

Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution
(TPCR) Study Group

Agendas for Conflict Resolution in Eastern Africa



Edited by Hideaki Shinoda
and Simon Nyambura

2025.12

ROLES REPORT No.47

Agendas for Conflict Resolution in Eastern Africa

Edited by Hideaki Shinoda
and Simon Nyambura

2025.12

発行所： 東京大学先端科学技術研究センター

創発戦略研究オープンラボ（ROLES）

〒153-8904 東京都目黒区駒場4-6-1

電話： 03-5452-5462

Web サイト：<https://roles.rcast.u-tokyo.ac.jp/>

ISBN 978-4-910833-03-3

Table of Contents

1. Introduction: Agendas for Conflict Resolution in Eastern Africa <i>Hideaki Shinoda and Simon Nyambura</i>	14
2. Exploring the Geopolitical Configurations of Eastern Africa: FOIP and External Geopolitical Theories for Better Harmonization <i>Hideaki Shinoda</i>	39
3. Leadership and conflict: Examining governance as the core challenge in East and Horn of Africa <i>Simon Nyambura</i>	53
4. The Japanese Peace Cooperation Policy in the Horn of Africa <i>Mika Inoue-Hanzawa</i>	87
5. Redefining Peacekeeping in Africa: UNSC Resolution 2719/2023 and the Challenge of Implementing African Solutions: Examples from Post-ATIMISS Arrangement in Somalia <i>Markos Tekle Rike</i>	107
6. Conflict Resolution in Eastern Africa: A Focus on Somalia <i>Abdifatah Aden Abdi</i>	147
7. Elite Bargains and the Structural Impediments to Comprehensive Peace in South Sudan (2011–2025) <i>Patrick M. Maluki and Regina, S. Gitau</i>	175
8. Fragmented Peace as Peaceocracy: A Critical Examination of Ethiopia's Disjointed Peacebuilding Architecture <i>Yonas Ashine</i>	217
9. The Nexus Between Climate Change and Pastoralist–Agro-Pastoralist Border Conflicts in Eastern Ethiopia: The Case of Babili Wereda of Fafan Zone in the Somali Region and Babile Wereda of East Hararghe Zone in Oromia Regional State <i>Ashenafi Mebratu Bahiru</i>	256
10. Kenya as an Indian Ocean State: Maritime Security, External Partnerships, and the Free and Open Indo-Pacific <i>Stephen Mogaka and Brendon J. Cannon</i>	286

11. From Eastern Africa to the Lake Chad-Sahel Belt: The Current and Imminent Exploitation of Digital Technology by Terrorist Groups <i>Rosalind Nyawira Macharia</i>	325
12. Youth Engagement in the IGAD Region: Good Practices and Lessons Learned in Countering Radicalization into Violent Extremism through Strategic Communication <i>Martha Njiiri and Simon Nyambura</i>	361
13. Commissions and Governance in Eastern Africa <i>Nkatha Kabira</i>	386
14. Rethinking Restorative Justice Systems to Address Border, Ethnic, Resource, and Political Grievances and Conflicts in East Africa: A Case Study of Uganda <i>Katusiime Elizabeth</i>	421
15. Ethnic Manipulation, Representational Dilemmas, and the Precarious Future of Multi-ethnic Democracy in Kenya <i>Muiru Ngugi</i>	446
16. Viral Dissent and Security Dilemmas in East Africa: Youth-Led Political Disruption and the Case of Kenya's 2024 Gen Z Uprising <i>Samuel C. Kamau</i>	484
17. Mediating Regional Tensions: A Case for Conflict Resolution in East Africa <i>David Muturi</i>	515
18. Djibouti: A Maritime Crossroads at the Heart of Global Naval Rivalries and Alliances <i>Daoud Aboubaker Alwan</i>	533
19. Geopolitics of a Fragile State at the Gateway of Sub-Saharan Africa: Multilayered Conflicts and Failed International Interventions in Sudan <i>Hideaki Shinoda and Ijlal Eltahir Ibrahim Ahmed</i>	539

