

Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

Report on the 2016 Southern Voices
Network Annual Conference



Hosted by the Wilson Center Africa
Program, Human Sciences Research Council,
Institute for Security Studies, Institute for
Global Dialogue, and University of Pretoria
Department of Political Science
Sheraton Pretoria Hotel
Pretoria, South Africa
March 21–24, 2016



Southern Voices Network: Conference Report

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The Southern Voices Network

*Eliciting and Applying Local Knowledge for
Peacebuilding and State-building in Africa*

About the Southern Voices Network

The Southern Voices Network (SVN) is a consortium of research and policy organizations from across Africa, plus the Wilson Center. The network seeks to foster dialogue and increase the visibility of African perspectives within the U.S. policy arena. The goal of the network is to support the development of informed and mutually-beneficial U.S.-Africa policy. The SVN achieves this by:

- Hosting scholars from the network for a 3-month residency at the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.
- Organizing first-class conferences that link members to one another and to U.S. policymakers and practitioners
- Producing best-in-class policy analysis through briefs, reports, and posts on the Africa Program blog, Africa Up Close

The Southern Voices Network was established in 2011 with the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Southern Voices Conferences

The Africa Program hosts annual conferences both in Washington, D.C. and on the continent to promote dialogue within the network and share important recommendations and ideas with a wider audience. It is our hope that such collaborations will be a positive contribution to Global North and Global South policy debates.

2015 Annual Conference Objectives

The primary objective of the annual conference is to bring together key policy and research institutes from the African continent, in order to provide an avenue for African voices to inform the U.S. policy dialogue around peacebuilding and state-building in Africa. This year, the conference dialogue focused on the theme "African Peacebuilding, Development, and the New Economic Paradigm."

Through a four-day series of training, planning, and policy sessions, the annual conference aims to afford participants the opportunity to meet with select U.S. policymakers working on U.S.-Africa relations; to enhance individual, organization, and network capacities and outreach through capacity-building workshops; to strengthen intra-SVN collaboration; and to facilitate strategic thinking on issues crucial to Africa and U.S.-Africa relations.

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For more information please visit <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-southern-voices-network>

A Note from the Director

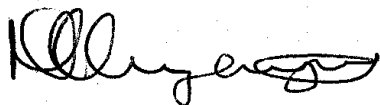
Dear Southern Voices Network Members and Friends:

On 21–24 March 2016, the Wilson Center Africa Program, together with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD), the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), and the University of Pretoria Department of Political Science, hosted the Southern Voices Network (SVN) Annual Conference in Pretoria, South Africa. The conference brought together 18 representatives from the 22 SVN member organizations, as well as 6 additional attendees from the South African co-hosting organizations, 2 guest speakers, and approximately 25 members of the public. Through a series of plenary and policy sessions, participants were able to dive deeply into key aspects of the conference theme, “Building Peace through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa.”

Since 2011, the Southern Voices Network has sought to address a missing link in the policy formulation process by creating opportunities for African voices to inform the Northern policy dialogue around peacebuilding and state-building in Africa. The annual conference remains one of the most treasured activities of the SVN, as it allows network members the opportunity to meet face-to-face to disseminate their current research, exchange lessons learned and best practices on peacebuilding and state-building in Africa, and foster personal relationships across organizations on which future collaboration efforts can be built. This year’s conference saw the network welcome six new member organizations who joined the SVN in the past year, of whom four were able to send representatives to the conference.

Over four days, the conference provided a platform for constructive dialogue featuring African and U.S. experts analyzing the theme of inclusion in the economic, social, and political spheres, in order to support and consolidate efforts towards peacebuilding across the continent. Additionally, the conference included capacity-building workshops on setting a research agenda for top policy priorities and tailoring dynamic presentations to a policy audience. Member organizations also discussed the strategic priority areas for the network going forward, including expanding opportunities for partnership among current members and establishing avenues for engagement with network alumni.

Looking to the future, our next annual conference, to be held in July 2017 in Washington, D.C., will continue the momentum generated this past March – deepening relationships among member organizations and consolidating progress towards the strategic goal of becoming a key continent-wide forum and premier African network to which U.S. policymakers routinely turn to consult with African voices on key issues in U.S.-Africa relations. I thank each SVN member organization for its cutting edge research on peacebuilding and state-building in Africa and its commitment to collaboration across the network, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, whose generous support has bolstered the network since its establishment five years ago. The SVN has made substantial strides, and I look forward to deepening and expanding the impact of this partnership in the years ahead.



Dr. Monde Muyangwa

Director, Wilson Center Africa Program

Southern Voices Network 2016 Annual Conference Agenda

Sheraton Pretoria Hotel | Pretoria, South Africa

21st-24th March 2016

Day 1: Monday, 21st March – Welcome and Introductions

9:00-10:30am: Opening Session

- Welcome from Dr. Monde Muyangwa (WWICS)
- Overview of the Conference Agenda and Objectives
- Updates on the Expansion of Membership and the Scholarship Program

10:30-10:45am: Coffee Break

10:45-12:30pm: Meeting the Members

- Introductions and updates from Southern Voices Network member organizations

12:30-2:00pm: Lunch

2:00-2:30pm: Transportation from Sheraton Hotel to Freedom Park

2:30-4:30pm: Cultural Activity: Freedom Park (Transportation will be provided back to the Sheraton following the tour. Participants will then have a short break before dinner.)

5:45-6:00pm: Transportation from Sheraton Hotel to Kream Restaurant

6:00pm: Group dinner at Kream Restaurant,
Brooklyn Bridge, 570 Fehrsen Street, Pretoria

Day 2: Tuesday, 22nd March – Building Peace through Inclusivity

9:00-9:45am: Setting the Scene: An Overview of Approaches to Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

9:00-9:20am: Welcome and presentation by Dr. Monde Muyangwa (WWICS)

9:20-9:45am: Discussion

9:45-11:00am: Regional Approaches to Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

- Moderator: Mr. Francis Kornegay (IGD)

9:45-9:50am: Welcome remarks

9:50-10:00am: "Security, Regional Integration, and Development in Africa" by Rev. Eugène Goussikinkey (CERAP)

- 10:00-10:10am: "Talent Mobility: Catalyst for Economic Growth and Competitiveness" by Dr. Ed Brown (ACET)
- 10:10-11:00am: Moderated Discussion
- 11:00-11:15am: Coffee Break
- 11:15-12:30pm: Local Efforts for Building Peace through Inclusivity in Africa
- Moderator: Ms. Elizabeth Ramey (WWICS)
- 11:15-11:20am: Welcome remarks
- 11:20-11:30am: "Women's Peacebuilding Efforts in South Sudan" by Ms. Helen Kezie-Nwoha (Isis-WICCE)
- 11:30-11:40am: "Embodying Youth De-Radicalization in Kenya: Rethinking State Relations, Foreign Policy and Mediatized Peacebuilding in the Context of 'War on Terror' as a Newfound Democratic Principle" by Dr. Fredrick Ogenga (CMDPS)
- 11:40-12:30pm: Moderated Discussion
- 12:30-2:00pm: Lunch
- 2:00-3:25pm: Workshop: Setting a Research Agenda for Top Policy Priorities
- Presentation and discussion led by Dr. Raymond Gilpin (ACSS)
- 3:25-3:50pm: Coffee break
- 3:50-5:00pm: Workshop: Captivating Your Audience with Dynamic Presentations
- Presentation and discussion led by Ms. Elizabeth Ramey (WWICS)

Day 3: Wednesday, 23rd March – Building Peace through Inclusivity

- 8:30-9:00am: Transportation from Sheraton Hotel to ISS Office, 361 Veale St, Pretoria
- 9:00-11:00am: U.S. and International Support for Peacebuilding in Africa (public session, held at ISS office)
- Moderator: Dr. Monde Muyangwa (WWICS)
- 9:10-9:15: Welcome remarks by Dr. Monde Muyangwa (WWICS)
- 9:15-9:30: Remarks by Dr. Raymond Gilpin (ACSS)
- 9:30-9:45: Remarks by Ms. Oury Traoré (MILWA)
- 9:45-10:00: Remarks by Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho (ISS)
- 10-10:15: Discussion with moderator
- 10:15-11: Q&A with audience
- 11:00-11:30am: Coffee "Mix-and-Mingle" (public session, held at ISS office)
- 11:30-12:00pm: Transport from ISS to Sheraton Hotel for Conference Attendees

- 12:00-1:30pm: Lunch
- 1:30-3:00pm: The Role of Youth in Peacebuilding and Development
- Moderator: Dr. Sandy Africa (UP)
- 1:30-1:35: Welcome remarks
- 1:35-1:45: “Youth Capacity for Leadership” by Dr. Sylvester Maphosa (HSRC)
- 1:45-1:55: “Youth as Drivers of Rural Economic Development in Africa” by Ms. Dorothy Njagi (ATPS)
- 1:55-2:05: Remarks by Dr. Sandy Africa (UP) on student protests in South Africa
- 2:05-3:00pm: Moderated Discussion
- 3:00-3:15pm: Coffee break
- 3:15-5:00pm: SVN Accomplishments and Updates
- Short presentation from Dr. Muyangwa on the objectives, activities, and accomplishments under the current Carnegie Corporation of New York grant
 - Discussion of Grant Renewal Process
 - Participation in Impact Evaluation
 - Open discussion

Day 4: Thursday, 24th March – Maximizing the Impact of the Southern Voices Network

- 9:00-10:30am: Affiliate Membership Strategy
- Presentation of Affiliate Membership Strategy by Mr. Francis Kornegay (IGD)
 - Discussion and Vote on Affiliate Membership Strategy
 - Discussion of Membership Parameters
- 10:30-10:45am: Coffee Break
- 10:45-12:00pm: Enhancing the Southern Voices Network Scholarship Program
- Review of current structure of scholarship
 - Discussion on ways to maximize effectiveness of the scholarship
- 12:00-1:30pm: Lunch
- 1:30-3:00pm: The Way Forward for the Southern Voices Network
- Summary of Conference Proceedings
 - Brainstorming for 2017 Annual Conference
 - Complete Conference Evaluation Forms
 - Closing Remarks

Southern Voices Network 2016 Annual Conference Proceedings

Sessions on Building Peace through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

Welcome and Keynote Address

Speakers:

- Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- Dr. Sandy Africa, University of Pretoria Political Sciences Department

Dr. Africa welcomed the participants on behalf of the four South African co-hosting organizations. She noted that it was fitting that the conference began on Human Rights Day in South Africa, a day that commemorates the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, which marked a turning-point in the anti-apartheid struggle. Today, South Africa still faces a number of challenges involving peace and inclusivity, including recurring episodes of xenophobic violence, civil society protests over inadequate service delivery, and student “fees must fall” protests over access to higher education. Yet within this context, South Africa, like many countries in Africa, finds both promise and hope for an ever-more inclusive society in the economic, social, and political realms.



Dr. Sandy Africa, Associate Professor at the University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences, welcomes conference attendees.

An Overview of Approaches to Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

Speakers:

- Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University
- Ms. Oury Traoré, the Madiba Institute for Leadership in West Africa

Moderator:

- Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

To open the conference discussions on peace and inclusivity in Africa, Dr. Muyangwa asked the conference’s guest speakers, Dr. Gilpin and Ms. Traoré, to identify the biggest challenges to economic, social, and political inclusion on the continent, and offer a few areas on which they would focus to address these challenges.

According to Dr. Gilpin, conflict resolution and peacebuilding are typically seen as political and diplomatic processes, and there is an implicit assumption that once the political sides are addressed, the economic will follow. However, this is not necessarily the case, and to be serious about peacebuilding, one has to examine the root causes, most of which involve a lack of economic inclusivity. Domestically, the lack of inclusion can be seen across economic classes, gender, and the rural/urban divide. Internationally, the lack of inclusion revolves around the paradox that Africa has a high proportion of the world's resources, but accounts for just a fraction of global productivity and faces exclusion from financial and capital markets. In order to address these challenges, Dr. Gilpin recommended a focus on investment in skills training, the promotion of entrepreneurship, and creating a predictable and enabling regulatory environment for business. Africa is endowed but not globally competitive and can best address inclusion and peacebuilding in the long term by promoting internally-driven economic development.

Ms. Traoré complemented Dr. Gilpin's remarks on economic inclusion by addressing the social and political dimensions of inclusivity, including the importance of establishing and strengthening rule of law, addressing endemic corruption, improving public service delivery, and bolstering transparency and accountability in governance. She also highlighted the exclusion of women and youth in many parts of the continent, noting that excluded youth may become vulnerable to radicalization. To address the political and social aspects of inclusion, Ms. Traoré emphasized the need to improve the rule of law, to focus on skills and capacity-building for youth, and to foster a larger sense of coordination and cohesion across African societies.

Regional Approaches to Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa

Speakers:

- Rev. Eugène Goussikindey, Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix
- Ms. Elizabeth Ramey, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, on behalf of Dr. Ed Brown, Mr. Richmond Commodore, and Ms. Benedicta Amenyo, African Center for Economic Transformation

Moderator:

- Mr. Francis Kornegay, Institute for Global Dialogue

Mr. Kornegay opened the session by remarking that fragmentation on the continent is a challenge with wide-ranging implications, and addressing integration should be a top priority. Particularly given the estimated population growth in Africa, it is critical that creative processes for greater integration are accelerated.

Rev. Goussikindey then offered his presentation on "Security, Regional Integration, and Development in Africa." While security should remain a priority, he argued, the current military orientation towards security must be incorporated into a more comprehensive framework. Development is a critical component of this inclusive perspective of security, and attention should be extended to issues such as basic infrastructure, labor markets, education systems, customs and border protections, human rights, political violence, and corruption. This security framework must be extended into politics, with politicians prosecuted for violent acts and civil society actors joining military and security actors in these complex conversations.

Ms. Ramey then offered remarks on "Talent Mobility: Catalyst for Economic Growth and Competitiveness" on behalf of Dr. Brown, Mr. Commodore, and Ms. Amenyo, who could not be present for the conference. With the escalating global migration crisis, widespread unemployment, and the rapid growth in youth populations across the continent, Dr. Brown emphasized that it is critically important to harness the opportunities provided by labor mobility across borders within the sub-region. Platforms such as the Talent Mobility Partnership aim

to accelerate economic integration, open borders, and promote common policies and laws in Africa, thereby addressing constraints to intra-African labor mobility and skills development gaps, which hamper sustainable economic growth.

Many important questions arose from the discussion including: How can roles be negotiated and relationships maintained between regions and within the African Union in the context of economic competition? In countries that

transition from being run by rebel groups to a militarized state, how are citizens able to differentiate between the police and the military? What strategies can be taken to demilitarize states and to create space for voices that are consistently silenced? And what does regional integration mean for democracy more broadly?



Reverend Eugène Goussikindey, Director of the Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (CERAP), discusses improved security frameworks.

Local Efforts for Building Peace through Inclusivity in Africa

Speakers:

- Ms. Helen Kezie-Nwoha, Isis-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange
- Dr. Fredrick Ogenga, Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security

Moderator:

- Ms. Elizabeth Ramey, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

This session focused on two examples of local-level efforts at peacebuilding, including the role of women in peacebuilding in South Sudan, as well as the de-radicalization of youth in Kenya and the role of the media in counterterrorism efforts. Ms. Kezie-Nwoha opened the session with a presentation on "Women's Peacebuilding Efforts in South Sudan." Central to understanding the role of women in peacebuilding, both formal and informal, is an understanding of economic empowerment, gender-based violence, and women's involvement in peacebuilding efforts at the grassroots level. There was broad consensus within the discussion that the disjuncture between grassroots efforts and wider peacebuilding initiatives has hindered the full participation of women in larger peacebuilding processes, given the minimal visibility of grassroots efforts. And yet not only is there significant evidence to suggest the efficacy of including women in peacebuilding processes, but as citizens and stakeholders women also have a right to be included.

Turning to a second local example, Dr. Ogenga presented his paper, "Embodying Youth De-Radicalization in Kenya: Rethinking State Relations, Foreign Policy, and Mediatized Peacebuilding in the Context of 'War on Terror' as a Newfound Democratic Principle." The discussion focused on several topics including the implications of the War on Terror for Kenya's national security agenda, the role of youth entrepreneurship in de-

radicalization, and the role of the media, academics, and civil society. Emphasis was placed on the ability of the media to serve as a tool for peacebuilding and de-radicalization rather than as an outlet for sensationalism and terrorist propaganda. While challenges remain, such as media ownership rights and restrictions on freedom of expression in many African countries, positive steps can be taken if African media houses embrace “peace journalism” and if broadcasts serve as an educational platform, particularly at the community level.

Workshop: Setting a Research Agenda for Top Policy Priorities

Facilitator:

- Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University

Dr. Gilpin facilitated a conversation about how organizations can set strong research agendas that speak to and help drive top policy priorities. Research agendas should be actionable and evidence-based, and the communication of the research results should be crisp, concise, and non-technical. Rooting policy analysis and recommendations in analytical and empirical evidence is essential for policymakers to be able to take up ideas, as policymakers require accountability for their decisions. In contrast to a research plan, which is short-term and shifts direction if one angle fails, a research agenda must be strategic and involves long-term engagement with the policy community. If one angle fails, or if one group does not listen, an organization following a research agenda should turn to new avenues, including not only alternative policymaking bodies but also

the traditional media, social media, and blogs. Finally, the workshop addressed the question of funding for research, which is universally difficult to secure and often comes with donor expectations on the research agenda. Dr. Gilpin emphasized that African organizations have difficulty competing with international think tanks not because of any weakness in ideas or capacity, but because of less experience and time put into grant writing. He also suggested corporate social responsibility, crowdsourcing, and funding from the diaspora as possible avenues for fundraising.



Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Academic Dean of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, gives a presentation on designing a research agenda for more effective policy impact.

Workshop: Captivating Your Audience with Dynamic Presentations

Facilitator:

- Ms. Elizabeth Ramey, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

This session aimed to review best practices for presentations, particularly when speaking to U.S. and African policymakers. Ms. Ramey noted that good presentations cater to the full range of adult learning styles, including auditory, visual, and (where possible) tactile or kinesthetic. Strong presentations are tailored to the audience, which involves being sensitive to and speaking to their backgrounds/biographies, their core policy priorities, and the cultural context. Having open body language, such as placing the shoulders back, projects confidence and openness to discussion. The use of visuals – whether PowerPoint slides, handouts,

or simply an easel/blackboard – help reach members of the audience who are visual learners. The inclusion of stories and audience participation also help to keep listeners engaged with the presentation and its key messages. Finally, participants shared their own recommendations on how to speak to policymakers most effectively, including keeping the messaging focused and spending sufficient time on preparation.

U.S. and International Support for Peacebuilding in Africa



Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho, Senior Researcher at the Institute for Security Studies, discusses international peace operations at a policy session at the Institute for Security Studies.

Speakers:

- Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho, Institute for Security Studies
- Ms. Oury Traoré, the Madiba Institute for Leadership in West Africa
- Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University

Moderator:

- Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The cornerstone event of the conference was a policy session hosted at the offices of the Institute for Security Studies, which brought together U.S. and African voices to analyze the role of the U.S. and international agencies in supporting peacebuilding efforts across the continent. Approximately 25 members of the public attended the session, including representatives from South African and international NGOs and officials from foreign embassies in Pretoria.

The panelists and audience painted a picture of a complex international architecture for peacekeeping and peacebuilding, one that requires significant capacity-building at the regional level and far greater coordination across local, regional, and international efforts. Mr. de Carvalho noted that the continent

currently hosts 9 UN peacekeeping operations, 6 special political missions, 4 African Union (AU) or Regional Economic Community (RECs) missions, 9 European Union missions, and 2 French operations. The challenge, he argued, was viewing peacebuilding as a larger process, with stronger linkages between localized and sector-specific activities intended to avoid a relapse of conflict. At present, multiple overlapping and sometimes contradictory peacebuilding activities generate confusion and a disjointed approach, while a lack of monitoring and evaluation of what works in peacebuilding hampers the ability to adopt and adapt the most effective strategies across conflict situations.

Ms. Traoré echoed these challenges with the international peacebuilding architecture, focusing specifically on the AU and RECs, which frequently lack the capacity to implement their decisions and suffer from the creation of parallel structures such as the African Standby Force and the African Rapid Intervention Force. Regional institutions also face funding pressures, relying heavily on external partners for resources, which can undercut sustainability and ownership. Looking forward, the political will of the member states is essential to facilitating a paradigm shift within the AU and RECs, who need to drive capacity-building internally and ensure greater coordination of their efforts.

Turning to the role of the U.S. in supporting peacebuilding on the continent, Dr. Gilpin outlined the country's three main goals: to build sustainable capacity, to promote support for U.S. interests abroad, and to promote universal values. In order to achieve these ends, the U.S. military has revised its previous approach of "train and equip" to add "advise," providing counsel as well as training and material support to foreign security forces. Yet Dr. Gilpin noted the risks associated with this strategy, including the fact that the security sector is often part of the problem when it comes to conflict and rule of law. Recognizing this and other weaknesses of the approach, Dr. Gilpin offered recommendations based on successes in Colombia and other countries, including: aligning U.S. support to the needs of African countries both now and as they undertake nation building; understanding the political economy, including mapping vested interests; developing the capacity to think and act regionally rather than on a country-specific basis; and leveraging partnerships effectively.

The Role of Youth in Peacebuilding and Development

Speakers:

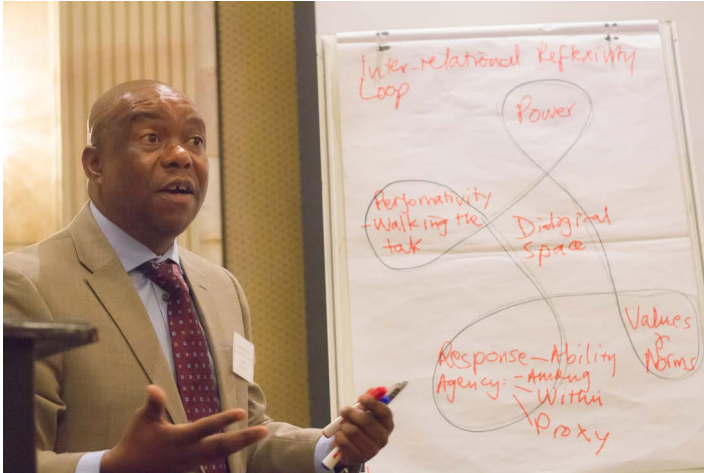
- Dr. Sylvester Maphosa, Human Sciences Research Council
- Ms. Dorothy Njagi, African Technology Policy Studies Network

Moderator:

- Dr. Sandy Africa, University of Pretoria Political Sciences Department

This session focused on the larger societal context in which youth in Africa are emerging, the gap between educational attainment and employment opportunities, and implications for youth leadership in peacebuilding and development. The presentations and ensuing conversation highlighted topics such as the role of social media, urbanization, technology, mechanization, and land ownership and sparked a lively debate on whether and how to attract African youth to careers in agriculture.

