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Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Fragile States: The Case of Somalia, 1992 – 2013

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has never been submitted to any institution of higher learning for any award.

Signature……………………   Date…………………………

This research project has been examined and approved by me as a University Supervisor.

Signature……………………..   Date……………………………

Dr. Ibrahim Farah

DEDICATION

To the two men in my life; Fred and Gerison, thank you for always being there and walking me through this path.

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses a theoretical gap on Somalia's reconstruction as a step towards sustainable peace, and discusses the relevance of Post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states in Africa. After twenty three years of armed confrontation, stability in Somalia may not come rapidly, but is to be promoted, nurtured and defended against all sorts of internal and external spoilers. Recovery activities can make a greater contribution to social, economic and cultural development in Somalia, through further investment, continued employment creation and vocational training. The key is to go beyond the present, national and international legacy of two decades of conflict, and equally important is to remain focused on a way out. Overcoming the current hardships and insecurity requires a determined, long-term effort to promote political cooperation and build strong government institutions, while in the short term counter the pervasive influence of foreign fighters and other elements of extremism must be countered, but also that of those profiting from the conflict. This paper seeks to give Somalia ideas on exactly how it plans to reconstruct. As country, Somalia reconstruction after war remains a mystery, despite the promises of 'African solutions'. In this case, Somalia can use strategies prepared by academicians and economists in the field of post-conflict reconstruction and master the art of reconstruction just like Europe when they used the Marshall Plan. Post-conflict reconstruction is seen as the rebuilding of the socio-economic framework of society and the reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a functioning peacetime society to include the framework of governance and rule of law, justice and reconciliation, and security. Most African states are the most fragile states in the World. Somalia is in second position followed by Central African Republic, DRC, Sudan, Chad, Kenya is ranked eighteenth just behind Nigeria at seventeenth. Ethiopia and Niger tied at the nineteenth spot. Most countries classed as poor and developing fall into the category of fragile states. These states are characterized as failed and fragile states because they have breakdown of law and order, weak or disintegrated capacity to respond to citizens' needs and desires, provide basic public services, assure citizens' welfare, or support normal economic activity; and at the international level, and lack of credible entity to represent the state beyond its borders. Most of them reconstruct using the neo-liberalism theory which is premised on a strong belief in promoting the public good by following the principles of the free market and open competition, limited state intervention and welfare, individualistic self-interest, rational utility-maximization and comparative advantage of free trade hence promoting trade. The paper highlights the need for the transformation of the state as a central component of peacebuilding and post-conflict transition in Africa. Drawing on illustrations from the case of Somalia and post war Europe, it explores works on internal state reconstruction and compares it to externally driven state-reconstruction projects done by European Union with the New Deal and other Non-governmental organizations plus the example of the 1948 Marshall Plan. The paper also reviews different authors' thoughts on post-conflict reconstruction as a basis for critiquing ongoing state rehabilitation attempts and urges a return to 'endogenous initiatives of rebuilding the state from below' as a condition for achieving a 'sustainable democratic reconstruction of the state' in post-conflict Africa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM………..African Union Mission in Somalia
DDR ……………Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DTF……………...Donor Trust Fund
ECA…………….Economic Cooperation Administration
EU……………….European Union
FDI……………….Foreign Direct Investment
GDP…………......Gross Domestic Product
GNP……………..Gross National Product
ICU………………Islamic Courts Union
IDPs………............Internally Displaced Persons
IFI………………...International Financial Institutions
IGAD……………Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF………………International Monetary Fund
JNA………………Joint Needs Assessment
MDG…………….Millennium Development Goal
ME&L …………Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
NEPAD………….New Partnership for Africa's Development
NBSCS…………...New Beginnings Somalia Civil Service
NGO……………..Non-Governmental Organization
NSC………………National Security Council
OECD……………Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCR………………Post-conflict Reconstruction
PCRD……………Post-conflict Reconstruction and Development
RDP………………Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACB……………Somali Aid Coordination Body
SAP……………….Structural Adjustment Programs
SRP……………….Somali Recovery Programme
SSS………………..Somalia Support Secretariat
TFG……………….Transitional Federal Government
TFIs………………Transitional Federal Institutions
TFP………………..Transitional Federal Parliament
UNDP…………….United Nations Development Programme
UNOSOM………...United Nations Operation in Somalia
WB……………...World Bank
WHO……………...World Health Organization
UNDG……………United Nations Development Group

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This paper is about post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states and in this case, Somalia. It gives the basic information about post-conflicts societies and reconstruction in these societies, an overview of fragility and fragile states in a global perspective after conflicts, the existing policies in government, existing models worldwide and other cases globally.

In the aftermath of conflict, nations are often left without the most basic infrastructure and services. Access to capital becomes difficult, job scarcity a major setback among other economic restrains. Sustainable economic growth has been identified as being positively correlated with the likelihood of a country not slipping back into conflict. Inclusive job creation contributes to a well-functioning state and generates growth in the state.

Research shows that most armed conflicts today end in a process of peacemaking through negotiated settlement.[1] In the wake of such settlements, war affected states and societies undergo complex transitions in several interrelated areas.

Over one-third of the world's poor live in fragile states.[2] Violent ethnic conflicts and political instability threaten development goals. Rightly, the international community has made fragility a top priority, but building peace remains an overwhelming challenge. Traditional interventions and 'business as usual' are no longer viable, and Humanitarian Organizations and governments

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[1] UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling Economic Ingenuity," 2008, at http://www.undp.org/cpr/content/economic_recovery/PCER_rev.pdf.

[2] Cornell S. & Hartmann D. *Ethnicity and race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. (London: Pine Forge Press, 1998), p. 34.

of the fragile states need to rethink their approaches.[3] In these fragile states, ethnicity is highly linked to the concept of nationalism, since the nationalism is based on real or assumed ethnic ties.[4] However, nationalism has more ideological and political dimensions[5], as "it refers to the expressed desire of a people to establish and maintain a self-governed political entity".[6] When ethnicity becomes nationalist, the result is the emergence of ethno nationalism, which in turn can prove threatening for the existence of the state and lead to conflict, disintegration and lack of reconstruction.

The re-establishment of security, both state, human and community security, renewal of the rule of law and the creation of mechanisms of accountability and an end to impunity, reforming, recreating, or building of public governance institutions and processes that are able to reconcile social conflict and pursue collective goals of prosperity and development, the establishment of renewed political settlements supported by processes of constitutional change or complex power sharing frameworks able to garner legitimacy and support from social forces, economic recovery to include the creation of livelihoods and employment, realizing for all peace dividend of invigorated economic growth, managing collectively natural resources and fairly distributing the proceeds of national wealth[7]; and restoring social cohesion and building ties of civil society connections across lines of conflict to provide the unity of purpose needed for effective governance.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, p. 37.

[5] Kellas J.G. Second edition. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*.(London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998),p. 5.

[6] Cornell S. & Hartmann D. *Ethnicity and race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. (London: Pine Forge Press, 1998), p.35.

[7] UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling Economic Ingenuity," 2008, at http://www.undp.org/cpr/content/economic_recovery/PCER_rev.pdf.

Years of civil war has left Somalia almost destroyed. For the people who live there, everything from clean water to paved roads to electricity are almost non-existent. Soldiers from the African Union forced the Islamic militant group, al-Shabab, out of Mogadishu and Somalia's president and prime minister said security is their top priority. Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy describe the changing nature of the Somali crisis over the past two decades from Cold War to civil war (1988-91); state collapse, clan war and famine (1991-92); and international humanitarian intervention in the 1990s.

After twenty three years of armed confrontation, stability in Somalia may not come overnight, but is to be promoted, nurtured and defended against all sorts of internal and external spoilers. Somalia's reconstruction and development will be successful when governmental institutions, the business sector, civil society work together in a logical manner. Recovery activities can make a greater contribution to social, economic and cultural development in Somalia, through further investment, continued employment creation and vocational training.

The key is to go beyond the present, national and international legacy of two decades of conflict, and equally important is to remain focused on a way out. Overall, a continued and responsible commitment is an obligation. Overcoming the current hardships and insecurity requires a determined, long-term effort to promote political cooperation and build strong government institutions, while in the short term counter the pervasive influence of foreign fighters and other elements of extremism must be countered, but also that of those profiting from the conflict. There is also a need for a clear approach by all external actors.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The main purpose of the study is to examine Somalia as one of Africa's fragile states, examine the challenges and opportunities that Somalia is facing in post-conflict reconstruction, with the terror attacks increasing, assess how reconstruction has come along since 2000 to 2012, if it has been successful so far, what frameworks have other fragile states used and if they have been successful and if Somalia can borrow from them.

The study will also examine post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states, globally, at a regional level and at a national level by using Somalia as a case study, analyse existing post-conflict reconstruction frameworks and models especially looking at the Marshall plan that Europe used for post-conflict reconstruction in 1948-1952, and borrow from its frameworks and formulate a pilot project for Somalia as a post-conflict society.

With the West main investment being the financing of AMISOM, and whatever other assistance they have offered has been considerably consumed by the overhead charges paid to their staff and contractors, little of their aid actually reaches the population. More significantly, little investment has been committed to the establishment and training of Somali security forces in such a way that they could replace AMISOM within a year or two. Unlike the Turkish public and non-governmental sectors that have been very active in rebuilding schools, hospitals, water systems and roads in and around Mogadishu and providing supplies for internally displaced people in the capital. Turkey has also provided scholarships for hundreds of Somali students to study in Turkish schools and universities. Turkey has also offered to help rebuild Somali security forces, a move many Western powers and African clients oppose. This research therefore raises the problem in the post-conflict society and in reconstruction, what are the challenges, the

achievements so far in Somalia, the existing models and policies elsewhere that Somalia can borrow from, an if they have worked or not.

It is undeniable that AMISOM has succeeded in pushing the terrorist group al-Shabab out of Mogadishu and some parts of southern Somalia, but it appears that there is no rush to equip and resource a reliable and effective Somali military that can replace AMISOM. Consequently, AMISOM is both an asset and a liability for Somalis, but as long as AMISOM is there the Somali government will remain hostage to others and will be unable to push the limits of prevailing politics to inspire its citizens. The key guiding question is therefore, with Somalia as a case study, how successful has post-conflict reconstruction been in fragile states?

1.3.   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of the study is to examine post-conflict reconstruction in fragile state; and within the context of Somalia.

More specifically the study aims to:

i)   Provide an overview of post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states;

ii) Analyse existing post-conflict reconstruction frameworks and models in Somalia;

iii) Examine the challenges and opportunities of post-conflict reconstruction in Somalia.

1.4.   LITERATURE REVIEW

This review is about the concept of post-conflict reconstruction, definition and debates, the concept of fragility and fragile states, conflict and post-conflict Somalia and the existing post-conflict policies and models.

1.4.1. POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION: DEFINATIONS AND DEBATES

Apollos defines conflict is the struggle of competition between two or more people over values, status, power, and scarce resources. It can also mean incompatible behavior between two or more parties whose goals or interests are perceived to be incompatible.[8] Causes of conflicts in Africa are diverse and complex.

Post-conflict is the period a community has after a conflict occurs. Most African countries are in the post-conflict period where they are all trying to reconstruct their societies. Rwanda, Somalia, Libya, Egypt, South Sudan, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, are all in the phase of a post-conflict society.

Reconstruction on the other hand literary means that a thing that has been rebuilt after being damaged or destroyed. Reconstruction often happens after wars or natural disasters in a state.

Most countries classed as poor and developing fall into the category of fragile states. Brinkerhoff characterizes a failed state as: (1) breakdown of law and order where the state institutions lose their monopoly on the legitimate use of force and are unable to protect their citizens or those institutions are used to oppress and terrorize citizens; (2) weak or disintegrated capacity to respond to citizens' needs and desires, provide basic public services, assure citizens' welfare, or support normal economic activity; and a the international level, (3) lack of credible entity to represent the state beyond its borders.[9]

The World Bank defined post-conflict reconstruction in 1995 as "the rebuilding of the socio-economic framework of society" and the "reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a

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[8] Macharia Apollos. *Conflict Transformation*. (Nakuru, Kenya: Centre for Conflict Resolution-Kenya, 2012) p. 14.
[9] Derick Brinkerhoff. Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 2.

functioning peacetime society to include the framework of governance and rule of law".[10] Hamre and Sulivan expanded this definition including justice and reconciliation, and security, which according them is central.[11]

Fukuyama further defined post-conflict reconstruction as the first phase of nation-building, which applies to failed states after violent conflict and where international community has to provide security and all essential needs and/or services.[12] The second phase of nation-building, according to Fukuyama, is the creation of self-sustaining state institutions which are providing security and all essential needs with the help of international community. It normally starts after the completion of the first phase and once the international forces have assured security and stabilized the situation. The third phase involves strengthening of weak states. Following Fukuyama's definition of nation building, post-conflict reconstruction is only needed when international community is dealing with failed states, the government institutions of which are not functioning effectively.

After the end of the Cold War we witness significant changes in the security landscape, which in turn led to the widening and deepening of the concept of "security". Heiner argues that there is a growing recognition that in the age of globalization and with the proliferation of intra-state wars and conflicts and 'failed states', individuals and collectivities other than the state could and, indeed, should be the object of security.[13]

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[10] John Hamre and Gordon Sulivan. " Towards Post-Conflict Reconstruction" The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25.4, (Washington, 2002), p. 89.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Francis Fukuyama. "The Imperative of State-Building", Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15. (Washington: Post book, 2004), pp. 135-136.

[13] Hanggi, Heiner. Making Sense of Security Sector Governance, in Hänggi, H. and Winkler T.H., eds., Challenges of Security Sector Governance (LIT: Münster, 2003).

He goes on to say that security pillar has tasks which include: "control of belligerents; territorial security; protection of the populace; protection of key individuals, infrastructure and institutions; reform of indigenous security institutions; and regional governance and participation.[14]

Effective governance is normally absent in post-conflict situation because the failed state's public sector is in most cases incompetent and corrupt or non-existent. Post-conflict reconstruction has to start from creating some transitional administration which would prepare political and legal conditions for the future governance and wider population participation in governance. Creating a legitimate and effective political system is the most difficult and critical task in post-conflict reconstruction because it ought to ensure that the state can function properly in the future. However, governance and wider participation cannot be implemented if there is no security because all governmental institutions or officials should be protected from any possible lethal threats. Otherwise, post-conflict reconstruction would fail. An effective co-ordination structure has to be developed and implemented. This structure ought to ensure that all actions, taken by these actors, are coordinated and that there is no overlapping or competition.[15]

Although the focus of post-conflict reconstruction is more on the stabilization of peace processes and the prevention of a relapse into conflict in the short run, the ultimate goal is that the root causes of the conflict are attended to while at the same time laying the foundation for social justice and sustainable peace. As a result, post-conflict reconstruction has three important phases: emergency, transition, and development phase.[16]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Association of the U.S. Army and Center for Strategic and International Studies, Post-conflict Reconstruction: Task Framework, (Washington, DC. 2002).

In each of the three phases, five key dimensions must be tackled: i) security, ii) socio-economic development, iii) transitional justice and reconciliation, iv) political transition, governance and participation, and v) coordination and management.

1.4.2. FRAGILITY AND FRAGILE STATES

Hagmann et al propose that "states are fragile when state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations".[17]

The question of poverty and/or lack of resources deserve mention, as it is often treated alternatively as a feature, cause or consequence of fragility.[18] One could say that poverty is an indicator for fragility since a non-fragile state should be able to ensure creation and distribution of sufficient wealth. One could also argue that pressures of poverty and lack of resources cause or increase the risk of fragility. Because impoverishment is also a common consequence of fragility, it is tempting to treat poverty as a substitute of fragility.[19]

According to the Global Monitoring Report fragile states are often characterized by ongoing violence and insecurity, a legacy of conflict, weak governance and the inability to deliver the efficient and equitable distribution of public goods. They have consistently grown more slowly than other low-income countries, and the rate of extreme poverty is rising within them. They lag behind in meeting all the Millennium Development Goals; with a 50% higher prevalence of

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[17] Hagmann T., and Hoehne M., *'Failures of the State Failure Debate: Evidence from the Somali Territories'*, Journal of International Development, vol. 21, no. 1, 2009, pp. 42-57.
[18] Moreno-Torres, M. & Anderson, M., *'Fragile States: Defining Difficult Environments for Poverty Reduction'*, (Department for International Development (DFID), UK, 2004).
[19] Ibid.

malnutrition, 20% higher child mortality, and 18% lower primary education completion rates than other low-income countries.[20]

Over the years, so-called 'fragile states' and how best to engage with them have emerged as a key priority in the international development community. This concern has surfaced from the confluence of several factors, including (i) an emphasis on human security and peace building; (ii) a concern with the relationship between state effectiveness and development; and (iii) a belief that underdevelopment and insecurity (individual and international) are related.

