



Off University Road, Survey Area, Kawe/Mlalakuwa Plot # 301-304, House # 250, P.O. Box 32505, Dar es Salaam –TANZANIA, Tel: +255 22 2701890, +255 22 2701895-6 e-mail: info@fordia.org

January 23/07 – 23/09

Final technical report on the Research project:

**Understanding Obstacles to Peace in the Great Lakes Region: Actors,
Interests and Strategies**

Project Grant Number 103963-001

Implemented in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi and the DRC

Members of the research team:

Prof. Mwesiga Baregu, Principal Researcher (baregu@udsm.ac.tz)

Prof. Roger B-M Kibasomba, Country Researcher DRC (rogerkibasomba2005@yahoo.fr)

Dr. Alfred Sebit Lokuji, Country Researcher for Sudan (wanioloro@yahoo.com)

Dr. Paul Omach, Country Researcher for Uganda (pomach@yahoo.com)

Dr. Hussein Mahmoud, Country Researcher for Kenya (hamahm2@yahoo.com)

Dr. Mohamedi Bakari, Country researcher for Tanzania (Zanzibar) (mubakar@udsm.ac.tz)

Mr. Charles Berahino, Country Researcher for Burundi (berahinocharles@hotmail.com)

This report is presented as received from project recipient. It has not been subjected to peer review of other review processes



Presented to IDRC on January 23, 2009

UDSM-PSPA

Abstract

The quest for peace in the Great Lakes region could not be more urgent. The region has become the home of violent and prolonged conflicts causing untold suffering and blocking meaningful socio-economic progress; but no solution seems to be in sight. The First Summit of Heads of State and Government of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGL) (Dar es Salaam, 19th. 20th November, 2004) was yet another initiative, this time at a regional level, to address the protracted and largely intractable conflicts that have afflicted the region for many years. Most of the earlier initiatives have approached these conflicts on a case-by-case and state-by-state basis and therefore focused on the directly affected countries in trying to find solutions to these conflicts. We thus have had the Burundi, Rwanda, DRC, Uganda, Sudan, etc. peace processes being conducted concurrently but as separate and seemingly unrelated processes. This has meant that even in those cases where the conflicts are interrelated and overlapping with reciprocal effects there has been little effort to draw out the necessary linkages and to work deliberately towards a regional and comprehensive settlement. The Great Lakes region must be understood as a conflict formation in order to promote sustainable regional peace.

Thus, conceptually, this research project was designed to capture comprehensive field of actors taking into account their multiplicity, the complexity of their interests and their patterns of interaction within particular conflicts and across conflicts as well.

On the whole each of these studies identifies the critical actors' interests and strategies in the particular conflict. Collectively the case studies affirm the initial assumption that conflicts are driven by actors and their interests. This has profound implication for both conflict theory (moving from root causes of conflict to obstacles to peace) as well as for peace negotiations (distinguishing between strategic actors and the non-strategic actors).

The specific findings from each case are as follows:

- In Burundi lack of good governance and politicization of ethnicity underlie the recurrence of the conflict.
- In the DRC the country's rich resources combine with a fragile state to attract plunder and intervention.
- In pastoral Northern Kenya institutional biases, discriminatory policies and regional instability are the major forms of obstacles.
- In Sudan the "North-South" dichotomy is a faulty paradigm. Fears of balkanization of the Sudan; bursts of the quest for democracy; ideological claims of building democratic institutions; the politics of exclusion—"marginalization"; Arab vs. African Nationalism; and the search for the capture of the powers of the state are the dominant obstacles.
- In Northern Uganda it is the combination of historical grievances and the militaristic approach of the government which fuel the conflict.
- In Zanzibar hidden agendas revolving around the historical legacies of mistrust, the revolution and the union underlie the persistent failure of peace negotiations.

Keywords:

Great Lakes region a conflict formation, comprehensive field of actors, interest and strategies, root causes of conflict and obstacles to peace, strategic actors and non-strategic actors, good governance and politicisation of ethnicity, resources plunder and fragile state.