Ms. Njagi gave remarks on "Youth as Drivers of Rural Economic Development in Africa," a paper she coauthored with Dr. Nicholas Ozor, who was not present, outlining the barriers to rural economic development and offering policy recommendations for improving rural economies in Africa by engaging youth. As she noted, agriculture is a potentially transformational economic sector in Africa, and governments should invest in agribusiness to stimulate youth employment, prioritize agriculture in school



Dr. Sylvester Maphosa, Chief Research Specialist and Acting Head of Governance and Security in the Africa Institute of South Africa of the Human Sciences Research Council, presents his research on youth leadership.

curricula, and integrate agricultural policies with broader economic policies.

Dr. Maphosa offered a presentation on “Youth Capacity for Leadership,” examining the societal institutions and norms inhabited by youth and the implications for human security, the need for an intensification of youth leadership capacity development, the formation of leadership identity, and strategies to accomplish the goals outlined in Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030. As Dr. Maphosa described, the root causes of youth violence must be examined within the context of a larger system of continuous social change, promoting a prevention infrastructure for nurturing positive youth development through a coordinated community-wide effort.

Sessions on the Southern Voices Network

Dr. Muyangwa facilitated a series of conversations about the past, present, and future of the Southern Voices Network, beginning with its accomplishments and updates. The network was established with four main goals, she noted, including:

1. Developing a premier network of African organizations focused on peacebuilding and state-building in Africa
2. Bringing African perspectives and analyses on peacebuilding and state-building to U.S. policymakers
3. Strengthening South-South cooperation on peacebuilding issues
4. Building the capacity of SVN members at both the individual and institutional levels to allow them to more efficiently and effectively carry out their missions

The SVN achieved many of its objectives for the 2015-2016 grant cycle, including expanding membership from 16 to 22 organizations to include greater regional and topical coverage; holding two annual conferences in Washington, D.C. and Pretoria, South Africa to bring members together; and having four SVN scholars who completed their terms and four more to start in Spring 2016. Looking ahead to the remainder of the current grant cycle and the renewal request for 2016-2018, the conversation centered on three major themes: the need to develop an affiliate membership strategy, how to ensure the continued success of the SVN scholarship program, and ways to continue to enhance collaboration within the network moving forward.

Affiliate Membership Strategy

The members reviewed and discussed the proposed strategy for alumni and affiliate members that had been prepared by organization representatives Mr. Kornegay, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Nicolas Ozor of the African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS) following discussions at the 2015 Annual Conference in Washington, D.C. The strategy was motivated by the desire to retain the richness of the network even

when individual former scholars and member representatives leave their respective institutions. It was also driven by the desire to include a variety of African voices in the program, including expanding the applicant pool for the scholarship, through SVN member organizations that are themselves networks of African organizations.

Therefore, the strategy proposed three categories of affiliate members:

1. SVN Alumni – former SVN scholars who leave their home institutions
2. SVN Associates – other staff who were actively engaged with the network but then left their positions at their home institutions
3. SVN Organizational Affiliates – organizations belonging to a network whose head office is a member of the Southern Voices Network

The representatives present at the conference approved the creation of the first two categories of members, with 18 out of 18 and 17 out of 18 votes in favor, respectively. Thereafter, the discussion turned toward the merits of the third category, which involves organizations such as WANEP, whose headquarters is a member of the network, while the status of WANEP's constituent organizations within the SVN remains unclear. The members agreed that growth of the network should be strategic and should depend on whether the addition of a new member will help the network strengthen its mission on peacebuilding and state-building in Africa. The discussion concluded with the creation of a committee – consisting of Dr. Africa, Dr. Yonas Adaye Adeto of the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS), Mr. Nana Hagan of the Center for Democratic Development (CDD), and Mr. Nakomo Duche of the Center for Policy Studies (CERPS) – to examine the pros and cons of an organizational affiliate category in greater detail.

Strengthening the Scholarship Program

The Southern Voices Network Scholarship Program has been the centerpiece of the network since its founding in 2011. Overall, the scholars have been fantastic to work with and have benefitted greatly from their time at the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.. Rev. Goussikindey shared CERAP's experience with the scholarship program, having had two scholars complete the program and one more to complete it during the Spring 2016 term. CERAP aims to utilize the knowledge and skills their scholars gained by establishing a team to train civil society in Cote d'Ivoire. In addition, the organization has developed joint proposals with U.S. institutions through the connections its scholars have made during their tenures.

Yet challenges with the scholarship program remain, particularly the need for a larger pool of strong applicants. At times, the program has been unable to award a scholarship in the designated term because an insufficient number of applications met the criteria for acceptance. As noted above, this was part of the motivation for considering a category for SVN organizational affiliates. Dr. Muyangwa highlighted that some member organizations, including ACET, CERAP, and IPSS, have been extremely proactive in encouraging scholars to apply, while others could do more on this front.

Dr. Gilpin offered his insights as a member of the application review committee, including the importance of robust citation for scholarly work and the need for clarity on the original thought and value added that the proposal brings. He recommended that directors work with their scholars to submit strong applications, as weak proposals reflect on the organization as well as the scholar. Dr. Muyangwa also noted a challenge with plagiarism among some of the younger scholars, and asked that member organizations reinforce the need for proper citation with their scholars before they arrive, in addition to the guidance the Wilson Center Africa Program provides on this issue while the scholars are in Washington.



Conference participants discuss the future of the Southern Voices Network, particularly ways to enhance the scholarship program and support network collaboration.

Members reiterated the challenge of sacrificing a staff member for three months, particularly for small organizations with minimal research staff. Yet Dr. Muyangwa emphasized the benefits that organizations can receive if they are willing to stretch for three months to allow their researchers to dedicate themselves to the scholarship program. It is essential that scholars not be given assignments from their home institutions during their tenures, as this detracts from what they are able to accomplish in Washington and limits the benefits to both the individual and the home organization. Conversely, when scholars are able to focus on their deliverables in Washington, including not only writing their research papers, policy briefs, and blog posts but also meeting with policymakers, practitioners, and experts who focus on their topics, they are able to greatly amplify the impact of their home institution within the Washington policy community. Likewise, they are able to build skills – including effective policy writing, media interview skills, and social media techniques – that they can bring back to their colleagues at home. As a follow-up action item, the conference established a small committee to compile and showcase the benefits of the scholarship program to the individual scholars, to their organizations, to partner organizations, and to U.S. policymakers, consisting of Rev. Goussikindey, Fr. Alain Nzadi-a-Nzadi of Centre d'Etudes Pour l'Action Sociale (CEPAS), Dr. Franklin Oduro of the Center for Democratic Development (CDD), and Ms. Aminata Diop of the Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR).

Enhancing Network Collaboration

Network members celebrated the achievement of greater diversity in regional and topical coverage following the addition of six new member organizations in 2015 and 2016. The Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security (CMDPS) at Rongo University in Kenya brought a focus on the role of the media in peacebuilding and state-building to the network, while the inclusion of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) greatly expanded the reach of the network across both Anglophone and Francophone West Africa. Likewise, the Center for Policy Studies (CERPS) in Liberia, the Centre for Conflict Management (CCM) and the Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR-Rwanda) in Rwanda, and the Centre d'Etudes Pour l'Action Sociale (CEPAS) in Congo-DRC represented the addition of countries at different stages of conflict and post-conflict transformation, whose perspectives complement and inform those of existing members. The members agreed

that the network would still benefit from the inclusion of one or two additional organizations, specifically in North Africa/the Sahel, to achieve more complete regional coverage.

At the same time, the members stressed the importance of consolidating the personal and professional relationships developed at the 2016 conference during the next phase of the project. They reiterated the tremendous value of the annual conferences in bringing members together to share both their current research and their ideas for future exploration, as well as in offering capacity-building workshops and learning materials that they are able to disseminate throughout their home institutions. Members agreed that the virtual conferences have not been successful in keeping the network connected in the months between the annual conferences, but recognized the need to develop new avenues for maintaining momentum and dialogue across the network. Representatives also agreed to share more of their research and insights through regular contributions to the Africa Up Close blog. As long-term goals, members suggested working toward a network-wide journal or publication, as well as regional and thematic meetings.

The network also underscored the importance of assessing and enhancing policy impact among both U.S. and African policy audiences. Members noted that one advantage of holding the annual conferences in Washington, D.C. is the ease of including U.S. policymakers and practitioners in conference policy sessions. Likewise, by conducting joint research projects and disseminating their publications more widely throughout the network, including through social media, SVN members can amplify their voices across the U.S. and Africa.

Turning to the 2017 Annual Conference, member organizations identified several topics for consideration as future conference themes, including peace support operations, drivers of conflict in Africa, countering violent extremism, and peacebuilding and integration.



Conference participants discuss over tea and coffee after the policy session on U.S. and international support for peacebuilding in Africa.

Appendix 1: SVN Conference Participant and Speaker Biographies

Southern Voices Network 2016 Annual Conference

Participant Biographies

Southern Voices Network Member Organization Representatives

Dr. Yonas Adaye Adeto received his B.A. and M.A. in English and M.A. in International Relations. He received a Postgraduate Diploma in Security Sector Reform in Post Conflict Countries and his Ph.D. in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in the UK. Dr. Adeto has expertise in international relations, security studies, and peace and conflict studies. Dr. Adeto started his career as the editor-in-chief for the newsletter for the Department of English Language and Literature at Addis Ababa University from 1990 to 1995. Between 1993 and 2003, he served as an instructor in the Department of English Language and Literature before transitioning to a lecturer from 2003 to 2006. Dr. Adeto was an editorial board member for Forum for Street Children in Ethiopia from 1995 to 2000 and Executive Secretary for the Ethiopian English Language Teachers' Society at the British Council in Addis Ababa from 2000 to 2004. Dr. Adeto was the Director of IPSS from 2007 to 2009 before becoming the Deputy Director and Regular M.A. Programme Coordinator in 2012. Since 2001, he is also a Research Group Member with the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA). He is currently Associate Academic Director at the same institute since December 2014.

Dr. Sandy Africa is an Associate Professor in Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Prior to this she held several senior appointments in the South African security services. From 1995 to 2001, Africa headed South Africa's civilian intelligence services' academy. From 2001 to 2004, she served as Deputy Director-General, Corporate Services of the South African Secret Service. And from 2004 to 2007, she was Chief of Staff in the Ministry for Intelligence, after which she formally left the service to pursue an academic career. Recently, on the request of South Africa's Minister for State Security, Africa was involved in the reorganization of the country's civilian intelligence agencies into a single State Security Agency. She has published numerous books and articles on the subject of intelligence and intelligence reform. Africa holds a Master's degree in African Politics from the University of South Africa and a Ph.D. in Management from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr. Abraham Akec Awolich currently serves as the Chief Administrator and Senior Policy Analyst at The Sudd Institute. He holds a B.A. in Anthropology and a Minor in Business Administration from the University of Vermont and a Master's degree in Public Administration from Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs from Syracuse University. Given his roots in South Sudan and his past as a refugee, Awolich has remained dedicated to the issues of community development and education services in South Sudan. He served as the Co-Executive Director and Co-Founder of the New Sudan Education Initiative (NESEI), founded the Sudan Development Foundation (SUDEF), and through the SUDEF, established the Kalthok Medical Clinic and Malualtuuk Primary School in his village. Awolich has also worked at IOM in Washington, D.C. to organize referendum registration among the South Sudanese diaspora, and was recruited by the Office of the President of the Government of Southern Sudan as a consultant researcher to participate in the Comprehensive Evaluation of the Government of South Sudan. Most recently as the Co-Founder of The Sudd Institute, an independent policy research institution that supports democratic transition in South Sudan, Awolich mostly focuses on the areas of governance and has published several policy papers.

Dr. Namizata Binaté Fofana is Assistant-Professor, Lecturer at the Faculty of Economic Sciences and Management, of the Félix Houphouët Boigny (FHB) University, Côte d'Ivoire, and Researcher in charge of the Gender and Development Unit of the Ivorian Economic and Social Research Centre (CIRES) where she was

Deputy Director. She obtained her Ph.D. from Wageningen University and has published articles in the areas of gender and food security and rural development in national and international journals. She is also the Coordinator of United Nations University-Institute for Natural Resources in Africa (UNU-INRA) Operating Unit of Côte d'Ivoire.

Professor Narnia Bohler-Muller (B.Juris, LL.B., LL.M. (UPE), LL.D. (UP)) was Professor of Law at Vista University and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) before joining the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) as Research Director. She is currently the Executive Director of the AISA, HSRC, and an adjunct Professor at the University of Fort Hare. Professor Bohler-Muller has over 40 peer reviewed journal publications and has co-edited 3 books on gender violence, human trafficking, and the dynamic of BRICS. She is an admitted Advocate of the High Court of the Republic of South Africa and has been appointed as chair of the South African Chapter of the Indian Ocean Rim Association academic group.

Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho is a Senior Researcher in the Conflict Management and Peacebuilding Division of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), which he joined in April 2014. Gustavo has extensive experience in capacity development, policy support, and research initiatives in the peacebuilding field in Africa. From 2009 to 2014, he worked at the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) as an Analyst at ACCORD's arm of the Training for Peace (TfP) Programme, and later as Coordinator of its Peacebuilding Unit. Previously, Gustavo worked as a Researcher at Global Witness, a London-based organization, in campaigns that related to the link between natural resources and conflict in both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia. Gustavo holds a bachelor degree in international relations from the University of Brasilia, and an M.Sc. in African studies from the University of Oxford.

Dr. Nicasius Achu Check is a Research Specialist in Peace and Security Programme of the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) at HSRC and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Politics at the University of Johannesburg. He holds a B.A. from the University of Buea, Cameroon and an M.A. in History from the University of South Africa (UNISA). His areas of interest are environmental insecurity, trans-border natural resource management, transitional justice, security architecture of regional economic communities (RECs), and conflict management and resolution.

Ms. Aminata Diop is Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Lead at IPAR. With a Master's in public policy from King's College London and an Honors Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto in political science and ethics, society, and law, she began her career at the Ministry of Youth and Employment of Senegal as a Monitoring and Evaluation Officer. She then became the National Coordinator of a Technical Cooperation Project (TCP) between the FAO-Senegal and the same ministry for the creation of decent jobs in rural Senegal. She has a confirmed interest for inclusive development issues. In 2015, at the Canadian Evaluation Society's annual conference, she presented the preliminary results of a study on youth participation in the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of development policies in Senegal.

Mr. Nakomo Duche is a Consultant Attorney; Head of Research at the recently-established Center for Policy Studies, arguably Liberia's only public policy research institution; Contributing Writer to the Liberian National History Project; and Lecturer at Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Graduate School of International Studies, University of Liberia. His research interests include the history of Liberia's constitutional development and the harmonization of its customary and statutory legal systems. He is a former United Nations staff member, having worked at headquarters and at peacekeeping missions in Somalia, former Yugoslavia, and Angola as finance, political, or administrative officer, or legal adviser. He is also a former international banker, having worked in Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. He has completed an LL.M. (1991) from Harvard Law School; a Certificate (1990) from the International Law Institute, Georgetown University Law Center,

Washington, D.C.; an LL.B. (1987) from Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law, University of Liberia; training courses in international banking – operations, global credit, audit – in Lagos, Frankfurt, London, and New York; and a B.A. (economics, 1971) from Cuttington College and Divinity School, Suakoko, Liberia.

Rev. Eugène Goussikindey is currently the Director General of CERAP. Prior to this he taught philosophy in Kinshasa (DRC) and theology in Nairobi (Kenya) where he initiated the Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations. He has earned a M.A. in Philosophy from the University of Montréal-Canada and a Ph.D. in Theology from St Michael's Toronto-Canada.

Mr. Nana Hagan is a non-profit executive who serves as Resource Mobilisation Officer of CDD-Ghana and Executive Officer of the Africa Democracy Fund. As the lead in resource mobilization efforts at the Center, Nana is a member of the research and programs team and plays critical roles in the conception, design, and execution stages of research and program activities. Prior to this, he was the Regional Director for Africa at Governance Network International (based in Germany) where he led the organization's Africa operations. Nana also served as Head of Programs at the Centre for Governance Analysis and Research (CEGAR), where he led and managed the Research and Programs Directorate of the Center and coordinated activities regarding direction and implementation, offering overall leadership in the delivery of research and programs on governance and development. He holds an M.A. (Democratic Governance and Civil Society) from the University of Osnabrueck (Germany), an M.A. (Human Resource Development) from the University of Cape Coast, and a B.A. (Political Science) from the University of Ghana. His areas of research interest are comparative politics, public policy, governance, democracy, elections, development, corporate social responsibility, civil society, and fundraising.

Ms. Helen Kezie-Nwoha is Interim Executive Director at Isis Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE). She has a strong academic background in gender and international development with over 16 years' experience working on women's rights, gender, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution and governance. She has managed international and regional programs and led advocacy efforts at international, regional, and national levels, specifically in Africa and Asia. Helen has strong knowledge of the intersection of gender and human rights in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. She has diverse knowledge about women, peace, and security issues in the East African region having worked in the post-conflict countries of Uganda, Burundi, DRC, and South Sudan; particularly researching women's war experiences in these countries and providing skills and support to ensure women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

Mr. Francis Kornegay is a Global Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. along with Institute for Global Dialogue-UNISA affiliation. In 2014, he organized the first international symposium on the Indian Ocean-South Atlantic oceans governance and maritime security issues in relation to South and Southern African interests. He is the lead co-editor of *Laying the BRICS of a New Global Order* (2013, Africa Institute of SA) published in 2013. Kornegay served as a professional staffer on the Hill, drafting the last sanctions bill against apartheid South Africa, helped set up the Office of Research and Evaluation at the African Development Foundation, and headed up the South African office of the African-American Institute in Johannesburg. He has a B.A. in political science from the University of Michigan, an M.A. in African Studies from Howard University, and a Master's in International Public Policy from the School of Advanced International Studies.

Dr. John Kotsopoulos is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn) at the University of Pretoria. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations (University of Kent), having examined negotiations and decision-making between the European Union and African Union. Current areas

of research focus include EU-Africa relations, African governance and institutions, mediation and conflict resolution, social psychology in international relations, and human security. Previously, John worked at the Brussels-based European Policy Centre think tank where he ran the EU-Africa Forum and the European Security and Global Governance Programme. Prior to that, he was employed as a political desk officer working on Caribbean and development issues at the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Ms. Faith Mabera is a Researcher at the Institute for Global Dialogue, a foreign policy think tank in Pretoria, South Africa. Her research interests include the Responsibility to Protect, African foreign policy and diplomacy, and peace and security issues in Africa.

Dr. Sylvester Bongani Maphosa is Chief Research Specialist and Acting Head for Governance and Security in Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), a division of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria, South Africa. He holds a Ph.D. in conflict resolution and peace studies, an M.A. in peace and governance, a B.Ed. in Environmental Sciences, and Dip.Ed. in Education. Maphosa has extensive professional and academic experience and has interests in non-conventional armed conflict, conflict prevention, community-based peacebuilding, implementation science, research, and education. He has held teaching and research positions in the United States, Ethiopia, and South Africa regarding these issues. He is the author and editor of numerous scholarly articles and books including *Building Peace from Within: An Examination of Community-Based Peacebuilding and Transitions in Africa*, and *Peace Education for Violence Prevention in Fragile African Societies: What's going to make a Difference?* Dr. Sylvester Maphosa is a Fulbright S-I-R alumnus Fellow.

Ms. Dorothy Njagi is the Communications and Outreach Assistant at the African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS). She is responsible for maintaining the ATPS website and uploading new content, running all the social media platforms on behalf of ATPS, assisting in the writing, editing, proofreading, and designing of all ATPS publications on a timely basis, including articles in international journals, among other duties. Dorothy has a strong background in developing and implementing communication strategies; she holds a Master of Arts degree in International Studies from the University of Nairobi, a Bachelor of Science degree in Communication and Public Relations from Moi University, Kenya, and a Diploma in Public Relations Management from the Kenya Institute of Management (KIM). She has extensive work experience in various development sectors both public and private, having worked at the Kenya National Assembly and Riara University, respectively.

Dr. Christopher Nshimbi is Department of Science and Technology-National Research Foundation (DST-NRF) Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn), Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria. He researches regional and sub-regional integration (especially in East and Southern Africa and Southeast Asia), borders and borderlands, cross-border trade, grassroots non-state actors, social cohesion, and water resources management. He teaches Regional Integration, African Politics and Regionalism, and Political Dynamics in the Department of Political Sciences. Dr. Nshimbi has participated and sits on regional and international technical working groups on labor and migration and the integrated water sector.

Mr. Alain Nzadi-a-Nzadi is a Jesuit from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). He was born in 1977. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1998 and holds a B.A. in Philosophy (from St. Peter Canisius/Kinshasa), a M.A. in Francophone Literature (University of Lubumbashi, DRC), a B.A. in Theology (from Hekima-University College, Nairobi/Kenya) and a M.A. in Biblical Theology from Centre Sèvres-Facultés Jésuites de Paris (France). He was ordained a priest in 2013 in Kinshasa. In July 2014, he was appointed Deputy Editor of the journal *Congo-Afrique*. Since September 2015, he is the Editor-in-Chief of the *Congo-Afrique* journal and Managing Director of the Research Center for Social Action (CEPAS).

Dr. Fredrick Ogenga is the Head of the Department of Communication, Journalism and Media Studies, Rongo University College, Kenya and the Founding Director, Center for Media, Democracy, Peace & Security (CMDPS). Dr. Ogenga writes expert commentaries for the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* mainstream newspapers in Kenya and has contributed several peer-reviewed scholarly journal articles on media, elections, conflict, and peacebuilding in Africa to the *Journal of African Elections*, *Africa Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, *Conflict and Communication Online*, *Media and Democracy Journal*, *Global Media Journal*, *Journal of Journalism and Mass Communication*, *Africa Journal of Democracy*, and *Governance and Semiotica - Global Journal of Semiotics*. Dr. Ogenga is a beneficiary of the 2014 Africa Diaspora Fellowship (ADF) and recipient of the 2014 African Peacebuilding Network (APN) Research Grant. He has worked as a visiting scholar on media and sociology at the Institute for the Advancement of Social Sciences (IASS), Boston University. In 2015, Dr. Ogenga was appointed a Visiting Researcher at the African Studies Center, Boston University.