Collier estimates one billion people, including about 340 million of the world's extreme poor live in this group of between 30-50 'fragile' countries, located mainly in Africa, that are 'falling behind and falling apart'.[21] There is now consensus that without a strengthened model of international engagement, these countries will continue to fall behind.[22]

These countries and the billion people, who live in them, are caught in one or another of four traps: the conflict trap; the natural resources trap; the trap of being landlocked with bad neighbors; and the trap of bad governance in a small country. Whilst these traps are not inescapable, standard solutions will not work: aid has been ineffective, and globalization has made things worse. A new mix of policy instruments is required, supported by a bold new plan of action for the G8.[23]

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[20] Global Monitoring Report, *'Weak Growth and Less Poverty Reduction in Fragile States',* Chapter I in Global Monitoring Report: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality and Fragile States, (World Bank, Washington, 2007)

[21] Paul Collier. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be Done About it*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007)

[22] Ibid

[23] Rotberg, R., '*The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States'*, in When States Fail: Causes and Consequences, (Princeton University Press, 2004).

Zartman identifies the importance to recognize that fragility exists on a scale and takes different forms that may require varying policy responses.[24] While the concept of fragile states is relatively new to the international agenda, there has been long-standing concern with understanding state failure in academic research. A range of terminology has emerged which characterizes the relative strength or weakness of states on a continuum; from 'weak' and 'fragile' states at one end, to 'failed' and 'collapsed' states at the other. The meaning of all these terms is contested, many of them are seen to embed inherent contradictions, and in practice the terminology is inconsistently applied.

1.4.3. CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SOMALIA

Over the past two decades the nature of the Somali crisis and the international context within which it is occurring has been constantly changing. It has mutated from a civil war in the 1980s, through state collapse, clan factionalism and warlordism in the 1990s, to a globalized ideological conflict in the first decade of the new millennium.

In this time the international environment has also changed, from the end of the Cold War to the 'global war on terror', which impacts directly on the crisis and international responses to it. This poses a problem for Somalis and international actors working to build peace initiatives that may have appeared to offer a solution in earlier years may no longer be applicable and there is a risk of fighting yesterday's war or building yesterday's peace.[25]

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[24] Zartman, W., *'Introduction: Posing the Problem of State Collapse'* in Collapsed States: the Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority, (Boulder, London, UK, 1995).
[25] Ibid.

In the late eighteenth century, as European nations hurriedly divided up Africa amongst themselves as imperial colonies, Great Britain, France, and Italy all laid claims to various parts of the area now known as Somalia. For about forty years, the British controlled northern Somalia because of its access to the Red Sea, and the Italians ruled southern Somalia while the French had little impact on the region. In the 1920s, Fascist Italy consolidated control, reaching into the northern parts of the country while simultaneously taking over Ethiopia and Djibouti; this gave Italian leader Benito Mussolini control of all of East Africa.[26]

During World War II, the majority of Somalia came under British control once again, and what was left of the Italian territory was placed under an international trusteeship after the war. Both territories gained independence in 1960 and merged to form modern-day Somalia, but the country suffered from a tumultuous political atmosphere and Somalia's sitting president was assassinated in a military coup just 10 years later.[27]

Muhammad Siad Barre became Somalia's new president in 1969 and founded Barre's Supreme revolutionary Council as the sole political party in Somalia; Barre also abolished the National Assembly and the country's constitution. Barre spent much of his reign attempting to rid his country of tribalism and ethnic segregation, turning Somalia into a socialist state in the process. He was overthrown in late January of 1991, signaling the start of the Somali Civil War and in January 1991 militiamen from the United Somalia Congress entered Mogadishu, the country's capital, and occupied the presidential palace.[28]

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[26] Ibid.
[27] *CIA World Factbook, BBC, News Hour reports* - Compiled by Brian Wolly for the Online News Hour, MacNeil/Lehrer Productions 2007. www.pbs.org/newshour/extra1.
[28] Ibid.

In December 1992, Mahdi and Aidid used food as leverage for power, leaving nearly 1.5 million Somalis to starve. As a result, President George H.W. Bush approved the deployment of U.S. soldiers (in conjunction with U.N. forces) to Somalia as part of Operation Restore Hope.[29]

U.N. peacekeepers successfully brought Somali warlords together and begun disarmament talks and create a unified government. In October 1993, an uprising led by Mogadishu warlords led to the death of 18 U.S. Marines in the infamous "Black Hawk down" incident. President Clinton removed the remaining military forces from Somalia in March 1994.[30]

In March 1995, Operation United Shield, the code name for the United Nations' peacekeeping mission, ended as troops finish withdrawing from Somalia amid the ongoing civil war. In December 1997, warlord leaders met in Cairo to discuss disarmament talks and form a national government and in October 2000, Abdiqasim Salad Hassan and Ali Khalif Galaydh entered Mogadishu as the newly appointed president and prime minister, respectively, of the provisional Transitional National Government. In March 2001, Hussein Aidid and other warlords, backed by Ethiopia, created an opposing coalition to the TNG, the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) in Mogadishu.[31]

Within a few years, they merged with the TNG and created the Transitional Federal Government. In October 2002, twenty-one warring factions consent to cease-fire. And in August 2004, under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the Transitional Federal Government concluded a two-year peace process with the creation of a 275-member parliament in Kenya. The newly formed parliament elected Abdullahi Yusuf, who has close ties to Ethiopia, as president. Yusuf appointed Ali Mohamed Gedi as prime minister. In June 2005, U.S.

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

intelligence-gatherers begun to fear that the Somali government is too unstable to stop the Islamic Courts Union from sheltering al-Qaida operatives. Even with backing from U.S. operatives, anti-Islamist operatives were unable to stop the spread of the Islamic Courts and in November, the Prime Minister Gedi survived assassination attempt in Mogadishu.[32]

After months of heated debate and instability, the parliament agreed to return to Somalia, meeting for the first time in the town of Baidoa in February 2006, but infighting continued. In June the same year, the Islamic Courts Union took control of Mogadishu and strengthened control over southern Somalia.[33]

The U.N. Security Council, with U.S. backing, in December 2006 approved a resolution to send a peacekeeping force into Somalia. In January 2007, the United States launched an air assault in southern Somalia in an attempt to kill al-Qaida suspect Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, the suspected leader behind the 1998 American Embassy attacks in Kenya and Tanzania[34]. As of January 2009, Ethiopian troops withdrew from Somalia following a two-year insurgency, which led to loss of territory and effectiveness of the TFG and a power-sharing deal between Islamists splinter group led by Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed's Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS)[35] and TFG Prime Minister Nur Hassan in Djibouti.

After the parliament took in 200 officials from the moderate Islamist opposition, ARS leader Sheikh Ahmed was elected TFG President on January 31, 2009.[36] The withdrawal of Ethiopian troops, and election of the new Islamist leadership, in early 2009 did not bring a conclusion to the conflict. The fighting shifted into a struggle between hard line Islamist factions and more

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] "Moderate Islamists seize town from Somali insurgents" . Monstersandcritics.com. 2009-01-29. Retrieved 2011-07-09.
[36] Ibid.

moderate factions within the government. The Islamic Courts Union switched sides. There has been limited involvement by Ethiopia.[37]

The civil unrest in Somalia dispersed a large number of Somalis to different parts of the globe. Owing to the efforts of the international community in establishing a new government, there is a renewed sense of hope for Somalia's reconstruction. The Somali diaspora can be one of the main contributors to these efforts.[38]

On 13 February 2012, the former Prime Minister of Somalia, Abdiweli Ali, wrote an open letter to the Somali diaspora, calling them one of best assets of Somalia society. He added that above all, judging from the various media sources, the diaspora were very much engaged and attuned to the unfolding events in their country, a testament to their commitment to Somalia[39]. Financial remittances, which constitute the highest portion of contributions so far, can be central to Somalia's reconstruction as they can enhance financial economic survival, community stabilization and economic activities in the absence of effective state institutions.[40]

Somalia is now firmly established in its reconstruction process to ensure peace, stability and economic growth for the Somali people.[41] Furthermore, investments and trade initiatives by the diaspora can lead to significant change during the post-war reconstruction phase. They can also serve as catalysts for promoting peace, since the causes of conflict are not only political but also rooted in materialistic or economic factors.[42]

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[37] Rice, Xan (2007-01-03). "Ethiopian troops to leave Somalia 'within weeks'" . *The Guardian* (London). Retrieved 2010-05-27. Disputes with Ethiopian withdrawal from Somalia
[38] Abdile, *Diasporas and their role in the homeland conflicts and peacebuilding*
[39] Letter to the Somali diaspora by HE Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, the Prime Minister of Somalia, 13 February 2012, http://wardheernews.com/Somalia/PM_Abdiweli/Letter_to_Diaspora_13_Feb.pdf.
[40] Hoehne et al, *Somali and Ethiopian diasporic engagement for peace in the Horn of Africa.*
[41] UN and World Bank, *Somali reconstruction and development programme: deepening peace and reducing poverty,* January 2008, Volume I, http://www.somali-jna. org/downloads/ACF7C9C.pdf.
[42] Hoehne et al, *Somali and Ethiopian diasporic engagement for peace in the Horn of Africa*

1.4.4. EXISTING POST-CONFLICT FRAMEWORKS AND MODELS

Post-conflict reconstruction is not a new phenomenon and can be linked to the Marshall Plan after the Second World War. Reconstruction efforts in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, have seen a revival of the concept in the early 21st century. In Africa, post-conflict reconstruction has become more prominent as a result of the peace processes in the DRC, Sudan and Burundi. As a result, the African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) formulated policy frameworks dealing with post-conflict reconstruction and development. As part of the UN's reform, its new Peace-building Commission is another institution which takes responsibility for post-conflict reconstruction.[43]

The conflicts that have plagued the continent have brought about the collapse of social and economic structures and generated political tensions. Infrastructure has been damaged and education and health services have suffered, not to mention the environmental damage which has been caused by conflict situations. The effects of conflict in terms of refugee flows into neighboring countries and emergence of internally displaced persons (IDPs) have demonstrated that no African country is an island unto itself. Refugee camps have served as a source of instability for countries in the region and along the borders. These situations illustrate the need for effective post-conflict reconstruction processes and the necessary institutions to support them.[44]

Reconstruction needs to proceed with the active participation of these sectors of society. An effective strategy for promoting PCR therefore has to take into account all of the elements by rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of a society emerging from a

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[43] Dirk Kotze and Hussein Solomon, Eds. *The State of Africa: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development*, 2008.
[44] Ibid.

conflict. Such a strategy has to ensure that it promotes measures and proposes the establishment of institutions that will strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.[45]

The Marshall Plan, also known as the European Recovery Program, channeled over $13 billion to finance the economic recovery of Europe between April 1948 and December 1951. The Marshall Plan successfully sparked economic recovery, meeting its objective of 'restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole.' The plan is named for Secretary of State George C. Marshall, who announced it in a commencement speech at Harvard University on June 5, 1947.[46]

Under Paul G. Hoffman, the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), a specially created bureau, distributed over the next four years some $13 billion worth of economic aid, helping to restore industrial and agricultural production, establish financial stability, and expand trade. The Marshall Plan was very successful. The western European countries involved experienced a rise in their gross national products of 15 to 25 percent during this period. The plan contributed greatly to the rapid renewal of the western European chemical, engineering, and steel industries. Truman extended the Marshall Plan to less-developed countries throughout the world under the Point Four Program, initiated in 1949.[47]

This section has given a brief history of fragility and fragile states, conflict and post conflict Somalia, the existing post-conflict policies and models and the post-conflict reconstruction definitions and debates. My view is that fragile states exists as a result of state collapse and in such places as Afghanistan, Somalia, and Yugoslavia has led to widespread human suffering,

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[45] Nkhulu, Wiseman, '*The New Partnership for Africa's Development: The Journey So Far*', (Midrand: NEPAD Secretariat, June, 2005), p 9.

[46] Eric Foner and John A. Garraty. *The Reader's Companion to American History*. (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1991).

[47] Ibid.

regional instability, and transnational threats of organized crime and international terrorism. Reconstruction comes in only when there is an end to hostilities, when there is a negotiated government policy framework and a clear and coordinated multidimensional response by all stakeholders.

Literature Gap

Much has been written about post-conflict reconstruction, the concept of fragility and fragile states. The same has been done on conflict and post-conflict reconstruction but not within the Somalia context; especially on existing post-conflict reconstruction models and frameworks and the need for a reconstruction model just like the Marshall Plan, for the new Somalia; hence the objective of this study.

1.5.   JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Academically, this research will examine post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states, analyse the existing post-conflict reconstruction frameworks and models, and discuss the challenges being faced in post-conflict reconstruction, including the efforts put in by the government to reconstruct the country after the twenty three years of civil war in Somalia. It will marry theory and practice in order to portray a clear concept of what the study sets out to do. The research will also suggest areas of further study assess the successes of the Somalia government in terms of post-conflict reconstruction and hence suggest new concepts of study and areas of further research.

This research will also help the policy makers in Somalia to rethink the frameworks they have put in place in order to achieve reconstruction. The Marshall plan was applied exclusively to Western Europe, preventing any measure of Soviet Bloc cooperation. Economic historians have

debated the precise impact of the Marshall Plan on Western Europe, but these differing opinions do not detract from the fact that the Marshall Plan has been recognized as a great humanitarian effort. Therefore, this is the same plan that we seek to implement to Somalia in order to ensure reconstruction as the study also tries to establish if there can be room for improvement in the future in dealing with fragile states and any new mechanisms can be introduced to deal with post-conflict situations in post-conflict societies by reworking the old models like the Marshall plan among other frameworks for the benefit of fragile states especially in Africa.

1.6.   THEORATICAL FRAMEWORK

Neoliberalism seeks to update liberalism by accepting the neorealist presumption that states are key actors in international relations, but still maintains that non-state actors and intergovernmental organizations matter. Proponents such as Joseph Nye argue that states will cooperate irrespective of relative gains and are thus concerned with absolute gains. The growing of interdependence throughout the cold war through international institutions means that neoliberalism is also called liberal institutionalism.

As an ideology, neoliberalism is premised on a strong belief in promoting the 'public good' by following the principles of 'the free market and open competition,' 'limited state intervention and welfare,' 'individualistic self-interest,' 'rational utility-maximization' and 'comparative advantage' of 'free trade'.[48] All the proponents of neo-liberalism have their positions linked to

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[48] Haque, S.M., 'Public service under challenge in the age of privatization,' *Governance*: *An International Journal of Policy and Administration , 1996,* 9(2):186-216.

the principles of neo-classical economics, although neoliberalism pays less attention to market failures.[49]

However, central to all neoliberal thought is (i) an emphasis on 'the role of the market' and 'a minimalist role of the state'[50] (ii) advocacy of policies based on deregulation and privatization[51] (iii) emphasis on comparative advantage and opposition to protectionist policies for domestic industries[52] (iv) liberalization of trade, facilitation of foreign investment and elimination of export controls and import licensing and (v) opposition to economic development, poverty reduction through state intervention and other major objectives of structuralist thinking, and a simultaneous emphasis on economic growth, in some cases endorsing inequality as 'a prerequisite' for growth.[53] With these assumptions, neoliberalism takes on a global policy position. Through the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, it advocates 'the replacement of the developmental interventionist state' with 'a non-interventionist state' and encourages 'the expansion of market forces' through the implementation of market-friendly policies.[54]

Applied to post-conflict state reconstruction, neoliberalism is closely linked with international peacebuilding. As often stated, neoliberal peacebuilding seeks to prevent the recurrence of violence in countries just emerging from civil conflicts. This goal has mostly been pursued

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[49] Colclough, C., 1991, 'Structuralism versus neo-liberalism: an introduction,' in Colclough, C. andJ. Manor (eds), States or markets? Neo-liberalism and the development policy debate. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp 8-12.

