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# Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa

An Action Agenda

BY THE GLOBAL CENTER ON COOPERATIVE SECURITY



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# Table of Contents

<b>Acronyms</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Ideas for Action</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>I. Recommendations for Action by States in the Subregion</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>II. Recommendations for Action by Subregional, Regional, and International Actors</b> . . . .	<b>13</b>
<i>Intergovernmental Authority on Development Security Sector Program</i> .....	14
<i>African Union</i> .....	15
<i>Regional support to the Greater Horn of Africa by international partners such as the</i> <i>European Union, United Nations, and Global Counterterrorism Forum</i> .....	16
<b>III. Recommendations for Action to Empower Civil Society, the Media,</b> <b>and the Private Sector</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b>IV. Next Steps</b> .....	<b>22</b>

## Acronyms

<b>ACSRT/CAERT</b>	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
<b>ACHPR</b>	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CTED</b>	UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
<b>CTITF</b>	UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
<b>CVE</b>	countering violent extremism
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EAC</b>	East African Community
<b>FTFs</b>	foreign terrorist fighters
<b>GCERF</b>	Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund
<b>GCTF</b>	Global Counterterrorism Forum
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>ISIL</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
<b>ISSP</b>	IGAD Security Sector Program
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNODC</b>	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
<b>VEOs</b>	violent extremist offenders



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# Introduction

**T**he threat of violent extremism is not new to the Greater Horn of Africa.<sup>1</sup> For decades, terrorist organizations, including al-Qaida and al-Shabaab, have peddled hate-filled ideology to recruit new followers and to justify devastating attacks that have taken the lives of innocent people, often as they have gathered in public places such as local markets, shopping malls, hotels, and buses. However, organizations like al-Shabaab have differed from many earlier terrorist groups in their desire and ability to hold territory and not to simply replace power structures and systems but transform them in a manner that challenges the international state system. Moreover, there are concerns that regional dynamics are being negatively impacted by the emergence and influence of transnational terrorist and criminal groups beyond the region, including Boko Haram and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), for example.

Since it was established in 2011, the Horn of Africa Working Group of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) has interacted with experts, officials, and community-based civil society organizations in the region in an effort to build local resilience to prevent and counter violent extremism.<sup>2</sup> Building on discussions held at four Working Group meetings in Tanzania (2012), Ethiopia (2013), Kenya (2014),

and Uganda (2015), as well as ongoing consultations with a wide range of stakeholders and research in the region, this Action Agenda outlines a range of proposed activities to augment existing efforts to counter violent extremism and promote community resilience in the subregion.

Despite the ongoing threat of terrorism in the Greater Horn of Africa, there are reasons for optimism, including rapid economic growth and a vibrant civil society that can help build community resilience against violent extremism. In a recent visit to the subregion, United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon highlighted the remarkable yet unheralded progress of a number of countries in the Greater Horn of Africa in terms of their rapid economic growth and political stability.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, countries in the subregion are working more closely together to solve both security and development problems, including on security and border cooperation, food security, and infrastructural development. These developments present important opportunities for initiatives to support community resilience and youth engagement as they relate to violence prevention and mitigation. Last and perhaps most encouragingly, there is a growing and increasingly vibrant civil society in the subregion. The number and diversity of civil society organiza-

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<sup>1</sup> There are different definitions of the Greater Horn of Africa. In this Action Agenda, the Greater Horn of Africa refers to the countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda.

<sup>2</sup> The Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) is an informal multilateral platform with a diverse membership of 29 countries and the EU. For more information, see [www.thegctf.org](http://www.thegctf.org).

<sup>3</sup> UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, "Visit to Horn of Africa by UN Secretary-General, Presidents of World Bank and Islamic Development Bank Group and Others," note to correspondents, 27 October 2014, <http://www.un.org/sg/offthecuff/index.asp?nid=3692>.

tions, including religious, cultural, and local groups, are rapidly proliferating and can play an important role in building and strengthening community resilience to violent extremism.

Nonetheless, the Greater Horn of Africa faces a range of challenges, including persistent threats posed by transnational terrorists and other violent groups. These security challenges are exacerbated by an array of chronic problems, ranging from underdevelopment and weak governance to high unemployment, particularly among youth, potentially making them more vulnerable to empty promises of a better life and financial incentives offered by terrorist organizations. The subregion has also been heavily affected by destructive cross border communal conflicts often triggered by resource scarcity due to rapid population growth and facilitated by porous borders. Disproportionate military and other repressive reactions to security threats such as terrorism often end up delegitimizing local authorities and undermining efforts to prevent and counter violent extremism through community engagement. Moreover, the underdevelopment and fragility that characterizes the subregion has given rise to a range of grievances that foster an enabling environment for terrorist groups to spread their message and recruit support. Terrorist groups operating in the subregion and other armed non-state actors have capitalized on economic weaknesses, governance deficits, violent conflicts, and the lack of effective services delivered by governments to recruit from politically and economically marginalized populations. Marginalized segments of the subregion's growing youth population are particularly vulnerable in this regard.<sup>4</sup> These structural "push" factors, accompanied by "pull" factors such as charismatic recruiters, appealing ideologies, and material and social incen-

tives, have fueled radicalization and recruitment in the subregion.

The spread of violent extremism has led national governments in the Greater Horn of Africa and their regional and international partners to increasingly focus on measures to prevent and counter violent extremism. Countering violent extremism (CVE) aims to reduce the support for or participation in violent extremism through noncoercive means by identifying and addressing factors conducive to the spread of terrorism.<sup>5</sup> Such efforts often include empowering local communities and civil society actors, increasing social resilience, facilitating constructive dialogue between communities and the government, promoting education and economic opportunities, encouraging credible narratives to counter violent extremist ideology, and providing disengagement and reintegration opportunities. Some of these efforts are "CVE specific," meaning that they are interventions designed to respond to a particular extremist threat or community vulnerability; others are "CVE relevant" in that they are not explicitly targeted at preventing or countering violent extremism but may still contribute to it.

Important to the success of CVE programming is the formulation of a holistic and inclusive approach, involving a variety of governmental and nongovernmental actors across a range of institutions and disciplines. From the government's side, relevant actors include law enforcement officers and criminal justice personnel such as prosecutors, judges, and corrections officers, as well as officials working on related areas of development, education, youth, and social welfare. At the same time, community leaders, civil society actors, grassroots organizations, and other nonstate actors should be empowered and engaged to work on coun-

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<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Africa Center for Strategic Studies, "Preventing Youth Radicalization in East Africa," Program Report, Kigali, Rwanda, 22–27 January 2012, <http://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/PreventingYouthRadicalizationProgramReport-2012.pdf>. For instance, economic deprivation is seen as an important motivator for marginalized youth who join the separatist Mombasa Republican Council in coastal regions in Kenya. Recruiters for al-Shabaab also lure local youth by offering a sense of belonging, a compelling worldview, and a small stipend.

<sup>5</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the concept of countering violent extremism, see Will McCants and Clinton Watts, "U.S. Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism: An Assessment," Foreign Policy Research Institute *E-Notes*, December 2012, [http://www.fpri.org/docs/media/McCants\\_Watts\\_-\\_Countering\\_Violent\\_Extremism.pdf](http://www.fpri.org/docs/media/McCants_Watts_-_Countering_Violent_Extremism.pdf).



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tering violent extremism. CVE programming will need to be reinforced by, and in some cases embedded in, ongoing efforts aimed at building capacity across the criminal justice sector, strengthening the rule of law, reforming the security sector, and, importantly, development work.

In addition, numerous external partners, including key bilateral donors, and regional and international bodies, are also working to support a wide range of activities that contribute to countering violent extrem-

ism in the subregion. In many cases, CVE measures build on existing initiatives and policies to address violence and insecurity and promote good governance and development.