Dr. Collins Ouma has a background in public health and biomedical sciences with a special focus on how population changes affect socio-economic status and disease dynamics in both human and animal populations resident in Africa. Based on his background at the helm of academics at the university, Professor Ouma has additional interest in capacity building through mentorship in Africa for sustainable development. He is currently the Director of Research and Knowledge Translation at AFIDEP. He is playing an integral role in multidisciplinary projects in which there is a need to provide technical support for implementing knowledge translation. In addition, Professor Ouma is overseeing the implementation of all research-related projects at AFIDEP. He continues to participate in the evaluation of unexploited opportunities in African countries that can transform their populations to maximally harness the demographic dividend, and in the process achieve long-term sustainable socio-economic development through advocacy. Prior to joining AFIDEP, Professor Ouma was the Program Leader of Health Challenges and Systems (at the African Population and Health Research Center) and Professor of Public Health/Biomedical Sciences at Maseno University, Kenya. He has a Ph.D. in Infectious Diseases (Public Health) acquired from Kenyatta University, Kenya.

Dr. Ezechiel Sentama is a Rwandan by nationality. He holds a Ph.D. in Peace and Development Research from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Ezechiel also holds a Master's degree in Administration from the University of the Western Cape, Republic of South Africa. Ezechiel is a permanent lecturer of the University of Rwanda from 2000 to the present. He has taught in the department of Political Science since 2000, and is now a lecturer and researcher in the Centre for Conflict Management of the University of Rwanda. Ezechiel participated in various trainings on peacebuilding and development (American University, U.S.) and genocide (Denmark). Ezechiel has contributed to multiple publications, the most recent being a book on *Reconciling the Divides through Contact?* Currently, Ezechiel, together with researchers from Sweden, Macedonia, and Sri Lanka, form a team of researchers conducting a 3-year research project on peace education in three cases: Rwanda, Israel-Palestine, and Macedonia.

Mr. Olusegun Sotola is a governance and policy researcher and is currently the Head of Research/Research Fellow with the Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (IPPA), an independent policy think tank based in Lagos, Nigeria. He contributes regularly to policy debate in Nigeria and Africa through media interviews and legislative public hearing. He has also been part of several economic and policy research projects with organizations such as the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), Nairobi; Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR), Nairobi; Think Tank Initiative (TTI); Partnership for Economic Policy (PEP), Canada; Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Washington, D.C.; Center for International Private Enterprises (CIPE); and American Enterprise Institute (AEI). He holds both a Master's and Bachelor's degree in Political Science from the University of Lagos and Olabisi Onabanjo University, respectively.

Mrs. Queeneth Tawo is the Regional Coordinator Communications and Capacity Building at the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) regional office in Accra, Ghana. She holds a Master's degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy, a B.A. (Hons) degree in English/Education, and a Certificate in Investigative Journalism from the International Centre for Foreign Journalists in Reston, Virginia, U.S. She has over 20 years combined work experience in both public and private sectors. After 12 years in active journalism, she joined WANEP-Nigeria briefly as the Programme Officer, Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) and was responsible for mobilizing and organizing women's groups in five geo-political zones of Nigeria. She then moved on to the regional office first as the Regional Coordinator Programs (RCP) before her present portfolio. Prior to rejoining WANEP, Queeneth was an independent consultant and provided consultancy services to reputable firms and organizations. She has core expertise in facilitation, training/skills building, report writing, layout and designs, research, project management, and organizational development, as well as community mobilization and advocacy. A passionate gender/women activist, Queeneth has presented several papers, conducted trainings, and anchored a radio program on gender-related issues. She holds a Diploma in Journalism from the International Institute of Journalism, Abuja, Nigeria, is a fellow of Isis-WICCE, Uganda, and belongs to several professional bodies.

Ms. Sonja Theron is an Assistant Lecturer and Research Assistant at the Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria. She holds a B.A. in Journalism and a B.A. (Honours) in International Relations from the University of Pretoria; a M.A in Conflict, Security and Development from King's College London, and is currently a doctoral student at the University of Pretoria. She has conducted research on various projects relating to regional integration and security and South African foreign policy and peacebuilding, from which she has published various papers. She is an alumnus of the Peace and Security Fellowship at the African Leadership Centre, King's College London. Her current research interests include leadership, identity, and peacebuilding.

External Speakers

Dr. Raymond Gilpin is the Academic Dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University in Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the Africa Center, he was Associate Vice President and Director of the Center for Sustainable Economies at the United States Institute of Peace (in which capacity he also chaired the taskforce on business and peace and managed the web-based International Network for Economics and Conflict), Senior Economist at the African Development Bank Group, Research Director at the Central Bank of Sierra Leone, and Economist at the World Bank. His recent publications include "African conflict sources and types: challenges of classifying root and proximate causes," a chapter in *Minding the Gap: African Conflict Management in a Time of Change* by Pamela Aall and Chester A. Crocker (forthcoming Spring 2016) and "Economic Drivers of Mass Atrocities: Implications for Policy and Prevention," Policy Analysis Brief, Stanley Foundation (July 2015). He holds a doctorate from Cambridge University in the United Kingdom and an executive certificate in international finance and capital markets from Georgetown University.

Ms. Oury Traoré, from Mali, is currently a Senior International Consultant in Peace and Security. Ms. Traoré has sound knowledge in peace and security issues in the West African region and worked mainly in post-conflict countries in Africa. She also worked with CSOs on gender issues in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Morocco, Kosovo, and Yemen. Her areas of expertise include training, coaching, facilitation, evaluation, policy formulation, gender, civil society, and organizational development. Previously, Ms. Traoré served as the Executive Director of Partners West Africa in Washington, D.C.; the Regional Program Manager of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding; the Senior Program Officer at the Institute of Human Rights and Development in Africa; the Program Associate for the Women's Rights Program of Global Rights in Washington, D.C.; the Chairperson of the Advisory Board of WANEP-Senegal; and a member of the United

Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Solutions Network on “Reducing Poverty and Building Peace in Fragile Regions.” She has conducted several evaluations for her clients which have included the African Union, the Economic Communities of West Africa States, the European Union, the United Nations, Peace Support Operations Training Institutions in Africa, and the Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Ms. Traoré has published several articles, two compendiums, and a book, and is a member of various professional boards such as Greenpeace Africa, the Africa Peace Forum, and International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Wilson Center Staff

Dr. Monde Muyangwa is the Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center where she leads programs designed to analyze and offer practical, actionable options for addressing some of Africa’s most critical, current, and over-the-horizon issues; foster policy-focused dialogue about and options for stronger and mutually-beneficial U.S.-Africa relations; and challenge the dominant narrative about Africa by enhancing knowledge and understanding about the continent in the United States. Prior to joining the Wilson Center, Monde served as Academic Dean at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) at the National Defense University from 2002 to 2013. In this capacity, she oversaw all curriculum and programs at ACSS, including in the areas of Security Studies, Counter-terrorism and Transnational Threats, Civil–Military Relations, Defense Economics and Resource Management, and Conflict Management. She also served as Professor of Civil–Military Relations at ACSS from 2000 to 2003. From 1997 to 2000, she worked as Director of Research and then Vice President for Research and Policy at the National Summit on Africa. From 1996 to 1997, she worked as Director of International Education Programs at New Mexico Highlands University in Las Vegas, New Mexico. She also previously served on the Advisory Council of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, a project of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Monde has also worked as a development and gender consultant, and on a wide range of development projects in southern Africa in the areas of education, housing, health, and nutrition. Monde holds a Ph.D. in International Relations and a B.A. in Politics, Philosophy and Economics from the University of Oxford, as well as a B.A. in Public Administration and Economics from the University of Zambia. She was a Rhodes Scholar, a Wingate Scholar, and the University of Zambia Valedictory Speaker for her graduation class.

Ms. Elizabeth Ramey is the Program Associate with the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. She has prior experience consulting for a variety of multilateral and international organizations, including the World Bank, the Civil Service Agency of the Government of Liberia, and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). Liz spent over two years working on local adult education and empowerment programs in Nairobi, Kenya, and speaks advanced Swahili. She holds an M.P.A. in International Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, an M.Sc. in African Studies from the University of Oxford, and a B.A. in Economics and Sociology from The George Washington University.

Mr. Jeremy Gaines is the Communications Assistant for the Wilson Center Africa Program, where he handles the program’s publications, social media, and communications efforts. He has interned for Byliner, a startup digital publisher, and a San Francisco mayoral campaign. He’s particularly interested in issues in West African politics, democracy, and technology. He holds a B.A. in History and Political Science from Northwestern University. He studied at the University of Ghana and has traveled in West Africa.

Appendix 2: Conference Participants

Co-Hosting SVN Member Organization Participants		
Name	Organization	Country
Dr. Sandy Africa*	University of Pretoria Department of Political Science	South Africa
Prof. Narnia Bohler-Muller*	Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)	South Africa
Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho*	Institute for Security Studies (ISS)	South Africa
Dr. Nicasius Achu Check	Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)	South Africa
Mr. Francis Kornegay*	Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD)	South Africa
Dr. John Kotsopoulos	University of Pretoria Department of Political Science	South Africa
Ms. Faith Mabera	Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD)	South Africa
Dr. Sylvester Maphosa	Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)	South Africa
Ms. Sonja Theron	University of Pretoria Department of Political Science	South Africa

*Primary Coordinator

Southern Voices Network Participants		
Name	Organization	Country
Dr. Yonas Adaye Adeto	Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)	Ethiopia
Mr. Abraham Awolich	The Sudd Institute	South Sudan
Dr. Namizata Binaté Fofana	Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (CIRES)	Cote d'Ivoire
Ms. Aminata Diop	Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR)	Senegal
Mr. Nakomo Duche	Center for Policy Studies (CERPS)	Liberia
Rev. Eugène Goussikindey	Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (CERAP)	Cote d'Ivoire
Mr. Nana Hagan	Center for Democratic Development (CDD)	Ghana
Ms. Helen Kezie-Nwoha	Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE)	Uganda
Ms. Dorothy Njagi	African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS)	Kenya
Mr. Alain Nzadi-a-Nzadi	Centre d'Etudes Pour L'Action Sociale (CEPAS)	Democratic Republic of Congo
Dr. Fredrick Ogenga	Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security	Kenya
Dr. Collins Ouma	African Institute for Development Policy (AFIDEP)	Kenya
Mr. Olusegun Sotola	Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (IPPA)	Nigeria
Mrs. Queeneth Tawo	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)	Ghana/Regional

External Speakers and Wilson Center Participants		
Name	Organization	Country
Dr. Raymond Gilpin	Africa Center for Strategic Studies, U.S. Department of Defense	United States
Ms. Oury Traoré	Madiba Institute for Leadership in West Africa (MILWA)	Senegal
Dr. Monde Muyangwa	Woodrow Wilson Center	United States
Ms. Elizabeth Ramey	Woodrow Wilson Center	United States
Mr. Jeremy Gaines	Woodrow Wilson Center	United States

Appendix 3: SVN Member Organizations

Southern Voices Network Member Organization Profiles

Member Organizations:

1. African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET) – Ghana
2. African Institute for Development Policy (AFIDEP) – Kenya
3. African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS) – Kenya
4. Center for Democratic Development (CDD) – Ghana
5. Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security (CMDPS) – Kenya
6. Center for Policy Studies (CERPS) – Liberia
7. Centre d'Etudes Pour l'Action Sociale (CEPAS) – Democratic Republic of the Congo
8. Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (CERAP) – Cote d'Ivoire
9. Centre for Conflict Management (CCM) – Rwanda
10. Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (CIRES) – Cote d'Ivoire
11. Council for the Development of Social Sciences Research in Africa (CODESRIA) – Senegal
12. Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) – South Africa
13. Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (IPPA) – Nigeria
14. Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR) – Senegal
15. Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) – South Africa
16. Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) – Ethiopia
17. Institute for Security Studies (ISS) – South Africa HQ
18. Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR-Rwanda) – Rwanda
19. Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) – Uganda
20. The Sudd Institute – South Sudan
21. University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences – South Africa
22. West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) – Ghana HQ

African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET)

Country: Ghana

Director: K.Y. Amoako

Point of Contact: Edward K. Brown

Overview: ACET is an economic policy institute that supports Africa's long-term growth. Its mission is to promote policy and institutional reforms for sustained economic growth and transformation in Africa. Its vision is for all African countries to drive their own growth and transformation agendas by 2025. This will be led by the private sector and supported by capable states with strong institutions and good policies.

Topical Focus: ACET utilizes three approaches to their work on sustained economic growth and transformation: analysis, advice, and advocacy. These methods are used in three primary areas:

1. African Transformation Index: provides a common quantitative tool to measure the progress of countries and foster intra-African learning
2. Shared Governance: assists in developing institutional arrangements for coordinated policy, management of public finances, and deliverance of goals
3. Transformation Dialogues Program: shares the findings with stakeholders at the global, regional, and country levels for debate, feedback, refinement, and implementation

Operations: As a think tank, ACET applies knowledge by directly engaging citizens and decision makers. Bringing an authentic African perspective, the core staff comprises 30 personnel from eight African countries, based at the headquarters in Accra. They include economists, researchers, policy analysts, management consultants, extractive industries experts, and administrative staff. They are supported by a global network of dozens of resource persons and renowned experts in African development, including a Nobel laureate in economics.

Link: <http://acetforafrica.org>

African Institute for Development Policy (AFIDEP)

Country: Kenya

Director: Eliya Zulu

Point of Contact: same

Overview: AFIDEP is a non-profit policy think tank whose mission is to translate research evidence and use it to advocate for improved policies and program effectiveness in Africa. The ultimate goal is to contribute to the improvement of the wellbeing of Africans by reducing unplanned pregnancies, reducing maternal and child deaths, slowing population growth, and improving sexual and reproductive health outcomes of young people.

Topical Focus: AFIDEP's 2014-2018 Strategic Plan provides a framework to guide the Institute in building on past gains as well as expanding and strengthening the scope of its programs. It follows three overarching objectives: the synthesis and translation of research evidence; enabling the utilization of research evidence

in decision-making; and strengthening capacity in research evidence synthesis, translation, and utilization. It has three focus areas:

1. Population change and development
2. Maternal and child health
3. Adolescent reproductive health and development

Operations: AFIDEP has assembled a multi-disciplinary core staff comprising of experts trained in various social sciences, public health, policy analysis, and communications. This team will be expanded during the next five years in line with the changing needs of our programs. The Institute's core staff is complemented by a network of Associate Fellows who contribute to our work and seek to strengthen the impact of their own work through our programs and connections. A Board of Directors comprising distinguished experts, who provide strategic guidance and oversee the running of the organization, governs AFIDEP.

Link: <http://www.afidep.org>

African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS)

Country: Kenya

Director: Nicolas Ozor

Point of Contact: same

Overview: ATPS Network is a multidisciplinary network whose mission it is to improve the quality of science, technology, and innovation (STI) research, policy, and practice for sustainable development in Africa, by Africans, and for Africa. The strategic vision is to become the leading center of excellence and reference in STI systems research.

Topical Focus: ATPS draws on its rich network of experts in all aspects of the innovation systems in African countries including policymakers, science experts, private sector actors, and civil society actors. It focuses specifically in the fields of science, technology, and innovation and works to further training and capacity-building, communication and sensitization, knowledge brokerage, policy advocacy, and outreach in Africa. It will achieve its vision by strengthening capacity for knowledge generation, communication, and dissemination for sustainable development in Africa.

Operations: ATPS was established in 1994 and was accorded full diplomatic status in Kenya on December 3, 2003. ATPS operates through chapters in 29 countries across Africa and the Diaspora in Europe and the United States. It ensures that the STI policy research and programs are fully and effectively engaging all actors in the relevant innovation systems. Most importantly, it ensures that they are implemented at improved cost-effectiveness and low administration cost ratios.

Link: <http://www.atpsnet.org/index.php>

Center for Democratic Development (CDD)

Country: Ghana

Director: E. Gyimah-Boadi

Point of Contact: Franklin Oduro

Overview: CDD-Ghana is an independent and non-partisan, non-governmental research-based and policy-oriented institute. Its mission is to promote democracy, good governance, and economic openness in Ghana and Africa. Its vision is a free, peaceful, and well-governed society based on the rule of law, justice, and integrity in public administration, and equal opportunities for all in Ghana and Africa.

Topical Focus: Its programmatic and analytic work covers a broad range of topics focusing on democracy, governance, and economic issues. It has three training and capacity-building programs including Code Election Training, Media Literacy Program, and the Anti-Stigmatization program. There are five projects that CDD programming and training address:

1. The Afrobarometer
2. The Africa Power and Politics Program
3. Transparency and Accountability Project
4. Constitutional Review Project
5. African Peer Review Mechanism

Operations: CDD pursues its corporate philosophies through high-quality policy research, technical analyses, and widely disseminated publications and documentation. It also organizes roundtables, seminars, and conferences, issues press statements, and engages in extensive networking with relevant state and non-state stakeholders to inform and educate, to foster public and policy-maker awareness, and to support advocacy and stimulate policy reform. Its core values are non-partisanship, independence, integrity, accountability, objectivity, and equal opportunity.

Link: <http://www.cddgh.org>

Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security (CMDPS)

Country: Kenya

Director: Fredrick Ogenga

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security, established within the Department of Communication, Journalism & Media Studies with the recognition and support of the Rongo University College, focuses on media, and seeks to promote research, innovation, and outreach initiatives to influence policy issues on media, democracy, peace, and security in East Africa and beyond.

Topical Focus: The Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security focuses on conducting high quality

research in areas of media, democracy, peace, and security. The Horn of Africa faces serious peace and security challenges. The Center aims to research media representation of these conflicts, investigate the media's role in sensationalizing acts of violence and terrorism, and develop new approaches of representing and covering conflicts in conflict-prone societies that will encourage peaceful dialogue and deliberation.

Operations: The Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security pursues its mission by conducting the following activities: publishing research findings and policy briefs; organizing academic and policy workshops for journalists; organizing journalism institutes that focus on traditional journalism and new/ social media citizen-journalism; hosting visiting scholars, exchange students, journalists, and policy advocates; and building collaboration between different agencies and organizations on security issues.

Link: <http://ruc.ac.ke/cmdps/>

Center for Policy Studies (CERPS)

Country: Liberia

Director: Byron Tarr

Point of Contact: same

Overview: CERPS is an independent policy research institution established to study issues critical to Liberia and West Africa. Unlike the rest of ECOWAS, Liberia has little capacity to carry out necessary policy research. CERPS seeks to fill that void by creating policymaking capacity within Liberia.

Topical Focus: CERPS seeks to spur peacebuilding and identify and resolve issues that inhibit nation-building and development. To do this, the Center identifies and researches possible policy choices on emerging debates across political, social, and economic issues, encourage dialogue, and find consensus. It also reaches out to build a bridge between the Liberian public and policymakers to ensure adequate local and national voices in policy debates and inform the public of important policymaking issues.

Operations: The founding members of CERPS have decades of research experience in policy fields including economics, law, political science, conflict resolution, natural resource management, peacebuilding, and land rights. Members of the team have experience working in government, academia, research organizations, and civil society, and are well-positioned to build bridges between them and enhancing policymaking capacity.

Link: n/a

Centre d'Etudes Pour l'Action Sociale (CEPAS)

Country: The Democratic Republic of the Congo

Director: Alain Nzadi-a-Nzadi

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The Centre d'Etudes Pour L'Action Sociale (CEPAS) (Research Center for Social Action), an initiative of the Central Africa Province of the Society of Jesus (Jesuit Fathers) was created in 1965. It is an institution whose substantial mission consists of promoting justice, compassionate, and integral human development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo through its analyses, research, and consequent actions.

Topical Focus: Among other objectives, CEPAS intends to ensure the linkage between research and social action; to enlighten, through in-depth understanding of the Congo's political, economic, social, and cultural realities; and to contribute to the process of endorsing Congo's economic and social studies through the analysis of the society, its structures, and the conditions of sustainable development.

Operations: CEPAS focuses on:

1. Undertaking research in order to understand the society and its problems, particularly disabled groups, and supporting undertaken actions to find suitable solutions to these problems
2. Publishing in the Congo-Afrique Review, its organ of expression, the findings of the research undertaken by its members and other researchers in order to promote in targeted areas a critical understanding of the society and the alternatives for a just development
3. Publishing disseminating brochures in order to inform and build the capacity of a very large public on the Country's social, economic, political and judicial matters
4. Providing researchers, students and active individuals with a center for specialized documentation on social, economic, political and cultural questions
5. Ensuring courses, workshops, conferences and disseminated radio broadcasts in order to help various publics to well understand the society and the needs of a just development

Link: <http://www.cepas-rdc.org/>

Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (CERAP)

Country: Cote d'Ivoire

Director: Eugène Goussikindey

Point of Contact: same

Overview: CERAP is an education and research institution that, since 2014, has been divided into two sections called Pôles: The University and the Social Centre. CERAP was created in 2002. Its mission is to foster dialogue and encourage open-mindedness through its educational programs in order to encourage peace and justice.

Topical Focus: CERAP has become both a University and Social Institution for the promotion of the human person in view of the service of the common good of African societies, which are opened and sensitive to solidarity and the respect of human dignity. In October, CERAP will launch a Research Centre for Society and Business where social and political issues will be researched as well as issues related to corporate social responsibility. It will focus course work on the areas of economics, accounting, law and ethics in governance, sustainable development, conflict management, human rights, and peace.

CERAP is divided into four departments:

1. The Human Rights and Dignity Institute (IDDH)
2. The Documentation Centre
3. The CERAP Editions
4. The Social Action in Urban Environment (ASMU)

Operations: The University offers a B.A. in economics with five options, a M.A. in governance and ethics with four options, and in October 2015, in partnership with the Catholic University of Milan, a M.B.A. in entrepreneurship will begin. In October 2015, CERAP will launch a Research Centre for Society and Business with the support of the African Development Bank. The Social Center will be expanding its training in the informal sector and extend its advocacy work towards the most vulnerable.

Link: <http://www.cerap-inades.org>

Centre for Conflict Management (CCM)

Country: Rwanda

Director: Francois Masabo

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The Centre for Conflict Management in the College of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Rwanda was created in 1999 with financial support from the United Nations Development Programme. CCM's mandate rises from the particular challenges raised in the post-genocide context. CCM seeks to be a bridge between academic teaching, research findings, and policymaking inspiration for peace and conflict studies in Rwanda, the African Great Lakes region, and Africa.