[50] Sargent, L.T., *Contemporary political ideologies*: *A comparative analysis*. (Pacific Grove CA: Brook/Cole Publishing,1990).

[51] Fitzgerald, R. *When government goes private: Successful alternatives to public services*. (New York: Universe Books,1988).

[52] Colclough, C., 'Structuralism versus neo-liberalism: an introduction,' in Colclough, C. and J. Manor (eds), *States or markets? Neo-liberalism and the development policy debate*. (New York: Oxford University Press,1991).

[53] Ibid, p 3.

[54] Haque, S.M., 'Public service under challenge in the age of privatization,' *Governance*: *An International Journal of Policy and Administration, 1996,* 9(2):186-216.

through the deployment of peacebuilding missions to countries on the continent just emerging from civil wars. In achieving this goal, post-conflict transformations have privileged a particular vision of how states should be internally re-organized based on the principles of liberal democracy and market-oriented economics.[55]

Conceptually, the very notion of 'post-conflict' is fraught with tensions as it wrongly assumes an end to conflict. Ideologically, although the growing consensus among scholars and policy analysts across the Global South, neoliberals have failed to acknowledge the many problems that have characterized the application of the Western model of the nation-state to post-crisis contexts across the world, especially in Africa'[56], neoliberal state-building has rather compounded internal conflicts in Africa and their destabilizing potential for neighboring states by creating numerous ungoverned territories, which are capable of providing safe haven for terrorists.[57]

Since neoliberal promises for 'failed states' in Africa is evident in reconstruction of every pillar, it is necessary to emphasize that proper peace building and reconciliation of societies that have had conflicts is very important in order to find solutions to Somalia's reconstruction problem since it experienced state failure due to predatory or ineffectual governance.

1.7.   HYPOTHESES

This study seeks to test the following hypotheses:

i) Fragility denies the necessary environment for meaningful post-conflict reconstruction implemented in Somalia;

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[55] Paris, R., 'Kosovo and the metaphor war,' *Political Science Quarterly, 2002a,* 117(3):423-50. 'International peacebuilding and the "mission civilisatrice",' *Review of International Studie , 2002b,* 28(1):637-57.
[56] Moore, D., 'Levelling the playing fields and embedding illusions: "Post-conflict" discourse and neo-liberal "development" in war-torn Africa,' *Review of African Political Economy, 2000,* 27(83),11-28.
[57] Obi, C.I., '*Introduction: Elections and the challenges of post-conflict democratization in West Africa,*' African Journal of International Affairs ,2007, 10(1 and 2),1-11.

ii) Locally-owned models and policy frameworks can lead to comprehensive post-conflict reconstruction;

iii) Post-conflict reconstruction models and frameworks depend on the nature of the post-conflict polity in question.

1.8. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research design was a plan or layout followed to collect data and analyze before presentation. It was of a case study and descriptive since it was relevant for both qualitative and quantitative study. The scope of the study was carried out by taking as a case study. The researcher examine the activities undertaken mainly by the government and other players during the conflict and post-conflict period in Somalia and the role played by government in reconstruction of the state. The study took a time frame of four months and the findings presented. The research was carried out by taking Somalia as a case study. The conclusions were made by the researcher from the government, religious places, non-governmental organizations and the community.

Under the secondary data collection methods, the relevant books were used for references. They provided relevant secondary information. They also provided various materials at less time and at cheap costs. Books helped give wider supportive or contrasting information all in the basis of making a comparative conclusion. Up to date journals, articles and policy documents of various humanitarian organizations were used. Periodicals were also used. These were journals, magazines, and newspapers published periodically. The researcher used humanitarian and government reports published.

1.9.   CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study is structured around the following five chapters:

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study.

Chapter Two: Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Fragile States: An Overview

Chapter Three: Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Fragile States: The Case of Somalia, 1990-2013

Chapter Four: Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Somalia: A Critical Analysis

Chapter Five: Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN FRAGILE STATES: AN OVERVIEW

2.0. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter covered the introductions to the subject of post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states, the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, the definitions and debates, conflict and post-conflict Somalia, existing post-conflict policies and models, the literature gap, justification of the study, the theoretical framework, hypotheses and the research methodology as well as the chapter outline.

This chapter provides an overview about fragility and fragile states, post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states looking at a global perspective an narrowing down to Somalia, peacebuilding in fragile states and neo-liberalism and its relevance to post-conflict reconstruction. The chapter will finally, analyse the relevance of theory and advances the theoretical framework introduced earlier in Chapter One.

2.1. BACKGROUND

Reconstructing violence ridden states recreates a great challenge to the international community and subsequently there remains a longing for new awareness about peacebuilding. Boutros Boutros-Ghali provided an idea and direction for peace-building in his 1992 document *An Agenda for Peace* both conceptually and practically. As peace dialogues have resulted in the settlement of intrastate violence and wars since the late 1980s, very many fragile states and societies have been going through difficult periods of post-conflict reconstruction.[58]

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[58] Ho-Won Jeong. *Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies: Strategy and Processes.* (United States of America: Lynne Rienner, 2005), p.1.

The World Bank's perception of post-conflict reconstruction is the rebuilding of the socio-economic framework of society and the reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a functioning peacetime society to include the framework of governance and rule of law.[59] Hamre and Sulivan expanded the World Bank's perception by including justice, reconciliation, and security, which according them is central in reconstructing a state.

On the other hand, Fukuyama explains post-conflict reconstruction in phases and the first phases as the period of nation-building, which applies to failed states after violent conflict and where international community has to provide security and all essential needs and services.[60]

He further explains the second phase of nation-building as the creation of self-sustaining state institutions which are providing security and all essential needs with the help of international community. The third stage, he explains, involves strengthening of weak states[61].

In line with these explanations, post-conflict reconstruction is only needed when international community is dealing with failed states, the government institutions of which are not functioning effectively. Although people have returned to rebuild their countries after war, the manner in which the project of state-building and development is crafted will remain instrumental in creating institutions with culture to allow people transit from informal to formal authorities and institutions as avenues for state-society relations and engagement.[62]

In order to rebuild a post-conflict fragile state, positive participations have to be focused on the individuals within the local communities. This effort should be followed by nationwide reconciliation between communities and encourage states in the region to practice popular

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[59] John Hamre and Gordon Sulivan. *" Towards Post-Conflict Reconstruction"* The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 25.4, (Washington, 2002), p. 89

[60] Francis Fukuyama. *"The Imperative of State-Building"*, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15. (Washington: Post book, 2004), pp. 135-136.

[61] Ibid p136.

[62] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 8.

equality that involves their citizens in the decision making process. These efforts should run matching with the reconstruction of infrastructure of the state so that there are functional mechanisms with which to govern.

The state comprising of the two arms, one for coercion and the other largely for building legitimacy through the provision of social welfare are combined in the interest of its citizens and territorial sovereignty. Governance without security or elections without social justice is a sham of democracy in any fragile state.[63]

2.2. FRAGILITY AND FRAGILE STATES

Brinkerhoff characterizes a failed state as one that has breakdown of law and order where the state institutions lose their monopoly on the legitimate use of force and are unable to protect their citizens or those institutions are used to oppress and terrorize citizens; weak or disintegrated capacity to respond to citizens' needs and desires, provide basic public services, assure citizens' welfare, or support normal economic activity; and a the international level, and one that lacks credible entity to represent the state beyond its borders.[64]

One issue then is to the degree that a state shows these characteristics and the label 'failed state' has been employed to describe extreme cases of collapse where civil and social authority have disintegrated. Many more countries globally though confront less drastic situations, and vary to the extent to which they have failed or risk failing to provide for the welfare of their citizens, supply basic security or facilitate equitable economic growth.[65]

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[63] William Lume. *Post-conflict reconstruction: The challenges of democracy in Africa*. (ISPI Policy Brief. No. 120, 2009), p. 5.
[64] Derick Brinkerhoff. *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 2-3.
[65] Ibid p 3.

Rotberg explains that here, the state is more fragile than failed, and it becomes nearly indistinguishable from the status of many, if not most poor countries which suffer from institutional weaknesses and capacity gaps.[66]

Collier argues that no state's degree of fragility or failure is static. Given the long time horizon for state reconstruction and for putting in place the foundations of sustainable development, anticipating and planning for ups and downs along that path is important. The record shows that globally countries which have experienced violent conflict face a 40 percent risk of renewed conflict within five years.[67]

Similarly, Doyle and Samanis observe, conflict and post-conflict are relative terms as well and subject to nuance. They observe that no peace is perfect and post-conflict rarely means that violence and strife have ceased at a given moment in a country.[68] In practice, most post conflict reconstruction efforts take place in situations where conflict has subsided to a greater or lesser degree but is ongoing or recurring in some parts of the country.[69]

Conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction are critical to the World Bank's mission of poverty reduction. Many of the world's poorest countries are locked in a tragic vicious circle where poverty causes conflict and conflict causes poverty. 80 percent of the world's 20 poorest countries have suffered a major war in the past 25 years. Even with rapid progress after peace, it can take a generation or more to return to pre-war living standards. Conflicts not only lead to extraordinary suffering for the people involved but the spillover effects drag down their neighbors as well. The World Bank Group is working with other partners

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[66] Rotberg R. I. *The Nature of Nation –state Failure.* The Washington Quarterly Vol. 25 no.3, p85.
[67] Paul Collier et al. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[68] Doyle.M.W. and N. Sambanis. *Building Peace: Challenges and Strategies after Civil War*. (Washington DC: World Bank, 1999).
[69] Jeong. H. *Peacebuilding in Post-conflict Societies: Strategies and Processes*. (Boulderco. Lynne Rienner, 2005).

including trust funds and the United Nations to offer more responsive, flexible and comprehensive solutions in difficult environments.

Capacity development is fundamental to the broader objective of transforming fragile states into stable nations. Human capacity development must be understood in its proper historical, economic, political and social contexts in any fragile state and defined in relation to the requirements of building a viable state.[70]

Capacity development is a multi-dimensional process that goes beyond the transfer of knowledge and skills at the individual level to embrace whole institutions, organizations, sectors and systems and enabling the environment in which they all exist. It includes the ability to identify constrains and to plan and manage development. It involves the development of human capital, institutions and supportive policy environment.

It is usually anchored on two objectives which include building strong state institutions capable of providing services equitably and effectively for the needs of the citizens and achieving high rates of economic growth, poverty reduction and meeting the needs of the people.[71]

Every fragile state therefore has its experiences upon which national and international capacity and human capacity development efforts should aim to build upon. An example regionally is South Sudan which received a large number of returnees in the period preceding independence and in its large diaspora it has promising human resource base that is largely skilled and educated and that has been exposed to functioning economies and markets systems.[72]

Deng Acuil argues that lessons from other post-conflict fragile states an example of Liberia have shown that the diaspora is important to the locals. While the diaspora on the one hand make out

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[70] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 34.
[71] Ibid, pp. 34-35.
[72] Ibid, p.37.

migration easier and thus often foster the brain drain, they also offer many opportunities. He continues to say they provide a pool of highly skilled individuals that if tapped into can help overcome some of the capacity challenges of post-conflict countries. Another example he offers is South Sudan which he mentions is exploring the possibilities and mechanisms of engaging with its highly skilled professionals in the diaspora to go and work in the country for a limited time to build capacities and share their experiences.[73]

Fragility and fragile states therefore is not a new problem. Most countries classed as poor or developing fall into this category of fragile states. No state's degree of fragility or failure is fixed so other issues have to do with the trails that characterize the direction and degree of change taking place.

2.3. POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN FRAGILE STATES

Southall proposes that in order to build post-conflict democracy in Africa, positive interventions have to be focused on the individual within the local community, the person that holds a single ballot at the elections.[74] This effort should be followed by nationwide reconciliation between communities and encourage countries in the region to practice grassroots democracy that involves their citizens in the decision making process. These efforts should run in parallel with the reconstruction of infrastructure of the state so that there are functional instruments with which to govern.

The state comprising of the two arms, one for coercion and the other largely for building legitimacy through the provision of social welfare are combined in the interest of its citizens and territorial sovereignty. Governance without security or elections without social justice is a

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[73] Ibid, p. 45.
[74] Southall R. *Democracy in Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy*, (Cape Town: 2003).

travesty of democracy. Africans too should also be availed with ample access to Western and other democracies and quite importantly to learn lessons in the "do not and dos in a democracy.[75]

Conflict prevention and the reconstruction of States, economies and civil societies coming out of crisis situations are an essential component. The phenomena arising from State collapses, the spread of violence as the sole source of power, and the economic and social disasters that arise from this paralyze civil populations, making them unable to take action, despite international aid. The said aid can often not reach the populations, due precisely to the fragility of institutional structures. The said crises can, moreover, threaten the security of the international community as a whole.

In response to these multiple and linking difficulties in such environments, the reform of the security and transitional justice systems become of the utmost importance. State collapse in places as Afghanistan, Somalia, and Yugoslavia has led to widespread human suffering, regional instability, and transnational threats of organized crime and international terrorism.[76]

There are three important preconditions for any meaningful post-conflict reconstruction to take place. There must be an end to hostilities, there should be a negotiated government policy framework and equally importantly, there should be a coherent and coordinated multidimensional response by all stakeholders.[77] Equally important is the need to understand and appreciate the notion of post-conflict reconstruction system.

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[75] Southall R. *Democracy in Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy*, (Cape Town: 2003).
[76] Barnett Rubin. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
[77] Robert Muscat, *"The World Bank's Role in Conflict Prevention and Post-conflict Reconstruction,"* internal World Bank paper, prepared for the Task Force on Failed States, November 27, 1995.

In the late 1990s regional rivalries were reflected in different approaches to state building in Somalia. The model favored by Ethiopia and briefly supported by Western donors was the so-called 'building-block' approach.

Taking a lead from developments in 'Somaliland' and 'Puntland', the RRA administration in Bay and Bakool regions and an all-Hawiye peace conference in Beletweyn in 1999, the approach sought to encourage the emergence of regional authorities as a first step towards establishing a federal or non-federal Somali state. Donor and development organizations hoped to encourage the process by rewarding the areas of stability with 'peace dividends' of aid. Critics of the approach opposed that it had limited applicability in the south, encouraged secessionism and was designed by foreign states to keep Somalia weak and divided. The alternative approach, supported by Arab countries, advocated reviving a centralized Somali state through a process of national reconciliation and the formation of a national government.[78]

In 1999 international support for the building block approach ended when the government of Djibouti initiated a new national peace process. International diplomatic efforts were re-energized in 2000 when the Djibouti government hosted the Somalia National Peace Conference in the town of Arta. The 'Arta process' achieved an important political breakthrough in August 2000 by producing a Transitional National Government (TNG) that commanded some national and international support. In Somalia the TNG did not follow through on the reconciliation efforts begun in Arta and became associated with the powerful Mogadishu clans and the business class, which included Islamists. The TNG was opposed by a coalition supported by Ethiopia,

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[78] Mark Bradbury..*Becoming Somaliland*. (Catholic Institute for International Relations :Progression, 2008). p. 9.

called the Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Council (SRRC) in which Abdullahi Yusuf had a leadership role.[79]

In the climate of international insecurity that followed the 9/11 attacks on the US, the failed state of Somalia attracted renewed interest as a potential haven and breeding ground for international terrorists. The TNG's reputation suffered as the growing influence of Islamic Courts and Islamic charities increased suspicions about its links with militant Islamists. To some Somalis the return of government provided the best opportunity for Somalia for a decade, and they criticized Western governments for failing to adequately support it. The experience of TNG also demonstrated the difficulty of securing a lasting agreement in Somalia that does not address the interests and needs of both internal and external actors.[80]

In 2002 IGAD took up the challenge of reconciling the TNG and the SRRC, each supported by an IGAD member state. The influence of external actors was apparent during the two-year reconciliation conference facilitated by Kenya. The Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which succeeded the TNG in November 2004, saw Somalia's leadership shift from the Mogadishu-centred, Hawiye and Islamist dominated coalition to the federalist, Darood and Ethiopian backed coalition, with Abdullahi Yusuf chosen as the transitional president. The TFG fell short of being a government of national unity.[81]

Power was concentrated in a narrow clan coalition and Abdulahi Yusuf was viewed as a client of Ethiopia. His immediate call for a military force from the African Union (AU) to help him establish his authority in the capital alienated his slender support base in Mogadishu. Without

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[79] Mark Bradbury..*Becoming Somaliland*. (Catholic Institute for International Relations :Progression, 2008). p. 9.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Stefan Goodwin. *Africa's Legacies of Urbanization: Unfolding saga of a Continent*. (Lexington Books: 2006), p. 48.

dogged international financial and military support the TFG would not have survived either its internal divisions or the rise of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in 2006.[82]

In early 2007 a small contingent of AU peacekeepers (the AU Mission in Somalia – AMISOM) was deployed to Mogadishu to protect the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs). But over the next two years efforts by the TFG and Ethiopia to impose a 'victor's peace' provoked violent resistance from a mixture of clan militia and remnants of the militant wing of the ICU – Harakat al Shabaab ('the youth movement').[83]

When UN-mediated talks between the ARS and the TFG in Djibouti agreed a timetable for Ethiopian withdrawal in late 2008, Abdullahi Yusuf resigned paving the way for the creation of a new TFG under the presidency of the former Chair of the ICU, Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed.