This Action Agenda outlines a range of proposed activities to augment existing CVE efforts in the Greater Horn of Africa, building on existing experiences and practices in the subregion, as well as consultations with various stakeholders.



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# Ideas for Action

**T**he ideas in this Action Agenda for the Greater Horn of Africa are targeted toward (1) states in the subregion; (2) subregional, regional, and international actors, such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union (AU), the East African Community (EAC), the European Union, the United Nations, and the GCTF; and (3) civil society actors, the private sector, and the media. These ideas are intended to further strategic goals articulated in a number of key international, regional, and national strategies, including the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, the AU Plan of Action for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, IGAD's Security Sector Program (ISSP), and various IGAD ministerial declarations such as the one resulting from a meeting of ministers of justice of IGAD states on legal cooperation against terrorism in 2007, the GCTF's Horn of Africa Working Group work plan, the EU External Action Service Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa, national policies and legislation, and strategies adopted by civil society organizations such as the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims' Charter on CVE.

Each of the abovementioned groups can consider implementing the ideas themselves or in conjunction with regional or international partners that may be able to contribute additional resources, including expertise and financing, to help in existing initiatives or concrete future projects. Given the crosscutting nature of drivers of insecurity in the Greater Horn of Africa, consulted stakeholders from the subregion emphasize that coordination among all actors is criti-

cal to ensure that strategies are holistic, initiatives are synchronized, and good practices and lessons learned are shared.

## **I. Recommendations for Action by States in the Subregion**

This first section deals with concrete actions that states in the Greater Horn of Africa subregion can take to prevent and counter violent extremism in accordance with the international legal counterterrorism instruments and regional CVE and terrorism prevention strategies and objectives of IGAD, the AU, the EAC, the United Nations, and other partners. In achieving CVE objectives, countries in the subregion would also be aiding other strategic goals at a national level, including enhanced stability and security, human security, economic development and prosperity, and further integration into regional markets.

The following recommendations to states in the subregion involve specific actions to engage in capacity-building efforts and to strengthen institutions on the ground, including bolstering the training of officials and frontline practitioners to enhance their engagement with communities, improving service delivery and reform of the security and criminal justice sectors, and introducing disengagement and reintegration programs. Furthermore, these recommendations offer opportunities to build upon or amplify ongoing community engagement and CVE strategy development in the region.

### **1. Conduct assessments of local drivers of insecurity and map community perceptions of government responses to violent extremism.**

States in the subregion could undertake a series of national assessment and perception studies to better understand the local drivers of insecurity and violent extremism in their communities, as well as citizens' perceptions of national and international responses to prevent and counter violent extremism. This will be critical to the development of informed and targeted CVE strategies that leverage resources to address the most critical threats identified.

The drivers of violent extremism are complex, many, and context dependent. It is important that states in the subregion assess local and national factors conducive to violent extremism, for instance through surveying local communities and taking stock of the perceptions of groups that represent the diversity of the country. This can be done through a myriad of ways, including town hall meetings that provide citizens opportunities to directly voice their concerns, local surveys by polling bureaus, and regular interactions between government officials and community representatives and civil society actors. It is vital that these meetings take place in a safe environment, where all parties feel comfortable speaking their mind and cultural norms are taken into account.

These assessments could be used to gain a better understanding of how local communities perceive security issues, including violent extremism and terrorism, and how they feel these problems should be addressed. Not only do they provide great insights into local grievances and drivers of violent extremism, which may help to better tailor governmental policies, but when conducted regularly, these assessments can also help increase the authorities' understanding of the impact of their measures to prevent and counter violent extremism. As governments become more

aware of community perceptions of their policies, they can adjust them accordingly to increase their positive effect and enhance public trust in and legitimacy of these measures. Finally, such assessments are a key foundation to provide baseline data for understanding the impact of CVE programming and drawing on those lessons to inform future iterations.

Such studies can build on existing analyses of local drivers of insecurity in the Greater Horn of Africa, including a project undertaken by the Global Center and Integrity Research in 2012, which culminated in the report "Mapping Perceptions of Violent Extremism: Pilot Study of Community Attitudes in Kenya and Somaliland."<sup>6</sup>

### **2. Build awareness and support among senior officials and legislators.**

States in the subregion could work with partners to raise awareness among senior officials and legislators of the main drivers of violent extremism and familiarize them with the main goals, methods, and outcomes of CVE policies and programs. Such trainings and awareness raising could provide officials working in different departments and on various issues a broad introduction to the interdependence of security, development, and governance; the multidimensional challenge of countering violent extremism; the different constructs of gender, culture, and religion; and the importance of strong state–society relations and engaged, resilient communities. Not only is increased awareness likely to result in a better understanding of the problems faced at the community level, it could also increase support for the work of frontline officials and practitioners that implement CVE policies on a daily basis. Furthermore, a shared awareness among senior officials and legislators in states across the Greater Horn of Africa could also enhance subregional cooperation.

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<sup>6</sup> Liat Shetret, Matthew Schwartz, and Danielle Cotter, "Mapping Perceptions of Violent Extremism: Pilot Study of Community Attitudes in Kenya and Somaliland," Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, January 2013, <http://www.globalcenter.org/publications/mapping-perceptions-of-violent-extremism-pilot-study-of-community-attitudes-in-kenya-and-somaliland/>.

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### 3. Conduct CVE training for frontline officials and practitioners.

In addition to raising awareness among senior officials, it is equally important that more practical trainings are conducted for frontline officials and practitioners who engage with groups of people who are vulnerable to radicalization and those who have already been radicalized. These include law enforcement officers and criminal justice personnel such as prosecutors, judges, judicial officials, and corrections officers, who are often directly involved in dealing with terrorism-related cases. Such training can also usefully involve officials working on related areas of development, education, youth, social welfare, finance, and conflict prevention and mitigation; while they may not have primary responsibility for preventing and countering violent extremism, their work can play an important role in overall CVE efforts. More training involving representatives of a variety of government departments and agencies can also serve to increase awareness of the challenges and capabilities of partner organizations and strengthen interagency coordination and information exchange.

CVE trainings for frontline officials should also emphasize the importance of adherence to the rule of law, positive community engagement, and the particularities of CVE-specific and CVE-relevant policy measures. Although it can be very helpful to discuss good practices from different regions, it is important that the courses are tailored to the local environment and that participants are challenged to consider how international strategies and practices can function in their home countries. Furthermore, the trainings should be tailored to the challenges, responsibilities, and capabilities of the different stakeholders to ensure that they achieve maximum impact. Lastly, given the cross border nature of many of the drivers

of insecurity in the Greater Horn of Africa subregion, subregional courses for and exchanges between frontline officials and practitioners could help to foster the sharing of practices among frontline officials in different countries.

### 4. Support justice and security reform, enhance access to justice, and improve human rights compliance.

Though far from unique to the Greater Horn of Africa, a trust deficit exists between civilians and security forces in the subregion, and many citizens lack access to justice. Additionally, counterterrorism laws and policies are applied disproportionately and arbitrarily in a number of contexts and used as a pretext for the persecution of minority groups and political opposition.<sup>7</sup> Hence, there is a need to enhance capacities within the criminal justice sector and build trust between the citizenry and security providers through measures that demonstrate to both communities and law enforcement the practical benefits and long-term potential of closer cooperation.

#### 4a. Implement national legal frameworks in line with international legal counterterrorism instruments, strategies, and obligations.

All states in the subregion are members of the United Nations and have ratified most of its 19 major legal counterterrorism instruments and adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. However, ratification and adoption do not equal appropriate implementation in national laws, procedures, and policies. Many countries in the subregion have started to implement national counterterrorism frameworks and could work with partners to ensure that all international legal counterterrorism instruments, strategies, and

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<sup>7</sup> For example, see George Kegoro, "The Effects of Counter-Terrorism Measures on Human Rights: The Experience of East African Countries," in *Understanding Terrorism in Africa: In Search for an African Voice*, ed. Wafula Okumu and Anneli Botha (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2007), pp. 51–57; Samuel M. Makinda, "The Impact of the War on Terror on Governance and Human Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Understanding Terrorism in Africa: Building Bridges and Overcoming the Gaps*, ed. Wafula Okumu and Anneli Botha (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2008), pp. 32–35; Human Rights Watch, "Why Am I Still Here? The 2007 Horn of Africa Renditions and the Fate of Those Still Missing," October 2008, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/09/30/why-am-i-still-here-0>; Open Society Foundations, "Counterterrorism and Human Rights Abuses in Kenya and Uganda: The World Cup Bombing and Beyond," 2013, <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/counterterrorism-human-rights-abuses-kenya-uganda-20130403.pdf>.



obligations are implemented effectively and that relevant actors are trained to work with these tools.

For instance, assistance could be provided to implement the obligations following from the recent UN Security Council Resolution 2178 relating to foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs), which requires member states to ensure increased border security and to screen for or arrest FTFs traveling to or returning from conflict areas. At the same time, it also urges states to counter violent extremism by taking preventive measures, such as engaging with communities at the local level to address the conditions conducive to the spread of violent extremism and stop the spread of extremist ideologies. Since states are given a considerable level of freedom in interpreting the resolution's text and its obligations, countries in the Greater Horn of Africa could consider inviting the expertise of partners to help them with the complex challenge of implementing appropriate responses to the threat of FTFs participating in conflicts abroad and those returning home.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4b. Evaluate the feasibility of establishing comprehensive justice and security sector reform programs in individual countries.**

Justice and security sector reform programs aim to transform the security sector actors from enforcers of the rule of the regime to upholders of the rule of law—ending impunity for corruption and human rights violations, expanding access to justice and security by building partnerships between state and nonstate service providers, enhancing citizen safety, and (re)build-

ing public trust in local and national authorities. Yet matters of justice and security are inherently political, and decades of experience have shown that externally imposed and cookie-cutter approaches to justice and security reform are not only counterproductive but can also lead to unintended consequences. Evaluating the viability of sector-wide reform must therefore take careful account of local political, socioeconomic, and historical contexts of individual countries and the perspectives held by different communities and stakeholders.

In many parts of the Greater Horn of Africa, as is the case in developing countries around the world, justice and security services for a majority of the population are delivered by a network of localized nonstate service providers.<sup>9</sup> States could therefore consider conducting justice and security evaluations that focus on what works for local communities in justice and security provision, rather than idealized notions of how institutions ought to work.<sup>10</sup> Examining links between state and nonstate providers of justice and security is a potentially useful exercise, such as the community policing and justice program in Amhara State, which Ethiopia is looking to reform and replicate for implementation nationwide.<sup>11</sup> Evaluations could also take account of entry points for reinforcing existing national sector-wide and subsector reform and accountability initiatives, such as Kenya's comprehensive police reform initiative.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, it is vital that countries in the subregion share and examine good practices and lessons learned from other justice and security sector reform initiatives, such as Uganda's Justice, Law and Order Sector program,

<sup>8</sup> Global Center on Cooperative Security, Human Security Collective, and International Centre for Counter-Terrorism—The Hague, "Addressing the Foreign Terrorist Fighters Phenomenon from a European Union Perspective: UN Security Council Resolution 2178, Legal Issues, and Challenges and Opportunities for EU Foreign Security and Development Policy," December 2014, [http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Dec2014\\_EU-FTFS\\_GCCS\\_HSC\\_ICCT.pdf](http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Dec2014_EU-FTFS_GCCS_HSC_ICCT.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, "Enhancing the Delivery of Justice and Security: Governance, Peace and Security," 2007, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/governance-peace/conflictandfragility/docs/38434642.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> See Peter Albrecht and Helene Maria Kyed, "Justice and Security—When the State Isn't the Main Provider," Danish Institute for International Studies Policy Brief, December 2010, <http://um.dk/da/danida/der-goer-vi/udviklingsstrategiske-indsatser/stabilitet-og-skroebelighed/skroebelige-stater/~media/FF8E5FEB06B9451CBB2D4E92E1F660C4.ashx>.

<sup>11</sup> See Bruce Baker, "Hybridity in Policing: The Case of Ethiopia," *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 45, no. 3 (2013): 296–313; Lisa Denney with Demelash Kassaye, "Securing Communities for Development: Community Policing in Ethiopia's Amhara National Regional State," Overseas Development Institute, October 2013, <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8656.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Mount, "A Force for Good? Improving the Police in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda," Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative 2014 report, [http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/publications/police/A\\_FORCE\\_FOR\\_GOOD\\_Improving\\_the\\_Police\\_in\\_Kenya\\_Tanzania\\_and\\_Uganda.pdf](http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/publications/police/A_FORCE_FOR_GOOD_Improving_the_Police_in_Kenya_Tanzania_and_Uganda.pdf).



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which takes a holistic, sector-wide approach that combines justice, human rights, security sector reform, and rule of law programs.<sup>13</sup>

#### **4c. Enhance access to justice.**

Among the factors that create permissive environments for extremist groups are grievances about a lack of access to certain government services and the justice system, especially for citizens living outside highly populated areas. This is a structural issue in various subregions, including the Greater Horn of Africa, which leads many to fall back on alternative justice mechanisms. In and of itself, this is not a bad thing, as there are many effective alternatives to official services in areas where government reach is limited. Unfortunately, violent extremist organizations are also known to fill this service delivery-and-access gap and provide their own services and interpretation of justice. Hence, it is important that governments improve access to general services and the justice system, or, in areas where it is too difficult to set up official structures, support local informal justice mechanisms to prevent violent extremists from establishing a foothold. Specifically, authorities must ensure that these services reach religious and/or ethnic minorities and other underserved communities, including women and youth. Ensuring that judiciary training is not only centralized in capital cities but takes place countrywide and is adequately resourced is one way to increase overall access to justice.

#### **4d. Consider mechanisms for evaluating the applicability, proportionality, and effectiveness of counterterrorism legislation.**

To help address deficiencies in and criticisms of national counterterrorism legislation in certain states in the subregion, countries could consider appointing a national counterterrorism legislation reviewer or review board, tasked with scrutinizing new pieces of legislation and evaluating the implementation of existing legislation for necessity, proportionality, human

rights compliance, and accountability mechanisms. This could be in the form of a standing parliamentary review commission or an independent reviewer. Vital for the functioning of the reviewer is a broad acceptance of its independence and a high-level security clearance allowing for access to secret and sensitive security information.

#### **5. Support robust community-oriented policing.**

Police encounters are often the only contact citizens in the subregion have with their governments, and those interactions are not always perceived as positive. At the same time, specifically in relation to countering violent extremism, community-oriented law enforcement has proven critical in different parts of the world in the early identification of radicalization and detection of threats, strong partnerships between communities and security forces, and increased trust in governmental policies and actions.

Community policing in the Greater Horn of Africa requires a variety of investments, including improving protocols and training on human rights limitations and obligations, on rule of law-based investigation and interrogations methods, on community-oriented counterterrorism policing in practice, and on gender, cultural, and religious sensitivity. Additionally, investments are needed in recruiting and training police leadership, police officers from ethnic and religious minorities, and specialized police units equipped to handle cases involving sexual violence, women, children, youth, and other vulnerable groups. At a more structural level, in many instances, investments are needed just to ensure that police have basic materials and training to professionally and effectively conduct their job. Furthermore, law enforcement authorities will need to develop innovative approaches to engage local communities and gain their trust. They could, for instance, consider organizing regular outreach events to create awareness of current security issues and government responses and invite multi-stakeholder dialogue, as well as establishing local civilian

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<sup>13</sup> For more information on the Ugandan Justice, Law and Order Sector program, see <http://www.jlos.go.ug>.

complaint review boards with the power to investigate and advise disciplinary action.

## **6. Design a well-defined CVE and community engagement strategy.**

States in the Greater Horn of Africa could formulate their own holistic CVE and community engagement strategies and action plans, based on national assessment and perception studies of local drivers of insecurity and violent extremism and previous responses to it. These do not need to be stand-alone programs with their own exclusive line of policy measures, but should instead take the form of highly integrated strategies and principles across all institutions and service deliverers at all levels of government as well as civil society actors, harmonizing and expanding existing efforts and fostering interagency coordination. Gender issues also need to be considered when developing and tailoring such strategies. The involvement of women in countering violent extremism should go beyond traditional roles, ensuring that they actively take part in the planning and implementation of CVE measures.

Some states, such as Kenya, have already developed CVE strategies but face the challenge of implementation. Others, like Somalia, face a multidimensional threat but lack a comprehensive approach and instead focus on particular components. When designing CVE strategies and action plans, governments need to clearly define the key terms and explicate the objectives, scope, actors' roles and responsibilities, and ways in which success can be defined and measured. If approaches remain vague in their description, there may be several interpretations of the same notion, and long-term progress will be difficult to gauge.

## **7. Strengthen CVE monitoring and evaluation capacities.**

Monitoring and evaluating CVE programming is notoriously difficult because of a range of conceptual and operational challenges, but it is vital to developing more efficient, effective, durable, and accountable policy measures.<sup>14</sup> The ability to effectively evaluate CVE programming is hampered by the fact that violent radicalization is not a linear process, the topic is politically sensitive, and resources are limited. Nonetheless, it is important to continue to try to evaluate the impact of CVE programs so that evidence-based decisions can be made regarding future programming. Some key ingredients in policy and program design that help facilitate effective evaluations include developing a baseline of information, clearly articulating objectives and target audiences, deciding upon success indicators at the design phase, conducting evaluations during multiple phases, and ensuring that follow-up activities reflect the lessons learned in evaluations.<sup>15</sup> Governments in the Greater Horn of Africa should build in monitoring and evaluation tools during the development phase of new CVE programs and organize recurrent reviews of the overall CVE strategy with a range of stakeholders.

## **8. Improve detention and prison conditions.**

Prisons in the Greater Horn of Africa suffer from a variety of structural issues, first and foremost among them underresourcing and overcrowding. Correctional facilities in the subregion have occupancy rates between 150 and 260 percent, with individuals still awaiting the completion of their trial often making up half of the incarcerated population.<sup>16</sup> Offenders are housed in old, substandard facilities with a variety of

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<sup>14</sup> Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Peter Romaniuk, and Rafia Barakat, "Evaluating Countering Violent Extremism Programming: Practice and Progress," Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, September 2013, [http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Fink\\_Romaniuk\\_Barakat\\_EVALUATING-CVE-PROGRAMMING\\_20132.pdf](http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Fink_Romaniuk_Barakat_EVALUATING-CVE-PROGRAMMING_20132.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> Peter Romaniuk and Naureen Chowdhury Fink, "From Input to Impact: Evaluating Terrorism Prevention Programs," Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, 2012, [http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CGCC\\_EvaluatingTerrorismPrevention.pdf](http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CGCC_EvaluatingTerrorismPrevention.pdf); Fink, Romaniuk, and Barakat, "Evaluating Countering Violent Extremism Programming."

<sup>16</sup> Data available in the Africa section of the World Prison Brief database of the International Centre for Prison studies, <http://www.prisonstudies.org/map/africa>.

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hygiene and health issues and a lack of medical facilities. Furthermore, effective and consistently applied intake and risk assessment procedures are lacking, and all sorts of groups are mixed together that should ideally be separated and receive particular attention: juveniles and adults, men and women, sentenced prisoners and those on remand, and offenders of minor and serious crimes. Additionally, corrections facilities often lack adequate psychological care, educational and vocational training opportunities, and sufficient access to legal assistance for the prisoners.

Poor prison conditions could provide a troublingly conducive environment for the spread of violent extremist ideologies. Not only do they make the management and monitoring of prisoner interactions more difficult, but subpar conditions and bad treatment also provide fuel for the violent extremist narrative. Additionally, they reduce the chance of successfully introducing rehabilitation programs and creating cognitive dissonance and openings for change in thinking and behavior among the imprisoned violent extremist offenders (VEOs).

Several states in the Greater Horn of Africa, in cooperation with partners such as the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), already work on improving detention and prison conditions in line with international standards<sup>17</sup> and various regional commitments in this area,<sup>18</sup> but it is important that these detention reform and improvement programs are further expanded and supported. Such investments have an impact far beyond the more narrow focus of preventing and countering violent extremism, as they aim to improve the housing and treatment of all prisoners, enhance governance, and increase the delivery of social, medical, and legal services. An important area of attention is the reduction of overcrowding and pretrial detention by improving

cooperation between criminal justice agencies, expediting court procedures, and promoting alternatives to imprisonment for minor crimes (e.g., community service disposals). Furthermore, assistance could be provided to enhance human rights standards and apply the rule of law clearly and unambiguously to the corrections system. Another area in need of attention is the possible segregation of different groups of prisoners and the subsequent targeting of services to their particular needs. Corrections officers could be provided with tailored CVE training focused on humane and positive treatment of VEOs and managing this specific prison population, as well as identifying and preventing violent extremist contagion.

This recommendation can be extended to other highly populated areas with ethnic and/or religious concentrations, such as refugee camps, border areas, schools, and city slums. Similar to prisons, these areas all depend heavily on the services, safety, and security provided by the authorities.

### **9. Develop risk assessment, disengagement, and reintegration programs for violent extremists and foreign terrorist fighters.**

States in the Greater Horn of Africa should consider developing disengagement and reintegration programs for violent extremists, including prison-based rehabilitation interventions for incarcerated extremist offenders, programs to assist individuals who are at risk of being drawn into violent extremism and to disengage those who have started on the path to violent extremism without having committed a crime, and reintegration programs for FTFs returning to their home countries. These programs can aim to turn individuals away from violent extremism, reduce recidivism, and/or prevent the spread of violent extremism inside and outside prisons.

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<sup>17</sup> These standards include the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1957), the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners (1990), and the Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures (the Tokyo Rules, 1990).

<sup>18</sup> Regional strategies include the ACHPR's Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action on Accelerating Prisons and Penal Reforms in Africa (2002), which advanced progress made after the Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions (1996), the Kadoma Declaration on Community Service Orders in Africa (1997), and the Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice (1999).

States and correction authorities can work with partners to develop rehabilitation and reintegration strategies and program components, develop evidence-based intake and risk assessment tools and procedures, train prison staff, and involve external actors such as psychologists and family members. The period in prison provides an opportunity for reflection and positive change; preparation for reentry in society should commence early, be tailored to individual needs and objectives, and be adjusted based on progress indicators. Furthermore, it is important that counseling, support, and postrelease monitoring continue after reentry, which will require close coordination among criminal justice actors, local social and health services, and probation agencies where applicable.