Topical Focus: Located in Rwanda and founded during the successful post-genocide reconstruction, CCM strives to expand its research and teaching activities to the whole region and continent for the benefit of the population which seeks to live in peace and security. CCM conducts research into the causes of conflict, peacebuilding, power sharing, genocide ideology, and related topics.

The organization's focuses include:

1. Genocide studies and prevention
2. Gender and conflict
3. Post-conflict reconstruction and development

Operations: the Centre for Conflict Management has 14 staff members and offers two masters programs in genocide studies and peace and conflict studies, as well as short courses to leaders from Rwanda, the Great Lakes region, and beyond.

Link: <http://www.ccm.ur.ac.rw/>

Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (CIRES)

Country: Cote d'Ivoire

Director: Ibrahim Diarra

Point of Contact: same

Overview: CIRES is a social science research institution whose mission is to undertake research concerning the economic and social problems of Côte d'Ivoire and the countries of the sub-region. Its vision is to establish relationships with as many economic bodies, public or private, as possible, and to publish research concerning economic and social disciplines.

Topical Focus: The overall objectives of CIRES are to identify the economic and social problems of Côte d'Ivoire as well as those of the sub-region and to carry out economic and social studies in order to find solutions to identified problems. CIRES wants to drive the thinking and basic research and animate the scientific debate in economics in Ivorian society and the sub-region. Furthermore, CIRES will provide vocational training in economics and rural sociology through masters and Ph.D. programs, create a training course in management of economic policies, and organize seminars and high-level forums.

Operations: CIRES has fifty permanent researchers and twenty high-level researchers, which ranks first among the wealthy research centers of Francophone black Africa. CIRES researchers come from a variety of backgrounds including economists, demographers, statisticians, engineers, sociologists, and agronomists.

Link: <http://www.cires-ci.org/index1.php>

Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)

Country: Senegal

Director: Dzodzi Tsikata

Point of Contact: Ebrima Sall

Overview: CODESIRA was established in 1973 as an independent pan-African research organization primarily focusing on social science research in Africa. Its mission is to promote and facilitate research and knowledge production in Africa using a holistic, multi-disciplinary approach. The Council's vision is to play a critical role in promoting a dialogue among the disciplines, the four generations of African social researchers, and male and female scholars.

Topical Focus: CODESIRA's focus is to promote and defend the principle of independent thought and the academic freedom of researchers in the production and dissemination of knowledge. To do so it works to strengthen the institutional basis of knowledge production in Africa by proactively engaging and supporting other research institutions and their networks of scholars within its programs of activities.

Operations: CODESRIA is headquartered in Dakar, Senegal. It is mandated to support the strengthening of the institutional basis of knowledge production by developing programs of collaboration with the other centers of social research in Africa whether they are national or (sub-) regional, university-based

or independent. The Council also actively encourages cooperation and collaboration among African universities, research organizations, and other training institutions.

Link: <http://www.codesira.org/spip.php?>

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

Country: South Africa

Director: Crain A. Soudien

Point of Contact: Narnia Bohler-Muller

Overview: The HSRC is a non-partisan, public-purpose organization that generates scientific knowledge through its research and analytical work in the social and human sciences. Its mission is to serve as a knowledge hub for research-based solutions to inform human and social development in South Africa, the African continent, and the rest of the world. HSRC aims to inform policy development and good practice, thereby making a difference in the lives of people in South Africa and in the mother continent.

Topical Focus: It has several research programs that focus on:

1. Education and skills development
2. Economic performance and development
3. Population health, health systems, and innovation
4. HIV/AIDS, STIs and TB (including the African-wide research network SAHARA)
5. Democracy, governance, and service delivery
6. Human and social development

Operations: The HSRC responds to the needs of vulnerable and marginalized groups in society through its research. It develops and makes available data that underpins research for policy development and public discussion of developmental issues. It undertakes large-scale, multi-year, and collaborative research and produces high-quality scientific evidence to inform further analysis, debate, advocacy, and decision-making by role players in government, the media, academia, and community-based groups.

Link: <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en>

Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (IPPA)

Country: Nigeria

Director: Thompson Ayodele

Point of Contact: same

Overview: IPPA is a research and advocacy organization whose mission is to serve as one of the leading promoters of social, economic, and political freedom. IPPA holds tenaciously the belief in free society hinged on the principle that a good and prosperous society is achievable when a government's participation in certain key spheres is drastically reduced concerning individual action, private property rights, and the rule of law.

Topical Focus: IPPA's core areas of interest include development economics, trade, entrepreneurship, property rights, education, environment, health, and safety. Keeping these in mind, IPPA has several goals that it follows throughout its work:

1. Empowering people
2. Individual liberty and choice
3. Private property rights protection
4. An economy based on free enterprise
5. Democratic government under the rule of law
6. An autonomous and free civil society
7. The facilitation of trade within Africa and beyond

Operations: IPPA engages in a number of activities that include research, seminars/workshops, newsletters, organizing essay competitions, writing on developmental issues, and student-based programs.

Link: <http://www.ippanigeria.org>

Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR)

Country: Senegal

Director: Cheikh Oumar Ba

Point of Contact: Ibrahim Hathie

Overview: IPAR is a think tank and research institution. Its mission is to work with civil society leaders and local actors to co-produce analyses, policy proposals, and strategies to influence public policy at the national, sub-regional and international levels. Its vision is to contribute to the process of economic and social development of Senegal and the sub-region by creating a space for exchange and debate on strategic backed research and rigorous prospective, connected to the concerns of policy makers and grassroots organizations.

Topical Focus: The main research themes of IPAR, as defined in its 2015 strategic plan, are connected to:

1. Demography, employment, and migration
2. Performance of agriculture
3. Land and other natural resources management
4. Public policies

5. Other emerging interesting topics

Operations: IPAR seeks to foster and participate in a reflection and a permanent, open debate on the future of rural areas and agriculture, the joint city/countryside, the conditions for successful integration in the sub-region, and beneficial integration into the global economy. Through these exchanges and debates, IPAR wants to allow the confrontation of interests of different professional categories and the search for compromise. The aim is to participate in the creation of sustainable institutional capacities in agricultural and rural prospects and to promote and support alternative paths to current policies and programs in Senegal and the sub-region.

Link: <http://www.ipar.sn>

Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD)

Country: South Africa

Director: Siphamandla Zondi

Point of Contact: Francis Kornegay

Overview: IGD is a foreign policy think tank that engages in cutting edge policy research and analysis, catalytic dialogue, and stakeholder interface on global dynamics that have an impact on South Africa and Africa. Its mission is to work towards a prosperous and peaceful Africa in a progressive global order. Its vision is to become the think tank of choice in its field.

Topical Focus: IGD promotes a broader understanding of the role of foreign policy and diplomacy in the pursuit of national and international developmental goals and to ensure discernable policy outcomes. It will establish and strengthen mutually beneficial strategic partnerships nationally, regionally, and globally. Finally, it will work to enhance the standard of service to clients and consumers of IGD's work in order to ensure their satisfaction.

IGD has three projects that further these initiatives:

1. South Africa's Foreign Policy Analysis Project: spans the making and management of foreign policy, multi-stakeholder interface, public diplomacy, and development diplomacy
2. African Studies Program: focuses on regional and continental integration, peace diplomacy, inter and intra-African trade, and Africa's external relations
3. (3) Multilateral Governance Analysis Program: addresses various international developments that relate to changes in multilateralism with the growing influence of non-state actors

Operations: IGD was founded during the evolution of the new South Africa in 1994 with the assistance of former president Nelson Mandela and the former German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. The IGD is comprised of a small, highly competent team of researchers and project administrators. A network of fellows and associates that work part-time for IGD and consultants on funded projects complement this team. IGD's research staff teaches at universities and training colleges, and frequently participates in media commentary on international developments and foreign policy.

Link: <http://www.idg.org.za>

Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

Country: Ethiopia

Director: Kidane Kiros

Point of Contact: same

Overview: IPSS is a research and policy institution. Its mission is to serve its Africa stakeholders through education and professional development, policy dialogue, and research. The vision of IPSS is to be the premier institute for education, research, and policy dialogue on peace and security studies.

Topical Focus: The Institute for Peace and Security Studies strives to attain the highest levels of excellence in the teaching and learning process in order to set and maintain bespoke standards in education and professional development. It highly values innovation, creativity, evidence-based, and action-oriented research. Its topical focuses include Pan-Africanism, diversity, integrity, and inclusion. Finally, it is committed to delivery and social transformation.

Operations: It maintains a partnership with the African Union through the Africa Peace and Security Program, which operates with the vision of a premier source for African Union and Regional Economic Communities of substantial and high-quality contributions towards promoting practical African-led solutions for peace and security challenges. The Institute produces skilled professionals in conflict prevention, management, and resolution as well as in peace building, and promotes the values of a democratic and peaceful society.

Link: <http://www.ipss-addis.org/new-ipss>

Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

Country: South Africa HQ

Director: Anton du Plessis

Point of Contact: Gustavo de Carvalho

Overview: ISS is a Pan-African applied policy research institute headquartered in Pretoria, South Africa. It is an established think tank working in the area of African human security. Its mission is to advance human security in Africa through evidence-based policy advice, technical support, and capacity building. It does independent and authoritative research, provides expert policy analysis and advice, and delivers practical training and technical assistance. The vision of ISS is a peaceful and prosperous Africa for its entire people.

Topical Focus: ISS pursues its vision and mission through the work of four divisions:

1. Governance, Crime and Justice Division: promotes democratic governance, transparency, and respect for human rights, reduced crime, and improved justice
2. Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Division: helps prevent conflict and improve state capacity for risk analysis by contributing to the understanding of the latest human security developments on the continent

3. Conflict Management and Peace Building Division: enhances effective conflict management and peacebuilding by governments and international institutions
4. Transnational Threats and International Crime Division: combats such threats and crimes by enhancing the ability of African inter-governmental organizations and national/civil society to respond more effectively

Operations: The Institute for Security Studies follows a set of core values including sustainable development, democracy, human rights, rule of law, collaborative security, and gender mainstreaming. It does this by undertaking and engaging in applied research, training, and capacity building. It emphasizes working collaboratively with others. It facilitates and supports policy formation and carefully monitors trends by collecting, interpreting, and disseminating information at the national, regional, and international levels.

Link: <http://www.issafrica.org>

Institute of Policy Analysis and Research – Rwanda (IPAR-Rwanda)

Country: Rwanda

Director: Eugenia Kayitesi

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The Institute of Policy Analysis and Research-Rwanda is a non-profit, independent think tank in Rwanda guided by a fundamental concern for the well-being of all Rwandans, whose mission is to enhance evidence-based policy making and promote dialogue and a culture of debate on policy issues in Rwanda through conducting timely, relevant, high-quality public policy analysis and research.

Topical Focus: IPAR-Rwanda's research areas include:

1. Agriculture and value chain development
2. Social development
3. Governance
4. Economic growth and transformation
5. Environment and natural resources management

Operations: IPAR-Rwanda seeks to provide information and analysis to assist decision-makers and provide a forum for vibrant policy debate in the country. The organization does this by publishing reports, policy briefs, and papers and hosting conferences. IPAR-Rwanda is currently conducting research projects on lessons from Rwanda in aid management and fiscal policy, on the Feed the Future Africa Great Lakes Coffee, and on the impact of Rwanda's National Climate Change and Environment Fund (FONERWA).

Link: <http://www.ipar-rwanda.org/index.php?lang=en>

Isis - Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE)

Country: Uganda

Director: Helen Kezie-Nwoha

Point of Contact: same

Overview: Isis-WICCE is a global action oriented women's human rights organization that empowers women's leadership and peace building in conflict and post conflict settings. Its mission is to ignite women's leadership, amplify voices, and deepen their activism in re-creating peace. Its vision is for women to be living in peace and re-creating peace.

Topical Focus:

Isis-WICCE is committed to the building of a fair and just society where women can equally participate in decision-making and where their capacities and potential are utilized for a better world through the documenting of women's realities and facilitating the exchange of skills and information. Throughout, there is an emphasis on research and knowledge creation where Isis-WICCE has historically done groundbreaking research on women in conflict countries. Isis-WICCE has three programs dedicated to its mission:

1. Advocacy and Networking: builds partnerships with strategic allies and advocates for the needs of women survivors
2. Communications and Management: ensures that what we learn is communicated directly to those making decisions that shape women's lives at national, regional, and international levels
3. Feminist Leadership Institute: focuses on strengthening women's activist and political leadership in order to be able to challenge existing institutional mechanisms that undermine women's rights

Operations: Isis-WICCE is named after the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis who symbolizes wisdom, creativity, and knowledge. Isis-WICCE has started national and regional programs to facilitate the flow of information from Uganda to other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. The organization has immensely contributed to and strengthened the women's movement in Uganda and on the African continent.

Link: <http://www.isis-wicce.org>

The Sudd Institute

Country: South Sudan

Director: Jok Madut Jok

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The Sudd Institute is an independent research organization that conducts and facilitates research and training to inform public policy and practice, to create opportunities for discussion and debate, and to improve analytical capacity in South Sudan. Its mission is to promote informed and accountable policy and practice that responds to the needs, wants, and well-being of the South Sudanese people. The institute was established to close the knowledge gap and help ensure that decisions made during this critical period in

the country's history result in positive change.

Topical Focus: To contribute to developing government efficiency, accountability, and transparency, the Sudd Institute offers critical analysis about key governance issues, including resource generation and allocation, relations between the national government and the states, and the constitution development process. The Sudd Institute follows two tracks:

1. Track 1: addresses internal and external insecurity by aiming to help decision-makers to better understand the causes and consequences of such violence that has wreaked havoc across the country and to offer recommendations for policy and practical change
2. Track 2: geared towards building an inclusive, responsive, and transparent government

Operations: As South Sudan embarks on critical state building, nation building, and development initiatives, little is known or understood about the country and the needs of its institutions and people. To fill this knowledge gap, Sudd operates by conducting, facilitating, and communicating high quality, independent, and action-oriented research and analysis. It provides opportunities for discussion and debate. Finally, it focuses on improving analytical capacity and research skills in South Sudan.

Link: <http://www.suddinstitute.org>

University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences

Country: South Africa

Director: Maxi Schoeman

Point of Contact: Sandy Africa

Overview: The University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences is a core department of the University of Pretoria, one of South Africa's premier research universities. Research within the department focuses on a broad range of political science topics, including mediation, governance, and democracy studies. The Institute for Strategic and Political Affairs (ISPA), the Center for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn), and the Centre for Mediation in Africa (CMA) are research centers contained within the Political Science Department.

Topical Focus: Research of the University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences focuses on a broad range of African and non-African political science topics including mediation, conflict studies, governance, security, and democracy. Within the department, the Centre for Mediation in Africa focuses on publishing research on mediation best practices, training senior government officials, and assisting the UN, AU, and other sub-regional bodies to build mediation capacity and expertise. CMA has also hosted conferences, including a major conference on conflict and mediation at the University of Pretoria in June 2015.

Operations: With more than 20 professors, researchers, and staff, the University of Pretoria Department of Political Sciences conducts academic research with important implications for issues of mediation, conflict studies, and good governance. As a part of a major research institution in South Africa, the department is well-positioned to carry out important research on Africa's most pressing topics.

Link: <http://www.up.ac.za/political-sciences>

West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)

Country: Ghana HQ

Director: Chukwuemeka B. Eze

Point of Contact: same

Overview: The West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) is a leading regional peacebuilding organization founded in 1998 in response to the civil wars that plagued West Africa in the 1990s. Over the years, WANEP has succeeded in establishing strong national networks in every member state of ECOWAS, with over 500 member organizations across West Africa.

Topical Focus: WANEP places special focus on collaborative approaches to conflict prevention, and peacebuilding, working with diverse actors from civil society, governments, intergovernmental bodies, women's groups, and other partners in a bid to establish a platform for dialogue, experience-sharing, and learning, thereby complementing efforts at ensuring sustainable peace and development in West Africa and beyond.

Operations: In 2002, WANEP entered into a historic partnership with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), an inter-governmental structure, for the implementation of a regional early warning and response system (ECOWARN). A memorandum of understanding between WANEP and ECOWAS was signed in 2004 for five years, and has since been renewed for another 5 years. This partnership constitutes a major strategic achievement for WANEP and West Africa civil society as it offers the much-desired opportunity to contribute to Track I response to conflicts and policy debates.

WANEP has more than 500 member organizations across the member states of ECOWAS. At the continental level, WANEP is a member of the Peace and Security cluster of the African Union's (AU) Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), representing West Africa. At the international level, WANEP has a Special Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and is the West Africa Regional Representative of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC). WANEP is the Chair of GPPAC.

WANEP provides professional courses in conflict prevention and peacebuilding informed by years of practical experience to governments, businesses, and practitioners throughout the sub-region and beyond. Underlying its work is a commitment to professionalism and a dedication to a world of mutual respect, tolerance, and peace.

Link: <http://wanep.org/wanep/>

Appendix 4: SVN Conference Photography Packet

Southern Voices Network 2016 Annual Conference

Photography Packet



Left to right: (front) Ms. Dorothy Njagi, Communications and Outreach Assistant, African Technology Policy Studies Network (Kenya); Ms. Aminata Diop, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Lead, Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (Senegal); Dr. Namizata Binaté Fofana, Lead Researcher, Gender and Development Unit, Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (Cote d'Ivoire); Dr. Sylvester Maphosa, Chief Research Specialist and Acting Head of Governance and Security in the Africa Institute of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa); Mr. Nana Hagan, Resource Mobilization Officer, Center for Democratic Development (Ghana); Mrs. Queeneth Tawo, Regional Coordinator, Communications and Capacity Building, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (Ghana/Regional); Ms. Elizabeth Ramey, Program Associate, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Rev. Eugène Goussikindey, Director, Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (Cote d'Ivoire); Ms. Helen Kezie- Nwoha, Interim Executive Director, Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Uganda);

(back) Mr. Abraham Awolich, Senior Policy Analyst and Director, Management and Administration, Sudd Institute (South Sudan); Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho, Senior Researcher, Peace Operations and Peacebuilding, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa); Mr. Nakomo Duche, Director of Research, Center for Policy Studies (Liberia); Dr. Yonas Adaye Adeto, Associate Academic Director and Lecturer, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (Ethiopia); Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Academic Dean, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University (USA); Dr. Fredrick Ogenga, Founding Director, Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security (Kenya); Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Dr. Sandy Africa, Associate Professor, Department of Political Sciences, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, University of Pretoria (South Africa); Mr. Alain Nzadi-a-Nzadi, Director, Centre d'Etudes pour l'Action Sociale (Democratic Republic of Congo); Mr. Francis Kornegay, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Global Dialogue (South Africa); Ms. Oury Traoré, International Senior Consultant, Madiba Institute for Leadership in West Africa (Senegal); Mr. Olusegun Sotola, Head, Research and Program, Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (Nigeria)



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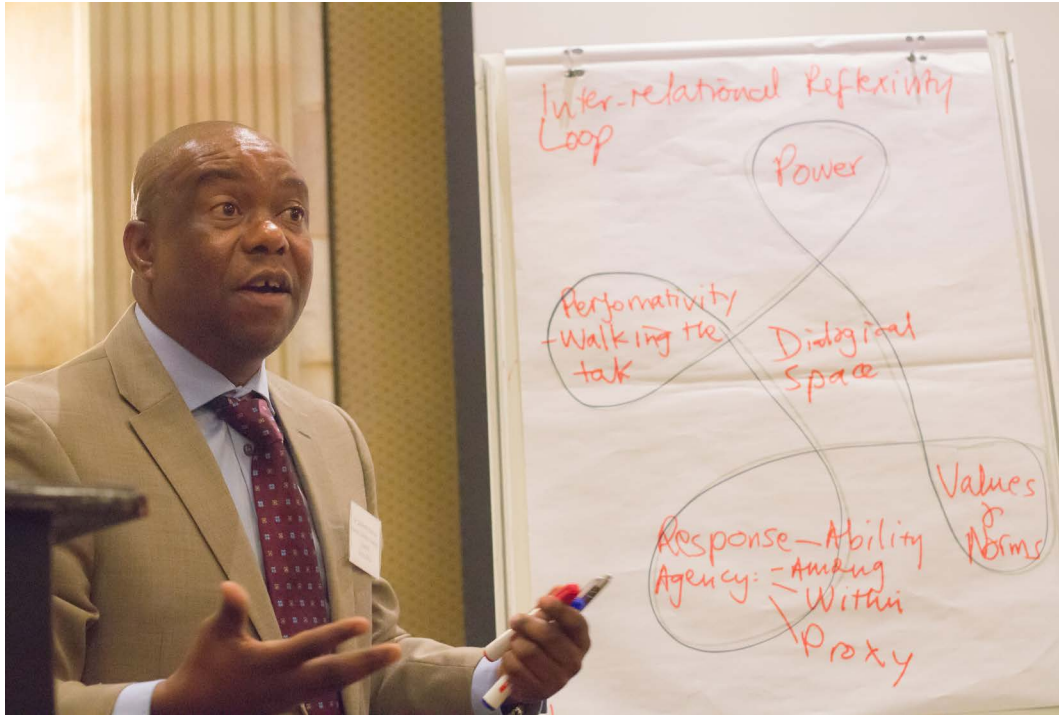
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Left to right: Ms. Sonja Theron, Assistant Lecturer and Research Assistant, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, University of Pretoria (South Africa); Dr. Namizata Binati Fofana, Lead Researcher, Gender and Development Unit, Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (Cote d'Ivoire); Prof. Narnia Bohler-Muller, Executive Director, Africa Institute of South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa)



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Policy Session: “U.S. and International Support for Peacebuilding in Africa”

March 23 | Institute for Security Studies

Left to right: Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Academic Dean, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University (USA); Ms. Oury Traoré, International Senior Consultant, Madiba Institute for Leadership in West



Africa (Senegal); Mr. Gustavo de Carvalho, Senior Researcher, Peace Operations and Peacebuilding, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)

Pictured: Dr. Raymond Gilpin, Academic Dean, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense



University (USA)



Pictured: Members of the audience



Pictured: Dr. Yonas Adaye Adeto, Associate Academic Director and Lecturer, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (Ethiopia)



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Left to right: Dr. John Kotsopoulos, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, University of Pretoria (South Africa); Rev. Eugène Goussikindey, Director, Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (Cote d'Ivoire); Dr. Christopher Nshimbi, Department of Science and Technology-National Research Foundation (DST-NRF) Research Fellow & Deputy Director, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, University of Pretoria (South Africa)

Visit to Freedom Park

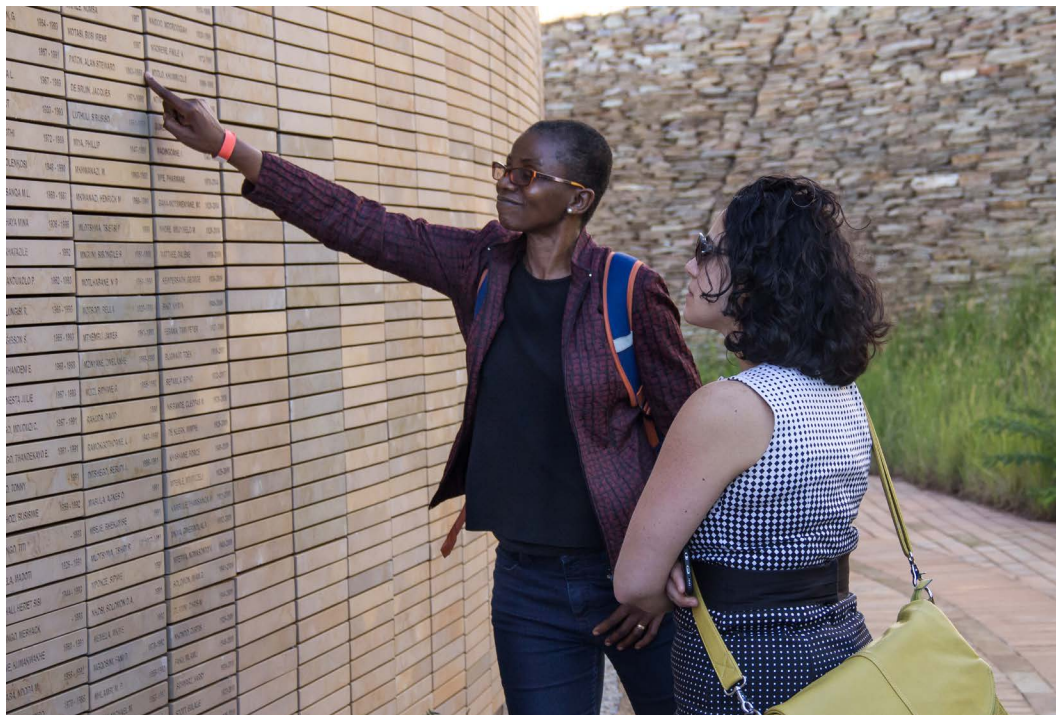
March 21 | Freedom Park, Pretoria



Left to right: Mr. Jeremy Gaines, Program Assistant, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Mr. Olusegun Sotola, Head, Research and Program, Initiative for Public Policy Analysis (Nigeria); Mr. Alain Nzadi-Nzadi, Director, Centre d'Etudes pour l'Action Sociale (Democratic Republic of Congo); Dr. Fredrick Ogenga, Founding Director, Center for Media, Democracy, Peace and Security (Kenya); Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Mr. Jacob Bogopane (Freedom Park guide); Mrs. Queeneth Tawo, Regional Coordinator, Communications and Capacity Building, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (Ghana/Regional); Mr. Nana Hagan, Resource Mobilization Officer, Center for Democratic Development (Ghana); Dr. Namizata Binaté Fofana, Lead Researcher, Gender and Development Unit, Centre Ivoirien de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (Cote d'Ivoire); Mr. Nakomo Duche, Director of Research, Center for Policy Studies (Liberia); Rev. Eugène Goussikindey, Director, Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (Cote d'Ivoire); Ms. Dorothy Njagi, Communications and Outreach Assistant, African Technology Policy Studies Network (Kenya); Ms. Aminata Diop, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Lead, Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (Senegal)



Pictured: Mr. Nana Hagan, Resource Mobilization Officer, Center for Democratic Development (Ghana) (far left); Mrs. Queeneth Tawo, Regional Coordinator, Communications and Capacity Building, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (Ghana/Regional) (center); Mr. Jacob Bogopane (Freedom Park guide) (right)



Left to right: Dr. Monde Muyangwa, Director, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Elizabeth Ramey, Program Associate, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA)

Dinner at Kream Restaurant

March 21 | Kream Restaurant, Pretoria



Left to right: Elizabeth Ramey, Program Associate, Africa Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (USA); Ms. Aminata Diop, Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning Lead, Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (Senegal)



Left to right: Mr. Nakomo Duche, Director of Research, Center for Policy Studies (Liberia); Rev. Eugène Goussikindey, Director, Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (Cote d'Ivoire)



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Talent Mobility: Catalyst for Economic Growth and Competitiveness

By Edward K. Brown, Richmond Commodore, and Benedicta Amenyo

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference.

Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa grapple with persistently widespread unemployment and vast untapped labor. At the same time, many domestic and foreign companies within the region lack access to the right people with the right skills within their national borders. This mismatch not only adversely impacts productivity; it also impedes economic growth and competitiveness. With the escalating global migration crisis and the rapid growth in youth populations across the continent, it has become critically important to harness the latent opportunities associated with labor mobility across borders within the sub-region.

The underlying economic rationale for talent mobility is that skilled labor will move to where it is most needed to balance global human capital markets, improve competitiveness, and stimulate economic growth while accelerating economic integration.¹ An efficient regional migration system is thus critical in this arrangement, as it strategically ensures that receiving countries address the shortage of highly skilled professionals while offering source countries the opportunity to reduce excess supply of skills and prevent unemployment among highly skilled professionals. As a result, progressive states are taking measures to enhance talent mobility in Africa through a program called the Intra-African Talent Mobility Partnership Program.

The Intra-African Talent Mobility Partnership Program

The Talent Mobility Partnership (TMP) is a voluntary undertaking between African countries spearheaded by Mauritius in Eastern and Southern Africa and Ghana in West Africa. The goal of the program is to accelerate economic integration, open borders, and promote common policies and laws in Africa by utilizing “Schengen” and related mechanisms. Within the context of existing regional agreements and regulatory frameworks, the program seeks to address constraints to intra-African labor mobility and skills development gaps that reduce Africa’s attractiveness as an investment destination and hampers economic growth and transformation.

Participating countries commit to establish a mechanism to address the skills mobility challenges in their respective countries through the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU). The MOU will address key areas such as regulatory barriers surrounding the granting of work and residence permits; the development of a robust Labour Market Information System (LMIS); and the establishment of a Mutual Recognition Agreement framework to provide a common standard for the evaluation of credentials for entry into a particular practice or profession.

The Southern Voices Network (SVN) is a continent-wide network of African policy and research organizations that works with the Africa Program to bring African analyses and perspectives to key issues in U.S.-Africa relations. Founded in 2011 with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the project provides avenues for African researchers to engage with, inform, and exchange perspectives with U.S. and international policymakers in order to develop the most appropriate, cohesive, and inclusive policy frameworks for the issues of peacebuilding and state-building in Africa.

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For more information please visit <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-southern-voices-network>

Over the medium term, the expected outcome is that the private sector in participating countries will be able to source the skilled labor required to boost their competitiveness and promote economic growth and transformation. While the program is designed to involve all interested African countries, the start-up implementation support focuses on 12 countries:

- a. Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, and Zambia, under the Accelerated Program of Economic Integration (APEI);
- b. Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda, and South Africa, under the sub-regional hub initiatives in Eastern and Southern Africa (ESA);
- c. and Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Sierra Leone, under the sub-regional initiative in West Africa (ECOWAS).

The three sub-regional groupings and countries within them are implementing the TMP program at their own pace, with the ultimate objective of ensuring free movement of talent across the continent. The program is funded by the World Bank and jointly overseen by the Regional Multidisciplinary Center of Excellence (RMCE) in Mauritius and the African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET), based in Ghana. ACET serves as the Program Secretariat for the West African sub-region, while RMCE is the grantee and Program Secretariat for the APEI and ESC sub-regions.

For the purposes of this program, “talent” is defined as “skilled labor;” thus the TMP is primarily focused on the mobility of skilled labor across borders. As there is no commonly agreed upon definition of skilled labor, the TMP focuses on the two key features of skilled labor: educational qualification and profession. Persons with tertiary education are considered skilled, as are professionals with a vocation or those with technical skills.

Drawing on ACET’s recent research work in selected West African countries—Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Benin—this paper: (a) provides a snapshot of talent mobility within the region, (b) briefly highlights the major socio-economic factors that enable and/or constrain the mobility of talent within the region, and (c) throws light on how the Intra-African Talent Mobility Program is making inroads to facilitate the mobility of highly skilled labor within the region.

Overview of Talent Mobility in West Africa

The revised ECOWAS Treaty of 1993 has a number of provisions to facilitate the movement of persons across member state borders. The Free Movement Protocols (1979) include Phase I - Right of Entry and Abolition of Visa, Phase II - Right of Residence, and Phase III - Right of Establishment. These protocols seek to “progressively” facilitate the movement of persons within the region. To date, ECOWAS members have made progress in implementing only Phase I of the protocol, the right of entry and abolition of visa, through a common ECOWAS passport and legal recognition of the right to residence. These achievements, while commendable, are not enough.

As part of TMP, ACET commissioned country assessments in 2014 to critically assess issues of labor market and labor migration in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Benin. The assessments revealed the following:

- **Labor migration in West Africa is predominantly an intra-regional affair.** The region has one of the highest mobility rates in the world, with 68% of Africa’s international migrants remaining in the ECOWAS

sub-region—the highest South-South migration level in the world. An estimated 90 percent of the region's 8.4 million migrants originate from other ECOWAS countries. Common historical and cultural ties in the region have often defied regulatory controls imposed by governments on intra-regional migration, as people move regardless of laws. Though this kind of movement remains undocumented, evidence shows that about two thirds of emigrants from Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Togo, and Niger go to other West African countries (Haas, 2008).

- **Destinations of highly skilled migrants are more likely to be outside the continent.** A high rate of graduate unemployment in the region has been a major push for outbound migration of the skilled from the region; the total emigration rates of the highly educated are striking. For the French-speaking countries in the sub-region, France is the number one destination. The stock of migrants from the countries of interest living in the OECD as a share of the domestic labor force represents a small fraction of the domestic labor force, with the highest value for Liberia in 2000 at 3.6 percent of the total Liberian labor force. In 2000, Ghana, Liberia, and Sierra Leone had 80 percent or more of their highly educated individuals living in OECD countries.²
- **Migrants from middle-income countries go outside the continent, while migrants from poorer countries stay in sub-region.** Sub-Saharan Africans comprise about 3.8 percent of the stock of migrants in OECD countries, but they comprise roughly 12.9 percent of highly skilled migrants in OECD countries. Almost half (42.6 percent) of the African migrants in these countries have tertiary education. ECOWAS countries have seen a high share of their elite emigrate. The well-known anecdote that more Beninois doctors work in France than in Benin is not necessarily an exaggeration; it is the empirical case for certain medical specialties.³
- **Regulatory constraints largely explain the pattern of migration to the OECD.** So far the assumption has been that the decision to settle in another country is entirely up to the individual concerned, but this is not entirely true. Mobility hinges on the preparedness of the destination country to admit the potential migrant, and the exact nature of the restrictions depend on the legal, institutional, and regulatory policies of the destination country. Fortunately for West Africa, the ECOWAS Protocols on free movement are explicit on the free movement of labor. However, in practice there are no supportive frameworks governing the mobility of highly skilled labor, and there are challenges with implementation at both regional and national levels. ACET's assessment found that the mobility of highly skilled labor is restricted by language barriers, variations in educational systems and qualifications, and issues of social security portability. Other important factors limiting migration include national protectionist tendencies; restrictive policies that undermine free movement; political instability and civil strife; bilateral disputes; the co-existence of ECOWAS with the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA); and poor statistical and information systems, which have led to poor planning and monitoring.

Implementation Approach for the Talent Mobility Partnership Program

ACET, as the Program Secretariat for the West African Sub-Region, provides analytical, technical, and coordination support to harmonize and ensure quality and coherence in the approach of program activities. ACET works closely with the ECOWAS Commission and focal ministries in each country.

To get a firm grasp of the existing practices, gaps, and opportunities in the implementation of regional

protocols on movement of professionals and businesspersons, TMP kicked-off in 2014 with the commissioning of comprehensive diagnostic studies in the four participating countries described earlier. The analysis included a review of skills development programs and recommendations on how to strengthen, facilitate, and accelerate implementation of the protocols in the respective countries.

In each participating country, a public sector ministry responsible for the implementation of the ECOWAS protocols champions and drives the implementation of the program. Thus, the TMP support is firmly embedded in the country's annual plans and work programs. However, these plans have been in existence over a decade and have received little traction due to poor coordination and little drive from leadership.

The TMP is therefore serving as a vehicle to drive and accelerate the implementation of the existing programs. Without creating new institutions, the TMP is providing a coordination platform through National Working Groups (NWGs). The NWGs consist of a coalition of representatives from institutions with direct policy and implementation mandates and serve as technical advisors to the program. Formed at the inception of the program in 2014, the Chair of the NWG is from the lead public sector agency or ministry in the country. The NWGs meet at least four times a year to conduct dialogue and facilitate the uptake of the program while strengthening country coordination and implementation of the TMP. In addition to the NWG, a core group, consisting of the TMP Chair, subject matter experts, and academics, together with a cadre of associate experts from ACET, meet regularly to provide strategic direction on work programs.

To ensure inter-country coordination and harmonization of country programs, ACET has established a Regional Working Group (RWG) for the participating countries in the region. Similar regional groups have been established for the other regional programs, the APEI and ESC initiatives. The RWGs are made up of the NWG Chairs and 2-3 members of the NWGs, representing each of the participating countries and subject matter experts from each of the countries. The RWGs serves as a network of reformers and technical experts for peer learning and support to the program. The activities and outputs of the National Working Groups at the country levels directly feed into the functioning of the Regional Working Group (RWG).

Progress in the Implementation of the West Africa TMP Program

Considerable progress has been made since the inception of the TMP in 2014. Following the four country labor market assessments, a number of national and regional high-level forums have been held. These events have assisted in identifying and contextualizing the institutional, legal, and regulatory gaps in labor market and immigration systems. As a result, two key policy documents have been developed (not yet publicly available) to inform talent mobility and labor market policy decisions in the ECOWAS region. The two documents are a draft memorandum of understanding and a harmonized sub-regional priority areas policy document, both aimed at influencing the direction and focus of TMP in subsequent years.

The main purpose of the MOU is to provide a common framework and coordination mechanism for program implementation. It responds to demands for simpler, speedier and expeditious delivery of work and residence permits for skills in specific sectors. The MOU, which is currently in a draft form, puts forward the following core policy and implementation strategies:

- **Adopt common standard procedures**, including flexible national labor and immigration policies and procedures in the granting of permits and licenses to facilitate employment of professionals and skilled personnel from ECOWAS member states.

- **Create a common framework to mutually recognize the substantive equivalence of accreditation systems, programs, and educational certificates across all participating countries.** The MOU makes provision for the Mutual Recognition Agreements (MRAs), which when agreed upon will recognize foreign professionals, addressing barriers of the discriminatory treatment of professionals and the denial of access to labor markets. Establishing a clearing-house system in each participating country will help to facilitate the equivalence of qualifications of various educational systems within the region.
- **Create a mechanism for the establishment of a regional Labor Market Information System (LMIS).** The LMIS is necessary for the provision of detailed information on labor demand and supply as well as on the skills matching. Under the MOU, participating countries will agree to harmonize and standardize their LMIS frameworks, agree on data-sharing mechanisms, and commit to and maintain an up-to-date LMIS. Participating countries will be assisted to establish their own national LMIS and harmonize their systems with each other. These will then feed into an ECOWAS-wide LMIS.

The priority area policy document, which was developed as part of the deliberations between participating countries, provides the modus operandi for the implementation of the MOU. The document focuses on a set of specific actions, measurable timelines, and monitoring indicators for implementing goals and objectives defined in the MOU. For the 2016 work program, the TMP's focus is on strengthening institutional capacity to support the adoption of a common framework and expedite the implementation of the policy priorities identified in the MOU.

Challenges

Some of the challenges faced in the rollout of the TMP include:

- **Unstable political climate:** An unstable political climate can potentially halt the progress of the program in a country. This was the experience in Benin during the 2015 parliamentary elections and in Côte d'Ivoire's 2015 presidential election.
- **Government commitment:** Where government is not committed to the objectives of the program, implementation becomes a challenge.

Lessons Learned

- **Political ownership and commitment is an indispensable requirement.** TMP adequately involves the national leadership from inception to implementation. Without a strong political buy-in, country level acceptance and adoption of the MOU cannot be achieved. The four participating countries have demonstrated varying commitments to the program, with Côte d'Ivoire showing a very strong commitment that is pulling the others along.
- **The importance of institutionalizing a network of reformers and technical experts for peer learning and support cannot be overemphasized.** This is critical to strengthening country coordination and enabling various ministries and agencies to cooperate on issues related to the mobility of professionals and businesspersons. Convening frequent and effective RWG and NWG workshops to validate and refine institutional and policy reforms and strengthen coordination is critical. Supporting the groups with evidence-based analysis of the issues heightens commitment and a drive for results.

- **The Principle of Variable Geometry should be adopted to allow those countries that are able to integrate faster than others to do so.** This is at the core of the TMP program and explains why only four countries are currently participating. Even among those four countries, each is progressing at a different pace of implementation, with Côte d'Ivoire ahead of the pack.

Conclusion and policy recommendations

The West Africa sub-region benefits from a number of initiatives set in motion by the ECOWAS and other development partners to improve talent mobility, yet it faces multiple barriers in implementation at the country level. The uncoordinated institutional arrangements on migration, absence of migration policies, reluctance to ratify ECOWAS free movement protocols, language barriers, variations in educational systems and qualifications, issues of social security portability, the co-existence of ECOWAS with the UEMOA and poor statistical and information systems—just to mention a few—pose significant barriers to the efficient movement of the *right talent* to the *right place* at the *right time* within the sub-region.

The Program reveals that destinations of highly skilled labor—especially doctors, engineers and technicians—are more likely to be outside the continent than within the continent, leading to massive drain of the limited talents within the sub-region and the continent at large. Further, migrants from middle-income countries tend to emigrate outside the continent, while migrants from poorer countries tend to stay in sub-region. Based on the progress on the program so far achieved, the paper offers the following four policy recommendations:

- **Formulate comprehensive migration policies:** There is the urgent need for the countries to formulate comprehensive migration policies that would facilitate the regulation of mobility of both skilled and unskilled labor while providing a coordinated system of monitoring immigrants and emigrants.
- **Establish National Labour Market Information Systems (LMIS):** To effectively guide policy formulation and effective management of labor migration, countries should actively pursue the creation of Labour Market Information System to provide reliable and adequate data on labor and employment of all citizens.
- **Strengthen institutional capacity to manage and coordinate migration issues:** Migration is a fragmented portfolio in most SSA countries, often falling under the responsibility of various government departments. Thus, many pertinent migration issues fall through the cracks or become the subject of rivalries between departments. Institutional reforms in the management of migration issues is urgently needed.
- **Strengthen diaspora programs:** To benefit from remittances, skills transfer and investment opportunities and related gains from emigrants, it is necessary to create and maintain links between migrants and their countries of origin, and to tap into their potential by encouraging them to contribute human and financial capital to the development of their home communities. Migrants could make best use of economic opportunities at home if both source and host countries and communities have programs to effectively coordinate and manage diaspora programs.

Edward K. Brown, Ph.D., is Director of Policy Advisory Service at the African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET), Richmond Commodore is Research Analyst at ACET, and Benedicta Amenyio is Monitoring and Evaluation Analyst at ACET, a member organization of the Southern Voices Network.

- 1 World Economic Forum prepared in collaboration with Mercer *Talent Mobility Good Practices: Collaboration at the Core of Driving Economic Growth*, 2012. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_PS_TalentMobility_Report_2012.pdf
- 2 Maurice Schiff and Mirja Channa Sjoblom, "World - Panel Data on International Migration 1975-2000," *World Bank* dataset, 2013. <http://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/catalog/390/overview>
- 3 Michael A Clemens and Gunilla Pettersson, "New data on African health professionals abroad," *Human Resources for Health*, vol. 6:1 (December 2008).

Women's Peacebuilding Efforts in South Sudan

By Helen Kezie-Nwoha

Presented at "Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa," the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference.

South Sudan attained independence in 2011, following attempts to implement the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which included a planned national referendum that resulted in the secession from Sudan. For the next two years the country made giant strides in its reconstruction efforts, including building the necessary strategic institutions to ensure the rule of law and the promotion of human rights. Despite this progression, South Sudan was plunged into a conflict towards the end of 2013, triggered by a clash between the top political leaders, President Salva Kiir and his deputy Riek Machar, which continues on-and-off today.

Women have paid a heavy price in the struggle for the liberation of South Sudan, and continue to work hard to secure a better future for the generations to come. Women's organizations in South Sudan were instrumental to the development and implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which ensured women's active participation in the first elections. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement provided the grounding for and affirmed the importance of articulating the interests of women in governance and leadership. In the current crisis women have remained active. However, very little is known of the efforts by women's organizations to ensure peace in South Sudan. This lack of knowledge is not unique to South Sudan, but is common in most conflict-ridden countries in Africa.

Women in Peacebuilding

Women meaningfully participate and play a central role in informal peace processes; however their involvement in formal peace processes remains limited. Within the fields of peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, evidence suggests a clear need to incorporate women and their concerns into peace processes for sustainable peace and post-conflict development to be achieved. The effect of the exclusion of women is continued gender inequality and low development indices for women and for the country at large.

The fact that women are affected differently from men by conflict has been extensively researched and documented across the globe.¹ Most of the impacts of conflict on women are a result of existing gender power relations, which points to the significance of the situation of women before the conflict. The position of women before the conflict exposes them to specific types of impacts that are unique to them.² This is true in the ongoing conflict in South Sudan, where more women than men are unprotected at a time when traditional forms of moral, community, and institutional safeguards have disintegrated, and weapons have proliferated, making them particularly vulnerable to violations and violence.

However, women not only experience the war differently from men; women have also been actors in wars,

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and have contributed to shaping both conflict situations and peace processes.³ Feminists recognize the contributions that women have made and their active roles in both violence and peacemaking.

Why Should Women Participate?

In spite of women's contributions to promoting peace, their roles tend to fade into the background when official peace negotiations begin, and the consolidation of peace and the rebuilding of the economy becomes a formal exercise.⁴

At the negotiating table, male warlords and leaders have generally divided up the spoils of war into new arrangements—that is, who gets which positions of power and the trappings of power that go along with them.⁵ Men negotiate at formal peace talks and come up with formal peace agreements, while women tend to be relegated to informal, invisible, and localized peacemaking strategies.