The withdrawal of Ethiopian forces and the establishment of a new unitary TFG created an opportunity to establish a moderate Islamist government in Somalia that had considerable backing from Somalis and the international community. Nine months later Somalia finds itself in even greater turmoil. Al Shabaab denounced the Djibouti agreement as a betrayal by the ARS.[84]

 Under the leadership of Ahmed Godane, who is widely held responsible for organising suicide bombs in Hargeisa and Bosasso in October 2008, Al Shabaab has declared its support for al Qaeda. The TFG has to date proved itself incapable of building a coalition to combat Al Shabaab and Hizbul Islamiya forces that control much of south central Somalia. The international

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Whose peace is it anyway? Connecting Somali and International Peacemaking. (UK, London: Conciliation Resources,2010).

community has responded by increasing support for the TFG, including the provision of arms by the US government.[85]

The key to bringing lasting peace to Somalia is to establish an ongoing political process by which various tribes, leaders, and factions develop a common national agenda. This political constituting process must offer opportunities for broad and widespread participation of various groups at all levels, and must realistically account for current power realities in the country. It will require attention not only to the political process itself, but also to security and public order needs, justice concerns, and economic and social needs. A stable Somalia government must be an essential partner in the struggle to prevent terrorists from using the country's territory once again.

2.4. PEACEBUILDING IN FRAGILE STATES

The UN doctrine states peacebuilding as encompassing a "range of measures to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capabilities for conflict management".[86] Peacebuilding is a complex and long-term process in which those areas that are decisive for the functioning of society and the state too effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions need to be addressed.[87] Peacebuilding encompasses areas such as human rights and the rule of law, democratization and elections, security sector reform and DDR, transitional justice and reconciliation and economic stabilization and development.[88]

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[85] Whose peace is it anyway? Connecting Somali and International Peacemaking. (UK, London: Conciliation Resources,2010).
[86] Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory IV (eds). *International State Building and reconstruction Efforts: Experience Gained and Lessons Learned*. (Germany: Budrich Publishers, 2010), p 139.
[87] UN Peacekeeping Operations –Principles and Guidelines. P. 18.
[88] Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory IV (eds). *International State Building and reconstruction Efforts: Experience Gained and Lessons Learned*. (Germany: Budrich Publishers, 2010), p 140.

Peacebuilding also involves a process comprising various functions and roles which often entail a wide range of sequential activities proceeding from cease fire and refugee settlement to the establishment of new government and economic reconstruction. Peacebuilding programs may employ a range of strategies to mitigate and manage violent conflict. Where political accords have not yet been concluded, sponsoring organizations may facilitate negotiations between the principle parties. Engaging local communities in the reconciliation process, and providing them with safe spaces where rival groups can work together on shared concerns, is a core feature of some programs because such engagement strengthens the foundations for peace.

The end of violent conflict has to be supplemented by the rebuilding of physical infrastructure and the restoration of essential government functions to provide basic social services. In the long run, stability cannot be achieved without the participation of former adversaries in a democratic political process and socioeconomic reform.[89]The dynamics of peacebuilding are affected by dialectic human interactions and perceptions as well as the social environment. It takes time to overcome both psychological and structural obstacles resulting from protracted conflict locked in vicious cycles of confrontation. Social reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation are essential elements that make a peace process durable and sustainable.[90]

Peacebuilding has formed a core issue in international intervention in post-war societies ever since United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced the concept as key to successful preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping. Boutros-Ghali explains peacebuilding as the medium- to long-term process of rebuilding war affected communities

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[89] Ho-Won Jeong. *Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies: Strategy and Processes.* (United States of America: Lynne Rienner, 2005), p.1.
[90] Johan Galtung. After Violence: 3R, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, Resolution; Coping with Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence. http://ww.transcend.org/TRRECBAS.htm.

through identifying and supporting structures to consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.

Other perspectives successively seek to reinterpret liberal peacebuilding by suggesting alternative theoretical perspectives that significantly deviate from the conventions of liberal custom. Fragile states then consider how state reconstruction has become increasingly equated with post-conflict peacebuilding, and broader debate goes on to assess how the already-expansive boundaries of peace building are being reinterpreted and redrawn. Very often also, the peacebuilding process will start even before a peace agreement is concluded; it can also proceed in countries that do not have a formal peace agreement. As such, activities can be undertaken in both a post and pre conflict context. While state -building is more specific, but also controversial, it's important to note that the process of state –building can also be both preventive and part of a peace building process in a fragile state. The important factor that emerges across all scenarios is that a weak or unresponsive state is often at the root cause of fragility and conflict as Brinkerhoff outlines "the inability of states to integrate regions and minorities into larger polities is a key source of state fragility, failure and conflict across the globe".[91]

Peacebuilding is an all-encompassing process which cannot be handled solely by initiators. It requires involvement of all stakeholders in order to make it all inclusive and successful[92]. Additionally peace-building is an ongoing process and should embrace all the dynamics of conflict.[93]

The economic, social and security implications of fragile states are a critical concern for the international community. Fragile states face severe poverty and development challenges, and

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[91] Derick Brinkerhoff. *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.3
[92] Macharia Apollos. *Conflict Transformation*. (Nakuru, Kenya: Centre for Conflict Resolution-Kenya, 2012) p. 235.
[93] Ibid.

they share features of weak governance, failing public institutions, instability or open conflict and weak civil society. People living in fragile states are more likely to die early or suffer from chronic illnesses; and they are less likely to receive a basic education or essential health services. International aid can make a real difference in addressing problems, if not sources, of fragility. When well-targeted, managed and coordinated, a key challenge of fragile states work is how to manage aid for results in environments that are socially, politically and economically unpredictable.[94]

An important part of that challenge is how to design and manage assistance programs with realistic development outcomes, and then how to rapidly and systematically learn from experience so that they can adapt responses to address weaknesses, emerging threats and windows of opportunity. Many organizations working around the world in fragile states and with peacebuilding and conflict management are facing the same challenges in finding practical approaches for monitoring, evaluation and learning (ME&L) to improve program performance and to increase accountability to local people and other important stakeholders. ME&L in fragile states needs to be swift, safe and highly practical for making management decisions in unpredictable and often unsafe and difficult-to-access field environments.[95]

ME&L must not threaten the safety of participants or of evaluators. Managers of fragile state and peacebuilding programs need to monitor their programs and their rapidly changing program environments closely. That way, they can make timely decisions to modify objectives and activities for maximum positive impact. ME&L in fragile states and for peacebuilding is a new technical area in the field of program evaluation. But there has been a great deal of recent

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[94] Rolf Sartorius and Christopher Carver. Fragile States and Peacebuilding Programs: Practical Tools for Improving Performance Results. (Arlington, Virginia: Social Impact), p. 9.
[95] Ibid.

innovation to develop practical approaches and to capture learning from programs so that they have greater potential to improve peoples' lives.[96]

Therefore, peacebuilding needs to be broadened and redefined as an integrated social process for an associative engagement with the overall aim of creating mutually accepted framework of rules and institutions guiding the conduct of former belligerents. The quality of transition has an important impact on the nature of relations between the conflicting parties as well as institutional reform. If the goal is not the restoration of an old order, promotion of peace should lead to facilitating change rather than a return to previous position, with the empowerment of the marginalized. Peace building is based on the expectation that long term security interests are served by the realization of a just society. Merely providing order does not guarantee the right to justice and dignity especially if it does not allow the expression of needs and grievances in a constructive manner.[97]

2.5. NEO-LIBERALISM AND ITS RELEVANCE

Liberalism as a rational social philosophy dates from the late 18th century. At first there was no distinction between political and economic liberalism. Classic liberal political philosophy has continued to develop and after 1900 as a purely conservative philosophy. The basic principles of all liberal philosophy are that Liberals believe that the form of society should be the outcome of processes.[98] These processes should be interactive and involve all members of society. The market is an example, probably the best example, of what liberals mean by process. Liberals are

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[96] Rolf Sartorius and Christopher Carver. Fragile States and Peacebuilding Programs: Practical Tools for Improving Performance Results. (Arlington, Virginia: Social Impact), p. 9.
[97] Michael Pugh. *Regeneration of War-Torn Societies*. (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), p. 112.
[98] Guido Jorg Hulsmann. *Mises: The Last Knight of Liberalism*. (Paris: Ludwig von Mises Institute; 1st edition, 2007).

generally hostile to any 'interference with process'. Specifically, liberals claim that the distribution of wealth as a result of the market is, in itself, just. Liberals reject the idea of redistribution of wealth as a goal in itself.[99]

Liberals define liberalism itself as freedom, so they rarely think consent is required for the imposition of a liberal society. In fact, most would say it cannot be imposed, inherently.[100] After the Cold War this belief acquired a geostrategic significance as many western liberal-democrats believed that a war to impose a liberal-democratic society was inherently just. This belief influenced interventionist policy, but as yet no war for the sole purpose of liberalization has been fought. Classic political liberals reject the idea that there are any external moral values: they say that there are only opinions. They feel that these opinions should be expressed in public and that in some way this bazaar of opinions will favor the truth. The liberal rejection of external moral values is formally expressed in the liberal idea of human rights; both good and evil humans have equal rights, which apply equally when they facilitate good or evil actions.[101]

Classic liberal philosophy advocated liberty as a value, even if they did not call it a value. In effect it places liberty as a value above good and evil. Liberals believe in formal equality among participants in a liberal society, but almost all liberals also believe in inequality of talent. Many liberals were therefore sympathetic to biological theories of inequality.[102]

Since the 1990's activists use the word neoliberalism for global market-liberalism and for free-trade policies. Neo-liberalism is often used interchangeably with globalization. But free markets and global free trade are not new, and this use of the word ignores developments in the advanced

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[99] Guido Jorg Hulsmann. *Mises: The Last Knight of Liberalism*. (Paris: Ludwig von Mises Institute; 1st edition, 2007).
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid,
[102] Ibid

economies. Neo-liberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the production of goods and services, and without any attempt to justify them in terms of their effect on the production of goods and services; and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs.[103]

Neo-liberalism is a set of economic policies that have become widespread during the last 25 years or so. "Neo" means we are talking about a new kind of liberalism. Liberalism can refer to political, economic, or even religious ideas. In the U.S. political liberalism has been a strategy to prevent social conflict. It is presented to poor and working people as progressive compared to conservative or traditionalist. Economic liberalism is different. Conservative politicians, who say they hate liberals meaning the political type, have no real problem with economic liberalism, including neo-liberalism.[104]

Economic liberalism prevailed in the United States through the 1800s and early 1900s. Then the Great Depression of the 1930s led an economist named John Maynard Keynes to a theory that challenged liberalism as the best policy for capitalists. He said, in essence, that full employment is necessary for capitalism to grow and it can be achieved only if governments and central banks intervene to increase employment. These ideas had much influence on President Roosevelt's New Deal, which did improve life for many people. The belief that government should advance the common good became widely accepted.[105] But the capitalist crisis over the last 25 years, with

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[103] Guido Jorg Hulsmann. *Mises: The Last Knight of Liberalism.* (Paris: Ludwig von Mises Institute; 1st edition, 2007).
[104] Ibid
[105] Elizabeth Martinez and Arnoldo Garcia. *What is Neo-Liberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists.* (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights: Corp Watch).

its shrinking profit rates, inspired the corporate elite to revive economic liberalism. That's what makes it "neo" or new. Now, with the rapid globalization of the capitalist economy, we are seeing neo-liberalism on a global scale.[106]

The main points of neo-liberalism are the rule of the market, where there is liberation of free enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the state no matter how much social damage this causes. All in all, however, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. An unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone.[107]

Cutting public expenditure for social services like education and health care, reducing the safety-net for the poor, and even maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply, deregulation to reduce government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job, the privatization of state-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, schools, hospitals and even fresh water.[108]

Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs and finally eliminating the concept of the public good or community" and replacing it with individual responsibility.[109]

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid

Around the world, neo-liberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It is raging all over Latin America. The first clear example of neo-liberalism at work came in Chile, after the CIA-supported coup against the popularly elected Allende regime in 1973. Other countries then followed.[110]

The term neo-liberalism was originally coined in 1938 by the German scholar Alexander Rüstow at the Colloque Walter Lippmann.[111] The conference defined the concept of neo-liberalism as involving "the priority of the price mechanism, the free enterprise, the system of competition and a strong and impartial state."[112] To be neo-liberal meant that a modern economic policy with State intervention is required.[113] While present-day scholars tend to identify Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman as the masterminds of neo-liberalism, most scholars in the 1950s and 1960s understood neo-liberalism as referring to the social market economy and its principal economic theorists such as Eucken, Röpke, Rüstow, and Müller-Armack.[114]

Once the new meaning of neoliberalism was established as a common usage among Spanish-speaking scholars, it diffused directly into the English-language study of political economy. In the last two decades, according to the Boas and Gans-Morse study of 148 journal articles, neo-liberalism is almost never defined but used in several senses to describe ideology, economic

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[110] Elizabeth Martinez and Arnoldo Garcia. *What is Neo-Liberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists*. (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights: Corp Watch).

[111] Collins English Dictionary. Complete and Unabridged . (HarperCollins Publishers 1991, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2003). Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe. *The road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal thought collective.* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009),p. 14-15.

[112] Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe. *The road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal thought collective.* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009),p. 13-14.

[113] François Denord. From the Colloque Walter Lippmann to the Fifth Republic, in Philip Mirowski, Dieter Plehwe, *The Road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective*. (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2009),p. 48.

