

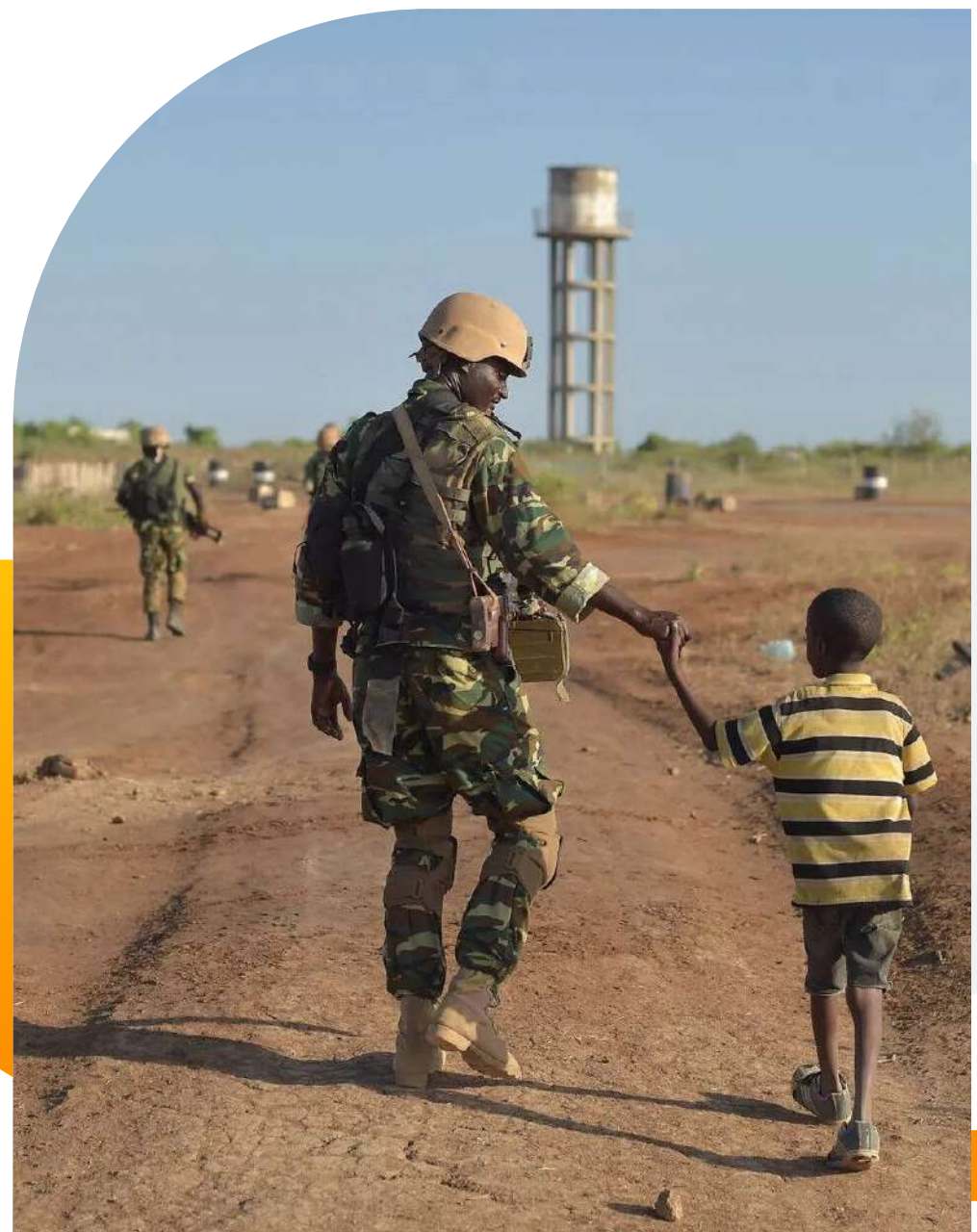
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A Human Security Approach For AU PSOs: Lessons From AMISOM

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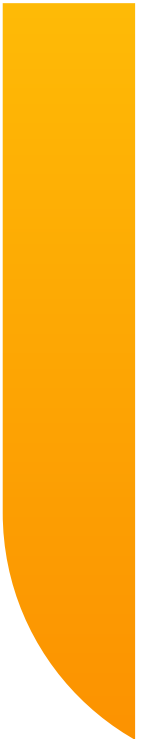


Background to the Research Programme

Through United Nations Security Council Resolution 2628, the UN authorized the African Union Peace and Security Council to reconfigure AMISOM and replaced it with the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS), with effect from 1 April 2022.

AMISOM was a central pillar in political and security stabilization efforts in Somalia for over a decade and a half. As it has ended its mission, one can outline, briefly, some of its key achievements:

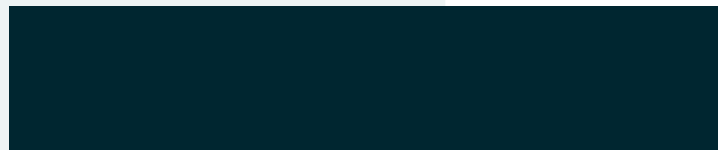
- ▶ AMISOM was vital in protecting the transitional Government and the ensuing Somali Federal Governments;
- ▶ AMISOM managed to degrade Al Shabaab and pushed the bulk of its forces from Mogadishu and from all other liberated areas across the sectors;
- ▶ AMISOM helped expand humanitarian access and provided various forms of relief to a significant number of Somalis;
- ▶ Side by side with the Somali Security forces, AMISOM still provides the security foundation on which all other international actors depend in order to operate in Somalia in relative safety.