Over time, women's absence from the negotiation tables means that their issues have been marginalized in peace processes and therefore in agreements.⁶ This is mainly due to the structure of peace processes, where the ultimate goal is to end hostilities. Yet many peace researchers have recognized that issues of human rights, democracy, and gender equality must be addressed for peace processes to achieve a truly durable peace.⁷ The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security is the first UN resolution that provided a political framework to allow the participation of women in peacemaking and take into account gender considerations in armed conflicts, peace agreements, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction.⁸ Indeed, the resolution calls for greater participation and representation of women in all aspects of the prevention and resolution of armed conflict and in peacebuilding.

Likewise, scholarship has shown that civil society, including women's organizations, can make a difference in enhancing peace outcomes when included in peace talks. Civil society is often seen as bringing added legitimacy to the negotiation process. When civil society actors are included in peace agreements, the risk of the agreement failing is reduced by 64 percent, regardless of regime type.⁹ From Uganda to Liberia, women activists have pressed for a role for women representatives in peace talks, in constitution-making processes, and in the newly constituted political arrangements.¹⁰

The positive benefits of including civil society actors are clear, but at the most basic level, women's organizations have found it difficult to ensure women's representation in peace negotiations. Since 1992, women have represented only 9 percent of negotiating delegations and 4 percent of signatories.¹¹ Overall progress towards increasing women's formal roles has been slow even since 2000, despite passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. These exclusions are even more glaring when one considers that women's organizations have often been among the few actors seeking cooperation across political, ethnic, religious, and other differences that contributed to conflict. Despite that combatant and government forces are frequently the only ones deemed relevant to bring to the negotiating table.¹²

Women's Informal Peace Activism

Despite this exclusion, women have been active in informal peace processes in Sudan and elsewhere: Somali women in Mogadishu formed NGOs to organize peace education; the women of Somaliland organized demonstrations to stop hostilities between warring clans; and in the former Yugoslavia and Mozambique, women constantly protested against the war.¹³ In the Philippines, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Sudan, and Uganda women used health as an incentive for peace.¹⁴

Women's collective strategies have ranged from organizing rallies and boycotts to promoting small arms confiscation, organizing reconciliation ceremonies, and negotiating with rebels to release abducted children and child soldiers. Peace activists have played a role in preventing the resumption of conflict in various contexts by monitoring and advocating against the sale of small arms, carrying out conflict resolution workshops, and participating in campaigns for clean diamonds.¹⁵

Rather than seeing peace as a step that has to be achieved in order to carry out reconstruction, women activists in post-conflict countries often regard the process of reconstruction itself as the way to peace. Because of their involvement in more quotidian concerns, the working-out of problems of access to water, food distribution, garbage disposal, and town cleanliness was the process through which peace was built in a country like Liberia. The rebuilding of society became the means through which peace was built. This is a radically different notion of peacemaking, and departs fundamentally from the way peace negotiations are usually framed.¹⁶

Women also built coalitions across different divides that sought to bring an end to fighting in places from Burundi to Somalia to South Sudan. They did so by drawing on common concerns that united women, some of which were of a quotidian nature, but others of which took on a national dimension, like demands for political representation, legislation around gender-based violence, and the inclusion of women in peace talks.¹⁷

The Research

The literature on women's roles in informal peacemaking is very anecdotal and descriptive. There has been almost no analysis of a comparative and theoretical nature, and few in-depth accounts of how the post-1990s women's peace movements and initiatives engaged formal processes or were limited by them.¹⁸ In the past, Isis-WICCE has documented women's peace efforts in Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Burundi; these studies have profiled women's leadership and women's unique initiatives in peacebuilding, and have challenged the levels of participation in post-war rebuilding.

The situation in South Sudan has presented unique challenges, and a study of the country will add value to existing knowledge and strengthen advocacy efforts in promoting women's participation in peacebuilding. Moreover, a deeper understanding of how the lack of women's participation has hindered peace processes and their outcomes is desirable in order to make a case for women's inclusion in peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. The proposed study of South Sudan, which will be situated in a broader comparative context, will ask questions like: How important are these grassroots movements relative to other factors in bringing about an end to conflict and preventing a resumption of conflict? Which strategies worked best under which conditions? And how are these strategies used to influence women's formal participation in peace negotiations?

In South Sudan there have been efforts by women to engage in peacebuilding initiatives, however, these processes are gendered. In addition, most recent conflicts in Africa are linked to the activities of terrorist groups or to election violence and struggles for power. This calls for different approaches to peacebuilding than those that have been used in the past.¹⁹ Thus the research on South Sudan will look into the consequences of the gendered nature of peacebuilding, examining the following questions:

1. How have women been engaged in unrecognized forms of peacebuilding informally in Africa, and what are the contributions and limitations of these forms of peacebuilding?

2. In what ways has the lack of incorporation of women into formal peace processes and post-conflict governance arrangements hindered peace?

Conclusion

There is plenty of evidence on the importance of women's participation in peacebuilding; however, most case studies have not helped to make a case for women's effective participation in peacebuilding because they have not been written about or articulated in writing spaces with a wide circulation. The outcome of this proposed research will inform recommendations to policymakers and global leaders on how best to position and support women's peacebuilding efforts, through holding governments accountable and supporting initiatives that strengthen women's leadership in peacebuilding.

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Security, Regional Integration, and Development in Africa

By Eugène Goussikindey

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference.

Efforts for peace across Africa have seen a shift in emphasis from attempts at conflict resolution to a focus on tackling the issue of security. There is a growing recognition that security is closely connected to development and collaboration beyond individual nations’ borders.

Recent attacks in Mali¹ and Burkina Faso² and the ongoing attacks by Boko Haram in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger are clear indications that security should become a central concern in West Africa and beyond.³ A sense of urgency about the need for action is growing, as groups related to, or claiming to be related to, the Islamic State in Libya are heading south of Sahara to avoid a possible military intervention by the West to root them out. There is a strong suspicion that dormant cells exist in countries like Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea-Conakry, Senegal, Benin, and Togo. Greater security collaboration is seen as more and more necessary. Unfortunately, the present militarized approach to “security,” which prioritizes terrorism, counterterrorism, and extreme violence, is creating blind spots on other areas of collaboration necessary for peace and development.

Indeed, when we look carefully at the crisis in Mali, which started in the north as a struggle for an independent state called “Azawad,” we see there was a real problem of uneven development between the different regions of Mali and a sense of injustice experienced by a portion of the Malian population. What was an internal question of governance and justice has degenerated into an armed conflict thanks to neighboring states’ competing agendas,⁴ and cross border opportunism.⁵ With the infiltration of the so-called “jihadist” groups with their own distinctive agenda, a situation created by the legitimate problem of uneven development in Mali has evolved into a springboard for suicide bombers far beyond the borders of the country. What happened in Mali bears similarities to the rise of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria and the conflict in the Central African Republic.⁶ Uneven development and the apparent neglect of some regions of a nation can become a source of recrimination. Situations interpreted as unjust can become fertile breeding ground for radical views and extreme violence.⁷

Solving Security Issues: A New Vision

So, the question of security calls for a new vision of development, one in line with regional integration. Individual countries cannot alone address the challenges of development due to their size, their population, and/or their resources. This has to be acknowledged both by the states and by the people of a particular region. Politicians often focus excessively on national identity; while this can be at times legitimate, it should be tempered and put in a wider perspective. No state loses sovereignty when regional integration policies are well-crafted. To that end, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is on the right track with

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its strategic vision to “transform the region from an “ECOWAS of States” into an “ECOWAS of the Peoples;” the tensions between sovereignty and supranationality, and regime security and human security... progressively resolved in favor of supranationality and human security respectively. Consequently, civil society shall play an increasingly critical role alongside member states in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.”⁸ Issues that need to be addressed and would be best served by effective regionally-oriented policies include:

- Basic infrastructure: regional solutions for issues of electricity, roads and transportation, and water.
- The labor market: policies for migration seen from the angle of workers’ mobility, work permits, residency, money transfer, etc.⁹
- Education: a focus on human resources and capacity-building, including both the quality of basic and higher education, and the management of human capital.
- Corporate social responsibility across borders: a regional framework for social and environmental impact through various agreements with companies and business partners, etc.
- Legal environment: a strengthened national legal framework, setting up a regional legal framework as an instrument to promote good governance with an intergovernmental mechanism for control, sharing information and technical competences, fighting graft and corruption.
- Customs and borders control: a joint bilateral and multilateral framework for reporting, with an accurate and secure database accessible by parties.¹⁰

This is by no means an exhaustive list of areas for greater collaboration. Reforms like these are critical if a strategy for security is to be enhanced beyond a “military vision” of the challenges to peace and development. Our contention remains that security is and should be considered one of the most urgent challenges that the continent, particularly West Africa, faces. But concerns about security may have to evolve, as the early concerns about human rights and, more recently, the concern about corruption did. Those expanded from an early rhetoric of responsibility on the part of state parties to a broader strategy that engaged non-state actors like civil society and academic institutions. A new vision for security policy must do the same.

The fight against corruption offers the most vivid insight into what can be done on security matters. The very first manifestation of corruption is local, often involves the public sector as well as the private sector, and affects a wide range of population. In many countries, it was perceived as a real threat to development, and it became obvious that tackling corruption required concerted efforts. So, efforts moved to the United Nations and matured into an anti-corruption convention that standardized laws against the practice and set up a review mechanism to monitor its implementation. What has been criminalized is “a series of specific offenses” from bribery of officials to the laundering of the proceeds of crime to the obstruction of justice. In addition to the approach of criminalization, many guides were set up as tools to make the fight effective: legislative guides, technical guides, and ethics and compliance programs. New institutions were created to complement the Convention, such as the “Stolen Asset Recovery” (StAR) initiative, which tracks illicit enrichment and the laundering and concealment of proceeds of crime, and the International Anti-Corruption Academy (IACA), which offers programs to train experts in fighting corruption.

Recasting Military Responses

The present security challenges could shift in such a direction to avoid reducing our thinking of security to terror, terrorism, counterterrorism, and extreme violence. A new vision for security should be inclusive and integrate low levels of violence and the new “extremism” (religious, political, racial). No doubt, it will be important to work out proper tactical responses in terms of intelligence gathering and analysis, as well as rapid, strategic, and efficient operational action. Having the police and military ready for action at any time is certainly critical to facing the kind of threats that countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and Nigeria have seen. Joint training will be necessary for setting up a special regional force to prevent and deal with terror threats. For this to succeed, three points need to be seriously considered:

- Both the army and police forces should become truly professional entities with excellent training. Recruitment needs to be conducted with clear criteria for appropriate selection.
- The army should not be politicized, and certainly not politically affiliated with a party.
- The collaboration between the army, police, and citizens should be improved.

New Legal Frameworks

For an in-depth appreciation of the complexity of the challenge, ground work need to be done in crafting robust new laws on security. Indeed, strengthening judicial capacity will offer a strong basic framework, and will help to avoid new injustices being committed in the name of security. Just as the army and police can use indiscriminate or disproportionate force that abuses human rights, so too, in the name of self-defense, the population can take responsibility for its own security and end up using extra-judicial methods and abusing fundamental rights. This is one more reason to reform the justice system in order to improve integrity and fairness. Prosecution should include the perpetrators as well as their instigators, their associates, their accomplices, and their sponsors. Further, freezing assets can be envisioned as a serious deterrent.

Guidelines for Peaceful Coexistence

These reforms would foster a judicial approach to security, which is a crucial complement to the military approach. Both need to be supplemented by the development of an ethic against the unnecessary use of violence. Guidelines to help identify situations leading to insecurity could be established and tools to deal with such situations could be designed. Thus, education has a crucial role to play in efforts toward a shared vision and a peaceful coexistence. A strategy for security cannot consist only of the extreme manifestation of violence; rather a more multi-faceted approach is necessary.

An unstable democratic culture is a major source of violence in most West African nations. The multiparty political environment leaves political actors unfortunately too dependent on ethnic or regional affiliation and does not promote an inclusive redistribution of national resources. In this context, partisan politics often lead to political crisis, which in turn tends to nourish ethnic or regional animosity. The dividing line is not often political ideologies, but the fact that “power” is simply correlated with access to wealth and favor. In practice, the members of the particular ethnic or regional group that is in power will stand in solidarity to maintain a firm grip on that power, which yields easy access to grants, jobs, public procurements, and other opportunities. As public interest is not the first concern, those in power and others from their ethnic or regional background seldom comply with the justice system. Constitutions can be altered for the sake

of safeguarding their privileged position. The violence that results from political manipulation should be treated with the same rigor as violence stemming from terrorism.

The Critical Role of Civil Society and Higher Education

This brings us to consider two institutions which should be part and parcel of this approach to security: civil society and higher education. A well-organized civil society, free from a partisan political agenda, can bring a distinct contribution to the challenges of security by its engagement at grassroots and international level. It can widen the scope of security from the present exclusive perception of the military and government-centered perspective. Non-governmental organizations are able to highlight the many other aspects of security that are beyond the bounds of the intelligence services and military operations. They are capable of researching and reporting on the many sources of violence, and on individuals, organizations, or corporations who are responsible for violence or who profit from it. Civil society organizations must be included if a comprehensive solution to the challenge of security is to be envisioned. One positive result of their inclusion would be a revision of the overemphasis on secrecy, as secrecy seems to be naturally embedded in the military and intelligence services. Removing the veil of secrecy and creating greater transparency will not harm security. Civil society in Africa needs to be empowered and prepared to play such a constructive role. Issues of confidentiality in relation to security can be addressed through appropriate laws and mechanisms regulating the communication of sensitive information.

Higher education must also play an important role by providing state and non-state actors with the kind of critical and rigorous analysis teaching and research institutions engage in. It is the capacity for in-depth study that will make clear the complex reality of security, unveil the root causes of insecurity, and offer tools to tackle it. Matters related to security cannot be the exclusive domain of study of the state's military and intelligence services. In this regard, study of not only the phenomenon of religious radicalization and fanaticism, but also of the political, social, and economic contexts (both nationally and internationally) that breed revolts against state institutions is crucial. The correlation between violence and inequality, violence and injustice, and violence and unemployment needs to be adequately studied. The flow of arms, drugs, and financial assets should also be thoroughly investigated. Pre-emptive strikes, overwhelming military power, and extended information gathering cannot be the sole recipe to ensure sustainable security. Today, very few universities in (West) Africa have a full program on security studies. Often, a course is given as part of peace studies or conflict resolution programs. Most of the institutes fully oriented toward security matters are think tanks. At CERAP, we think that it is time to remove the cloud of mystery that surrounds security and make it a subject of full academic study. The ultimate reason for this is that the threat of insecurity is real anytime and everywhere: market places, schools, bus stations, mosques and churches, hotels, high-density gatherings, villages and towns, military barracks and police stations, restaurants, etc.

It is simply impossible for a state to protect all these places across a nation. Even with the best trained special forces, assuring security at this scale will require considerable recruitment for the police, the military, and the intelligence service. Just imagining the scale of resources (human and financial) to be diverted toward security compels us to rethink the overall approach to security. For a comprehensive understanding and efficient actions, collaboration should be extended to many stakeholders—state and non-state actors alike.

Post-scriptum

As I was completing further revision of this article, there was a jihadist attack at the beach resort town of

Grand Bassam, just 40 kilometers (25 miles) from Abidjan, the capital city of Côte d'Ivoire. Eighteen civilians were killed and three members of the security forces. The attack was claimed by al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. This is a wakeup call, to urgently shift toward the new vision of security, where greater emphasis is given to human security and supranational security. Accordingly, a conference should be convened with selected participants made of state security experts; scholars that engage in research on security, peace, and development; representatives of civil society; and some local (traditional) authorities. The outcome will be a new agenda and strategy for sustainable security.

Policy Options and Recommendations

1. For International and West African Policymakers in the Security Sector

a. Promote a broader approach to security: The present, militarized approach to security, which prioritizes terrorism, counterterrorism, and extreme violence, is creating unfortunate blind spots toward the other areas of collaboration necessary for peace and development. An effective approach to security cannot be reduced to military threats, but should include access to basic needs and infrastructure and any other threat to human security. These threats can lead to instability and violence: In the case of Mali, uneven socioeconomic development between southern and northern regions of the country fueled real or perceived grievances of injustice, which finally led to war and to the emergence of Islamic radicalization and jihadist groups.

b. Initiatives and policies aiming at improving security could be improved with lessons learned from the fight to prevent corruption: Indeed, the fight against corruption offers the most vivid insight into what can be done on security matters. Like terrorism and other security threats, corruption is also very complex; it involves the local, regional, and global levels, and it affects several sectors. The fight against corruption requires, therefore, complex cooperation at several levels as well as reforms in numerous domains. At the domestic and international levels, diverse actors, including states and non-state actors, have been involved in drafting legal instruments and guidelines as well as in implementing strategies to reduce the risks of corruption. Such a complex and coordinated approach could inspire ways of mitigating security threats as well. The commitment and the involvement of several actors at the local, regional, and global levels are necessary to ensure an effective approach to security issues like terrorism and extremist violence.

c. Create a regional task force for intelligence gathering and sharing: As security challenges move from issues state security to issues of human security across borders, national intelligence services will remain inefficient without extensive collaboration with other national intelligence services. As a consequence, there should be a regional-level protocol for sharing intelligence information. There can be a joint program for gathering data and sharing it in ways that are commonly accessible, yet secure from hackers and sympathizers to criminals and terrorists. A task force should be established to gather and share this intelligence.

d. Improve the training of border patrol agents in West African countries: Considering the very porous borders between West African countries, special training should be giving to officers that man those borders. Different levels of alerts and screenings can be set; when a threat is underway or imminent, all the borders in a particular region can immediately be informed, and extra precautions can then be taken to control the movement of people. Currently, border patrol agents and custom officers

of West African countries are not well prepared in terms of training, logistics, and equipment to manage such security tasks. Similarly, issues of collusion of interests between agents and some criminals must be addressed in a training program.

2. For development assistance providers and policy makers

a. Promote inclusive socioeconomic development: Social and economic inequality are among the major sources of discontent that breed extreme violence. Although most countries in West Africa have experienced sustained growth, it has not translate into shared prosperity. Public authorities should seriously consider the urgency of proper fiscal policy and social nets that guarantee that the “bottom of the pyramid” is not left behind. For an inclusive development policy, no significant minority or region should be left behind in planning major infrastructure: access to water, electricity, schools, hospitals, and roads. In planning the national budget for that infrastructure, accessibility and affordability are important criteria to keep in mind. A dedicated office can be set in the appropriate ministry for that purpose and collaboration with civil society should be encouraged.

3. For leaders of civil society and higher education institutions

a. Encourage and empower West African civil society and high education institutions to take a larger stake in security matters: Security issues can no longer be left only to the military and government intelligence services. Civil society organizations and higher education institutions should actively participate and bring their complementary but distinct contributions to responses to security threats. Civil society organizations commitments at the grassroots level and rigorous and independent research from higher education institutions could effectively contribute to explaining, preventing, or reporting on security threats, especially non-military threats. In developed countries such as the United States, higher education and civil society organizations already play a key role in security matters. There is an urgent need to empower (West) African civil society and higher education institutions to take a larger stake in security matters.

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- 1 On February 12, 2016, six UN peacekeepers were killed. Twenty-seven hostages from fourteen nationalities were killed in the Radisson Blu hotel's attack in Bamako.
 - 2 The January 15-16, 2016 attack in Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso, ended with 29 dead. It was claimed by al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).
 - 3 The new government in Burkina Faso was elected on the basis of a development program focused on reducing inequalities. After the January terrorist attacks, however, security became its top priority.
 - 4 Alexis Arieff, “Algeria and the crisis in Mali,” *Institut Français des Relations Internationales* (Paris), <https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/actuellesariefffinal.pdf>; the presidency, the foreign ministry, the interior ministry, the military command, and the intelligence services seem to carry distinctive agendas.

See also, Tiga Cheick Sawadogo, “Audience à Kosyam: le président du MNLA ‘renoue’ les liens avec le Burkina Faso,” *Le Faso.net*,

- March 4, 2016, <http://lefaso.net/spip.php?article69941>.
- 5 Terence McCoy, "This is how Boko Haram funds its evil," *The Washington Post*, June 6, 2014. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/06/06/this-is-how-boko-haram-funds-its-evil/>
 - 6 Andrew Pichette, "The Rise of Boko Haram: An Analysis of Failed Governance," *Outstanding Gateway Papers*, Paper 9 (2015). <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/gateway/9>.
 - 7 Behind the decade-long conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, there are struggles for control of political power, the neglect of a state of law, a sprawling web of corruption, and the embezzlement of public funds by a minority. See Phillippe Duval, *Côte d'Ivoire. Chroniques de guerre 2002-2012* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), 253-5.
 - 8 ECOWAS, "Regulation: ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework," MSC/REG.1/01/08, §4.
 - 9 Of the 21 million migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, 14 million, i.e. 75 percent, are settled in another Sub-Saharan country. See: "migrations subsahariennes: les idées reçues à l'épreuve des chiffres", *Question de Développement*, n° 29, Novembre 2015.
 - 10 The numbers are significant in and of themselves. Mali, with 1,240,192 square kilometers, has seven borders to control: with Algeria (1,376 km), Burkina Faso (1,000 km), Côte d'Ivoire (532 km), Guinea (858 km), Mauritania (2,237 km), Niger (821 km), and Senegal (419 km). Côte d'Ivoire, much smaller in size at 355,462 square kilometers, has six borders to control: a coastline (527 km), Burkina Faso (584 km), Ghana (668 km), Guinea (610 km), Liberia (716 km), and Mali (532 km).

Nurturing Youth Capacity for Leadership Knowledge and Skills for Agenda 2063

By Sylvester Maphosa

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference

There is increasing evidence-based (scientific) knowledge that a network of supportive, dependable relationships and focused resources can create a society in which young people arrive at adulthood with the skills, interests, assets, and health habits needed to live healthy, happy, and productive lives in caring relationships with others. These productive and healthy young people are crucial to Africa’s future. As Mahatma Gandhi averred, “... If we are to teach real peace in this world, and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with the children.”² In the same corollary, the Chairperson of the AU Commission, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, stressed that “well educated ... [African youth] ... in the next fifty years will be the biggest asset that Africa will have.”³

Indeed, the fundamental role of education in building peaceful relationships has long been recognized.⁴ Education as peacebuilding “...has been closely connected with development of civilizations and ... always been viewed as a way of bringing better life into existence; ... [t]he evolution of the society depends upon it. This is as true today as it has ever been ...” especially for Africa’s human security challenges.⁵ Thus, Dlamini-Zuma called on all Africans, including the diaspora, to galvanize efforts and contribute to the African Union’s Agenda 2063 to turn the region into an “integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena.”⁶ Dlamini-Zuma recognized that as the continent begins the journey of the next fifty years, “the need to promote ... [capacity development and youth leadership] ... education, health, skills and creativity, economic, social and cultural development [will be] indispensable to prevent future violence and human rights abuse.”⁷ Yet not all forms of education will necessarily play a peacebuilding function.