[114] Taylor Boas and Jordan Gans-Morse. *Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan.* (Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)). Vol. 44, no. 2. pp.137–161

theory, development theory, or economic reform policy. It has largely become a term of condemnation employed by critics.[115]

Neo-liberalism continues to be not only the dominant economic policy, but also the dominant modality of social and economic reproduction in most countries. Chandler describes state building as the process of 'constructing or reconstructing institutions of governance capable of providing citizens with physical and economic security'.[116]

Since last few decades it has been generally recognized that post-conflict state building calls for necessary international intervention. The post-conflict states with international intervention generally apply neo-liberal approach for economic recovery. Neo-liberal approach emphasize upon the construction of free market framed to stimulate growth which is empowered by private sector.[117]

It provides establishment of a state which is focused towards regulating and supporting markets, while creating a secondary welfare field for its people in shadow of growth generated by the private sector. This approach has been illustrated in the 'Washington Consensus' recommended by International Financial Institutions (IFI's) such as IMF and World Bank. Neo-liberalism focuses on the benefit of free market and growth backed by private sector as a pedestal for strong development.[118]

To encourage private sector investment, it provides an economic policy prescription, which focuses on disinvestment, unregulated markets and fiscal stimulus. The motive behind this is to build efficient capitalist markets which will help the private sector to grow efficiently. By giving

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[115] Ibid, p. 152.
[116] David Chandler. *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Relations.* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2004)
[117] Ibid.
[118] Yujiro Hayami. *Globolization and Rural Poverty: A perspective from a Social Observatory in the Philippines.* Working Paper RP2006/44. World Institute for Development Economic Research (UNU-WIDER)

priority to market over states, neo-liberal approach propagates an important but umbrella role for state in supporting development. This role focused around providing frameworks which are necessary for the efficient working of markets. Neo-liberal approach acknowledges that the state has an important role to play in the economic and social developments as a partner, catalysts & facilitator.[119]

Neo-liberal economic policies have been propagated by the IFIs in the developing countries from 1980's, when they brought in policy of conditionality on their loans and tied this conditionality with execution of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP).[120]

SAP has most directly affected the trend of advancing neo liberal ideas in developing countries. Structural Adjustment program include; currency devaluation planned to make export more competitive, decreased public spending to control inflation & service debt repayment, disinvestment to bolster productive investment & further cut public spending, deregulation and removal of protectionism to advance FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), reducing public subsidies on food &other goods in order to permit market to set the right price, wage controls and higher interest rates to decrease inflation.[121] Structural Adjustment program's focus was at building macroeconomic consolidation while laying down the base of market economy.[122]

Although neo-liberalism is yet so far the best in economic reconstruction, it has it imperfections. The impression painted by the theory is less likely to pay dividends in practical post conflict situations. Following the debt crisis & renunciation of Keynesianism in late 1970s, SAP was

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[119] Vaishali Raghuvanshi. *Neo-Liberal Approach in Post Conflict Economy: A Critique.* www.acadmia.edu/4537287.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Paris Roland. At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[122] Ibid.

aimed to be a short, sharp, shock treatment for developing economies to correct macroeconomic flaws and to build concrete walls of successful market economy. It was thought that SAPs which were in line with neo-liberal thought would admit substantial adversities for people who are most weak in society, especially those who rely upon welfare spending of state. It has been claimed by neo-liberal economists that this would be only a short term social cost which will result into long term economic gain. But, structural adjustment has failed to add economic prosperity. Also, the social cost was so high in context of poverty and inequality that it has deteriorated the situation more sharply in developing countries.[123]

The Neo-liberal economic policies normally result in fiscal seriousness and initial economic diplomacy. The inability of the government to spend for the betterment of socioeconomic conditions gives rise to endemic poverty and inequality and poses a challenge for long lasting peace.[124]

Such instances have been witnessed in Mozambique and Cambodia. Even if we do not take into consideration the negatives of neo-liberal reforms on socio economic differences, there are number of reasons which prove that post conflict societies are prone to instability effects of neo-liberal reforms. Paris provides three reasons for this; countries that evolve from significantly deep societal dispute due to which they are more prone to recurrence of war have less capability to address economic controversy unleashed by free market policy.[125]

Post-conflict societies do not have strong conflict dampers; peaceful conflict resolution is less likely to exist for a long period and the differential construction of society may work opposite to

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[123] Alan Ahearn et al. Cyclical Dimensions of Labour Mobility after EU Enlargement. IEHAS Discussion Papers 0919, Institute for Economics: Hungarin Acaemy of Science.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Paris Roland. At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

peaceful resolution of conflicts. Post-conflict states do not have institutional capacity in general to efficiently manage free market reforms. Adding to this it undermines hopes for future economic development and also makes it hard to mediate against corruption and ethnic privatization of firms which can spread socio economic partition. Despite the weaknesses of neo-liberalism, it is still the preferred theory to work with in a post-conflict economy.

2.5. CONCLUSIONS

Peacebuilding is increasingly conceptualized as a strategy that integrates different modes of involvement into a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution. There has been a convergence of peacebuilding's sectors and tasks, necessitated by the complexities of the breakdown of states. Peacebuilding is therefore increasingly defined by a complexity that arises from the integration of previously discrete spheres of engagement which including peacekeeping and peace making.

Neo-liberalism on the other hand combines a buildup approach, a mode of social and economic reproduction and a mode of exploitation and social command based on the systematic use of state power to impose, under the ideological cover of non-intervention, a hegemonic project of re-composition of the rule of capital in all areas of social life. It is a newer form of liberalism that grows into the current changes of the global system known as globalization.

As much as neo-liberalism is the relevant way of rebuilding fragile states, opponents argue that globalization can subvert nations' ability for self-determination, accountability to the stakeholders, who depend upon the service provided by the privatized entity, is lost as a consequence of business secrecy, a practice that is normally adopted by private investors. The replacement of a government-owned monopoly with private companies, each supposedly trying to provide the consumer with better value service than all of its private competitors, removes the

efficiency that can be gained from the economy of scale[126], and even if it could be shown that neoliberal capitalism increases productivity, it erodes the conditions in which production occurs long term, i.e., resources/nature, requiring expansion into new areas.

It is therefore not sustainable within the world's limited geographical space while other critics also add that neo-liberal economics promotes exploitation and social injustice and inequality. The international community's narrow definition and support for liberal peace, in cycle with the overarching neoliberal economic paradigm and failure to embrace an inclusivism approach to peacebuilding has further obstructed effective reconstruction, growth and development.

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[126] Jason Moore. *'Transcending the Metabolic Rift: A Theory of Crises in the Capitalist World Ecology'*. Journal of Peasant Studies, 2011, Vol. 38, no. 1,pp. 40–46.

<center>**CHAPTER THREE**</center>

<center>**POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN FRAGILE STATES: THE CASE OF
SOMALIA, 1992-2013**</center>

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter gave an overview of fragility and fragile states, post-conflict reconstruction

in fragile states looking at a global perspective an narrowing down to Somalia, peacebuilding in

fragile states and neo-liberalism and its relevance to post-conflict reconstruction.

This chapter will analyse post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states with a case study of

Somalia from 1992 to 2013. The chapter will give a background on Somalia. It will analyse

conflict and post-conflict debates on Somalia, post-conflict models and frameworks in Somalia,

the war-torn Somalia as well as discussions on aid engagement. Finally, the chapter will look at

some of the existing aid mechanisms as well as post-conflict reconstruction models and

frameworks within the Somalia context.

3.1. CONFLICT VS. POST-CONFLICT DEBATES IN SOMALIA

Since the end of the Cold War, rebuilding states in the wake of conflict and state failure has been

displayed as one of the leading challenges facing the international community. Post-conflict

efforts by the international community focusing on state rebuilding and reconstruction of society

and economy have become a more or less regular feature of international affairs. It therefore

seems that the demand for such international efforts is rising rather than diminishing.[127] It

sprouts from the progressively contested notion that weak states, where the rule of law is absent

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[127] Joachim Krause and Charles King Mallory IV (eds*). International State Building and reconstruction Efforts:
Experience Gained and Lessons Learned.* (Germany: Budrich Publishers, 2010), p1.

and centralized authority inadequate or split, can represent as great a threat to international security and stability as strong ones. Transnational criminal syndicates, terrorist organizations and guerilla groups find reservation in such environments, which also offer ideal conditions for poverty, human rights abuses, and population displacement to flourish.[128]

It is important to bear in mind that reconstructing a fragile state from scratch and against an environment of a long war, poses many challenges which include security issues, poverty, economic productivity, and development of human resources, service delivery, resettlement and reintegration of internally displaced persons, returnees and refugees, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the establishment of democratic institutions to ensure popular participation in the government.[129]

The focus then remains on the future when as the state is being rebuilt there are challenges that it must overcome in order to rub off the fact that it as fragile. Restoration of human dignity and the importance of collective action are the first step towards achieving post-conflict reconstruction. There is no any specific model that is written down on how to reconstruct a post-conflict fragile state but then models and frameworks that have been used before like the Marshall plan in post-war Europe which could be revised to match set any fragile state.[130]

Any fragile state cannot escape the conditions of reconstruction. They all have to go through many challenges which are not unbeatable since most states are not poor; they have natural resources and skilled personnel who can always transform these resources for social and economic development. However, any fragile state that does not set its priorities right will

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[128] Ibid.
[129] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 13.
[130] Ibid, p29.

become poor and lose legitimacy if it continues to bask in the absence of effective political institutions.[131]

The Somali civil war broke out in 1991, when a coalition of clan-based armed opposition groups ousted the nation's long-standing military government.[132] Various factions began competing for influence in the power vacuum that followed, which precipitated an aborted UN peacekeeping attempt in the mid-1990s. A period of decentralization ensued, characterized by a return to customary and religious law in many areas as well as the establishment of autonomous regional governments in the northern part of the country. The early 2000s saw the creation of fledgling interim federal administrations, culminating in the establishment of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004.[133] In 2006, the TFG, assisted by Ethiopian troops, assumed control of most of the nation's southern conflict zones from the newly formed Islamic Courts Union (ICU).[134] The ICU subsequently splintered into more radical groups, notably Al-Shabaab, which have since been fighting the Somali government and its AMISOM allies for control of the region.[135] In 2011, a coordinated military operation between the Somali military and multinational forces began, which is believed to represent one of the final stages in the war's Islamist insurgency.[136] Former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali and Ahmedou

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[131] Ibid.

[132] Gebru Tareke. *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009)

[133] Abdisalam M. Issa-Salwe. *The Collapse of the Somali State: The Impact of the Colonial Legacy*. (London: Haan Associates,1996). pp. 34–35

[134] Gebru Tareke. *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

[135] Peter Little *Somalia: Economy without State*. (India: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 4

[136] Mahmoud Mohamed. "Somalia successfully concludes first elections in over 20 years". *Sabahi*. Retrieved 30 August 2012.

Ould Abdallah, UN special envoy to Somalia referred to the killing of civilians in the Somali Civil War as "genocide".[137]

According to the Lutheran World Federation, military activities in the country's southern conflict zones had by early December 2011 greatly reduced the movement of migrants.[138] A consequence of the collapse of governmental authority that accompanied the civil war was the emergence of piracy in the unpatrolled Indian Ocean waters off of the coast of Somalia. In September 2011, a political roadmap was agreed upon by major Somali constituencies that signaled the beginning of a new push towards the completion of mandated transitional tasks. The indigenous summit was the first in a series of meetings that included two constitutional conferences held in Garowe, Puntland that agreed principles for delivering the transitional milestones before the expiry of the TFG's mandate.[139]

In October 2011, a coordinated operation between the Somali military and the Kenyan military began against the Al-Shabaab group of insurgents in southern Somalia. The mission was officially led by the Somali army, with the Kenyan forces providing a support role. In early June 2012, Kenyan forces were formally integrated into AMISOM. By September 2012, the Somali National Army and allied AU and Raskamboni forces had managed to capture Al-Shabaab's last major stronghold, the southern port of Kismayo.[140]

Despite of all this, there are also significant security challenges linked to the end of the transition in Somalia. These have received less attention but could have enduring impact. First, much of

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[137] Boutros Boutros Ghali. *Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga*. (London: I.B. Tauris & Co.1999), p. 140.

[138] M. Lewis. *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, (Red Sea Press 1998), p. 11. Zolberg, Aristide R.; Suhrke, Astri; Aguayo, Sergio. *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[139] Mary Harper. *Getting Somalia Wrong? : Faith and War in a Shattered State*. (London: Zed Books, 2012).

[140] Peter Schraeder. "From Irredentism to Secession: The Decline of Pan-Somali Nationalism". In Lowell W. Barrington, ed., *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Post-colonial and Post-communist States*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), p. 107–137.

southern Somalia still remains under the control of Al-Shabaab, and the group retains the capacity to launch terrorist attacks and assassinations in 'liberated' areas. Both the TFG and a post-transition government will be highly vulnerable to attacks and dependent on AMISOM forces for protection.[141]

The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was the internationally recognized government of Somalia until 20 August 2012, when its tenure officially ended. Second, most of the liberated areas in southern Somalia are now in the hands of third forces – clan militias allied with AMISOM, Kenyan or Ethiopian military forces – but with only tenuous links to the TFG. Third, the system of representation in the proposed constituent assembly and bi-cameral parliament rewards communities that form local or regional administrations. This was a well-intentioned attempt to expand participation in decision-making beyond the TFG, and to recognize and reward actual local governance inside Somalia. It is part of a wider strategy known as the 'dual track approach', in which external donors work with both the TFG and local political entities – in effect ending the notion that the TFG is the only game in town.[142]

The transitional national charter, agreed as part of the Djibouti process, had mandated a number of requisite tasks to be completed within six years, including the drafting of a new constitution, the disarmament of militia groups and the resettlement of refugees and IDPs.[143] By 2011, however, little progress had been made on these essential milestones: with the transitional parliament's term due to expire, Somalia faced a pressing deadline. The Kampala Accords signed in Uganda extended the transitional parliament's term by an additional three years, a

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Article 71, 'The Transition Period', Somali Transitional Charter: Transitional Federal Charter for the Somali Republic, February 2004, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4795c2d22.html.

move that was roundly criticized; the government's term was also extended by one year to August 2012, making 2012 a make or-break year for Somalia's political leadership.[144]

As has been true for years, state-building and counter-terrorism objectives in Somalia can sometimes work at cross-purposes. Somalia requires a comprehensive approach that emphasizes political and economic capacity building, as well as security. A military solution alone will not work, and Somalia will not be able to capitalize on security gains without political gains: Somalia needs to move beyond the status quo. To do so, Somalia needs a motivated, accountable government capable of gaining trust and legitimacy. The years of violence and the inability to bring together Somalia's different groups have resulted in the breakdown of Somalia's social contract between the state and the people. Imposing internationally 'approved' leaders may be a short-term fix, but is never a long-term solution, as has been demonstrated in Iraq and Afghanistan.[145]

The long-term strategy must be to build institutions and encourage accountable and representative leadership. Institutions such as the proposed National Constituent Assembly could play a key role in fusing traditional representation with parliamentary democracy. A credible civil service also needs to be established. None of this can be achieved overnight and it is, inevitably, a messy process. But there is no substitute for genuine representation.

It is the Somali people who must take pole position in rebuilding the country. But the lesson of previous interventions suggests that the global community is likely to be in Somalia for the better part of this decade. This is a long-term commitment and it needs a comprehensive strategy to meld together aid, development, politics and security. In Iraq and Afghanistan, jurisdictional

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[144] Anna Rader. 'Somalia's 2012 Agenda', RUSI.org, 3 January 2012.
[145] David Petraeus. 'Learning counterinsurgency: Observations from Soldiering in Iraq'. *Military Review* (Jan–Feb 2006).

disputes and mutual mistrust between development and security stakeholders cost time and lives. Planning for a comprehensive approach in Somalia needs to begin sooner rather than later, and avoid being bogged down in political correctness.[146] The comprehensive approach must also be complemented by coordinated humanitarian assistance. A clear agenda for achieving this has been recommended by the UN World Development Report, built around the three pillars of legitimate institutions, justice and jobs, and this is where aid should be focused.[147]

Currently, Somalia has a Federal Government which was established on August 20, 2012. It officially comprises the executive branch of government, with the parliament serving as the legislative branch. It is headed by the President of Somalia, to whom the Cabinet reports through the Prime Minister.

With these ongoing activities in Somalia, different debates arise on whether Somalia needs to be reconstructed or the people reconcile and move on to conflict transformation. Governance and development should therefore be looked at together with international security issues. The catch phrase often used to describe the approach to development assistance is nation building.

Naturally not everyone agrees that development assistance and security should be attached this way. In 2000 when George Bush was campaigning he dismissed nation building as an arrogant and futile exercise but after the September 11, 2001, he joined other countries in what specifically they called nation building exercise to establish a broad based government in Afghanistan and explicitly drew the parallel with the Marshall Plan after World War II.[148]

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[146] David H Petraeus, 'Learning counterinsurgency: observations from soldiering in Iraq', Military Review (Jan–Feb 2006).

[147] Chapter 3: 'From violence to resilience: Restoring confidence and transforming institutions', World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development (World Bank, 2011).

[148] Derick Brinkerhoff. *Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: Rebuilding Fragile States*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.25.

Similarly, after-conflict in Somalia portrays the same picture and hence a mixed approach towards conflict and post-conflict Somalia. Somalis want what everyone wants to live without fear. Recent gains by African Union forces (AMISOM) in Mogadishu mean some Somalis can return home, but most continue to live with serious risks to life, limb, and livelihood.[149]

The rich cultural history is important to inform how AMISOM could properly respond to civilian harm it causes. Supporting African Forces in building a tool within military headquarters will also help its leadership understand and improve the impact of combat operations on the civilian population.

For any post-conflict reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation to make significant impact in Somalia, it must take into account the different needs of the various groups in Somali society through a pleasant lens.

