

WSP International Somali Programme

Dialogue for Peace ***“Wadatashiga Nabadda”*** **2004 – 2006**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- 1. Project Title:** Dialogue for Peace in Somalia / Somaliland
- 2. Organization:** WSP International
- 3. Location(s):** Country-wide, including South / Central Somalia (based from Mogadishu), Puntland / Northeast Somalia (based from Garowe), and Somaliland / Northwest Somalia (based from Hargeysa)
- 4. Duration:** 24 months, from January 2004 – December 2005
- 5. Sector(s):** Governance / Peace building / Civil Society

6. Project Summary:

Through the 'Dialogue for Peace' programme, WSP will conduct an extensive process of public consultation on issues essential to peace building and state reconstruction. This will involve meetings to be held across Somalia (including Somaliland) that will bring local communities, civil society representatives and Somali political leaders together to identify and agree on key issues and methods of addressing them in order to build a sustainable, peaceful society. The process will maintain regular linkage with members of the international community, and will engage Somali Diasporas in the dialogue as well. Where local consultations result in the willingness of local communities and political actors to directly work towards reconciliation, WSP will adjust its role to facilitate such efforts that will help underpin the efforts to achieve a sustainable peace.

Project Description

1. PROJECT OVERVIEW

Somalia represents the most durable case of state collapse in the modern era. Thirteen years after the demise of Siad Barre's dictatorship, the number of militia-factions continues to grow, while hopes for regional administrations to form sustainable governing institutions have dwindled. At the same time, armed violence continues, fueled by clan-based tensions, public mistrust and factional manipulation.

In October 2002, IGAD member-states and international sponsors established the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC). Despite initial hopes, the process has encountered serious difficulties and a successful outcome is far from certain. While the international community is focused on re-establishing inclusive negotiations with Somalia's political leaders, concrete efforts within Somalia to address the longer-term issues of sustainable peace building and legitimacy have yet to begin. As a result, there is a danger that the outputs of this peace effort may not have roots inside Somalia and may end up lacking the broad-based support necessary for sustainability.

In this context, WSP International proposes conducting a 'Dialogue for Peace' - an extensive process of public consultation on issues pertaining to peace building and state reconstruction. WSP International's experience in Somalia over the past eight years indicates that the understanding and trust that is developed through the WSP methodology can help resolve conflicts directly, while at the same time building consensual approaches to address the social, economic and political issues necessary for a durable peace. This will be a complementary initiative to the on-going peace process – one that builds on its previous and ongoing work – to ensure that core issues are addressed inside Somalia.

In order for the Dialogue to be successful, WSP International recognizes the need for sustained relationship with the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) on-going in Mbagathi, Kenya, as well as those structures and agreements that may emerge from its conclusion should there be any. WSP International and its affiliates continue to meet regularly with members of the IPF, the IGAD Facilitation Committee including the Special Envoy, Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat as well as concerned diplomats to share the results of the organizations' ongoing work and to prepare for future cooperation. WSP International will thus be well prepared to work with the outcomes of the peace conference, whether these are structures such as a "reconciliation commission" or dynamic efforts to encourage further grassroots and political reconciliation, and move them forward inside Somalia. At the same time, especially in light of the unclear state of the SNRC, the Dialogue needs to be prepared now and to begin its work inside.

2. OBJECTIVES

The *overall objective* of the Dialogue for Peace is ***to enhance conditions conducive for community-based reconciliation in Somalia through organized in-country dialogues on issues essential to peace building, and to thereby significantly contribute to the overall peace recovery process.***

The *specific objectives* of the Dialogue for Peace are the following:

- ***Participatory Research*** – To identify areas of consensus and disagreement in peace building through engaging a broad cross-section of the Somali people in public discussion, and to thus contribute to reconciliation efforts by local and international actors.
- ***Empowerment*** – To empower the Somali public to speak out regarding key issues and develop platforms for action on issues of reconciliation and reconstruction. To enhance the capacity of WSP affiliates in Somalia.
- ***Mobilization*** – To increase the relative weight of the interests of the Somali people and engage them more seriously in efforts to find a negotiated solution to the continuing crisis in Somalia.
- ***Reconciliation*** – To catalyze local, regional and national conflict resolution efforts by creating neutral space and mobilizing international support for political dialogue.
- ***Strengthening Civil Society*** – To engage civil society actors in peace efforts through direct cooperation in the process,

3. TARGET GROUPS / BENEFICIARIES

WSP International methodology is broadly participatory and inclusive, promoting the interaction of diverse social and political groups. Through debate and the effort to reach consensual conclusions in a relatively neutral forum, the WSP International Somali Programme has directly involved over a thousand members of civil society, parliaments, private businesses, women's groups, administrations, local and international NGOs, UN agencies and others in policy oriented research and dialogue.

In addition, thousands of Somalis within the country and the Diaspora benefit indirectly from the interaction, as well as exposure to the research findings and recommendations through dissemination of research papers, through the media, the internet, and by word of mouth.

Research findings and recommendations also reach policy and decision makers in the Somali and international communities. WSP research products have been used as reference documents by officials in local administrations, in parliamentary debates, by local media organizations (print, television and radio), by local NGO's, international aid agencies and donors.

4. CONTEXT / JUSTIFICATION

A number of factors have conspired to perpetuate state collapse in Somalia and to prevent a solution to the crisis: the legacy of corrupt and abusive political leadership, the emergence of entrenched political and commercial “conflict constituencies”, the interference of regional powers and the neglect of the broader international community. Despite the widespread desire of the Somali people for a return to normalcy, the restoration of central government is a prospect that continues to divide them more than it unites them. The reasons for this ambivalence are several: a profound public mistrust of political institutions and leadership borne of past experience; the political manipulation of clan identity; and the dependence of most Somali political and faction leaders on external rather than internal legitimacy. Together, these elements add up to a view of government that serves the interests of a select few while being at best indifferent to the welfare of its public. At worst, such a government has proven abusive and predatory.

It has become conventional wisdom to blame the failure of the peace process on Somalia’s recalcitrant faction leaders. This is only a partial explanation and its widespread acceptance by the international community has meant that there has been little effort to address the broader social and political dynamics of the crisis. Indeed, by skirting issues like legitimacy and accountability, past peace initiatives have threatened to restore to Somalia the kind of political leadership that precipitated the crisis in the first place, awakening deep seated suspicions and anxieties among the Somali population. Over the years, Somali faction leaders have successfully played upon their people’s fears in order to perpetuate the crisis and sustain their own leadership role.

Given such circumstances, international peacemakers have set themselves an impossible task: parallel and simultaneous peace building and state formation. Peace building requires reconciliation, the mending of relations and the restoration of trust. In Somalia this is an essentially consensual process, with any major actor having a *de facto* veto over decisions of the majority. State formation, on the other hand, is fraught with competition, anxiety and tension and will inevitably create the impression of ‘winners’ and ‘losers.’ It is no coincidence that every significant attempt since 1991 to restore central government to Somalia – including the present conference in Mbagathi – has been associated with an escalation in violence.