States could also consider developing support programs to assist individuals who are at risk of being drawn into violent extremism, exit programs for those who may be members of violent extremist groups but have not committed a crime, and reintegration programs for FTFs. The Greater Horn of Africa faced the threat of FTFs long before the adoption of Resolution 2178 in September 2014, as terrorist groups active in the subregion have a reputation for attracting foreigners with their violent ideology—especially from Kenya, the Swahili Coast area, and western countries. They do not only pose a direct threat to the country in which they have joined a violent extremist organization but also to their countries of origin, as well as other countries in the subregion. It is in the national security interest of states to permanently disarm, demobilize, and rehabilitate these individuals, through regional cooperation and working with other partners, including community groups. Governments could consider setting up comprehensive reintegration programs for FTFs, building upon evidence-based risk assessments and taking into account lessons learned in existing disengagement and prison-based rehabilitation programs. These include the good practices in the

GCTF’s Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders and its The Hague–Marrakech Memorandum on Good Practices for a More Effective Response to the FTF Phenomenon, as well as such initiatives as the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration center for ex-members of al-Shabaab located in Baidoa, Somalia, which is coordinated by the United Nations and funded by France.<sup>19</sup>

### **10. Promote state and civil society partnership through local security and peace committees.**

Authorities and civil society actors in the subregion should continue to work together to analyze and enhance security by creating local security committees, building on the structure of those already established in, for instance, the Puntland region of Somalia. The committees could be expanded to involve a wide range of stakeholders, including civil society organizations, women’s groups, youth groups, market associations, and other relevant community representatives in order to enhance engagement between local communities and governments.

It will be important to identify those local groups and individuals that represent the diversity of the community to ensure that advice and initiatives resulting from the committees reach and are trusted by the citizenry. Additionally, government representatives and security providers should not only share their insights and concerns but also listen to those of the community. Through local security and peace committees, community awareness on new security developments can be increased, early warning signals may reach the authorities more quickly, and joint efforts can be undertaken in the areas of community safety and security, conflict prevention and resolution, reconciliation, and reintegration.

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<sup>19</sup> For more information on the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration center, see United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia, “Former Al Shabaab Fighters Pin Hope on New DDR Programme,” 24 April 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.654543567934121.1073741893.501491853239294&type=1>.

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## 11. Supplement education programs.

Education, whether formal or informal, plays a critical role in fostering resilience and promoting civic values like tolerance, pluralism, and the rule of law. Supplemented by programs including sports, arts, and culture, a comprehensive curriculum can help empower youths, provide powerful alternative narratives and activities, and engage families and communities in positive transformations. These dynamics, while not narrowly defined as countering violent extremism, can be critical to strengthening community resilience against violent extremist groups.<sup>20</sup> State institutions responsible for education could consider developing curricula that encourage a deeper understanding of national histories or identities, enhance creative and critical thinking, inspire civic responsibility and citizenship, and highlight the usefulness of public service outside the military.<sup>21</sup> Through these efforts, young people can be better equipped to resist the pull factors that may drive them toward radicalization to or recruitment for violent extremism.

## 12. Support victims and survivors, and help amplify their stories.

Supporting victims and survivors of terrorism is an imperative principle of justice, and the rehabilitation of and support for victims of violence is important in many cultures throughout the world. Amplifying the voices of victims and their stories can also contribute to exposing the brutality and hypocrisy of violent extremist groups and their narratives, and survivors and family members can be powerful advocates of justice and peace.

Appropriate measures to protect the rights of victims should be strengthened, and their safety, privacy, and physical and psychological well-being should be ensured. In some cases, law enforcement officers treat victims more or less the same way as suspects, includ-

ing subjecting them to intense interrogation sessions. Governments could also consider financial remuneration, as well as supporting employment and education of both direct victims and their dependents. Additionally, states should consider measures to protect victims in counterterrorism investigations and criminal proceedings, and facilitate their participation at appropriate stages of criminal proceedings.

States in the Greater Horn of Africa and partners may consider aiding the formation of independent victim associations that represent, support, and empower victims and survivors of terrorism. Such groups are not only important to provide peer support to victims and increase awareness of their plight, but could also be highly effective messengers of alternative narratives to deter violent radicalization. Through their testimonies and targeted community and media outreach, victims can challenge and deglamorize violent extremist narratives and, importantly, disseminate a message of peace. Some initiatives have even included engagement between victims and former violent extremists, forming a powerful team of credible messengers for forgiveness and peace.

## II. Recommendations for Action by Subregional, Regional, and International Actors

Regional and international actors such as IGAD and the AU, EAC, EU, GCTF, and United Nations have been active in improving partnerships between states and civil society groups to prevent and counter the threat of violent extremism. Over the last years, an increasing number of subregional, regional, and international actors have implemented programs and enhanced capacity in this domain in the Greater Horn of Africa. It is important to learn from and build on this experience to ensure the delivery of comprehensive and inclusive CVE measures.

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<sup>20</sup> Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Rafia Bhulai, Wedad Alhassen, and Sara Zeiger, "Thinking Outside the Box: Exploring the Critical Roles of Sports, Arts, and Culture in Preventing Violent Extremism," Global Center on Cooperative Security and Hedayah, Policy Brief, February 2015, [http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/15Feb17\\_SAC\\_Brief\\_Hedayah\\_GlobalCenter.pdf](http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/15Feb17_SAC_Brief_Hedayah_GlobalCenter.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> See Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation and Hedayah, "The Role of Education in Countering Violent Extremism," Meeting Note, December 2013, <http://www.hedayah.ae/pdf/role-of-education-in-countering-violent-extremism-meeting-report.pdf>.



On the regional and subregional level, the AU, EAC, and IGAD have developed various conventions, strategies, and trainings to address preventing and countering terrorism. Similarly, on the multilateral level, a number of mechanisms have been developed to support states in the Greater Horn of Africa in developing policies and capacities to address violent extremism. UN entities like the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), and UNODC have taken on a number of projects to facilitate or deliver technical assistance to the region. At the end of 2014, the World Bank launched a \$1.8 billion initiative to support regional peace and development in the Horn of Africa through a range of investments in infrastructure, transport, information and communication technology, health care, energy, and financial services to improve economic opportunities and reduce insecurity drivers.<sup>22</sup> The EU is supporting a range of long- and short-term CVE programs as part of its Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa, which outlines broadly the linkages of the EU's development-, political-, and security-related engagement in the subregion. The GCTF has emphasized the importance of countering violent extremism throughout its work, including as part of its Horn of Africa capacity-building working group.

#### *Intergovernmental Authority on Development Security Sector Program*

The ISSP and its previous incarnation, the IGAD Capacity Building Programme Against Terrorism, have laid important groundwork for improving subregional counterterrorism cooperation and capacity. The restructuring and renaming took place in 2011, following a revitalization of IGAD's Peace and Security strategy. The program now includes a more comprehensive focus on responses to terrorism, transnational organized crime, maritime insecurities, and institutional capacities.

### **13. Enhance implementation of CVE elements in ongoing work of the ISSP.**

As part of its new mandate following the restructuring, the ISSP's counterterrorism pillar includes a focus on countering radicalization and violent extremism, and cooperation between national, regional, and international actors. IGAD should work with its member states and other partners to further strengthen CVE-relevant activities within this pillar, including building institutional capacities to implement CVE measures, increasing awareness among senior officials, and training frontline practitioners. It could continue to invest in government-to-government discussions in the Greater Horn of Africa, as well as engagement between governments and civil society actors and communities.

Additionally, it may also consider supporting cross-regional civil society networks, including those focused on youth, education, and community relations. Not only do these actors play a crucial role in ensuring local, sustainable responses to security issues such as violent extremism, but they can also help to feed important information about human security needs and threats to IGAD's members and other stakeholders. In this way, they could form an important grassroots element of a subregional early warning framework that helps in identifying and preventing new security threats, including violent extremism.

### **14. Develop a subregional CVE strategy and establish a subregional platform to share CVE practices and experiences.**

IGAD and its member states should consider developing a subregional CVE strategy and plan of action, outlining subregional definitions of and approaches to preventing and countering the threat of violent extremism. Given the crosscutting nature of drivers of insecurity in the Greater Horn of Africa, such a

<sup>22</sup> For more information, see Council of the European Union, "Council Conclusions on the Horn of Africa," 3124th Foreign Affairs Council Meeting, Brussels, 14 November 2011, [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/126052.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/126052.pdf).



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strategy would provide a greater focus for policy and programming for the subregion, as well as a solid framework for cooperation, exchange of information, capacity building, and evaluation. The subregional CVE strategy should build upon national approaches and establish synergy with related efforts, including related activities by the EAC, the EU External Action Service's Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa, and the United Nations project on the development and implementation of a subregional counterterrorism action plan for East Africa.

To ensure that the subregional CVE strategy and its plan of action are deeply rooted in the cultures and contexts of the Greater Horn of Africa and based on good practices and lessons learned from the subregion, the ISSP could support the establishment of a subregional platform aimed at sharing CVE knowledge and practices among governmental and nongovernmental actors. Not only would this ensure the development of a comprehensive and inclusive strategy, it could also serve as a mechanism to monitor and evaluate the CVE strategy's implementation and discuss new developments, security threats, and projects.

### *African Union*

Providing practical action points to the commitments explicated in its 1999 Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, the AU's 2002 Plan of Action for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism requests member states to support policies aimed at addressing the root causes of terrorism and led to the establishment of the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT/CAERT) in Algiers in 2006. The goal of the ACSRT/CAERT is to strengthen national efforts of African countries to prevent and combat terrorism through the implementation of the AU counterterrorism framework, assist African countries in the implementation of international conventions relating to terrorism, foster greater cooperation and sharing of good practices and national experiences between African countries in this domain, and serve as a central knowledge, analysis,

and training hub on counterterrorism issues. In 2010, the position of AU special representative for counterterrorism cooperation was created: the holder of the position is mandated to assess the current dynamics and gaps in member states and concurrently serve as director of the ACSRT/CAERT.

### **15. Share CVE good practices and expertise across Africa.**

Building on its continent-wide presence, the AU is uniquely positioned to share good practices and expertise across subregions in Africa and support subregional actors such as IGAD. It could build on promising examples such as the development of the African Model Law on Counter Terrorism in 2011, designed to assist AU member states in implementing various continental and international counterterrorism instruments, as well as various subregional and national training programs developed by the ACSRT/CAERT, including on countering violent extremism and community engagement, the role of frontline practitioners, and disengagement and rehabilitation. It is vital that governments in the region, interregional bodies, international stakeholders, and civil society and community actors are involved in these processes, to allow for inclusive and holistic discussions. Furthermore, the recently announced establishment of the African Union Police Cooperation Mechanism in Algiers could provide an interesting platform to share good practices in terms of training, prevention, and expertise in community-oriented policing and countering violent extremism across the continent.

### **16. Invest in analysis of local and subregional drivers of insecurity.**

The ACSRT/CAERT could be commissioned to collaborate with the ISSP in conducting national assessments and perception studies to better understand the local drivers of insecurity and violent extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa, as well as community perceptions of national and international responses to prevent and counter violent extremism. These studies could be used to evaluate current concerns and inform

the development of CVE interventions that are tailored to local needs and challenges.

*Regional support to the Greater Horn of Africa by international partners such as the European Union, United Nations, and Global Counterterrorism Forum*

In addition to subregional and regional actors, international donors have made substantial training and capacity-building investments in the areas of counterterrorism and countering violent extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa in recent years.

The EU adopted its Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa in November 2011, with an emphasis on addressing the nexus between insecurity, poverty, and governance in the IGAD subregion. The framework focuses EU programming in five areas: (1) building democratic and accountable state structures; (2) supporting peace, security, and conflict prevention and resolution; (3) lessening the effects of insecurity in the region; (4) reducing poverty and supporting economic growth and prosperity; and (5) strengthening regional cooperation.<sup>23</sup> In 2014, the EU launched a new CVE initiative titled Strengthening Resilience to Violent Extremism, aimed at understanding the drivers of violent extremism and enhancing resilience against violence in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. Similar projects are expected to be funded through the European Commission's Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace.

The EU is also cochair, together with Turkey, of the GCTF's Horn of Africa capacity-building working group. The working group has five priority areas for capacity building in the subregion: law enforcement, criminal justice and the rule of law, border management, countering violent extremism, and countering terrorist financing. During a plenary working

group meeting on countering violent extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa in early February 2014 in Ankara, Turkey, participants resolved to formulate comprehensive, integrated, whole-of-government CVE strategies in the subregion and to facilitate intra-regional cooperation in areas such as cross border cooperation, intelligence sharing, law enforcement (including effective legal frameworks to address violent extremism), judicial capacity, border security, countering the financing of terrorism, and training for practitioners.<sup>24</sup>

Various UN bodies are implementing CVE-related programming in the Greater Horn of Africa. Among the most active have been the CTITF, CTED, and UNODC, focusing predominantly on enhancing national legislative counterterrorism frameworks, building the capacity of criminal justice institutions and law enforcement, and ensuring greater cross border cooperation on terrorism-related issues. Specific assistance is also provided in the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 1624 and 2178, which both emphasize the importance of preventing terrorism through addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of violent extremism by engaging communities and nongovernmental actors.

Bilateral partners are also involved in initiatives that are aimed at improving service delivery such as education, which can also contribute to CVE objectives by enhancing resilience. For instance, in 2015, the United Kingdom government's Department for International Development and the U.S. Agency for International Development launched the Tusome Early Learning Programme in Kenya, which is aimed at improving literacy outcomes in lower primary grades and enhancing the quality of education. The program helps to give a better start to almost 5.4 million Class 1 and 2 pupils in 22,600 Kenyan public schools through the provision of new textbooks and other reading materials and will also train nearly 60,000 primary school teachers

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Global Counterterrorism Forum, Horn of Africa Region Capacity-Building Working Group Workshop on Countering Violent Extremism in the Horn of Africa, 11 February 2014, Ankara, Turkey. The cochairs' summary of the workshop is at [https://www.thegctf.org/documents/10303/92064/14Mar2014\\_Summary\\_Workshop+on+CVE+in+HOA\\_11+Feb+2014+Ankara.pdf](https://www.thegctf.org/documents/10303/92064/14Mar2014_Summary_Workshop+on+CVE+in+HOA_11+Feb+2014+Ankara.pdf).

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in modern teaching methodologies. The Tusome program builds on earlier efforts of a pilot that successfully doubled the percentage of Class 1 and 2 pupils able to read at national literacy benchmarks in 1,384 focus schools between 2011 and 2014.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to larger donor programs coordinated by capitals, some bilateral partners have appointed resident CVE advisers in their embassies in the subregion to better streamline their CVE programming.

### **17. Coordinate and optimize subregional support to the Greater Horn of Africa by international actors such as the EU, United Nations, GCTF, and bilateral partners.**

With so many national, subregional, regional, and international stakeholders investing in security programming in the Greater Horn of Africa, it is critical that strategies and projects are coordinated and optimized to avoid overlap and enhance impact. A mapping of the various international, subregional, national, and local actors active in the region could prove insightful in understanding the different CVE-specific and CVE-relevant programs and implementers. Furthermore, donor coordination can help to identify capacity and training gaps that can benefit from future investments. The GCTF's Horn of Africa Working Group has proven to be a useful, informal forum for harmonization on a policy level but could benefit from enhanced efforts to catalyze concrete local projects and programs.

### **18. Conduct CVE awareness training for field representatives of international actors in the Greater Horn of Africa.**

International bodies that have actors in the field could work with partners to facilitate CVE training for subregional and local office staff in the Greater Horn of

Africa in the context of their work in the subregion. These could include resident coordinators from the United Nations Development Programme, regional office staff from UNODC and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, staff at EU delegations and EU member state embassies, and other stakeholders. The effectiveness of these individuals could be enhanced if the training was provided before they took on their new posting in the subregion, to ensure that they are well-attuned to their new environment. These trainings could introduce CVE concepts and strategies and highlight the interdependence between security, development, and governance, hence fostering increased understanding and cooperation across different policy programs. They could be modeled on a similar regional CVE training initiative developed for the EU in different regions of Africa and Asia.<sup>26</sup>

## **III. Recommendations for Action to Empower Civil Society, the Media, and the Private Sector**

In addition to states, regional bodies, and international organizations, civil society actors have an important role to play in identifying, preventing, and countering violent extremism. This section includes recommendations for supporting the capacities of civil society organizations to work with communities to address grievances, provide access to services, increase resilience to violent extremism, and promote civic and political engagement. It is important that credible, community-based actors that represent the diversity of the subregion are empowered—or, when necessary, established—to mitigate sociopolitical marginalization and relative deprivation of marginalized groups, and strengthen community cohesion and resistance to the lure of violent extremism. Furthermore, they need to be provided the space to operate

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<sup>25</sup> For more information, see British High Commission Nairobi, "UK Helps in Giving Kenyan Children a Right Start in Education," 3 February 2015, <https://www.gov.uk/government/world-location-news/uk-helps-in-giving-kenyan-children-a-right-start-in-education>.

<sup>26</sup> For more information about these courses, see Global Center on Cooperative Security, "Regional CVE Thematic Training Delivered to EU Delegations in the Horn of Africa," 3–5 December 2013, Nairobi, Kenya, <http://www.globalcenter.org/events/regional-cve-thematic-training-delivered-to-eu-delegations-in-the-horn-of-africa/>; and Hedayah, "EU CVE Regional Training on South and South East Asia," 18–20 March 2014, Abu Dhabi, UAE, <http://www.hedayah.ae/communications/featured-events/eu-cve-regional-training-on-south-and-south-east-asia/>.

independently and safely. This section also includes recommendations for the roles that media practitioners and private sector companies can play in preventing and countering violent extremism.

**19. Support media practitioners with professional development and training opportunities that include awareness raising and sensitization to countering violent extremism.**

The centrality of perceptions and narratives in radicalization and recruitment highlight the important roles of the media and communications in developing local and context-specific responses to the drivers of violent extremism and insurgency. To enhance their abilities to support community resilience and to offer alternative narratives or counternarratives through the provision of balanced information, local media practitioners and organizations could be supported through professional development trainings and materials. Moreover, regional media organizations might be encouraged to develop voluntary codes of conduct on engaging with designated terrorist groups or violent extremists, or on reporting news and protecting the rights and dignity of victims of terrorism. International and regional actors could work with civil society organizations, including media organizations and regional journalists' associations, to develop training opportunities that could focus on, among other things, investigative methods, writing and presentation skills, research and verification techniques, and the development of codes of conduct for print, broadcasting, and radio in relation to conflict and violent extremism. Trainings could also offer opportunities to learn from intra- and inter-regional lessons, bringing together practitioners from other regions within and beyond Africa.

**20. Inspire communities through alternative narratives and sports, arts, and cultural programs.**

Media practitioners, civil society organizations, and

policymakers could be supported in the development of regional and subregional strategic communication plans that create common approaches to communicating about and engaging violent extremist groups, and developing shared counternarratives drawing on local and regional resources. Such strategies could highlight alternative, positive narratives that counter those disseminated by extremist groups and promote a sense of citizenship and belonging. Tailored programming could focus on youth, given their vulnerability to extremist narratives,<sup>27</sup> and support youth and youth-facing organizations to enhance their voices to provide alternative stories and positive visions of regional development and security. Importantly, the narrative should give a realistic reflection of prospects so as not to create (further) disillusionment. Beyond traditional platforms such as radio, the strategies should include using social media and peer-to-peer communication such as WhatsApp where appropriate.

Sports, arts, and culture can also be critical ingredients in efforts to strengthen community resilience and challenge extremist narratives.<sup>28</sup> While they can be part of a larger educational program, they can also be developed and delivered to specifically address some of the pull factors that confront vulnerable communities. For example, sports, arts, and culture can provide valuable means of talking about differences and diversity, and underscoring common histories, experiences, and hopes for many people while provoking critical thinking and discourse on the same. They offer valuable opportunities to engage youth, women, and communities, and to develop alternative, positive means of understanding and addressing grievances and tensions that can contribute to violent extremism. Therefore, support from partners could involve collaborating with civil society actors in the fields of sports, arts, and culture (including educators and cultural organizations) in generating deliberate CVE programming that incorporates, for example, messaging on diversity, critical thinking, and demystifying of extremist narratives.

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<sup>27</sup> Anneli Botha, "Radicalisation in Kenya: Recruitment to al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council," Institute for Security Studies, Paper 265, September 2014, <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper265.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> Fink, Bhulai, Alhassen, and Zeiger, "Thinking Outside the Box."

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## **21. Improve access to justice and informal justice systems.**

In some instances, grievances against the state and rule of law-based institutions, such as the police or judiciary, can contribute to an enabling environment in which individuals may be receptive to extremist groups or find their violent ideologies appealing. This is particularly a concern in areas with weak justice and dispute-resolution mechanisms. In addition to the need for states to improve access to formal justice systems, civil society actors, such as human rights defenders and local legal support services, could play an essential role in increasing access to justice for disaffected individuals or marginalized groups such as women, youth, refugees, and minority populations, including through informal justice mechanisms if these are the only sources for resolving disputes and conflicts.

## **22. Promote entrepreneurship.**

Supporting local entrepreneurship initiatives in communities can have an enormous impact on alleviating conditions of acute deprivation and sociopolitical marginalization and provide the kinds of material and social incentives that extremist groups purport to offer. Such initiatives could focus on providing training in basic entrepreneurial knowledge and skills, including in business administration and management, which could improve the livelihoods of communities while strengthening their sense of empowerment and resilience. Private sector businesses such as local banks and other support services could be leveraged in providing training, skills, and mentorships to young and upcoming entrepreneurs in the community. Developing entrepreneurial skills could also help empower marginalized groups, including women and youth, by providing them with income-generating opportunities. For example, a group of women in Uganda, using their own savings, started a business that sells fashionable jewelry in the United States.<sup>29</sup> The women are in many cases former victims of violence and conflict,

and participation in the initiative offers not only a means of accessing social and medical assistance for themselves and their families but also of acquiring the skills and opportunities to develop independent businesses and generate their own income.

## **23. Engage the private sector.**

Given the negative impact of terrorism on economic development and business operations, private sector companies should be engaged to invest in programs that aim to prevent and counter violent extremism. Beyond promoting entrepreneurship and providing vocational and technical skills training, the private sector can support grassroots initiatives and empowerment programs by providing access to networks, communication tools, and financial and other resources. This includes local businesses as well as regional, sub-regional, or national branches of multinationals that can contribute individually or pool their investments to maximize impact, for instance through the recently established Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund (GCERF).<sup>30</sup> One domain in which the private sector has played an influential role is in providing employment and livelihood to VEOs that are reintegrating back into society as well as to their families.

## **24. Foster youth leadership and training.**

Investing in youth engagement and empowerment programs throughout the Greater Horn of Africa is critical in improving the socioeconomic prospects of youngsters, promoting their civic engagement and democratic participation, and increasing their resilience against violent extremism.

For example, civil society groups like the Youth Arts Development and Entrepreneurship Network work in urban areas throughout East Africa with the aim of engaging young people, particularly women and youth, and empowering them to actively participate

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<sup>29</sup> For more information about 31 Bits, see <http://31bits.com/about/mission>.