Africa is home to 54 recognized sovereign states and countries, 9 territories, and 3 de facto independent states with very little international recognition. The future well-being of the continent depends on raising a generation of skilled, competent, and responsible adults. In 2013, the continent’s population was estimated at 1.033 billion people; 50 percent being 19 years old or younger. In the next 50 years, success towards achieving the Agenda 2063 and United Nation’s Agenda 2030 goal of eliminating sociopolitical inequalities will not emerge in a vacuum, but through nurtured youth leadership and relationships of dynamic and multifaceted identities.⁸ With over half of the population under the age of 19, youth on the continent have the largest stake in the future of their countries, as they will be around to see 2063 and beyond. This process cannot be achieved only by enacting new laws and policies. To a great extent, positive social change will be obtained through radical, transformative education about the social conditions which feed structural and cultural inequalities—an education that is focused on fostering responsible citizenship for the common good.

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Capacity Development

According to Karbo, the idea of “capacity” represents the overall ability of an individual, organization, or broader system to perform, bringing together individual competencies and collective capabilities.⁹ Capability is the collective skill or ability of a group of individuals to perform a task or function, and competency is the ability of an individual to perform.¹⁰ From this understanding, the enterprise of nurturing collective capabilities for Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030 should deal with levels ranging from the *micro* (individual) to *meso* (institutional) to *macro* (societal) to encourage opportunities for people and institutions to push for an integrated, prosperous, peaceful, and secure Africa. Indeed, every society has inherent capacities that are compatible with its own functions and objectives.¹¹

Accordingly, the Tripoli Declaration on the Elimination of Conflicts and Promotion of Sustainable Peace in Africa of August 2009 underscored the importance of capacity development for sustainable peacebuilding. Article 19 of the Declaration avows that:

Making and sustaining peace and security is also an intellectual challenge. We therefore undertake to build the capacity of our universities and research institutes to explore the nature of African conflicts, to investigate what succeeds and what fails in conflict resolution efforts, and to arrive at African-centred solutions, drawing from our own distinctive and unique experience.¹²

Capacity development is therefore not a set of peacebuilding prescriptions and/or structures, but a basket of approaches and skills enhancements through which the vision of peace and development in Agenda 2063 can be actualized. Deborah Eade avows that:

The complexity of facilitating capacity development raises a series of questions on why and how to do it. Case study research has shown that factors shaping and developing capacity can include political, cultural economic, social and historical influences; the dynamics of the organisational and institutional system in which an intervention is being made; the strategy underlying the intervention, including the entry point, scale of resources and change process; and the nature of the demand and supply for capacity. Supporting and undertaking capacity development requires therefore a broader systems perspective. It asks for interventions that go beyond a more narrow strategy focusing essentially on knowledge transfer and skills development.¹³

Further, Karbo maintains that capacity development does not only deal with issues of knowledge transfer and skills development.¹⁴ That position is affirmed by Hauck and Gaspers:

Capacity building, or capacity development, is more than knowledge transfer and skills development. Factors that shape and develop capacity can include: political, cultural, economic, social and historical influences; the dynamics of the organisational and institutional system in which interventions take place; underlying strategies of the interventions and the nature of the demand and supply for capacity.¹⁵

Theory of Change

The intensification of youth leadership capacity is an essential enterprise if peace and development are to take root in Africa and if we are to achieve the aims of Agenda 2063. Thus encouraging peace education and training can prepare youth to transform conflicts now and in the future, with significant potential to spur positive social change.

Leadership Need for Capacity Building

The idea that leadership is the action of one person performing heroic acts in meeting challenges has been giving way to a more contemporary view of leadership. Since the 1970s, an ever-increasing number of leadership educators have embraced the literature that argues that leadership is the product of teams of individuals, including senior leadership teams, working toward a positive change in response to challenges or in the service of emerging visions.

Leadership educators also acknowledge that the need for leadership development is a growing concern. As with Agenda 2063's vision, the need for leadership in the next 50 years of the 21st century will expand as new continental, global, and international challenges emerge. Thus, as retired Harvard professor John P. Kotter has intoned:

The notion of leadership has huge elitist connotations, but we need a populist connotation. My vision is to create 100 million new leaders. That's not 100 million CEOs [chief executive officers], nor is it something that can be achieved next year. But it is a question of enabling many, many more people to provide leadership in their jobs—no matter what their jobs are.¹⁶

Professor Kotter's words speak directly to the call that Agenda 2063 has issued. Over the next 50 years, the need for leaders in all sectors of work, community, government, recreation, and leisure across the African continent looms large. As a peace and security capacity-building area, it is apparent that the "fierce urgency of now," to quote American peace activist and civil rights leader Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is upon the African continent and has been appropriately articulated in Agenda 2063.¹⁷ However, given the often elusive nature of peacebuilding and the amount of time that it takes to achieve durable peace, it is critical to heed that "fierce urgency of now" to build the capacity of African youths for peacebuilding advocacy and practices. Only within the last 10 years has the leadership education research and literature begun to understand how to develop leadership identity within the youth population.

Leadership Identity

At present, leadership studies show that the development of a leadership identity is a complex psychosocial phenomenon. As an outgrowth of human identity formation, which is often defined as the continuous growth of the self, leadership identity development occurs over the entire life span, beginning in early childhood. It encompasses processes and practices that nurture transformational leaders who can exert "new ways of leading, relating, learning, and influencing change."¹⁸ According to Rost, many of these "new ways of leading" involve elements of principle-centered leadership, including collaboration, ethical action, moral purposes, and leadership that can transform followers into leaders themselves.¹⁹ If we are to move toward achieving Agenda 2063, collaboration among individuals, groups, and communities is vital for social change to occur. This context of interaction is what Komives, Owen, Longerbeam, Mainella, and Osteen define as a relational process of people together attempting to accomplish change or make a difference to benefit the common good; and such a relational leadership model include elements of inclusiveness, empowerment, ethics, purposefulness, and process orientation.²⁰

Designing for Agenda 2063

In order to design leadership identity development programs that will effectively prepare African youth to meet the ideals of Agenda 2063, thoughtful consideration should be given to crime and violence prevention

research and its relationship to implementation science. Kingston has written:

A synthesis of the implementation literature shows that positive outcomes for children and young people are obtained when effective programs are implemented using effective implementation strategies within an enabling context as illustrated in the equation below.²¹

$$\text{Effective Programs} \times \text{Effective Implementation} \times \text{Enabling Context} \\ = \text{Positive Outcomes}$$

This equation is called “the formula for success.” It is important to note that it is a multiplication equation, and if any part of it equals zero, positive outcomes are less likely to be achieved.

In essence, to truly prepare African youth, think tanks, academics, governments, and funders should invest in evidence-based programs that are demonstrably *effective*, and then use the best information for *implementation* supported by an *enabling context*. As Kingston further asserts,

An ideal enabling context includes active alignment of policies and coordination of efforts in support of the use of effective programs and implementation strategies across all . . . environments.²²

Conclusion

This framework discussion can serve as an orientation to design interventions to accomplish Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030. It is the central thesis of this discussion that building capabilities for durable human security across the region and the world for the next 50 years should focus strongly on responsible leadership awareness and identity. Such capacity intensification must connect to the categories of developmental influences of developing self, group influences, and the youth’s changing view of self with others, including the youth’s broadening view of leadership:

1. To reject vengeance and violence;
2. To encourage social justice; and,
3. To encourage inter-dependence.

Of course, there is no one-size-fits-all approach for the continent. Thus the enterprise must be adapted to the specific contexts in which interventions take place, including the level of instability of the region. Further, as Karbo and Hauck and Gaspers aver, interventions need to take account of the social, economic, political, and cultural contexts, as well as the structures and strengths of intermediate institutions, the private sector, and other networks.²³

Policy Suggestions

1. Mainstream youth in development and peace building interventions;
2. Foster education that nurture ethical leaders to inspire and encourage change values for the common good; and,

3. Promote, endorse and mount a healthy and peaceful campaign for purposes of achieving irreversible, fundamental, and significant changes for systemic peace development, beginning with early birth initiatives, formal and informal schooling curricula, and community action groups.

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Youth as Drivers of Rural Economic Development in Africa

By Dorothy Njagi and Nicholas Ozor

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference

Africa has emerged as the continent with the youngest population in the world, with 65 percent of the population below 35 years and more than 35 percent between the ages of 15 and 35, according to the African Union.¹ Parallel to that boom in young people, youth unemployment has rapidly risen as about 10 million youth enter the labor market annually, a situation that has many governments urgently attempting to provide opportunities for this wave of young people.² Poverty and unemployment among youth can exacerbate existing social ills like crime, drug abuse, and sexual exploitation.

The urgent need to increase youth opportunities in Africa has been debated for a long time, but rigorous steps need to be taken to resolve the issue now, before the effects become more costly to deal with. Africa’s paradox is that a continent that boasts abundant resources and fast growing economies also has the highest youth unemployment rate and largest number of unemployed youth in both proportional and absolute terms respectively. As agriculture is their main source of survival, the modification of institutional structures and agriculture policies to improve rural economies through meaningful youth engagement has the potential to position youth as the drivers of rural economic development.

Policymakers need to identify the key elements to engage and develop youth potential, with more focus on rural youth, who are frequently left out when opportunities arise. Extreme poverty is common in rural areas, as policymakers neglect rural dwellers that have no platform to voice their dissatisfaction. The majority of them depend on agriculture for food and livelihood. Urban youth, by comparison, are more advantaged as African cities are speedily expanding, exposing them to advantages including opportunities aligned to technological advances, higher-quality education, and improved access to health facilities, among others.

Farmers in Africa are an average age of 50 years, and young people perceive farming as old-fashioned with limited opportunities for growth. This situation has seen many youth in rural areas migrate to urban areas to seek white-collar jobs. In light of all these indicators, the most workable solution is to invest in agribusiness for youth to ensure economic growth and development. Agriculture is the most favorable transformational activity in these areas, as it promises both food and economic livelihood. The African Union’s 2004 Ouagadougou Plan of Action clearly emphasizes the key priority areas where the agricultural sector is the continent’s hope for rural development, environmental sustainability, enhanced food security, and infrastructural development.³

Who Is a Youth?

The term youth has been greatly misunderstood, which could be one reason why governments and

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international organizations have been unable to target the right audience with their programs. The United Nations Economic and Social Council defines youth as those individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 years.⁴ Yet Sommers⁵ looked at definitions of youth across the continent and found significant variation: for example, Sierra Leone has a National Youth Policy targeting youth between the ages of 15 to 35 years,⁶ while the 2006 National Youth Policy⁷ of Kenya defines youth as persons between the ages of 15 to 30. This youth definition matters because it hampers government's attempts to target the right audience when addressing youth issues.

Youth as Drivers of Rural Economic Development

At his Nobel Prize lecture, Theodore W. Schultz said, "Most of the people in the world are poor, so if we knew the economics of being poor we would know much of the economics that really matters. Most of the world's poor people earn their living from agriculture, so if we knew the economics of agriculture we would know much of the economics of being poor."⁸

Agriculture is the top economic development activity in Africa, and a huge percentage of the population benefits directly and indirectly from agriculture. 70 percent of Africans make a living from agriculture, but agriculture only accounts for 33 percent of the continent's gross domestic product (GDP). The 2013 fact sheet "The World Bank and Agriculture in Africa" outlines five major areas that need to be developed to attain sustained agricultural growth.⁹ Youth have particular role to play in these areas to sustain agricultural growth and development. They include:

1. Assisting the improvement of agricultural markets and trade
2. Enhancing agricultural productivity
3. Advancing agricultural support infrastructure
4. Decreasing rural vulnerability and insecurity
5. Improving agricultural policy and institutions

By striking a balance between all these approaches, coupled with government support and commitment, progress in agriculture productivity can be achieved, realizing Africa's huge agriculture potential and ultimately achieving sustainable development. Borrowing from the African proverb that "once the problem of food is addressed in the life of a poor fellow, the poverty level has been substantially solved," it is clear that agriculture is the solution to ending poverty, and therefore promoting rural economic development is the key to agriculture.¹⁰

Support Systems for Youth Development

Programs such as the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), which is part of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), are committed to improving and promoting agriculture on the continent.¹¹ CAADP has reduced barriers between institutions and stakeholders and promoted international coordination with African policies over the last 10 years. One pillar that cannot be overlooked in working toward this vision is cultivating entrepreneurship for the advancement of agribusiness. This can be best driven by youth, who are energetic and full of new ideas to drive significant sustainable development in Africa.

Recently, organizations that focus on agriculture have pioneered Information and Communications Technology (ICT) for Agriculture projects (ICT4Ag). These projects are mainly ICT-driven, which can attract youth participation in agriculture. ICT innovations in agriculture potentially allow youth to bypass taking monotonous agricultural classes or having to wait for extension advisers to share solutions to common agricultural challenges, delays which have led to the neglect of farming and rural economies. Through ICT, individuals can get useful agricultural information about land management practices, access to credit, available markets, weather patterns, e-learning platforms, and even policy development. These approaches integrate a number of solutions, make them available through smartphones and the web, and create a platform for connecting with others who have a similar objective.

Some countries have taken strides in coming up with modern ways of advancing agriculture and engaging youth. The example of Kenya is instructive. In recent years, unpredictable weather patterns have adversely affected Kenya, often causing severe losses for farmers. In 2012, the tea crop, a major export commodity, was severely affected by frost and the delay in long rains, which ultimately affected the economy and contributed to inflation.¹² The key policy concerns in Kenya include: (1) the decline of agricultural performance, (2) reduced agricultural land that has a potential over dependence on rain-fed agriculture, (3) limited diversification of agricultural production, (4) poor rural infrastructure, and (5) insufficient agricultural research, among others. Yet Kenya is fertile ground for ICT-based agricultural innovation to address these policy challenges, as 32.8 million Kenyans, or 80.5 percent of the population, have mobile phones, with 67 percent smartphone penetration. In addition, Internet usage is also high in Kenya compared to other East African countries and African countries in general. Kenya boasts over 17.3 million Internet users, which is a good indicator of how easily ICT4Ag can be utilized to promote agricultural productivity.

As a result, in 2013 the Kenya Ministry of Agriculture Livestock and Fisheries launched the e-Extension Programme, which connects agricultural extension officers with farmers through mobile phones and laptops or tablets, freeing the extension worker from having to travel to physically meet with farmers to give advice and enabling them to assist much larger populations.¹³

In another innovation, the African Technology Policy Studies Network (ATPS) and its partners recently developed a mobile application called LandInfo that makes soil and site characterization fast and easy. It allows farmers to benefit from site-specific interpretations about their land potential generated by the app, information which, will immensely assist in land management decisions. LandInfo is addressing the soil and climate information gap, which has limited appropriate decision-making on land use and agricultural interventions. An app like LandInfo is an example of the ways in which ICT can aid agricultural development and involve youth in forward-looking technology-based efforts.

Similarly, Rwanda has been at the forefront of implementing ICT innovations to empower and engage youth. Through the Ministry of Youth and ICT, it has helped to reduce poverty by coordinating policies and programs related to youth empowerment and ICT.¹⁴ Rwanda has achieved this through three uninterrupted national information and communication infrastructure (NICI) plans, which included establishing a conducive legal and regulatory framework; infrastructure, which includes setting over 7,000km of fiber optic cables (the highest in Africa); and service delivery.

Elsewhere, the Global Forum for Agricultural Research (GFAR) recently launched the Young Agripreneurs Project (YAP), a pilot project aimed at providing seed funding of USD \$5,000 to young agriculture entrepreneurs. The qualifying agripreneurs will also undergo an extensive one-year mentoring and online

media training and a follow-up program to ensure their projects become successful. This is a bold step to increase youth participation in agriculture and more importantly, focus on translating these ideas into income-earning businesses.

The successful deployment and execution of ICT, especially ICT for agriculture, and the support of agribusiness are important steps for positioning rural youth as drivers of agricultural development. It is important not only to nurture and support youth's agricultural ideas and activities, but also to link their ideas to the market for sustainability. However, most African countries have failed to carry out this key development step.

Policy Implications for Youth Engagement

Africa has the potential to feed not only itself, but the entire world if targeted interventions are made to mobilize youth and change their perception towards agriculture. Therefore, the youth have to be aggressively involved in agriculture policy processes.¹⁵ While policies are important, if they are not disseminated to the right target audience they will not translate to expected results and impacts. Most existing policies barely address the need to actively engage and promote the participation of the youth in policy processes.

Successful policy implementation will definitely increase agricultural productivity, which in return will draw more youth in agriculture, ultimately benefiting the economy. If the government is able to link youth to markets through technological innovations, agricultural production and youth income will be increased, which will greatly reduce youth unemployment and rural-urban migration. Ultimately, reducing unemployment and increasing opportunities for youth will reduce insecurity, particularly terrorist activities, as the majority of youth will be engaged in productive rural economic activities.

Use of the Internet has revolutionized business by connecting people easily and lowering costs. Similarly, if the agriculture industry can embrace ICT, the benefits would be great and superior efficiency would be achieved. Technology embrace would need to be followed up with intense capacity-building to enable end users to make effective use of the technology.

Further, private-public partnerships (PPP) cannot be underestimated in propelling rural economic development and in influencing youth to take up agriculture. The private sector can promote efficiency, reliability, and profitmaking in agriculture, which are the basics of economic sustainability. The private sector also supports the improvement of rural agricultural infrastructure like greenhouse construction and market development.

Recommendations for U.S. and African policymakers

- Curriculum change is important, and agriculture needs to be promoted as a compulsory unit in secondary schools, in order to build up interest in youth and clearly outline the opportunities it presents. A greater focus on agriculture in schools will encourage youth to consider agriculture as a career option, in addition to common white-collar jobs. The media should support this by constantly highlighting successes in agriculture, which can help persuade those youth who are influenced greatly by the media.
- Governments need to support small-scale agriculture by improving rural infrastructure, access to

farming inputs, and the availability of markets. Government agriculture and food security policies need to be proactive, rather than reactive. Youth need support in accessing the factors of production like land, labor, and capital for them to have a chance to take up the available opportunities in agriculture.

- Integrate agricultural policies with economic policies to link agricultural productivity to the local economy. Agriculture should be made a priority in national and regional policies as well. Public-private partnership should be promoted to benefit the youth, as the government cannot propel this mandate alone.
- Promote the use of technology in agriculture to engage youth and enhance agricultural productivity and climate change resilience. A number of technologies have been created to improve various steps in the agricultural value chain, like pre-production decision-making, linking farmers to markets and credit facilities, and the provision of e-learning platforms. All these can be persuasive enough to engage youth in agriculture and help build African economies.

Conclusion

Agriculture is the main pillar of rural economies, and through its productivity strong linkages to industrialization can be created and enhanced. Agricultural economic development can only be maximized with the involvement of youth. Policies need to be designed and adhered to in order to reach out to rural youth and involve them in maximizing the economic potential of agriculture. As a first step, this would bear significant results and kick start sustainable development in Africa. The need to support youth in promoting rural economies for development cannot be overemphasized. With good policies and institutions, Africa can achieve the dream of sustainable development.

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Embodying Youth Deradicalization in Kenya: Rethinking State Relations, Foreign Policy, and Mediatized Peacebuilding in the Context of the “War on Terror” as a Newfound Democratic Principle

By Fredrick Ogenga

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference

Kenya enjoyed warm relations with neighboring Somalia until recently, when the regime of then-President Mwai Kibaki sent Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) troops into Somalia in 2010 under the international rubric of the “War on Terror” as a response to the threat of al-Shabaab. Since the start of that operation, Kenya has faced a heightened fear of al-Shabaab attacks. The group has launched several successful, large-scale, and sophisticated grenade and other attacks on soft targets, including recent attacks on students of Garissa University College and a KDF camp in El-Adde, Somalia. In addition, al-Shabaab is successfully radicalizing youths in Kenya and throughout the region by luring them with cash to spearhead attacks back home. A number of youths have been arrested trying to cross the border to join al-Shabaab in Somalia and ISIS in the Middle East.¹ However, a few important events have taken place in the context of al-Shabaab attacks that can be qualified as counterterrorism measures that need appraisal, including the assault on Westgate, where heroes led rescue efforts in the aftermath of the attacks, to the famous incident where Muslims shielded Christians from al-Shabaab in a Mandera-bound bus. The Mandera incident gave a human face to anti-radicalization efforts, through the late Salah Farah.

In December 2015, a bus bound for the small town of Mandera, Kenya was ambushed by al-Shabab militants. When told by the militants to separate themselves from the bus’s Christian passengers, the Muslims passengers refused, with several demanding the militants kill them all or leave. Salah Farah, a youthful Muslim school teacher who resisted the militants on the bus, succumbed to bullet injuries he sustained during the incident and became the face of heroic resistance to terrorism. The case of Salah Farah was widely covered by the international media, perhaps one of the few instances where individual actions against terrorism have been prominently featured in the media. Typically, the conventional international media has functioned as an accomplice to global terrorism by sensationalizing terror events from Nairobi to Abuja and New York to Paris. Thus, small efforts like Muslims shielding Christian passengers from al-Shabaab are a successful effort against radicalism in Africa that warrants public appraisal and media attention. This is necessary because the greatest counter to extremist ideology is counter-ideology. While emphasizing the need to understand what motivates terrorism and radicalism, this paper seeks to underscore the role of the media in deradicalization. The media ought to avoid images and narratives that advance the terrorist’s agenda, a change that would require a careful

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reconceptualization of conventional Western journalistic practices, like those defined by the aphorisms “if it bleeds it leads” and “man bites dog,” as applied in Africa.

