who mobilize violence to

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[307]Interview with a community member in Kokuro, Feb 2016.

present their activities as legitimate. Furthermore, the police at the border are not adequately equipped to discharge their security functions effectively.[308]

Ethiopian government on the other hand is said to view northern Kenya as a poorly governed territory in which a range of dangerous security threats to Ethiopia enjoy safe haven. As noted in previous Chapters, Ethiopia has responded to these threats with direct cross border security operations in "hot pursuit" of hostile groups; with support to third party clan paramilitaries that reside on both sides of the border; and periodically with kidnappings and assassinations of individuals deemed a threat to the Ethiopian state. In short, cross-border security issues are complicated by the fact that Ethiopia and Kenya may at times be working at cross-purposes even as they profess to be allies.

Table 23: Intervention Performed by the Governments Involved

Interventions performed by the governments	Number	Percentage
Providing Security forces to protect people against attacks	102	32.3
Safeguarding the boundaries	174	55.1
Educating the people	25	7.9
Arresting and punishing law offenders	15	4.7
Total	316	100.0

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[308] An Interview with a Police Officer in Kibish, Feb 2016.

6.5.4. Role of International Institutions in Conflict Prevention

International bodies play a significant role in preaching peace across the areas often marred by violence as well as helping the victims to recover from the atrocities. In the Ilemi Triangle, the international non-governmental institutions include IGAD and SCCRR. As stakeholders, IGAD (60%) plays a significant role in peace building, as well as SCCRR, which emerged as vital in the role of promoting peace. (20%) of other NGO's are contributing positively to ensuring that harmony is bestowed in the area. IGAD's role in the area is especially confirmed in Chapter three where Oduntan confirms that in the past the CEWARN field monitors have picked up hostilities between groups within Kenya and Uganda quite early and made appropriate reports, helping to contain the flames of an open dispute.

An interview with one of the NGO officials revealed that regional organizations and NGOs have been somewhat strong in northern Kenya, as they are throughout Kenya. Along the Kenyan and South Sudan border for instance, these organizations have been particularly active in organizing for peace in the region, forming partnerships with elders, community leaders, religious bodies, professional groups and other civil society groups. This category of actors is an important source of resilience to conflict.[309] The correlation matrix below shows the role played by various stakeholders in conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle.

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[309] An Interview with NGO Official in Kokuro, Feb 2016.

Table 24: Role of International Institutions in Conflict Prevention

Table 25: Correlations matrix

Correlation Matrix[a]		Chiefs	Governments (e.g police)	Women Groups	NGOs	Diviners/Seers	IGAD	Others	Village Elders	NGOs	Religious Institutions	Government officials	Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD	Interventions in preventing conflict	Elders' negotiations reduce hostility
Correlation	Chiefs	1.000	-.001	-.504	-.218	-.194	.158	.009	-.011	.279	.218	-.459	-.116	-.078	-.626
	Governments (e.g police)	-.001	1.000	.334	-.078	.199	.030	-.540	.311	-.219	.302	.065	.172	.134	.252
	Women Groups	-.504	.334	1.000	.346	.487	.046	-.127	.157	-.314	-.011	.660	-.192	.036	.358
	NGOs	-.218	-.078	.346	1.000	.291	.075	.354	-.259	-.383	-.425	.119	-.144	-.048	-.053
	Diviners/Seers	-.194	.199	.487	.291	1.000	.236	-.162	-.121	-.218	.144	.102	-.022	-.122	.339
	IGAD	.158	.030	.046	.075	.236	1.000	-.128	-.097	.194	.011	-.286	-.019	-.225	.104
	Others	.009	-.540	-.127	.354	-.162	-.128	1.000	-.281	.258	-.405	.131	-.364	-.086	-.299
	Village Elders	-.011	.311	.157	-.259	-.121	-.097	-.281	1.000	.049	.039	.282	.677	.043	.069
	NGOs	.279	-.219	-.314	-.383	-.218	.194	.258	.049	1.000	.308	-.295	.048	-.107	.094
	Religious Institutions	.218	.302	-.011	-.425	.144	.011	-.405	.039	.308	1.000	-.361	-.060	.009	.178
	Government officials	-.459	.065	.660	.119	.102	-.286	.131	.282	-.295	-.361	1.000	.052	.048	.082
	Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD	-.116	.172	-.192	-.144	-.022	-.019	-.364	.677	.048	-.060	.052	1.000	.017	.174
	Interventions in preventing conflict	-.078	.134	.036	-.048	-.122	-.225	-.086	.043	-.107	.009	.048	.017	1.000	.003
	Elders' negotiations reduce hostility	-.626	.252	.358	-.053	.339	.104	-.299	.069	.094	.178	.082	.174	.003	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Chiefs		.492	.000	.000	.000	.002	.436	.422	.000	.000	.000	.020	.082	.000
	Governments (e.g police)	.492		.000	.083	.000	.298	.000	.000	.000	.000	.125	.001	.009	.000
	Women Groups	.000	.000		.000	.000	.206	.012	.003	.000	.424	.000	.000	.263	.000
	NGOs	.000	.083	.000		.000	.092	.000	.000	.000	.000	.017	.005	.198	.172
	Diviners/Seers	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.002	.016	.000	.005	.036	.350	.015	.000
	IGAD	.002	.298	.206	.092	.000		.011	.042	.000	.420	.000	.367	.000	.033
	Others	.436	.000	.012	.000	.002	.011		.000	.000	.000	.010	.000	.064	.000
	Village Elders	.422	.000	.003	.000	.016	.042	.000		.190	.248	.000	.000	.224	.109
	NGOs	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.190		.000	.000	.197	.029	.048
	Religious Institutions	.000	.000	.424	.000	.005	.420	.000	.248	.000		.000	.145	.440	.001
	Government officials	.000	.125	.000	.017	.036	.000	.010	.000	.000	.000		.179	.197	.072
	Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD	.020	.001	.000	.005	.350	.367	.000	.000	.197	.145	.179		.379	.001
	Interventions in preventing conflict	.082	.009	.263	.198	.015	.000	.064	.224	.029	.440	.197	.379		.481
	Elders' negotiations reduce hostility	.000	.000	.000	.172	.000	.033	.000	.109	.048	.001	.072	.001	.481	

Table 26: Communalities

Communalities	Initial	Extraction
Chiefs	1	0.79
Governments (e.g police)	1	0.685
Women Groups	1	0.77
NGOs	1	0.692
Diviners/Seers	1	0.645
IGAD	1	0.654
Any other	1	0.768
Village Elders	1	0.804
NGOs	1	0.757
Religious Institutions	1	0.751
Government officials	1	0.704
Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD	1	0.811
Interventions commonly performed by the governments	1	0.453
Elders' negotiations reduce hostility and prevent future	1	0.816
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.		

Communality is the total influence on a single observed variable from all the factors associated with it. It is equal to the sum of all the squared factor loadings for all the factors related to the observed variable and this value is the same as R^2 in multiple regression. The value ranges from zero to 1 where 1 indicates that the variable can be fully defined by the factors and has no uniqueness.

In contrast, a value of 0 indicates that the variable cannot be predicted at all from any of the factors. For our data above, these values can be interpreted the same way as R squared values in multiple regression—they represent the percentage of variability attributed to the model. Elders' negotiations and Intergovernmental organizations such as IGAD are the biggest stakeholders to preventing conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle area. This is seen from the communalities after extraction whereby .816 attribution to Elders' negotiations means that elders can explain 81.6% of the variability of violent conflicts.

Table 27: Total Variance Explained

Total Variance Explained									
	Initial Eigenvalues			Loadings			Loadings		
Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.037	21.693	21.693	3.037	21.693	21.693	2.405	17.180	17.180
2	2.588	18.484	40.176	2.588	18.484	40.176	2.199	15.708	32.888
3	1.863	13.310	53.486	1.863	13.310	53.486	2.075	14.823	47.711
4	1.355	9.676	63.162	1.355	9.676	63.162	1.887	13.482	61.193
5	1.257	8.981	72.143	1.257	8.981	72.143	1.533	10.950	72.143
6	.992	7.087	79.229						
7	.791	5.651	84.881						
8	.657	4.691	89.572						
9	.540	3.855	93.427						
10	.365	2.609	96.036						
11	.215	1.538	97.574						
12	.203	1.452	99.026						
13	.120	.856	99.882						
14	.017	.118	100.000						
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.									