List of Abbreviation

CECORE	Centre for Conflict Resolution
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ForDIA	Concern for Development Initiatives in Africa
GRIP	Great Lakes Regional Institute for Peace
IC/GL	Great Lakes International Conference
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
OCHA	The U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PeSeNet	Great Lakes Peace and Security Network
PSPA	Political Science and Public Administration
PSR	Public Service Commission of Kenya
THARS	Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Services
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations Human

Table of Content

List of Abbreviations	iii
List of Tables	v
I. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	1
UOP Understanding Obstacles to Peace in the Great Lakes Region	1
II. PROJECT (RESEARCH) OBJECTIVES	1
Overall Objective;	1
Specific objectives	1
Assessment	2
III. METHODOLOGY	5
IV. PROJECT ACTIVITIES	6
Note on Project management Activities	8
V. PROJECT OUTPUTS	8
A Note on Policy Recommendations	9
A Note on the Dissemination Workshops	9
Important Note from Research Findings Dissemination Workshops	10
VI. PROJECT OUTCOMES	10
Project impact as recorded in the progress reports	10
Capacity building	11
Potential Policy influence/intervention	11
A Note on the Research Findings	11
VII. OVERALL ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS	12
VIII. CERTIFICATION	13

List of Tables

Table I: An assessment of the extent to which the project objectives were met	2
Table II: status of project activities implementation	6
Table III: status of project outputs	8
Table IV: Research findings dissemination workshops participation structure	9
Table V: important issues for addressing peace and security challenges in view of country priority	10

I. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The 'root-causes' of conflict are not necessarily the obstacles to peace in the Great lakes Region of Africa. The research project, *Understanding Obstacles to Peace in the Great Lakes Region: Actors, Interests and Strategies*, was conducted to explore, describe and analyse the obstacles to peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, which has been affected by protracted conflicts for many decades. The research findings, when published, will change the way scholars and policy makers have tended to describe and possibly acted to resolve conflict in and beyond the region. Great Lakes region of Africa, as a conflict formation, requires placing emphasis on obstacles to peace rather than 'rooting causes'.

The research project attempted to build upon past experience while recognizing a number of facts that have either been neglected in the past or have simply not received the attention they deserve. Such peace making initiatives as the recent Great Lakes International Conference (IC/GL) pre-suppose, among other things, that the region has been able to learn some lessons from past experiences and is therefore better informed and more adequately prepared to confront the challenges it faces in building sustainable peace. Some of these lessons could be:

- (i) That the conflicts are regional in scope
- (ii) That the issues and actors are diverse and overlapping
- (iii) That civil society is a major stakeholder in building sustainable peace.

II. PROJECT (RESEARCH) OBJECTIVES

Overall Objective;

Generally, the research project intended to develop a new conceptual framework for explaining protracted conflict in the Great Lakes Region by focusing on the role of actors and their interests in blocking peace processes. Thus the project sought:

- (i). To identify the kind of interests that revolve around the blocking of peace initiatives whether at the negotiation or the implementation stage and to suggest policy options.
- (ii). To contribute towards a better design of peace negotiations and agreements by placing the interests of actors at the core of the negotiation agenda.
- (iii). To distinguish strategic actors from non-strategic actors in a whole field of multiple actors with diverse interests in order to target negotiations to ensure successful and sustainable agreements.

Specific objectives

To that end, the project objectives were both theoretical and for practical seeking to promote strategic policy discourse/dialogue on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes Region. At the theoretical level, the research project would focus on describing and analyzing the behaviour of actors in terms of the interests they seek to promote and defend and the strategies they adopt in dealing with other actors in the conflicts, to promote or obstruct peace.

At the policy level, the study seeks to strategically mobilise, inform and capacitate civil society and intergovernmental actors' engagement with governments in the region; contributing towards the process of negotiating viable agreements on the basis of recognizing actor interests and drawing a distinction between strategic and non-strategic actors. To that effect, the research project also sought to specifically;

- (i). Identify and describe the comprehensive field of actors along with their interests; understanding behaviour of individual actors in relation to their particular interest and to determine their peace orientation, i.e. conflict entrepreneurs, peace blockers, opportunists and peacemakers.

- (ii). To map out and analyse the sub-regional complex actor interaction patterns with the aim of identifying strategic and non-strategic actors for purposes of structuring peace negotiation and implementation processes to minimize the spoiler effect.