Extensive reviews of official documents and existing academic literature, supported by interviews reported in evaluations, reviews and studies with key mission staff and stakeholders - military commanders and senior political officials, AU and UN personnel in Addis Ababa, Mogadishu, and Nairobi, Somali government officials and voices from civil society - demonstrate that AMISOM's main challenges were how to manage the demands of

1. AMISOM's mandating process;
2. AMISOM's mission support arrangements; and
3. The frameworks that shaped AMISOM's engagement with the Somali government and its security institutions

All of these issues illustrate a clear need for the AU to develop a peace missions' doctrine that is appropriate for existing contexts into which PSOs are deployed. The AMISOM experience underlines that this doctrine should be based on an integrated, holistic and mutually reinforcing relationship among operations, institutional building, logistical support, and recognition of the primacy of politics at both the local and regional level.





Achieving sustainable peace and avoiding relapsing into conflict requires implementing effective peacebuilding activities. A human-centred approach to security focuses on the protection and empowerment of the people and not only on states. It goes beyond these top-down strategies and necessitates designing solutions to security threats from the bottom and building empowered and resilient communities to pre-emptively address security threats. Although human security consists of several elements, i.e. economic security, food safety, health, environmental security, personal safety, community security, and political security, it demands answering the following questions relating to past AMISOM operations and its implication for future AU-PSOs within the lens of the human security approach, i.e. political and community security and personal safety, thus it demands answering the questions formulated for the study relating to past AMISOM operations and its implication for future AU-PSOs. It is also significant to answer if other security threats by the mission are identified and communicated to relevant AU organs and AU's development partners for possible intervention.

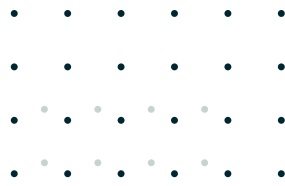
Justification of Study – Area of Added Value

Despite challenges in transferring lessons between unique situations, the AMISOM experience can offer some useful lessons for future AU led PSOs. Several factors, from which it may be possible to generalise, may have contributed to successes for AMISOM. The determination of troop contributing countries and their funding partners, and actively pursuing the support of the host population, may have been critical components of the mission, although difficult to qualify and quantify. At the operational and tactical levels, features that contributed to more effective operations, include a high degree of adaptability, working with allied armed groups and a determination to remain committed in the face of losses and sacrifices.

These challenges are not unique to AMISOM, but contribute important insights to debates about how African Union peace support operations should be designed and executed in future.

But civilian perspectives indicate that AMISOM fell short of guaranteeing general security for ordinary people in their day-to-day lives. They feel that the mission primarily protected the government as well as the mission's personnel from security threats as well as the harsh reality of life in Somalia. Political instability and security threats remain high and lasting peace is not yet a reality for the majority of people. AMISOM is therefore a relevant test case and provides opportunity for lessons to be learned for future AU Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in the design, mandating, structuring, and implementation of AU PSOs that enhance and promotes human security.





The study is ambitious, aiming to provide a comprehensive overview of the mission as seen through the lens of selected stakeholders and observers. That will justify the large number of research questions. It will be a comparison of perspectives and perceptions across the full spectrum of the operation over time.

The research aims to study in-depth what the conceptual framework of human security-centered is for PSOs, from developed practices of UN peace missions, and assess past AMISOM operations within this lens. It is mainly targeted to draw policy advice from lessons of AMISOM's operation to AU policy actors on how to mandate, structure, and implement future PSOs focused on human security approaches. Specifically, the study aims:

- ▶ To inform policy developments toward enhancing human security through future AU PSOs,
- ▶ To form on-to continental perspectives as an exemplar in designing human-security-centred PSOs in Africa, and
- ▶ To charter on the requirements of designing and implementing human-security-centred future international peace missions in Africa.

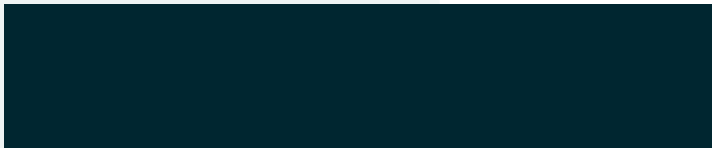


Employing a comparative contextual analysis approach, the aim of the study is only to review AMISOM's mandate and intervention in-terms of ensuring human security elements but not reviewing against implementation of mission's key objectives listed its mandate. It will analyse the mission's multi-pronged strategy of complementing the dominant military approaches with support to the Federal Government of Somalia in reconciliation, dialogue, and peace-building. It would not be within the mandate of the study to examine the success of military measures of the mission but only to focus on the success of the mission in-terms of advancing human security in its mission implementation (the access to justice, access to social security and the protection from violence dimensions mentioned).