The challenge for peacemakers in Somalia - both national and international - is to identify and harness the potential synergies between these apparently contradictory processes: to situate reconciliation firmly within the context of state building, while employing state building as a platform for trust-building and enduring reconciliation. Neither will be possible without the broad engagement of the Somali public.

Peace building in the context of state formation

While international efforts to restore central government to Somalia have generally been high level, extraterritorial affairs, ‘peace building’ on the ground has generally been left to Somali civic and traditional leaders and a handful of international agencies engaged in civic action, training, education and a variety of related activities with limited or no linkage to the high-level efforts. All too often the ‘grassroots’ level achievements have lacked sustainable depth, or been scuttled by

battles between political leaders over actual or anticipated power-sharing arrangements.

In practice, local peace-building efforts cannot be divorced from the broader political context. It may even be counterproductive to do so. The impact of a settlement reached at the national political level can often be expected to override local level agreements. For example, given the importance of decentralization to the Somali peace process, the nature of the Somali state (unitary, federal, or confederal) and the number of administrative regions/ provinces are questions of extreme sensitivity. A decision as to whether Gaalka'yo lies in a united Mudug region, is wholly part of Puntland regional state, or is permanently divided into northern and southern spheres of control, would threaten to upset whatever *modus vivendi* has prevailed to date between the inhabitants of the town. Likewise, the ultimate decision as to whether to retain Bay and Bakool as separate administrative regions, to unite them as a "Riverineland", or to amalgamate them with the Juba Valley to form the "State of Southwest Somalia" could create new and dangerous tensions throughout southwest Somalia.

Decisions about control of economic infrastructure such as ports and airports, and the sharing of their revenues between central and local governments are potentially explosive. Other issues such as demobilization and reintegration of militia and ex-combatants may be less politically charged, but will require a significant degree of local leadership. For example, centrally planned and implemented demobilization exercises are not only expensive; they are also potentially dangerous since they concentrate large numbers of soldiers in specific locations and create competition among commanders and communities for access to resources.

In other words, decisions reached at the national level may prove destabilizing on the ground (especially where signatories have contradicted the expectations or demands of their constituents), no matter how much energy has previously been invested in peace building. Even more problematic, ad hoc peace-building initiatives at the local level may produce agreements that are eventually nullified or overturned by national peace accords, leading directly to confrontation between local and national level leaders.

State formation as a platform for peace building

Peace conferences for Somalia have historically been state building exercises, aimed at the formation of a national government (usually as quickly as possible). Since most Somalis expect a future government to reproduce past patterns of political behavior, they are understandably ambivalent about the prospect. The fact that most of the leaders involved in state building exercises are known quantities, having either held senior posts in the past regime or taken part in the political and military factionalism of the post-war period, only reinforces the anticipation that history will repeat itself. No wonder that many Somalis have greeted past settlements with little real enthusiasm and a number have often resigned themselves to take up arms again instead.

A constitutional and technical dialogue, such as the kind initiated by the Eldoret / Mbagathi process, can do much to mitigate people's fears by helping them to envision alternatives to the kind of leadership they have known in the past. The current schism between federalists and unitarians is just one facet of the debate.

Revenue sharing, the legal system, security forces and transitional justice issues – to name a few – all call for equally thorough discussion. In short, Somalis need the opportunity to rethink and reinvent their state in a way that represents the best possible compromise between the greatest possible numbers.

Since Somalis generally have little faith in their current leaders, it is not sufficient to leave deliberations of this nature to the handful of self-appointed or hand-picked delegates who routinely attend internationally sponsored peace conferences. Indeed, to do so only reinforces the public sense of powerlessness, alienation from, and mistrust of political leadership. By engaging a broader cross-section of the Somali public in the debate about their nation's future, true Somali ownership of the peace process can be established, the mending of relations between the people and their institutions (and leaders) can begin and the foundation for a lasting peace be laid.

WSP has long argued that the Somali peace process must involve extensive public consultation inside the country with a broad range of stakeholders. Only then can the anxieties and tensions associated with state formation be fully exposed and dealt with in a transparent and open manner. At the same time, deliberation of national issues and choices in communities across the country can contribute in a direct and practical way to the processes of reconciliation and peace building.

To date, political constraints and insufficient resources have precluded the full-scale application such an approach. However, the lessons learned from over a decade of peace making in Somalia have underlined the necessity of public dialogue and its potential as an alternative to third party mediation. WSP International's experience of more than 6 years of political facilitation and public debate throughout much of Somalia provides both the justification for such an approach and the platform upon which it could be organized.

5. MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

The 'Dialogue for Peace' will be a field-driven exercise, guided and supported by the WSP International office in Nairobi, Kenya. This office will be the duty station for the Somali Programme Coordinator and the Senior Somali Programme Officer, the Operations Manager and the Reports and Information Officer as well as the necessary administrative, logistical and financial management staff. From the outset, a donor support group will be formed to accompany the process.

Inside the country, the 'Dialogue for Peace' will be led and managed by three WSP International affiliate teams, including:

- Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu.
- Puntland Development and Research Centre (PDRC) in Garowe.
- Academy for Peace and Development (APD) in Hargeysa.

In early 2004, the CRD and PDRC teams agreed to combine their efforts in a jointly managed programme, while retaining their separate institutional identities. The APD team will manage its component of the dialogue independently of the other affiliates, but will continue to coordinate with them on substantive, technical and methodological issues. The affiliate teams and WSP International Somalia Project

Coordination office will meet regularly throughout the process to plan and coordinate activities.

The major inputs required for the Dialogue for Peace are human resources, travel (e.g. by air and land), rental of infrastructure for meetings, computers and other IT equipment, audio / video recording equipment, and other general office equipment.

Project Group

To ensure local ownership of the Dialogue process, a Project Group (PG) will be formed during the course of the preliminary research phase. This will be made up of eminent persons carefully selected from a broad cross-section of prominent political leaders, traditional and religious leaders, civil society members, professional associations, business community and the diaspora through a joint selection process by the affiliates. Since the PG's representative nature necessitates that it be a fairly large body with dispersed membership, the WSP team may invite a smaller sub group of the PG to accompany the Dialogue more closely as a group of advisors.

By identifying the Entry Points for the Dialogue, the PG effectively takes ownership of the process and "commissions" the WSP teams to assist the PG in the implementation. The Project Group (or its advisory sub-group) will subsequently meet regularly throughout the process to provide feedback, offer advice, and – when necessary – mobilize support for the process from political and civic leaders. Additional roles of the PG include helping to guide the programme's operational agenda to fit local circumstances, as well as to coordinate interventions on a countrywide basis. During the final phase of the Dialogue process (Restitution and Reflection), the PG will receive and adopt the results and findings of the main phase, confirming PG's responsibility for the process and its outcomes.

Because of its key role in the Dialogue, the composition of the PG is of paramount concern. In the WSP context, a number of key principles govern the PG's composition and conduct. Among these are that it should include broad-based and inclusive representation of local actors; that it serve as a politically neutral space for dialogue; and that its decisions (including selection of Entry Points) be consensus-based. Membership of the PG should be of a sufficiently high level that its deliberations and decisions are of relevance to broader political and social dynamics across the country.

Working Groups

Each Entry Point will be accompanied by a Working Group (WG), to be established following the first meeting of the PG. The Working Group is composed of key stakeholders (i.e. decision makers, professionals, experts and civic leaders) in issues covered by the Entry Point. Although more technical in nature than the PG, the WG functions according to the same principles with respect to inclusivity, representation, and political neutrality. Just as the PG exercises ownership of the overall exercise, the WG exercises ownership of its respective Entry Point.

In a conventional WSP process, the WG initially identifies the objectives of the research process and guides the team in developing a research outline. In the

Dialogue programme, each WG will set itself achievable goals (within the context of the respective Entry Point) and guide the team in developing an action plan.

The WG will accompany the team throughout the process, meeting more frequently than the PG (typically at least once a month). Members of the WG will be closely engaged in the management of the main consultative phase, often participating directly in consultations and leading or animating project activities.

All formal findings, products or outcomes of the main consultative phase must be approved by the WG before they can be passed to the PG for adoption.

6. PROJECT ACTIVITIES AND METHODOLOGY

The Dialogue for Peace is an extensive process of public consultation on issues pertaining to peace building and state reconstruction. This will involve meetings with local communities, including civil society representatives, Somali political leaders and members of the international community. They will examine key requirements for a sustainable peace in Somalia and methods of addressing them. Where local consultations result in the willingness of local communities and political actors to directly work towards reconciliation, WSP will adjust its role to facilitate such efforts, which would help underpin the efforts of international actors to achieve an enduring peace settlement.

The Dialogue's consultative process would apply a variation of the WSP participatory action research methodology, providing for an inclusive, consensus-oriented dialogue led by local actors and facilitated by national researchers. Discussions would be documented both in written and video form, and the local media would be used extensively to stimulate further discussion.

In keeping with WSP's standard research methodology, the process will go through four stages:

- I. Preparation
- II. Preliminary Research
- III. Consultation (Main Phase)
- IV. Restitution and Reflection (Final Phase)

Reconciliation and political facilitation are integral components of WSP's participatory methodology, ensuring that both type of activity will take place contemporaneously with the second, third and fourth stages of the dialogue process, and may at times take precedence. Throughout, dissemination of findings will be fed back to local communities through innovative use of the thriving Somali media sector, and at the international community through occasional papers, videos and other briefing sessions.

Phase 1: Preparation

A five-month period has been required, between January and May 2004, to prepare the WSP affiliate offices in Somalia to implement the Dialogue for Peace and the WSP office in Nairobi to support those efforts. This was extended from the three

months originally envisioned mainly because of the need to assure the resource commitment of the international community before engaging in the programme.

During this period the CRD team concluded research activities under its ongoing WSP programme (i.e. completion of a “zonal note” examining various aspects of the Somali crisis and reconstruction efforts), merging with preparatory activities for the Dialogue. At the same time, APD completed a complex institutional transition, establishing a General Assembly, Board of Directors, and putting in place a new management team.

Outputs of the preparatory stage will include the following:

- WSP International and affiliate offices with the requisite staffing, financial and logistical capacity to implement the Dialogue for Peace on a nation-wide basis.
- Sufficient methodological training and preparation for affiliate teams to be able to conduct the preliminary phase.
- Formation of a donor support group for feedback on the progress of the Dialogue, revision of the project document and budget as required, and consultation on linkages between the Dialogue and the international community via the IGAD Facilitation Committee, IPF, SNRC or other international bodies/actors.

Phase 2: Preliminary Research

The preliminary phase of the Dialogue process will consist of a relatively rapid (approximately five months) ‘actor and conflict mapping exercise’ upon which priorities for more comprehensive dialogue will be based. The purpose of the mapping exercise will be to:

- i) provide a contemporary assessment of conflict dynamics in Somalia;
- ii) review the strengths and weakness of previous local and international reconciliation initiatives, and
- iii) suggest areas of focus (entry points) for the main phase of the Dialogue.

This will involve three main components:

- Literature collection and review
- Interviews with relevant local and international actors
- Field work, group discussions etc.

The literature review will include a review of relevant and contemporary literature, notably with respect to conflict, reconciliation and state building issues throughout Somalia. The purpose of the review will be to ensure that the Dialogue is informed by past experience, including previous peace conferences, the ongoing IGAD-sponsored talks in Kenya, and the World Bank’s Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF).

WSP affiliate teams will travel extensively through their respective areas of responsibility inside Somalia, conducting interviews and consultations throughout their respective areas of responsibility, soliciting feedback that captures discussions in both written and audiovisual form. In particular, they will be seeking to identify

priority concerns with respect to reconciliation and governance (state building); at the same time, the teams will identify local and regional leaders to participate in the PG, in order to ensure continuity between the local, regional and national levels of the Dialogue.

The preliminary phase will also provide the WSP affiliate teams with the opportunity familiarize themselves with the current situation, explain the purpose of the process, stimulate local interest and identify potential local partners for the continuing consultative process.

Upon conclusion of the mapping exercise, the WSP teams will come together to prepare a brief report and video documentary (a 'Note' in WSP parlance) on their collective findings. The main purpose of the written and video "Notes" is to capture the principal issues emerging from their research relating to reconciliation, peace building and state building, the various perspectives and positions encountered vis-à-vis those issues, and to suggest areas requiring collective attention and action within the context of the Dialogue.

The draft Notes would then be presented to the PG, which will be invited to endorse (with any necessary modifications) the situation analysis and to identify proposed Entry Points for the consultative process. The process of debating and negotiating the entry points can itself be an important political exercise, requiring delegates to reach consensus on a common position, while collectively identifying issues upon which they differ. Once revised and approved by the PG, elements of the Note will be disseminated throughout Somalia through various media, as well as being distributed to the wider international community.

The adoption of the written and video Notes and the identification by the PG of Entry Points marks the conclusion of the preliminary research phase and the advent of the main consultative phase of the Dialogue.

Phase 3: Consultation

At the outset of the main consultative phase, a WG of primary stakeholders will be formed to manage the work on each Entry Point. In consultation with the WSP affiliate teams, each WG will set its own goals, define its own agenda and develop its own programme of work.

Entry Points are likely to be diverse in subject matter. Previous WSP research already suggests a number of highly controversial topics that might be proposed as Entry Points for the Dialogue:

- Constitutional issues: key aspects of a transitional charter for Somalia
- Administrative sub-division of Somalia (number of regions/provinces and their boundaries)
- Demobilisation and disarmament
- Land ownership and disputes
- Resource management and sharing (i.e. between different regions or different levels of government)
- Control and administration of contested towns such as Gaalka'yo, Kismaayo and Mogadishu)

To the extent that Entry Points may coincide with issues under discussion in the national peace process or fall within the mandate of a National Reconciliation Commission (NRC), WSP would adjust its efforts to ensure complementarity.

Proposed Entry Points may also involve issues at different levels: national, inter-regional, regional or local. Although WSP's methodology emphasizes the "macro" level of engagement, circumstances may require flexibility where sensitive issues of reconciliation and peace building are concerned. It is therefore conceivable that some entry points would be sub-national in scope, relating to inter-regional socio-political systems such as Puntland, Bay/Bakool, the Juba Valley or Banadir.

WSP also recognizes that certain critical local disputes may require resolution (or at least a response) before broader issues can be addressed. A researcher dedicated to conflict resolution at the local level will therefore be located in the CRD office with specific responsibility for responding to local demands and recommending courses of action to the CRD and WSP management.

Each WG would begin the main consultative phase by setting achievable goals related to its Entry Point: in a variation from the conventional WSP approach, these goals are no longer limited to research products and may take a variety of forms.

The WSP affiliate teams will guide then guide each WG in developing a plan of action, taking into account available time and resources. The plan of action typically includes an extension of the initial 'Mapping Exercise', involving most of the same basic elements, more specifically applied to each Entry Point:

- **Information gathering and analysis:** the WSP affiliates are responsible for collecting available literature and documents and, where required, summarizing and/or analyzing the material for presentation to the WG.
- **Identification of Stakeholders:** together with the WG, the WSP affiliates engage in mapping of local, regional and national actors whose views or engagement are required for a successful outcome
- **Consultations:** on the basis of its 'mapping exercise', each WG will develop a schedule for consultations at various levels (local, inter-regional or national) and design the format for these consultations.
- **Resource Persons:** On complex issues, additional expertise may be required to assist the WGs and to inform consultations. In such cases, WSP will engage local or international resource persons to accompany the process on a part-time or full-time basis. Alternatively, WSP may request its partners, via the donor support group, to arrange secondment of national or international experts to assist with the Dialogue process.

It has been the practice of the WSP Somali Programme to begin each consultation with a presentation by the WSP affiliate team, together with WG and/or PG members, of a brief discussion paper and film intended to stimulate dialogue and debate around the Entry Point. Over a 3-5-day period, participants are typically encouraged to move towards discussion of possible solutions. However, the nature

of the Dialogue and the approach of the WG's may require flexibility in the format of the consultations (which could conceivably vary between Entry Points).

As far as possible, consultations will be designed to bring participants together from across Somalia for face-to-face sessions. Where this is not possible, audio-visual (AV), information communication technology (ICT) and the news media may be employed to assist in communication between groups. In some cases, it may also be necessary for stakeholders from different groups or regional to hold initial consultations independently of one another in order to clarify their own positions and ensure that they have local legitimacy before engaging in consultations at the inter-regional or national level.

In order to ensure sustained public interest and raise key issues to the level of political decision makers, this main phase of the consultative process will take a minimum of 12 months.

Throughout the main consultative phase, the WSP affiliate teams will provide organizational, logistical and secretarial support to the WGs. In consultation with the WGs, the WSP affiliate staff will plan, organize and convene consultations; arrange travel, accommodation and meeting venues; record deliberations and decisions, and ensure follow-up actions as directed by the WGs. Where appropriate, WSP affiliate teams may also facilitate discussions.

At the conclusion of the main phase, each WG will present the outcome of its activities to the PG for adoption and further action.

Phase 4: Restitution and Reflection

The convening of the final PG meeting signals the conclusion of the main consultative phase and the advent of the final phase. The PG will reconvene to consider and ultimately adopt the results of the process and make recommendations for further action. Depending on the situation at that time, these results might be fed back into an existing peace process, or be presented to an emerging government or transitional entity.

Following the final PG meeting, and building upon its conclusions, there will be a period of restitution and reflection. This will involve:

- 1) Analysis and consolidation of the results of the research and dialogue process: this will include final documentation of each Entry Point in written and video form for the purposes of historical reference and sharing of 'lessons learned'.
- 2) Identification of consensual recommendations and solutions as well as key areas where they may be further disagreement on key issues. This could perhaps result in proposals for further action.
- 3) Sharing of results with the Somalis who participated in the process, as well as with the broader national and international communities.

The PG will also be invited to propose what steps should then be taken to integrate the findings of the countrywide consultations into whatever formal peace process may exist at that time.

Consistent with WSP activities worldwide, the final phase of the process will include both internal and external evaluations, further described below.

Reconciliation and Political Facilitation

It is anticipated that the process of consultation on key issues of peace building will lead some Somali communities to try to address these issues in practical political terms. In order to promote the establishment of a durable peace, the Dialogue will, when possible and appropriate, link its outcomes to efforts to mediate disputes between various actors at the local level in support of emerging local and national governing arrangements.

While WSP International does not have the technical capacity or mandate to negotiate formal peace agreements between conflicting parties, it is conceivable that one or more WG's leading the Dialogue process would include such agreements among their goals. In addition, WSP will offer the following support to promote reconciliation when and where it appears possible and appropriate:

- Identification of priority conflicts where the involved communities and leaders perceive an opportunity for constructive mediation efforts.
- Create opportunities through the process of local consultations on key peace building issues for mediation efforts between conflicting parties.
- Encourage and help mobilize local conflict resolution mechanisms to ensure Somali ownership.
- Establish appropriate links with other interested mediators, to be identified, mandated and employed by the responsible actors in new Somali institutions should they be established, and/or the international community.
- Provide substantive input and support to both local participants and mediators regarding the key issues under discussion.

Through the Dialogue for Peace, WSP International will flexibly adjust its planned consultation schedule to allow time and resources to facilitate reconciliation initiatives when there is interest and agreement from Somali communities and leaders to do so, and when there is support from the international community. If such a political and social context does not exist, then the process of consultations envisioned in the main consultative phase will continue as planned.

As has been the case through the WSP Somalia programme, the teams involved will at times facilitate quiet dialogue between various parties to reduce tension and encourage understanding. While this activity is difficult to quantify and often goes unannounced and unrecognized, it is a critically important part of the process.

Ongoing Dissemination

Throughout the entire Dialogue Process, dissemination of findings from WSP's research and consultations will take place, aiming at both local communities through innovative use of the thriving Somali media outlets, and at the international community through regular papers, videos and briefing sessions.

Effective use of the media is critical to the success of the exercise. WSP International and the affiliates will develop a media strategy including print media,

local and international radio, television and the Internet to ensure the engagement of as wide a segment as possible of the Somali Diaspora. One of the specific objectives of the Dialogue process is to create a sense of 'national conversation', in which deliberations of one group of Somalis in one part of the country would be made available to participants in subsequent meetings elsewhere, as well as to the general public.

Practically speaking, WSP research teams would record the proceedings of each consultation in both written and audio-visual formats. During the course of the Dialogue, WSP will continue to explore the use of AV and ICT technologies in support of its methodology. An editorial/production team, led by a Reports and Information Officer, would be responsible for processing all material for dissemination throughout the process and upon its conclusion. The materials gathered in this way may also serve as a valuable resource for longer-term civic education initiatives. To ensure effective implementation of this media engagement, WSP will pursue cooperation with other, ongoing peace building and capacity building projects, including work by the BBC Somali Service and IRIN.

WSP International will prepare regular summaries of key points and issues raised during Dialogue for Peace research and consultations to share with the international community. These will be presented to the donor support group and circulated to key donors and international observers.

WSP International and the PG will also maintain regular consultation with key international stakeholders in the SNRC process to brief them on the findings and lessons emerging through the process.

The Somali Diaspora

The work in the Somali Programme to date, as well as the work in WSP International Programmes elsewhere, has underscored the important role the diaspora often plays in peace building in a country. Somalis abroad, both near and far, are an important source of resources. They also have access to information and often access to those with hands on the levers of power in the international community. At the same time, they may or may not have a realistic view as to the realities in the country today. The influence on the situation inside the country can be considerable: economic, political and social. Increasingly, the WSP methodology is working towards bringing the diaspora into the dialogue process.

Building on work that has already been done, particular emphasis will be given to engaging the Somali expatriate business community (particularly in Dubai) in the process.

The work with the diaspora will include dynamic use of information communications technology, including the Internet, but also face-to-face dialogue with Somali groups in the Middle East, Europe and North America. If resources permit, select figures from the diaspora may be invited to take part in the PG. In addition, further consideration is being given as to how best to engage the refugee community in the region in the process. The extent to which engagement with the diaspora can be developed will have an impact on the budget.

7. EXPECTED OUTCOMES/OUTPUTS

The expected outcomes of the WSP Dialogue for Peace are the following:

- A Somali public more aware of and engaged with issues concerning national reconciliation and state formation. An increased level of contact and dialogue between different social groups, including across clan lines. An increased sense of voice and ownership of the policy setting process on the part of participants, and an increased capacity to make that voice heard.
- Somali leaders and international actors with more exposure to and understanding of Somali public opinion on key issues relating to reconciliation and peace building.
- A ‘national conversation’ initiated and experienced by Somalis inside and outside of the country that can continue under its own momentum beyond the Dialogue project, contributing to the development of a culture of peace.
- An overall reduction in the level of conflicts; an increase in local capacity to address potential conflict through non-violent means.

Specific outputs that will be achieved are the following

- An overall ‘Note’ that maps the key issues in the Somali conflict as seen from a broadly inclusive “from the ground” perspective.
- Regular reports (written and video) on the issues emerging from the dialogue process.
- A series of concrete actions, agreements and/or proposals (to be defined by the WGs) intended to advance the processes of reconciliation and state building.
- A final report and film summarizing the outcomes of local consultations and providing a “lessons learned” reference.
- Conferences and dissemination of results to national and international partners engaged in the peace process.

8. RISKS, ASSUMPTIONS AND FLEXIBILITY

Given the complexities and sensitivities involved in implementing the Dialogue for Peace in Somalia, WSP International and its Somali affiliates will be required to manage a number of risks inherent in local peace building efforts.

International Support

1. Sufficient financial resources, **received in advance** of initiating activities, are essential to success of the programme. The risks of encountering cash flow

difficulties in a programme of this nature could be a matter of 'life and death' and not just programme delay

2. In addition to the financial support required to implement the Dialogue programme, it will require solid political support from the international community. The substance of the Dialogue programme will remain highly sensitive, as peace building initiatives cannot be separated from the wider Somali political context. Lack of such international support may seriously hamper the ability to implement the programme despite conducive political and social conditions at the local level.

Harmonization with the SNRC Process

There is a risk that the Dialogue for Peace, which focuses on promoting bottom-up, community-based dialogue, can be perceived as competing with the current, national-level and internationally-led peace conference. To avoid this situation, a number of coordination mechanisms have been proposed above. First, the participation of members of the IGAD Facilitation Committee and international observers on a Support Group for the Dialogue process.

Second, WSP anticipates that Entry Points for substantial consultation inside Somalia will be complementary to issues under consideration in the SNRC process. WSP therefore envisions that agreements and other documents produced by the SNRC would be made available to the PG and WGs, both to raise awareness about the national peace process and to inform the Dialogue.

Complementarity between the SNRC and the Dialogue could be further strengthened by the participation of selected delegates from the peace conference in the National Project Group (PG), providing guidance and support to the WSP process and feeding back input from the WSP dialogue to the peace conference.

Future Somali Governing Structures

The Dialogue process will need the consent and the participation of any new Somali governing institutions that may emerge the ongoing SNRC in order for the *Dialogue* to be an inclusive programme. This should not pose any particular difficulty: most WSP programmes take place in post-war countries where governments and transitional institutions (such as NRCs or Truth and Reconciliation Commissions) exist, and the methodology has been successfully tried and tested under such circumstances.

The formation of transitional national institutions in Somalia would allow WSP to function in a more conventional, familiar context. As in other post-war situations in which WSP-International operates, the organisation would seek the support and involvement of the new administration, particularly any sort of 'reconciliation commission' should there be one. The government would be invited to nominate representatives to the PG and WGs (described above).

WSP International's relationship with any transitional institutions or 'reconciliation commission' would be one of substantive collaboration, rather than material support. This might include the following:

- Support to the development of the agenda and work plan of the 'reconciliation commission'.
- Facilitation of the commission's participation in the Dialogue process through participation in the National Project Group (PG) and the full range of WSP's local consultations.
- Training of the commission's professional staff in participatory, community consultation and conflict resolution skills.

Engagement in Somaliland

The Somaliland administration has clearly articulated its position on participation in the ongoing Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, and a dialogue process in Somaliland would need to be dealt with separately with the WSP International affiliate in Hargeysa.

A parallel dialogue in Somaliland, with a focus on such issues as constitutional democracy, decentralized governance, the transition from clan-based political structures to a multi-party electoral system, and efforts to improve security and promote economic recovery would seem both possible and potentially beneficial.

The dialogue could be an important step toward forging a common vocabulary and ideas for functional cooperation on shared problems necessary for an eventual dialogue between the Somaliland Administration and the rest of Somalia regarding their future.

From a programmatic perspective, regular meetings of the WSP Somali affiliates with WSP International Somali Programme staff are intended to ensure methodological coherence and a mutual beneficial exchange of experience on technical and substantive issues. Such exchanges are further enhanced through WSP's Methodological Review (MR) process, which brings together researchers from various WSP country projects (Guatemala, Macedonia, Rwanda, etc.) several times each year. The first international MR meeting took place in Djibouti in May 2004.

Security and Safe Access

So far, the careful, patient and inclusive approach of the WSP Somali Programme has enabled the organization's Somali teams to access most of the insecure areas of the country and facilitate dialogue with a broad spectrum of social and political actors. Over the past year, in anticipation of the Dialogue for Peace programme, WSP has invested further effort in maintaining open channels of communication with all Somali political actors, both inside the country and at the peace talks in Kenya. Nevertheless it remains likely there will be some areas where undertaking the Dialogue process will not be possible. Moreover should the security situation in parts of the country deteriorate, the Dialogue process would need to be reconsidered to ensure the safety of both WSP staff and Dialogue participants.

Perceived Neutrality of the Dialogue

One of the essential characteristics of a WSP process is that WSP International be perceived as an impartial actor, maintaining a neutral space where dialogue and trust building can take place unencumbered. To be a successful partner in

facilitating dialogue between opposed political groups, WSP International must remain an acceptable interlocutor for all sides. For this reason, WSP International believes that it is not advisable in the short-term to be too closely associated with or provide material support to any particular Somali political group that would risk alienating other important political or social groups. This must include new Somali governing institutions created through the SNRC until such time that they are perceived by key political actors to be inclusive and legitimate.

9. COOPERATION

In addition to project donors, members of the IGAD Facilitation Committee and international observers of the Somali peace process, WSP International will cooperate, as appropriate without placing in jeopardy the perceived neutrality mentioned above, a variety of actors in the sectors of governance, civil society and peace building:

- UN Habitat : WSP affiliates are already involved in Habitat's good governance programme and training of local councillors. Habitat and WSP have agreed to optimise their cooperate in this regard through closely coordinated activities.
- Saferworld – Non-State Actors Forum: WSP and Saferworld are in the process of finalizing arrangements for their co-operation in the Non-State Actors Forum. The anticipated partnership included shared premises in Nairobi, management of field activities by the WSP affiliates, and a complementary participatory methodology.
- World Bank: WSP affiliates undertook both the first and second phases of the World Bank's Conflict Assessment Framework (CAF).¹ The CAF experience will be invaluable to the 'mapping exercise' envisioned under the Dialogue.
- UN-IRIN: WSP and IRIN have held preliminary discussions about the possibility of collaborating in audio-visual dimensions of the Dialogue, and other forms of collaboration.

In conjunction with the EC Somalia Unit, WSP has already established and participated regularly in a forum with NOVIB, LPI and Saferworld since mid-2003. This group focuses on both strategic and operational harmonization of peace building efforts in Somalia, in order to promote effective and efficient use of limited aid resources. Within the context of the newly established Peace Building Forum, WSP also envisions continued collaboration with (among others):

- NOVIB (WSP and NOVIB have also discussed NOVIB's possible support with respect to the capacity-building needs of the Somali affiliates)
- UNPOS
- Life and Peace Institute (LPI)
- UNDP

¹ APD's management transition meant that the organization was unable to take part in Phase 2 of the CAF; WSP and the World Bank have discussed several times the prospects of re-engaging the Academy for Phase 3.

WSP continues to seek opportunities for co-operation with other potential partners. Through the WSP-International Nairobi office, WSP also envisions more robust engagement in the SACB and possibly the UN country team.

10. OTHER FACTORS

Local Capacity Building

The WSP participatory approach, which embraces a set of values (democratic, consensus-seeking, commitment to peaceful change), a methodology (participatory, research-based, flexible) and has practical goals (policy-oriented, macro, consensus-built results), has engendered amongst its national participants the desire to carry on the work beyond the life of the project. There is also a strong sense of obligation on the part of WSP International to support the continuation of the WSP approach in countries after the official project has come to a close, where the desire to do so has been clearly expressed.

Hence, WSP International has been committed to establishing local affiliate organizations in Somalia. Already, the Puntland Development and Research Centre (PDRC) in Garowe, and the Academy for Peace and Development (APD) in Hargeysa, are well on their way to being established independent local NGOs. The Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu has been in the process of establishing itself as an independent entity since its initiation. During the life span of a regular WSP International programme, preparations for affiliates' futures include training, human resources development, and identification of diverse, non-WSP sources of funding, in addition to helping develop institutional processes and procedures. Additional strengthening of their ability to effectively manage both institutionally and programmatically will be an area of ongoing attention.

Examples of opportunities for training and capacity building include:

- Initiation of comprehensive institutional audits and subsequently capacity building based on identified needs
- Regular training sessions in project and financial management by WSP-International staff from Nairobi and Geneva
- Participation of selected researchers in the WSP Peace Building Forum, Geneva, May 2004
- Participation of select researchers in the WSP Cross-Country Methodological Review, Djibouti, May 2004
- Workshop on Conflict Resolution and Mediation Techniques, facilitated
- Training in information and media relations, led by WSP-International Geneva staff, mid-2004

Regular opportunities for training and professional development of WSP affiliate teams will be offered throughout the course of the programme. This intensive investment in capacity building is reflected in the Dialogue budget.

Gender Issues

WSP takes particular care to promote gender sensitivity and empowerment through all stages of the research and dissemination phases of a project. All WSP affiliate

teams include women researchers, and the changing role of women in Somali society (in political, economic and social terms) is often a subject of detailed investigation.

WSP's past gender-related activities have included a focus on the "Role of Women in Post-war Reconstruction" in Puntland, and the "Impact of the War on the Family" in Somaliland. However, past experience has encouraged WSP to mainstream its approach to gender rather than to address it as a separate issue, meaning that gender considerations are reflected throughout WSP's work and will be fully integrated in the Dialogue through women's representation in the PG, WGs, consultations and research teams.

11. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

In keeping with established WSP International procedure, the completion of the Restitution and Reflection Phase will be followed by an Internal Evaluation and an External Evaluation.

The Internal Evaluation is carried out by WSP International personnel and involves a questionnaire administered in both oral and written form. The evaluation focuses on the observations/reactions of participants in the conflict mapping exercise and the Dialogue itself (Project Group & Working Group members, local participants).

The External Evaluation is conducted by an externally engaged consultant and includes a broader range of actors, including international organizations, donors, and the WSP team itself.

Separate "lessons" reports and recommendations will be produced by the affiliate research teams for use by WSP International in future country programmes, as well as for other interested actors. WSP International is in the process of developing peace-keeping indicators to measure the qualitative impact of its programming. Monitoring progress and impact assessment is an integral part of WSP International's preliminary programme planning. Progress indicators, developed in consultation with local partners and communities are made available to the affiliate teams in a universal "toolbox" of indicators. A copy of the "toolbox" is available upon request. Affiliate management and research teams will directly observe activities throughout the course of the programme, utilizing both documented interviews and public consultations which will remain the most important tool for external monitoring of project progress.

Public consultations will also be documented in video form, which will provide qualitative feedback on local capacity to convene discuss and operate whilst also monitoring the quality of socio-political dialogue. Monitoring and impact assessment will also be the focus of regular discussions among project staff throughout the duration of the project. Regular support from WSP International Senior Advisors both in Nairobi and Geneva is also planned as part of the monitoring exercise.

The observations of impact by local participants and observers will remain central source of knowledge about the project's progress, and will also be documented as part of the reporting exercise.

INSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION

1. PREVIOUS INTERVENTIONS

WSP International was established as a pilot project of the United Nations in 1994, in order to assist countries recovering from the devastating effects of violent conflict. The project was designed to complement major international assistance programmes, such as those implemented by the UN, EC, bilateral donors, and NGOs, and to prepare the ground for a more effective partnership between external actors and internal actors in the common pursuit of peace, political stabilization, rehabilitation, and development.

WSP International was intended to help societies emerging from conflict to better define their problems and priorities, to set achievable goals in reconstruction, to clarify possible strategies for the future development of their countries, and to indicate where and how focused assistance can be most effective. On the basis of policy-oriented research, the project provided a forum for neutral and democratic discussion, and created mechanisms to facilitate consensus building around key rehabilitation goals and policy alternatives. At the same time, the project aimed to develop local analytical and research capacity that may be pragmatically applied to the problems of post-war recovery.

WSP International programmes in Eritrea, Mozambique and Guatemala were successfully concluded during the project's pilot phase, which came to an end in December 1998. A project in Somalia was initiated in late 1996 and is still in progress. On January 1st 1999, the WSP Transition Programme was established in order to pave the way for a more permanent, expanded WSP International activity.

WSP International, with its experience of over six years of field work in selected countries, is an attempt to respond to sustainable conflict resolution. It contributes to the recovery and strengthening of societies emerging from conflict by bringing together indigenous actors (including former adversaries and victims) to set priorities, build consensus and formulate responses, aided by participatory action research, and maintaining regular consultation with external aid providers. WSP International's carefully defined methodology embodies principles of local capacity and responsibility; wide-ranging participation; the better understanding of differing interests and objectives; use of relevant data and analysis in integrative decision-making; practical policy impact; and a catalytic rather than dominating role by international actors.

The WSP Somali Programme began its work in the North-eastern part of Somalia in 1997, subsequently established a project in Somaliland in 1999 and set up a new activity in the Benadir region of the South in 2000. With a small liaison and coordination office located in Nairobi, the Programme is supporting field projects at various stages in the development of a typical WSP International project. WSP-Puntland has turned into a "second generation" project after the pilot activity was continued by a newly established, local organization, the Puntland Development and Research Centre (PDRC). The Somaliland project executed by the Academy for Peace and Development (APD) completed its most active phase in 2002 and

WSP activities in the South/Central area through the Centre for Research & Dialogue (CRD) were the result of the conviction that a project could indeed be set up there. The WSP Somali Programme had always intended to eventually work throughout Somalia, taking its experience and lessons learned from one stable region to the next thereby contributing to democratic peace- and consensus-building. Through direct experience and observation, the WSP International Somali programme has become increasingly conversant with the underlying issues of the Somali conflict from a variety of local, national and international perspectives.

A key element in WSP International's approach is the building of local capacity. This participatory approach, which embraces a set of values (democratic, consensus-seeking, commitment to peaceful change), a methodology (participatory, research-based, flexible) and has practical goals (policy-oriented, macro, consensus-built results), has engendered amongst its national participants the strong desire to carry on the work beyond the life of the project. There is also a strong sense of obligation on the part of WSP International in Geneva to support the continuation of the WSP International approach in countries after the official project has come to a close, where the desire to do so has been clearly expressed.

2. IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS

WSP International partners in Somalia are:

- The Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), based in Garowe.
- The Academy for Peace and Development (APD), based in Hargeysa.
- The Centre for Research and Dialogue (CRD), based in Mogadishu.

Puntland Development Research Centre (Garowe)

Following the conclusion of the WSP Pilot Project in Puntland under UN auspices, the Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC) was established as an independent Somali NGO in early 2000 in order to build on WSP's foundation. In addition to continued support from WSP International, the Puntland government allocated land for construction of the Centre and contributions towards development of the PDRC arrived from members of the Puntland Diaspora.

Since that time, PDRC's principal activities focused on conducting PAR research into the harmonization of legal codes (secular, traditional and shari'a) in Somalia. This was conducted as part of a broader "civil protection" programme under the auspices of Diakonia and UNDP. The PDRC team has continued to closely follow the WSP methodology in its research, while introducing some pragmatic adaptations of its own to local circumstances and funding shortfalls.

Recent PDRC activities supported by WSP include the following:

- 1) Workshop on "Pastoralism, frankincense and fisheries in the Puntland economy". The proceedings of this workshop are to be published in late 2003 / early 2004.

- 2) Workshop on “Traditional legal system in Puntland”. The proceedings of this workshop are to be published in late 2003 / early 2004.
- 3) Developing partnerships with other community groups, local NGOs and elders that have greater potential for promoting peace building and conflict resolution. Groups such as WAWA Women’s Umbrella Group, GECPD, SWA, *Nasteexo* Women’s Centre and KAALO have all been engaged. PDRC trained them the WSP methodology as a tool for initiating a useful dialogue among the sides in political or clan conflict in Puntland.
- 4) Workshop on peace building with the following objectives:
 - Promote the search for peace.
 - Contribute to the reconstruction and development efforts in peaceful regions.
 - Enhance the PAR (participatory action research) methodology as a model of research and dialogue instrument for peace building and conflict resolution.
- 5) PDRC headed the *Puntland Peace Mission* which was instrumental in mediating between conflicting actors in conflict thereby promoting peace in local communities.
 - 6) PDRC attended different workshops and training seminars in 2002/2003, collaborating with international agencies and NGOs.
 - 7) PDRC staff met different international actors in the field and had useful consultations with them on issues around peace building, program etc.

The WSP project in Puntland is acknowledged to have had considerable local impact. An external evaluation of WSP International's work in Northeast Somalia concluded:

“There is a broad consensus that WSP had a very positive catalytic effect on civil society in NE. Locally, this impact is viewed as the single greatest success of the project, and for most observers in the region, this development alone made the project a success and a worthwhile investment of time and money”².

WSP’s internal assessment of its work through PDRC in Puntland affirms that the organizations have achieved the following impact:

1. Create a lasting network of civil society leaders in the region, and introduce leaders from different regions and different sectors to one another;
2. Raise local awareness and understanding of the development process and community expectations of local authorities and external actors;
3. Help local communities to mobilize to meet their needs;
4. Highlight gender issues;
5. Empower intellectuals and other elements of civil society;
6. Expand local dialogue beyond the elite level;

² Evaluation of the War Torn Societies Project in Puntland, Kenneth Menkhaus, Associate Professor Political Science, Davidson University, 2000

7. Provide an extended timeframe and a forum conducive for deliberate, critical thinking about the state of affairs in their community and strategies for improving it.

Academy for Peace and Development (Hargeysa)

Somaliland witnessed a change of leadership in May 2002 with the death of its president Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal. Fears that Egal's death would trigger violent instability in the country were allayed by a peaceful transition of power to the then vice-president, Dahir Rayaale Kahin. However, economic hardships and rising insecurity remain paramount concerns, as well as the ability of the Somaliland administration to deal effectively with such problems.

In this context, recent APD activities supported by WSP include the following:

- 1) Four entry point papers and four documentary films were completed and presented for approval at the final Somaliland Project Group meeting on 30-31 July 2002. During the remainder of 2002 the final research products were disseminated widely and presented to national and international actors in Somaliland/Somalia, Nairobi and Addis Ababa. The four comprehensive draft documents are on 1) Consolidating and Decentralizing Government Institutions, 2) Regulating the Livestock Economy of Somaliland, 3) The Impact of Wars on the Family and Society, 4) The Role of the Media in Political Reconstruction. The papers themselves are being compiled into a volume which will be published in the first quarter of 2004.
- 2) APD has, as one of its goals, the mission of serving as "*an intellectual shelter*". To achieve that goal, the Academy took vigorous measures to attract, organize, and engage Somalis who want to apply their profession and talent. Whenever possible, the Academy recruited these persons to join the core team in its participatory action research or to contribute to the task of promoting peace and democracy in Somaliland. Activities in this area included the following:
 1. *Organization of journalists, who eventually formed their association*
 2. *Provision of training-of-trainers to police human rights*
 3. *Organization of adult poets and competitions for young poets*
 4. *Hosting of fellows from Britain, USA, Denmark, Belgium, and Switzerland as part of its fellowship programme³.*
 5. *Production of a series of documentaries that not only disseminated APD's work but also informed others about the problems and prospects for Somaliland.*
 6. *Work with lawyers and doctors toward the development of their own associations*
 7. *Country-wide studies on trauma, women and Islam, small arms, and other topics of interest to local and international audience.*
- 3) In addition to WSP research, the Academy has extended its work in areas related to peace building and governance. On March 15, 2001, APD invited both the government and opposition to publicly debate issues in what became known as the *Forum for Civic Dialogue*. Through the debate, leaders of the

³ A Japanese doctoral student is expected to become an Academy Fellow in two or three months

opposing camps cleared their misunderstanding and differences on the referendum and on the day of voting, they affirmed endorsement of the constitution and, surprisingly, voted together in the same polling station. Over 97% of the country endorsed the constitution. Since then, the *Forum for Civic Dialogue* has become a regular event – indeed the only venue in which the most difficult issues could be debated with reason and civility.

- 4) In the context of the 2002 Somaliland elections, the Academy played a critical advisory role to the Electoral Commission and hosted weekly meetings of Somaliland's political parties – the only all-party consultation of its kind. In July 2002, the Academy's efforts led to the signing of a 12-point accord by all but one of the parties, setting out the requirements for free and fair elections. Further, to make sure that the accords were fully implemented, the Academy proposed the establishment of an *Integrity Watch Committee*. All participants endorsed not only the idea, but also the members of the Committee that the Academy had proposed.
- 5) At the request of the House of Representative the Academy presented recommendations on how the controversial questions of district boundaries and constituencies could best be handled. APD also carried a comprehensive study of the court system, leading to detailed report and recommendations to the court.
- 6) The Academy played a significant role in monitoring elections and working with international as well as local monitors. The South African delegation that came for the presidential election was hosted by the Academy. Working in collaboration with South African delegation, the Academy carried out three day training-of-trainers workshop in the major cities and towns for 150 party representatives who in turn trained over 3,000 party observers at 3,000 polling stations. The Academy also worked with members of civil society organizations in voter education and election monitoring. In April 2004, an observer from the Academy took part in the monitoring of the South African Presidential election.
- 7) Another example of the Academy's work is the integration of audio-visual resources which the Academy's Culture and Communication Unit had pioneered and institutionalized as part of the Academy's *modus operandi*. In fact, use of audio-visual resources is more than an ancillary feature contributing to effective dissemination and public relations. The Academy uses this feature as an integral component of its methodology. To date, the Academy has trained staff of the Center for Research and Dialogue in Mogadishu and the Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace in Kigali.

3. Centre for Research and Dialogue (Mogadishu)

Building on previous experience in Puntland and Somaliland, WSP International initiated the project in south central Somalia with the co-founding of a local affiliate based in Mogadishu, which became known as the Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD)⁴. Recent activities supported by WSP include the following:

⁴ Originally known as the Somali Institute for Management and Research (SIMAR)

- 1) CRD researchers met with over 10,000 people in the areas visited including faction and political leaders, international actors, local NGOs and civil society members, business groups and traditional elders in their respective regions. CRD has established working relations with all major political groups in Mogadishu and has facilitated numerous international missions to Mogadishu.
- 2) CRD research staff traveled to various parts of Somalia as part of their research on issues pertaining to the rebuilding of Somalia. The research has concentrated on socio-economic, gender and political reconstruction issues. The results of this research are currently being drafted in the CRD Research Note on South / Central Somalia. It will be presented to Somali communities and their political, business, clan and religious leaders at a Somali Project Group Meeting to be held in late 2003 or early 2004. From this meeting discussion, a series of Entry Points will be jointly identified between CRD, WSP and meeting participants that will guide the future research and dialogue efforts of CRD.
- 3) In July 2002, a CRD audio-visual team took advantage of a training visit to Hargeisa to prepare a film (in collaboration with the Academy's audio visual team) on the restoration of peace and government in Somaliland, contrasting the situation there with developments in the south. The film included messages of goodwill from members of the Somaliland House of Elders (*Guurti*) to the people of southern Somalia. Screenings of the film in Mogadishu were well attended and received favorable media coverage. On a subsequent visit to Hargeysa, a member of the CRD management team was invited to meet with the Somaliland president, who expressed appreciation for CRD's work and encouragement for continued success.
- 4) CRD presented preliminary research findings based on the efforts described above to the Somali Diaspora in Canada, USA, Australia and parts of Europe, as well to members of the Somali Business Council in Dubai, UAE, whose involvement is vital for the rebuilding of Somali. CRD offered a set of issues / themes for continued discussion during these for and participants also viewed documentary films which had hitherto never been shown to the Diaspora.
- 5) CRD was also instrumental in linking the Eldoret / Mbagathi Somali National Reconciliation Conference and local communities in southern and central Somalia on discussions about demobilization, conflict resolution, land disputes and leadership issues. CRD aired a series of these video films the SNRC plenary at Eldoret and Mbagathi and again during the Somali Business community meeting in Nairobi (June 23-25, 2003).
- 6) CRD is gradually developing complementary activities and partnerships in parallel with the WSP exercise. The Centre has established working relations with all major political groups in Mogadishu and has facilitated numerous international missions to Mogadishu. CRD has also assisted with the production of the UNDP Human Development Report, and played a key supporting/monitoring role in a demobilization/reintegration programme managed by the Elman Peace Centre. CRD has reached an agreement in principle with the Organization of Social Studies Research in East Africa

(OSSREA) to represent the organization in Somalia and is planning new activities with CONCERN, UNDP and UNICEF.

- 7) CRD also provided training to local Somali NGOs in inter-personal communication skills, conflict de-escalation and conflict management. CRD provides people with the skills they need to work through their own conflicts. CRD also seeks to identify methods through which local communities can assist in promoting communication and conflict management. This is accomplished through the provision of trainers whose skills affect change in individuals, institutions and communities through dispute resolution and collaborative problem solving.