- (iii). To inform and reinforce the Actors, Interests and Strategies-based model for conflict resolution and peace building as strategic entry-point for peace, security and governance key policy engagement/dialogue between civil society and intergovernmental actors on one hand and governments on the other hand.

Assessment

The research project assessment as indicated in the table below, notes ample evidence showing the project objectives were fulfilled.

Table I: An assessment of the extent to which the project objectives were met

Country & Researcher	Objective type	Assessment	Indicators	Chapter title
Burundi Berahino Charles	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A number of Burundi peace interests underscored. ○ Bottlenecks associated with design of previous peace negotiations elaborated. ○ A distinction between strategic and non-strategic actors done 	Chapter notes mentioning arms-deals and control of state power as core interest	Hidden Agendas: Blocking Peace in Burundi
	Specific	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Specific chapter notes reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate. 	Comprehensive chapter details covered under section: Actors, interests and strategies in the Burundi conflict	
DR Congo Professor Roger Kibasomba	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A diversity of interests clearly elaborated ○ Design of previous peace negotiations revisited ○ A distinction between strategic and non strategic put forward 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Comprehensive chapter notes on 'Victoria and Kazakh networks', 'Victoria connection and Kazakh Connection', ○ 'Currencies of the war' and the business of Coltan, Diamonds and Cannabis drug as interest 	Obstacles to Post-Election Peace in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

	Specific	Specific chapter notes reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate	Chapter specific details on the nature of conflict and actors: The CNDP, The FDLR, The Mayi-Mayi, The FARDC, MONUC and their interests in the DRC conflict; and the armed groups' strategies	
Kenya Dr. Hussein Mahmoud	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ political and social interests; local and cross-border, noted 'low politics' actors adopting invisible strategies noted 	Comprehensive chapter notes detailing misuse and abuse of power and manipulative behavior, and biases of NGOs.	Conflicts and Constraints to Pastoral Peace in Northern Kenya
	Specific	Specific chapter notes reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate	Chapter specific details on weak state in the frontier and neighborhoods, the Ajuran/Degodia conflict and the Wagalla massacre, the Boran/Gabra conflict of 2005, the Ethiopian/OLF conflict and spill over effects of the Somali ambitions and state collapse	
Sudan Dr. Alfred Lokuji	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A number of contradicting interests clearly pointed out ○ Analysis of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) done as basis for identifying strategic and non-strategic actors involved in previous peace negotiations. ○ A clear distinction across complex and inter-related multitude of strategic and non strategic actors spelt out 	Chapter notes on issues: Threat of Balkanization, Quest for Democracy and Challenges to Regimes, Arab vs. African Nationalism, and Competition over Political Dominance, Competition Over Economic, Natural & Other Resources, and The Search for the Capture of State Power are indicative.	Conflict in Sudan: Beyond the North-South Dichotomy
	Specific	Specific chapter notes	Chapter notes on	

		reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate	Actors and Actor Interests in Sudan, namely (Internal Actors): Khartoum Government, Sudanese Arabs/Muslims, The SPLM and the GOSS, The "Junubin" or Southern Sudanese, etc, and (International Actors): Egypt, Libya, & Arab World Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, The USA, China, Europe (EU) and Africa (AU), etc.	
Tanzania-Zanzibar Dr. Mohamed Bakari	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Interests underlying Zanzibar conflict spelled out. ○ Inconclusive peace negotiations involving delineated actors articulated. ○ Zanzibar conflict actors and peace blockers adequately characterised 	Chapter notes on Socio-economic and Political Context, Delineation of Actors and Patterns of Interaction, Underlying Issues, Actors' Interests & Strategies, Revolutionary Legacy and the Politics of Exclusion, The Union Issue and its Complexity, The Relationship between the Zanzibar Government and the Union Government and Democratic governance.	Obstacles to Political Reconciliation in a Semi-autonomous Political Entity: The Case of Zanzibar
	Specific	Specific chapter notes reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate	Chapter notes on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Actors and their Roles: The Role of the Armed Forces, the International community, the Exiled Forces ○ Strategies used by CCM-Zanzibar and the Union Government, CCM, Union, Political Brinkmanship, Violence Strategy, Discrimination Strategy: Rewarding 	