The table above shows the importance of each of the fourteen principal components. Only the first five have eigenvalues over 1.00, and together these explain over 72% of the total variability in the data whereby 21.7% is attributed to factor one, 18.5% to factor two, 13.3% to factor three, 9.7% to factor four and lastly 8.9% to factor five. This leads us to the conclusion that a five-factor solution will probably be adequate.

Table 28: Component Matrix

Component Matrix[a]					
	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Women Groups	.844				
Chiefs	-.719				
Government officials	.650		-.432		
Elders' negotiations reduce hostility	.558			.435	
Any other		-.751			
NGOs		-.651			
Religious Institutions		.639	.414		
Governments (e.g police)	.445	.551			
Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD		.531	-.481		
Diviners/Seers	.523		.583		
IGAD			.578		.451
Village Elders		.540	-.574		
NGOs	-.522			.555	
Interventions of preventing conflicts				-.464	
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.					
a. 5 components extracted.					

Women groups, government officials, Elders' negotiations, Government officials-police, diviners and seers load highly to factor one. Religious institutions, intergovernmental organizations and village elders load highly to factor two. Diviners, seers and IGAD load highly to factor three, whereas NGOs and Government interventions to factor four and lastly IGAD loads alone to factor five.

Table 29: Rotated Component Matrix

	Component				
Rotated Component Matrix[a]	1	2	3	4	5
Chiefs	-.857				
Elders' negotiations	.796				
Women Groups	.713		.432		
Government officials	.551		.441		
Any other		-.825			
Governments (e.g police)		.789			
Religious Institutions		.601	-.588		
NGOs			-.794		
NGOs			.705		
Intergovernmental organization IGAD				.885	
Village Elders				.867	
IGAD					.793
Governments interventions					-.637
Diviners/Seers	.423				.459

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

The criterion of principal component analysis is that the first factor accounts for the maximum part of the variance; this will often ensure that most variables have high loadings on the most important factor, and small loadings on all other factors. Thus, interpretation of the factors can be very difficult.[310] A solution for this difficulty is factor rotation. Factor rotation alters the pattern of the factor loadings, and hence can improve interpretation. Rotation can best be explained by

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[310] Andy P. Field, Discovering statistics using SPSS 2nd Edition(London: Sage, 2005).

imagining factors as axes in a graph, on which the original variables load. By rotating these axes, then, it is possible to make clusters of variables to load optimally.

The rotated component matrix above shows that Chiefs, Elders' negotiations, Women groups and Government officials as the first hand batch of stakeholders to be considered in preventing conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle as they load highly to the first factor. The second factor indicates that Police and Religious institutions play a significant role in preventing conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle. In the third factor, Non-Governmental Organizations is the only factor loaded. The fourth factor constitutes Intergovernmental Organizations and Village Elders, where they can contribute positively in peace building in the Ilemi Triangle. Lastly, only one variable loads to factor five that is; IGAD. Therefore, to build peaceful coexistence of the several ethnic communities residing in the Ilemi Triangle, the key stakeholders to involve can be grouped into three; Local Negotiations, Governments Interventions as well as interventions by Non-Governmental institutions. In the Ilemi Triangle, religious institutions are very key drivers of peace and development. This was revealed through an interview with a key informant and an ex-government who is quoted saying, "Church is the only government we know in this region."

Traditional elders in the Ilemi region play a central and complex role in peace and conflict. That role is also changing due to new political challenges. All the communities that straddle the Ilemi Triangle have traditional elders whose roles include negotiating application of customary law – an important source of conflict management and resolution. However, elders are also critical actors in mobilizing their lineage for armed conflict. Whether elders promote peace or incite war depends on a combination of factors, including the interests of their lineage, their level of integrity or venality and wider political pressures placed on them.

Elders' principal role is as representatives of their community. They are first and foremost negotiators on behalf of their lineage. Skilled elders are effective in finding compromises that allow for negotiated settlements of crimes or armed clashes. Very respected elders are sometimes asked to serve as mediators in conflicts involving other ethnic communities. Elders may also negotiate new agreements governing customary law with another communal group, which can form an important part of management of new conflict drivers and a form of conflict prevention by deterrence.

Elders are also critical players when communal groups mobilize for armed conflict. They call on their ethnic communities, or militias, raise funds and often collude with political figures from their lineage to plan and execute armed clashes. Political elites seeking to employ violence to advance their political interests usually collaborate with elders to accomplish this.

6.5.5. Roles of Stakeholders

According to the primary data obtained from key informants such as government officials, Focus group discussions, religious leaders and business persons, key stakeholders of conflict prevention are quite a number and can be grouped into; primary, secondary, tertiary and spoilers.

6.5.5.1 Primary Stakeholders

The primary stakeholders include; ethnic communities residing in the Ilemi Triangle who often engage in ethnic clashes with their rival ethnic community. The communities include, Turkana of Kenya, Dassenach and the Nyangatom of Ethiopia, Toposa and Didinga of South Sudan.

Common clashes involve Turkana versus the Dassenach, Turkana versus the Nyangatom, and

Turkana versus the Toposa, Turkana versus the Didinga and Nyangatom versus the Toposa.

6.5.5. 2 Secondary Stakeholders

The secondary stakeholders category in the Ilemi Triangle include; the Governments of Kenya,

Ethiopia and South Sudan. The Kenyan government support the Turkana through the formation

of Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) who are the locals given the role to protect their communities.

The Ethiopian as well as South Sudanese governments support the Dassenach and Toposa

respectively in the form of provisions of arms and ammunitions.

6.5.5. 3 Tertiary Stakeholders

Tertiary stakeholders in the Ilemi Triangle are; community elders, religious institutions, NGOs,

warriors and women groups. Although community elders have been faulted for playing a leading

role in instigating violence, not all of the elders in the Ilemi Triangle play this negative role. The

religious institutions especially the Catholic Church preach peace and provide social services in

the area as a key response. Non-Governmental Organizations such as SCCRR, IGAD and peace

evangelization teams like TUPADO and RIAMRIAM participate in facilitation of peace

meetings between the warring communities.

6.5.5.4 Spoilers

The last categories of stakeholders of conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle are the spoilers who include; conflict entrepreneurs, thieves, cultural practices, women, seers and diviners. The conflict entrepreneurs sell guns and bullets to the enemies (other ethnic community) in exchange for cows and goats. The thieves take advantage of the conflict situation by stealing from a community with the hope that the theft will be blamed on the adversaries. While women sing and cheer warriors to go raiding, Seers and diviners bless the warriors through performance of myths and rituals before going for a raid and once the warriors return from the raids they share the livestock brought home with the seers and diviners. Finally, cultural practices whereby men are required to pay high bride prices encourage the youth who are the warriors to go for raids in order to get cows and goats which they can use to pay these prices as well as accumulate wealth in form of livestock resulting in violent conflicts.

Northern Kenya has seen an impressive rise in business opportunities, producing an expanded business community with a strong but variable stake in peace and conflict. Most businesses in northern Kenya are linked to cross-border trade (often, but not always smuggling) to and from neighbouring Somalia and Ethiopia. The Ilemi triangle region serves as a large and lucrative market for goods and service, through the main market in Nairobi. Livestock heading to the market crosses the border in both directions (camels mainly exported out of Kenya into Ethiopia

and Somalia, goats and cattle into Kenya).[311] Other goods, such as small arms, are an illegal part of this trade network and move in whatever direction the market dictates.

Another category is that of Oil firms that have secured concessions to explore for hydrocarbons in northern Kenya. These companies may not yet be significant actors, but they likely to be. Whether they choose to or not, they will be drawn into local disputes over jobs and contracts, environmental impact, land compensation, communal, county borders and other matters.

6.5. Effectiveness of the Conflict Warning System in Conflict Prevention

The effectiveness of the conflict warning systems in conflict prevention was examined within the contexts of the individual, family as well as in the community. At the community level, the effectiveness was examined using the question: *Conflict early warning systems have been effective in conflict prevention in this area? Rate this statement on a scale of 1 to 4.* The selection of responses available was "Disagree", "Do not know", "Agree" and "not applicable". This question was met with mixed reactions. While a significant majority reported that conflict early warning systems have been effective in conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle (50.0%), nearly half of the respondents disagreed (43.7%) and (6.3%) did not know whether it is effective or not.