3.2. POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION MODELS AND FRAMEWORKS

Processes such as post-conflict reconstruction need a wide range of civil society actors in political and economic decision-making.[150] A model is a system used as an example to follow or imitate. It can also represent anything and in this context a post-conflict reconstruction representation. On the other hand, a framework is a real conceptual structure intended to serve as a support or guide of something that expands a structure into something useful. Since the end of World War II intra state armed conflict has replaced inter-state wars at most instances. These civil wars have rapidly turned into a deadly form of political violence.

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[149] Ibid.
[150] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 3

According to International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), armed interstate conflicts occurred, intra – state armed conflict or civil wars have also occurred some of these were marked by intervention from other countries. Civil wars have killed approximately 4.8 million militants in battle field and almost infinite number of civilians globally. It has also caused severe harm to those who were stranded in the war. Increase in number of civil wars and frequent deadlocks have made the study of post conflict economy crucial. This is crucial especially when government and international actors are searching model or methods by which they can provide aid to the victim of violence in order to rebuild their lives and to smoothen the process of construction of post conflict economy.[151]

It is a common perception that status of economy plays a crucial role in reconstruction of society. A buzzing economy can efficiently deal with the challenges imposed by post conflict society and restore the crucial sectors for human sustenance such as education, employment and skill development, health financing, agricultural, infrastructural and industrial development, environment and natural resources. It has become crucial for the state to opt formal economy which can bolster the process of reconstruction in post conflict economy.[152]

Collier et al proposed that "countries experiencing civil conflict can easily fall into a "poverty conflict trap", in which losses from a first civil conflict increase the likelihood of future conflict unless a strong post conflict economic performance breaks the vicious cycle".[153]

 Kong & Meernik identify "two challenges faced by economic policy makers at the end of a civil conflict. First, policy makers must engineer a rapid economic recovery in the

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[151]Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Paul Collier . et al. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

immediate post conflict period. Second, they must transform this short term recovery into stable long-term economic growth".[154]

The process of post conflict reconstruction can be phased in two stages: Recovery and Consolidation. Recovery involves years after the end of conflicts, leaders must reconstruct political institution and formulate policies for rejuvenation of the economy. And in Second phase that is consolidation where a state must modify initial recovery so that it translates into long term economic performance.[155]

Farah proposes three phases of post-conflict reconstruction are not only important for the new Somalia but relevant given the different realities on the ground which need to be merged and an integrated approach developed and the five dimensions should be the government's priorities. Security should be top of the priorities followed by socio-economic development, transitional justice and reconciliation, political transition, governance and participation and coordination and management.[156] He also adds that there is a need for a nationally-negotiated, carefully-drawn Marshall Plan like that of post-war Europe in the 1940s especially if any meaningful post conflict reconstruction is to take place in the country.[157]

This means that the ongoing discussions over the EU-led New Deal can be broadened and later on turned into a Marshall Plan – or Somali Recovery Programme (SRP) – for the new Somalia. While there are indicators to suggest that the government is making progress towards state institutions, state reconstruction often goes beyond repairing damaged buildings and re-establishing state institutions. It encompasses restoring people's trust and confidence in

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[154]Paul Collier. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are failing and What Can be Done About it*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[155] Paul Collier. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are failing and What Can be Done About it*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[156] Ibrahim Farah. *Somalia: No more missed opportunities.* Horn of Africa Bulletin Vol. 25, No. 4, July–August 2013.
[157] Ibid.

governance systems and the rule of law, repairing broken and eroded relationships at individual and institutional levels.[158]

With difficulties of post-conflict reconstruction in a country like Somalia, there is also need to recognize that it is the ripe moment, it is doable, and that there is a need for a major paradigm shift; hence the need for a 'post-conflict reconstruction policy framework for Somalia' as soon as possible. Most importantly of all, Somalia's political actors and members of the international community, including the sub-region, must give social justice and sustainable peace in Somalia a chance by working with the new Somali government and play a more constructive role in helping with the emergence of a 'post-conflict' Somalia in the near future.[159]

The 2011 New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States commits fragile states and international partners to do things contrary to the way they have been doing things by designing and executing their involvements with an even greater consideration for the specific characteristics of fragile states; plus to focus on different things by structuring their involvements around peacebuilding and state building goals. In this process leading to the New Deal, peacebuilding was defined as activities "targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development".[160]

With these peacebuilding and state building goals, the New Deal echoes a comfortable shift towards a thick conceptualization of state fragility which looks beyond the quality of government policies and institutions to consider the multiple scopes of state-society relations.

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[158] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 8

[159] Ibrahim Farah. *Somalia: No more missed opportunities.* Horn of Africa Bulletin Vol. 25, No. 4, July–August 2013.

[160] OECD. *Peacebuilding and State-building Priorities and Challenges. A Synthesis of Findings from Seven Multi-Stakeholder Consultations.* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2010), p. 21.

Correspondingly, the future research agenda should adopt a more vigorous and comprehensive approach to understanding fragility, considering both internal and external stress factors.[161]

3.3. WAR-TORN SOMALIA AND DISCUSSIONS ON AID ENGAGEMNT

Fragile state situations present special challenges to the management of development aid and inevitably have an impact on the success of aid initiatives. As donor agencies seek to establish effective programmes in conflict and fragile situations, the process of planning international assistance necessarily requires a balance between setting and aligning agendas with established institutional visions and policies, and adapting the course of action to meet the needs of the specific context in which they are to be applied.[162]

In an effort to improve the impact of the international community's assistance to Somalia, the The Somalia Aid Coordination Body (SABC) was established as an output of the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia organised by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia held in December 1993. The SACB was established with the aim of facilitating the development of a common approach for the allocation of resources available for Somalia.[163]

It has evolved into an important coordination mechanism whereby the main aid constituencies share information and develop strategies for the provision of assistance to Somalia. Due to prevailing insecurity, the majority of agencies operating in Somalia and international donors are based in Nairobi. The SABC's mandate derived from the 1993 Addis Ababa conference. Only

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[161] Grieger Gisela. *The "New Deal" for engagement in fragile states*. Library Briefing. (Brussels: EU Library of the European Parliament, 2013).

[162] Danida. *Evaluation of the Danish engagement in and around Somalia 2006*, 10. Copenhagen, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[163] SACB. *Somalia Aid Coordination Body Handbook*, 2004. SACB website: http://www.sacb.info.

the SACB survived from the original structures envisaged in the Addis Ababa declaration. The Somali structures of development committees never materialized as originally planned and the UN Development Officer for Somalia (UNDOS) became a controversial body within the UN Somalia system and was closed in 2001.[164]

The SACB's overall mandate and role have not been reconfirmed or revised by the international community in the light of the evolving Somalia context since 1997. The SACB worked on the basis of voluntary involvement and commitment of its members and on the basis of consensus. It is somewhat unique in an international aid structure in providing equal access and membership for the three groupings of members, donors, UN agencies and NGOs[165].

SACB was a platform for coordination of international aid to Somalia. It provided a forum for all partners to discuss humanitarian, rehabilitation and development issues, offered the opportunity to share information on trends in security, governance, and peace and reconciliation efforts, on a political basis and provides an opportunity to promote better understanding of the complex situation in Somalia.[166]

The SACB has over the years struggled with ways of creating effective relationships with the various and varied regional administrations that exist in Somalia. SACB is perceived sometimes as donor or a body that controls the flow of resources to Somalia.[167] Despite these often vociferous criticisms of the SACB, almost no one in Somalia suggested that the SACB should be got rid of. The priorities for the SACB were to better explain its role and the modes of operation of its members, to strengthen dialogue and consultation within Somalia, where possible in a structured way with the local administrations, to encourage SACB member organizations in their

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[164] SACB. *Somalia Aid Coordination Body Handbook*, 2004. SACB website: http://www.sacb.info
[165] SACB. 2002. *Guiding Principles of Operation*. SACB website: http://www.sacb.info
[166] Ibid.
[167] *SABC Process Outline*, SABC Executive Committee, 22 October, 2003. SACB website: http://www.sacb.info

own consultative processes to explain the SACB's role and also encourage Somali participation.[168]

The New Beginnings Somalia Civil Service (NBSCS) project under the United Nations began in May 2005. The objective was to initiate discussion within the TFG on key issues relating to the civil service and to coordinate civil service and human resource planning and management. The project was intended to address the urgent need for external support to the TFG to enable it to start implementing practices of effective and responsive governance.[169]

While the fighting and fragmentation of authority have led to widespread destruction of economic infrastructure, new economic and political structures emerged in more stable areas. This led to the emergence, in places, of a private sector characterized by its energy and innovation. The private sector however, has been left almost entirely without institutional support to facilitate its development and regulate its activities. Moreover, the economy and a large proportion of the population remain vulnerable to external shocks such as bans on the importation of Somali livestock and interruption to remittances from the Somali diaspora.[170]

The attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Somalia is a distant prospect. While the reversal of the decline in some development indicators suggests that private Somali initiatives and coping mechanisms do have a positive impact, the absence of firm governance structures and the continuing conflict make it difficult to properly address most MDG targets.[171]

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[168] SACB. 2002. *Guiding Principles of Operation*. SACB website: http://www.sacb.info
[169] European Commission. *Strategy for the Implementation of Special Aid to Somalia 2002 – 2007*. February 2006.
[170] Lister, S. Le More, A. *Aid Management and Coordination During The Intifada*. (Mokoro Ltd. Little, P.D. 2003).
[171]The International African Institute in association with James Curry. Somalia: *Economy without State*. (Hargeisa:Indiana University Press and Btec Books, 2003).

The New Deal was to link peacebuilding and state-building activities, as they are seen as mutually reinforcing processes. In the process leading up to the launch of the New Deal, peacebuilding was defined as activities "targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development".[172]

Key objectives included preventing countries from lapsing or relapsing into violent conflict, establishing structures and incentives for peaceful mitigation of conflicts, incentivizing elite commitSment to peace processes, while laying the groundwork for those processes to be made more inclusive over time, establishing a framework for political, security and economic transition, jump-starting recovery, and demonstrating peace dividends by meeting the urgent needs of the population.[173]

State-building in turn was seen as a "process to enhance the capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state driven by state-society relations".[174] Key state functions to be included delivery of security and justice, revenue and expenditure management, basic service delivery, and economic management.[175]

There have been several initiatives to try to resolve the Somali conflict. Between 2001 and 2004 the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) led peace talks that would eventually result in the so called Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs), the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) and the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The mandate of the TFIs was supposed to expire in 2009. However, as a result of a new peace deal, the TFIs were reshuffled

[172] OECD. *Peacebuilding and State-building Priorities and Challenges. A Synthesis of Findings from Seven Multi-Stakeholder Consultations*. 2010. p21.
[173] OECD. *Peacebuilding and State-building Priorities and Challenges. A Synthesis of Findings from Seven Multi-Stakeholder Consultations*. 2010. p22.
[174] Ibid., p. 21.
[175] Ibid., p. 22.

and their mandate prolonged for a further two years. As their terms of office came to an end in 2011, both parliament and government decided to extend their own mandate for another three years. Many actors in the international community had grown tired of the government's lack of results and the extension was not well received. After heavy international pressure the President of Somalia and the Speaker of the Parliament signed an agreement in June 2011, the Kampala Accord, which stated that a new President and Speaker should be elected no later than 20 August 2012. A roadmap for how the transitional period should end was also put in place.[176]

3.4. POST-TRANSITIONAL SOMALIA: FROM AID TO RECONSTRUCTION

Fragile states and conflict-ridden states are highly interrelated in Africa and Middle East regions. In Somalia, fragility is a complex outcome of both conflict and poverty. However, the common factor in most fragile states is state failure and governance structures that perpetuate civil conflicts and form the interconnection of post-conflict reconstruction failures.[177]

Separate local administrations have developed in different parts of the Somalia. Of these, the self-proclaimed state of 'Somaliland' in the northwest has been the most stable so far, with fragile but functioning systems of governance and administration. A fragile peace is holding in the northeast self-declared federal state of 'Puntland'.[178]

How to deal with states coming out of conflict or seeking to avoid the breakdown of the state is a burning question. Conflicts not only lead to extraordinary suffering for the people involved but the spillover effects drag down their neighbors as well. The Somali National Reconciliation

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[176] Ken Menkhaus. Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building and the Politics of Coping, in *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3, Winter 2006/07, p.78.
[177] Sunita Pitamber. *Fragile States, Prevention and Post-conflict Reconstruction.* Vol.no. UA 1,411.79, 2008.
[178] Stefan Goodwin. *Africa's Legacies of Urbanization: Unfolding Saga of a Continent*. (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), p. 48.

Conference was started on 15 October 2002 under the support of the regional Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) in Eldoret, Kenya and it was attended by key military and political leaders from Puntland and the central and southern regions.

After more than two decades of civil war and instability Somalia finally established a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) with the nomination of President Abdullahi Yusuf, Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Gedi and a Cabinet in late 2004 and early 2005. The Transitional Federal Government leadership faced the daunting task of creating institutions from nothing. Somalia had varying degrees of disorder across the country. There was an absence of central government and widespread civil disorder. The endemic local factional rivalry based on clan and business interests that dominated Somali social, cultural, economic and political life was both a symptom of and a cause of this void. The havoc caused to the social, economic, political and cultural fabric of Somalia by their unchecked violence was incalculable.[179]

In December 2004, the report of the UN Fact Finding mission recommended to the UN Secretary-General that "a new funding mechanism is required to ensure co-ordinated, flexible and swift donor response for financing priority expenditures, including quick-impact projects for bolstering the Transitional Federal Government's fledgling structures, continuing reconciliation between faction leaders and conflict-affected communities, capacity development and budgetary support activities, sector-wide programmes, technical assistance and development activities".[180]

In light of that, and given the unique circumstances of Somalia then, it was critical to mobilize the donor community behind innovative solutions to help pave the way toward recovery. In this connection the establishment of a Donor Trust Fund (DTF) was contemplated within the UNCT

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[179] UNDP/World Bank Socio-economic Survey. *Somalia's Current Situation*, 2002.
[180] Ibid.

and the donor community, but finally it was agreed to establish an Interim Support Fund for Somalia which aims at facilitating this process. Encouraged by the progress made then in the formation of the Transitional Federal Institutions, this fund was designed to provide resources to support the stabilization of the new Somali government and the early recovery of Somalia.[181]

Simultaneously UNDP established a mechanism through which budgetary support could be channeled. This mechanism is the Somalia Emergency Budgetary Support Project (SEBSP) which served as a coordinated funding mechanism for receiving contributions from donors interested in providing budgetary support to the promising Somali institutions. The SEBSP was designed to provide immediate interventions necessary to support and stabilize the new Somali government inside Somalia. The main objective of the SEBSP is to provide a vehicle to ensure co-ordinated, flexible and swift donor response for financing priority expenditures aiming to bolster the Transitional Federal Government's fledgling structures through budgetary support activities during 2005.[182]

After the inaguration of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud in 2012, he launched the government's six-pillar strategy to create stability in the country, speed up economic recovery, build peace and remove the main drivers of conflict, vastly improve the government's capacity to respond to the needs of its people by improving service delivery, increase international partnerships and create closer ties with neighbours and friends of Somalia, and achieve unity at home.[183] However, to be able to deliver on its strategy, the government depended on the international community for economic and political support. The way in which the international

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[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid
[183] Mohamud, Hassan Sheikh, 2012. *H.E. Hassan Sheikh Mohammud, President of the Federal Republic of Somalia's   speech at the IOM council*, http://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/About-IOM/governingbodies/ en/council/101/H-E-Hassan-Sh-Mohamud-President-of-the-Somali-Republic.pdf (accessed 2014-03-27).

development community planned to engage with Somalia was through the New Deal process and a Somali Compact.[184]

The New Deal was intended to be implemented in conflict-ridden and fragile states where the security situation was a complicating factor. In the case of Somalia, one was to ask whether the conditions for implementing a compact really exist. In Somalia the process started with a fragility assessment, but this was cut short. Hence the process for establishing the compact was compromised from the start. The main focus of the New Deal was on peacebuilding and statebuilding. Peacebuilding activities should reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict. In regrds to this, Somalia might not be in a peacebuilding phase due to the severity of the ongoing conflict and the lack of security in the country. That is not to say that no such efforts should take place but it is important to be genuine about what can be achieved in a conflict environment, and to understand that there is a high risk of unintentional costs.[185]

Throughout 2013, much attention was given to the preparation of a Somali Compact in line with the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States. Official Development Assistance, or development cooperation, which was increasingly directed to conflict-ridden and fragile states, but with limited success in translating these resources into improved fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals. The idea was to link peacebuilding and statebuilding activities, treating them as mutually reinforcing processes.[186]

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[184] The Federal Republic of Somalia. *The Somali Compact*, 2013.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.