			Supporters and Sanctioning Opponents, etc	
Uganda Dr. Paul Omach	Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The complex interests involved in the Ugandan conflicts clearly illustrated. ○ Elusive peace negotiations clamped with strategic and non-strategic actors explored. ○ Uganda peace/conflict actors properly tagged. 	Chapter notes on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ State and Nation-Building and Conflicts in Uganda ○ 1986-1988: Relocation of the epicentre of Conflict and instability to northern Uganda 	The Elusive Search for Peace in Northern Uganda: 1986-2008
	Specific	Specific chapter notes reflecting objectives (i),(ii) and (iii) are quite adequate	Chapter notes on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1988 to 1994 ○ 1994 to 'Operation Iron Fist' 2003 ○ Post-Operation Iron Fist ○ The Juba Peace Talks 	

III. METHODOLOGY

The research was designed on country case study basis employing methods of thick description as well as process tracing following up particular actors and their interests in the conflicts. The studies relied on in-depth interviews and secondary data in the form of published information, reports and other documented materials. To harmonise the research methodology, a researchers' workshop was conducted immediately prior to country-researchers started fieldwork activities.

As noted in the proposal, the researchers in Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Sudan Tanzania and Uganda, greatly depended on primary and secondary data in the form of documentary review/analysis and in-depth interviews (qualitative data). Interviews particularly with actors in the field or their representatives were conducted (Burundi) using interview schedules developed from the researchers' workshop. In Kenya, focus group discussions were employed. Where it became necessary (DRC), the researcher collected survey data as means for testing public opinion of actors, using random or structured population sampling supported by structured questionnaires (Burundi, Tanzania). Burundi also adopted the participatory observation techniques. Key informant interviews were conducted (Uganda) with government officials, politicians, local leaders and elders within the community, security officials, staff of Non Governmental Organizations, religious and faith based groups. Additional information was gathered from informal interviews with members of the local community, rebels and returnees (Sudan). Quantitative data were not collected, and therefore neither could country researchers use SPSS to analyse the research data.

IV. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The scheduled research project activities as indicated in the project proposal were successfully done during the period. An evaluation of project activities implementation status is provided in the table below.

Table II: status of project activities implementation

Quarter	Implemented project activities	Status of implementation	
		score	Remarks
I	1. Setting up of the Research Management Team and the project coordination system at ForDIA (PeSeNet Secretariat) and in the 6 research countries	done	By March 2007, PMT established and all project equipment acquired
	2. Reorienting/recruitment and contraction of project personnel and consultants	done	By February 2007, all PMT members were contracted, and 3 project support personnel employed.
	3. Touching-base PeSeNet members to backstop smooth project start and relations in each of the 6 research countries	done	By March 31, contacts had been reinforced in Uganda, DRC, Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi and Sudan
	4. Invitation, processing of sub-proposals (country specific) and contraction of country researchers	done	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ By March 31, invitation for country sub-proposals had been finalised in the six research countries; ○ By April 15, sub-proposals had been processed, and country researchers selected; and ○ By June 24, country researchers had been contracted.
	5. Undertake project management key functions of planning, organising, staffing, directing coordinating, control, monitoring, evaluation, budgetary spending supervision and reporting.	continuing	From February 2/07onwards, regular PMT meetings were conducted, corresponding management decisions made, necessary payments effected, fund flow control measures effected, books of project accounts maintained, project materials control rules applied and project staff paid.
	6. Research planning activities - Elaboration of research design and Methodology. - Identification of research areas and key variables - Development of preliminary instruments. - Testing of research instruments.	done	By June 23/07, consultations with country researchers on the core research tasks had been sealed regarding the research design, methodology, key variables and instruments Also the researchers had agreed on data type that would be generally qualitative but with possibility to collect quantitative data where researchers considered necessary.
	7. Researchers' (Methodology) Workshop - Review of Conceptual framework; - Confirmation of research areas/matrix - Confirmation of variables; - Completion of research instruments.	done	June 22-24, the Research Methodology Workshop was conducted for 3 days (Dar es Salaam). All (six) country researchers took part. Researchers reviewed the research conceptual framework, confirmed research areas and matrix, agreed on variables, data type and instruments. The methodology workshop was an important milestone to get project core activities started
II	1. Research assistants contraction	done	With exception of Tanzania and Sudan, Research Assistants were identified for recruitment by country researchers subject to final endorsement by ForDIA.
	2. Project fund disbursement to country researchers and research assistants	done	First instalment of US\$5000 for researchers and US\$1000 for research assistants remitted to beneficiaries.
	3. Communication and planning to carry out field supervision	done	Some difficulties were experienced communicating to Southern Sudan and the DRC.

	4. Data collection	done	Data collected successfully done in all project countries.
	5. Data analysis	done	Mostly qualitative data successfully done in the project countries.
	6. Reporting (drafting of chapters)	done	Many draft chapters submitted in time except drafts from Tanzania and Sudan that were submitted belatedly.
III	1. Coordination of Country researchers' submission of draft chapters containing preliminary findings and policy recommendations.	done	Many draft chapters submitted in time except drafts from Tanzania and Sudan that were submitted belatedly. The draft chapters are yet another important milestone of the project; the tangible output indicating initial confirmation of project delivery.
	2. Coordination of review of draft chapters, detailing about the research findings and policy recommendations	done	Only three chapters submitted timely were reviewed. Belated drafts were reviewed commensurate with time of submissions.
	3. Sending comments and recommendations about the draft chapters' findings and recommendations to country researchers	done	General comments were sent to all country researchers for adoption. Specific comments were sent only to Uganda, Burundi and Kenya.
	4. Organise the regional conference to facilitate and coordinate research findings presentations.	done	Regional conference was successfully organised and well attended; April 18-19, 2008. The IC/GLR officiated at the opening.
	5. Coordinate submission of revised draft chapters from researchers	done	By August/ 08 only Kenya, Burundi and Uganda researchers have submitted their respective revised draft chapters. Again Sudan, Tanzania and RDC submitted their revised draft chapters belatedly
	6. Disbursement of funds to country researchers and research assistants	done	Researchers' fees disbursements (final) were effected belatedly due to country researchers' delays to submit the revised draft chapters.
	7. Communication	done	The electronic mail proved the quite robust and most efficient of communication. Communication played vital role to both the project management and the researchers
IV	1. Coordinate publishing of an edited volume and country specific policy briefs	done	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o IDRC scholarly commercial publishing partner (Bill Carman) has been contacted o Fountain Publishers (Kampala) identified and is currently awaiting the manuscript. o Country-specific policy briefs authored o Technical editor contracted; still editing the volume
	2. Coordinate the strategy for dissemination of research findings in the region: presentations of policy brief papers at public forums in each of the research project countries.	done	Six country-level research-findings' dissemination workshops were executed in each research country and finalised by January 19/09. PeSeNet members became very instrumental to hosting the workshops in Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. The research findings dissemination workshops were an important stage in the project milestone. Workshop participants validated the research findings
	3. Administrative functions	done	Supervision, researchers' fees disbursement, coordination and reporting successfully effected.
	4. Printing and dissemination of the report (text book)	In progress	The volume (report) expected by June /09. The research report, when readily printed will become another significant milestone of the project (final output)

Note on Project management Activities

The project management functions were conducted efficiently and effectively. However, it is worth-noting some new developments/lessons that prompted and had to be addressed in the due course. The project timeline for submitting the draft chapters was not strictly adhered to by all country researchers. The country researchers for DRC, Tanzania and Sudan submitted their chapters belatedly. That means an incremental implication on the manhours allocated for project staff and therefore the budget. Accordingly, instead of 15 months the project director and the coordinator had to work for 18 months, and the workload for project support personnel and the accountant scaled up from 11 to 13 and 9 to 11 months respectively. As lesson learned from experience, ForDIA considers that next time it should full cost the labour for the entire project life time.

On a similar note, continuous depreciation of the Tanzania currency (a shilling) during the project implementation period resulted into accumulating the loss on exchange amounting to US\$ 7700. This is due to the fact that the exchange rate once used for transaction at the time of receiving the disbursement from IDRC, kept declining in favour of a dollar therefore adversely affecting the subsequent transactions made in dollar terms. As lesson learned form this effect ForDIA considers to open the foreign currency account, although it is costly to maintain.

V. PROJECT OUTPUTS

In the course of implementing the project, process as well as final project outputs were foreseen. The table below provides an account of analysis of the status of project outputs.

Table III: status of project outputs

Quarter	Outputs	status	indicator(s)	Type: process/final
I	PMT and system	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PMT members' contracts PMT meetings' minutes Project management system 	Process output: Dar es Salaam
	Contracted PMT and country research team members	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3 Copies of PMT contracts 6 copies of country researchers' and assistants' contracts 6 copies, country sub-proposal 	Process output: Bujumbura, Kivu, Juba, D'Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala
	Project equipment	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Toshiba laptops 1 cannon heavy duty photocopier 1 HP (h/duty) printer-4250n PCL 2 (750 KVA) APS UP 	Process output: Dar es Salaam
	Researcher methodology workshop	✓	Workshop report	Process output: Dar es Salaam
II-IV	Draft chapters	✓	6 Country-specific draft chapters	Process output: Dar es Salaam
	regional conference	✓	Conference report	Final output: D'Salaam
	6 policy briefs	<p>✓</p> <p>In progress</p>	<p>6 Country-specific policy briefs</p> <p>3000 copies of policy briefs</p> <p>Ready by June 2009</p>	<p>Process output: D'Salaam</p> <p>Final output: Bujumbura, Kinshasa/Goma/Bukavu, Khartoum/Juba, D'Salaam/Zanzibar, Nairobi/Moyale and Kampala/Gulu</p>
	Country-based research-findings dissemination workshops	✓	6 Country workshop events and reports	Final output: Bujumbura, Bukavu, Juba, Zanzibar, Nairobi and Kampala
	Research report	In progress	2500 copies of report (book format)	Final output: Bujumbura, Kinshasa/Goma/Bukavu, Khartoum/Juba,

			Ready by June 2009	D'Salaam/Zanzibar, Nairobi/Moyale and Kampala/Gulu
	Capacity/reach-out to PeSeNet members	✓	7 country-based PeSeNet members reached and assigned to coordinate workshops	Final output: Bujumbura, Bukavu, Zanzibar, Nairobi and Kampala.
	Regional peace and security policy analysis, debates and recommendations	✓	1 Research-findings dissemination workshop synthesis report	Final output: Bujumbura, Bukavu, Juba, Zanzibar, Nairobi and Kampala

A Note on Policy Recommendations

The respective country research findings presented as case studies (chapters in the overall research report) have indicated country-specific as well as broad regional policy recommendations and lessons learned. These recommendations are not included in this report but constitute content for policy briefs, which are meant for wider dissemination to reinforce policy (peace and security) engagement amongst the strategic stakeholders, especially those in the policy making structures and civil society actors promoting relevant policies for peace-building, good governance, and peace and security.

A Note on the Dissemination Workshops

The research-findings dissemination workshops are a significant landmark, as project output with far reaching ramifications (outcome and impact), in the course of finalising the project. PeSeNet members and country researchers were particularly instrumental for country-level local coordination and mobilisation. The workshops mobilised participants across the board of state and non-state actors, particularly civil society actors. The workshops were scheduled between December 2008 and January 2009, therefore conducted in Bujumbura, Bukavu (Eastern DRC), Nairobi, Juba (Southern Sudan), Kampala and Zanzibar (Tanzania). The workshops were the means used to facilitate strategic dissemination of the research findings within countries. The research findings were presented to country-based strategic stakeholders (max. 30 invited). They later discussed the research concept, methodology, data type and analysis, the resulting policy recommendations, and they proposed future action areas, in the country or regionally. The table below presents the workshops participation structure.

Table IV: Research findings dissemination workshops participation structure

Type of participant	Number limit
CSOs	5
Governance Policy research and academic institutions/Universities	3
Relevant UN Agencies (UNHCR, Peace Missions, OCHA)	2
In Country Foreign missions supporting IC/GLR, including Canada	3
High ranking Govt. Officials; conflict/peace/security policy decisions	3
IC/GLR national Coordinator	1
MPs known for public support of peace, security conflict resolution	2
Mainstream media	2
Retired high ranking military personnel	1
Country research team	2
Persons living in the research fieldwork areas	2
Opposition political parties (esp. those in conflict with the ruling Govt.)	2
Conflict, peace/security advisory professional	1
Intergovernmental agencies	1
Total	30

However, later and at the time of planning the research-findings dissemination workshops, it was discovered that the Project Director had to present the project concept and background in all countries. To that effect, unlike the prior arrangement, 2 instead of 1 project staff had to attend all the research-findings

dissemination workshops, definitely with budget incremental implication. As lesson, ForDIA considers that next time it is important to appropriately underscore the gravity of workload of similar nature and budget accordingly.

Important Note from Research Findings Dissemination Workshops

Stakeholders' interventions and discussions during the workshops revealed some important country specific peace and security/conflict issues, certainly contextualised by local policy environment. These issues, in our view, require the attention of peace-building policy stakeholders, from both the demand and supply side. The table below presents a summary of the issues needing serious attention.

Table V: important issues for addressing peace and security challenges in view of country priority

S/no	Country	Peace-building priority issue	Contact
1	Burundi	Trauma healing and political tolerance	THARS/PeSeNet
2	DR Congo (Eastern)	National unity and good governance (civic awareness)	Heritiers De la Justice
3	Kenya	Political civility and good governance	PSR-Kenya/PeSeNet
4	Sudan (Southern)	Help Civil society to Exist; demilitarisation awareness	PeSeNet/Country researcher
5	Zanzibar (Tanzania)	Electoral management system reform (power sharing)	ForDIA/PeSeNet
6	Uganda	National unity realisation, political civility campaign	CECORE/PeSeNet

VI. PROJECT OUTCOMES

The project outcomes are suitably informed by records as previously noted in the progress reports and also, as certainly derived from the project output and activities as presented above. However, the project had originally expected the outcomes as follows:-

1. Increased knowledge base on peace processes
2. Enhanced possibility of transforming protracted conflicts
3. Developing more informed policy interaction in peace processes
4. Generating awareness of the broad field of diverse actors and interests in protracted conflicts

Project impact as recorded in the progress reports

The project outcome worth mentioning include appropriation by country researchers, of the 'obstacles to peace' versus 'conflict root-causes' concept towards conflict resolution and peace building knowledge and policy. Moreover, the country researchers conducted interviews with the media in their respective countries at various forums are also noted as project outcomes (capacity to disseminate the newly acquired concept/knowledge). The Project Director presented the project approach at various regional, international and/or intergovernmental conferences/ workshops/meetings when invited to do so, including particularly at a COMESA Research Methodology Meeting held in Lusaka in November 2007.

Moreover, the media coverage of the project, especially during the regional conference; media interviews with national coordinators, IC/GL Executive Secretary, project director, country researchers and other high regarded participants had generated considerable project outcomes in terms of increased capacity and influencing appropriate policy-makers. Another remarkable project outcome is the series of print media feature articles that consistently covered the regional peace and security critical issues, which were raised, discussed and concluded in line with the research findings during the regional conference. The Tanzania Government-owned *Daily News* took the lead by publishing the articles for two consecutive months subsequent to the regional conference. The "Actors interest and strategies" model of conflict analysis has been well received when presented at different forums in the region and beyond, and it therefore the project outcome.

Capacity building

The Project has to a great extent increased the institutional and individual capacities through equipment, networking, enhanced knowledge and active involvement. The acquired project equipment, daily involvement in management and administration and, and continuous reviews of the research documents have collectively contributed to capacity building for ForDIA [PSPA and PeSeNet], consultants and personnel working on the project. Indeed, ForDIA and PeSeNet outreach capacity in the G/L region has increased tremendously. The diverse composition of regional conference participants across the Great Lakes region, involving a variety of state and non-state actors, subscribes to capacity building outcome of the project to ForDIA and collaborators in the project.

Another landmark outcome of the project is the increased visibility and ownership of PeSeNet in Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, DR Congo, Tanzania and Kenya, and the Great Lakes region generally. PeSeNet members have generated the strong sense of networking 'above the network' determined to forge their role ahead consistently within vision and mission of the network in the region. Individual activists in Sudan have shown ardent interest to represent and work for PeSeNet therein, hence the project outcome.

Potential Policy influence/intervention

The project and particularly the research findings is a potential instrument to influence peace and security policy in the Great Lakes region. The Secretariat of the IC/GL in Bujumbura, and the respective country coordinators in the region were invited, to which many did actually participate in the regional conference and the research findings dissemination workshops. To that end, ForDIA/PeSeNet and PSPA have created a potentially productive working relationship with relevant (peace and security) policy executives/technocrats charged with policy development/design/advisory role in the region. We intend to institutionalise the gain by setting-up a Great Lakes Regional Institute for Peace (GRIP).

A Note on the Research Findings

As noted earlier in this report, *Understanding Obstacles to Peace in the Great Lakes Region: Actors, Interests and Strategies*, is the research project that sought to describe and analyse the obstacles to peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, which has been affected by protracted conflicts for many decades. The project endeavoured to describe and analyse protracted conflicts in the Great lakes region of Africa as a conflict formation placing emphasis on obstacles to peace rather than 'root causes'. The research therefore presents findings of case studies of the conflicts in Burundi, DRC, Northern Kenya, Northern Uganda, Southern Sudan and Zanzibar (Tanzania). Some of the research-findings conflict specific conclusions are:

- In Burundi lack of good governance and politicization of ethnicity underlie the recurrence of the conflict.
- In the DRC the country's rich resources combine with a fragile state to attract plunder and intervention.
- In pastoral Northern Kenya institutional biases, discriminatory policies and regional instability are the major forms of obstacles.
- In Sudan the "North-South" dichotomy is a faulty paradigm. Fears of balkanization of the Sudan; bursts of the quest for democracy; ideological claims of building democratic institutions; the politics of exclusion—"marginalization"; Arab vs. African Nationalism; and the search for the capture of the powers of the state are the dominant obstacles.
- In Northern Uganda it is the combination of historical grievances and the militaristic approach of the government which fuel the conflict.
- In Zanzibar hidden agendas revolving around the historical legacies of mistrust, the revolution and the union underlie the persistent failure of peace negotiations.

The research findings generally support the hypothesis that obstacles to peace may or may not lie in the root causes of the conflicts. The settlement or transformation of such protracted conflicts though calling for comprehensive and inclusive approaches also calls for a distinction between strategic and non-strategic actors so that the former can prevail upon the latter in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements.

VII. OVERALL ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the details provided above in this report, the research project was successfully implemented with the findings generally vindicating the hypothesis that may or may not lie in the root causes of the conflict. The overall objective was and still remains reinforcing the capacities to addressing hitherto escalating belated armed conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The recommendations dawn from the experience of implementing this project, therefore, are contained in the context of the overall project objective.

1. The "obstacles to peace" is a new but realistic approach for explaining the prolonged regional conflict and probably the erstwhile policy failure to delineate and finally resolve conflict or build peace in the region. The research concept and corresponding findings are the new partake providing food for thought amongst scholars, policy advisers and policy-makers. Despite the fact the research report and policy briefs are the important resources to appropriate and adopt the concept, increased knowledge, networking and information sharing around the concept and the research findings, which vindicate the former, is vital. IDRC is better placed, and could therefore take the lead to reinforce efforts destined to increase more knowledge around the model and those wanting to practice the model in the policy arena. To that effect, scholars and professionals from Canada and other like-minded institutions can be invited to undertake more specialised research or test practicality of the recommended policy in the context of the model, which will finally stimulate debate and increase more knowledge.
2. The information contents of the country chapters as were validated by stakeholders' views during the regional conference and research findings dissemination workshops point out the evidence that the prevailing peace challenges are summed into two major categories; regional and country-specific challenges. IDRC could look into and differentiate specific projects that address country-specific challenges with regional impact dimension or the other way round – addressing regional challenges with country-specific impact dimension. Issues of civic education, trauma healing, civic and political rights actualisation, political tolerance, civic awareness (rights and obligations) can be considered for support.
3. As noted earlier in this report regarding costing for project activities, it is imperative for projects to full-cost project labour (project staff and personnel) and to gather enough information on the ground for fieldwork activities planned to be implemented in a foreign country. IDRC must check and cross check this information if it bears impact on the project cost.
4. The project was worth funding and doing. The resulting research findings are vital to reinforce policy practices, discourse and scholars who are tirelessly involved in searching for lasting peace in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

VIII. CERTIFICATION

We certify that all activities detailed above have been actually and necessarily implemented in accordance with the terms and conditions outlined in the Contract as set out in the agreed proposal.

We confirm that the details contained in this report are correct.

Full name Signature

Position Date

Full name Signature

Position Date