# SOMALIA FRAGILE STATE ANALYSIS: POLICY OPTIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

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**January 2017**

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**Executive Summary**: Despite billions in aid and a series of international interventions, Somalia has ranked as the world's most fragile state for much of the past decade. This raises the question as to what is driving fragility within the country and why aid is seemingly ineffective in this context. This report is designed to provide the Government of Canada (GC) with an analytical overview of the key drivers of fragility in Somalia and proposes targeted initiatives where development aid is more likely to be effective. The Authority, Legitimacy, Capacity (ALC) model developed by Carment et al. provides the theoretical framework through which the issues in Somalia are analysed. Specifically, it reveals that weak governance, weak security institutions and slow economic growth are the key drivers behind fragility and undermine ALC. Three policy recommendations are proposed that target these drivers and address components of ALC: training of the Somali National Army (SNA), support for the federalization process, and agricultural aid.

## I) Overview

The analysis begins with a discussion of the methodology employed along with a general overview and justification of the use of the ALC framework. A timeline of fragility in Somalia is then presented along with a breakdown of key stakeholders—both internal and external—in the country. Based on the data examined, a fragility risk assessment covering six key fragility clusters is presented. Best and worst cases scenarios are then examined based on the evidence presented in the risk assessment. The scenarios for the short-term (6-12 months) are outlined and inform the three policy recommendations that follow. The policy recommendations directly address the Authority and Capacity components of the ALC model.

## II) Methodology

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed to ensure a robust evidence-based analysis of the current situation in Somalia. The primary sources relied upon for data collection include, but are not limited to: scholarly articles, reports from government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and indices such as the Fragile States Index (FSI), Freedom House and the World Bank (WB) database. Challenges in collecting data revolved around the limited public opinion polls and outdated or incomplete statistics on Somalia. To compensate for this limitation, media coverage from both international and local news outlets was relied upon for events monitoring and up-to-date information. These various data sources were then triangulated to address gaps in information and identify fragility trends in Somalia. Following a risk assessment based on the collected data and trend lines, governance and political stability, security and economic development were identified as the key clusters to address in Somalia. The Authority, Legitimacy, Capacity (ALC) model was then applied to these clusters to determine the areas of focus and provides a sequencing for the proposed policy options.

## III)  Authority- Legitimacy- Capacity (ALC)

The Authority-Legitimacy-Capacity (ALC) model proposed by
David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy and Stewart Prest captures
both structural features of states and the more intangible measure
of state-society relations to explain state fragility.[1] Earlier
theories of state fragility tended to ignore the nuances between
fragile states leading to a one-size fits all policy approach. The
ALC model disaggregates the necessary components of a
functioning state and allows policy makers to target specific areas
of fragility within these areas. It also allows the specific context
within the country to be taken into consideration in the analysis.
For instance, one state might lack a monopoly on the use of force
undermining its authority, whereas another state may be unable to
provide goods and services to its population impacting its
capacity. Both states are fragile but require different responses from the international donor community.
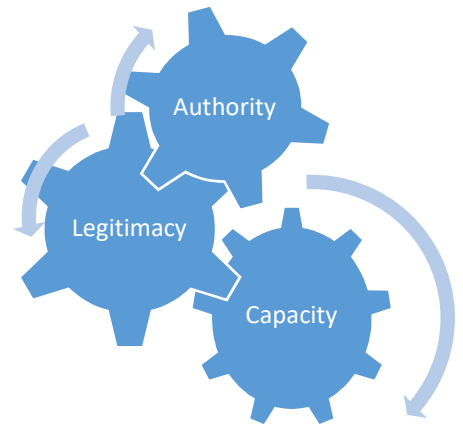
## IV)  Timeline of Fragility
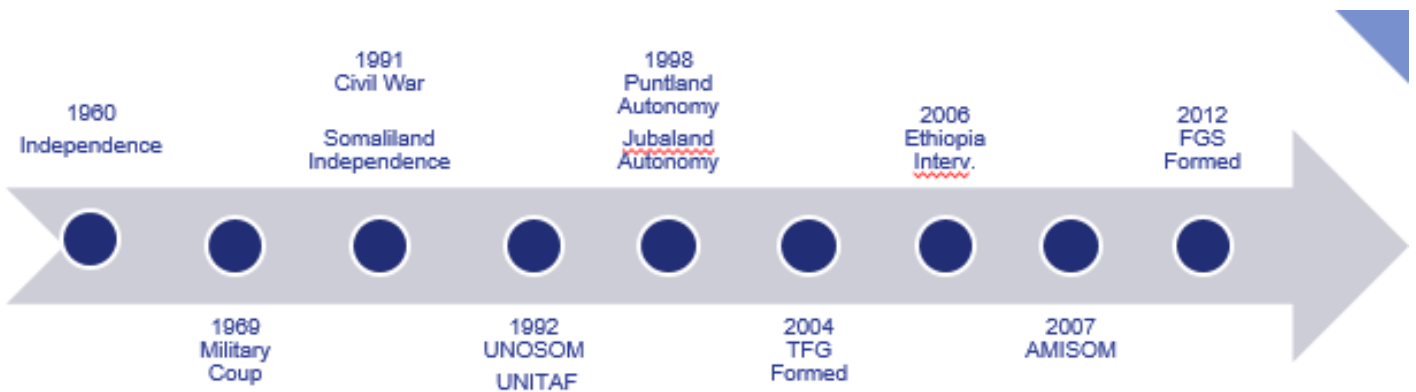


Somalia is stuck in a fragility trap.[i] For much of the past decade the country has ranked as the world's most
fragile state according to the Fragile States Index—other indices similarly rank Somalia very high.[2] While some
of Somalia's problems can be traced back to the period of colonial and authoritarian rule[ii], the 1991 Somali
Civil War set the context for many of the issues that continue to plague the country. Pre-existing societal fault-
lines diverged during the civil war and Somali society became deeply fractured along clan lines with inter-clan
violence continuing to this day along contested regional borders.[3] Amidst the chaos, Somaliland declared
independence in 1991, while a number of other regions, notably Puntland and Jubaland, have since declared
autonomy.[4] *[See ANNEX A: Map of Somalia]*

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[i] Adrihimihaja et al. discuss the seemingly untenable position that states stuck in a fragility trap find themselves ensnared in. Violence,
poor governance and insecure property rights contribute to extreme state fragility—which are especially evident in Somalia's case.
Development aid is often tied to performance, but the aforementioned drivers of fragility hamper a state's ability to effectively
demonstrate progress to donor countries. Nora Aina Adrihimihaja, Matthias Cinyabuguma and Shantayanan Devarajan, "Avoiding the
fragility trap in Africa," *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series.* (2011).