This paper further underscores how positive media discourses, such as those highlighting the human nature of Salah Farah and the other heroes of the Mandera incident, could possibly be appraised globally to help reconstruct discourses of terrorism and radicalization in a manner that would encourage more people to shun radicalization and work towards the common good of all humankind. In addition, this paper seeks to argue for a review of Kenya’s foreign policy relations with Somalia and other states in the context of the conventional global “War on Terror” and how such relations can help in the deradicalization of youth, depending on how they are represented by both local and foreign media outlets. For instance, both states can work jointly on poverty alleviation and youth entrepreneurship programs to engage youth and prevent their radicalization.²

Therefore, this paper seeks to address five questions: 1) To what extent should Kenya embrace the international “War on Terror” as a newfound democratic principal born out of George Bush’s “with us or against us” philosophy and apply the same rhetoric as the United States in a war involving a neighboring state?³ 2) What does this mean to Kenya’s broad security measures and insecurity at home? 3) How can youth entrepreneurship help prevent terrorism and violence? 4) What is the role of the community and academic research institutions in peacebuilding? And 5) how should the local media cover youth radicalization and domestic and international terrorism in ways that foster peacebuilding?

Rethinking the War on Terror as a Newfound Democratic Principal

Democracy and the subsequent “War on Terror” as advanced by the West and applied in Africa invite questions.⁴ Does the Western version of democracy and human rights emerge from a clean slate?⁵ Often, democracy’s character is more easily established by what it is not, rather than what it is, leading many leaders of developing countries in Africa to view it with suspicion. Democracy has been accused of some philosophical weaknesses by pan-African critiques, such as Mlambo, one of which is that it creates room for corruption and double standards, issues that have plagued the Kenyan government and frustrated efforts to combat terrorism.⁶ Kenya’s corruption and lax immigration policy have been blamed for the surge of illegal foreigners with malicious intentions who buy Kenyan citizenship and pose security threats.⁷ States on the frontline of the international “War on Terror,” like Kenya, should rethink state relations and foreign policy. Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and efforts from the African Union Mission in Somali (AMISOM) are a good starting point for a review of the best ways Somalia’s neighbors can create interstate partnerships to defeat al-Shabaab and find a better approach than the template the U.S. uses in fighting terrorism abroad. A softer approach that relies on consent rather than coercion could be more productive, considering the counterproductive nature of the conventional military approach to the “War on Terror” applied elsewhere.⁸

The Obama Administration’s Security Governance Initiative (SGI) proves that the West takes terrorism seriously as a global threat. Boko Haram continues to wreak havoc in West Africa, demanding a joint ECOWAS intervention, similar to the coalition against ISIS in the Middle East.⁹ Al-Shabaab continues to present a threat in East Africa and the Horn of Africa, despite the joint efforts of AMISOM and the KDF. Even though security interventions by Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are beginning to bear fruit in containing large-scale organized terrorism in both East and West Africa, terrorists only need to succeed once, given the hysteria created when terror is hyped by the highly proliferated global media. That is why small efforts like the Mandera bus incident should be appraised. Terrorism exposes the structural weakness of democracy and the weak underbelly of globalization, and betrays the ideology of liberty itself, with

critiques questioning the billions of dollars to fight terrorism with little investment in peace initiatives.¹⁰ The strongest critiques are from African leaders like Robert Mugabe and, most recently, Uhuru Kenyatta.¹¹ Kenyatta criticized the International Criminal Court (ICC) case facing Kenya and the Western travel advisories issued against the country, which he said has seriously affected tourism and consequently the economy, and worked to advance the agenda of terrorists.

The Moral Authority of the West on Terrorism

At the core of such criticisms lie the antagonism of power relations between the legitimacy of the West's interference with the sovereignty of independent developing nations (neo-imperialism), questions of morality regarding democratic values, human rights, and security as exported elsewhere by the West, and the question of whether or not the fight against terrorism should now be accepted wholesale as a newfound democratic principle. If democracy and the "War on Terror" are carefully inspected, the historical trajectory of their proponents should be clear. Historically, it was the Europeans who invaded Africa, butchered those who resisted, and chained and shipped blacks for slavery and therefore, in essence, invented terror. Genocide and pillage have seemed to be the core values that sustain British and American society.¹² This paper seeks to further establish how Africans can square this past with the new demands for universal legislation against terrorism that could be used to negate humanity's natural freewill and how Africans can collectively guarantee their own security through interstate cooperation and multiculturalism, as opposed to the state's coercive approach to security.

The view that the West has the moral authority to export stability and liberty to failed states must be looked at with suspicion, even when liberal imperialism can be a necessary measure to bring order to chaotic failed states. The West's Afro-pessimism prompts it to imagine that it has the moral authority to export democracy and freedom. This conviction has acted as the seed for resentment in many nations in Africa and the Middle East and is largely responsible for the surge of insurgencies and asymmetric conflicts in these regions. The Gulf War was the beginning of the deterioration of the Middle East's already volatile security situation.¹³ Even though the Bush Administration would argue that democracy was in crisis in Iraq, the United States turned a blind eye to neighboring, similarly autocratic Iran and acted in favor of the latter in Operation Desert Storm.¹⁴ Operation Desert Storm, where the United States invaded Iraq, marked the beginning of live broadcasting and the war journalism dubbed "reporting from the frontline."

The War on Terror, and Media Hysteria

Consequently, the repetition of horrific incidents of terror in the media serves to create hysteria and reduce citizen's resilience and ability to resist terrorism. It is little wonder that terrorists are often the first to release video footage and social media messages of their successful attacks. Reports on terrorism in Kenya were and continue to be extensive, with increased incidents of terrorism, mainly in Nairobi and Mombasa. In the absence of such random attacks, the media reports when terror suspects are arrested, when attempted terrorist attacks are thwarted, or when suspected terrorists appear in court.¹⁵ The media also relies on myths in narrating "the terror story," and although not deliberately, the local and international media positively covered the heroic actions of the Muslims that shielded Christians from al-Shabaab in Kenya in December 2015 and focused on one of the Muslim "heroes" that this paper discusses—Salah Farah. His story was given global media attention, and it is from such narratives that media scholars of peacebuilding in Africa should find material for identifying ideological fractures that can be used to conceive a working template for reporting terrorism in Africa.¹⁶

The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights has profiled extra-judicial killings of Kenyans of Somali origin in a report titled “The Error of Fighting Terror with Terror.” The report documents 120 cases of egregious human rights abuses, 25 extra-judicial killings, and 81 enforced disappearances. There are concerns that the ongoing crackdown targets groups of people indiscriminately, particularly ethnic Somalis and members of the Muslim faith.¹⁷ In the face of these violations, the spread of the Salah Farah narrative in the face of the continued criminalization of Somalis in Kenya is good news.

A Philosophical Approach to Mediatized Peacebuilding—Community Radio, Campus Peace Ambassadors, and Deradicalization

The mainstream media in Kenya is driven by commercial interests that demand they make profits. Media outlets do not produce news for free; they sell it.¹⁸ Research has established that any media that proposes a brand of reporting that goes against the grain of the mainstream, conventional journalism approach that “good news is bad news” is unacceptable in mainstream news reporting discourses. The media in Kenya has bought wholesale the idea that terrorism is a newfound democratic principal and has applied a similar script as the United States of non-negotiation with “terrorists,” “you are either with us or against us” to the extent that it has become hostage to its own diplomatic security decisions on the best ways to win the “War on Terror.” This is evident from the recent incident in El-Adde where an undisclosed number of Kenya soldiers were ambushed and brutally killed by al-Shabab. Unfortunately, the media in Kenya has remained uncritical when reporting Kenya’s diplomatic blunders in Somalia, leaving audiences in the dark about the ways in which the “War on Terror” is making them less safe. Is there a way the media should have pointed out the state’s mistakes and helped build a consensus on how to approach the al-Shabaab problem in a manner that would minimize civilian casualties and restore the confidence of both Kenyans and Somalis?

Operation *Linda Nchi*, meant to restore security in Somalia, has instead led to insecurity in Kenya because it was introduced in total disregard to Kenya’s national and international security interests. The operation took for granted the financial capacity of Kenya’s security machinery to sustain an onslaught against an elusive militia that is prepared to fight for decades.¹⁹ Kenya ignored the ground support that al-Shabaab commands within Somalia.²⁰ Instead, Kenya ought to work very closely with the Somali government when formulating interventions in order to engage the youth of both countries to shun radicalization, restore order, and erode the domestic support al-Shabaab commands. The two states can engage on how best to encourage entrepreneurship to address questions of youth unemployment and poverty, which are often associated with terrorism, by developing interstate initiatives around communities in border regions to involve them in peacebuilding. They can also explore the possibility of building an effective Somali national security force.

First, Kenya and Somalia can invest in programs that encourage research into youth radicalization by partnering with local and international organizations and research institutions in order to publish and widely reach audiences using different media outlets. This would contribute to discourses of deradicalization that would inform policy, including media policy, on reporting terrorism. The local media ought to be deliberate on how it covers questions of youth radicalization, domestic and international terrorism in order to foster peacebuilding. Given that the mainstream media is commercially driven, this paper proposes a community grassroots media (through community radio) that would be used to reach out to communities as the bridge between research, policy, and practice on youth counter-radicalization. Since the university is a center for training youth, an initiative that targets youth deradicalization can be initiated in the university and spread across various sections of the surrounding community through community radio for parasocial

interaction and further youth engagement.²¹ This calls for, first and foremost, rethinking the idea of “War on Terror” in the African context.

Salah Farah Research Fellowship

Rongo University College’s Center of Media, Democracy, Peace and Security is spearheading youth anti-radicalization through a research fellowship in honor of the late Salah Farah. This is a proposed annual fellowship in partnership with the Global Peace Foundation that will target upcoming and senior researchers to conduct up to six months of research in the area of youth radicalization and terrorism and the role of the media therein. It will also lay emphasis on the historical trajectories of terror in Africa and the role of the nation-state. The findings of the fellowship will be integrated into the Campus Peace Ambassadors Program/Club and Community Radio Broadcast for Peace Program run by students. The campus Peace Ambassadors Program/Club will focus on outreach programs on youth deradicalization and ethnicity in the University College and the surrounding community. They will further reach out to a wider audience or public through community radio broadcasts, relying on the findings from the fellowship as raw material for designing outreach programs and broadcast material to foster peacebuilding.

The presupposition is that the government’s counterterrorism security measures, under the international rubric of the “War on Terror” and media coverage therein, could be responsible for the surge of terrorism and youth radicalization in Kenya. Operation *Linda Nchi* and Operation *Usalama Watch* are now blamed for the surge of terrorism in the country.²² Counterterrorism in Kenya is problematized by the manner in which the local media has been covering these “War on Terror” operations, and needs to be rethought. This paper calls for an approach that creatively appropriates Western media coverage of terror as in the Salah Farah narrative, where the global media went out of its tradition of Western sensationalism to highlight the human side of terror. What lessons can media scholars of peacebuilding learn from such media coverage, and what would be the consequences of such representations to local and global audiences regarding terror in Kenya and abroad? What lessons can the youth draw from the character of Salah Farah for deradicalization and peacebuilding in Africa?

Conclusion

The international “War on Terror” has failed to achieve peace and security in various parts of the world in a significant way. Instead, it has led to a surge of terrorism and radicalization with terror and radicalization now registering a very threatening presence in Africa, particularly in East, West and North Africa. Operation *Linda Nchi*, as the Kenya branch of the “War on Terror,” has failed in similar ways. These failures call for a more creative, inclusive and sophisticated approaches to dealing with terrorism, approaches that can be spearheaded by state institutions like deradicalization departments of county governments and the media, in collaboration with research centers in institutions of higher learning, like the Center of Media, Democracy, Peace and Security. Though mass media has functioned to aid global terrorism by sensationalizing terror attacks, the recent positive global media coverage of the Mandera bus incident and the heroism embodied by the late Salah Farah signals an attitude change. This is a narrative that deserves to be appraised for youth deradicalization and peacebuilding. Salah was a youthful teacher and his memory must be used to stimulate greater youth involvement in deradicalization programs to celebrate his heroic gesture and life. Given the risks of potential youth radicalization, and the fact that many youth in Kenya are studying at universities, it is in the university and its environs that youth can champion deradicalization through empowerment programs. Research from fellowships such as Salah Farah Fellowship at the Center for Media Democracy

Peace and Security can be the avenues through which questions about youth and the processes of radicalization can be answered. Programs like the Campus Peace Ambassadors can integrate such findings into their community outreach programs and broadcast initiatives based on these findings to a wider public for parasocial interaction and peacebuilding.

Policy Recommendations

1. The mass media in Africa, both public and private, must refrain from sensationalizing global terrorism, exercise some level of caution to avoid advancing the interests of terrorism or the terrorist's agenda.
2. Traditional journalistic ideologies that define what constitutes news and news values, as applied in Africa, is a copy and paste bandwagon approach that ought to be reviewed. This calls for revising journalism curriculums in African institutions of higher learning to come up curriculums that would re-train learners with new traditions of reporting in the context of conflict that speaks to the realities about Africa. These learners would help transform mainstream media industries from within. Africa is in dire need of development that should be defined by morally acceptable ethical traditions. Journalistic traditions in Africa should be hybrid traditions that borrows from good journalism in the West and considers peace as a pre-requisite for development (Hybrid Peace Journalism). This calls for a greater investment in collaborative research between universities and relevant stakeholders geared towards creating a critical mass of scholars in the area of media, peace and security in Africa
3. Community grassroots interventions in Africa on the role of media, especially community radio, in peacebuilding and youth deradicalization like the CMDPS Campus Peace Ambassadors program and Community Radio Broadcast for Peace must be supported by all stakeholders at all costs.

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The Role and Evolution of Peacebuilding Engagement by the AU in Africa and ECOWAS in West Africa

By Oury Traoré

Presented at “Building Peace Through Inclusivity: Strengthening Economic, Social, and Political Inclusion in Africa,” the 2016 Southern Voices Network Annual Conference

This presentation will focus on the role of and the evolution of engagement by the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in peacebuilding in Africa generally and West Africa in particular. It will briefly reflect on the key lessons learned and remaining challenges faced by the AU and ECOWAS in their approaches to peacebuilding. It will also endeavor to provide a couple of recommendations that might be applied to other regional bodies on the continent.

Undoubtedly, the AU and its regional bodies, ECOWAS in this case, have made significant progress in building legal, policy, and institutional frameworks to promote peace and security in Africa. Both organizations have come a long way since their respective establishments. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963, did not have as its primary objective to intervene in internal conflict of its members. The civil war in Nigeria from 1967 to 1970 brought into sharp focus the need for the OAU to review its role regarding internal conflict of member states. The regional organization made its first unsuccessful military intervention in Chad in 1981, deploying an inter-African force. The OAU was as ineffective as it was poorly equipped in terms of finance, personnel, and military hardware. The OAU also played a marginal role in Rwanda in 1993, deploying a Neutral Military Observer Group as well as trying to promote peace talks.

In its early days, the OAU was very much a bystander to the excesses of its member states and successive unconstitutional means of acceding to power. Later, it started voicing its disapproval over unconstitutional means of gaining power. The OAU’s first public condemnations of military coups were against the July 1996 and May 1997 military takeovers in Burundi and Sierra Leone, respectively. For the regional body to become an active player in promoting good governance, peace, and security, it had to change not only its name but also its core guiding principle of sovereignty and non-interference that undermined the ability of the OAU, to “non-interference” in the sovereign matters of member states.

In short, the transformation of the OAU into the AU, through its signing in May 2001 in Addis Ababa and coming into existence in July 2002 in South Africa, was a watershed moment for peacebuilding and conflict prevention in the continent. The new AU’s Constitutive Act places greater emphasis on building a continental peace and security infrastructure to prevent and resolve conflicts. The AU established its Peace and Security Council (PSC) supported by the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African

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Standby Force (ASF), and the Peace Fund to promote peace. The Constitutive Act grants the AU the right to intervene in a member state “in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.” Since the creation of the AU, the regional body has increasingly demonstrated zero tolerance for military coups by suspending the defaulting member state until the restoration of democratic rule. The AU has consistently refused to recognize military coups that take place in many African countries, from the Central African Republic, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé in 2003 to Burkina Faso in 2015. In addition to condemning military takeovers, the AU has also been actively involved in instances of conflict resolution across Africa, including Somalia, Central African Republic, and in some cases like Sudan and Mali, acting as the foundation for a UN peacekeeping force. The AU’s Agenda 2063, established in 2015, offers a long-term vision and a series of benchmarks that need to be achieved in order to ensure lasting peace and prosperity.

ECOWAS

While ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States, has not changed its name since its foundation in 1975, the regional body has evolved its legal and institutional framework for promoting governance, peace, and security in West Africa. The regional body’s first active military intervention in a member state was in the civil war in Liberia (1990-1998, 2003-2006), deploying its Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). ECOMOG was created in 1990 as ECOWAS’s peacekeeping force in West Africa. The creation of ECOMOG was followed by the passage of the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security. ECOMOG also took part in the conflicts in Sierra Leone (1997-2000), Guinea Bissau (1999), and Côte d’Ivoire (2003). ECOWAS learned hard lessons in Liberia and Sierra Leone. However, those experiences in particular provided the impetus for ECOWAS to further develop its peace and security architecture.

ECOWAS established several protocols and conventions to guide its work. ECOWAS, like the AU, created an early warning system called ECOWARN (ECOWAS’s Early Warning and Response Network) to inform its early interventions to prevent conflict. ECOWAS has also made some progress in abolishing visa requirements to enable the free movement of people, goods, and vehicles across West Africa. The regional body has also set up bodies to enhance the investment environment of the region.

Challenges

Though the AU and ECOWAS have made tremendous progress, it is evident that both organizations have a long way to go to further improve their institutional capacity and bridge the gap between political rhetoric and the practical implementation of the protocols and conventions to the benefit of the people on the ground. Both organizations still face significant constraints and challenges with inadequate capacity to implement their decisions. The AU and ECOWAS are both full of new initiatives, frequently creating new committees and bodies. For instance, the AU has not fully operationalized the African Standby Force and is setting up an African Rapid Intervention Force. However, due to financial and general resource constraints, many of these new entities are barely operational. Quite often, both bodies’ initiatives are implemented half-heartedly. In short, there is significant gap between the organizations’ capabilities and expectations. The recent political violence in Burundi put the African Rapid Intervention Force to the test. The Burundi conflict demonstrated that the AU has a long way to go to be able to prevent the outbreak of violence in a member state when the government is the perpetrator.

Lessons Learned

- The political will of member states is paramount to facilitate a paradigm shift. Active support from member states enabled the transformation of OAU to AU and the evolution of the legal, policy, and institutional frameworks to promote good governance, peace, and security.
- The stances by the AU and ECOWAS against military coups are proving effective. ECOWAS has successfully pressured military leaders to hand over power to civilian-led governments.
- The AU and ECOWAS have actively engaged the support and participation of civil society organizations to enhance those organizations' capacity and capabilities in conflict resolution, mediation, and peacebuilding. Such partnership is indispensable for regional organizations, given the constraints they face in terms of financial, human, and material resources.
- Learning comes through experience: the direct involvement of the AU and ECOWAS in member states' conflicts provided them the impetus to build a peace and security architecture.
- Capacity-building needs to be organic and internally driven to ensure local ownership and sustainability.
- Greater between the AU and regional organizations like ECOWAS is indispensable in promoting good governance, peace, and security in West Africa and the continent in general.

Best Practices

- Zero tolerance for military takeovers and the suspension of defaulting member states are effective deterrents to ensure political stability in the long term. The practice of forcing military leaders to hand over power in less than a week or two would act as disincentive for future coup plotters.
- A collaborative approach between regional organizations and different stakeholders such as civil society organizations and local communities is fundamental to developing processes and systems that are legitimate and sustainable.

Recommendations

- The AU and ECOWAS should develop effective sanction and reward regimes as leverage on member states to be compliant. Moreover, the AU's Agenda 2063 should be operationalized to optimize its work in promoting peace and prosperity.
- The Durban Declaration in 2002 should be given greater attention so that all AU member states develop national infrastructures for peace, so they respond more timely and professionally to escalations of inter- and intra-communal violent conflicts within states.
- African leadership and ownership should be the foundation of peace and security efforts on the continent. This requires the necessary reforms of the UN system to allow Africa to have a voice equivalent to other powers (such as permanent members of the Security Council) on decisions that affect Africa.
- The AU and regional organs should continue to encourage member states to adopt and implement inclusive and accountable governance frameworks to promote political consensus, reconciliation, and unity, as well as respect for human rights as necessary preconditions for stability and development.

- Peacebuilding needs to be shaped, directed, and influenced by the prioritization of resilience-building in local communities.
- Partners must seek to pursue genuine local ownership, rather than use local ownership as a buzzword to justify their institutional interests.

For African Governments

- African states that fully embrace peaceful, democratic transitions should serve as champions to push for a binding resolution to impose term limits on presidencies in Africa. The commitment to good governance in African states is an imperative for the continent. The long-term perpetuation of leaders in power needs to end.
- African governments should ensure the African Union Commission is effective and functional and with a clear public relations platform that can speak for Africa on all global issues, especially the ones that concern and affect Africa.
- It is also important that the rule of law be strengthened in Africa. Institutions of African states such as judiciaries, anti-corruption institutions, etc. are functional and working effectively without the perception of manipulation or interference by ruling governments.
- African governments should also establish national infrastructures for peace that have integral national early warning systems to provide early warning and response to internal conflicts.

International Organizations

International organizations should guard against “capacity substitution” instead of capacity-building. By its very nature, peacebuilding and reconciliation are long-term. It is only through local capacity-building that is internally driven that the sustainability of peacebuilding programs is assured.

The UN should finalize the ongoing joint framework for an enhanced partnership in peace and security to enhance collaboration and cooperation between the UN and the AU.

Conclusions

The roles of regional organizations remain crucial for Africa to transform post-conflict societies in ways that promote enduring peace. The AU and ECOWAS have been increasingly active in engaging politically and militarily in driving peacemaking and peacebuilding processes in Africa, namely Mali, Central African Republic, South Sudan, Sudan, and others. Peacebuilding programs have to be long-term to be able to achieve their desired outcomes. They are capital and time-intensive. However, the AU and ECOWAS are constrained to provide medium to long-term technical support to post-conflict countries. They are heavily reliant on foreign partners to carry out their operations, which undermine the long-term sustainability of peacebuilding projects. Peacekeeping operations are often terminated due to lack of foreign funds with little progress made in achieving national reconciliation and building sustainable peace. For instance, the current drawdown of UNMIL (the United Nations Mission in Liberia) is generating concerns from Liberians on whether the country can ensure its own security. UNOCI (the United Nations Operation in Cote d’Ivoire) is also in the process of the preliminary phase of a drawdown, though Cote d’Ivoire remains divided.

The onus should rest on member states, which are the building blocks of peace and security. They should be cognizant of the fact that conflict management is a collective endeavor and must involve, at the appropriate level, all institutions of the AU and regional organs (in particular the Community Parliament and Court of Justice), member states, civil society, and the private sector.

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