3.5. OTHER POSSIBLE POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION MODELS: A MARSHALL PLAN FOR SOMALIA?

In some other parts of Somalia the aid discourse is carried on in terms of rehabilitation and development, notwithstanding the fact that funding may come from humanitarian budget lines and programmes may be disrupted by localized conflict. In the Afghan context, it has been noted that habitual distinctions between humanitarian and development activities make little sense and are unhelpful for a protracted crisis.[187] In some documents, the UN has defined different zones in Somalia – crisis, transition and recovery.[188]

The existing post-conflict models also show that more is required to put in place a clear, all-inclusive strategy that connects the frameworks and models for a new Somalia. There is no magic formula for a successful peace-building intervention or a post-conflict reconstruction strategy and unless Somalia sets its priorities right, no economic growth, institutions stability nor social connections will be achieved.

The new federal government, is seen as the best opportunity that Somalia has had for a long time. The Somali Compact has been developed. The international community is growing increasingly tired of the perceived lack of progress. The security situation remains dangerous. The state formation process could fuel additional conflict and the security forces do not have the capacity to provide peace and security.

As it stands, and given developments on the ground, today's Somalia needs a Marshall plan for its reconstruction unlike the EU's New deal for Somalia that appears to be stillborn unless some

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[187] Donini. A. The Policies of Mercy: UN Coordination in Afghanistan, Mozambique and Rwanda. Occasional Paper no. 22. Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, 1996.
[188] United States Government. *US Government Integrated Strategic Plan – Assistance to Somali 2001 –2003*. January 2001.

fundamental changes are affected by the EU and the Somali government. All in all, Somalia continues to face serious challenges. These challenges will not be resolved without engaging local communities in dialogue on their future vision for Somalia. The developments in Somalia is also influenced by Somalia's neighbours, especially Ethiopia and Kenya. Any solution to the Somali conflict needs to be a regional one.

The Marshall plan was the American initiative to aid Europe in which the United States gave economic support to help rebuild European economies after the end of World War II. In regards to the same, Somalia needs a similar plan in order to reconstruct and rebuild its economy and the state as a whole. This proposal may be met with pure agreement but if a plan to addressed each of the obstacles to post-conflict recovery, plan to look at the future, and not focus on the destruction caused by the civil war is proposed then, Somalia will have a better sense of hope and self-reliance in the future.

3.6. CONCLUSIONS

Fragile states face deficits in fulfilling the functions of governance which are the core functions. Assuring security, achieving effectiveness and generating legitimacy are the main functions of a government in any fragile state and without these then fragility occurs. The design and implementation of governance reconstruction on post-conflict fragile states should be conceptualized as targeting the governance sub-systems associated with the above core functions.

Clearly, high priority should be given to these in order to cope and enable reconstruction and conflict and the post-conflict debates in Somalia have clearly shown that Somalia needs a clearly planned comprehensive approach since there is much to do in the long-term to rebuild

livelihoods and social flexibility. Economic growth can not only provide a motivation to rebuilding of post conflict societies but on a broad level it is also associated with peace. Aid without the necessary local institutional structure for effective coordination and stringent aid conditionality and therefore narrow focus has hushed sustainable socio-economic development initiatives.

CHAPTER FOUR

POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION IN SOMALIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.0. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter was about the conflict versus post-conflict debates on Somalia, post-conflict models and frameworks in Somalia, the war-torn Somalia and discussions on aid engagement, the SABC and the SSS, post-transitional Somalia which covers from aid to reconstruction and the new deal, other possible post-conflict reconstruction models and if Somalia needs a Marshall plan.

This chapter is a critical analysis of the key issues emerging from the study: namely the politics of aid in Somalia, the pros and cons of the EU-led *New Deal* and the significance of a Somalia-owned Marshall Plan.

4.1. EMERGING ISSUES

4.1.1. THE POLITICS OF AID IN SOMALIA

Debates about linking humanitarian assistance and development emerged in the 1990s and the term 'relief-development continuum' was then coined. This approach aimed to identify complementary objectives and strategies in relief and development aid, and to promote the concept that humanitarian assistance could provide a foundation for recovery and the development of sustainable livelihoods. The adoption of the continuum concept also focused attention on the need to bridge the funding and operational gap that typically arose between emergency aid and development programming.[189]

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[189] Collier, P. *'Post-Conflict Recovery: How Should Policies be Distinctive?'* (Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, 2007).

New debates about humanitarian assistance have arisen in the post-9/11 context, with growing emphasis on linking humanitarian aid, development and security. Although integrated missions can be beneficial and serve the aims of coherence and coordination, there are concerns about the securitization of aid and challenges to the neutrality of humanitarian assistance. Until recently, assistance to countries in expanded crises was seen only in terms of humanitarian aid. There has been a shift in the linking of relief and development. Policy has moved towards areas of shared responsibility. However, humanitarian actors should communicate more clearly and fully the distinctiveness of their experience in these environments and work with development actors to explore common ground.[190]

The political instability and civil strife have resulted in governance difficulties and institutional breakdown that have taken a toll on the economy. Most public infrastructure and institutions have been allowed to deteriorate or have been destroyed and not rebuilt. The rule of law is haphazard, absent or opportunistic.[191]

Skilled labor is scarce or unavailable due to loss of talent abroad, a 20-year lapse in educating and training new generations and financial constraints that hamper the mobilization of available talent. On the positive side, people have shown remarkable resilience, and an energetic and engaged private sector and vibrant civil society have emerged, as for example in communications and money transfers, transportation and import/exports.[192]

The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in Somalia in 2007 was estimated at under US$300 per annum and income distribution is highly unequal. The lack of opportunities to earn a decent

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[190] Goodhand, J. and Sedra, M. *Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction, and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan Disasters.* Volume 34, Issue 1, 2009 p. 78-102.

[191] Mary Hope Schwoebel. *"Impact Evaluation of the War-Torn Societies Project: Somaliland."* (Greater Horn of Africa Peacebuilding Project: USAID, 2000).

[192] Ibid.

living means that young men are more easily attracted by offers of payment from radical anti-government groups. A situation of "complex" or "protracted" emergency like Somalia requires interventions that address both short and long-term dimensions of the crises, addressing immediate and underlying causes and structural deficiencies simultaneously.[193]

However, the impact of the protracted emergency, caused by recurrent conflict, has resulted in a distorted market system, where rules, norms and practices lead to poor access and utilization of productive resources and services by women and men from very poor households[194].

The external environment is not so conducive of integrating international aid agencies into the national dialogue on development priorities confronted a number of challenges. First, international aid to Somalia declined over the course of the late 1990s, reducing the scope, capacity, and relevance of aid agencies in Somalia.[195]

Many agencies have had only modest assistance programmes inside Somaliland, executed through local NGOs. The attempt by The War-Torn Societies Project to survey and catalog development efforts in its initial Self-Portrait research had the potential to expose inflated aid agency claims about their programmes in Somaliland and was thus met with a certain amount of suspicion and lack of cooperation by some aid agencies.[196]

The UN and NGO aid agencies as well as donors are all headquartered in Nairobi Kenya, reducing their ability to participate in discussions and workshops in Somalia and turnover of UN

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[193]Eizenstat, S E, Porter, J E and Weinstein, J M. *Rebuilding Weak States*. Foreign Affairs, 2005, 84(1):134–146.
[194] Mary Hope Schwoebel. *"Impact Evaluation of the War-Torn Societies Project: Somaliland."* (Greater Horn of Africa Peacebuilding Project: USAID, 2000).
[195] June Kane. *War-Torn Societies Project: The First Four Years*. (Geneva: WSP, 1999).
[196] Ibid.

and NGO international staff working on Somalia is quite high, eroding the Somalia's ability to build working relationships and reducing incentive to invest time in agency personnel.[197]

With the exception of a few individuals, the aid community in Nairobi has tended to be relatively uninterested in a Somali dialogue about development priorities, taking their cue instead from the development priorities of donors. In this sense, many of the international NGOs and UN agencies operating in Somalia act more like sub-contractors than development agencies, driven primarily by the need to secure donor funds to maintain their own existence. The resulting aid community "culture" in Nairobi is, on aggregate, unhealthy, featuring a combination of inward-looking policy discussions, preoccupation with funding, bureaucratic in-fighting, cynicism, and an alarming unfamiliarity with or indifference to Somalia itself.[198]

The War-Torn Societies Project staff in Nairobi, having already dealt with this unsatisfactory situation during the course of the Puntland project, came to share the view of many others that the Somalia aid community in Nairobi was not fertile soil for the kinds of seeds it was hoping to plant.[199]

This already unfavorable environment worsened considerably with the advent of the Arta Peace Conference in Djibouti in May 2000. Up to that point, the international community had adopted a "building block" approach to Somalia namely, a strategy of supporting the development of regional authorities as a means of creating local rule of law and as a first step toward eventual re-establishment of working institutions in Somalia.[200]

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[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.

It has been seen that most people do not trust aid. That is not to say that no such efforts should take place but it is important to be genuine about what can be achieved in a conflict environment, and to understand that there is a high risk of unintentional costs.[201]

4.1.2. THE EU-LED *NEW DEAL* VS. OTHER PCR MODELS

The 2011 New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States commits fragile states and international partners to do things contrary to the way they have been doing things by designing and executing their involvements with an even greater consideration for the specific characteristics of fragile states; plus to focus on different things by structuring their involvements around peacebuilding and state building goals. In this process leading to the New Deal, peacebuilding was defined as activities "targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development".[202]

With these peacebuilding and state building goals, the New Deal echoes a comfortable shift towards a thick conceptualization of state fragility which looks beyond the quality of government policies and institutions to consider the multiple scopes of state-society relations. Correspondingly, the future research agenda should adopt a more vigorous and comprehensive approach to understanding fragility, considering both internal and external stress factors.[203]

Much of Somalia was troubled by internal conflict since before the fall of the Barre regime in 1991, and has been without a functional internationally recognized government since then, as the

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[201] The Federal Republic of Somalia. *The Somali Compact*, 2013.
[202] OECD. *Peacebuilding and State-building Priorities and Challenges. A Synthesis of Findings from Seven Multi-Stakeholder Consultations.* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2010), p. 21.
[203] Grieger Gisela. *The "New Deal" for engagement in fragile states*. Library Briefing.(. Brussels: EU Library of the European Parliament, 2013).

country was divided by fiefdoms, although recent actions have been taken to try and restore overall law and order. A Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, hosted by the Government of Kenya in 2002 under the auspices of the Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD), resulted in a 275 member parliament being selected. With greater peace and security in Somaliland and Puntland, government policies and laws evolved and this has also helped sustain peace. Administratively Somalia is part of both IGAD and the Arab League.[204]

Like the Liberian model of peace building and reconciliation, optimism prevails in the odds for successful post-conflict reconstruction in Liberia. This is so partly because of the international community's generally positive response to the challenges ahead, because large numbers of qualified Liberians have returned home to participate in the reconstruction process, and partially because they have been joined by many non-Liberians who have worked successfully in Liberia before. But the optimism is primarily because ordinary Liberian citizens, those who have borne the brunt of the seemingly unending crises, express such joy to be back home at last.[205]Somalia on the other hand should imitate this example and with the New Deal in place ensure that it solves all its PCR problems in a wholistic manner.

For the next steps to go smoothly, then, the rehabilitation of ex-combatants must proceed apace and cantonments (the enclaves the UN has set aside for them) must be kept open as sites to provide substantive skills training and subsequent meaningful job assignments. Perhaps most important is that NGOs funded to work with ex-combatants assist them in making peace with the residents of the towns and villages from whence they came. In the villages, the women supported the idea of ex-combatants returning, the men did not. But in any case, both groups provided a

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[204] OECD/DAC. Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations .(Paris: OECD, 2007).

[205] Colin L. Powell. *Remarks to the International Reconstruction Conference on Liberia.* United Nations Headquarters. February 6, 2004.

scenario for what would be required for such people to return. On the side of realism, then, the return of ex-combatants to their communities based on reconnaissance to determine the best approach must be included in the reintegration process. The sooner this takes place, the more likely the entire reconstruction process will succeed.[206] And if it succeeds then Somalia has a whole different plan for PCR to imitate.

The Angolan example is also relevant to Somalia. When the war ended in 2002, the Angolan government approached traditional donors, including the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club, for loans to fund its post-conflict reconstruction but they were not forthcoming. China offered a colossal 2 billion US dollars line of credit to Angola to finance infrastructure projects as part of a historic deal that is now commonly known as the 'Angola model' or the 'Angola mode'. That deal rehabilitated, modernized and expanded Angola's shattered infrastructure with the sort of finance that could only be matched by the magnitude of the destruction during the Angolan civil war.[207] But this model did not include reconciliation and peace building.

Therefore for Somalia to reconstruct, a Somali model should be proposed in relation to the Liberian and Angolan examples, not making the same mistakes the two countries did but coming up with a more comprehensive model that is a cocktail of the two models, including the Marshall Plan. Somalia has to follow examples of already reconstructed states in order to succeed.

4.3. THE SIGNIFICNCE OF A SOMALIA-OWNED MARSHALL PLAN

The best known and only real successful example of post-war reconstruction in history is the Marshall Plan, the American-backed programme to rebuild Western Europe after World War II

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Dunia Zongwe. *On the Road to Post Conflict Reconstruction by Contract: The Angola Model*. Independent, December 23, 2010.

that was done within a period of four years. Since then, things have only got worse for reconstruction, particularly in African fragile states.[208] Post-conflict environments are unique situations and require different interventions to stimulate economic recovery and, eventually, long-term peace. The most commonly mentioned potential benefits of service delivery in post-conflict environments are that visible delivery enhances state legitimacy, strengthens the social contract and hence, promotes state building. Delivery of services can also address underlying causes of conflict like social exclusion, and services such as health can be used as entry points for wider peace-building processes.[209]

Since the collapse of the central government in 1991, Somalia has not been able to regain internal political unity because of internal schisms and widespread conflict. Over the years various sponsors have made numerous mediation attempts to resolve Somalia's internal political issues with no real success. In 2000 the Transitional National Government (TNG) was formed, but was not effective and was succeeded by the TFG in 2004. The TFG has since struggled to establish effective governance beyond certain districts in Mogadishu.[210]

The TFG remains unstable despite support from the Africa Union Mission (AMISOM). Governance in South Central Somalia is fragmented in towns and villages and is controlled by different opposing forces and organized militias.[211]

With relatively less civil strife to cope with, Somaliland and Puntland have made progress in establishing effective governance. Although under-resourced they have been successful in re-building basic public institutions and service delivery. The Somaliland Republic, in the

[208] Montgomery, J and Rondinelli, D. *A path to reconstruction: proverbs of nation-building*. Harvard International Review, 2004, 26/2:26–29.
[209] Goodhand, J. and Sedra, M. *Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction, and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan Disasters.* Volume 34, Issue 1, 2009 p. 78-102.
[210] OFDA-CRED. International Disaster Database. (Brussels, Belgium: Universite Catholique de Louvain, 2005).
[211] Ibid.

northwest, declared its independence in 1991, established a level of peace and security and made progress in the reconciliation process re-establishing public institutions, a functioning democratic system of governance and an active civil society. Puntland, in the northeast, declared itself semi-autonomous from the central government in 1998. It established some administrative institutions, maintained basic social services, kept civil society functioning and restored a measure of stability and security. Hence, both entities are potential partners for planning and coordinating development assistance, although they are not strong enough yet, nor have sufficient reach for effective service delivery to the village and farm level.[212]

The Somali conflict has affected the lives of millions of people, causing widespread displacement, physical and emotional injuries as well as loss of life. It has disrupted everything from delivery of education and health services to international trade and media freedom. The vested interests in perpetuating the conflict, and the many business leaders that profit as a result of the war economy, are significant and resilient. One of the drivers of the conflict, the private sector, also has at times a role to play in contributing to pro-poor economic development.[213]

In most cases usually what happens after accepting a political deal to stop conflicting parties, armed militants turn away from violence and enter mainstream politics; before long, local authorities and international aid agencies loose the confidence of citizens, as they both fail to provide basic needs and create opportunities for work and the result is usually more conflict.[214]

The key to real reconstruction in Somalia is in the long run trade[215], and not only Somalia but any African state. Only by engaging in global trade can Somalia hope to promote development

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[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Eizenstat, S E, Porter, J E and Weinstein, J M. *Rebuilding Weak States*. Foreign Affairs, 2005, 84(1):134–146.
[215] Ibid.

and ensure own stability. While reconnecting to the outside world will not be easy, the world's major powers are less likely to open-up their markets if Somalia does not get back into order.[216] Similarly, Africa's poor countries are more likely to deteriorate without trade and foreign investment. This is a major dilemma, but not an impossible one to beat if Africa finally takes the issue of post-war reconstruction well-beyond talk-shops and meetings, to where it matters most, which is in the field at the grassroots. The problem is that the time for action is now, and no major African state or organization seems to be moving fast enough; not even Somalia in this case.[217]

Somalia has had opportunities to reconstruct, but with the terror attacks taking most of its time, then reconstruction is a long prayed dream that Somalia. The Somali diaspora is also a willing and potential investor in this process hence hope for reconstruction[218]. The only visible challenge portrays itself as a real threat is a first time process that has not worked anywhere since the successful Marshall Plan. For Somalia therefore to be successful, it needs serious and focused planners and overseers to this post-conflict reconstruction process assuming it formulates its plan from the post- war Europe Marshall Plan.