List of Authors

Name	Title
Hideaki Shinoda	Professor at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Senior Associate Member of ROLES of the University of Tokyo
Simon Nyambura	Director, IGAD Leadership Academy (ILA), and IGAD Centre of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (ICEPCVE)
Mika Inoue-Hanzawa	Professor, Toyo Gakuen University, Japan
Markos Tekle Rike	Foreign policy researcher and foreign service trainer at the Institute of Foreign Affairs, MFA Ethiopia
Abdifatah Aden Abdi	Peacebuilding and Conflict Advisor, Ministry of Interior, Federal Affairs and Reconciliation [MOIFAR], Somalia
Patrick M. Maluki	Chair, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.
S. Gitau Regina	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.
Yonas Ashine	Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations, at Addis Ababa University , Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Ashenafi Mebratu Bahiru	Lecturer of Sociology, College of Social Sciences & Humanities, Haramaya University, Ethiopia
Stephen Mogaka	Independent Consultant based in Nairobi, Kenya, specializing in the international relations and political economy of East Africa
Brendon J. Cannon	Associate Professor of International Security at Khalifa University, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. His research interests are at the nexus of international relations, security studies, and geopolitics
Rosalind Macharia Nyawira	Former Director of the National Counter Terrorism Center, Kenya
Martha Njiiri	Head of Strategic Communications, IGAD Centre of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (ICEPCVE).

Nkatha Kabira	Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Nairobi
Katusiime Elizabeth	Researcher, Makerere University, Uganda
Muiru Ngugi	Senior Lecturer, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi
Samuel C. Kamau	Strategic Communication and governance expert, teaching at the National Defence University
David Muturi	Consultant in Kenya
Daoud Aboubaker Alwan	Counter Terrorism & Maritime Security Pillars Head, IGAD Security Sector Program [ISSP]
Ijlal Eltahir Ibrahim Ahmed	Doctoral Student at the Graduate School of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan

Profiles

Hideaki Shinoda

Hideaki Shinoda is Professor at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and Senior Associate Member of ROLES of the University of Tokyo. He is head of "Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution" Study Group. He completed his PhD in International Relations at London School of Economics and Political Science in 1998. His international experience includes visiting scholar appointments at the University of Cambridge and Columbia University as well as service as a Visiting Professional at the International Criminal Court. He has received multiple academic awards for his work on peacebuilding, theory and history of international affairs and ideas such as state sovereignty. He has 16 single-authored books in English and Japanese with some translated into Chinese, in addition to numerous edited books, book chapters, journal articles, publications for the public, etc. He also has rich experiences of practical activities including refugee relief, UN peacekeeping, training course organizer and facilitator, etc.

Simon Nyambura

Simon Nyambura is the Director, IGAD Leadership Academy (ILA). He is also the Director of the IGAD

Center of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (ICEPCVE) in Djibouti, a regional hub addressing violent extremism in the Horn and East Africa. Previously, he led the Counter Terrorism Pillar at the IGAD Security Sector Programme in Addis Ababa. He brings over 18 years of experience in designing and implementing counter-terrorism and CVE strategies and programs across the region. Dr. Nyambura has also lectured at the University of Nairobi and holds a PhD in International Security from Kansas State University. His work focuses on regional cooperation, policy development, and capacity building to prevent and counter violent extremism.

Mika Inoue-Hanzawa

Mika Inoue-Hanzawa is a professor at Toyo Gakuen University in Tokyo. She has served as a Fulbright scholar at Columbia University (SIPA), a research fellow at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an associate professor at Hiroshima Shudo University, a visiting research fellow at the Hiroshima Peace Institute and University of Oxford.

Her publications include "Theory and Practice of International Peace Operations: Challenges in South Sudan" (co-authored) and many papers on UN, AU, and peace operations in Africa. She has served as an external expert for the Cabinet Office PKO Secretariat Research Group in 2025, and has received awards including the Sato Eisaku Award Grand Prize in 2000..

Markos Tekle Rike

Ambassador Markos Tekle Rike (PhD) is a senior Ethiopian diplomat and academic with over two decades of experience in diplomacy, foreign policy, and higher education. He holds a PhD and MA in Political Science and International Relations from Addis Ababa University and has served in senior roles including Ambassador to Egypt and Japan, State Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Deputy Head of Mission in Stockholm and Juba. In parallel with his diplomatic service, he is an accomplished academic, trainer and researcher, currently serving as a Senior Trainer and Foreign Policy Consultant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

Abdifatah Aden Abdi

Abdifatah Aden Abdi is a senior researcher and peacebuilding expert with over a decade of humanitarian and development experience across the Horn of Africa. Holds a Master's degree in Peace, Governance, and Development from the University for Peace (UPEACE) and a Bachelor of Commerce from Kenyatta University. He is the Founder of the Horn Institute for Research and Consultancy (HIRCO) and currently serves as a Peacebuilding and Conflict Advisor to the Ministry of Interior, Federal Affairs and Reconciliation (MOIFAR), Somalia. His work focuses on peacebuilding, governance, reconciliation, and humanitarian response, supporting government institutions, communities, and international partners to advance sustainable peace and stability.