[ii] Somalia gained independence in 1960, with the merger of Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland. Siad Barre's post-independence
regime was highly repressive but was supported by the U.S., a product of Cold War realities.

External intervention in Somalia has proven extremely difficult and, at times, counterproductive.[iii] In particular, the conduct of select Canadian Armed Forces' (CAF) personnel during UNOSOM I and II[iv] was highly questionable and led to a formal public inquiry.[v] The deteriorating security situation after 1991 has made Somalia a high-risk environment for donors.[5] The intervention by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) since 2007 has, for the most part, shifted terrorist group Al-Shabab from its former position as a quasi-central authority.[6] However, the withdrawal of key contributing states from AMISOM in recent months, specifically Ethiopia, has threatened to overturn the fragile gains that have been made.[7] In addition, AMISOM recently indicated it will be withdrawing forces by 2020 calling into question the future of security in Somalia.[8]

Despite these challenges, with significant help from the donor community, Somalia established a permanent government in 2012—a milestone in a lengthy process to re-establish central authority that began in 2004.[9] President Hasan Sheikh Mohamud's mandate has since expired, after four years in power, and the country was scheduled for its first presidential election cycle by the end of 2016 but this has since been postponed.


## V)    Key Stakeholders


*Internal Stakeholders*

**Federal Government of Somalia**: President Hasan Sheikh Mohamud ran for office on a platform of national unity and reconciliation in an attempt to transcend clan-based politics. Mohamud's presidential mandate has since expired and the international community has insinuated that he may be delaying elections to entrench his hold on power.[10] Mohamud has countered that the deteriorating security situation and administrative issues have required the continued postponement of elections. Mohamud's cooperation with the democratic process will be key for political stability within the country and the continued devolution of power to regional governments.

Prime Minister Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, who is running for president in the coming election, hails from the Puntland region and has strong ties with the semi-autonomous state. He has successfully negotiated with Puntland on behalf of the FGS over contentious issues such as resources sharing, border demarcation, and contributions to a national Somali army.[11] Sharmarke's role in establishing the SNA, and his links to regional power-players, make him an influential actor in the realm of security sector reform.


**Regional Governments:** Abdiweli Mohamed Ali is the current President of Puntland. Ali has strong international connections, owing to his role negotiating trade deals on behalf of Puntland, and prior to that, the Transitional Government of Somalia (TGS).[12] Ali is an important stakeholder for garnering support for the federalization process and for security reform within the country- given the fact that Puntland maintains its own army.[13]

Regional government stakeholders that are potentially antagonistic to the FGS include the President of Somaliland, Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud, who will likely view a growth in the authority and capacity of the FGS as a threat to the independence of his quasi-state. Ahmed Mohamed Islam, President of Jubaland, an Islamist with a history of opposing Western-backed central authority in Somalia is also a potentially

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[iii] Peacekeeping missions—the first established by UNISOM in 1992—have had mixed results. U.S. backed intervention by the Ethiopian military to counter the Islamic Courts Union in 2006 undermined the legitimacy of the Transitional Government and undercut the emergence of a functional Somali economy. In recent years external intervention has had a more positive effect.

[iv] UNOSOM I was a United Nations-led mission to provide humanitarian aid in Somalia and monitor the recently brokered cease-fire. Following the failure to prevent fighting, the U.S. led an expanded mission, known as UNOSOM II.

[v] The institutional fallout of the 'Somalia Affair' was swift and comprehensive, resulting in a complete restructuring of training received by Canadian troops, and a more stringent vetting-process for officers.

antagonistic stakeholder. Islam, despite his reluctance to embrace an expanded FGS, is a key ally in the fight against Al-Shabab and keeping him onside is vital if the central government is to effectively combat the extremist group.

**Clans:** Despite its relative ethnic homogeneity, Somalia remains deeply divided along clan lines. There are four major clans--the Hawiye, Dir, Darood and Isaaq--and a number of sub-clans. The absence of central authority has acted as a catalyst to further entrench the influence of clan leaders who govern over areas using centuries-old customary law. Clan authority played out in the extreme when, in 1991, members of the Issaq clan broke away from Somalia, forming the independent state of Somaliland. In addition, the formation of Puntland was created under the guidance of the Darood clan. Despite conciliatory overtures by the FGS, clan leaders in the country view politics as a zero-sum game, in which any increase in the authority and capacity of the FGS is seen as a direct threat to their power and influence.

**Al-Shabab**: Al-Shabab is a militia group with ties to Al-Qaeda. The group has an estimated 9,000 soldiers and its current leader is Ahmed Umar.[14] Al-Shabab's goal is to overthrow the FGS, expel all foreign forces, and govern Somalia and its surrounding areas under Sharia Law.[15] As of 2012, the group began employing terrorism at an exponential rate, as a means to achieve that goal, targeting internal and external focuses and threatening security and stability within the region.[16] Their nationalistic ideologies attract the Somali diaspora from several regions of the world, including Canada.[17] Somalis have, at times, looked to them for protection, resources and a source of income.

*External Stakeholders*

**Diaspora:** The diaspora is estimated at just under 2M with significant populations in Yemen, South Africa, the U.S and the U.K.[18] It has contributed $1.6 billion in remittances to the Somali economy in 2015.[19] Furthermore, these remittances have contributed to inter-clan warfare by providing funds for munitions, however they have also contributed to mediation efforts.[20]

**Neighbouring states:** Somalia has a strained relationship with its neighbours who have a key interest in ensuring stability within the country and preventing spillover effects. Ethiopia, a key contributing member to AMISOM, has begun the withdrawal from Somalia and Uganda recently announced it will be withdrawing by December 2017.[21] Kenya has absorbed significant costs from instability in Somalia and is home to an estimated 335,000 Somali refugees.[22]

**Turkey:** Turkey has increased its involvement within the country in recent years, both in terms of humanitarian assistance and military training.[23] Turkey helped in the building of major infrastructure projects within Somalia such as airports, hospitals and schools.[24] Currently, Turkey is training members of the SNA and they have built a military base.[25]

## VI) Fragility Risk Assessment (6-12 months)

The analysis focusses on six main clusters which encapsulate key drivers of state fragility: governance and political stability, economic development, security, environmental stress, human development and demographic pressure. While Somalia ranks poorly along all six clusters, three clusters are identified as areas where the donor community can have the greatest impact. A timeframe of 6-12 months is chosen as it allows for more accurate presumptions and the ability to make realistic recommendations. Projecting further than 12 months may be difficult as the current situation in Somalia is volatile on the ground with the ongoing security situation and continual postponement of elections.

Governance and political stability is identified as a high risk for stability in Somalia. While the general trend is stable, the country still ranks poorly along all indicators of governance and political stability and the potential for deterioration would have dire consequences for the functioning of the state. Economic development is a moderate risk for stability in the country given the history of resilience in this cluster at the sub-state level. The general trend is improving but indicators still rank low. Strengthening progress in this area would have positive cascading effects in other clusters of fragility such as human development. Security is a high risk and poses challenges for stability in other clusters of fragility such as governance and political stability. The security situation has deteriorated in recent months with continued clashes between clans and gains by Al-Shabab.

## LEGEND

| Risk | LOW | MODERATE | HIGH |
|---|---|---|---|
| Condition | ⬆ Improving | ➡ Stable | ⬇ Deteriorating |

| Governance and Political Stability ➡ | |
|---|---|
| **Indicators** | **Description** |
| **Political rights** <br> (1= best, 7=worst) | **2016:** 7[26] <br> **2015:** 7[27] <br> **2014:** 7[28] |
| **Level of corruption in public sector** <br> (0= highly corrupt, 100=very clean) | **2015:** 8/100, ranked 167/168 countries[29] |
| **Rule of law** <br> (-2.5 to 2.5. Higher values reflect better score.) | **2010:** -2.42[30] |
| **Freedom of expression** <br> (16= best possible score) | **2016:** 1/16[31] <br> **2015:** 1/16[32] <br> **2014:** 1/16[33] |
| **Political Pluralism** <br> (16= best possible score) | **2016:** 0/16[34] <br> **2015:** 0/16[35] <br> **2014:** 0/16[36] |
| **Assessment** | |
| Somalia ranks poorly along every indicator of governance, as defined by the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project.[37] For instance, corruption remains endemic in the public sector[38], freedom of expression is severely curtailed[39], and citizens have limited voice in the government.[vi] Large strides have been made in establishing governance institutions and creating political order within the country since the | |

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[vi] In 2012, the President was elected by the legislature which was appointed by 135 Somali elders. The 2016 presidential election was supposed to be 'one person-one vote', but a system of more representative democracy has been postponed until the 2020 election. Freedom House, "Somalia," https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/somalia (Accessed October 13, 2016)

2012 inauguration of the FGS.[vii] However, Somalia still has a long way to go and there are signs that progress has plateaued in recent months.[40] The FGS announced that the 2016 elections will not be by popular vote due to infrastructure constraints and gaps in election legislation, and the constitutional review is behind schedule.[41] A particularly troubling development concerns the presidential elections, originally scheduled for September 2016, which have since been postponed four times, casting doubts as to whether there will be a peaceful democratic transition of power.[42]

A particular challenge for consolidating democracy in Somalia is that there are no formally recognized political parties and politics is largely formed around clan allegiances.[viii] The ongoing federalization process and recent passing of the *Political Parties Bill* in 2016 is an attempt to move the political system away from clan-based politics but it has created tension between elite factions in Somalia over the future of the parliamentary model.[43] Women[ix] and minorities[x] also continue to be underrepresented and discriminated against in governance institutions. A deterioration of conditions within this cluster poses a high risk for stability within the country.

| Economic Development ⬆ | |
| --- | --- |
| **Indicators** | **Description** |
| **GDP growth** | **2015:** GDP= $5.9 Billion for 2015, up from $5.3 billion in 2013.[44] |
| **Government debt and foreign aid** | **2015:** ODA= $1.3 billion. Aid has increased in the past two years ($1.8B), accounting for more than the total aid disbursed from 2005-2012 combined ($1.78B).[45]<br><br>**2015:** Government debt= $3 billion.[46] |
| **Poverty rate** | **2012:** 73%[47] |
| **Youth unemployment rate (14-29 year olds)** | **2012:** 67%[48] |
| **Assessment** | |
| Recent reports show that the economy is growing thanks in part to an expanding private sector, a growth in livestock exports, and foreign-backed construction projects in-and-around the capital.[49] Economic progress is still highly contingent upon a stable security situation and could be derailed by environmental | |

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[vii] For instance, there is now a central authority within the country, a national constitution that codifies human rights principles, and 15 laws have been passed by Parliament since 2012. United Nations Human Rights Council, Twenty-fourth session, *National report submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 16/21: Somalia*, prepared for the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, A/HRC/WG.6/24/SOM/1, 2016.

[viii] Parliamentary seats are distributed according to a 4.5 clan based power-sharing formula which provides each of the four major clans with 61 delegates and the minority clans with a cumulative total of 31 delegates.

Freedom House, "Somalia," https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/somalia

[ix] The 2012 constitution outlines that 30% of seats in Parliament are to be held by women; however, only 14% of seats are currently occupied by women and the only female presidential candidate recently withdrew her candidacy. Samira Shackle, "Somali woman struggle to make it in politics," *Al Jazeera*, June 11, 2014. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/06/somali-women-struggle-make-it-politics-201461171019836712.html (Accessed October 14, 2016.)

[x] Minority groups represent up to one-third of the Somali population but are highly discriminated against according to the Minority Rights Group. Martin Hill, "No redress: Somalia's forgotten minorities," *Minority Rights Group International* (UK: 2010): 4. http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-912-Click-here-to-download-full-report.pdf (Accessed Dec.1, 2016).

shocks. Nonetheless, the economy is an area of resilience in Somalia. As the health of the economy is deeply connected to others areas of fragility--resilience to environmental shocks, and key human development indicators, for example--strengthening the economy remains a key priority for the FGS and the donor community.

The Somali economy, as the result of two decades without a functioning government, is largely underdeveloped and non-diverse. The economy is heavily reliant on remittances, sent from the Somali diaspora overseas, and aid from donor countries.[xi] *[See ANNEX B: International Aid]* Many Somalis, particularly in Mogadishu, have adapted to an environment without a job-creating central authority, and there have been some encouraging entrepreneurial developments, particularly in telecommunications.[50] This is reflected in GDP growth from $5.3 billion in 2013, to $5.9 billion in 2015; and an uptick in income per capita. However, with an income per capita of just $435, Somalia remains the fifth poorest country in the world.[51] At present the government is unable to extract sufficient tax revenues to build capacity and reinvest in goods and services.[xii]

Agriculture—both farming and pastoralism—remains the largest segment of the economy with 65-70% of Somalis engaging in agriculture of some kind, contributing to close to 60% of Somalia's GDP.[52] Agricultural production, however, is largely inefficient owing to farming methods which are incompatible with current environment conditions. Failed harvests have pushed many Somalis towards participation in the illegal charcoal industry. More worrying, Al-Shabab has been able to exploit economic anxieties, particularly among young Somalis, in order to bolster recruitment numbers.[53]

| Security ⬇ | |
|---|---|
| **Indicators** | **Description** |
| **Military expenditure** | $50,985, 000 (2011) 0.9 % of GDP[54] |
| **Military strength** | 20,000 soldiers in the SNA[55] |
| **Violent outbreaks** | 469 Terrorism-related incidents in 2014[56] Statistics for crime-related violent outbreaks could not be verified. |
| **External military presence** | 22,126 AMISOM troops,[57] 200 Turkish soldiers (in Somalia to train troops)[58] and 200-300 U.S. Special Forces personnel[59] |
| **Assessment** | |
| Security within Somalia has continued to deteriorate, particularly within the past few months, leading to a downward trend and high-risk level. The biggest security risk to the country remains extremist groups, in particular, Al-Shabab. Somalia ranked eighth on the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) in 2015.[60]  Somalia has been in the top-10 most dangerous countries in terms of terrorist activity for the past 8 years.[61] Between 2012 and 2013, the number of people killed by terrorist attacks in Somalia increased by 32%, accounting for nearly 3% of the world's death rate due to terrorist activity. [62] In 2014, 469 incidents of | |

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[xi] Remittances account for over $1.6 billion, with ODA $1.3 billion for 2015 in a GDP of just $6 billion. Federal World Bank Group, "Aid flows in Somalia: Analysis of aid flow data," WB (February 2016): 8. http://new-deal.so/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Aid-Flows-in-Somalia-FINAL-WebVersion.pdf (Accessed Nov.23, 2016).

[xii] As of June tax revenues for 2016 was $45,544,843, falling significantly short of the original forecast of $107,771,120.  Federal Government of Somalia, "Summary of Government Revenue and Expenditure as of June, 2016," http://mof.gov.so/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/FiscalSummaryReport-June-2016.pdf (Accessed Dec. 4, 2016).

terrorism occurred in the country with an increase in related deaths, making it one of the worst years for terrorist activity in Somalia.[63] *[See ANNEX C]* Southern Somalia experiences the most attacks, with Mogadishu following suit.[64] Furthermore, the illicit flow of arms into the country plays a role in destabilizing the security situation.[xiii] At present Somalia's army is in its infancy, having recently reformed in the last few years after its dissolution in 1991.[65] It is currently made up of 20,000 troops,[66] but relies heavily on international security forces to maintain security within the country. The creation of a national army is an attempt to create a national institution representative of all the clans, however, the inclusion process remains a difficulty.[67] Currently, Turkey plans on training 10,000 Somali soldiers to aid in the strengthening of the military.[68]

| Environmental Stress | |
|---|---|
| **Indicators** | **Description** |
| **Flooding** | Flash floods occur annually in Somalia every spring. Impact of flooding increasing due to population increase and climate change.[69] 50,000 people were displaced in 2013 as a result of flooding.[70] |
| **Droughts** | The East African drought of 2011-12 was considered to be the worst drought in 60 years. At present, large parts of the country are experiencing a severe drought. The FGS and regional leaders have called for humanitarian assistance.[71] |
| **Farming practices** | 1.6 percent of land in Somalia cultivated.[72] Bananas and sugarcane two of the major cash-crops grown. Maize is the main crop grown for domestic consumption, but it is not considered drought-resistant.[73] |
| **Assessment** | |
| As environmental and economic issues are deeply interconnected, and the ability to build up resilience to environmental shocks depends in large part on a restructuring of the rural economy, our policies will not target the environment directly. Somalia, and countries in the Horn of Africa in general, are bearing the brunt of climate change.[74] Somalis are highly reliant on agriculture—both farming and pastoralism—but environmental shocks such as flooding and droughts, events that are increasing in frequency and severity owing to climate change, have rendered current agricultural practices unproductive.[75] As a result, many Somalis have made the decision to participate in the illegal charcoal industry which funds militia groups and Al-Shabab, undermining state authority.[76] The charcoal industry, which involves cutting down and burning acacia trees in large quantities, exacerbates environmental degradation through deforestation and desertification. This has a negative impact upon the livelihoods of farmers and pastoralists and makes Somalia more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. | |

| Human Development | |
|---|---|
| **Indicators** | **Description** |
| **Life expectancy** | 52.4 years (Male: 52.3; Female: 54.5). Ranks 218th in the world.[77] |

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[xiii] The FGS has limited ability to track weapons in areas outside of the capital and government sanctioned weapons have been found on the black market. "Measuring Illicit Arm Flows: Somalia" *Small Arms Survey.* Number 61 (October 2016): 1.

| Infant mortality | 96.6 death per 1000 live births. (3rd highest in the world)[78] |
|---|---|
| Child malnourishment | 12.5 percent of child under 5 years old considered chronically malnourished.[79] |
| Secondary school enrollment | 28% of 14-17 years old enrolled in secondary school.[80] |

| Assessment |
|---|
| Somalia has weak institutions which are unable to effectively monitor and record indicators of human development. In 2013, the central agencies within Somalia set together a plan to achieve universal basic health care by 2016, however, the state continues to have health care challenges and an undeveloped healthcare sector.[81] Somalia is making progress working with UN agencies such as WHO, UNICEF and UNFPA[82] thus our policies will not target health directly. In November 2016, the Somali government launched the first draft of the National Development Plan in 30 years demonstrating a commitment to addressing sustainable development challenges within the country.[xiv] Furthermore, Somalia has extremely low enrolment rates for primary school ages children. Currently, only 42% of children are enrolled in school with the majority being girls.[83] |

| Demographic Pressure |
|---|

| Indicators | Description |
|---|---|
| Population ages 0-14 (% of total) | **2015**: 47% [84] <br> **2010**: 45%[85] |
| Refugees | As of 2016, there are over 1M internally displaced persons in Somalia, an estimated 11,000 refugees in the country and over 11,000 asylum seekers.[86] |
| Fertility rate (birth/woman) | **2014**: 6.5[87] While fertility rate (births/woman) is high, it has seen a steady decline since 1997.[88] |
| Population flight/ migration of labour force | According to a 2012 UNDP report, 60% of youth in Somalia have intentions of leaving.[89] |

| Assessment |
|---|
| Demographic concerns are seen to pose a moderate risk to stability within the country given their impact on other clusters such as the economy, security and human development. The two major demographic concerns in Somalia are the repatriation of Somali refugees from the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya and the youth bulge in the country. While the repatriation process began in December 2014, the UNHCR accelerated the process this past year to meet the Kenyan government's original plan to close the camp by November 2016.[90] The Kenyan government has since softened its deadline; however, as of September 2016, the number of repatriated Somali refugees reached 30, 731.[91] The lack of adequate resources in place for the return of Somali refugees coupled with high unemployment heightens the risk that refugees will be recruited into militia groups, such as Al-Shabab. Somalia is also experiencing a significant youth bulge with 47% of the population between the ages of 0-14.[92] This is problematic when coupled with the |

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[xiv] The NDP's first objective is to address poverty by investing in economic sectors such as farming, livestock and fishing. Federal Government of Somalia, "Somalia launches first National Development Plan in 30 years," Nov.3, 2016 http://mopic.gov.so/2016/11/03/somalia-launches-first-national-development-plan-in-30-years/ (Accessed Nov.12, 2016).

low employment rate, high poverty and low education which make youth vulnerable to recruitment from extremist groups in Somalia and may fuel further civil unrest.

## VII)  Theoretical Approach: ALC

The ALC model is applied to the identified risk clusters to determine the areas of focus for engagement and the appropriate sequencing approach. Somalia ranks poorly along all three dimensions of ALC but it is argued that authority and capacity should be targeted directly, with the assumption that legitimacy will improve with progress in these two dimensions.

*Authority***:** Authority is measured as the ability of the state to provide security and exercise control within its territory.[93] In Somalia, divisions between clans and tensions between the FGS and the autonomous regions within the country have undermined the ability of the central government to enact binding legislation and establish effective control. In addition, the FGS has itself been the subject of political infighting between the President and Prime Minister.[xv] Somalia's overall progression in re-establishing authority has been encouraging, particularly when one takes into account that the country is emerging from total state collapse. Nonetheless, the worsening security situation in recent months, characterized by the resurgence of Al-Shabab and withdrawal of Ethiopian forces, has led to a deterioration of the government's ability to provide security to the population and exercise effective control over the country.[94]

*Legitimacy*: Legitimacy is defined as the population's allegiance to the state and focusses on state-society relations.[95] Legitimacy within Somalia is assumed to be low due to poor representation of minorities in the governance structures and the limited reach of the FGS in the outer regions of the state. Deep-seated distrust of central authority, fomented in the antebellum period, and entrenched during the civil war, permeates Somali society.[96] The legitimacy of the Somali regime has deteriorated further within recent months with the postponement of the presidential and legislative elections.[97] The upcoming elections also highlight that the government has fallen behind on a number of key milestones that would ensure greater representation of the population in governance institutions.

*Capacity*: Capacity is the potential for the state to respond and provide resources to the population.[98] The absence of a functional state government in Somalia for 20 years has decimated the capacity of the country. The FGS, with significant support from the international community, has had to rebuild and re-establish the key institutions and infrastructure needed for the country to function. Human development indicators in Somalia are among the lowest in the world and the FGS is highly dependent on international aid and remittances to provide services.[99] Revenues from personal income tax have consistently underperformed and tax arrangements with the business community have not yet materialized, undermining the capacity of the government to provide services.[100] In addition, the limited capacity of the FGS makes the country more vulnerable to demographic and environmental pressures.

*Key drivers of fragility*: It becomes clear from the overview of challenges in Somalia that weak governance institutions and weak security institutions are key drivers of fragility and negatively impact authority and legitimacy. Poor economic performance, amplified by weak governance and security institutions, also contributes to the ongoing fragility trap and undermines the capacity of the state.

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[xv] In December 2014, a no-confidence vote was passed against Prime Minister Abdiweli Skeikh Ahmed. He served for just under a year after his predecessor was voted out of cabinet for 'poor performance' and disagreement over the cabinet composition. Freedom House, "Somalia," *Freedom House,* 2015. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/somalia (Accessed Oct.13, 2016).

## VIII)   Scenarios

The following are best case and worst case scenarios based on an improvement or deterioration in the risk clusters over the next 6-12 months. It serves as a framework for the preceding policy options.

*Best-case*: Federal and legislative elections are not widely contested and there is limited violence and intimidation at the polls. The federalization process continues to be implemented and regional governments include representation of women and minorities. The Dadaab refugee camp remains open until relative stability can be achieved in Somalia, reducing demographic pressures. The capacity of the SNA is enhanced with training by international forces and territorial gains are made against Al-Shabab. The economic situation improves with the creation of new job opportunities through federal arrangements and the FGS is able to deliver basic services to its population.

*Worst-case:* Elections are widely contested leading to an outbreak of violence and a further fracturing of political and social divisions. Continued gains by Al-Shabab threaten security and reinforce the notion that the FGS is unable to maintain a monopoly on the use of force.[101] The repatriation of Somali refugees from the Dadaab refugee camp is resumed placing added pressure on the weak infrastructure in the country and leads to increased resentment by the regional governments towards the centre. Prolonged droughts and flooding within the country impact the agricultural industry, increasing food insecurity and worsening poverty.[102]

## IX)   Policy Options

The following policy options target the key drivers of fragility in Somalia and directly address weaknesses in authority and capacity. The proposed policies are designed to prevent the worst-case scenario. Measures of success are broken down according to immediate, intermediate and long-term objectives over the span of two years. *[See ANNEX D: Measures of Success]*

## A.      Training for the Somali National Army (SNA)

*Policy*: It is proposed that the GC take a role in military reform as a means of stabilizing conditions on the ground and providing an environment conducive for the FGS to effectively fulfil basic governance roles for its population. It is recommended that the GC, through the Department of National Defense (DND), train the military in counter-insurgency techniques to make national forces more effective in battling Al-Shabab and other extremist groups that are threatening the stability of the state. Canada could also assist the SNA in integrating former militia groups in the security sector as a way of building a truly national institution that cuts across clan divisions and exercises its authority without raising alarm and being viewed as a coercive tool against certain clans.

*Relevance for recipient*: In addition to the continued attacks from Al-Shabab, there have been clashes on the borders between the regional states.[103] The violence has worked to undermine the authority, and by extension, the capacity and legitimacy of the central government. For the FGS to narrow the capacity gap—to provide basic goods and services to its people—the security situation on the ground must be conducive to such goals.[xvi]

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[xvi] Such an understanding is consistent with a Weberian notion of state authority, as deriving from an ability to monopolize the use of force within a given territory. D. Lambach, E. Johais and M. Bayer, "Conceptualizing State Collapse: An Institutionalist Approach," *Third World Quarterly.* 38(7): 2015. 1299-1315.

Currently, Somalia is in the process of reforming its army. According to a public opinion poll conducted in Mogadishu, 46% of interviewees viewed security as a priority policy issue for the FGS.[104]

*Relevance for donor*: In 2016, Canada furthered its interests in Somalia and the SSR process through recommendations to the UN, stating that the army's training should ensure it complies with "international human rights law and international humanitarian law, including by integrating human rights training into security sector reform programs".[105] Canada's involvement in training the SNA would allow for direct monitoring to ensure it is being delivered in a way that respects these values. Canada also has experience providing training to international armies in both fragile and conflict affected states. Currently, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) are engaged in operations in several African countries, namely, Mali, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Sudan.[106]

*Access Points*: The primary entry point is the SNA, under the direction of the FGS. It is important for Canada to complement, re-enforce, and enhance, the existing security reforms that are currently being carried out by other states in the country, rather than duplicating efforts. For instance, Turkey, a NATO ally, is currently building a military base and training the SNA.[107] Canada can also work in conjunction with AMISOM to train the Somali military.

*Consequences of Actions and Stakeholder Analysis*: The primary stakeholders of this policy is the general population of Somalia and the SNA. The secondary stakeholders are the neighboring states and those with a military presence in Somalia, such as Ethiopian and Kenyan forces. Turkey's involvement within the country and its creation of a military base may complicate efforts if they view Canada as acting against their interests. In addition, it is important that Canada's role in military training does not simply focus on counterinsurgency, but also on helping the SNA build ties with the general population. It is essential that extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrest and the mistreatment of the civilian population are not normalized and institutionalized, but viewed as the antithesis to building a stable security environment. Despite the intention to emphasize respect for human rights within the military, enlarging state authority comes with the inherent risk that the state will use such authority as a means to coerce the population in order to entrench its privileged position within society. This would undermine state legitimacy overtime and counteract the aim of shrinking the authority and capacity gaps. Furthermore, autonomous regions and the breakaway province of Somaliland may perceive the strengthening of state authority as a threat to their autonomy and could react violently as a means of preserving said autonomy. To mitigate this, one may work on encouraging discussions and meetings with Somaliland to ensure the SNA's intentions to dilute Al-Shabab's influence on the region are clear.

## B. Support for the Federal System

*Policy*: It is proposed that the GC, through Global Affairs Canada (GAC), provide technical assistance and funding to the UNDP's *Support to Emerging Federal States* (StEFS) project. This project is mandated until March 31, 2018 to provide support to the federalization process in Somalia through several key outputs: enhancing political dialogue and consultations, strengthening the capacity of the FGS to implement the federal process, providing support to the federal state administrations and strengthening public sector capacity, and ensuring civil society engagement with federal states.[xvii]

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[xvii] The project supports Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goal (PSG) 1: Inclusive Politics, PSG 5: Revenue and Services and Sustainable Development Goal 16 to promote peace, justice and strong institutions. United Nations Development Programme, "Support to emerging federal states," *UNDP*,

**Relevance for recipient**: The Provisional Constitution established in 2012 marked the start of the federalization process in Somalia.[108] The New Deal Somali Compact and Vision 2016 reaffirmed the FGS's commitment to implement a federal system to promote more inclusive politics.[xviii] In 2015, public opinion polls conducted in Somalia found that the majority of participants supported a federal arrangement and viewed a centralized unitary state as oppressive.[xix] Nonetheless, the implementation of the federal system has proven to be a contentious process and a potential trigger for further conflict within the country.[xx] The next stage in the federalization process is to ensure that the newly established federal state governments are inclusive of women and minorities, understand their relationship with the central government and maintain the authority and capacity within their regions to administer services to the population. In addition, a federal system would help to address some of the ALC challenges facing the FGS. For instance, the devolution of power could assist in bolstering the legitimacy of the government by creating stronger state-society relations and ensuring greater representation of marginalized groups.[xxi] The implementation of an effective federal system also has the potential to enhance the capacity of the government to provide basic services to the population and increase its ability to establish voter districts and a tax collection system. Finally, a federal system will assist in establishing the government's authority in areas that have historically been outside the reach of the FGS.

**Relevance for Donor**: Canada has a long standing history of promoting good governance and democracy abroad.[109] A key focus for the GC's international agenda in 2016-17 is "to advance inclusive and accountable governance.[110] In addition, a thematic priority for Canada's international development assistance is advancing democracy, with a focus on strengthening institutions and ensuring gender equality.[111] Canada has also partnered with the African Union (AU) in the past to support political reforms in African countries and helped to establish the AU's *African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance*.[112] The proposed policy is in line with Canada's past and present engagement in the region and draws upon the GC's expertise and skills in this thematic area.

**Access Points**: The Ministry of the Interior and Federal Affairs (MOIFA) is charged with overseeing the federalization process and could serve as a point of contact. To avoid duplication of efforts and leverage resources, it is recommended that Canada partner with an existing organization that is established in the region and engaged in the federalization process. Specifically, the UNDP has been operating the StEFS project in Somalia since 2015 and is a well-known and respected organization that could benefit from additional support.

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http://www.so.undp.org/content/dam/somalia/docs/Project_Documents/CrossCutting/StEFS%20Emerging%20States%20ProDoc%201%20April%202016%20to%2031%20Dec%202017.pdf (Accessed Nov.15, 2016).

[xviii] For instance, Article 3 affirms that the country is founded upon the principles of power sharing and Article 48 allows for devolution of power to the Federal Member States Level.

Federal Republic of Somalia, "Provisional Constitution," *FGS*, http://unpos.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=RkJTOSpoMME= (Accessed Nov.20, 2016), 13.

[xix] According to a 2015 public opinion poll conducted by Data Grid Somalia in central Somalia, 53.3% of those polled supported a federal arrangement. Data Grid Somalia, 8.

[xx] For instance, the semi-autonomous region of Puntland severed ties with the FGS in 2014 over plans to divide the region into separate federal states. Mohammed Yusuf, "Puntland cuts ties with Somalia over formation of new state," *VOANews*, August 12, 2014. http://www.voanews.com/a/puntland-cuts-ties-with-somalia-over-formation-of-new-state/2410930.html (Accessed Nov.19, 2016).

[xxi] The nascent federal states encompass various clan territories which will force leaders to appeal to their constituencies beyond clan based politics.

***Consequences of Action and Stakeholder Analysis*:** The primary stakeholders for this policy are the general Somali population, the FGS, regional governments, clans and Al-Shabab. The devolution of power could pose a threat to national unity if federal state actors view themselves as operating separately or against the central government. Clans that have de-facto governed the regions for the past 20 years are likely to view the establishment of formal administrations as a threat to their power base and may act as spoilers in the process. There is also a risk that the new administrations will simply formalize and solidify clan power relations within communities, rather than establishing a more representative governance structure. In addition, it likely that Al-Shabab will view the increased reach of the FGS as a threat to its survival and target the new administrations and leaders. While the demarcation of state boundaries is largely finalized, tensions could resurface as more permanent administrations are established and legislation is enacted.[xxii] To the extent possible, efforts should be made to ensure these risks are taken into consideration in policy planning and mitigated during implementation.

## C.      Agricultural Aid

***Policy:*** It is proposed that the GC offer non-technical aid, through GAC, in the form of funding for use in purchasing equipment for agricultural activities—and funding for UN-run projects already underway in rural Somalia. It is also proposed that the GC extend technical aid, in the form of training Somali farmers in the use of more efficient methods of agriculture. Such training would entail assisting farmers with the planting of drought-resistant crops such a millet and sorghum, assistance in the development of efficient water catchment techniques and sustainable land management practices.

***Relevance for Recipient***: Approximately 70 percent of Somalis are engaged in growing crops or raising livestock, earnings derived from which contribute to around 60 percent of GDP.[113] One in five harvests is said to be a partial failure, however, and as a result 70 percent of Somalis are considered to be undernourished.[114] Rural Somalis are often out of the reach of the central government whose development focus has largely centered on infrastructure in and around the capital, Mogadishu. Targeting aid towards the agricultural sector would help diminish the severity of fragility in the economy and environment clusters--clusters which interact in a highly combustible manner. A lack of economic opportunities incentivises participation in illegal activities such as the charcoal trade which diminishes environmental resilience and undermines the authority and capacity of the FGS.[115] In addition, increasing the economic wellbeing of rural Somalis, would go some way towards building a viable tax base, thereby building the capacity of the FGS to provide goods and services.

***Relevance for Donor:*** Agricultural initiatives are in the line with Canada's international development aid thematic priorities, including increasing food security, stimulating economic growth and increasing environmental sustainability.[116] Canada is currently involved in agriculture projects in Tanzania, Kenya and India among others, drawing on the Canadian International Food Security Research Fund (CIFSRF).[117] Agricultural reform is relatively inexpensive to enact and pays dividends greatly in excess of the initial financial and time-related investment.

***Access Points:*** The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) is active on the ground, engaged in projects which include water catchment techniques and the mechanization of Somali agriculture.[118] Canada could work within the existing FAO framework and complement projects currently underway. There are also local NGOs active in farming communities, such as the Somali Agricultural Technology Group (SATG) who

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[xxii] This is a particular risk given tensions between Somaliland and the FGS and contested areas between Puntland and Somaliland.

have worked with local farmers on projects such as soil enrichment.[119] The SATG have an intimate knowledge of local conditions, which would be of immense value to Canadian advisors on the ground.