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[311] FGD with Community Leaders in Kibish, Feb 2016.

Table 30: Effectiveness of the conflict warning systems in conflict prevention

Effectiveness of the conflict warning systems in conflict prevention	Frequency	Percentage
Disagree	138	43.7
Do not know	20	6.3
Agree	158	50.0
Total	**316**	**100.0**

6.5.1. Conflict Prevention Constraints

Factor analysis was conducted to determine whether the underlying structure exists for measures on the following variables of conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle: lack of cooperation from the community; failure to know which information to collect; presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs; time frame: how early is early; structural challenges (improper roads, lack of network); gap between early warning and early response; weak and inappropriate response; persistent disconnect between early warning and early response.

6.5.2. Constraining Factors to Conflict Prevention

To understand the constraints to prevention of conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle, respondents were asked: *Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen?* Based on the results of our study, majority (92%) of the respondents agreed that yes there are instances when conflicts occur even after signs were seen. Furthermore, the study went ahead to inquire the factors that constrain the prevention of conflict in the area. It emerged that communities conflict response capacity is weak in the Ilemi, they do not know how and what to do to avert conflict because of several infrastructural challenges. The problem of infrastructure is indisputably a major contributor to any disorder. Infrastructure is key and necessary for any peacebuilding attempt. Lack of infrastructure came out strongly as a major obstacle to conflict

early warning and early response in the Ilemi triangle. Lack of communication network and poor road networks in some areas disadvantages the efforts of conflict prevention.

Table 31: Correlation

<table>
<tr><td colspan="10" align="center">Correlation Matrix^a</td></tr>
</table>

		Lack of cooperation	Failure to know which information to collect	Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs	Time frame: How Early is Early	Structural challenges (improper roads, lack of network etc)	Gap between Early Warning and Early Response	Weak and Inappropriate Response	Disconnect between Early Warning and Early Response
Correlation	Lack of cooperation	1.000	-.095	-.276	.286	-.511	.057	-.567	.204
	Failure to know which information to collect	-.095	1.000	.589	.005	.075	.042	.304	.216
	Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs	-.276	.589	1.000	.209	.007	-.095	.091	-.295
	Time frame: How Early is Early	.286	.005	.209	1.000	.132	-.376	-.505	-.098
	challenges (improper roads, lack of network	-.511	.075	.007	.132	1.000	-.332	.124	-.467
	Gap between Early Warning and Early Response	.057	.042	-.095	-.376	-.332	1.000	.268	.330
	Weak and Inappropriate Response	-.567	.304	.091	-.505	.124	.268	1.000	.222
	Disconnect between Early Warning and Early	.204	.216	-.295	-.098	-.467	.330	.222	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Lack of cooperation		.046	.000	.000	.000	.157	.000	.000
	Failure to know which information to collect	.046		.000	.466	.092	.229	.000	.000
	Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs	.000	.000		.000	.454	.046	.054	.000
	Time frame: How Early is Early	.000	.466	.000		.010	.000	.000	.041
	challenges (improper roads, lack of network	.000	.092	.454	.010		.000	.014	.000
	Gap between Early Warning and Early Response	.157	.229	.046	.000	.000		.000	.000
	Weak and Inappropriate Response	.000	.000	.054	.000	.014	.000		.000
	Disconnect between Early Warning and Early	.000	.000	.000	.041	.000	.000	.000	

a. Determinant = .023

Our SPSS output above shows abridged version of the correlation matrix. The top half of this table contains the Pearson correlation coefficients between all pairs of our questions of conflict constraints in the Ilemi Triangle, whereas the bottom half contains the one-tailed significance of these coefficients. This study employed this correlation matrix to check the pattern of relationships by scanning the significance values and looking for those variables with significance value (p>0.05) as well as looking at the correlations for any value greater than 0.9. For the data in this study, all questions regarding constraints of conflict prevention correlate fairly well and none of the coefficients are particularly large. Therefore, there was no need to consider elimination of any question.

Table 32: Communalities

Communalities		
	Initial	Extraction
Lack of cooperation	1.000	.814
Failure to know which information to collect	1.000	.821
Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs	1.000	.811
Time frame: How Early is Early	1.000	.686
Structural challenges (improper roads, lack of network etc)	1.000	.715
Gap between Early Warning and Early Response	1.000	.545
Weak and Inappropriate Response	1.000	.806
Persistent Disconnect between Early Warning and Early Response	1.000	.625
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.		

Communalities represent the proportion of variability for a given variable that is explained by the factors. They are interpreted as the squared multiple correlation of the variable as predicted from the combination of factors, or as the sum of squared loadings across all factors for that variable. Principal component analysis works on the initial assumption that all variance is common; therefore, before extraction the communalities are all one. The communalities after extraction reflect the common variance in the data structure. Thus, from the table above, 81.4% of the variance associated with "lack of cooperation" is common. The amount of variance that can be explained by the retained factors is represented by the communalities after extraction.

Table 33: Total Variance Explained

	Total Variance Explained								
Compone nt	Initial Eigenvalues			Loadings			Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulativ e %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulativ e %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulativ e %
1	2.188	27.352	27.352	2.188	27.352	27.352	2.078	25.980	25.980
2	2.126	26.577	53.929	2.126	26.577	53.929	2.046	25.579	51.559
3	1.507	18.842	72.771	1.507	18.842	72.771	1.697	21.211	72.771
4	.815	10.191	82.962						
5	.560	7.003	89.965						
6	.479	5.991	95.956						
7	.266	3.330	99.286						
8	.057	.714	100.000						
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.									

The number of factors to be retained is similar to the number of positive eigenvalues of the correlation matrix. It is recommended that we should retain only those factors with an eigenvalue larger than 1 or to keep the factors which in total account for about 70 – 80% of the variance. The eigenvalues associated with each factor represent the variance explained by that particular linear component. For the data in this study, from a total of eight components, only three have

eigenvalues greater than one. Factor one explains 27.352% of the total variance, factor two is responsible for 26.577% while the third factor is accounting for 18.842% of the total variations of constraints to conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. Cumulatively the three factors explain a total of 72.771% of the total variations.

Structural challenges (improper roads, lack of network), persistent disconnect between early warning and gap between early warning and early response loaded highly to the second factor. Failure to know which information to collect and the presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs' loads into our third factor. Thus we can conclude that there are three major constraints to conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle namely; *Tactless Response, Structural challenges* and *Conflict entrepreneurs'*. The structural challenges in the Ilemi triangle confirm Stefanie's argument in Chapter four that most early warning systems are inaccurately structured and gaps exist both in external and internal infrastructure. Very often, warning systems are estranged from early response mechanisms, meaning that the stakeholders who the information is conveyed to are different from those who have the authorization to synchronize a response.

For example, the police post along the conflict zone such as Todonyang on the Kenya-Ethiopia border have few security enforcing personnel who are not locals, and often do not understand the terrain. In most cases these police will not subdue and capture the cattle rustlers/criminals, since these criminals are many in number. In case the police post required more help or security personnel backups it has to request from the police headquarters in Lodwar, this will take a day or some hours and the criminals will have disappeared with animals. If the politicians came to press the security personnel to return the stolen animals, the option will be for the inquiry from the OCPD provincial police headquarter for support in case they have to cross the borders. At

that time probably Kenya army will be sent. When the army arrives on the ground they may not get exact victims or perceived cattle rustlers to arrest or even the stolen animals, often due to lack of experience/exposure on handling cattle rustling criminal activities. Therefore they will confiscate or round up all the animals with an intention that the community will leash out the cattle rustler or they return the stolen animals by their community. During the confiscation or rounding up activity by the army, there will be loss of life or loss of animals from the innocent community being pursued as aggressors of cattle raiding venture.

Further structural challenges in the Ilemi Triangle include: deteriorating road conditions; lack of telecommunication network; and road banditry. In addition to these structural challenges, the region also suffers from inadequate of schools, illiteracy and lack of general knowledge. Access to good health care and basic security are almost completely unavailable. Areas of the Ilemi triangle have minimal infrastructural facilities. Conflict monitoring, surveillance/patrolling is very compromised by the general lack of roads, among other things. An obvious consequence of this is that provision of government patrol/surveillance personnel is at once inadequate and scarce. Quite often the agent of marginalization is the state in terms of its virtual failure to provide political goods. Provision of these goods could be the first step in coming up with alternatives to prevention of conflict. Coming up with the alternatives has however been blocked by the existing institutional arrangements. Different communities are therefore frustrated but cannot attack their respective governments. The anger is directed at (or let out on) the ethnic other.

Lack of general knowledge and illiteracy is another major challenge. Pastoralists in the Ilemi are not only uniformed about viable alternatives to conflict prevention but they also lack training and practical skills on when to act, who to act and how to act.

Figure 8: Peterlinus Ouma travelling in one of the deteriorated roads in the Ilemi Triangle

A different major constraint revealed by the study is the presence of conflict entrepreneurs. Stefanie affirms that early warning efforts often fail because of players with diverse competing interests — 'spoilers' or Conflict entrepreneurs. Players may have their own plans/motivations and be openly involved in the conflict. In the Ilemi Triangle, this is particularly true of local leaders and businesspersons who may act as "ethnic entrepreneurs", driving their own political and economic plans without essentially speaking for the interests of the minority group. Lack of fairness disadvantages one party in socio-economic terms while it advantages the other in the same terms. Great awareness of the presence of foreigners dominating businesses in various towns among the pastoralists makes the pastoralists to feel set aside and they harbour the sense

of animosity towards these foreigners either through discussing against them or at times incidences of shooting targeting some "foreign" business persons.

After rotation, the first component accounted for 25.98%, the second for 25.579% and the third accounted for 21.211%. Component one included items with both negative and positive loadings. Positive loadings include the variables of gap between early warning and early response, as well as weak and inappropriate response. Negative loadings include: lack of cooperation and time frame: for example, how early is early? Items with the highest loadings were: Failure to know which information to collect and Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs.

6.6. Conclusion

This Chapter has examined how the conflict early warning systems in Africa operate, with a specific focus on the Ilemi Triangle. The chapter has established that the existing conflict early warning systems in Africa are not contextualized and that they are too technical for the local communities to relate with. Secondly, the chapter reveals that the conflict prevention skills of various stakeholders are still inadequate and often result in uncoordinated responses. For effective conflict early warning in Africa, there is need to address structural, operational and political challenges.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

This study set out to contribute on the discourse and literature on the impact of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa. The study has first examined the historical background of conflict in Africa with specific reference to the Ilemi Triangle, secondly the factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems for conflict prevention. The study also examines the role and impact of early warning systems in conflict prevention in Africa, assesses the success of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa and finally outlines a framework for conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. Conducted in the Ilemi Triangle, an area bordering Kenya to the south, South Sudan to the north west and Ethiopia to north east, this survey was broadly aimed at providing the raw material upon which prevention and control measures on conflicts can be built upon.

7.2. Summary of Key Findings

From the community views on historical background of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle, the survey points at the following key findings:

Greatest causes of interethnic violent conflict: There is a very strong consensus in the community that conflict is a major problem in the Ilemi Triangle region owing to the high levels of violent conflict experienced. There was also a clear awareness of the consequences as a result of the changing trends and ease of availability, affordability and accessibility of fire arms such as

guns. The greatest causes of conflict are the resource scarcity of land, water, pasture and the disputed boundaries. Illiteracy among the residents makes them to believe conflict is the only way to solve their problems. Politics does play a significant role in propagation of conflicts between communities. Conflict memories and yearning for vengeance are prevalent attitudes, thus making conflict a recurrent activity in the Ilemi Triangle area. Marginalization of the communities by their respective state apparatuses further initiates and propels conflict. A significant section of the respondents (nearly 55%) reported that the predominant cause of conflicts was ethnic differences in the Ilemi Triangle.

Possession and source of fire arms by the locals: In the Ilemi triangle there is an abundance of illegal guns, apparently the most serious phenomenon that makes conflict a prevalent reality. A significant majority (37%) felt that middlemen were the main suppliers of guns in the Ilemi triangle. The security personnel are also playing a role in perpetration of the conflicts amidst the availability of arms.

Actions taken by the security personnel in case of raiding: Action (or lack thereof) taken by the security personnel in cases of cattle raiding are an important indicator of the efforts of the authorities to curb the menace of violent conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle. A majority (44%) of the respondents reported that at times the security personnel are slow to take action. Furthermore, (24.7%) felt that these personnel did not pursue the raiders at all. Their perceived laxity in dealing with the matter has contributed to the Ilemi Triangle becoming a hotbed of violent conflicts.

Factors that Led to the Emergence of Early Warning Systems: The findings show that 58.9% of the community members surveyed reported that they often know in advance that a conflict

was likely to occur in their neighborhood. This means that before a conflict occurs the locals do know about it, thus signs of a conflict are reportedly easily foreseen in the Ilemi Triangle. These signs of possible open conflict are some of the factors that led to the emergence of early warning systems. They include; deterioration of inter-group relations, frequent raids, sudden disappearance of warriors in the village, proliferation of guns, presence of strangers and mass movement of people.

Sources of information of potential conflict: Based on the analysis results, the greatest consensus is that community leaders, seers and diviners are the main sources of information of a potential conflict. An important emphasis is that nearly 90% of the respondents reported that community leaders had the lead in terms of the escalating or mitigating conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle Area.

Behaviour of the community members in case of a possible attack: The survey revealed significant approval of these common behaviors in the community, meaning that indeed they are the possible signs of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle. Over quarters of the respondents reported that grouping (25.0%), Acquisition of weapons (31.3%) and sudden disappearance of warriors (25.0%) are the most common behaviors. FGDs revealed that mass movement of women and children to "safer zones" often indicate a looming conflict.

Effectiveness of the conflict early warning system in conflict prevention: Significant community members (50.0%) reported that conflict early warning signs have not been effective in conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle, (43.7%) agrees and (6.3%) do not know. Furthermore, this survey made an inquiry on the role of stakeholders in conflict propagation and its prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. Some of the key highlights include:

Role of various persons in conflict prevention: Our study revealed that village elders (88.9%), religious institutions (81.0%) and governments through the police (50.3%) play a very vital role in conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. The role played by the local administration represented by the chiefs is to ensure that there is peace and harmony within their jurisdiction. However, the study revealed that contrary to this, chiefs in the Ilemi area also playing a trivial role to thwart inter-ethnic clashes.

Interventions by the governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia in preventing conflict in the Ilemi Triangle: Our survey showed that safeguarding the borders (55%) was the common response strategy applied by the governments bordering Ilemi Triangle. In addition, Kenyan, South Sudan and Ethiopian governments do provide security forces to protect people against attacks (32.3%). Educating the people and arresting as well as punishing law offenders is not common in this area as reported by 7.9% and 4.7% of the respondents respectively. This therefore means that any preventive initiatives should take these factors as entry points.

Role of international institutions in conflict prevention: International bodies play a significant role in conflict prevention across the conflict environs and helping out the victims to recover from the atrocities. In the Ilemi Triangle, the international non-governmental institutions include IGAD, religious institutions and SCCRR. Therefore, to build peaceful coexistence of the several ethnic communities in the Ilemi Triangle, the key stakeholders to involve can be grouped into three; local negotiations, Government interventions as well as non-governmental institutions.

With respect to conflict prevention constraints the survey point at the following key findings:

Containing the Conflict: Majority (92%) of the respondents agreed that yes there are instances when conflicts occurs after the signs have been seen. Furthermore, it clearly emerged that people

in the study area do not know how to stop violence or they feared for their lives and lastly that they were not sure about what to do, as there are infrastructural challenges in this area. Thus we can conclude that there are three major constraints to conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle namely: tactless response, structural challenges and spoilers.

7.3. Conclusion

Conflict early warning entails a systematic and interconnected methodology from gathering of information on the signs of an impending conflict to response strategy. The steps are not only systematic but also mutually reinforcing. The steps are so interdependent that a failure in one step undermines the success in all the others. Whether or not conflict early warning becomes a success, depends on proper identification of the signs and appropriate response strategies that are undertaken to avert conflict. For harnessing conflict early warning system in the Ilemi Triangle, more efforts need to be put in to helping policy makers and implementers to understand conflict history, context, nature, issues and dynamics. Early hybrid response mechanisms would be appropriate in this situation.

7.3.1. Operation of Conflict Early Warning Systems in Africa

The persistence of overt conflict in Africa is as a result of ineffective conflict early warning systems. According to Lund, signs are more proximate factors that do not necessarily appear regularly, but whose appearance indicates fundamental changes in the normal day to day situation of a place. This means that before a conflict occurs the locals do know about it, thus signs to a conflict are foreseen in the Ilemi Triangle. These signs of possible open conflict in the region include; deterioration of inter-group relations, frequent raids, sudden disappearance of warriors from the villages, proliferation of guns, and the presence of strangers as well as sudden mass movements of people. Lund emphasizes that signs and indicators are essential to anticipating and preventing overt conflict because early action is impossible if signs are ignored.

7.3.2. Key Stakeholders and Methodologies in Conflict Early Warning

Stakeholders in a conflict are any individuals, groups and institutions who contribute to conflict and/or are affected by it either negatively or positively. From factor analysis result loadings and interviews with key informants such as the government officials, religious leaders and businessmen, indeed, conflict key stakeholders are significant in number and can be grouped into: primary, secondary, tertiary and finally, spoilers. According to primary information obtained from key informants, various stakeholders have different roles in preventing overt conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle.

7.3.3. Constraints in Conflict Prevention

There are key constraints facing conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle, namely: uncoordinated response, structural challenges and the role of conflict entrepreneurs'. It is clear that a major constraint in the design and implementation of Conflict Prevention measures is the element of time. There is no prescriptive or easy answer to when is the best time for preventative intervention. It remains a conundrum for stakeholders involved: how early is early? Within what time frame do you issue a warning is a challenge. The biggest challenge for conflict early warning systems is that they have not been effectively transformed into a preventive response. Specific response plans must be developed as part of the early warning system. Resource mobilization for prevention usually slows down early action to be taken in order to prevent occurrence of conflicts. The persons with information about the early signs to a conflict risk being accused as alarmists and causing unnecessary uncertainty about the future. The dilemma of whether to move away or stay because of potential conflict usually poses a difficult challenge to residents. Poor infrastructure such improper roads, poor or lack of a communication network as well as a general inaccessibility to conflict areas makes it hard to disseminate the information

about conflicts. Thus the final test hypothesis of this study, that there are key constraints facing conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle holds to be true at 5% level of significance.

Conflict early warning is a more cost-effective approach to the dominant reactive measures in play today; conflict itself incurs high costs to a community and the process of containing a conflict and the necessary reconstruction after a conflict are significantly higher than investing in prevention preemptively. Statistical research on third party diplomacy also supports this belief that prevention is better than a cure. Indeed, acting before high levels of conflict intensity is better than trying to diffuse them. Furthermore, there is gathering evidence that conflict early warning has worked in places where the risk of conflict was present but full-scale violence was averted, such as South Africa, Macedonia, Crimea, the Baltics, and the South China Sea. If it worked in these places, it follows logic that it can still work in the Ilemi Triangle.

7.3.4. Conflict Causal Factors

Hypothesis four posted that there are multiple conflict causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle. The greatest cause of conflicts is the resource scarcity of land, water, pasture and the resulting disputes of boundaries. Illiteracy among the residents makes them to believe conflict is the only way to solve their issues. Politicians do play a significant role in propagation of conflicts through inciting their communities against their neighboring communities. Conflict memories and yearning for vengeance makes communities fight as a way of paying back, thus making conflict a recurrent issue in the Ilemi Triangle. Social exclusion and marginalization by the respective state apparatuses are further initiators and propellers of conflict in this area. According to Dessler, the causes of violent conflict can either be structural or proximate. Therefore, this study at 95% confidence interval, rejects the null hypothesis and thus concludes that yes, there are multiple conflict causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle.

7.4. Framework for Conflict Prevention in the Ilemi Triangle

Preventing overt conflict continues to be severely constrained by systemic disconnect between early warning and early response. One way this could be addressed is through having a contextualized conflict early warning framework that would help to predict the outbreak of overt conflicts.[312] An early warning framework is a crucial part of the efforts to engage in conflict prevention measures.[313] Appropriate development of a framework for conflict early warning requires impartial and clear identification of the structural, proximate and triggers of conflict, the identification of the conflict related signs and indicators and the most preferred operations that best deter the signs and indicators from escalating into violent conflict.[314]

The challenge with identifying a framework that can be pertinent for a vast area means that signs and indicators can only be identified within a single context since conflict analysis is also only possible within contextual boundaries and with respect to a specific conflict's nature and dynamics.[315]Beyna affirms that designing early warning system with a parsimonious set of indicators is problematic due to the nature, dynamic and context of a conflict.[316] This highlights the need to contextualize conflict in order to develop an effective early warning framework of conflict prevention.

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[312]Jeong, Understanding Conflict, 20-21.
[313]John G. Cockell, "Early Warning Analysis and Policy Planning in UN Preventive action," in Conflict Prevention: Path to peace or Grand Illusion?, ed. Carment and Schnabel (United Nations University Press, New York 2003), 188.
[314]David Dessler, "Beyond Correlations: Toward a Causal Theory of War," International Studies Quarterly 35 (1991).
[315]Jeong, Understanding Conflict, 4.
[316]Beyna, L. S, et al, The Effectiveness of Civil Society Initiatives in Controlling Violent Conflicts and Building Peace: A Study of Three Approaches in the Greater Horn of Africa (Washington, DC: Management Systems International, 2001), 88.

Furthermore, Sriram *et al* observe that since contexts are different, the process of developing certainty with regard to what signs and indicators are, who should act and when requires some comparison with what happens in different situations. Even though each case must be interpreted independently, comparisons ought to be made with other regions in the world so as to develop full certainty that the identified indicator is really a pointer to a possible occurrence of conflict.[317]

The threats and opportunities of the 21st century demand that increased attention be paid to practical questions about how to design and implement effective prevention strategies—beyond identification of warning signs, a system should be put in place to address the question of when, how and who should take preventive actions.   This study has designed a framework that endeavors to move the Ilemi Triangle along the continuum to durable peace. The objective of this framework is to prevent conflict from turning violent in the first place; and to control and de-escalate the situation before violence breaks out, because acting early saves lives and saves money. If this framework is harnessed wholly, the gap between the identification of early warning and early action to prevent overt conflict will be bridged.

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[317]Sriram, Chandra Lekha and Wermester Karin, From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of violent Conflict *(*Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2003), 29.

7.4.1. Components of the Framework for Preventing Overt Conflicts in the Ilemi Triangle

7.4.1.1 Appoint Field Monitors by the Community

In order to prevent conflict more effectively in the Ilemi triangle, filed monitors have to be appointed. Field monitors will be appointed who will produce monthly monitoring report following an on-site visit to the institution. This model will appoint monitors through the help of the community council of elders. In the communities, there are members who play positive and negative roles and the community knows each of them. These communities know who is interested in peace and who is not.

7.4.1.2 Capacity Building for the Field Monitors on Conflict Early Warning and Early Response

The Ilemi triangle is a semi-illiterate society. A good percentage of the population in the Ilemi triangle as revealed by the findings do not posses expert knowledge of conflict early warning, neither do they possess the experience in academic processes. This framework will seek to build the capacity of the appointed community field monitors on the process of conflict early warning and early response; data collection; data analysis; where to take the information gathered and finally who is to act on what kind of information.

7.4.1.3 Operationalization: Collecting and Analyzing Conflict Early Warning Signs by Use of Scorecard

In this step, the field monitors will collect data either through observation, interviews, surveys, or other methods. The data collected should be defined and arranged to make observations at the right times. These data will be recorded in a conflict scorecard attached to this document and organized to make optimal use of the data collected.

Analyzing will involve examining the information by council of elders who are reported to in ways that will bring out the relationships, patterns, and trends that can be found within it. In some cases it may mean subjecting the information to statistical operations that can tell not only what kinds of relationships seem to exist among variables, but also to what level answers can be gotten from such information. Analysis may also take the form of comparison of the data gathered by the field monitors to information collected by different stakeholders.

7.4.1.4 Warning dissemination to the community at risk and stakeholders with the ability to take preventive measures

Bearing in mind the infrastructural and structural challenges in the Ilemi triangle region, a channel of communication that is will reach everyone should be embraced. In the Ilemi region, the field monitors could notify council of elders in the communities for them to warn the people at risk and the stakeholders through the use of community messengers and the use of radio calls.

7.4.1.5 Acting on the Warning in a Timely Manner

This framework should be implemented by the conflict affected population and the stakeholders, and policy makers with the ability to take preventive measures. The users of this framework must include the *at-risk population and the government* officials who are responsible for responding to the warnings and taking preventive measures without excluding other stakeholders. All stakeholders need to be involved in the development of new conflict early warning framework or redesigning existing ones to adapt to the ever dynamic trends. It is essential that communities understand their risks; respect the warning service and know how to react. Education and preparedness programmes play a key role. It is also essential that disaster

management plans are in place, well practiced and tested. The community should be well informed on options for safe behaviour, available escape routes, and how best to avoid damage and loss to property.

7.4.2 Framework for Conflict Prevention in the Ilemi Triangle

FRAMEWORK FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION IN THE ILEMI TRIANGLE: ACTING EARLY SAVES LIVES AND

step five: Action on warning in timely manner

Step one: Appointment of Field Monitors by the community

step two: capacity building for field monitors on cewrn

step three: Operationalization- collecting and analysing early warning signs by using score card

step four: warning dessamination to the community at risk and stakeholders with the ability to take preventive measures

Figure 9: Framework for Conflict Prevention in the Ilemi Triangle

Table 34: Conflict Monitoring Scorecard for the Ilemi Triangle

Latent Conflict sign	Visibility		Frequency of the conflict sign					Validation	Line of Action
	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5		
deterioration of inter-group relations								No /partial inter-community interaction	Report to the council of elders
killing a member of the ethnic other								A person killed by ethnic other	Report to the council of elders
proliferation of guns								Carrying guns and buying bullets	Report to the council of elders
dropping warning letters								Warning letters found	Report to the council of elders
threats and rhetoric								Hate speech	Report to the council of elders
sudden disappearance of warriors from the village								Warriors are suddenly missing in the community	Report to the council of elders
dogs barking excessively at night								Sound of dogs barking excessively at night	Report to the council of elders
rituals performed in the village								Function held in the village	Report to the council of elders
mass movement of people								People relocating for fear of attack	Report to the council of elders
reading of animal intestine especially goat and sheep and making predictions on looming attacks								Intestine specialist predict an attack or death	Report to the council of elders
Rating Scale	1. Lowest		2. low		3.medium		4. high		5. highest

7.5. Recommendations

This study has some recommendations for researchers and policymakers that would significantly contribute to the development of conflict early warning and early response. The researcher feels that the following aspects emerging from the findings of the study merit a particular attention:

7.5.1. Academic Recommendations

The study reveals that there are various issues that may constitute areas for further research in the discourse of role of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa. Consequently, it will be important if further research is extended in the following areas:

❖ First the study observed that despite the identification of early warning signs, overt conflict still persists in the Ilemi Triangle. Consequently, there is need to devise ways of responding to conflict in a timely manner thus bridging the gap between identification of signs and early response.

❖ Secondly, the study reveals that coordination of early warning systems is weak at local, national and even international level. There is need therefore to examine ways in which coordination of early warning systems can be enhanced to improve the implementation of early warning and response frameworks. In addition, decision-making processes at the aforementioned levels are not systematized and will need to be looked into.

❖ Thirdly, the study concludes that there is need to look into how the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms can be incorporated into the international conflict prevention mechanisms.

❖ The fourth concern revolves around the role of the media in conflict prevention. Efforts need to be directed at improving the positive role of the media in conflict prevention. Further studies need to be undertaken to establish how the media can be positively used to curb the new trends of conflict such as terrorism, extremism, climate change, and violent revolutions.

7.5.2. Policy Recommendations

❖ There needs to be increased community education on early warning signs and response mechanisms that speaks to the experience of the residents of the Ilemi triangle. This may include the early signal gathering criterion, scrutinizing the signs, sharing warning information and taking appropriate preventative measures. The community education may be carried out by field monitors but the partnership with other agencies such as religious leaders, government officials such as peace mediators and Non-Governmental Organizations including SCCRR and IGAD needs to be utilized more meaningfully.

❖ Pro-actively engage the kraal leaders and elders in leading the campaigns against ethnic clashes in the Ilemi Triangle by preaching peace, love and unity among the residents and to shun raiding and killing each other.

❖ There is a need to harness local knowledge on early warning and response for successful operations at grass root level.

❖ Early warning and response should be part of a wider peace infrastructure. Long-term peacebuilding endeavours are important in sustaining peace, not just managing overt

violence. Use of local knowledge and a more collaborative approach involving all stakeholders is critical for early warning and response to be successful at the community level.

❖ Anti-spoilers policy: There are various actors in every conflict situation. There are other conflict actors concerned with preserving the continuation of conflict. For example, arms suppliers, whether they are official like governments, or individual arms merchants have an interest in the conflict. The promotion of their trade might mean that the particular arms supplier might want one party who it supplies with arms to win, in the hope that it can get large arms orders in the post-conflict constitutional order. The policy makers should introduce stronger policies to regulate their operations.

❖ Linking early warning with early response: One of the greatest challenges that emerged from this study is that most conflict early warning systems have not yet been partnered with an effective preventative response mechanism. Whereas making precise predictions is difficult, it is almost impossible to comprehend convincing political leaders and the civilians to act upon warnings. Repeatedly, civil society organizations end up trying to perform the role of both warning and response measures, despite the fact that often times they lack the capacity to document and respond effectively.

❖ New technology can greatly help the residents of the Ilemi triangle to be actively involved in data gathering and conflict prevention; organizations and interested parties should make better use of these developments.

❖ Recent research on regional organizations suggests that the key constraint facing early warning systems is not lack of quality data, but rather organizational weaknesses and internal political divisions. Therefore, there is a need of institutional capacity building on early warning and response system.

❖ In the Ilemi triangle, there exists a warning-response gap between early warning and early response. This is partly so because of operational obstacles between the conflict site and decision makers location. The design and management of early warning systems should be closely interconnected with the task of taking preventive measures.

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RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent,

I am PeterlinusOuma Odote, A Doctorate Student from the University of Nairobi (Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies). I am undertaking my PhD studies in International Studies. In order to partially fulfill the requirements of this degree, I am undertaking a study which will lead to the writing of my final academic dissertation. The title of my dissertation reads: **THE ROLE OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS ON CONFLICT PREVENTION IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF THE ILEMI TRIANGLE.** It is for this reason that this study set out to examine and analyze the impact of the emergence of early warning systems on conflict prevention in Africa. In order to achieve this, the study had five objectives each targeting a specific thematic area as follows: 1). To examine the historical background of conflict in Africa with specific reference to the Ilemi Triangle; 2). To trace factors leading to the emergence of early warning system in Africa; 3). To investigate the role and impact of early warning systems in Africa; 4). To examine the success of early warning systems in Africa; 5). The study intends to explore how to harness early warning signs for purposes of developing a framework for the prevention of overt conflict in the Ilemi triangle.

You have been identified to provide critical information to make this study a success. All responses will be acknowledged, credited and strictly used only for academic purposes. Information obtained will be treated with confidentiality. Your co-operation is highly appreciated. Thank you.

Part I: Personal Information

I.) Gender of respondent: Male ☐   or   Female ☐

II) Respondent's ethnic identity (respond by ticking)

Ethnic Group	Respondent	Country of origin
Turkana		Kenya
Didinga		South Sudan
Toposa		South Sudan
Inyangatom		Ethiopia
Dassenach		Ethiopia
Others		

III) Respondent's age

18 – 35 [ ]   36 – 50 [ ]   51 – 75 [ ]   76 and above [ ]

IV) Respondent's Education

Academic level**:** primary ☐   Secondary ☐   University ☐   Others ☐

V). Respondent's Occupation ……………………………………………………………….

Part Two: Conflict Causal factors in the Ilemi Triangle

1. Which of the following do you considerer to be the greatest cause of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic communities?

☐ Marginalization

☐ Lack of official state presence

☐ Environmental scarcity (=water, pasture, land for growing food crops)

☐ Disputed boundaries

☐ Long standing hatred between ethnic communities

☐ Any other……………………………………………………………………………

2. About how many incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of another ethnic community would you say have occurred in this area in the past two years?

3.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Over 12

4. Which is the predominant cause of violence between members of your ethnic community and members of the neighbouring ethnic community/ies?

☐ Ethnic difference ☐ Religious difference ☐ Political difference

☐ Cultural difference ☐ Economic difference

5. Do people who illegally carry guns tend to use them against other people who do not belong to their ethnic community?

☐ Yes ☐ No

6. Where do members of your ethnic community get guns?

☐ Neighbouring Countries (Kenya, South Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia)

☐ Security personnel

☐ Middlemen

☐ People from neighbouring ethnic community/communities who are killed or captured during their livestock raiding in our ethnic community

☐ Other members of our ethnic community

7. In the past two year, how many times would you say that you saw, were told about, or heard that some people were violently attacked and/or murdered because they did not belong to the ethnic community of their attackers/murderers/

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Over 12

8. What actions do the security personnel take when you report cases of cattle raiding?

☐ Sometimes the security personnel pursue the raiders/thieves

☐ Sometimes the security personnel do pursue the raiders/thieves

☐ Sometimes the Security Personnel are slow to take action

☐ Any other action……………………………………………………………………….

9. Are the following international borders adequately patrolled by security forces (police, army and the like)?

	Adequately patrolled	Inadequately patrolled	Patrol is lacking	Don't know
South Sudan-Ethiopia border				
Kenya-South Sudan border				

Kenya-Ethiopia border				

10. Do you as a resident of this village feel secure enough due to the existing security patrols?

Very secure	Moderately secure	Not secure	Not applicable

11. How often do the governments of Ethiopia, South Sudan and Kenya send security forces (police, army) to stop inter-ethnic violence?

☐ Every time inter-ethnic violence occurs

☐ In most occurrences of inter-ethnic violence

☐ Never

12. Below are 5 kinds of scarcity that may cause violent conflict. To what extent does each cause conflict between your ethnic community and neighbouring ethnic community or communities?

	Large cause of conflict	Moderate cause of conflict	Small cause of conflict
Pasture scarcity			
Water scarcity			
Food scarcity			
Livestock scarcity brought by long drought which killed most or all livestock			
Scarcity of effective security personnel			

13. Rate the performance of the following acts of aggression against members of your ethnic community by people from a neighbouring ethnic community/ies.

	Commonly performed	Rarely performed	Not performed
Hurling abuse/insults as a prologue to assault			
Stealing animals only and doing/taking nothing else			
Raiding a homestead/ village/ manyatta or herdsmen grazing animals and taking the animals without injuring/ killing the owner(s) if they don't resist the raid.			
Raiding a homestead/ village/ manyatta and killing people,			

taking their animals and other belongings, setting fire to their dwellings regardless of whether they resist or don't resist the raid.			
Raiding a homestead/ village/ manyatta or herdsmen grazing animals and killing and/or seriously injuring people, running away without taking anything that belongs to them.			
Attacking and injuring just because of not belonging to the ethnic community of the attacker(s).			
Attacking and injuring/killing as part of a rite of passage which the attacker(s) is undergoing.			
Assault and seriously injuring or killing because of long-standing hatred between the ethnic communities.			

Part II: Conflict Early Warning Signs

14. Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?

Yes ☐   No ☐   Sometimes ☐   Not applicable ☐

15. The following are some of the signs of possible open conflict. Rate them on a scale of 1= Least common; 2= moderately; and 3= Most common.

	Least common	Moderately common	Most common
Deterioration of inter-group relations			
Ethnically or religiously motivated attacks			
Sharp increases in violent crime			
Presence of strange footsteps (spying)			
Raiding			
Killing of member (s) of different ethnic community (ies)			
Protests			
Rituals performed in shrines			
Threats, or rhetoric			
Sudden disappearance of Warriors in the village			
Dogs barking excessively at night			
Unemployment			
Dropping warning letters on roads			
Proliferation of guns			
Mass movement of people			

	Any other	

16. The following are the sources of information of potential conflict that would have taken place in your village. Rate these sources of information on a scale of 1 to 4. 1=Disagree; 2=Do not know; 3=Agree; 4=Not applicable

	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Not applicable
1.Relatives				
2.Government				
3.Religious leaders				
4.Seers and diviners				
5.Community leaders				
6.Any others				

17. How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack? (**Tick One Most Common Behavior**)

Grouping   ☐

Acquisition of Weapons   ☐

Migrations especially women and children   ☐

Sudden disappearance of Warriors   ☐

Any Other…………………………………………………………………………………

18. Conflict early warning signs have been effective in conflict prevention in this area? Rate this statement on a scale of 1 to 4. 1= Disagree; 2=Do not know; 3=Agree; 4=Not applicable

     1☐   2☐   3☐   4☐

Part III: Roles of stakeholders

19. Which category of people are most vulnerable to the effects of conflict whenever it occurs in your village?..
....

20. Mention the roles that the following stakeholders play towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle.

Stakeholder	High	Medium	Low	Not applicable
Chief				
Village Elders				

Governments (e.g police)				
Women Groups				
NGOs				
Diviners/Seers				
IGAD				
Any Other Group				

21. The following stakeholders **have consistently** played a **positive role** in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle? **(Indicate by Ticking)**

	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Not applicable**
Village Elders				
NGOs				
Religious Institutions				
Government officials				
Intergovernmental organization e.g IGAD				
Any Other				

22. Which among the following interventions is **<u>most commonly</u>** performed by the governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia in preventing conflict in the Ilemi Triangle? **(TICK ONE)**

Providing Security forces to protect people against attacks ☐

Safeguarding the boundaries ☐

Educating the people ☐

Arresting and punishing law offenders ☐

None ☐

Any other…………………………………………………………………………………

23. Are there any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle

Yes [ ]　　　　No [ ]　　　　I don't Know [ ]　　Not Applicable [ ]

b) If yes, mention **ONE** and any role it plays towards conflict prevention in the Triangle.

Name of Institution	Role it plays

24. To what extent would you say that elders' negotiations reduce hostility and prevent future incidents of inter-ethnic violence?

Very very small extent	Very small extent	Small extent	Large extent	Very large extent	Very very large extent
1	2	3	4	5	6

25. Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with ethnic communities elders' efforts to end or prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

26. If "yes" above, to what extent would you say this is the case?

Very very small extent	Very small extent	Small extent	Large extent	Very large extent	Very very large extent
1	2	3	4	5	6

27. (a) Do some individuals who have business interests in pastoralism engage in acts which encourage inter-ethnic violence?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

(b) If "yes" mention 5 most common ones among them and how they contribute to violence escalation

	Name of Stakeholder	**What they do**
i)		
ii)		
iii)		
iv)		
v)		

c) What should be done to these **influential opinion shapers and other stakeholders** who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?
………
………

Part V: Constrains

28. (a) Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen?

 Yes☐   No☐   I do not know☐   Not☐   Applicable☐

b) If yes, which factors made it impossible to **contain (Stop)** the conflict?

………

………

29. The following are some of the constraints of conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle. To what extent would you rate each? 1=Least extent; 2=Moderate extent; and 3=Great extent

Lack of cooperation	Least extent	Moderate extent	Great extent
Failure to know which information to collect			
Presence of 'Spoilers'/ Conflict entrepreneurs			
Time frame: How Early is Early			
Structural challenges (improper roads, lack of network etc)			
Gap between Early Warning and Early Response			
Weak and Inappropriate Response			
Persistent Disconnect between Early Warning and Early Response			
Any other			

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Schedule for village elders			
No.	Interview Questions	Prompts	Variables/Issues
1	Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?	Prompt on how they get to know	Conflict Early Warning Signs
2	What are the **5** most commonly observed signs of potential conflict in your area	Prompts to state signs	Conflict Early Warning Signs
3	How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?	Prompts behavior	Conflict Early Warning Signs
4	Who in your society has the greatest ability to know the possibility that a conflict is going to occur	Particular people	Roles of stakeholders
5	Who has consistently been helpful in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Positive stakeholder	Roles of stakeholders
6	Are there any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle	Role of IGAD	Roles of stakeholders

7	How is the relationship between Governments, Church and grassroot leaders in the prevention of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Collaboration among stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
8	Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?	Negative stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
9	From where do you get information about possible inter-ethnic violence in your village?	Prompt for an example who tells you….	Roles of stakeholders
10	Has there been a looming conflict in the recent past which was successfully prevented from escalating into violence in the area?	Name the conflict	Conflict prevention
11	If yes what measures were taken to stop its occurrence?	How it was prevented	Conflict prevention
12	When do most incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic community/communities occur?	Probe for the time session or time time of the day/night	Conflict prevention
13	Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen? If yes, which factors made it impossible to contain the	Prompt for capacities	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs

14	Who do you think is not doing enough to help prevent occurrence of conflict even after signs have been spotted	Role of stakeholders	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
15	Who do you think will be helpful in offering timely response to information about potential attack?	Positive Stakeholders	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
16	On average, how long does it usually take between the time a sign is spotted and the time that an attack is executed	Response capacity	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
17	Any other	Information that is vital to the study	

Interview Schedule for government Leaders			
No.	Interview Questions	Prompts	Variables/Issues
1	Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?	Prompt on how they get to know	Conflict Early Warning Signs
2	What are the **5** most commonly observed signs of potential conflict in your area	Prompts to state signs	Conflict Early Warning Signs
3	How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?	Prompts behavior	Conflict Early Warning Signs

4	Who in your society has the greatest ability to know the possibility that a conflict is going to occur	Particular people	Roles of stakeholders
5	Who has consistently been helpful in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Positive stakeholder	Roles of stakeholders
6	Are there any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle\	Role of IGAD	Roles of stakeholders
7	How is the relationship between Governments, Church and grassroot leaders in the prevention of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Collaboration among stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
8	Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?	Negative stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
9	From where do you get information about possible inter-ethnic violence in your village?	Prompt for an example who tells you….	Roles of stakeholders
10	Has there been a looming conflict in the recent past which was successfully prevented from escalating into violence in the area?	Name the conflict	Conflict prevention
11	If yes what measures were taken to stop its occurrence?	How it was prevented	Conflict prevention

12	When do most incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic community/communities occur?	Probe for the time session or time time of the day/night	Conflict prevention
13	Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen? If yes, which factors made it impossible to contain the conflict	Prompt for capacities	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
14	Who do you think is not doing enough to help prevent occurrence of conflict even after signs have been spotted	Negative Stakeholders	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
15	Who do you think will be helpful in offering timely response to information about potential attack?	Positive Stakeholders	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
16	On average, how long does it usually take between the time a sign is spotted and the time that an attack is executed	Response Capacity	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
17	Any other		

Interview Schedule for religious leaders			
No.	**Interview Questions**	**Prompts**	**Variables/Issues**
1	Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?	Prompt on how they get to know	Conflict Early Warning Signs

2	What are the **5** most commonly observed signs of potential conflict in your area	Prompts to state signs	Conflict Early Warning Signs
3	How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?	Prompts behavior	Conflict Early Warning Signs
4	Who in your society has the greatest ability to know the possibility that a conflict is going to occur	Particular people	Roles of stakeholders
5	Who has consistently been helpful in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Positive stakeholder	Roles of stakeholders
6	Are there any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle	Role of IGAD	Roles of stakeholders
7	How is the relationship between Governments, Church and grassroot leaders in the prevention of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Collaboration among stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
8	Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?	Negative stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
9	From where do you get information about possible inter-ethnic violence in your village?	Prompt for an example who tells you….	Roles of stakeholders

10	Has there been a looming conflict in the recent past which was successfully prevented from escalating into violence in the area?	Name the conflict	Conflict prevention
11	If yes what measures were taken to stop its occurrence?	How it was prevented	Conflict prevention
12	When do most incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic community/communities occur?	Probe for the time session or time time of the day/night	Conflict prevention
13	Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen? If yes, which factors made it impossible to contain the conflict	Prompt for capacities	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
14	Who do you think is not doing enough to help prevent occurrence of conflict even after signs have been spotted	Negative stakeholders	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
15	Who do you think will be helpful in offering timely response to information about potential attack?	Positive stakeholders	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
16	On average, how long does it usually take between the time a sign is spotted and the time that an attack is executed		Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
17	Any other		

Interview Schedule for Teachers			
No.	**Interview Questions**	**Prompts**	**Variables/Issues**
1	Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village?	Prompt on how they get to know	Conflict Early Warning Signs
2	What are the **5** most commonly observed signs of potential conflict in your area	Prompts to state signs	Conflict Early Warning Signs
3	How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?	Prompts behavior	Conflict Early Warning Signs
4	Who in your society has the greatest ability to know the possibility that a conflict is going to occur	Particular people	Roles of stakeholders
5	Who has consistently been helpful in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Positive stakeholder	Roles of stakeholders
6	Are there any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle	Role of IGAD	Roles of stakeholders
7	How is the relationship between Governments, Church and grassroot leaders in the prevention of conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?	Collaboration among stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
8	Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?	Negative stakeholders	Roles of stakeholders
9	From where do you get information about possible inter-ethnic violence in your	Prompt for an example who tells you….	Roles of stakeholders

	village?		
10	Has there been a looming conflict in the recent past which was successfully prevented from escalating into violence in the area?	Name the conflict	Conflict prevention
11	If yes what measures were taken to stop its occurrence?	How it was prevented	Conflict prevention
12	When do most incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic community/communities occur?	Probe for the time session or time time of the day/night	Conflict prevention
13	Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen? If yes, which factors made it impossible to contain the conflict	Prompt for capacities	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
14	Who do you think is not doing enough to help prevent occurrence of conflict even after signs have been spotted	Negative Actors	Failure to Act on Conflict Early Warning Signs
15	Who do you think will be helpful in offering timely response to information about potential attack?	Positive stakeholders	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
16	On average, how long does it usually take between the time a sign is spotted and the time that an attack is executed	Response capacity	Timely Action on Conflict Early Warning Signs
17	Any other		

APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

1. What are the causes of overt conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of neighbouring ethnic communities?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………

2. About how many incidents of violent conflict between members of your ethnic community and members of another ethnic community would you say have occurred in this area in the past two years?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………..

3. Is it fair to say that people who illegally carry guns tend to use them against other people who do not belong to their ethnic community?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………..

4. Where do members of your ethnic community get guns?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………..

5. In the past two year, how many times would you say that you saw, were told about, or heard that some people were violently attacked and/or murdered because they did not belong to the ethnic community of their attackers/murderers/

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………..

6. What actions do the security personnel take when you report cases of cattle raiding?

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…………………………………………………………………………………………..

7. Are the following international borders adequately patrolled by security forces (police, army and the like)?

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……
…………………………………………………………………………………………..

8. Do you as a resident of this village feel secure enough due to the existing security patrols?

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…………………………………………………………………………………………..

9. What else can you say about the conflict in the Ilemi triangle?

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………………………………………………………………………………………….

10. Do you ever get to know that a conflict is going to take place in your village and how to you get to know that?

……
……
………………………………………………………………………………………….

11. How do members of your ethnic community behave when there is a possibility of an attack?

……
……
………………………………………………………………………………………….

12. Is there a Conflict in this area which was successfully prevented

……
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………………………………………………………………………………………….

13. Which category of people are most vulnerable to the effects of conflict whenever it occurs in your village?..
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11. Who has the ability and willingness to and **has consistently** played a **positive role** in preventing the occurrence of interethnic conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………….

12. What does governments of Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia do in preventing conflict in the Ilemi Triangle?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………….

13. Can you mention any international Institutions that contribute towards conflict prevention in the Ilemi Triangle?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………….

14. Can you share with me the role of elders in reduce hostility and prevent future incidents of inter-ethnic violence?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………….

15. Are there influential people who contribute to violence by interfering with ethnic communities elders' efforts to end or prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………….

16. Can you share with me some individuals who have business interests in pastoralism engage in acts which encourage inter-ethnic violence?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

17. What should be done to these **influential opinion shapers and other stakeholders** who contribute to violence by interfering with efforts to prevent acts of inter-ethnic violence?……………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

18. (a) Are there instances when conflict occurred in your village even after the signs were seen and if yes, which factors made it impossible to **contain (Stop)** the conflict?…………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………

19. What do you think slows down peacebuilding initiatives in the Ilemi Triangle?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

APPENDIX 4: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. PETERLINUS OUMA ODOTE
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-606
Nairobi,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Turkana County*

on the topic: *EARLY WARNING SIGNS IN*
CONFLICT: A FRAMEWORK FOR
PREVENTING OVERT CONFLICTS IN THE
ILEMI TRIANGLE

for the period ending:
13th April,2017

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/50269/9423
Date Of Issue : 13th April,2016
Fee Recieved :Ksh 2,000

....
Applicant's
Signature

....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. **You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit**
2. **Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.**
3. **No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.**
4. **Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.**
5. **You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.**
6. **The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice**

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE
PERMIT

Serial No. A 8612

CONDITIONS: see back page