Patrick M. Maluki

Patrick M. Maluki is Chair, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Holding a PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies, he has over 20 years of experience as a trainer, researcher, and consultant in diplomacy, international negotiation and mediation, political economy, human rights, governance, and peacebuilding. He also serves as Chair of the Council for the Foreign Service Academy and leads the Diplomacy Scholars Association of Kenya. Prof. Maluki has trained extensively at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies and the International Peace Support Training Centre. A prolific author, his publications cover peacebuilding in Africa, Indian Ocean regionalism and piracy, parliamentary roles in peace, and disaster communication. He is Executive Chairman of the Poverty Eradication and Community Empowerment (PEACE) NGO and has founded several research centers at the University of Nairobi focusing on global powers, climate diplomacy, and counter-terrorism.

S. Gitau Regina

Samuel Gitau Regina is currently a DAAD-funded PhD researcher at Ruhr University, Bochum in Germany, whose research area is the political economy of development policy and governance, and how policies are translated and implemented across various governmental levels. Mr. Regina holds a Master of Arts Degree in International Studies from the University of Nairobi and a Bachelors Degree in education (Geography major) from the University of Eldoret. His broader research interests span foreign policy, diplomatic studies, sustainable development goals localization, and regional integration in Africa.

Samuel volunteers as the Deputy Lead Researcher at the American Center of the Study of the United States (ACSUS), University of Nairobi where he manages policy research on US-Kenya bilateral relations and international development. He has also consulted for Regional organizations such as IGAD Leadership Academy(ILA) and IGAD Center of Excellence on PCVE(ICEPCVE) on strategy and Policy.

Yonas Ashine

Yonas Ashine Demisse is an Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. He served as Associate Dean of the College of Social Sciences, Arts, and Humanities (2018–2021) and as Head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations (2022–2025). He is also Associate. Demisse earned his Ph.D. in 2018 from the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), Makerere University, Uganda, in interdisciplinary social studies, majoring in political studies. He is the author of *Slaves of State and Intellectuals of Development: A Genealogy of Development in Ethiopia* (MISR Reviews, Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala, 2022). His research interests include political theory, comparative politics, and the international relations of Africa, with a particular focus on the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia.

Ashenafi Mebratu Bahiru

Ashenafi Mebratu Bahiru is a Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Haramaya University, Ethiopia. Since November 2019, he has also served as Associate Director for Freshman Programs at Haramaya University. As a 2025 alumnus of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Leadership Academy, he currently holds the position of Regional Chairperson for the IGAD Leadership Alumni Network, exemplifying his commitment to regional leadership and capacity-building initiatives. His scholarly research interrogates the intricate nexus between climate change and conflict, human agency in environmental degradation, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution. Holding dual Master's degrees—one in Sociology and the other in Climate Change and Disaster Risk Management—Mr. Bahiru advances interdisciplinary paradigms that integrate sociological theory with environmental resilience strategies.

Stephen Mogaka

Stephen Mogaka is a researcher and analyst with a focus on International Relations, Foreign Policy, and Conflict Analysis in Africa and the Indo-Pacific regions. He was a contributor to the UN/World Bank flagship report, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict." He has also co-authored and contributed to several publications, including three books and peer-reviewed journal articles, and collaborated with several organizations, including the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and the Global Centre for Pluralism. He earned his Masters degree in Political Science from the University of Nairobi and is currently working as an independent consultant based in Nairobi, Kenya.

Brendon J. Cannon

Brendon J. Cannon is an academic with expertise in international security, geopolitics, and the Indo-Pacific, with a particular focus on global power distributions, regional security dynamics, and the interplay between security and emerging technologies. His research examines great power rivalry, security alignments, and classical geopolitics across the Euro-Atlantic and Indo-Pacific regions. His work has appeared in peer-reviewed journals such as *Geopolitics*, *Defence Studies*, *The Pacific Review*, *Global Policy*, *Third World Quarterly*, and *Asian Security*. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Utah in 2009 and is currently Associate Professor of International Security at Khalifa University of Science and Technology in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates.

Rosalind Nyawira Macharia

Rosalind Nyawira Macharia is a legal and security expert with over twenty years' experience in countering terrorism and preventing violent extremism. She is a specialist in international law, terrorism, PCVE. She is the immediate former Director of the National Counter Terrorism Centre and has vast experience in guiding policy and legal frameworks on CT and PCVE, training and research. She holds a doctorate in International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law from the University of South Africa. She is a senior faculty at the National Intelligence and Research University, Kenya, adjunct at National Defence University and a research fellow at the University of Leeds, United Kingdom. She is also an advocate of the High Court of Kenya, a notary public and is widely published widely in the field of law and terrorism. Her current research interest is the interplay between law, security and digital technology.