The process of post conflict reconstruction can be phased in two stages: Recovery and Consolidation. Recovery which involves years after the end of conflicts, leaders must reconstruct political institution and formulate policies for rejuvenation of the economy. And in Second phase that is consolidation where a state must modify initial recovery so that it translates into long term economic performance.[219]

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[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Paul Collier. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are failing and What Can be Done About it*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Three phases of post-conflict reconstruction are proposed and suggestions are made that security be top of the priorities followed by socio-economic development, transitional justice and reconciliation, political transition, governance and participation and coordination and management[220]. These phases that are not only important for the new Somalia but relevant given the different realities on the ground which need to be merged and an integrated approach developed and the five dimensions should be the government's priorities. There is a need for a nationally-negotiated, carefully-drawn Marshall Plan like that of post-war Europe in the 1940s especially if any meaningful post conflict reconstruction is to take place in the country.[221]

This means that the ongoing discussions over the EU-led New Deal can be broadened and later on turned into a Marshall Plan – or Somali Recovery Programme (SRP) – for the new Somalia. While there are indicators to suggest that the government is making progress towards state institutions, state reconstruction often goes beyond repairing damaged buildings and re-establishing state institutions. It encompasses restoring people's trust and confidence in governance systems and the rule of law, repairing broken and eroded relationships at individual and institutional levels.[222]

With difficulties of post-conflict reconstruction in a country like Somalia, there is also need to recognize that it is the ripe moment, it is doable, and that there is a need for a major paradigm shift; hence the need for a 'post-conflict reconstruction policy framework for Somalia' as soon as possible. Most importantly of all, Somalia's political actors and members of the international community, including the sub-region, must give social justice and sustainable peace in Somalia a

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[220] Ibrahim Farah. *Somalia: No more missed opportunities.* Horn of Africa Bulletin Vol. 25, No. 4, July–August 2013.
[221] Ibid.
[222] African Research and Resource Forum. *State Building and Development in South Sudan*. (Kenya, Nairobi: African Research and Resource Forum, 2011), p. 8

chance by working with the new Somali government and play a more constructive role in helping with the emergence of a 'post-conflict' Somalia in the near future.[223]

4.4. CONCLUSIONS

With the African Union Mission in Somalia voicing support for the Addis Ababa agreements saying it will work with all stakeholders to resolve the current political differences for positive settlement in Somalia, the unique opportunity to tackle the principal governance weakness and often promised delivery of sufficient financial support for Somalia's reconstruction and recovery also will be of benefit to Somalia. The international community, neighbors of Somalia, friends of Somalia and the Somalis in the diaspora should also to strengthen the support for reconstruction of Somalia.

While in 2006, the AU drafted a Policy Framework for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development[224], on paper, the framework identified a number of ambitious goals that aimed at the re-engagement of aid and/or its effectiveness rather than effective PCR. They also aimed at fragile states as opposed to war-torn societies who are in need of reconstruction and development. These goals looked too good to be achieved and hence the PCRD framework failed. This gives Somalia a quick lesson of drafting realistic and achievable models and frameworks that will enable the country reconstruct completely.

The New Deal committed fragile states and international partners on carrying things in a totally different way by focusing on peacebuilding and state building goals. The New Deal echoes a comfortable shift towards a thick conceptualization of state fragility which looks beyond the

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[223] Ibrahim Farah. *Somalia: No more missed opportunities.* Horn of Africa Bulletin Vol. 25, No. 4, July–August 2013.

[224] See AU's Draft Policy Framework for Post-conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD), February, 2006.

quality of government policies and institutions to consider the multiple scopes of state-society relations. Though perceived as a political framework, the level of awareness on the part of the Somalis is also very limited since most of them do not see where the New Deal has been adopted.

While the Marshall Plan is the only real successful example of post-war reconstruction in history, African fragile states need a standard plan to follow in order to attain reconstruction. The Angolan and Liberian examples are two different models but if they are merged to enrich each other, then African states may have a Post-conflict reconstruction model that covers the institution of government to the people down in the society. This would also help Somalia reconstruct since most plans brought forward are not so all-inclusive. An all-inclusive reconstruction plan is what African fragile states are missing.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0. SUMMARY

Peacebuilding is increasingly conceptualized as a strategy that integrates different modes of involvement into a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution. Neo-liberalism combines a buildup approach, a mode of social and economic reproduction and a mode of exploitation and social command based on the systematic use of state power to impose, under the ideological cover of non-intervention, a hegemonic project of re-composition of the rule of capital in all

areas of social life. It is a newer form of liberalism that grows into the current changes of the global system known as globalization. As much as neo-liberalism is the relevant way of rebuilding fragile states, opponents argue that globalization can subvert nations' ability for self-determination, accountability to the stakeholders, who depend upon the service provided by the privatized entity, is lost as a consequence of business secrecy, a practice that is normally adopted by private investors. The replacement of a government-owned monopoly with private companies, each supposedly trying to provide the consumer with better value service than all of its private competitors, removes the efficiency that can be gained from the economy of scale[225], and even if it could be shown that neoliberal capitalism increases productivity, it erodes the conditions in which production occurs long term.

Fragile states face discrepancies in fulfilling the functions of governance which are the core functions. Assuring security, achieving effectiveness and generating legitimacy are the main functions of a government in any fragile state and without these then fragility occurs. The design and implementation of governance reconstruction on post-conflict fragile states should be conceptualized as targeting the governance sub-systems associated with the three core functions. The conflict debates and the post-conflict debates in Somalia have clearly shown that Somalia needs a clearly planned comprehensive approach since there is much to do in the long-term to rebuild livelihoods and social flexibility.

Economic growth can not only provide a motivation to rebuilding of post conflict societies but on a broad level it is also associated with peace. Aid without the necessary local institutional

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[225] Jason Moore. 'Transcending the Metabolic Rift: A Theory of Crises in the Capitalist World Ecology'. Journal of Peasant Studies, 2011, Vol. 38, no. 1,pp. 40–46.

structure for effective coordination and stringent aid conditionality and therefore narrow focus has hushed sustainable socio-economic development initiatives.

The existing post-conflict models also show that more is required to put in place a clear, all-inclusive strategy that connects the frameworks and models for a new Somalia. There is no magic formula for a successful peace-building intervention or a post-conflict reconstruction strategy and unless Somalia sets its priorities right, no economic growth, institutions stability nor social connections will be achieved.

Right now Somalia needs a Marshall plan for its reconstruction unlike the EU's New deal for Somalia that appears to be stillborn unless some fundamental changes are affected by the EU and the Somali government. The developments in Somalia is also influenced by Somalia's neighbours, especially Ethiopia and Kenya. Any solution to the Somali conflict needs to be a regional one.

With the African Union Mission in Somalia voicing support for the Addis Ababa agreements saying it will work with all stakeholders to resolve the current political differences for positive settlement in Somalia, the unique opportunity to tackle the principal governance weakness and often promised delivery of sufficient financial support for Somalia's reconstruction and recovery also will be of benefit to Somalia. The international community, neighbors of Somalia, friends of Somalia and the Somalis in the diaspora should also to strengthen the support for reconstruction of Somalia.

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It is very unfortunate that the world's humanitarian problems are increasing, not decreasing. Of course, resolving these problems is primarily the responsibility of governments, international organizations, and NGOs. But the resources available to society for dealing with these problems are declining, and there is no indication that taxpayers will be any more willing to pay more to deal with humanitarian issues in the future than they have been up to now. So one of the greatest

problems the world is facing is where these resources will come from to meet these humanitarian challenges.

The civil war and state collapse accelerated the struggle for reconstruction. Escalation of conflict caused a refugee flow of more than one million people from southern Somalia to neighboring and distant countries. Refugees continued to leave southern Somalia in large numbers until 1995. Since then there has been a gradual process of repatriation and re-integration, with people resettling in Somaliland and Puntland in particular while hundreds of thousands of other Somali refugees are scattered across the globe[227] with the neighboring Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti having a large number of Somalis in refugee camps.[228]

Many of the natural resources have been impacted by civil conflict, but accessing and using these resources has been, and continues to be a direct source of conflict itself. There were traditional mechanisms and institutions for negotiating and resolving such conflict, but many of these have broken down due to the civil war and continued insecurity.[229]

The civil strife and insecurity are one root cause for many of the problems faced today with respect breakdown of social institutions. The lack of regulation, policies and institutions and means to sanction is difficult to differentiate. What is clear is that a lack of security exacerbates problems related to lack of regulation, weak policies and weak institutions.[230]

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[227] UNHCR. *Global Appeal*. (Geneva: UNHCR, 2005).
[228] Joakim Gundel . The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study. International Migration 40, 2002.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.

5.1. KEY FINDINGS

Discussions of the findings are based on the objectives of the study. They test the hypotheses and give conclusions and recommendations in these tracks of examining post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states, analyzing existing post-conflict reconstruction frameworks and models and examining the challenges and opportunities of PCR in Somalia.

5.2. CONCLUSIONS

Defining PCR including justice and reconciliation, and security shows that they are the four main pillars of post-conflict reconstruction. However, a lot of different actors are participating in implementing these activities. The international organizations, states, national governmental organizations, international non-governmental organizations, local institutions, local non-governmental organizations, among others. Each organization has its own agenda and aims which are not always orientated towards the same direction. These are very often looking and working at different directions.[231]

While Somalia has turned a page from war to reconstruction, an atmosphere in which to begin a process of reconciliation, form administrations and bring local development must follow, building on the new momentum. The leadership is in the process of re-defining the articulation between the core and periphery and is committed to uniting Somalia.

Public expectations are high. But the challenges facing leadership are numerous. The consequences of over twenty years' of civil conflict and statelessness within Somalia and beyond its borders including extreme poverty, piracy, terrorist activities, a dire humanitarian situation, a

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[231] Francis Fukuyama. "*The Imperative of State-Building"*, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15. (Washington: Post book, 2004), pp. 135-136.

war economy, institutional collapse need to be tackled. Key transitional tasks are still to be implemented (reconciliation, justice, human rights, security, dealing with corruption) and the Provisional Constitution is incomplete, leaving open the role of the Federal Institutions and their interaction with the regional entities and clan structures. With different models and frameworks all over the world, Somalia needs its own model to reconstruct. It could borrow from the successful Marshall Plan of post-war Europe, the Angolan model, the Afghan model, the Liberian model, among many post-conflict societies' models that have reconstructed or are in the process of reconstruction. With a mixture of all these, Somalia can come up with a redefined framework and model that best suits its needs. With the New Deal in place and in process, then a plan b for Somalia just in case it does not reconstruct Somalia holistically.

The weak governance structures and systems have allowed civil society and the private sector to take on many of the roles of government. Separating the disputes emanating from the collapse of the State will be a major obstacle in reconciliation efforts. Women are the backbone of Somali society doing much of the labor required for survival, and play an important role in keeping the peace. Traditionally, women had no formal role in the clan based political processes, nor are they often involved in the decision making processes of government and public bodies, and this has implications for the role of men and women in managing resources in Somali society while it tries to reconstruct.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

Active coordination structure has to be developed and implemented. This structure ought to ensure that all actions, taken by these actors, are coordinated and that there is no overlapping or competition for effectiveness.   The four main pillars of post-conflict reconstruction, their

complexity and the amount of different actors, make post-conflict reconstruction very complicated but doable in case there is coordination. Afghanistan is a standard example of a failed state in which international community had to conduct nation building, and instead of starting on the first phase as Fukuyama states it in a systematic way, Afghan is in the second phase of nation building where international community is helping to create self-sustaining state institutions and which it started with.

For any PCR model and framework to succeed, close overseeing is essential. A fragility assessment is a necessity for the New Deal, and it can be the starting point and most visible step for implementing the New Deal. It is a unique undertaking that is based on an inclusive multi-stakeholder consultation to assess the major causes and drivers of fragility and discuss challenges, progress and priorities in selected areas of peacebuilding and state-building. The assessment should be structured around the New Deal's five Peacebuilding and State building Goals in order to realize the challenges and achievements.

The Somali people should support partnerships with the government, NGO and the private sectors among others to build on the comparative advantages of the different sectors in development and nation building. They should also support activities which promote the responsible decentralization of rights and responsibilities to the lowest appropriate levels in order to include everyone in the society while they develop capacity so that Somali people and their institutions can take on their rights and responsibilities both generally and with respect to post-conflict reconstruction. In the longer term Somalis should look at support processes to resolve, reconcile, and negotiate so as to attain a holistic PCR process. This is central to long term peace and the basis for sustainable PCR in the country. A greater understanding of the different gender

roles women and men play with respect to reconstruction is required, and how these can be recognized and valued in development, land use and sustainable development; and the reconstruction of strong institutions. Somalia should work to put in place these measures in both the short and intermediate and long terms so as to attain a holistic PCR and development.

In preparation, the Somali Government has the task of re-building a government almost from scratch. Moreover, as more territory is recovered there is a risk of a return to inter-clan conflict or other conflicts over scarce resources. The main post-transition objective is therefore to enhance Somalia's state capabilities so that it can emerge out of fragility. It will be necessary to empower the new institutions and help build the credibility of the new leadership. For this to happen, it will be vital for the government to show that it is capable of providing basic services to its people. Somalia's transformation process must begin by building accountable institutions at local, regional and national levels. The objective is to bring back into the fold of the state those coping mechanisms that were developed as a result of state collapse, establish public authorities that enjoy the trust of the Somali people, and to help create a political culture that goes beyond clan or sectarian interests.

Local communities should quickly see for themselves the benefit of functioning institutions, the rule of law and basic services. Stabilization needs to be managed fairly and inclusively, involving local clans and social groups in establishing administrations through a bottom-up approach linked to the federal government, to put in place viable structures in order to achieve PCR. Such a context would be conducive to embarking on efforts to reconcile Somalis on a local and national level. National structures for full accountability and transparency should therefore be established.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Gisela suggests that the future research agenda should adopt a more vigorous and comprehensive approach to understanding fragility, considering both internal and external stress factors.[232] Fragility has not been explored to the extent that most African states do not acknowledge that they are fragile. Any post-conflict society that is struggling to rebuild should be able to understand clearly the needs and opportunities it should have in order to accept fragility.

One can also suggest the area of post-conflict reconstruction. More research should be lined towards this area for a post-conflict society to understand that reconstruction does not only come in terms of infrastructure but all round from reconciliation to transformation of the society both in infrastructure and from every individual.

As country, Somalia reconstruction after war remains a mystery, despite the promises of 'African solutions'. In this case, Somalia can use strategies prepared by academicians and economists in the field of post-conflict reconstruction and master the art of reconstruction just like Europe when they used the Marshall Plan. A prepared strategy that would guide Somalia's thinking on reconstruction and identify the priority areas is what Somalia currently needs and as much as it seems impossible since it has not been done before, hopefully it will be done someday.

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[232] Grieger Gisela. *The "New Deal" for engagement in fragile states*. Library Briefing. (Brussels: EU Library of the European Parliament, 2013).

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