<sup>30</sup> GCERF is a public-private partnership that supports local, community initiatives aimed at strengthening resilience against violent extremism. For more information, see <http://www.gcerf.org>.



in social, cultural, and economic development of their communities. While the network's activities may not be CVE specific, such organizations can make relevant contributions to addressing some of the drivers and conditions that can fuel support for extremist groups or prompt youth to seek alternative paths that can lead to terrorism. The Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance is a national network of local Muslim youth groups that works to empower young Kenyans through a range of activities focusing on civic engagement, democratic participation, interfaith dialogue, and leadership skills.<sup>31</sup>

Support could also be given to create youth societies or alliances modeled on initiatives such as the Model United Nations program, debating clubs, and mock government programs found in educational institutions around the world. Boys and girls could be selected to participate in workshops and discussions about violent extremism, conflict prevention, peace-building, CVE topics, and other issues. This would be useful in providing initial training and experience to the next generation of leaders and to help them feel connected to power centers and their communities. Participation in such activities should involve boys and girls equally to develop a cadre of youth leaders who will likely contribute to public service at the regional and national levels. Through such organizing and networking, youth could be encouraged to work together on issues of joint concern to create viable alternatives to war, conflict, and ethnic tension, and ultimately build resilience against violent extremism. Such youth forums could be extended to include web-based and person-to-person networks both within and beyond the subregion.

## **25. Build the capacity of civil society organizations working with girls and women.**

The role of women in preventing and mitigating con-

flict has often been highlighted by policymakers and practitioners, particularly through the adoption and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and related national action plans in member states. However, women can also be proactive participants in violent extremist groups. Within families and communities, they may be among the first to notice signs of radicalization in young people. Civil society organizations that work with women should be empowered and adequately resourced to address this spectrum—for example, by identifying possible signs of radicalization and offering early intervention and support, or by working with survivors' or victims' families. In communities where women play important roles as mothers or leaders, they may provide influential voices in challenging extremists and reducing their appeal. Women's groups and organizations that work with women can therefore benefit from targeted support while ensuring that their work is not instrumentalized and securitized.

Many such groups require increased capacity, first to interact with wider portions of their own communities and relevant regional and international partners, and second to build capacity for dialogue on good governance and conflict prevention, particularly in relation to violent extremism. Existing women's networks could prove inspirational and offer helpful lessons learned. For example, the Sisters Against Violent Extremism initiative engages women across different subregions (including the Greater Horn of Africa) and empowers them to identify and respond to violent extremism, whether through research and advocacy or initiatives like Mothers Schools that work directly with families by empowering mothers to be more active agents in their children's lives.<sup>32</sup> Part of this effort also supports women to be proactive voices against violence and terrorism, to highlight the impact on their communities and dissuade young people from joining.

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<sup>31</sup> For more information, see Greg Macousi, *Youth, Arts, Development & Entrepreneurship Network (YADEN East Africa)*, BAMN-FILMS, 2013, <http://vimeo.com/56625804>.

<sup>32</sup> For more information about Sisters Against Violent Extremism, see <http://www.women-without-borders.org/save/>.



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## **26. Enhance engagement with traditional cultural and religious leaders.**

Traditional cultural leaders and faith-based organizations are often widely respected in communities and can be powerful voices against extremism and violence. Frequently, these leaders have well-established relationships and presence within communities and can be credible interlocutors in providing advice and support to the development of appropriate CVE initiatives—especially the younger leaders, as they can more easily reach and connect with the youth. Civil society actors could engage with these traditional cultural and religious leaders to promote locally and contextually relevant counternarratives, inter- and intra-faith dialogue, and other initiatives against violent extremism.

Existing examples from the subregion could be informative. For instance, the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims recently adopted a charter on countering violent extremism and is engaged in efforts to strengthen community resilience against violent extremism through initiatives that include engaging in interfaith dialogue and advocacy on human rights and governance.<sup>33</sup> This involves cooperation with stakeholders—including civil society groups, national and county governments, faith-based organizations, and international development partners—aimed at preventing and combating violent extremism within the Muslim community and beyond.

## **27. Involve diasporas as a positive resource, and leverage the positive impact of remittances.**

Diaspora communities have an important and positive role to play in the development of their homeland countries. For instance, the people of the Somali diaspora are intimately connected with and heavily invested in their homeland, remaining apprised of the most current happenings in Somalia through media such as online newspapers and blogs as well as contact

with relatives and friends back home. This informed community has been involved in various initiatives aimed at rebuilding the economy and establishing peace and good governance in Somalia, particularly over the past 20 years.

However, despite this active presence, such diaspora communities remain a largely untapped resource whose engagement beyond remittances is yet to be fully realized. While clan-based interests as well as the geographic separation of diaspora communities have limited their ability to pursue unifying activities, engagement with credible leaders of diaspora communities around the world, including those in Canada, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States, would be helpful to coordinate activities being implemented in countries like Somalia, avoiding duplication of efforts and resulting in a more even distribution of resources. Because of the prevalence of international development aid allocated to efforts within Mogadishu or initiatives in Somaliland, where a higher relative security means that international donors are able to more actively maintain a presence, strategic coordination of the diaspora community's efforts and contributions could fill a gap in the other areas of Somalia that do not receive as much capacity-building assistance. Given Somali diaspora communities' wide breadth of expertise and employment, this diversity could be leveraged to develop institutions that support the rule of law, aid service delivery, and train future leaders in these sectors in Somalia.

Links could be made between diaspora organizations in sister cities to support women and youth organizations in the subregion, with the objective being to increase their political and economic participation and foster resilience against violent extremism within their home countries as well as in the diaspora communities.

Additionally, diaspora communities and other stakeholders need to be sensitized to the risks of money laundering and terrorist financing to ensure that

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<sup>33</sup> Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, "Countering Violent Extremism in Kenya: Accountability and Advocacy Charter," 16 January 2014, [http://www.supkem.com/cve\\_conference/CVE\\_CHARTER.pdf](http://www.supkem.com/cve_conference/CVE_CHARTER.pdf).

remittances, particularly those to the most vulnerable parts of the subregion, are not curtailed by efforts to prevent the flow of resources to terrorist organizations.

#### **28. Strengthen capacity of civil society actors to access and manage resources for CVE programming.**

Many civil society organizations in the Greater Horn of Africa face administrative and management challenges that prevent them from accessing resources and funding for their CVE-specific and CVE-relevant projects. Securing funds from large international donors and foundations can be particularly challenging for such actors because of their inability to navigate often complex application processes, inflexible funding rules and restrictions, and, in some cases, the preference of donors to support bigger and more well-established organizations with the capacity to undertake multiyear projects. International actors—such as the GCTF-inspired GCERF and Hedayah—could support trainings and provide guidance to local organizations to help them develop capacities, such as technical and accounting skills, acquisition training, research guidance, and assistance with monitoring and evaluation processes, which would enable them to access and sustain funding for CVE-specific and CVE-relevant projects.

#### **IV. Next Steps**

The ideas presented in this Action Agenda outline strategies, programs, and initiatives that can be implemented to prevent and counter violent extremism in the Greater Horn of Africa and increase human security and community resilience. They stress the importance of holistic and inclusive approaches that involve a range of actors, including states in the subregion, partner governments, and international and multilateral actors, as well as regional, subregional, and nongovernmental organizations. To increase the effectiveness of the contributions of many of those stakeholders, it is critical that they follow the strategic guidance that the United Nations, EU, GCTF, AU, and IGAD have developed and adopted as a blueprint for coordinated action. With an eye toward increasing the sustainability and impact of CVE programs, it is advisable to build on initiatives that are already in place in the subregion and important to ensure that current and future activities are embedded in ongoing efforts that aim to build capacity across the criminal justice, security, and development sectors. It is hoped that this Action Agenda will provide states in the Greater Horn of Africa and their international and local partners inspiration for concrete, timely, and effective programs to address the complex and dynamic security challenges they face.









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

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

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

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