Martha Njiiri

Martha Njiiri is the Head of Strategic Communications at the IGAD Centre of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (ICEPCVE). Her work focuses on strategic communication, dialogue-based approaches to preventing violent extremism, and capacity building for state and non-state actors in the Horn of Africa. She has over 15 years of experience spanning academia, policy, and practice, with research interests in development communication, counter- and alternative narratives, and strategic dialogue for peacebuilding. She is a beneficiary of the KAICIID International Fellows Programme and the Harvard Kennedy School Executive Education / Kistefos African Public Service Fellowship, and holds a PhD in Mass Communication from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology.

Nkatha Kabira

Nkatha Kabira is a poet, author, and Senior Lecturer at the School of Law, University of Nairobi. She is an internationally recognized scholar, holding fellowships at leading institutes including the Institute for Advanced Studies in Stellenbosch, the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Study, and the University of Pretoria. She is also a member of the Global Young Academy and Intercontinental Academia, and a Distinguished Africanist Scholar at Cornell University. Dr. Kabira earned her PhD and LL.M. from Harvard Law School and holds an LL.B. from the University of Nairobi. An Advocate of the High Court of Kenya, her work spans law, democracy, gender, and governance, alongside award-winning teaching and public scholarship.

Katusiime Elizabeth

Elizabeth Katusiime is a researcher at Makerere University, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of History, Archaeology and Heritage Studies. She is a data analyst for Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit (CEWERU) at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. She is a Gender Equality, Disability, and Social Inclusion (GEDSI) Expert with the Global Alliance on Health and Pollution, and the Executive Director of MELIKA Consultants International LTD and Community Development Efforts Uganda (CDE-U). She previously worked as Senior Technical Advisor for Advocacy and Gender Justice at

CARE International and as Post-Conflict Recovery Coordinator for the Northern Uganda Women Empowerment Program (NUWEP). With 15 years of experience in research, consultancies, and policy in IGAD region. Her PhD thesis focused on military and politics in post-colonial Uganda. Her research interests include military history, civil-military relations, conflict resolution, women, peace, and security, violent extremism, resource conflict, women's economic empowerment, and community development.

Muiru Ngugi

Charles Muiru Ngugi is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi, where he teaches and conducts research in media studies, communication, and journalism education. A former Associate Director at the School and board member of the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), he holds a doctoral degree from Emory University and has academic interests in freedom of expression, political communication, media law and regulation, popular culture, and African studies. He has previously taught at Washington and Jefferson College as a Carnahan Post-Doctoral Fellow and at Truman State University as an Assistant Professor of Communication. Dr. Ngugi is also a writer, editor, and publisher, with publications on media and society in Africa, including work on new media, journalism education, and communication theory. He contributes Op-Eds and essays in the local media and online and produces documentaries on historical and contemporary issues, and is the brain behind Mau Mau Chronicles, one of the most authoritative YouTube history channels in Kenya. His academic contributions extend to textbooks and research articles that inform media practice and scholarship in the region.

Samuel C. Kamau

Samuel C. Kamau is Strategic Communication and governance expert, who teaches at the National Defence University Kenya and University of Rwanda. He has served as Head of Research and Innovation and Lead of the Strategic Communication Programme at National Defence University-Kenya, focusing on integrating communication strategy into defence and security contexts. He is a member of Cornell's Center on Global Democracy Community of Practice, a global network of pro-democracy practitioners and scholars advancing the democratic agenda. An active academic and consultant, he engages in research, teaching, and public discourse on communication's role in organizational and societal transformation. His interests include governance, security policy, digital influence, and organizational

culture. A self-described budding futurist and lifelong learner, he applies futures studies to emerging challenges at the intersection of communication, governance, and security.

David Muturi

David Muturi was the Dean, Faculty of Commerce and Distance Learning at KCA University and Thereafter the Executive Director/CEO Kenya Institute of Management. A position he held for eight years. He has been a leadership and management columnist in the Daily Nation- Kenya and the Management magazine-Kenya for over seven years. He co-founded and convened the Africa Governance, Leadership and Management Convention for five years under the patronage of H.E Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, retired President of the federal republic of Nigeria to discuss African issues, problems and solutions. The report of the conventions was shared across all African governments. He led a team of experts to develop and implement a leadership program for the IGAD leadership academy that is mentoring young leaders in the region. He is an adjutant lecturer at the graduate school of Media and communication of the Aga khan University-Nairobi.

Daoud Aboubaker Alwan

Daoud Aboubaker Alwan is Counter Terrorism & Maritime Security Pillars Head, IGAD Security Sector Program [ISSP].

Ijlal Eltahir Ibrahim Ahmed

Ijlal Eltahir Ibrahim Ahhmed is Doctoral Student at the Graduate School of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan.