



# ANNUAL REPORT 2021



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 [www.horninstitute.org](http://www.horninstitute.org)

## ABOUT THE HORN INSTITUTE

### Objective | Independent | Definitive

The HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies is a non-profit, applied research, and policy think-do tank based in Nairobi, Kenya.

#### VISION

A progressive Horn of Africa served by informed, evidence-based and problem-solving policy research and analysis.

#### MISSION

Contribute to informed, objective, definitive research, and analytical inquiry that positively informs policies of governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.



## OBJECTIVES

- A. Conduct cutting-edge action research and analysis to help inform policy making and action in defence and security; terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization; diplomacy and foreign relations; governance, statecraft and conflict management; and transnational crimes and strategic threats.
- B. Engage in conflict resolution and peacemaking.
- C. Strategic communication for preventing and countering terrorism, responding to conflicts and emerging threats.
- D. Participate in routine advocacy on security, conflict resolution, and peacemaking.
- E. Design courses and deliver training on themes relating to the Institute's focus areas.

**Photos and Illustrations:** Fredrick Siameto, Daniel Iberi and Evans Ombisa

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# Message from the Chair

## 2021, THE MOST CHALLENGING YEAR FOR THE HORN REGION IN A DECADE



2021 proved to be one of the most challenging year for the Horn of Africa region. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan were challenged by persistently intense internal conflicts. Ongoing efforts to reorient the pursuit of national interests of different actors in the region and improve regional security and stability brought mixed results, and the region remains volatile. For a better grasp of the geopolitical challenges that the region is currently experiencing, and to support stakeholder decision-making in its areas of thematic focus with timely and accessible analysis, the Institute added country and regional conflict maps to its research repertoire in 2021.

The year also saw the Institute selected by researchers in the IGAD region to host and coordinate the *HORN Consortium* (an interdisciplinary team of researchers drawn from the IGAD region and Tanzania) to undertake joint research to strengthen the region's capacity to confront challenges posed by violent extremism. The HORN is conducting a regional study on COVID-19 and violent extremism under this consortium.

With satisfaction, I am happy to share with you that the Institute maintained its tradition of convening multi-stakeholder fora to deliberate existing and emerging issues facing and shaping the region's geopolitical landscape. The Institute completed and published ground-breaking research on trends, dynamics, and strategies guiding, framing, and influencing Africa-Middle East relations. The research was followed by an international conference on Africa-Middle East relations. The Institute also held several round-tables to discuss and analyze specific dynamics involving conflict in South Sudan and Ethiopia; democracy and governance in Somalia and Sudan; and a range of other challenges as highlighted in the key activities section of this report. It also increased its networking with its strategic partners at national, regional, and global levels.

I am optimistic that the Institute will scale even greater heights and maintain its growing reputation as one of the leading research organizations and partners in the region in the coming year.

**Mustafa Y, Ali Ph.D.**

Chairman, HORN International  
Institute for Strategic Studies



## Message from **the Director**

As the world entered the second year of a devastating and disruptive pandemic, the greater Horn of Africa region was increasingly facing complex waves of insecurity, instability, and uncertainty that required urgent attention of policy think tanks in shaping appropriate response. As such, the HORN Institute leveraged its convening power, research, and expertise to increase understanding of the regional political and security dynamics while presenting policy relevant ideas and proffering actionable policies.

To this end, the Institute held issue-specific roundtable and consultative fora and conferences; conducted action research and trainings; participated in local and international conferences; and published books, studies, bulletins, and briefs on topical issues that falls within its province. An international conference on Africa-Middle East relations and publication of books on governance and terrorism study were the key highlights by the Institute. Besides, the HORN Institute became the most consulted think tank for opinion and analysis in the region by local, regional, and international media which speaks to the Institute's growing regional and international recognition.

Indeed, such recognition and relative success led the Institute to be recognized as one of 'The Think Tanks To Watch' (No. 18) in the world by the Global Go To Think Tank Index Report in 2020. The ranking is a testament to the HORN Institute's growth and influence in research and policy analysis in the region. While such milestone is much appreciated, it challenges us to do more in contributing to informed policy discourse on the complex challenges that we face as a region, and to a considerable degree, as a 21<sup>st</sup> Century world.

In 2022, the Institute seeks to expand its scope, increase strategic partnerships, and enhance the reach of its products to realize its vision of 'a progressive Horn of



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Africa served by informed, evidence-based and problem-solving policy research and analysis.

**Hassan Khannenje Ph.D.**

Director, HORN International Institute

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hassan Khannenje', written over a horizontal line.

for Strategic Studies

## 2021 Highlights

This is the HORN Institute's 2021 Annual Report and it contains a summary of key activities and events in 2021 as well as the impact, publications, partnerships, media and communication outreach, and prospects for 2022.

In 2021, the Horn of Africa region was characterized by internal political strife, intra-regional tensions, a civil war, political instability, humanitarian crises, insecurity posed by terrorists, COVID-19 pandemic, and longstanding political and security-related challenges. The Institute remained attuned to these dynamics, and in response, it held a series of roundtables

*Prosperity* that took place on August 25-26, 2021 in Nairobi (Kenya). More than 300 virtual and 60 physical participants from over 40 countries spread across five continents attended the conference. The Conference was informed by a HORN Institute study titled *Africa–Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact (2010–2019): An Appraisal* whose key findings were presented, and the study officially launched at the Conference.



to provide a platform in which critical regional challenges were discussed and solutions explored. These discussions focused largely on political and security trends in Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, and Djibouti and the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden region. The sessions were often attended by scholars, subject matter experts, and journalists from the region in which comprehensive reports, policy briefs, and commentaries were developed and shared.

### International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations

To deepen international understanding of the complex relations between countries in Africa and the Middle East, the Institute held an *International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations* themed *Shared Peace. Shared Security. Shared*

### Study on Africa-Middle East Relations

This study investigates the contemporary Middle East-Africa relations in order to increase understanding of the existing matrix of geopolitics, ideology, security, and economics. Using mixed methods, the study seeks to dissect the interplay between geopolitics, ideology, security, and economics in the wake of recent developments in both Africa and the Middle East. It covers the period from 2010 and 2019.

## Symposia and Conference invitations

The Institute's experts and fellows were invited to more than a dozen high-level events at the regional and international levels. Key highlights include a symposium titled *Between Africa and the Middle East: Geopolitical Competition in the Red Sea* by the Italian Institute for International Political Studies and in which the Institute's experts made key presentations including the geostrategic competition between rival powers in the Red Sea, Gulf States' interests in the region, and how to explain Africa's agency. The Institute also took part in an international forum organized by UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre titled *The Pandemic and Violent Extremism: Has the Landscape Changed?* The Conference sought to, among other objectives, examine how the Violent Extremism (VE) landscape has changed in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and how preventing violent extremism should look in the future.

## Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Projects

Besides these activities, the Institute continued with its D-PRIVE Program, a program designed to secure the progress made in the fight against terrorism, and intensify prevention of terrorism measures through two key pillars – Disruption of Extremists' Narratives (DEN) and Deep and Extreme Dialogue (DED). With the input from HORN affiliates, the Institute made great strides in its implementation. In addition, the Institute conducted trainings and workshops on a range of thematic areas key among them terrorism under Preventing and Securing against Radicalization and Violent Extremism (PRESERVE); Course to Understanding Radicalization and Violent Extremism (CURVE); and Identification of Vulnerabilities Leading to Violent Extremism (INVOLVE) courses. In recognition of its impact, the Institute's associate fellows were also offered seminars/taught courses at the National Defence University-College and related trainings.

## Articles

In 2021, the Institute published 40 commentaries and articles on a wide range of the Institute's focus areas. It also published six Issues (approximately 24 articles) of *The HORN Bulletin*; two college-level books; and two studies including a briefing paper titled *Kenya's Political Outlook – Current Dynamics, Coalition Scenarios, and Implications for National Security (2021–2022)*. The paper presents Kenya's current political outlook ahead of 2022 general elections and highlights major political developments since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992, linking them to the current dynamics, issues, actors and critically, the emerging coalitions.











## Our Impact

In 2021, the region convulsed with active intra-state conflicts (Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Ethiopia); terrorist activity (Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania); and destabilizing activities of extra-regional actors pursuing competing interests in the region interspersed with diplomacy, and security engagements. The Institute continued providing evidence-based insights and analyses in form of research articles (website, Bulletin) and studies on existing and emerging issues affecting the region. Notably, diplomacy, governance, and security characterised the region's current affairs in 2021. With the exception of a little more focus on governance in 2020 (attributed to increased focus on presidential elections that were expected or held in 2020) compared to 2021, the Institute noted similar trends in thematic focus in both years.





The Institute also presented its research findings on contemporary relations between Africa and the Middle East (2010-2019), and the link between COVID-19 and violent extremism (2019-2021), at the *International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations* in August 2021, and *IGAD 2<sup>nd</sup> Research Conference on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism* in December 2021 respectively - to diverse audiences (virtual, in person) made up of policy makers, scholars, and practitioners.

In addition to the production of researched articles on issues affecting the region, the Institute mapped the region's active intra-state conflicts (Tigray war, Somalia) and terrorism theatres (Somalia [Al Shabab], Uganda [Allied Democratic Forces]) and produced several conflict maps to inform policy making and conflict resolution at state and regional levels.

The Institute also published a book volume, *'Taking Stock of Devolution in Kenya: From the 2010 Constitution, Through Two Election Cycles, to the BBI Process'* in which contributors (academics, and governance practitioners) document policy debates and Kenya's experiences with devolved governance since the country adopted her 2010 Constitution.





## The Do

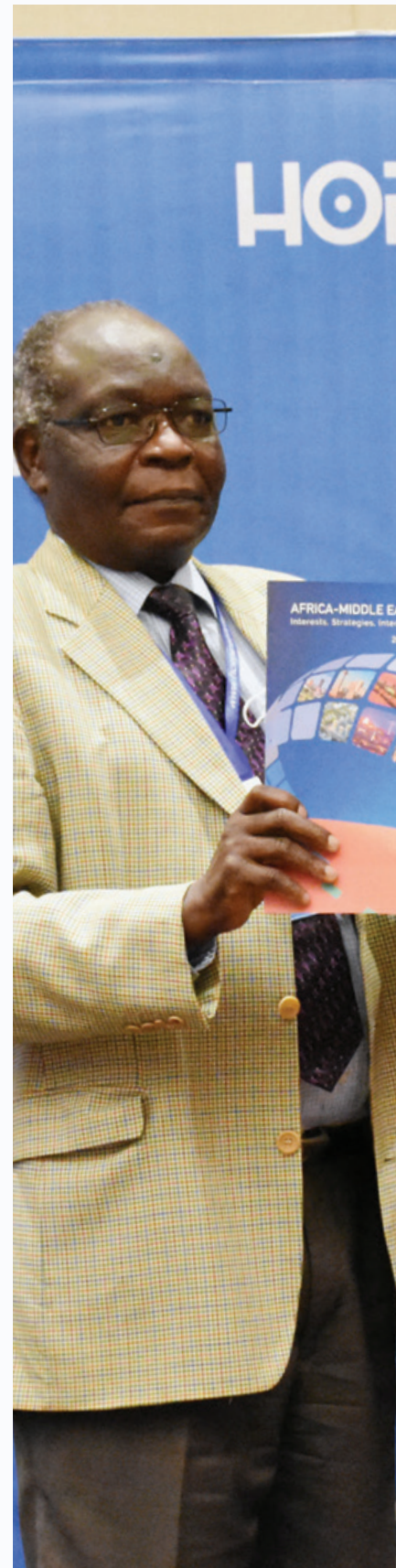
The Institute's 'think-do' function dyad expands its role as both 'research' (think) and 'action-oriented' (do) organization focused on not only producing transformative ideas but also leading the way in implementing these ideas. Therefore, beyond research, the Institute conducted trainings and workshops on a range of thematic areas key among them terrorism under Preventing and Securing against Radicalization and Violent Extremism (PRESERVE); Course to Understanding Radicalization and Violent Extremism (CURVE); and Identification of Vulnerabilities Leading to Violent Extremism (INVOLVE) courses.

In recognition of its impact, the Institute's associate fellows were also drafted to teach at the National Defence University-College.

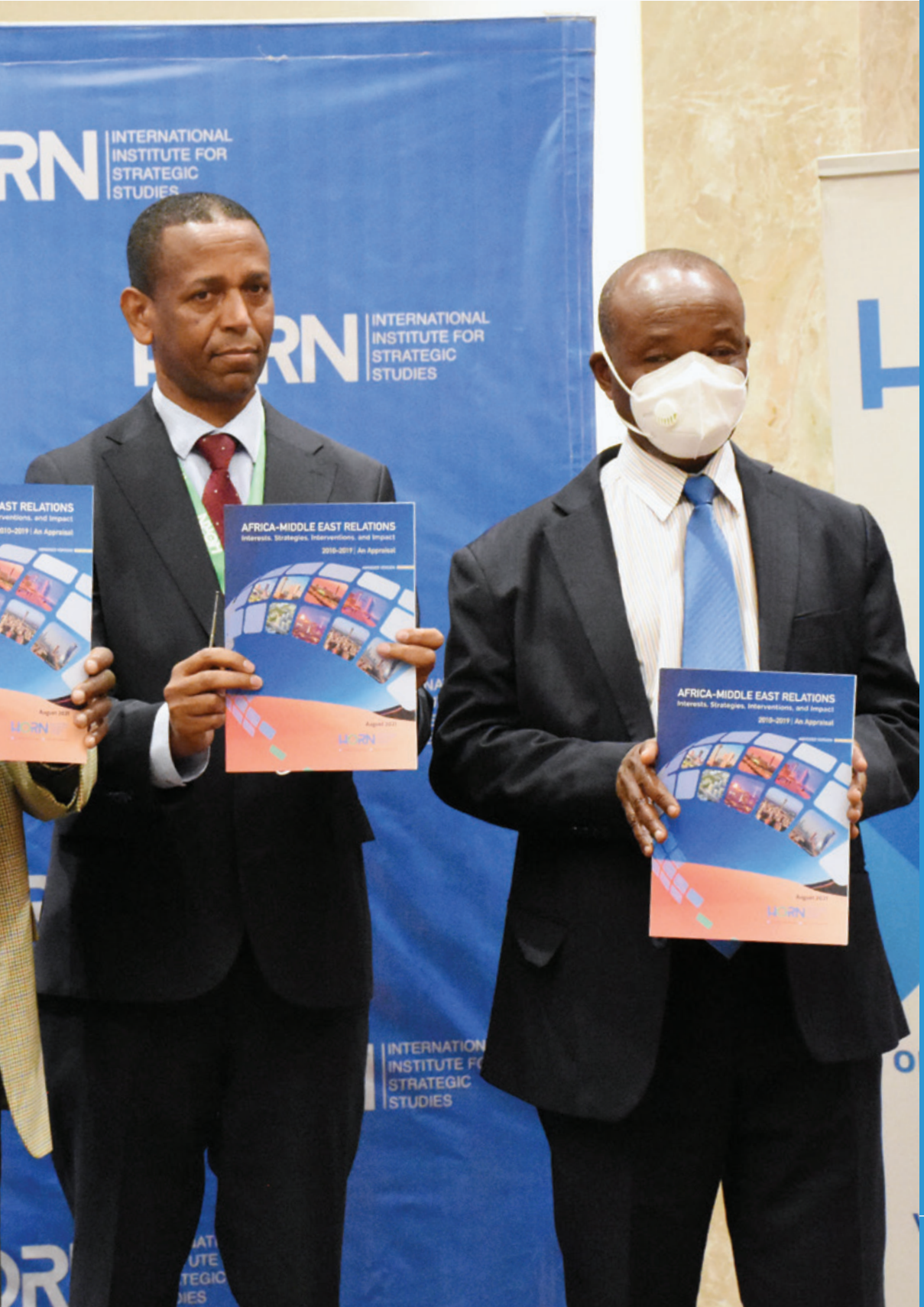
With the input from HORN affiliates, the Institute made great strides in the implementation of the D-PRIVE, a program designed to secure the progress made in the fight against terrorism, and intensify prevention of terrorism measures through two key pillars: Disruption of Extremists' Narratives (DEN) and Deep and Extreme Dialogue (DED). These were realized through one on one meetings, workshops and trainings with key stakeholders including security agencies, civil society organizations, and religious leaders, among others.

As a strategic partner in policy making, the Institute also held a series of roundtables and consultative fora aimed at creating a clearer picture of the current issues affecting the region. The focus of this high-level events included but not limited to Ethiopia's Tigray crisis; Ethiopia-Egypt conflict over GERD; Somalia's political and electoral crises; Sudan's troubled political transition; and South Sudan's implementation of the 2018 peace agreement.

“ The Institute continued providing evidence-based insights and analyses in form of research articles (website, Bulletin) and studies on existing and emerging issues affecting the region







## Key Activities

### International Conference on Africa–Middle East Relations

The Institute held an International Conference on Africa–Middle East Relations on August 25-26, 2021. The conference adopted a hybrid format and attracted a large audience of both physical and virtual (online) participants. The two-day conference featured high-profile speakers and presenters including representatives of governments, policy analysts, policymakers, scholars, practitioners and experts. More than 300 virtual and 60 physical participants from over 40 countries spread across five continents attended the conference.



Discussions during the conference centred on an overriding theme of *Shared Peace, Shared Security and Shared Prosperity*, and organized around three key thematic areas, namely, (i) economic and security considerations in Africa–Middle East relations, (ii) ideological foundations and influences of violent extremism and radicalization, and (iii) geopolitical perspectives in the ongoing relations between Africa and the Middle East. The conference featured a special session for the official launch of the HORN Institute’s Study titled “*Africa–Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions and Impact (2010-2019): An Appraisal*”. Three conference reports will be

written and shared with key audiences including conference participants, policymakers in government, select members of academia, and partners.

“ More than **300** virtual and **60** physical participants from over **40** countries spread across five continents attended the conference



## Roundtables on Somalia Elections

The Institute brought together a diverse group of experts, policymakers, and scholars, to share their perspectives, debate, and discuss the political and electoral crises in Somalia and its implication on regional security and stability. Two roundtable discussions were held: first, a Stakeholders' Forum on *Somalia Elections: Implications for Regional Security and Stability* which was held on January 21, 2021. The round table consisted of political analysts, researchers, academics, scholars, and policymakers who assessed Somalia's electoral crisis through national and regional political and security lenses. The proceedings of

the forum and recommendations are contained in a separate report. The second one was an Experts' Forum on *Somalia's Electoral Crisis: Assessing the Unfolding Events* held on February 19, 2021. The key objective of experts' forum was to assess the persisting tension and dissect the unfolding events in Somalia. A comprehensive report that included recommendations from the participants was prepared and shared with key policymakers.



## Exhibition on CVE and Seminar Series

On February 8, 2021, the HORN Institute led by Dr. Halkano Wario held an exhibition and a series of seminars on Art for CVE in Kenya. This exhibition titled '*Jihad for All? Religious Knowledge, Counter-Narrativity and De-Radicalisation Strategies in Kenya*', was a public engagement dimension of Volkswagen Foundation funded Senior Humanities Postdoctoral Fellowship Project of Dr. Wario. The title of the

seminars that followed the launch are *Arts and CVE* (February 9, 2021); *Incorporating Youth as Active Partners in CVE Programming* (February 15, 2021); *Forum for CVE Artists and Performers* (February 2021); and *Finding Youth: What Development Partners and Civil Societies Actors Can*



*Learn from Past Experiences* (February 25, 2021). CVE scholars, practitioners, and the youth took part in these seminars besides attending the launch of the exhibition.



### IGAD-VE Threat Assessment Workshop

The Institute was invited to a high-level workshop organized by IGAD Center of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (ICEPCVE). Themed *IGAD Promoting Peace and Stability in the Horn of Africa Region*, the workshop discussed some of the drivers, actors, and response strategies of the transnational threat from violent

extremists and terrorists in the IGAD region. Dr. Hassan Khannenje, the Institute's director, made a presentation (assessing and managing violent extremist threat) in the IGAD region.

### Other Conferences, Roundtables, Workshops and Training Invitations

The Institute has increasingly received invitations to participate in various fora, both local and international, as participants, presenters, organizers, or as partners as explained below:

- i) *Between Africa and the Middle East: Geopolitical Competition in the Red Sea – Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI)*. The Institute was among a few think tanks invited by the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) on April 28, 2021 to make a presentation. The main objective of the conference was to assess the main features of the geostrategic competition between rival powers in the Red Sea; the Gulf States' interests in the region; and how to explain African actors' agency.



- ii) **2021 Kenya Think Tank Symposium – Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA).** The Institute took part in the preparation as well as made a presentation in the symposium organized by Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA). The symposium, which was held on April 15, 2021, whose theme was *Building Back Better: The Role of Think Tanks in Supporting Recovery from COVID-19*, gave an opportunity for think tanks to reflect on their role in supporting recovery from COVID-19 pandemic.
- iii) **The Pandemic and Violent Extremism: Has the Landscape Changed? – UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre.** The Institute was invited to shed light on the link between the COVID-19 pandemic and trends in terrorism and violent extremism in the Horn of Africa region on June 14, 2021. This event was organized by UNDP's Oslo Governance Centre and sought to, among other objectives, examine how the Violent Extremism (VE) landscape has changed in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and how preventing violent extremism should look in the future.
- iv) **Development of Kenya's Social Cohesion Index Workshop – National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC).** The main purpose of this workshop, in which HORN was invited, was to develop a *Social Cohesion Index* as part of wider peace building efforts to identify the drivers of disintegration and to understand the points where targeted actions could make a difference. This workshop was held on June 24-25, 2021 and it aimed at generating consensus on the need to develop another Social Cohesion Index for Kenya; solicit commitment of support to the process from both academia and practitioners in the field; and define a way forward from the ideas and perspectives from the workshop.
- v) **Training Ministry of Defence:** The Institute has conducted a series of trainings on various courses at the Ministry of Defence as well as defence attaches. Through the Institute's director, the courses are part of a collaborative effort by the Defence department and the Institute to increase the professionalization and preparation of officers in undertaking their duties internally or externally.
- vi) **NCTC Media and Communications (Basic PCVE) Training:** The HORN Institute in partnership with NCTC organized a Media and Communications Training on Prevention and Countering Violent Extremism for NCTC personnel on September 27-30, 2021. The training was organized around seven modules which were delivered by five of the Institute's experts.



The Institute held an International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations on August 25-26, 2021

## Launch and Gala- Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition

The Institute participated in the preparation of the launch and gala of Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta Competition Season Five. Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta is an initiative that seeks to channel youth creativity towards Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) narrative through Short Film, Poetry and Music competition and targets youth under 35 years in the fight against radicalization, VE and **terrorism**. This year's competition began **on September 16, 2021**. In a bid to engage and build a wider and more inclusive community, video submissions from other East African countries including Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda. Winners of the competition were announced during the gala.



## Development of IGAD Website Repository

The Institute bid and won consultancy to develop the IGAD Repository Website. This repository contains different types of extremists' narratives together with examples of messages that are used to counter as well as serve as alternatives to extremists' narratives in the IGAD region. The repository

will support Preventing and or Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) researchers' activities and promote scholarship in the field of terrorism and violent extremism.

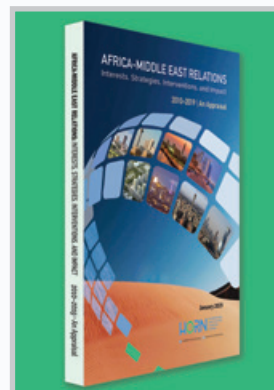


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## Publications

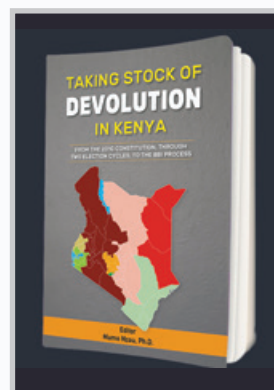
### **Study:** *Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact – An Appraisal*

*Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact – An Appraisal* dissects the interplay between geopolitics, ideology, security, and economics in the wake of recent developments in both Africa and the Middle East. It covers the period from 2010 to 2019, and it seeks to increase understanding of these dynamics. The study was launched at the International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations held by the HORN Institute on August 24-26, 2021 in Nairobi, Kenya.



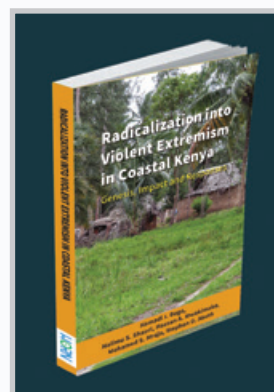
### **Book:** *Taking Stock of Devolution in Kenya: From the 2010 Constitution, Through Two Election Cycles, To the BBI Process*

On April 22, 2021, the HORN Institute launched *Taking Stock of Devolution in Kenya: From the 2010 Constitution, Through Two Election Cycles, To the BBI Process*, its first publication on governance. The 420-page book volume assesses devolution in Kenya with specific reference to theoretical, legal, and constitutional and policy, leadership, governance, and development debates. It also documents devolution experiences in Kenya's 47 counties. It was co-authored by 17 contributors; compiled and edited by Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.; and edited and published by the HORN Institute.



### **Book:** *Radicalization into Violent Extremism in Coastal Kenya: Genesis, Impact and Responses*

*Radicalization into Violent Extremism in Coastal Kenya: Genesis, Impact and Responses* was co-authored by Boga, Hamadi Iddi, Ph.D.; Shauri, Halimu Suleiman, Ph.D.; Mwakimako, Hassan Abdulrahman, Ph.D.; Mraja, Mohamed Suleiman, Ph.D.; and Ouma, Stephen Akoth, Ph.D. *Radicalization into Violent Extremism in Coastal Kenya* explores the dynamics of terrorism in Kenya with a specific focus on the coastal region. The authors seek to answer key questions including the cause of violent extremism on the Kenyan coast and the motivations behind the increasing number of killings in Kwale County. The book seeks to provide solutions to the perpetual cycle of violence through the prism of returnees; a review





of Kenya's amnesty program; radicalization of female victims; and collaboration between the county and national government in tackling violent extremism.

### A Briefing Paper: Kenya's Political Outlook – Current Dynamics, Coalition Scenarios, and Implications for National Security (2021–2022)

The Institute also developed a briefing paper for key partners. This briefing paper presents Kenya's current political outlook ahead of 2022 general elections. It highlights major political developments since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1992, linking them to the current dynamics, issues, actors and critically, the emerging coalitions. To this end, the Institute presents a brief theoretical framework and a background to the subject matter. It then examines the current political dynamics and builds possible coalition scenarios as well as the potential threats that each formation might pose on national security.



### The HORN Bulletin Issues

#### January-February 2021 | Volume IV Issue I

Broadly, this issue contains an analysis of MENA and Horn of Africa geopolitics; Ethiopia's political transition; COVID-19 pandemic and peacekeeping; and misinformation during the pandemic. The following is a summary of each article:



- ❑ **Article One:** *Foreign Powers and the Geopolitics of Instability: The Case of North and the Horn of Africa* discusses the destabilizing impact of this geostrategic competition and individual foreign power projection on governance, economic, and political and security dynamics of the Horn of Africa and North Africa.
- ❑ **Article Two:** *Inside Ethiopia's Troubled Transition: Achievements, Critical Challenges, and Opportunities for Progress* analyzes Ethiopia's troubled political transition following Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's ascension to power in 2018.
- ❑ **Article Three:** *A Call for More Pandemic and Disaster Risk Sensitive Peacekeeping* examines pandemic preparedness of peacekeeping missions based in eastern Africa.
- ❑ **Article Four:** *African Context of Conspiracy Theories, Manipulation, Misinformation, Disinformation, and 'Sharp Power' in the Wake of COVID-19 Pandemic* explores the manifestation of misinformation, disinformation, and 'sharp power' in Africa in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.



## March-April 2021 | Volume IV Issue II

The March-April Issue focused on the Tigray crisis and key considerations; 'genocide' and responsibility to protect (R2P) in Sudan; al Shabab's response to COVID-19 in Somalia; and politics in Ethiopia. Specifically:



- ❑ **Article One:** *Counting on Friends in Tigray: Internal and Regional Considerations in the Ongoing Crisis* discusses the Tigray conflict vis a vis the concepts of state consolidation and ethnonationalism.
- ❑ **Article Two:** *The Darfur 'Experiment' and the Limits of International Law: The Uneasy Confluence of Genocide and the Subsequent Responsibility to Protect* unpacks the long-term impact of the Darfur conflict and the economic sanctions through the lens of 'genocide and the subsequent Responsibility to Protect (R2P)'.
- ❑ **Article Three:** *Al Shabab's Response to COVID-19 in Somalia* investigates how the al Qaida-linked group responded to the COVID-19 pandemic with a special focus on its rhetoric and influence from other terrorist groups.
- ❑ **Article Four:** *The Tigray Conflict and Abiy Ahmed's Struggle Against Identity Politics in Ethiopia* analyzes Ethiopia's ethnic federalism politics and Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's quest for national unity.

## May-June 2021 | Volume IV Issue II

This issue featured four articles on Somalia and President Farmajo's term extension, Cabo Delgado and ASWJ, China in Africa and Ethiopia. Below is a summary of the four articles featured in this Issue:



- ❑ **Article One:** *President Farmajo's Term Extension and Key Issues Underpinning Somalia's Current Political Crisis* discusses Somalia's precarious road to democracy as well as the current political and electoral crises.
- ❑ **Article Two:** *Cabo Delgado: Countering ASWJ Terrorism Will Secure Horn of Africa's Stability*, highlights and explains preconditions for armed violence in Mozambique, including Ahlu Sunnah Wa-Jamo's (ASWJ's) violent extremism in the Cabo Delgado region, and explores the inter-linkages between ASWJ's terrorism, Mozambique's insecurity, and Horn of Africa's stability.
- ❑ **Article Three:** *China's New Non-Traditional Threats to Africa's Security: A Grand Scheme* assesses Africa's strategic engagement with China over the last two decades and Africa's potential exposure to new forms of security threats from the emerging global power.



- **Article Four:** *Evaluating the Utility of Internet Shutdowns in Ethiopia* examines four major internet shutdowns by Abiy Ahmed's government with regards to their ability to disrupt dissent, their impact on the economy, and their ability to protect the government's international reputation.

### July-August | Volume IV Issue III

The bulletin gives an insight on regionalism in East Africa with a focus on the East African Community (EAC). It also talks about politics in Sudan Ghana and women in governance, peace and security. To summarize, the bulletin has four articles, and they are as follows:



- **Article One:** *Limitations and Prospects of Regionalism in East Africa* explains the importance of regional integration, what regional integration entails, and the reason as to why countries join to form regional economic blocs.
- **Article Two:** *Social Media and Political Change in Sudan and Ghana* an article describes the role of social media activism with a central focus on citizen engagements with governments in Ghana and Sudan.
- **Article Three:** *Women in Governance, Peace and Security: Stereotypical Misgivings versus Reality* advocates for the need to have women granted more prominence and presence in the sectors, and gives recommendations on how this can be achieved
- **Article Four:** *East Africa Community Summit Decision-Making Fallibilities and Prospective Role of East African Local Government Association* that argues that institutionalizing the East Africa Local Government Association (EALGA) will provide such an opportunity for joint decision making upon the willingness of the Summit to amend the Treaty.

### September-October | Volume IV Issue IV



September/October Issue is a special edition that contains a summary of the Africa-Middle East study launched at the end of the two-day International Conference on Africa Middle East Relations on August 26, 2021. This Edition is part of the wider study and conference marketing strategy. There were two other articles:

*First, The Illicit Economy and Armed Groups in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Regions: From Somalia, DR Congo to the Central African Republic* an article explores how armed groups have exploited state failure to build lucrative illicit economies that despite military operations and peace efforts, the armed groups have sustained resistance, plunged

the respective countries into permanent fragility, and continue to pose a great risk to regional security due to their transnational presence and operations;

*Second, The Dearth of Content on Radicalization in Kenyan Universities Academic Curriculum* which analyses the inclusion of the content on radicalization, and terrorism in the curricula of universities.

## November-December | Volume IV Issue V

This is the final issue for the year 2021. It addresses the Kenya- Somalia maritime dispute, the intellectual and ideological expansion of the Islamic State, aid conditionalities and development in Rwanda and Africa-Middle East strategic cooperation as shown below:



- **Article One:** *Kenya v. Somalia Maritime Dispute: ICJ Judgement and Implications for Kenya Somalia Relations* argues that the ICJ judgement which settles the Somalia-Kenya maritime dispute will have far-reaching political, security, and social economic implications on foreign and diplomatic relations in the region and beyond; and that the two countries need to engage in post judgement negotiations if they have any plans of exploiting the natural resources available in the contested area.
- **Article Two:** *Intellectual and Ideological Expansion of the Islamic State (Daesh) in Africa* provides a brief overview of ISIS's physical expansion throughout Africa, reasons why ISIS has increasingly shifted its focus to Africa and strategies for fighting ISIS's online recruitment.
- **Article Three:** *Aid Conditionalities and Development in Rwanda: Between Traditional Donors and China*, analyses Rwanda's approach management of development assistance, which has proved to have a crucial role in Rwandan post-conflict development. It also examines China's engagement in Rwanda and the constraints attached to the Chinese alternative to the ODA.
- **Article Four:** *Africa–Middle East Strategic Cooperation in a Globalized World: Rethinking the Future* argues that that there are numerous domains of convergence for strategic engagement between the Middle East and Africa in a globalized world, which if well rethought and refocused, will be of mutual and holistic benefit to the countries and peoples of both regions going into the future.

## Commentaries and Op-Eds

The Institute published more than 40 analytical pieces, commentaries, and op-eds on various thematic foci. Some of these products were published on the Institute's website and local and regional newspapers.

# Media Outreach

In 2021, the HORN Institute's experts and fellows were featured in most major local and international media outlets in which they provided analysis on emerging political, diplomatic, and security issues in the region. The Institute has used these platforms to enrich public understanding of salient issues and to make its research relevant. To this end, the Institute has





become an important knowledge partner for the media who often turn to HORN experts and fellows when they need detailed information. Some of the major media outlets in which HORN experts were featured include CNN, AL Jazeera, SABC, Deutsche Welle, CGTN, BBC (TV, Radio, Africa), VOA, TRT World, ARD, ZDF, , CFI, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, News Central, Citizen TV, NTV, K24, Horizon TV, KTN, *The Conversation*, *The Standard*, *Sunday Nation* and *The East African*.

The collage consists of numerous news broadcast screenshots. Key elements include:
 

- Top Left:** A BBC News Swahili broadcast with Dr. Shiko Kaitany in a 'Studio' and another expert in 'Nairobi'. The headline reads 'Hits and misses in Somalia's four-year quest for stability'.
- Top Right:** A screenshot from 'Urban planners to control housing in towns' with a photo of a soldier.
- Middle Left:** A screenshot from 'SOMALIA BLAST' with the headline 'SOMALIA HAS BEEN MIRED IN INTERLOCKING CRISES FOR THE LAST THREE DECADES'. It features a photo of a destroyed building and a video of an expert.
- Middle Right:** A screenshot from 'OUTLOOK' with the headline 'Why conflict in Mozambique's Cabo Delgado matters for eastern Africa' and 'Coronavirus reveals gaps in education'.
- Bottom Left:** A screenshot from 'ETHIOPIA'S PROGRESS TOWARD DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENT IS THREATENED BY MILITARY ESCALATION'.
- Bottom Center:** A screenshot from 'ETHIOPIA TIGRAY CRISIS' with the headline 'REGION IN CRISIS'.
- Bottom Right:** A screenshot from 'MORNING EXPRESS' with the headline 'WESTGATE, 8 YEARS ON'.



## International Recognition

In a report published in early 2021, the HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies was recognized as one of ‘The Think Tanks to Watch’ in the world in the 2020 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program – The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) of the Lauder Institute at the University of Pennsylvania. The HORN Institute was ranked at position 18 out of 109 think tanks to watch, alongside Brookings Institution, Chatham House, and the Atlantic Council among other top global think tanks in the world. The rankings are the result of an international survey of over 70,000 scholars, public and private donors, policymakers, and journalists who helped rank more than 8,000 think tanks using a set of criteria developed by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program.



**HORN** INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

**RANKED #18**

**THINK TANKS TO WATCH IN THE WORLD**  
By the 2020 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report

GLOBAL GO TO THINK TANK INDEX REPORT 2020

TTCSP

Penn

**HORN** INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

info@horninstitute.org @HISS2017  
www.horninstitute.org @Horninstitute

Source: [https://repository.upenn.edu/think\\_tanks/18/](https://repository.upenn.edu/think_tanks/18/)

The ranking is a testament to the Institute’s increasing impact on the Horn of Africa region – linking research and policy while applying academic rigor to modern day policy issues affecting the region. Since 2017, the Institute has held more than 40 theme-specific fora, conducted research, and published numerous policy documents (white papers and policy briefs); books; articles and commentaries; bulletins; reports; and studies among 2020 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report: The HORN Institute “a Think Tank to Watch”, Listed Among Top Global Think Tanks other

publications on its focus areas in the greater Horn of Africa.

In addition, and as an indicator of the growing influence of the Institute on policy and analyses on political and security trends in the region, the Institute’s resident and non-resident experts have increasingly been featured in local, regional, and international media.

## HORN by the Numbers

**38**

Staff, Experts,  
Associates and  
Fellows

**634**

Average  
Facebook views  
per event




**30**

Key events

**12**

Total number of  
publications

### Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn 2020 and 2021 followers

No.	Social media Platform	Year	Number of Followers
1.	 Twitter	2020	1192
		2021	2451
2.	 Facebook	2020	680
		2021	843
3.	 LinkedIn	2020	700
		2021	831

**12**

Research Areas

**50+**

Commentaries

**150+**

Total number of  
media appearances



**Key publication**

**Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions  
and Impact | (2010-2019) An Appraisal**



### Top Three Events



International Conference on Africa-Middle East Relations



Launch of Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions and Impact | (2010-2019) An Appraisal



Somalia elections Roundtable Series

### Website Views

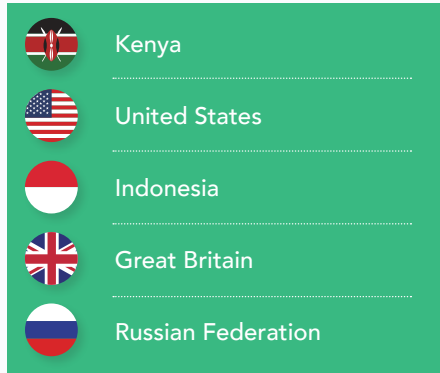
Page visits

# 3,072,627

Hits

# 3,805,433

Visits by top five countries



Most downloaded document: The HORN Bulletin, September-October Issue, 2021

# 32,038

Unique visitors



# Outreach and Partnerships

In 2021, the Institute built extensive networks with governmental and nongovernmental organizations including important think tanks that shape policy in a number of foreign countries that have diplomatic relations with Kenya and the region. Further, the Institute has become a go-to think tank for local and international media especially on geopolitical, diplomatic, security, and terrorism issues. Such recognition has led for the Institute being ranked number **18**, as a think tank to watch in the world in 2021 by the Global Think Tank Index.

## Partners



IGAD Centre of Excellence for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



Government of Kenya



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



National Counter Terrorism Centre  
Kenya

## Council of **Advisors**



**H.E. Erastus J. Mwencha, E.G.H., M.B.S.**, Chairperson, African Capacity Building Foundation



**Rev. Samuel Kobia, Ph.D.**, Chairman, National Cohesion and Integration Commission



**Titus K. Ibui, E.G.H.**, Chairman, Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport (LAPSSET)



**H.E. Yusuf Nzibo, Ph.D., E.B.S.**, Former National Chairman, Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM)



**Mumo Nzau, Ph.D.**, Lecturer, University of Nairobi, and National Security Strategist



**Mustafa Y. Ali, Ph.D.**, Director, Arigatou International – Nairobi, and Secretary General, GNRC



Regional and continental trade and investment facilitates regional integration, reduces intra and inter-trade competitions and political conflicts between countries and regions. It also enhances peace and security given that countries will be dependent on each other for goods and services.

**Titus Ibui, EGH.**

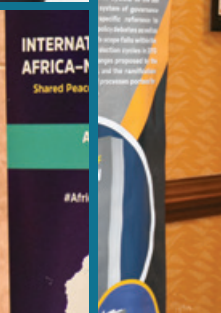
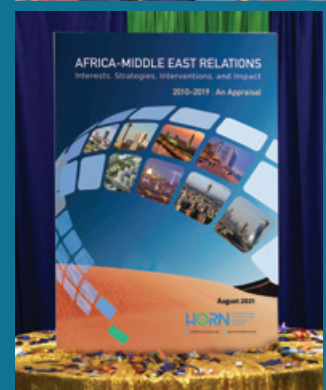
Chairman of the Board, LAPSSET Corridor Program



# 2021 in Pictures













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**ANNUAL  
REPORT**  
**2021**