***Consequences of Action and Stakeholder Analysis***: The primary stakeholders are the general Somali population, the FGS and Al-Shabab. Canadian involvement in agricultural reform could contribute to a two-tiered system within rural Somalia. While it is anticipated that knowledge transfer between Somalis would compensate for an inability to reach every part of the country in the long-term; in the short-term, this policy could have the unintended effect of increasing inequality within and between regions. Such a divide could exacerbate pre-existing tensions and resentments in what is still a highly fractured country. Secondly, Somalis who do adopt new agricultural could become easily identifiable targets for militia groups looking to spoil the process of reform. Improvements to everyday life which will result from agricultural reform directly threatens the sustainability of Al-Shabab by diminishing its potential recruitment pool. Al-Shabab also benefits immensely from the charcoal trade. Making agriculture more productive and profitable would help steer Somalis away from the trade, but it could increase the level of violence from Al-Shabab in the short-term as they look to protect a key revenue stream.

## X)    Conclusion

This paper has provided the GC with an analytical overview of the key drivers of fragility in Somalia for the purpose of developing effective policy recommendations to assist Somalia in exiting its fragility trap. The ALC model reveals that weak governance, weak security institutions and slow economic growth are the main drivers of fragility. Weak state authority manifests itself through underdeveloped security institutions and the limited reach of the federal government outside of the capital. The limited ability of the government to provide services is a reflection of poor capacity. In turn, poor capacity combined with a deteriorating security situation negatively impacts the legitimacy of the central government. Authority and capacity are targeted directly in the proposed policies, with the assumption that legitimacy will improve with progress in these two dimensions. The three policies: Training for the Somali National Army, Support for the Federal System, and Agricultural Aid, are intended to address the identified weaknesses.

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Map of Somalia

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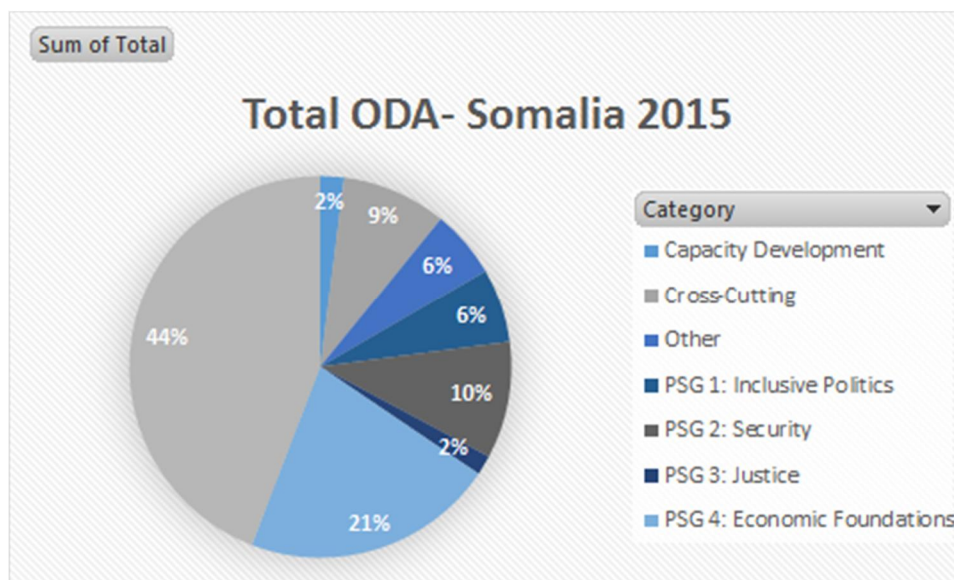


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**SOMALIA**

GTI RANK **8**
GTI SCORE **7.6**

INCIDENTS 469
PROPERTY DAMAGE 531
DEAD 801
INJURED 568

**INCREASE IN DEATHS SINCE 2000**
2000    2014
+784
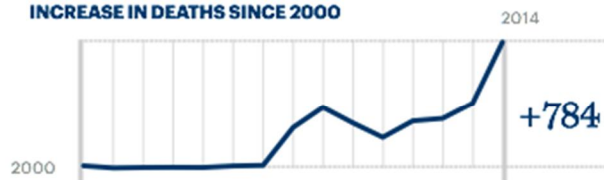
**ATTACKS BY TARGET**
- Military, militia or terrorist groups
- Private citizens & property
- Government
- Business
- Other

**WORST ATTACK**
20 killed and 20 injured when a suicide bomber targeting a government minister detonated a vehicle at a café. Al-Shabaab were responsible.

**MAJOR ATTACK**

**DEATHS BY GROUP**
- Al-Shabaab
- Unknown

http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf

**Measures of Success**

## I)    Training the SNA

**Ultimate Outcome  (2+ years)**
Effective and self-sufficient military force able to provide stability and security to population

Intermediate Outcome (12-24 months)

Strengthened military able to respond to crises situations and conduct counter-insurgency

Immediate Outcome (6-12 months)

Increased skills and knowledge of counter-insurgency techniques, in accordance with human rights principles

## II)    Support for the federalization process

**Ultimate outcome** (2+ years)  Strengthened regional governance institutions representative of Somali society

**Intermediate outcome** (12-24 months)

Strengthened government engagement with civil society on topics of federalism

Improved organizational capacity of regional governments to represent their constituencies

**Immediate outcome** (6-12 months)

Increased knowledge of federalism by civil society

Increased knowledge of federalism structures by regional governments

## III)  Agricultural Aid

| Ultimate outcome (2+ years) Increased economic development in the agricultural sector and decrease in food insecurity and youth unemployment | |
|---|---|
| Intermediate outcome (12-24 months) | Enhanced capacity to engage in sustainable farming practices |
| Immediate Outcome (6-12 months) | Increased knowledge of sustainable farming practices | Provision of drought resistant crops |

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