It will focus on neglected or under-represented points of view through a human rights lens, articulating voices that are ordinarily not heard and/or are silent.

Sources to be consulted

The study will base itself on, and be placed in the context of, existing guidelines. It will be complimentary to the best practices for effective PSOs that had been developed over the last three decades. Instead of simply recording compliance with these guidelines, the study will endeavour to identify gaps and shortcomings in the guidelines and make recommendations for improvements. It will provide feedback from key stakeholders on where AMISOM has succeeded in complying, or exceeding in, the guidelines and where it fell short. It will also provide feedback on lessons learned that can inform improved guidelines for future PSOs.





The study aims to answer the broad question on what has been done strategically and operationally and to develop a form of knowledge synthesis that addresses the specific questions aimed at mapping key concepts, types of evidence, and gaps in research related to the stipulated study area by systematically searching, selecting, and synthesising existing knowledge. The positions and analysis of the study sample and their points of convergence and divergence will inform the final analysis of the study. Overall, the descriptive survey approach creates a pathway for the researcher to triangulate the data gathered in order to arrive at a logical conclusion that is policy relevant.

The study area is the African Union Commission (AUC) and Somalia where AMISOM operated. Primary and secondary data sources are required for this. This will include a literature review, desk research, consultations/focus group discussion, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires, as it fits with inputs from relevant bodies and personnel within the AU and AMISOM (uniformed personnel and civilians that were on the mission), advanced CSOs engaged in the area, and selected community leaders and grassroots community of the Somalia nation.

Preliminary Observations from Literature Review

The research team collected the bulk of the secondary evidence that is available from

- ▶ primary reports (UN mandates, AU mandates and communiqués, and PSO HQ quarterly and annual reports)
- ▶ commentary and feedback from academia, policy institutions, conferences, and seminars
- ▶ small amount of media articles
- ▶ unpublished internal communication, non-papers and fiche

And concluded that:

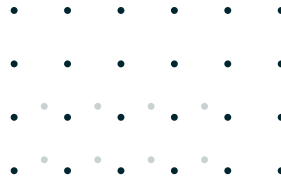
PSOs are failures in addressing human security concerns of the host population.

Observations

PSOs are failures because of an inherent contradiction that emerges from international intervention:

The IC intervenes in instances where there are failures to protect citizens (by state and non-state actors or both) and then decides to work with the state to fix this.

The intervention invariably does not protect citizens and brings abuses of its own.



Pillars of PSO intervention

State-building or reconstructing the state

- ▶ heavily focused on building institutions (often of a maximalist state)
- ▶ heavily focused on the security sector (police and military)
- ▶ heavily focused on activities (training, capacity building, and procurement)
- ▶ Degrading armed groups and non-state actors
- ▶ Protecting civilians and providing access to humanitarian aid

Consequence

- ▶ PSOs intervene to make things better
- ▶ They improve some things and make other things worse
- ▶ They arrive when things are not as they should be and they leave when things are not as they should be

What to do

- ▶ Widespread agreement that things should be done better
- ▶ No suggestions on what better should be
- ▶ Little understanding that maybe the whole concept is flawed
- ▶ There are high level ad hoc suggestions that does not percolate through the system

A systemic broad based change in approach to international interventions are perhaps best developed from first principles

Justification

- ▶ Evidence from secondary sources clearly show the failure of the current approach
- ▶ Feedback from primary sources support the above
- ▶ An alternative approach needs to be developed from first principles. That requires an analytical and conceptual model building exercise.

Legitimacy and authority for this approach requires:

- ▶ Consultation and feedback from practitioners and citizens in conflict settings to discuss
- ▶ Feasibility and viability of options
- ▶ Appropriateness (it aligns with what citizens would do to solve problems by themselves)
- ▶ Possibilities to be a more successful approach





Unanswered Questions

- ▶ Would human security approach be more effective?
- ▶ Would human security approach be practical?
- ▶ Would human security approach eliminate the ultimate need for international intervention?

A practical working definition of human security

- ▶ Access to Justice (access to police, access to a conflict resolution mechanism (court, administrator, magistrate))
- ▶ Access to Social Security (access to Health service, access to school or education facility, and ability to be economically active).
- ▶ Protection from Violence (Protection from armed groups/criminal elements/violent demographics, protection from violence by peacekeepers, access to reporting mechanisms/ judicial mechanisms/restitution)

Current practice

Focuses on human rights protection and vulnerability of:

- ▶ primarily vulnerable groups (women, children, youth, disabled, IDPs)
- ▶ again focus on activities, facilitation and monitoring
- ▶ Are often post hoc and reactive
- ▶ frequently lacks offices, staff and budget

Institution and Process

- ▶ An effective human security approach would require at the minimum an integrated intervention that includes local peace-makers and local institutional arrangements as integral components of the intervention at the planning, political, implementation, reporting, monitoring, and evaluation levels
- ▶ Interacting in positive feedback loops to amplify positive experiences and recognizes and corrects negative experiences